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ABSTRACT

This document presents the text of a Congressional hearing, chaired by Representative George Miller, on the epidemic of gang warfare and violence among youth. Testimony is presented from these witnesses: (1) James Brown, juvenile court probation officer, Multnomah County Juvenile Justice Department, Portland, Oregon; (2) John A. Calhoun, executive director, National Crime Prevention Council, Washington, D.C.; (3) John A. Carver, director, District of Columbia Pretrial Services Agency; (4) Elliott Currie, criminologist, Center for the Study of Law and Society, University of California, Berkeley; (5) Julius Derico, section commander, special investigations section, intelligence unit, Atlanta Department of Public Safety, Bureau of Police Services, Georgia; (6) Marianne Diaz-Parton, coastal unit supervisor, Community Youth Gang Services, Los Angeles, California; (7) Falaka Fattah, director and founder, House of Umoja, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; (8) Shawn Grant and Ismael Huerta, gang members; (9) Martin S. Kesselman, director of clinical psychiatry, Kings County Hospital Center, and professor of clinical psychiatry, State University of New York, Health Science Center, Brooklyn, New York; (10) Robert Martin, director, Chicago Intervention Network, Chicago, Illinois; and (11) Deborah Prothrow-Stith, commissioner, Massachusetts Department of Public Health, Boston. Prepared statements and supplemental materials from these witnesses, Representative George Miller, and V. G. Guinses, the executive director of SEY YES (Save Every Youngster Youth Enterprise Society) of Los Angeles, are included. (ABL)

YOUTH AND VIOLENCE: THE CURRENT CRISIS

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE ON CHILDREN, YOUTH, AND FAMILIES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ONE HUNDREDTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

HEARING HELD IN WASHINGTON, DC, MARCH 9, 1988

Printed for the use of the
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"YOUTH AND VIOLENCE: THE CURRENT CRISIS"

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 9, 1988

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SELECT COMMITTEE ON CHILDREN, YOUTH, AND FAMILIES,
Washington, DC.

The Select Committee met, pursuant to call, at 9:20 a.m., in room 2203, Rayburn House Office Building, Honorable George Miller (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Members present: Representatives Coats, Boggs, Weiss, Boxer, Rowland, Sikorski, Wheat, Martinez, Durbin, Wortley, Packard, Hastert, and John Lewis of Georgia.

Staff present: Ann Rosewater, Staff Director; Diane Shust, Professional staff; Carol M. Statuto, Minority Deputy Staff Director; and Joan Godley, committee clerk, Evelyn Anderes, minority research assistant.

Chairman MILLER. The Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families will come to order for the purposes of holding a hearing on "Youth and Violence, the Current Crisis".

Over the past five years, the Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families has focused attention on numerous issues which pose serious threats to the future of America's children and their families.

Today we address a particularly serious and growing crisis, the epidemic of gang warfare and the violence among youth. This recent surge in youth violence is a tragic culmination of three insidious trends which we have examined in the past two years: the emergence of a new killer drug, crack cocaine; the reemergence of race-related incidents among adolescents; and the anger that poverty instills in millions of young people.

Violent juvenile crime increased nine percent between 1984 and 1986, reversing the trend of a prior decade. This is an alarming increase, effectively cancelling out in just two years nearly 50 percent of the reduction in violent crime that had taken a decade to achieve.

These incidents are no longer isolated to the largest urban areas. Reports of serious youth violence come from Pasadena, Texas; Oakland, California; Washington, D.C.; Corpus Christi, Texas; DeKalb, Missouri; and Portland, Oregon.

Younger and younger children are committing acts of violence. Younger and younger children are carrying handguns and automatic weapons. And younger and younger children are falling victims to the violence of their peers.

Juveniles are also becoming dependent upon more powerful and dangerous drugs. In Washington, D.C., 61 percent of those under the age of 18 who were arrested in December of 1987 tested positive

for PCP or cocaine, either alone or in combination with another drug.

At the same time, drug dealers are using children as intermediaries in their transactions. Children as young as 12 years old have been arrested for selling crack.

Gang violence has also begun to appear in cities with no recent history of gangs. Police report that gangs selling drugs in Miami, Chicago and Los Angeles have spread to smaller cities in search of new markets. As the gangs have spread, so has the violence.

Apart from their devastating personal impact, and the potential victimization of others, incidents of youth violence are significant for what they tell us about larger economic and demographic trends in our society, and for what they convey about the circumstances in which millions of children are being raised.

Twenty years ago, the Kerner Commission warned that "our nation (was) moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal." Today, a new report, "Report of the 1988 Commission on the Cities: The Kerner Report Updated" warns that "there are 'quiet riots' in all of America's central cities: unemployment, poverty, social disorganization, family disintegration, housing and school deterioration, and crime are worse now."

It is too easy to blame youth violence on the spread of drugs or the easy availability of firearms. We have to ask why children consider violence an appropriate means for resolving their disputes and why, for thousands of children, has human life become so devalued? What are the conditions that leave youth so disconnected from the larger society and its institutions?

Today we will hear from teenagers who have been caught in the web of gang struggles and are working to remove themselves from it. We'll also hear from law enforcement and public health officials, gang workers and researchers, who will address why teenagers, and increasingly preteenagers, engage in violent acts, the extent to which these acts are drug-related, and what other factors make violence or gang affiliation attractive to youth.

We will also learn about successful strategies for giving youth a stake in their own future and the future of this nation.

I welcome all of the witnesses here this morning and appreciate your contributions to this very important discussion.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. GEORGE MILLER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA AND CHAIRMAN, SELECT COMMITTEE ON CHILDREN, YOUTH, AND FAMILIES

Over the past five years, the Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families has focused attention on numerous issues which pose serious threats to the future of America's children and their families.

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YOUTH AND VIOLENCE: THE CURRENT CRISIS

A FACT SHEET

VIOLENCE IS A MAJOR CAUSE OF DEATH AMONG ADOLESCENTS, YOUNG ADULTS

- Homicide is the second leading cause of death for all 15- to 24-year-olds in the United States. (Centers For Disease Control [CDC], 1986)
- Homicide is the leading cause of death for all black 15- to 24-year-olds. The rate of death for black men in this age group is seven times higher than the overall national rate. (CDC, 1986)
- 77% of homicide victims are male. (CDC, 1986)
- 80% of homicides occur between members of the same race. (CDC, 1986)
- Homicides are categorized as family homicides (15.8% of the total in 1980), homicides involving friends and acquaintances (32.9%), "stranger" homicides (12.8%) and "unknown" (34.4%). The "unknown" group are thought to be primarily stranger homicides as well. (American Medical Association, "White Paper on Adolescent Health," 1986)

TEENAGERS DISPROPORTIONATELY VICTIMS OF VIOLENT CRIME

- From 1982 through 1984, teenagers ages 12-19 experienced 1.8 million violent crimes annually, twice the rate of the adult population ages 20 and over. (Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics [BJS], 1986)
- Of all age groups, older teens (ages 16-19) have the highest victimization rate for violent crimes (excluding homicide). Younger teens (ages 12-15) have the third highest rate. (BJS, 1986)
- Among victims of violent crimes, older teens are more likely than the general population to be attacked by strangers. Younger teens are more likely to be attacked by non-strangers. (BJS, 1987)

AFTER A DECADE OF DECLINE, VIOLENT JUVENILE CRIME INCREASING

- The number of juveniles arrested for violent crime (homicide, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault) increased 9% between 1984 and 1986, after a 20% decline between 1974 and 1984. (Uniform Crime Reports [UCR], 1974-1986)

* Overall juvenile crime (misdemeanors and felonies) has been decreasing steadily since 1975, after a 300% increase between 1960 and 1975. The total number of arrests of juveniles in 1975 was 2,783,459; in 1986, it was 1,747,675. (UCR, 1960, 1975-1986)

* Most researchers attribute the drop in juvenile arrests between 1974 and 1984 to the reduced number of teenagers in the general population -- a direct result of dramatic declines in U.S. birth rates that began in 1966 (Krisberg, American Psychological Association, Division 37, Newsletter, Winter 1988)

HIGH PERCENTAGE OF YOUTH KILLED BY FIREARMS

* In 1986, 49% of the 2,484 homicide victims under the age of 19 were killed by firearms. Of all youth homicide victims, 51% of those ages of 10-14 and 67% of those ages 15-19 were killed by firearms. (UCR, 1986)

* More than 50% of black homicide victims were killed with handguns, compared to more than 40% of white homicide victims. (CDC, 1986)

* There are at least 400 unintentional firearm fatalities annually among children. Forty-five are under five years of age. (UCR, 1986)

OVERALL DRUG USE BY YOUTH DECLINING, BUT INCREASING AMONG JUVENILE ARRESTEES

* Overall drug usage, including cocaine use, among high school seniors declined between 1986 and 1987, although over half (57%) had tried an illicit drug at some time and over one-third (36%) had tried an illicit drug other than marijuana. (This survey does not include measures for the 15-20% of the age group who did not finish high school.) (Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1988)

* Currently, an estimated 35% of arrested juveniles in the District of Columbia, 42% in Maricopa County (Phoenix), Arizona, and 35% in Tampa, Florida, test positive for illicit drug use. (District of Columbia Pretrial Services Agency, 1988)

* Cocaine use among arrested juveniles in the District of Columbia has increased from a negligible number in 1984 to 22% in 1987, compared to an increase from 14% to 60% among adult arrestees during the same period. (District of Columbia Pretrial Services Agency, 1984-1988)

LIMITED STUDIES OFFER PROFILE OF VIOLENT JUVENILES

* Studies show that violent juvenile crime is often a random occurrence in a pattern of offenses which usually includes nonviolent offenses. (Wolfgang, Figlio, and Sellin, 1972; Hamparian, Schuster, Dinitz and Conrad, 1978; Shannon, 1980; Rojek and Erikson, 1982; Piper, 1983)

* UCR data show that young adults (ages 18-24) and older juveniles (ages 15-17) are disproportionately responsible for acts of criminal violence. (Zimring, 1979; Strasburg, 1984; Weiner and Wolfgang, 1985)

* Self reports and official records agree that male adolescents commit more violent and more serious crimes than their female counterparts. (Elliott and Huizinga, 1984; Weiner and Wolfgang, 1985)

* In a study of 1,222 youth, only 2% were arrested for violent offenses. Of the violent offenders, nearly one-third had five or more arrests and were responsible for two-thirds of all arrests. (Hamparian, 1985)

* Relatively few violent juvenile offenders are repeat violent offenders. Only 15.4% of the juveniles studied had been arrested for more than one violent crime as juveniles -- and fewer yet (8.1%) for robbery, rape, aggravated assault and homicide. (Hamparian, 1985)

DELINQUENCY STRONGLY CORRELATED TO CHILD ABUSE AND FAMILY VIOLENCE

* Delinquent juveniles, particularly institutionalized delinquent juveniles have significantly higher rates of child abuse than the general youth population. 26-55% of institutionalized juvenile offenders have official histories of child abuse. (Austin, National Council on Crime and Delinquency, testimony before the Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, May 1984)

* In a study of delinquents and nondelinquents, a history of abuse and/or family violence was the most significant variable in predicting membership in the delinquent group. Compared to their nondelinquent peers, delinquent adolescents were also more likely to suffer subtle forms of neurological impairment and severe psychiatric symptoms, and to have learning disabilities. (Lewis, et al, 1987)

* Studies of juveniles sentenced to death in the U.S. indicate that these youth are multiply handicapped; they tend to have suffered serious head injuries, injuries to the central nervous system, multiple psychotic symptoms since early childhood, and physical and sexual abuse. (Lewis, et al, 1986; Lewis, 1987)

YOUTH DETENTIONS INCREASING AND COSTLY

* In 1985, a one-day count of children in public and private detention and correctional facilities was preliminarily estimated at 83,000, a 3-4% increase from the 82,272 counted in 1983. Between 1979-1983, this one-day count had increased 11%. (Department of Justice, "Children In Custody: 1982-1983 Census", [DOJ, "Custody," 1986])

* During 1982, there were 624,928 admissions to juvenile facilities. Of these admissions, more than 500,000 were to public facilities; almost 90,000 were to private facilities. (DOJ, "Custody," 1986)

* Of delinquent juveniles in custody, 24% were violent offenders, 49% had committed crimes against property. (DOJ, "Custody", 1986)

* In 1982, juvenile facility expenditures totaled over $1.8 billion nationwide. (DOJ, "Custody," 1986)

JUVENILES HELD IN ADULT JAILS AND LOCK-UPS

* It is estimated that each year 300,000 to 479,000 juveniles are locked in adult jails nationwide. (BJS, 1985)

* Of the children held in adult jails annually, approximately 10% are held for serious offenses; 20% for "status offenses" such as underage drinking, sexual promiscuity, or running away; and 4% (over 19,000) without having committed any offense whatsoever. (BJS, 1985)

3/9/88

Chairman MILLER. At this point, I'd like to recognize the senior Republican on the Committee, Congressman Coats.

Mr. COATS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Over the past five years, the Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families has focused attention on numerous issues which pose serious threats to the future of America's children and their families. Today we address a particularly serious and growing crisis, the epidemic of gang warfare and violence among youth. This recent surge of youth violence is the tragic culmination of three insidious trends which we have examined in the past two years: he emergence of a new killer drug, crack cocaine; the re-emergence of race-related incidents among adolescents; and the anger that poverty instills in millions of young people.

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valued? What are the conditions that leave youth so disconnected from the larger society and its institutions?

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We will also learn about successful strategies for giving youth a stake in their own future and the future of this nation.

Chairman MILLER. Mr. Martinez?

Mr. MARTINEZ. Yes. Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you for holding this hearing. First of all, I think it's one of the very, very important questions that we have to answer: can we provide enough resources to correct the problems that exist in many of the neighborhoods similar to the ones I grew up in?

Let me tell you, I grew up in neighborhoods where there were nothing but gangs around us. I remember the names of the gangs, White Fence, Clanton, Modavia, Flats, et cetera, et cetera.

What many of us don't realize, who didn't live in an area like that or grew up in an area like that, is that, becoming a gang member becomes a matter of survival and then it becomes a way of life.

If you ask most of these young people for a definitive answer as to why they're gang members, they probably couldn't give you one. They'd have to sit and think a long time. It's like, "Everybody does it. There's no alternative. There are no options for us."

In many cases, the programs that have been very successful in the past are currently without funding. In the name of defense and because of austerity and because of budget deficits, we choose to attack those problems where there isn't a voting constituency to threaten us with our seats. But there are those of us, who have consciences that vote for funds for those programs.

Tragically, I think we can have a strong America. Strong in defense, but weak internally. We have neglected the domestic issues that make our country strong from within. Our greatest asset is our people. It's often said that youth are the future of America. Well, if that's true, I think we ought to be concerned with all youth, especially those youth that come from disadvantaged and impoverished neighborhoods. We need to put the programs there that help them realize that dream that we all talk about. The American dream of becoming a part of the mainstream and being successful to the ends that our talents and abilities and desire can carry us.

I find no joy in these hearings because it's a reminder of what once was, still is, and seems like will always be unless we determine to make the commitment to these young people and the young people of our country that we've made to other things in our society.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity to voice my sentiment. I am going to have to leave because I'm going to an awards ceremony for some young people that are making a difference in their lives and making a difference in all of America.

People that have received awards for their entrepreneurship in the Job Training Partnership Act and youth that have been volunteers in programs that help, aid and abet people that are trying to raise themselves out of the depths of depression and frustration.

Thank you.

Chairman MILLER. Mr. Packard?

Mr. PACKARD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I don't have a prepared statement, but I certainly do appreciate you calling this very timely and important hearing. Someone said that when you lose a man you know precisely what you've lost, but when you lose a child, a boy or a girl, you never know what you've lost. We can't allow our young people to lose their opportunity for success in America. So I appreciate your hearing. Thank you very much.

Chairman MILLER. Congressman Weiss?

Mr. WEISS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I simply want to express my appreciation to you also for convening these very timely and important hearings and to indicate that because of conflicts I will probably have to leave in about a half an hour. However I will read the transcript very carefully.

Chairman MILLER. Congressman Durbin?

Mr. DURBIN. Thanks, Mr. Chairman. I have no opening statement. I look forward to the testimony.

Chairman MILLER. Congressman Rowland?

Mr. ROWLAND. No opening statement, Mr. Chairman, just to congratulate you on this hearing. I think it's very important.

Chairman MILLER. Well, we'll wait until the end of the hearing to see that.

With that, we will begin with the first panel, which will be made up of Shawn Grant, who is 18 from Philadelphia; Ismael Huerta, who is 18 from Los Angeles, accompanied by Marianne Diaz-Parton, who is Coastal Unit Supervisor of the Community Youth Gang Services in Los Angeles; Mr. James Brown, who is a Juvenile Court probation officer from Portland, Oregon; John A. Carver, who is the Director of the District of Columbia Pretrial Services Agency in Washington, D.C.; and Major Julius Derico, who is the Section Commander, Special Unit from the Bureau of Police Safety in Atlanta, Georgia.

If you will come forward, we will take your testimony in the order in which I called your names. Just come up here and take a seat at the witness table. This is a very relaxed committee. We're going to ask you to proceed in the manner in which you are most comfortable.

If you need another chair there at the end, you can just pull one of them out of the first row and bring it up to the table.

We look forward to your testimony. Your prepared testimony will be placed in the record. We certainly want you to proceed in the manner in which you are most comfortable and in the manner which you think will be most helpful to the members of this Committee.

Again, I want to thank you for your time and your trouble to be with us this morning and with the help that you've provided the Committee prior to this hearing.

Shawn, we're going to start with you. Again, you just proceed in the manner in which you're most comfortable and tell us the story you want us to hear.

Is the microphone on? Just speak into it. There's nothing to click.

Mr. GRANT. It's not on.

Chairman MILLER. Well, let's see here. We'll get our act together here in a minute. It's coming. There we go. Now try it.

Okay, Shawn.

STATEMENT OF SHAWN GRANT, PHILADELPHIA, PA

Mr. GRANT. My name is Shawn Grant. I'm 18 years old and I live with my mother, my stepfather, a younger sister and brother in Southwest Philadelphia. I was encouraged to speak to you today by the Day Treatment Staff at Crisis Intervention Network, a city-wide agency that intervenes in youth violence and youth gang activity.

I am enrolled in the Day Treatment Program because I am on intensive probation as a result of committing a robbery. I committed the robbery because I was a gang member of the Cedar Avenue Gang. I have been a member of this gang for the past three years. We spend most of our time drinking beer, smoking marijuana, using a little cocaine. When we are high, we will do anything, like pick on people for nothing at all. The leader of the gang is 19 years old. He's been in this gang since he was ten years old. That's why he's the leader.

Like many of the other gang members, I grew up in a single parent home. Most of the time my father wasn't around. In my neighborhood, it's a lot of negative things, selling drugs. A lot of gang members' parents—you know, a lot of their parents use drugs off and on. Most of the guys don't see their parents that much.

We usually get together at houses, you know. We do not get in my house because my mother worked too hard for the little things that she do get. Some of them you can't trust at certain times.

When I was young, I used to wonder about my father. I also resented him not being around me. Now I really don't care. However, if I had a job and everything and something to do and a father around me, I wouldn't have been joined up in a gang. You know, they like gave me something like a father figure or something because I didn't have no father or nothing. The person in my life that's a male is my uncle who is a retired worker for the city.

We all used to get high. I'm the gang member with the most mouth when we get high. I am also doing better than most of the guys academically. Most of them that's in with me, most of them dropped out of school and everything. If I wasn't a gang member, I should be probably in junior college or something right now. But you know, I'm a year behind. I'm trying to get out this year.

I was placed on tentative probation. I started attending school regularly, my classes, observed the curfew. Some of my buddies, you know, they like laugh at me sometimes, but I'm just doing what I'm trying to do so I can get on the right track.

I've got a little younger brother. He's about five years old. If I get a good job and everything, I'll steer him out of the neighbor-

hood. Try to get him away from it and bring him up in a different environment.

I've still got to be around them because I just can't forget about my friends or anything like that, you know. Plus, a lot of them, they'll get with you anyway about that if you just walk away from them.

That's all I have to say.

[Prepared statement of Mr. Grant follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF SHAWN GRANT, PHILADELPHIA, PA

My name is Shawn Grant. I am eighteen (18) years old and I live with my mother, my stepfather, a younger sister and brother in Southwest Philadelphia. I was encouraged to speak to you today by the Day Treatment Staff at Crisis Intervention Network, a city wide agency that intervenes in youth violence and youth gang activity.

I am enrolled in the Day Treatment Program because I am involved in intensive probation as a result of commiting a robbery. I committed the robbery because I am a member of the Cedar Avenue Gang. I have been a member for the past three years. We spend our time getting high by drinking beer, smoking marijuana, and using a little cocaine. When we are high we will do anything- We pick with people and may commit certain crimes. There are more than 100 gang members. The leader is a nine-teen year old who has been a member since he was ten (10) years old.

Like many of the other gang members I grew up in a single parent household. My father has had little contact with me since I was one (1) year old. In my neighborhood, a lot of negative things go on. People sell drugs; a lot of the gang members' parents use drugs and often these guys do not see their parents. Mostly, guys do not talk about their families.

We usually get together at other guys houses. We do not usually meet at my house because my mother has a lot of nice things and I think that some of the guys may steal something or break something.

When I was young I use to wonder about my father. I also resented his not being involved in my life. Now I do not care. However, I think that I would not have become involved in a gang if I had had a job and if my father had had a relationship with me. The only significant adult male in my life is an uncle who retired after working for the city.

When we all get high, I am the gang member with the most mouth. I am also doing better than all the other members academically. They are either drop-outs or they are behind in their grades. I am the only member who is in the twelfth (12th) grade. If I had not become a member of the gang I would be out of high school and attending college now. When I joined the gang I stopped going to school or I did poorly. When I was placed on intensive probation, I started attending school regularly and doing well in class. I must also observe curfew. The other gang members laugh at me. I hang with them when I can. I can't leave the gang because they would get with me - they would probably hurt me for trying to leave. My mother does not know that I am a member of the Cedar Avenue gang; she just knows that I hang around with a group of guys.

If we still live in the same neighborhood when my five (5) year old brother comes of age, I plan to steer him away from the gang. I do not like being a member but I have no choice.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you very much. Ismael?

STATEMENT OF ISMAEL HUERTA, LOS ANGELES, CA

Mr. HUERTA. Yes. My name is Ismael Huerta. I got involved in gangs for the reason that all my friends were doing it. It was the thing and I regret it now because I can't go nowhere without being followed by rival gang members.

I've been shot at many times. I've never been hit. The reason I came here was to tell you guys what it's really like out on the streets.

Where I come from, most of the gang members do sell drugs to get weapons. The weapons we use are automatic rifles, machine guns, Uzis. A couple of my friends have grenades.

I started getting involved with gangs when I was 15 and I really got jumped into a gang when I was 16. We hang out on street corners drinking beer. Some of my friends send me drugs to get loaded on.

I don't go to school. I dropped out for the reason that I was involved in a gang and I was getting harassed by other gang members in that school. So, I got kicked out of regular high school and got sent to a continuation school. I was forced to drop out because I have too much fights in that school and they told me that it would be better for me not to come back. So I decided to drop out.

My parents were affected by this because my house was getting shot at by rival gang members. I'm never home most of the time, so that really affected them because I don't know if either one of them was going to get shot when I was on the street. So, they could have been looking for me and my parents could have been the ones to have gotten shot. I'm glad that hasn't happened.

So I'm trying to get my life straightened out, and this lady right here is helping me. She's a big part of it now because she's trying to get me involved into sports and different activities than to hang out with the fellows out in the street.

That's really it for right now.

[Prepared statement of Ismael Huerta follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF ISMAEL HUERTA, LOS ANGELES, CA

I started getting into gangs by hanging with guys known as "Insanity Boys" who weren't really a gang, but would hang out together because they lived in the same neighborhood, and went to the same schools. Sometimes we would breakdance. We started getting harassed by other gangs who thought we were a gang because we were writing on the walls trying to get known, and they were crossing us out, and then we would cross them out. When you have your name on the wall and someone crosses it out, they want some trouble with you. They want to see how crazy you are.

We started hanging with this gang named Lennox which is where we live and we asked them for help to back us up with these other gangs who would come looking for us. Then they said, why don't you get jumped into Lennox since they're already looking for you guys, and since we lived in Lennox. The rival gangs assumed that we were from Lennox gang, so then I joined it. I was about 16 at the time. I started late but made up for it. I tried to get crazy all at once. I would jump people with my friends, letting them know I'm from the Lennox gang and telling them that they should remember me.

I was going to school, but once I got into the gang I started having problems at school. Other rival gang members would come looking for me and some of my friends. They caught us a couple of times and they beat us up. Then one of my friends got stabbed and shot while I was there. So they kicked us out of school, and sent us to another school. They took us to a continuation school, which is worse because that's where they send all the gang members, and you're put in with rival gang members. So I dropped out because I was tired of getting messed with and the school said they were tired of us messing up.

If I was to start all over, I never would have gotten in this. The reason I don't want to be in the gang anymore is because I can't go out to other places unless its my neighborhood. I would get messed with if I went by myself, so when I go away from Lennox, there's always ten of us, and one of us alwys has a gun, or we aren't going anywhere.

Another reason is the way it affected my younger brother. He decided to do the same thing I did. He was 14, and he started getting messed with because he was my brother

I tried to keep the fact I was in the gang away from my parents, but they found out because of the way I started changing. There were days I wouldn't come home. They would get all worried. Then they found out that my friends were getting shot at and stabbed, and they would tell me that it might be me getting shot at or stabbed one of those days.

That's another problem. My parents get worried about me.

One time, the rival gang members wanted to get me, and shot at my house. They thought that I was there. So that's why I got real worried. That's why I regret getting into this, because I'm never home. When they shoot at the house, they are shooting at my family. We've had to replace windows in my car, and in the house. Every window in my car has been shot at, broken out with a bat, had rocks thrown at it, bricks thrown at it.

Now I can't get out. Sometimes I want to get out. But I think that I'll have to come back, because if something happens to one of my friends, I'll have to help him out. Where I come from, a gang is like family. You grow up with the guys, and one person does one thing and every one wants to do the same thing. Another reason I can't get out is that I could start dressing differently, but a member of another gang would always remember what I did to him. It wouldn't matter that I wasn't from the gang, I'd still be the same person who had done those things before.

The Youth Gang Services have really helped me and my close friends out because they've told us what they've been through. They tried to explain to us that we're reallly into it, and that we should kick back now. They tell us don't go looking for trouble. They know how it is. They try to keep us off the street by setting up football games with rival gangs which we got along with. They don't do now because of budget cuts. We would be out playing football and basketball, and the community would gve us trophies and food. Now they don't do it.

Another reason I can't get ahead in this world is because I can't get a job because of my appearance. They think that just because I'm a gang member, I'll probably rob them. If I do find a job, I'll get messed with by another gang if they find out I work there.

That happened with my last job. Three rival gang members found out where I worked and chased me around the building. One of the guys had a knife. I was working at a lawyers office, filing and running copies. If I do have a job, its got to be in my neighborhood.

That 's why most of my friends sell drugs. We'd get money to buy guns to protect ourselves from other people. I don't sell drugs anymore. Now I help out my friends and cousins, painting. When I do get money, I give it to my mother. I live with my mother and my father, 3 brothers, and one sister. My dad works, and my dad believes I should be a responsible adult. But when I do get money, they ask if its from drugs. If it is, they say that they don't want dirty money. That's why I have to do it right.

I like cars. I would like to get into a career where I could repair or paint cars. I'm planning on going back to school to get my GED, so I can go for career training. Now I want to get a job for a while, and then go back to school after the summer is over. I think that I will go to night school because most gang members hang out at night in their neighborhood, and they won't know that I'm in school.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you. Marianne?

STATEMENT OF MARIANNE DIAZ-PARTON, COASTAL UNIT SUPERVISOR, COMMUNITY YOUTH GANG SERVICES, LOS ANGELES, CA

Ms. DIAZ-PARTON. I'm Marianne Diaz-Parton. I'm employed by the Community Youth Gang Service and a former gang member.

My interest in gang activity is very personal. Having lived through it and survived, I'm hoping to do the same for other youth who are going through a very tough time having to deal with even more violence than I had to.

The whole make-up of gangs has changed dramatically. It has gone from traditional turf wars and mostly street fighting to sophisticated weaponry, drug money and random killings. I have been most concerned with the youth who have not yet chosen gang membership and I've done everything I can to prevent that choice.

As I look for alternatives, there really aren't that many set up for our youth. There used to be a time when kids came from two parent homes, had a school that gave you personal attention and had activities that kept them out of trouble. A lot of our youth now come from single parent homes and those who don't come from a family of two working parents. Schools have very little time for gang involved youth and would rather kick the youth out of school and try to solve the school's problem rather than solve the youth's problem. I also feel that the community as a whole would rather sweep the problem under the carpet than face the problem head on and come up with some solutions.

As with anything else, money is the basic need for any program that's going to survive and the money never seems to be there when it comes to saving our youth. There's always billions when it comes to saving someone else's country.

I know the reality of facing death head on and serving time in the state, not federal, penitentiary for gang activity. There was no form of rehabilitation in the joint. In fact, had it not been for some very concerned people, one being a deputy sheriff from the Lennox Department, I may have come out more hardened and crazier than when I went in. The gang activity is more condensed and aggressive in the joint and it does not serve as a punishment for youth. It gives them the stripes in their neighborhoods that give them some respect.

The gangs run on a system very similar to most businesses. They have managers, middle management, steering committees and employees, and everyone is trying to get to the top. That happens through violence.

Youth Gang Services has been struggling for six years through budget cuts, through people saying how unorthodox we are, and through some politicians wondering how they can allow ex-felons and ex-gang members to go out and try to redirect our youth. I say to that, an alcoholic doesn't want to be talked to by someone who's never been there and a Vietnam vet doesn't want to hear from a psychologist how to deal with his problem. A gang member wants to be talked to by someone who understands from the heart, from experience and from caring; not from some forced court order to

deal with somebody but to be treated like a human being, which they are.

It's been hard for me to understand why the country, the state or anyone else didn't jump on this problem in its infancy. Why did they wait until we had all out wars on our streets? Why did they wait until some non-gang territories were being frequented by some gang members? Why did people wait until then to try to stop the problem?

The organization I work for employs just under 50 street-wise counselors to deal with approximately 500,000 gang members. I call this a Band-aid on a severed arm. It seems to me it is destined to fail. Our agency is constantly trying to do things without the resources to do them, but we were successful in bringing down gang violence until 1984 when cocaine came into the picture. Traditional gang violence was something that could be dealt with on a gang level and we were successful.

But when you start talking about thousands of dollars, millions of dollars that have been unaccessible in the past to our youth, it is almost impossible to convince them that gaining some of the material things that every American wants is not right. The fancy cars, cellular phones, gold, money are very alluring to kids on the street. Drug dealers know this and they prey on our youth and profit by them.

Gang members are perfect targets. They are already organized. They have been turned down by every traditional way of earning money because of their color, the possibility of their being a gang member and their past criminal record. They find it easier to go to "the main man" and make a few hundred a day, even if it means possible imprisonment, injury or death.

Gang warfare has become more sophisticated because of the ability to buy sophisticated weaponry. We now deal with automatic weapons, Uzis and gang members with grenades. They buy all this with drug money. They also acquire weapons through people who are strung out on cocaine who commit robberies and burglaries, bring weapons they have gotten through these crimes and trade them for whatever cocaine the gang members will give up.

I feel that law enforcement is a needed force in the community and that they need to target the drug dealers. Also, there are some gang members who deserve everything they get. But the majority are just misguided kids looking for attention and trying to fill the empty spaces. They need to be worked with and guided by people who really care. The kids can see through a fake and they will clam up. I know it's possible because someone cared about me. I felt it in my heart and I am where I am today because of that person.

I have been successful with at least 50 youth whom I can count. They're the ones who keep me going on this job, telling me that if it wasn't for me and the time I put into them as people and not as hoodlums, as a lot of people like to call them—I have gang members who are now in the service, owning their own businesses, counseling youth as I do and some going into the police academy. It took a lot of convincing, wheeling and dealing with officials to let them get that far, but we can't scrap all our youth and put them in one category and say we're going to wipe out youth gangs.

Prevention is the key. Schools need to allow people who are capable of counseling these youth, counseling the teachers, counseling their parents, bringing people to understand that giving up on these kids is giving up on our future. I hope you never have to look in your backyard and see the problem creeping into your part of town and killing somebody close to you. Bullets don't have a name on them and when they start flying, they don't stop until they hit something.

That's it.

[Prepared statement of Marianne Diaz-Parton follows:]

Prepared Statement of Marianne Diaz-Parton, Coastal Unit Supervisor, Community Youth Gang Services, Los Angeles, CA

I am Marianne Diaz-Parton, employed by Community Youth Gang Services in Los Angeles and a former gang member. My interest in gang activity is very personal. Having lived through it and survived, I'm hoping to do the same for other youth who are going through a very tough time having to deal with even more violence than I had to. The whole make-up of gangs has changed dramatically. It has gone from the traditional turf wars and mostly street fighting to sophisticated weaponry, drug money, and random killings. I have been most concerned with the youth who have not yet chosen gang membership, and I have done everything I can to prevent that choice.

As I look around for alternatives, there really aren't that many set up for our youth. There used to be a time when kids came from two parent homes, had a school that gave you personal attention, and had activities that kept them out of trouble. A lot of our youth now come from single parent homes, and those who don't come from a family of two working parents. Schools have very little time for gang-involved youth, and would rather kick the youth out of school and try to solve the school's problem rather than solve the youth's problem. I also feel that the community as a whole would rather sweep the problem under the carpet rather than face the problem head-on and come up with some solutions.

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Chairman MILLER. That's it. Thank you. Mr. Brown?

STATEMENT OF JAMES BROWN, JUVENILE COURT PROBATION OFFICER, MULTNOMAH COUNTY JUVENILE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT, PORTLAND, OR

Mr. BROWN. Honorable members of the House Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, and thank you, Mr. Chairman, for allowing me to come back from Portland to speak to this Committee.

The spring of 1987 saw the beginning of numerous phone calls to the office of the Northeast Coalition of Neighborhoods, a community-based advocacy program located in Inner-Northeast Portland. The phone calls were from residents commenting on the increasing numbers of drug houses, incidents of harassment and intimidation by groups of youth and discussions of youth centering on gang affiliations.

The Juvenile Court of Multnomah County, Oregon, through its district office, began receiving phone calls from parents indicating that their children were being assaulted for wearing red clothing. Juveniles on probation were discussing with their peers those juveniles who were joining up with the "Crips" and the "Bloods." The appearance of graffiti in the inner-northeast area of Portland referencing specific monikers and gang organizations from Southern California seemed to indicate more than a passing fad.

The connection between the influence of L.A. based gangs to the Portland area had little to do with the desire to establish gang groups or sets. The overwhelming reason established by the police, by community members, agency staff and gang members themselves was quite simply money. The drug trafficking business was more lucrative to apply their trade in Portland than in Southern California. We asked why and they said that three times the amount of money could be made by coming to Portland, Oregon, a little more than 19 hours distance from Southern California. Less notoriety and recognition by police authorities, less jail space, lighter penalties or consequences and fewer competitors.

Juveniles from L.A. indicated that Portland was virgin territory due to its lack of awareness and a system to respond to gang-related criminal activity. It is noted that in May of 1987, the police bureau identified no more than 20 individuals with L.A. gang connections operating in the city. A year later, we are now looking at 150 plus individuals with connections to L.A. based gangs.

As is true in most metropolitan areas, Portland has its pockets of urban blight and decay, complete with crime, high unemployment and youth ripe for new experiences, legal or illegal. The influx of L.A. gang members brought with them the ability to attract youth at risk, youth in need of income, direction and purpose. Their greatest asset was simple, money and the youths' own need for a sense of belonging, regardless of the activity.

This has given rise to a generation of Portland "Crips," youth who model the behaviors and attitudes, real and perceived, of L.A. based gang members. Many of these youth number approximately 30 in May of 1987. They were known to us in the Juvenile Division. It is now estimated that some 400 to 500 youth are involved in

gang activity. It is estimated that 25 percent of the males 13 to 17 years old housed at our county detention facility are gang members or associates.

Since May, the Police Bureau has kept statistics on gang-related crime. There have been approximately 180 incidents that can be confirmed as gang related; drive by shootings, armed assaults, strong-armed robberies, rape and sodomy, harassment, intimidation and menacing violations. The increase in the use of weapons, specifically handguns, by juveniles has caused law enforcement, school authorities, Juvenile Justice Division, and community-based organizations to consider today's delinquent in a different light than years passed.

The Juvenile Court has reported a 62 percent increase in the last 12 months of violent crimes committed by juveniles. School police authorities and Portland Police Bureau officers say that the use of handguns as part of a criminal act are particularly on the increase. The increase in gun availability through on-street purchases as cheap as $20.00 gives the high risk juvenile esteem among peers and bargaining power when confronted by rivals.

In less than one week, on my caseload alone, I received two cases involving juveniles 14 and 15 years using weapons in the commission of a crime. One, a 44-magnum revolver, the other a sawed off 12-gauge shotgun. This may not seem unusual for the larger metropolitan cities, but for the Portland experience it is vivid and frightening.

An influx of gang related activity centering around recruiting parties, with average attendance being 100 to 150 youths on a monthly basis, in the last four and a half months have seen one fatality, drive-by shootings, the most recent being Friday, February 26, 1988 which left two young adults injured, one with a serious head wound, the other with a serious chest wound.

An increase in the number of drug houses being raided by the Police Bureau has shown connections with "blood gangs" from South-Central L.A. and "Crip gangs" from L.A. With each raid there is confiscated money, drugs, crack cocaine and weapons. According to youth on my caseload, numerous juveniles are working as runners, spotters or doormen, earning $100.00 a night for their effort. This is in contrast to the $3.35 an hour earned if a job can be found. The kids are no longer interested in what they are calling "McJobs."

According to the Portland school superintendent, youth gangs are the number one problem confronting the schools and community today. Last year, it was dropouts. Schools are a focal point for the vast majority of Portland youth. Aside from academic virtues and athletic competitions engendered at the high school level, youth gangs have come to represent a clear and present danger to the wellbeing of all students in school.

School police note that the number of weapons-related charges issued by offices has increased. They are no long confiscating knives and chains. They are now confiscating handguns, sawed- off shotguns and Uzis. Increases in gang assaults and robberies in school campuses, along with students admitting involvement in Crip gangs and Blood gangs has caused the school district to implement a plan that focuses on removing gang involved youth from

schools, checking the schools for weapons, instituting curriculum designed to deter youth from gang activity and holding parent information meetings.

On January 12th of this year, the youth gang issue in Portland became frighteningly apparent when violence erupted at a high school basketball game between Bloods and Crips, injuring two police officers and several youth.

It has been said by folks here at the witness table that gang membership and associations can have a negative impact on families. As well, it can have a negative impact on the close friends of gang members.

In Portland, we are finding that gangs are race specific. Black kids are involved with black gangs, Asian youths are involved with Asian gangs and white youth are exclusively involved with white gangs. The ages tend to be in the 14 to 17 year old range and yet we are finding currently 10 to 13 year olds who emulate the behavior of the 14 to 17 year olds. Those youth are emulating the behavior of the 19 to 20 year olds.

At-risk youth lack hobbies. They have little supervised leisure time. They're experiencing frequent negative contact with the police. They're having problems at home, they're associating with peers, they're involved in gangs or dressing in gang clothing. Youth members are involved in robbery, assaults, assaults with weapons, rape and sodomy, motor-vehicle-related crime, burglary, drug possession and drug trafficking.

In defining a gang, the Juvenile Justice Division has come with a definition that reads, "A group of people who interact at a high rate among themselves to the exclusion of other groups, have a group name, claim a neighborhood or other territory; and engage in criminal and other antisocial behavior on a regular basis."

The standard response, as Marianne indicated, is one of disbelief. Initial denial by law enforcement was instituted so as not to inflame the situation or give credence to neighborhood concerns. Further, a desire to limit or downplay rumors centered around the need to not turn the issue into a media event. Disbelief has shown itself in a political nature. "Portland isn't L.A. and it can't happen here," followed the Community Youth Gang Task Force through its early formation. The city of Portland has alternately been called one of the most liveable cities in America and prides itself on its vision and ability to attract new industry, adding to its employment base and the general well-being of its residents.

The youth gang issue, along with the emergences of drug houses, burglary, robberies and homicides, has threatened the political entities already sensitive to jail space issues, high unemployment issues for minority youth and crime concerns in general.

The outrage that we find is evident on several levels. For those who are living in the gang impacted areas, the questions are, "Where does this end? What can we do? Why aren't the authorities doing anything? I cannot afford to move away because I'm stuck." In the more affluent neighborhoods, residents are showing a split response, on the one hand requesting information and training from the courts, the police and the schools on how to identify gangs and how to prevent gangs; and at the same time they're requesting the media give less coverage to the problem, indicating that with-

out this coverage the problem will go away. Police intelligence shows that it is not going away. The L.A. based gang members are moving and establishing residences in those areas of the city and the county generally felt to be crime free.

The movements of these gang members are bold and aggressive. The response from law enforcement, corrections, schools and the community must be equally so. The action phase and response to the youth gang issue in Portland has included the formation of a community based Youth Gang Task Force, comprised of neighborhood associations, juvenile court, school police, Department of Police Bureau, community youth agencies and neighborhood residents.

On Wednesday, February 24th, this group received $55,000 from the city of Portland to establish an information hot line and to fund two youth outreach worker positions. A $31,000 grant from the United Way is in the process of being awarded to this task force as well.

We are meeting on a monthly basis with the Police Gang Intelligence Work Group, representing some 40 members of police organizations, transit police, Adult Probation and Parole, Juvenile Justice Division, State Parole, and Federal Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms agents. An Asian gang task force, the Portland Police Bureau, the school police and the Juvenile Justice Division and Southeast Asian refugee business and civic leaders also meet on a weekly basis.

The division has submitted a $180,000 program request to establish a unit comprised of six staff. The police have requested, in its fiscal year 1988/1989 budget, funds for a street gang unit comprised of approximately eight officers. The schools are developing gang intervention curriculum to be introduced in September of '88 to all middle and high school students.

It is noted that the organizations and agencies working on an through the youth gang task force continue to develop service plans designed to inhibit the proliferation of youth gangs. We acknowledge that we cannot stop youth gangs any more than we can stop crime. We do believe that the community can be empowered to resist the encroachment of youth gangs. With the assistance of law enforcement, corrections and the community, with all relevant service and education agencies working in a multi-faceted approach, we believe that swift and appropriate responses to the youth gang activity will be employed.

The city of Portland has decided it will not be a victim. We intend to combat gang infiltration with every means at our disposal. The alternative would be to turn over large areas of our city, significant numbers of our youth, especially minority youth, to this urban cancer. Such an alternative is completely and wholly unacceptable.

I thank you for your time and your attention.

[Prepared statement of James Brown follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JAMES BROWN, JUVENILE COURT PROBATION OFFICER, MULTNOMAH COUNTY JUVENILE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT, PORTLAND, OR

I. PROBLEM: THE SPRING OF 1987 SAW THE BEGINNING OF NUMEROUS PHONE CALLS TO THE OFFICE OF THE NORTHEAST COALITION OF NEIGHBORHOODS, A COMMUNITY BASED ADVOCACY PROGRAM LOCATED IN INNER-NORTHEAST PORTLAND. THE PHONE CALLS WERE FROM NEIGHBORHOOD RESIDENTS COMMENTING ON THE INCREASING NUMBERS OF DRUG HOUSES, INCIDENCES OF HARASSMENT AND INTIMIDATION BY GROUPS OF YOUTH, AND DISCUSSIONS OF YOUTH CENTERING ON GANG AFFILIATIONS. THE JUVENILE JUSTICE DIVISION OF MULTNOMAH COUNTY DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN SERVICES, THROUGH ITS' NORTHEAST DISTRICT OFFICE, BEGAN RECEIVING PHONE CALLS FROM PARENTS INDICATING THAT THEIR CHILDREN WERE BEING ASSAULTED FOR WEARING "RED CLOTHING". PROBATION JUVENILES WERE DISCUSSING THEIR PEERS WHO WERE JOINING UP WITH THE "CRIPS" AND "BLOODS". THE APPEARANCE OF GRAFFITI IN THE INNER-NORTHEAST AREA OF PORTLAND REFERENCING SPECIFIC MONIKERS AND GANG ORGANIZATIONS FROM SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA SEEMED TO INDICATE MORE THAN A PASSING FAD.

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BY MAY 1987 STAFF OF THE NORTHEAST COALITION OFFICE, THE JUVENILE JUSTICE DIVISION, PORTLAND PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND YOUTH SERVICE CENTERS BEGAN CONVERSATIONS AND MEETINGS ON ALLEGED GANG ACTIVITY IN THE NORTH-NORTHEAST AREA. THE CONSENSUS FROM THESE EARLY SESSIONS WAS THAT PERCEPTIONS WERE DEVELOPING IN THE COMMUNITY THAT L.A. GANGS WERE IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD AND HAD BEEN IN THERE FOR SOME TIME. IN ATTEMPTS TO CLARIFY THESE QUESTIONS MORE WERE RAISED. SPECIFICALLY, POLICE BUREAU AND SCHOOL POLICE AUTHORITIES INDICATED THAT AS FEW AS FOUR OR FIVE MEMBERS WITH CONNECTIONS TO L.A. GANGS HAD BEEN THROUGH THE AREA. FURTHER, LITTLE ACTIVITY WAS OCCURING AT THE SCHOOL LEVEL. GIVEN THE CONFLICTING INFORMATION FROM ENFORCEMENT PERSONNEL, IT WAS DECIDED THAT AN INFORMATION MEETING TO DISCUSS THE ISSUE OF GANG ACTIVITY, REAL OR PERCEIVED, WOULD BE HELD. ON MAY 21, 1987, 20+ REPRESENTATIVES FROM PORTLAND POLICE BUREAU, NORTHEAST NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATIONS, JUVENILE JUSTICE DIVISION, YOUTH SERVICE CENTERS, PORTLAND PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND OFFICES OF THE MAYOR AND COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC SAFETY MET AT THE KING NEIGHBORHOOD FACILITY. IT WAS NOTED THAT THE ISSUE OF L.A. GANG MEMBERS IN THE PORTLAND AREA HAD SURFACED IN THE PRIOR YEAR, AND AS A RESULT, AN INCREASE IN ASSAULT AND ROBBERIES WERE EVIDENT IN CERTAIN SECTORS OF THE CITY. THE MAJOR FOCUS, ACCORDING TO PORTLAND POLICE BUREAU INTELLIGENCE WAS IN DRUG TRAFFICKING, SPECIFICALLY CRACK/COCAINE.

II. CAUSAL RELATIONSHIP: A CONNECTION BETWEEN THE INFLUX OF L.A. BASED GANGS TO THE PORTLAND AREA HAD LITTLE TO DO WITH THE DESIRE TO ESTABLISH NEW "SETS" (GANG GROUPS). THE OVERWHELMING REASON ESTABLISHED BY POLICE INTELLIGENCE, COMMUNITY MEMBERS, AGENCY STAFF, AND GANG MEMBERS THEMSELVES WAS, QUITE SIMPLY, MONEY. IN THE DRUG TRAFFICKING BUSINESS IT WAS MORE LUCRATIVE TO APPLY THEIR TRADE IN PORTLAND THAN IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA. THE WHYS INCLUDED THREE TIMES THE DOLLAR PROFIT (THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN $400 AN OUNCE AND $1,200 to $1,500 AN OUNCE FOR CRACK COCAINE), LESS NOTORIETY AND RECOGNITION BY POLICE AUTHORITIES, LESS JAIL SPACE (THEREFORE LIGHTER PENALTIES OR CONSEQUENCES), AND FEWER COMPETITORS. FURTHER, JUVENILES FROM L.A. INDICATED THAT PORTLAND WAS "VIRGIN TERRITORY" DUE TO ITS' LACK OF AWARENESS AND A SYSTEM TO RESPOND TO GANG RELATED CRIMINAL ACTIVITY. IT IS NOTED THAT IN MAY OF 1987 PORTLAND POLICE BUREAU IDENTIFIED 20 INDIVIDUALS WITH L.A. GANG CONNECTIONS OPERATING IN THE CITY. BY JANUARY 1988 THAT NUMBER HAD RISEN TO 150+ INDIVIDUALS WITH CONNECTIONS TO L.A. BASED GANGS.

AS IS TRUE IN MOST METROPOLITAN AREAS, PORTLAND HAS ITS' POCKETS OF URBAN BLIGHT AND DECAY, COMPLETE WITH CRIME, HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT, AND YOUTH RIPE FOR NEW EXPERIENCES, LEGAL OR ILLEGAL. THE INFLUX OF L.A. GANG MEMBERS BROUGHT WITH THEM THE ABILITY TO ATTRACT YOUTH AT RISK, YOUTH IN NEED OF INCOME, DIRECTION AND PURPOSE. THEIR GREATEST ASSEST WAS SIMPLE, MONEY, AND THE YOUTHS OWN NEED FOR A SENSE OF BELONGING, REGARDLESS OF THE ACTIVITY.

THIS GAVE RISE TO THE GENERATION OF PORTLAND "CRIPS", YOUTH WHO MODELED THE BEHAVIORS AND ATTITUDES, REAL AND PERCEIVED, OF L.A. BASED GANG MEMBERS. MANY OF THESE YOUTH, NUMBERING IN APPROXIMATELY 30 IN MAY OF 1987, WERE KNOWN TO JUVENILE JUSTICE DIVISION STAFF, MOST WERE ON PROBATION OF PAROLE TO THE STATE TRAINING SCHOOL SYSTEM. BY AUGUST 1987 THE MAJORITY OF THE YOUTHS WERE TARGETED BY THE POLICE AND JUVENILE JUSTICE DIVISION AND COMMITTED TO THE STATE JUVENILE CORRECTIONS SYSTEM. BY FEBRUARY 1988, IT IS NOW ESTIMATED THAT SOME 400 to 500 YOUTH ARE INVOLVED IN GANG ACTIVITY. IT IS ESTIMATED THAT 25% OF MALES 13 to 17 HOUSED AT MULTNOMAH COUNTY JUVENILE JUSTICE DIVISION, DONALD E. LONG HOME ARE GANG MEMBERS OR ASSOCIATES.

III. AFFECTS:

A. CRIME INCREASE: SINCE MAY 1987 PORTLAND POLICE BUREAU'S NORTH PRECINCT HAS KEPT STATISTICS ON GANG RELATED CRIME OUT OF THE INNER-NORTHEAST SECTOR. THERE HAVE BEEN APPRDXIMATELY 180 INCIDENTS THAT CAN BE CONFIRMED AS GANG RELATED. THESE INCLUDE DRIVE-BY SHOOTINGS, ARMED ASSAULTS, STRONG-ARMED ROBBERY, ARMED ROBBERIES, ASSAULTS BY GROUPS, RAPE AND SODOMY, HARASSMENT, INTIMIDATION AND MENACING LAW VIOLATIONS. THE INCREASE IN THE USE OF WEAPONS, SPECIFICALLY HANDGUNS, BY JUVENILES HAS CAUSED LAW ENFORCEMENT, SCHOOL AUTHORITIES, JUVENILE JUSTICE DIVISION, AND COMMUNITY BASED

ORGANIZATIONS TO CONSIDER TODAY'S DELINQUENT IN A DIFFERENT LIGHT THAN YEARS PASSED. THE JUVENILE JUSTICE DIVISION IN MULTNOMAH COUNTY REPORTED A 62% INCREASE IN THE LAST 12 MONTHS OF VIOLENT CRIMES COMMITTED BY JUVENILES. CONVERSATIONS WITH SCHOOL POLICE AUTHORITIES AND PORTLAND POLICE BUREAU OFFICERS SAY THAT THE USE OF HANDGUNS AS PART OF A CRIMINAL ACT ARE PARTICULARLY ON THE INCREASE. THE INCREASE IN GUN AVAILABILITY THROUGH ON-STREET PURCHASES, AS CHEAP AS $20.00 GIVES THE HIGH-RISK JUVENILE ESTEEM AMONG PEERS, AND BARGAINING POWER WHEN CONFRONTED BY RIVALS. IN LESS THAN ONE WEEK THIS COUNSELOR HAS RECEIVED TWO CASES INVOLVING JUVENILES, 14 to 15 YEARS WITH WEAPONS, A LOADED 44 MAGNUM REVOLVER AND A SAWED-OFF 12-GAGE SHOTGUN. THIS MAY NOT SEEM UNUSUAL FOR THE LARGER METROPOLITAN CITIES, BUT FOR THE PORTLAND EXPERIENCE IT IS VIVID AND FRIGHTENING. AN INFLUX OF GANG RELATED ACTIVITY CENTERING AROUND "RECRUITING PARTIES" (WITH AVERAGE ATTENDANCE BEING 100 to 150 YOUTH ON A ONCE-A-MONTH BASIS), IN THE LAST FOUR AND A HALF MONTHS HAS SEEN ONE FATALITY (BY STABBING), NUMEROUS "DRIBE-BY SHOOTINGS", MOST RECENTLY ON FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1988, WHICH LEFT TWO YOUNG ADULTS INJURED, ONE WITH A SERIOUS HEAD WOUND AND THE OTHER WITH CHEST WOUND. AN INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF DRUG HOUSES BEING RAIDED BY PORTLAND POLICE BUREAU HAS SHOWN CONNECTIONS WITH "BLOOD GANGS" FROM SOUTH-CENTRAL L.A. AND "CRIP GANGS". WITH EACH RAID THERE IS CONFISCATED MONEY, DRUGS (CRACK, COCAINE) AND WEAPONS. ACCORDING TO YOUTH NUMEROUS JUVENILES ARE WORKING THESE HOUSES AS "RUNNERS",

"SPOTTERS" OR "DOORMEN", EARNING $100 A NIGHT FOR THEIR EFFORT. THIS IS IN CONTRAST TO THE $3.35 HOUR WAGE EARNED IF A JOB CAN BE FOUND. THESE YOUTH ARE ARMED. HOW SHORT IS THE TIME WHEN A COMMUNITY BECOMES OUTRAGED AT THE DEATH OF JUVENILE SHOT WHILE PROTECTING HIS MERCHANDISE?

B. SCHOOL PROBLEMS: ACCORDING TO THE PORTLAND PUBLIC SCHOOLS SUPERINTENDENT "YOUTH GANGS ARE THE NUMBER ONE PROBLEM CONFRONTING THE SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITY TODAY". SCHOOLS ARE A FOCAL POINT FOR THE VAST MAJORITY OF PORTLAND YOUTH. ASIDE FROM THE ACADEMIC VIRTUES, AND ATHLETIC COMPETITIONS ENGENDERED AT THE HIGH SCHOOL LEVEL, YOUTH GANGS HAVE COME TO REPRESENT THE CLEAR AND PRESENT DANGER TO THE WELL-BEING OF STUDENTS IN SCHOOL. SCHOOL POLICE NOTE THAT THE NUMBER OF WEAPONS-RELATED CHARGES ISSUED BY OFFICERS HAVE INCREASED (THROUGH CONFISCATING KNIVES AND CHAINS TO HANDGUNS AND SAWED-OFF SHOTGUNS). INCREASES IN GANG ASSAULTS AND ROBBERIES IN SCHOOL CAMPUSES, ALONG WITH STUDENTS ADMITTING INVOLVEMENT IN CRIP GANGS AND BLOOD GANGS HAS CAUSED THE DISTRICT TO IMPLEMENT A PLAN THAT FOCUSES ON REMOVING GANG-INVOLVED YOUTH FROM SCHOOLS, CHECKING THE SCHOOLS FOR WEAPONS, INSTITUTING CURRICULUM DESIGNED TO DETER YOUTH FROM GANG ACTIVITY AND HOLDING PARENT INFORMATION MEETINGS CENTERED AROUND AWARENESS BUILDING. IT IS NOTED THAT ON JANUARY 12, 1988 THE YOUTH GANG ISSUE BECAME FRIGHTENINGLY APPARENT WHEN VIOLENCE ERUPTED AT A HIGH SCHOOL BASKETBALL GAME BETWEEN BLOODS AND CRIPS INJURING TWO POLICE OFFICERS AND SEVERAL YOUTH.

C. JUVENILE FAMILY RETALIATION: GANG MEMBERSHIP AND ASSOCIATIONS CAN HAVE A NEGATIVE IMPACT ON FAMILY AND CLOSE FRIENDS OF GANG MEMBERS. THE ACT OF JOINING A GANG INCREASES THE EXPOSURE TO DRUGS, WEAPONS, VIOLENCE, CONTINUED ACADEMIC DEFICIENCIES AND LACK OF APPROPRIATE SOCIAL SKILLS DEVELOPMENT. MOST GANG MEMBERS WILL EXPERIENCE FEAR FOR THEIR PERSONAL SAFETY AND THE SAFETY OF THEIR FAMILY, DAMAGE TO PERSONAL PROPERTY, TRAUMA, GRIEF, CONFUSION AND DEPRESSION OVER THE INJURY OR LOSS OF FRIENDS, AND MOST IMPORTANTLY PERSONAL INJURY OR DEATH. IT HAS BEEN NOTED BY CALIFORNIA YOUTH GANG AUTHORITIES THAT THOSE YOUTH ENTERING THE GANG ENVIRONMENT AT AN EARLY AGE HAVE DIFFICULTY PARTING WITH IT. IT IS DIFFICULT WITH ANY CERTAINTY TO PROFILE, EITHER ON A PREDICTIVE BASIS OR A SPECIFIC BASIS, THE STEREOTYPICAL GANG MEMBER. IT IS POSSIBLE TO CATEGORIZE GANG MEMBERS INTO THREE GENERAL LEVELS. THE HARDCORE REPRESENTS THOSE INDIVIDUALS WHO NEED AND THRIVE ON TOTAL GANG ACTIVITY. THE LEVEL OF VIOLENCE WITHIN THE GANG IS DETERMINED BY THE HARDCORE MEMBER WHO MANIPULATES THE GANG TO MANIFEST THEIR OWN VIOLENCE. THEY PARTICIPATE IN THE VIOLENT ACTS OR ENCOURAGE OTHERS TO COMMIT VIOLENCE. THE AFFILIATES ARE THOSE WHO ASSOCIATE WITH THE GROUP FOR STATUS AND RECOGNITION (THEY MAY WEAR GANG COLORS, CLOTHING, ATTEND PARTIES, ETC.). THIS ESSENTIALLY FULFILLS THE EMOTIONAL NEED FOR BELONGING. THE PERIPHERAL MEMBERS ARE THOSE WHO MOVE IN AND OUT OF THE GANG ON THE BASIS OF INTEREST IN A PARTICULAR ACTIVITY. MOST PORTLAND AREA GANG MEMBERS ARE RACE-SPECIFIC, i.e., BLACK YOUTHS ARE EXCLUSIVELY

INVOLVED WITH BLACK GANGS, ASIAN YOUTHS ARE INVOLVED EXCLUSIVELY WITH ASIAN GANGS, AND WHITE YOUTH ARE EXCLUSIVELY INVOLVED WITH WHITE GANGS. THE AGES OF YOUTH GANG MEMBERS TEND TO BE IN THE 14 to 17 YEAR OLD RANGE. HOWEVER, THERE IS SIGNIFICANT EMULATOR BEHAVIOR IN THE 10 to 13 YEAR OLD AGE GROUP. WHITE AND ASIAN GANGS ARE GENERALLY MORE SECRETIVE THAN BLACK GANGS, THEREBY MAKING INTELLIGENCE GATHERING ACTIVITIES DIFFICULT. GENERALLY SPEAKING, GANG-INVOLVED YOUTH ARE HAVING DIFFICULTY IN SCHOOL AS EVIDENCED THROUGH ATTENDANCE PROBLEMS, ACADEMIC DEFICIENCIES, BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS AND ENROLLMENT IN SPECIAL EDUCATION CLASSROOMS. IN ADDITION, AT-RISK YOUTH LACK HOBBIES OR HAVE AN EXCESS OF UNSUPERVISED LEISURE TIME, HAVE EXPERIENCED FREQUENT NEGATIVE CONTACT WITH POLICE, ARE HAVING BEYOND PARENTAL CONTROL PROBLEMS AT HOME, AND ARE ASSOCIATING WITH PEERS THAT ARE GANG INVOLVED OR DRESSING IN GANG CLOTHING. YOUTH GANG MEMBERS ARE INVOLVED IN ROBBERY, ASSAULTS, ASSAULTS WITH WEAPONS, RAPE AND SODOMY, AUTO THEFT, MOTOR VEHICLE RELATED CRIME, BURGLARY, DRUG POSSESSION AND DRUG TRAFFICKING. IN DEFINING A GANG, THE JUVENILE JUSTICE DIVISION USES A DEFINITION THAT READS A GROUP OF PEOPLE WHO INTERACT AT A HIGH RATE AMONG THEMSELVES TO THE EXCLUSION OF OTHER GROUPS, HAVE A GROUP NAME, CLAIM A NEIGHBORHOOD OR OTHER TERRITORY AND ENGAGE IN CRIMINAL AND OTHER ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOR ON A REGULAR BASIS.

IV. RESPONSES TO GANG ISSUES: THE STANDARD RESPONSE TO THE GANG ISSUE IN PORTLAND MIRRORED THAT OF OTHER CITIES. SPECIFICALLY, TAKING THE FORM OF DENIAL, DISBELIEF, OUTRAGE, AND ACTION. INITIAL DENIAL BY LAW ENFORCEMENT (PORTLAND POLICE BUREAU AND PORTLAND SCHOOL POLICE) WAS INSTITUTED SO AS NOT TO INFLAME THE SITUATION OR GIVE CREDENCE TO NEIGHBORHOOD CONCERNS. FURTHER, A DESIRE TO LIMIT OR DOWN-PLAY RUMORS CENTERED AROUND THE NEED TO NOT TURN THE ISSUE INTO A MEDIA EVENT. DISBELIEF HAS SHOWN ITSELF IN SEVERAL FORMS, GENERALLY POLITICAL IN ITS NATURE. THE STATEMENTS THAT "PORTLAND ISN'T L.A., AND IT CAN'T HAPPEN HERE" FOLLOWED THE COMMUNITY YOUTH GANG TASK FORCE THROUGH ITS EARLY FORMATION. THE CITY OF PORTLAND HAS ALTERNATELY BEEN CALLED, ONE OF THE MOST LIVABLE CITIES IN AMERICA AND PRIDES ITSELF ON I' VISION AND ABILITY TO ATTRACT NEW INDUSTRY ADDING TO ITS EMPLOYMENT BASE AND THE GENERAL WELL-BEING OF ITS RESIDENTS. THE YOUTH GANG ISSUE, ALONG WITH THE EMERGENCE OF NUMEROUS DRUG HOUSES, BURGLARY, ROBBERY AND HOMOCIDES, THREATENED POLITICAL ENTITIES ALREADY SENSITIVE TO JAIL SPACE PROBLEMS, CONCERNS ABOUT HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT FOR MINORITY YOUTH AND CRIME CONCERNS IN GENERAL. OUTRAGE WAS A NATURAL OUTGROWTH OF THE ISSUES BROUGHT FORTH IN THE DISBELIEF PHASE WITHIN THE PORTLAND COMMUNITY. IT WAS EVIDENT ON SEVERAL LEVELS. FOR THOSE LIVING IN GANG IMPACTED AREAS QUESTIONS RAISED ARE: WHERE DOES IT END, WHAT CAN WE DO, WHY AREN'T THE AUTHORITIES DOING SOMETHING, AND WE CANNOT AFFORD TO MOVE AWAY - WE'RE STUCK. IN THE MORE AFFLUENT NEIGHBORHOODS RESIDENTS ARE SHOWING A SPLIT RESPONSE, ON THE ONE HAND REQUESTING INFORMATION AND TRAINING FROM THE COURTS, POLICE AND SCHOOLS, ON GANG IDENTIFICATION AND

PREVENTION. AT THE SAME TIME THEY ARE REQUESTING THE MEDIA GIVE LESS COVERAGE TO THE PROBLEM, ALMOST INDICATING THAT WITHOUT THIS COVERAGE THE PROBLEM WILL GO AWAY. POLICE INTELLIGENCE HAS SHOWN THAT THE L.A. BASED GANG MEMBERS ARE MOVING AND ESTABLISHING RESIDENCES IN THOSE AREAS OF THE CITY AND COUNTY GENERALLY FELT TO BE CRIME FREE. THE MOVEMENTS OF THESE GANG MEMBERS IS BOLD, AND AGGRESSIVE. THE RESPONSE FROM LAW ENFORCEMENT, CORRECTIONS, SCHOOLS AND THE COMMUNITY MUST BE EQUALLY SO. THE ACTION PHASE AND RESPONSE TO THE YOUTH GANG ISSUE INCLUDE THE FORMATION IN MAY, 1987, OF A COMMUNITY BASED YOUTH GANG TASK FORCE, COMPRISED OF NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATIONS, THE MULTNOMAH COUNTY JUVENILE JUSTICE DIVISION, PORTLAND SCHOOL POLICE, PORTLAND POLICE BUREAU, COMMUNITY YOUTH SERVING ORGANIZATIONS AND NEIGHBORHOOD RESIDENTS. THIS TASK FORCE, ON WEDNESDAY FEBRUARY 24, 1988, RECEIVED $55,000 FROM THE CITY OF PORTLAND, TO ESTABLISH COMMUNITY BASED PREVENTION SERVICES, A NEIGHBORHOOD GANG INFORMATION HOTLINE AND TO FUND TWO YOUTH OUTREACH WORKER POSITIONS. A $31,000 UNITED WAY GRANT IS IN THE PROCESS OF BEING AWARDED TO THIS EFFORT AS WELL. AN OUTGROWTH OF THIS TASK FORCE SAW THE FORMATION OF A POLICE GANG INTELLIGENCE WORK GROUP. MEETING ON A MONTHLY BASIS, THIS GROUP NOW INCLUDES 40 MEMBERS REPRESENTING PORTLAND POLICE BUREAU, PORTLAND SCHOOL POLICE, BEAVERTON, GRESHAM, MULTNOMAH COUNTY SHERIFFS, SALEM, TROUTDALE, VANCOUVER, WASHINGTON, CLARK COUNTY SHERIFFS, TRANSIT POLICE, ADULT PROBATION AND PAROLE, JUVENILE JUSTICE DIVISION, STATE JUVENILE PAROLE, AND FEDERAL ALCOHOL TOBACCO AND FIREARMS AGENTS. AN ASIAN GANG TASK FORCE OF PORTLAND POLICE BUREAU, SCHOOL POLICE, JUVENILE JUSTICE DIVISION, AND

SOUTHEAST ASIAN REFUGEE BUSINESS AND CIVIC LEADERS MEET ON A WEEKLY BASIS. THE JUVENILE JUSTICE DIVISION HAS SUBMITTED A $180,000 PROGRAM REQUEST TO ESTABLISH A GANG UNIT COMPRISED OF SIX STAFF. PORTLAND POLICE BUREAU HAS REQUESTED IN ITS FISCAL YEAR 88-89 BUDGET FUNDS FOR A STREET GANG UNIT COMPRISED OF APPROXIMATELY EIGHT OFFICERS. PORTLAND PUBLIC SCHOOLS IS DEVELOPING GANG INTERVENTION CURRICULUM TO BE INTRODUCED IN SEPTEMBER 1988, TO ALL MIDDLE AND HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS.

CLOSING: IT IS NOTED THAT THE ORGANIZATIONS AND AGENCIES WORKING ON AND THROUGH THE YOUTH GANG TASK FORCE CONTINUE TO DEVELOP SERVICE PLANS DESIGNED TO INHIBIT THE PROLIFERATION OF YOUTH GANGS. WE ACKNOWLEDGE THAT WE CANNOT "STOP YOUTH GANGS", ANY MORE THAN WE CAN "STOP CRIME". HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE THAT THE COMMUNITY CAN BE EMPOWERED TO RESIST THE ENCROACHMENT OF YOUTH GANGS. WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF LAW ENFORCEMENT AND CORRECTIONS ORGANIZATIONS, WITH ALL RELAVENT SERVICE AND EDUCATION AGENCIES WORKING IN COOPERATION AND COORDINATION WITH EACH OTHER, SWIFT, APPROPRIATE RESPONSES TO YOUTH GANG ACTIVITY WILL BE EMPLOYED. THE CITY OF PORTLAND HAS DECIDED IT WILL NOT BE A VICTIM. WE INTEND TO COMBAT GANG INFILTRATION WITH EVERY MEANS AT OUR DISPOSAL. THE ALTERNATIVE WOULD BE TO TURN OVER LARGE AREAS OF OUR CITY AND SIGNIFICANT NUMBERS OF OUR YOUTH TO THIS URBAN CANCER. SUCH AN ALTERNATIVE IS COMPLETELY AND WHOLEY UNACCEPTABLE.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND ATTENTION.

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Chairman MILLER. Thank you. Congressman Lewis, do you want to introduce the next witness?

Mr. LEWIS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, I'm pleased to present to the Committee Major Julius Derico, who is the Section Commander of Special Investigation Section of the Intelligence Unit of the Atlanta Department of Public Safety, the Bureau of Police Service in the city of Atlanta.

During the time that I served on Atlanta City Council and as a member of the Public Safety Committee, I got to know Major Derico, who has a great deal of interest in youth gang violence.

I'd like to welcome him to the Committee this morning.

STATEMENT OF MAJOR JULIUS DERICO, SECTION COMMANDER, SPECIAL INVESTIGATIONS SECTION, INTELLIGENCE UNIT, ATLANTA DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC SAFETY, BUREAU OF POLICE SERVICES, ATLANTA, GA

Mr. DERICO. Thank you, Congressman Lewis.

To the Chairman and members of the Committee, during the early part of 1986, there was a notable increase in what appeared to be gang-related activities in the high schools throughout the metropolitan Atlanta area. When these groups first formed, everybody saw them as being social groups for social purposes, with the biggest reason being attributed to the fact that there was a lack of organized activities for after school times. But as we began to monitor these groups, we saw that they began to develop more as gang-related groups because of the distinguished colors, distinguished mottoes and claims of turf territories. They were also involved in some minor criminal activities to include purse snatching, auto theft and things of this nature.

Most of these young people were from the more affluent families of the Southwest Atlanta area primarily. The fortunate thing for us, I think, is they had pretty stable home environments. So, as this problem began to develop and it began to get more coverage in the media and more attention from the police officers and through the school systems and the PTA meetings and everything else, the parents began to realize they were losing control of their children. So, a lot of them sort of rolled in the reigns a little bit and pulled them back under control. So, this problem never got to the point that we had a major issue of concern for law enforcement.

By the same token, in other areas of the city that were more or less fortunate than this group of people, gangs began to form that want to emulate this system, more or less. These children came from the lower income areas, housing projects in some cases, and they employed methods of obtaining monies and goods and vehicles so they could be on a competitive level with the other groups. They became more involved in the violent type of crimes, the robberies, the snatches, the thefts of vehicles and everything else.

This went on for about two to three years. There was a particular group known as "Down by Law" which prided itself in being involved in robberies, kidnapping, rapes and things of this nature. Fortunately for us, we were able to penetrate this group and we

were able to identify most of the ringleaders and they were pretty much brought to task and placed in prison for various crimes.

That problem, we thought, was going to end our problem with crime in gang related activities in the city of Atlanta. Unlike most of your larger cities in the Northern areas, we had not had this problem in the past. But as we began to recoup from this experience, we looked around and we saw that we had the most serious problem the city of Atlanta has ever faced emerging on the scene. That was the coming about of gangs from South Florida, particularly the Miami area. There was a group that dubbed themselves the Miami Boys. The main purpose for coming to the city was the importation, distribution, sale of cocaine, primarily crack cocaine.

We in the city of Atlanta see this as being the major problem we are confronting right now. What has happened is, the groups have come into the city. They have moved into the lower income areas, both in the public sector as well as the private sector, and they have taken over certain territories. They will primarily use threats of violence and intimidation to gain their control.

They would go into the area, they would employ local youths as lookouts. They will rent local residences as stash houses and safe houses. They will import the drugs to Atlanta and they will also bring in the primary sellers. They are young black males, age ranging between 14 and 22, 23 years of age. They come from your lower income areas of Miami, the Liberty City area, the Overtown area, and they come into the city of Atlanta and they are the ones who actually handle the sale of the drugs.

Along with them and the drugs, they've also brought in a lot of violence, a lot of violence. They use automatic weapons quite frequently. Their main weapon is what we've all heard call the Uzi, or the Mike-10 and Mike-11 semi-automatic machine gun and the 9 millimeter semi-automatic pistols. They are not shy at all. They do not mind using these weapons and in several incidents we've had just open gunfights on the streets over controlling territory.

Last year, an innocent young lady, aged 67, walking down the street, was caught between a gun battle between the Miami Boys and a group of local drug distributors. Unfortunately, she was killed in this exchange. All total, I think seven people were arrested. Two were charged with murder.

During the trial, they both admitted to being involved in the shootout. They both admitted to being involved in the distribution of cocaine. They both admitted it was a turf war. The jury acquitted both of them because nobody could say for a fact that this one or that one actually fired the fatal shot. The judge, in turn, was able to revoke the probation of one who was on 15 years probation for previous criminal activities and because his testimony on the stand constituted a serious violation of probation and he was in turn sentenced to 15 years in jail.

In another incident, a former Miami Boy gang member who had decided to go into business for himself, was working in a housing project area, when all of a sudden a car pulls up, four young men get out and they just begin to shoot, bang, bang, bang. They killed this young man.

For the first time in the state of Georgia, we were able to obtain a RICO statute conviction on this young man and he was sentenced

to the maximum term allowable under the RICO statute which minimizes his opportunity of being paroled. Also, we're trying to seize any assets this young man may have had.

These problems are continuing to escalate. On a daily basis, there are narcotics units serving warrants. We're constantly confronted with automatic weapons, not open confrontations or in direct challenge to the police, but as you go through the search process, these kinds of things are discovered in each and every residence that we serve warrants on now for crack cocaine.

Unfortunately for myself and Congressman Lewis and Congressman Rowland, Georgia is also becoming a hotbed it seems for weapons to be transported throughout the country. As I read the papers here in Washington, the one from New York and the one from Philadelphia in the last day, I've seen a story concerning several young men who were arrested as they arrived in New York who had gone to Georgia, primarily the Atlanta area, bought numbers of automatic weapons, transported them to New York.

I think we in the state of Georgia have a heated debate going constantly over gun control. I can understand the arguments on both sides to an extent, but being a law enforcement person I think we all need to admit to ourselves that until we do something about the easy accessibility of weapons, we're going to continue to have these kinds of problems. If you look around, you'll see the problem is moving from us and going to other areas. So, that may tell us we need to look at it from a national standpoint. Are you people in the states of New York, Illinois and other areas who have tight gun control laws willing to let people continue to buy weapons in the lax states of Georgia and other areas and transport them into your community?

We have fought the battle locally. We have fought the battle in the state, but we cannot win that battle, I think, until we, as a people, admit the fact that the crack cocaine problem in this country is a nationwide problem that needs national attention. The people from Miami have traveled not only to Georgia. They come up the I-95 corridor into Charleston, South Carolina. They've made it to Philadelphia. They've made it to D.C. They're in New York, Boston. I guess we will all sit back and hope they all go to Canada and then the problem will go away, but that's highly unlikely, I'm certain.

So, all I can say to you is, I thank you for the opportunity to come before you today and I challenge each of you to give serious consideration to the magnitude of this problem that we're facing and please, please help us all because we are in trouble. As law enforcement officers, we are losing the battle. As mental health authorities, they are faced with more and more problems. As probation officers, they are overloaded. And as far as the poor gang people are concerned, they do not have a drop in the bucket as far as fighting the battle that's before them.

The young man who has come forward today, he's 18. He's still trying to get out of high school. Are we encouraging him enough to continue to try to get out of high school, to try and recoup control over his life and go about being something for himself? I think it took a great deal of nerve on his part to come and share his story with us. I hope that as he goes back home, he will have some sup-

porting information from this body that we are concerned about his plight and that we will do everything we can to help him.

Thank you.

[Prepared statement of Major Julius Derico follows:]

Prepared Statement of Major Julius Derico, Section Commander, Special Investigations Section, Intelligence Unit, Atlanta Department of Public Safety, Bureau of Police Services, Atlanta, GA

DURING THE EARLY PART OF 1986, THERE WAS A NOTICEABLE INCREASE IN WHAT APPEARED TO BE ORGANIZED YOUTH GANG ACTIVITY. MOST OF THESE GROUPS OF YOUNG PEOPLE WERE BEING ORGANIZED ON THE HIGH SCHOOL CAMPUSES THROUGHOUT THE METROPOLITAN ATLANTA AREA AND SEEMED EAGER TO BECOME INVOLVED IN SOME FORM OF CRIMINAL ACTIVITY; I.E., INTIMIDATION OF OTHER STUDENTS WITH GUNS, KNIVES, HOME-MADE WEAPONS AND THREATS OF ASSAULT, AUTOMOBILE THEFTS, SNATCH THEFTS (PURSES AND GOLD CHAINS FROM THE NECK) SHOPLIFTING FROM DEPARTMENT STORES AND GANG FIGHTS. THE INCREASE IN THIS ACTIVITY PROMPTED MORE TELEPHONE COMPLAINTS FROM CITIZENS TO LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES, VOICING CONCERNS OVER THE CRIMINAL CONDUCT OF THE YOUTH GROUPS. MANY OF THESE CITIZENS HAD BEEN PERSONALLY VICTIMIZED AND, IN A NUMBER OF CASES, THEIR CHILDREN HAD FALLEN VICTIM TO YOUTH GANG ACTIVITIES.

DURING MAY, 1986, A TASK FORCE WAS FORMED TO MONITOR, INVESTIGATE AND GATHER INTELLIGENCE REGARDING YOUTH GANG ACTIVITIES IN THE LOCAL AREA. THIS TASK FORCE WAS ORIGINALLY MADE UP OF REPRESENTATIVES FROM THREE (3) LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES IN THE METROFOLITAN ATLANTA AREA, INCLUDING THE ATLANTA BUREAU OF POLICE SERVICES, DECATUR POLICE AND DEKALB COUNTY POLICE DEPARTMENTS. THE GROUP HAS SINCE GROWN TO MORE THAN A DOZEN MEMBER AGENICES AND HOLDS MEETINGS ON A MONTHLY BASIS TO DISCUSS THE STATUS OF YOUTH GANG ACTIVITY IN VARIOUS RESPECTIVE JURISDITIONS.

THE FIRST TWO GROUPS TO BE INVESTIGATED BY THE YOUTH GANG TASK FORCE WERE "DOWN BY LAW" (MALES) AND "THE BAD GIRLS". INFORMATION GATHERED INDICATED THE "DOWN BY LAW" GROUP WAS WELL-ORGANIZED, HIGHLY RESPECTED AND FEARED ON THE STREET. SOME OF THEIR LEADERS WERE WELL INTO ADULTHOOD, WITH ONE REPORTED TO BE 35 YEARS OLD. THE MATURITY AMONG THE LEADERS WAS THOUGHT TO BE ONE REASON WHY THIS GROUP HAD GAINED MORE NOTORIETY THAN ANY OTHER YOUTH GANG IN THE LOCAL AREA.

INTERVIEWS WERE CONDUCTED WITH SOME HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS AND MEETINGS WERE HELD WITH OFFICIALS OF THE SCHOOLS WHERE YOUTH GANG ACTIVITY HAD BEEN REPORTED. INFORMATION VOLUNTEERED BY THE STUDENTS HELPED TO IDENTIFY ADDITIONAL GROUPS WHICH HAD BEEN ORGANIZED FOR THE PURPOSE OF OPERATING AS YOUTH GANGS. SOME OF THE MEMBERS OF THESE NEWLY-FORMED GROUPS WERE AS YOUNG AS EIGHT (8) YEARS OLD WITH THE AGES RANGING UPWARD TO AROUND NINETEEN (19) YEARS OLD.

AS MORE OF THESE YOUTH GROUPS WERE FORMED, THE NUMBER OF COMPLAINTS FROM CITIZENS CONTINUED TO INCREASE. ON ONE OCCASION, IN OCTOBER, 1986, THE ATLANTA POLICE INTELLIGENCE UNIT RECEIVED A CALL FROM A WOMAN WHO STATED THAT HER SON WAS BEING THREATENED BY A YOUTH GANG MEMBER. THIS REPORTEDLY RESULTED FROM AN ALTERCATION BETWEEN THE TWO YOUTHS OVER A GIRL. THE YOUTH GANG MEMBER WENT TO THE RESIDENCE OF THE WOMAN AND FIRED SEVERAL SHOTS FROM A HANDGUN INTO AN AUTOMOBILE WHICH WAS PARKED IN THE DRIVEWAY. THE WOMAN AND HER SON WERE INSIDE THE HOUSE AT THE TIME OF THE SHOOTING BUT THEY MOVED AWAY, TEMPORARILY, BECAUSE OF FEAR FOR THEIR SAFETY.

IN ANOTHER INCIDENT REPORTED, A YOUTH GANG MEMBER WAS APPREHENDED FOR SHOPLIFTING AT A LOCAL SHOPPING CENTER DEPARTMENT STORE. DURING AN INTERVIEW WITH THE ARRESTED YOUTH, IT WAS LEARNED THAT MANY OF THE GANGS OPERATE ORGANIZED SHOPLIFTING RINGS, OFTEN HAVING CONTACTS INSIDE THE STORES. THESE CONTACTS ARE SOMETIME GANG MEMBERS WHO PURSUE EMPLOYMENT AT THE STORES FOR THE SOLE PURPOSE OF ENGANGING IN, OR ASSISTING OTHERS WITH THEFT OF MERCHANDISE. CONTACTS WHO ARE NOT GANG MEMBERS ARE USUALLY FORCED INTO COOPERATING WITH THE SHOPLIFTERS THROUGH INTIMIDATION AND THREATS OF PHYSICAL HARM. THESE CONTACTS ARE USUALLY STUDENTS AT THE SCHOOLS WHERE THE RESPECTIVE GANGS ARE BASED.

ON ANOTHER OCCASION, DURING THE SUMMER OF 1986, A YOUNG BOY WHO HAD BEEN WORKING AT A NEIGHBORHOOD CHURCH IN COLLEGE PARK, A SUBURB OF ATLANTA, WAS ON HIS WAY HOME WHEN HE WAS ATTACKED AND KILLED BY FOUR YOUTHS. THEY WERE LATER ARRESTED AND IDENTIFIED AS MEMBERS OF A COLLEGE PARK YOUTH GANG.

AN ATLANTA POLICE OFFICER WAS SHOT AND PERMANENTLY PARALYZED AFTER ARRESTING THREE YOUTHS WHO WERE LATER IDENTIFIED AS MEMBERS OF A YOUTH GANG. THE YOUTH WHO DID THE SHOOTING APPARENTLY HAD A WEAPON CONCEALED ON HIS PERSON.

IN ADDITION TO THE AFOREMENTIONED EXAMPLES, THERE HAVE BEEN MANY INCIDENTS OF HARASSMENT, ASSAULT, ROBBERY, AUTO THEFT, PURSE SNATCHING, BURGLARY, KIDNAPPING, MURDER, EXTORTION AND GENERAL THEFT COMMITTED BY MEMBERS OF YOUTH GANGS.

MOST OF THE GANGS HAVE REGULAR PLACES WHERE THEY HANG OUT ON A DAILY BASIS AND SOMETIMES, VERY SERIOUS FIGHTS WILL OCCUR WHEN ONE GANG WILL SHOW UP AT A LOCATION THAT IS USUALLY FREQUENTED BY ANOTHER GANG. THIS ACTIVITY IS COMMONLY KNOWN AS "TURF" PROTECTION OR "TURF" WAR. FIGHTS ARE ALWAYS A PART OF THE ACTIVITY FOLLOWING HIGH SCHOOL FOOTBALL GAMES AND THEY ARE NORMALLY PLANNED OR SCHEDULED BY THE GANGS. FIGHTS BETWEEN GANGS ALSO OCCUR QUITE FREQUENTLY FOLLOWING ROCK CONCERTS, PRIMARILY THE "RAP" CONCERTS.

WEAPONS ARE ALSO VERY COMMON FOR YOUTH GANG MEMBERS. MANY OF THEM WILL CARRY HANDGUNS, KNIVES AND HOME-MADE WEAPONS ON THEM AT ALL TIMES, EVEN TO SCHOOL AND INTO THE CLASSROOMS. THE ATLANTA SCHOOL DETECTIVES UNIT HAS A LARGE ASSORTMENT OF THESE WEAPONS WHICH WERE CONFISCATED FROM STUDENTS WHILE ON SCHOOL PROPERTY. IN ADDITION TO GANG MEMBERS HAVING WEAPONS, THERE HAVE BEEN MANY REPORTED INCIDENTS INVOLVING STUDENTS WHO ARE NOT GANG MEMBERS BUT CARRY GUNS OR KNIVES TO SCHOOL FOR PROTECTION AGAINST GANG MEMBERS.

THE TASK FORCE ON YOUTH GANGS NOW MAINTAINS A LISTING OF ALL CONFIRMED YOUTH GANGS AND MEMBERS WHICH OPERATE IN THE METROPOLITAN ATLANTA AREA. THIS SERVES AS A SYSTEM OF TRACKING AND KEEPING ABREAST OF MEMBER ACTIVITY WITHIN ORGANIZATIONS. THE LISTING INCLUDES NAMES, GROUPS AFFILIATION, ALIASES, CRIMINAL ARREST HISTORY, SCHOOL, GRADE AND GRADE POINT AVERAGE. AS ONE WOULD EXPECT, APPROXIMATELY 80 - 90% OF THE YOUTH GANG MEMBERS ARE MAINTAINING AVERAGE GRADES OF "F", HOWEVER, THERE ARE SEVERAL MEMBERS WITH "A" AVERAGES.

THE LARGEST OF THE YOUTH GANGS IS "DOWN BY LAW" WITH A CONSERVATIVE ESTIMATE OF MEMBERSHIP PLACED AT 150. THE FOLLOWING IS A LIST OF ADDITIONAL GROUPS WHICH HAVE BEEN CONFIRMED AS YOUTH GANGS:

ANOTHER BAD CREATION (ABC)
A. E. S. BRONZEMENT
ALPHA KAPPA GENTS
BOULEVARDIER
BAD BLACK BOYS
CIABBATINO
DEMONS
DOOM BOYS
EVECUTIVE CLUB
FIVE PERCENT NATIONS
GIGALOS
JR. BLACK BOYS
KAPPA SIGMA PSI
OMEGA GENTS
OMEGA PREP BOYS
OUTLAWS
RAW DOGS
THE NEW GENERATION

UNIQUE GENTS
WEEKEND WARRIORS

FEMALE GROUPS

BAD GIRLS
DELTA PHI SIGMA
FAIRYTALE LOVERS
K Q FEMALES
KAPPA OMEGA ZETA
KAPPA PEARLS
LUSCIOUS DAMES

MIAMI BOYS

ANOTHER AREA OF CRIMINAL ACTIVITY WHICH HAS RAISED VERY SERIOUS CONCERNS IN THE ATLANTA COMMUNITY IS THE PLIGHT OF A GROUP OF YOUNG BLACK MALES KNOWN AS THE "MIAMI BOYS". THIS GROUP BEGAN FUNCTIONING IN ATLANTA DURING 1984 AND IS PRIMARILY A COCAINE-DISTRIBUTING ORGANIZATION WHICH OPERATES GENERALLY IN THE LOW INCOME AREAS OF THE CITY WHERE DRUG USAGE IS POPULAR AND NARCOTICS ARE IN DEMAND. THIS GROUP EMPLOYS VIOLENCE, INTIMIDATION, UNDERSELLING TECHNIQUES (LOWER PRICES/HIGHER PURITY) AND MONETARY REWARDS TO TENANTS WHO WILL ALLOW THEIR RESIDENCES TO BE USED AS STASH OR SAFE HOUSES.

INTELLIGENCE DATA HAS DETERMINED THAT THE "MIAMI BOYS" HAVE ESTABLISHED FIVE (5) TERRITORIES WITHIN THE CITY OF ATLANTA. EACH TERRITORY HAS ONE (1) ASSIGNED LIEUTENANT WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR A MINIMUM OF FIVE (5) SAFE HOUSES.

THE LIEUTENANT DISTRIBUTES COCAINE AND COLLECTS THE MONEY FROM THE SERGEANTS. EACH SAFE HOUSE HAS AN ASSIGNED SERGEANT WITH RUNNERS AND LOOK-OUTS ON THEIR RESPECTIVE SHIFTS. INTELLIGENCE DATA INDICATES THE RELOCATION OF 14-23 YEAR OLDS FROM THE LOW INCOME AREAS (OVERTOWN, LIBERTY CITY) OF MIAMI AND SOUTH FLORIDA TO ATLANTA TO SELL COCAINE AND CRACK. THESE INDIVIDUALS ARE PROVIDED WITH HIGH CALIBER WEAPONS AND EARN SALARIES WHICH RANGE FROM $600.00 TO $1000.00 PER WEEK. WHEN ARRESTED, A YOUTH IS RETURNED TO FLORIDA AND REPLACED. IN FUTHERANCE OF THE COCAINE TRAFFICKING OPERATION, THE "MIAMI BOYS" RECRUIT LOCAL, MIDDLE AND HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS AS SELLERS.

OBSERVATIONS MADE BY UNDERCOVER AND SURVEILLANCE AGENTS INDICATE A HIGHLY ORGANIZED PROTECTION SYSTEM AROUND THE BUYING SITES.

(A) DRIVE THROUGH SITES (USUALLY ONE WAY) ARE PROVIDED WITH AN ARMED SENTRY POSTED NEAR THE ENTRANCE. ANOTHER PERSON TAKES THE ORDER AND MONEY, THEN DIRECTS THE BUYER TO ANOTHER PERSON. FURTHER ALONG THE ROUTE, THE THIRD OPERATIVE WILL PROVIDE THE BUYER WITH THE COCAINE, INSTRUCTING THE PURCHASER TO KEEP MOVING TOWARD THE EXIT, WHICH ALSO HAS AN ARMED LOOK-OUT. ONLY ONE VEHICLE IS ALLOWED AT ANY TIME. THE TRANSACTION IS COMPLETED WITHIN ONE (1) TO THREE (3) MINUTES. (B) WALK-UP SITES ARE HEAVILY MANNED, IN TERMS OF SELLERS. EACH SELLER IS GIVEN FIFTY (50) PACKETS OF COCAINE, CALLED A BOMB.

STRATEGICALLY LOCATED LOOK-OUTS,CAPABLE OF OBSERVING ALL MOVEMENT WITHIN THE AREA, ARE PROVIDED WITH TWO-WAY RADIOS. ARMED PROTECTORS ARE STATIONED NEAR THE STASH AND MONEY. (C) ON INSIDE SALES. PURCHASERS ARE MET AT THE DOOR AND FRISKED (POLICE STYLE) AT GUN POINT. THE ORDER IS TAKEN BY AN INDIVIDUAL IN A SEPARATE ROOM WHO CONTROLS THE TABLE. THE BUYER IS THEN ALLOWED TO USE THE PURCHASED DRUGS IN ANOTHER ROOM, WHICH IS EQUIPPED WITH PIPES AND TORCHES, OR IS ALLOWED TO LEAVE AFTER THE PURCHASE.

THIS GROUP IS A WELL-ORGANIZED AND SUCCESSFUL CRIMINAL ORGAIZATION. LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES ARE VERY LIMITED IN THE AREAS OF MANPOWER AND EQUIPMENT, WHICH MAKE THE EFFORT TO ELIMINATE GROUPS SUCH AS THIS APPEAR VERY FUTILE.

Chairman MILLER. Mr. Carver?

STATEMENT OF JOHN A. CARVER, ESQ., DIRECTOR, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA PRETRIAL SERVICES AGENCY, WASHINGTON, DC

Mr. CARVER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, members of the Select Committee.

It's a real pleasure to be invited to appear here today as you take up the issue of "Youth and Violence: The Current Crisis." It is a topic that deserves urgent public attention and I commend the committee for convening these hearings.

Let me say at the outset that I'm not a drug abuse expert. I have no magic solutions or quick fixes to offer because there are none. My frame of reference is the criminal justice system where I've worked for the past 15 years. I'm the Director of the Pretrial Services Agency here in the District of Columbia.

While drug abuse has always been associated with certain kinds of behavior that bring people into the courts, never has the criminal justice system experienced the kinds of problems we face today. Drugs are driving the system. Drugs are overwhelming our very capacity to function. The problem is bad and it's getting much worse.

How are drugs driving the criminal justice system? Let me start by giving you just a few background figures on arrests. According to data from the United States Attorney's Office, adult drug arrests have increased from 3,857 in 1979 to 13,785 last year. As a percentage of all arrests, drug charges have increased from 20 percent to over 47 percent in the same period. When one looks just at drug distribution charges, one sees a thirteen-fold increase over this time period.

Among our youth, the children brought to court and charged as delinquents in the juvenile system, the rise in drug charges is even more dramatic.

Let me trace for you the rise in arrests among juveniles over the past five or six years. Let's look at drug sales first. In 1982, the police arrested 82 juveniles and charged them with drug sales. By 1986, the figure was up to 279. Last year, 1987, the figure jumped to 1,041. Remember, the figure in 1982 was 82. It went from 82 to 1,041 in just a four or five year period. And remember that this is drug sales. There were another 895 juveniles arrested last year on either possession with intent to distribute or simple possession. This is what I mean when I say we are being overwhelmed by drugs.

As dramatic as the rise in drug arrests is, arrest data understate the problem. Drugs are a factor in many, if not most, of the serious non-drug felonies flooding the criminal justice system, as any police officer knows. In the District of Columbia, we now have the capability to measure more precisely the extent of drug use in the arrestee population and track trends in drug use over time.

For the past four years, my agency, the District of Columbia Pretrial Services Agency, has operated a comprehensive program of drug testing of all arrestees, the only program of its kind in the country. This capability enhances the agency's role of advising the court of an arrestee's release eligibility and it provides a useful mechanism for monitoring or supervising those drug users granted

conditional release. Using on-site equipment and state-of-the-art technology, the agency is able to produce drug test results on all arrestees, juvenile and adult, in a matter of hours. The results are then made available to the judicial officer for use in determining appropriate conditions of release.

The program has proved to be very useful to the judges who must make release decisions. As important as this service is in individual cases, it also gives us a wealth of data on the extent of drug abuse as well as changing trends over time. What are we finding? Let me begin with the juveniles, which are defined in the District of Columbia as aged 17 and under.

Among children charged with a delinquent offense, we test for the presence of four drugs, PCP, cocaine, opiates and marijuana. When we take all of those, which is ages 8 all the way up to age 17, 35 percent are currently testing positive for one or more of these drugs. There's a strong correlation between drug use and age to the point where well over half of the 17 year olds are currently testing positive, as you indicated in your opening statement.

Perhaps more disturbing than the number using drugs is the change over time. When we first began testing juveniles four years ago, less than 30 percent were positive, with the drug of choice being PCP. Cocaine was rarely detected. Eighteen months ago, cocaine use had risen to the point where it was detected in seven percent of juvenile arrestees. Now, 22 percent of all juveniles are showing a positive test result for cocaine, a figure which has now surpassed PCP use in the District of Columbia.

More disturbing still is the fact that the numbers do not indicate that young people are switching from one drug to another, rather that they are increasingly engaging in multiple drug use. They're adding cocaine to the drugs that they're already using.

Among adult arrestees, the agency conducts a five drug screen, including PCP, cocaine, opiates, methadone and amphetamines. As with the juveniles, all the trends are up. When we began the program four years ago, slightly over half of all arrestees were positive. Now the figure is three out of every four. This is all arrestees, misdemeanors as well as felonies.

The biggest single change has been in the use of cocaine. Four years ago, cocaine was detected in 14 percent of arrestees. The figure has been steadily rising to the point now where we're seeing it in 60 percent of all arrestees. In other words, cocaine use has quadrupled just in the last few years. PCP use remains high. Currently, about 45 percent among adult arrestees are showing a positive result for PCP. As with juveniles, multiple drug use is rampant. Over half of the arrestees identified as drug users test positive for two or more drugs.

What are the policy implications arising from this data? Clearly, the drug abuse problem facing the criminal justice system is overwhelming. Court referrals are swamping drug treatment programs, creating backlogs, and placing treatment officials in the untenable position where they sometimes have to turn away voluntary patients in order to accommodate court ordered referrals.

There is no single strategy to combat drug abuse and the problem is certainly beyond the capability of the criminal justice system alone to solve. It goes without saying that more must be

done in the areas of prevention, treatment and interdiction and that while these are areas of local concern, greater federal assistance is urgently needed.

I'd also like to point out the fact that the serious dysfunctional drug users merit special attention and that these individuals tend to appear in arrestee populations. And while the debate rages over whether drug use causes crime or crime leads to drug abuse, it's now beyond question that they are related. It's also known that drug use is what you might call an accelerator of criminal behavior. That is, when drug users are in a period of active use, rates of criminality go up dramatically. And conversely, during periods of relative abstinence, rates of criminality go down. I think the challenge within the criminal justice system is to identify and deal with those individuals and drug testing is an important tool to that end.

In the District of Columbia, the primary goal of drug testing of juveniles is to identify those children in need of treatment and counseling and to provide some kind of effective intervention at the earliest possible point. It's clear at least to me that by the time some of these kids reach the adult system, many of them are so thoroughly enmeshed in the whole cycle of drugs and crime that almost nothing works. It's also clear that drug testing is the only reliable means of identifying the factor of drug use.

In the adult system, ongoing drug testing of defendants as a condition of release has proven effective in reducing rates of pretrial rearrest. Judges routinely impose as a condition of release that drug using defendants refrain from illegal drug use and that they report regularly to our agency to submit urine samples for the purpose of verifying compliance with that court ordered release condition. Violations are reported to the court by the agency and sanctions are frequently imposed.

Given the improvements in this kind of monitoring capability that drug testing offers, release rates have actually gone up in the last few years, while rearrest rates have gone down. While this is no solution to the underlying problem, it is useful I think in that it provides better information to judges and to a certain degree it reduces risks associated by the release of drug abusers.

In closing, I would just like to reiterate what others on this panel have said, that while the problems of youth and drugs and violent crime are matters of local concern, in a very real sense they also threaten our national security. The problems are far too big for local government alone to address. We at the local level need the kind of attention these hearings can bring to the subject and we need a national strategy, backed up by long-term federal support.

Thank you for the opportunity to appear today.

[Prepared statement of John A. Carver, Esq., follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JOHN A. CARVER, ESQ., DIRECTOR, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA PRETRIAL SERVICES AGENCY, WASHINGTON, DC

Mr. Chairman, members of the Select Committee, it is indeed a pleasure to be invited to appear here today as you take up the issue of "Youth and Violence: The Current Crisis." It is a topic that deserves urgent public attention, and I commend this Committee for convening these hearings.

Let me say at the outset that I am not a drug abuse expert. I have no magic solutions or quick fixes to offer to this Committee, because there are none. My frame of reference is the criminal justice system, where I have worked for the past 15 years. While drug abuse has always been associated with certain kinds of behavior that bring people into the courts, never has the criminal justice system experienced the kinds of problems we face today. Drugs are driving the system. Drugs are overwhelming our very capacity to function. The problem is bad, and getting worse.

I am often puzzled by the mixed messages the American public is receiving on the drug abuse situation today. Last week, for example, I attended the White House Conference For a Drug Free America here in Washington. The President and the First Lady spoke to us on Monday morning, and we heard once again a recitation of hopeful signs, based primarily on the national survey of high school seniors, and their self-reported experiences with drugs. I have a difficult time reconciling the reported downward trends in drug use with what we in the criminal justice system see every day. I suspect that we may have two very different and diverging kinds of drug problems. While we may be making headway in some sectors of society through the excellent work of the First Lady and others, there are large segments of our communities that are <u>not</u> being reached. As the theme for these hearings suggests, we are truly facing a crisis.

How are drugs driving the criminal justice system? Let me give you a few background figures on arrests. According to data from the United States Attorney's Office, adult drug arrests have increased from 3,857 in 1979 to 13,785 last year. As a percentage of all arrests, drug charges have increased from 20% to over 47% in the same period. When one looks just at drug <u>distribution</u> charges, one sees a thirteen-fold increase over this time period.

As dramatic as the rise in drug arrests is, they understate the problem. Drugs are a factor in many, if not most,

of the serious non-drug felonies flooding the criminal justice system, as any police officer knows. In the District of Columbia, we now have the capability to measure more precisely the extent of drug use in the arrestee population, and track trends in drug use over time.

For the past four years, the District of Columbia Pretrial Services Agency has operated a comprehensive program of drug testing of all arrestees -- the only program of its kind in the country. This capability enhances the Agency's role of advising the Court of an arrestee's release eligibility, and provides a useful mechanism for monitoring, or supervising those drug users granted conditional release. Using on-site equipment, and state-of-the-art technology, the Agency is able to produce drug test results on all arrestees, juvenile and adult, in a matter of hours. The results are then made available to the judicial officer for use in determining appropriate conditions of release.

The program has proved to be very useful to the judges who must make release decisions. As important as this service is in individual cases, it also provides us with a wealth of data on the extent of drug abuse, as well as changing trends over time.

What are we finding? Let me begin with the juveniles, which are defined in the District of Columbia as age seventeen and under. Among children charged with a delinquent offense, we test for the presence of four drugs -- phencyclidine or PCP, cocaine, opiates, and marijuana. Fully thirty five percent (35%) of all juvenile arrestees are currently testing positive for one or more of these drugs. There is a strong correlation between drug use and age, to the point where over half of all 17 year olds are currently testing positive.

Perhaps more disturbing than the number using drugs is the change over time. When we first began testing juveniles four years ago, less than 30 percent were positive, with the drug of choice being PCP. Cocaine was rarely detected. Eighteen months ago, cocaine had risen to 7% of all juvenile arrestees. Currently, 22% of all juveniles are showing a positive test result for cocaine -- a figure which has surpassed PCP use. More disturbing still is the fact that the numbers do not indicate that the young people are switching from one drug to another, rather that they are increasingly engaging in multiple drug use.

As attachment A indicates, among juveniles, there is a linear relationship between the age of the respondent and the likelihood of drug use. By the time they reach their late teens, drug use is quite prevalent, and the upward trend continues into the adult years.

Among adult arrestees, the Agency conducts a five drug screen, including PCP, cocaine, opiates, methadone and

amphetamines. As with the juveniles, all the trends are up. When we began the program four years ago, slightly over half of all arrestees were positive. Now the figure is three out of every four. The biggest single change has been in the use of cocaine. Four years ago, cocaine was detected in fourteen percent (14%) of adult arrestees. That figure has been steadily rising to the point where now 60% of adult arrestees have recently ingested cocaine. (See attachment B.) In other words, cocaine use has more than quadrupled!

PCP use remains high -- currently 45% among adult arrestees. As with the juveniles, multiple drug use is rampant. Over half of the arrestees identified as drug users test positive for two or more drugs.

The picture painted by the indicators of drug use among arrestee populations is alarming. There is no reason to believe that the experience of the District of Columbia is particularly unique. While no other jurisdiction has routine, comprehensive drug testing of all juvenile and adult arrestees, several cities have conducted surveys on a limited basis. For example, drug screening among juvenile detainees in Maricopa County, Arizona from October 30 to December 23, 1987, revealed a 42.5% rate of positive drug results. Another study of drug use among juveniles in Tampa, Florida, indicated that 35% of the youths were positive for one drug, and another 7% were positive for two or three drugs.

Among adults, we now have the results of a twelve-city survey among arrestee populations conducted by the National Institute of Justice. While the "drugs of choice" vary from city to city, the results almost uniformly show that drug use is a factor in 60% to 75% of adult arrestees.

What are the policy implications arising from this data? Clearly, the drug abuse problem facing the criminal justice system is overwhelming. Court referrals are swamping drug treatment programs, creating backlogs, and placing treatment officials in the untenable position of turning away voluntary patients in order to accommodate court-ordered referrals.

As I indicated in the beginning, I possess no particular insight in what should be done about this problem. There is no single strategy to combat drug abuse. The problem is certainly beyond the capability of the criminal justice system to solve. It goes without saying that more must be done in the areas of prevention, treatment, and interdiction, and that while these are areas of local concern, greater federal assistance is urgently needed.

It should also be pointed out that seriously dysfunctional drug users merit special attention, and that these individuals

tend to appear in arrestee populations. While the debate rages over whether drug use causes crime, or crime leads to drug abuse, it is now beyond question that they are related. It is also known that drug use is an "accelerator" of criminal behavior--that is, when drug users are in periods of active drug use, rates of criminality go up dramatically. Conversely, during periods of relative abstinence, rates of criminality go down. The challenge within the criminal justice system is to identify and deal with these individuals. Drug testing is an important tool to that end.

In the District of Columbia, the primary goal of drug testing of juveniles is to identify those children in need of treatment and counselling, and to provide effective intervention at the earliest possible point. It is clear that by the time they reach the adult system, many are so thoroughly enmeshed in the cycle of drugs and crime that almost nothing works. It is also clear that drug testing is the only reliable means of identifying the factor of drug use.

In the adult system, on-going drug testing of defendants as a condition of pretrial release has proven effective in reducing rates of pretrial rearrest. Judges routinely impose as a condition of release that the drug-using defendants refrain from illegal drug use and that they report regularly to the Pretrial Services Agency to submit a urine samples for the purpose of verifying compliance with this condition. Violations are reported to the Court by the Agency, and sanctions are frequently imposed. Given the improvements in monitoring capability that drug testing offers, release rates have actually gone up, while rearrest rates have gone down. While no "solution" to the underlying problem, the program is useful in that it provides better information to judges, and it reduces the risks associated by the release of drug abusers.

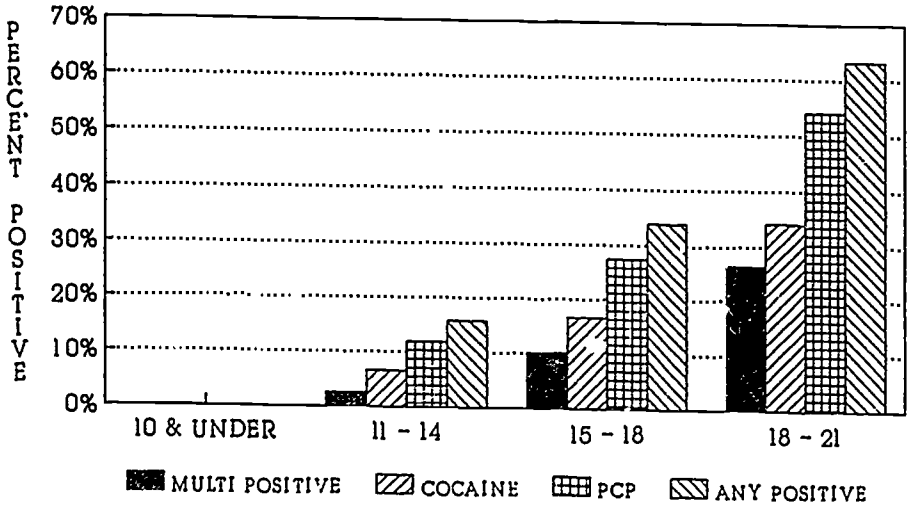
Most of my remarks have dealt with data -- trends in juvenile and adult drug use as measured by arrestee drug testing. I would like to conclude by saying that this program illustrates the kind of partnership between federal and local government that I think is essential. Our drug testing program was established with funding from the National Institute of Justice in 1984. It quickly came to be seen as so valuable that when federal funding expired, the local government continued and even expanded the program.

When the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986 was passed, this agency's program of pretrial drug testing was identified by the Bureau of Justice Assistance as a concept that should be tested in other jurisdictions. Three jurisdictions are in the process of replicating the program, and three more will soon be selected for a second round of funding. It is safe to say that none of this would have occurred, had not Congress recognized the need

for federal assistance, and backed up its commitment with funding. Many of us at the local level hope that this kind of support will continue. Tnank you.

ATTACHMENT A

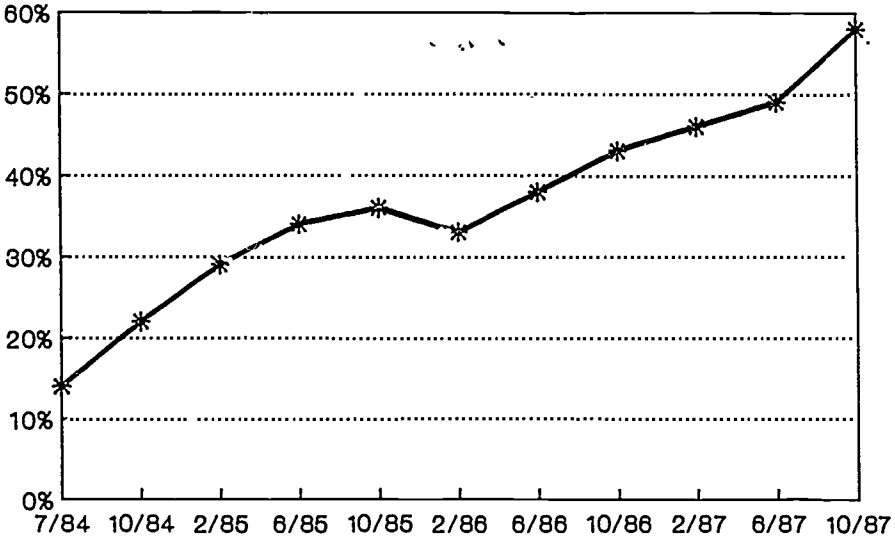
OCTOBER DRUG TEST RESULTS BY AGE GROUP*



*(18 - 21 year olds tested by our adult program)

Source: D.C. Pretrial Services Agency, October 1987

Cocaine Use Among Arrestees Has Risen Steadily Since 1984



Where will it end?

Source: D.C. Pretrial Services Agency

ATTACHMENT B

Chairman MILLER. Thank you and my thanks to all of the witnesses. Let me just take a moment here to ask a couple of questions.

Shawn and Ismael, let me address a question to you. As I read your statement and as I listen to you, when you started out in a gang, in your early days in the gang, you seem to be saying you never thought it was going to get this bad when you first joined up. You got together with a group of friends and you were kind of an informal gang; it was a casual thing, but it kept escalating. It kept growing more and more and getting bigger and more dangerous and more troublesome. Is that accurate, when you started out?

Mr. HUERTA. Well, the way I see it, it was all about partying. I didn't know that there was a lot of shooting and stabbing involved and a lot of drug dealing. I was just in it because there was a lot of girls at the time, too. You think it's going to be like that all the time when it's not.

Chairman MILLER Shawn, how about you? When it first started out, was this just fun? Was this just a way to hang together with some other guys?

Mr. GRANT. Yes. At first, you know, because I'm like the oldest and they was like brothers to me. Just somebody to hang out. If somebody like came and jumped one of your friends or something, you wouldn't stand there and let them go around by themselves. You have to help them out or they'd be on your back.

But yes, it was like when it first started out it was like that. It was kind of like fun and everything, but then you started wanting to sell some drugs a little bit. You had to make a little money and some of the guys that—you got to get money sometimes.

Chairman MILLER. You say in your statement, "I committed the robbery because I was a member of the Cedar Avenue Gang."

Mr. GRANT. Yes.

Chairman MILLER. This is behavior that was expected of you.

Mr. GRANT. Well, yes. You know, be one of the buddies. Everybody else did it. Why not?

Chairman MILLER. And Ismael, you say, "If I was to start all over, I would have never gotten into this." You talk about the fact that now—or at least up until the time you left the gang or maybe even still—you can't go anywhere in the neighborhood because there would be a rival gang member looking for you. You said, "there's always ten of us and one of us always has a gun or we're not going anywhere." Is that still how it governs your life today?

Mr. HUERTA. Yes, it still works that way because it doesn't really matter whether you're in the gang still. The other guys are going to remember what you have done to them.

Chairman MILLER. So you don't really get to drop out of the gang. You don't turn in your badge, right, or your colors?

Mr. HUERTA. There's no real way to get out. You think you're out of the gang, but——

Chairman MILLER. So, in a sense, the gang or at least the rival gangs have a hold on you.

Mr. HUERTA. Yes. There will be somebody watching you from them.

Chairman MILLER. Shawn, is that true for you, too, or less so?

Mr. GRANT. Yes. If you do like Ismael said, if you help them out, you hurt somebody else from another gang, of course they'll come back looking for you. They see you somewhere else, maybe downtown or something by yourself——

Chairman MILLER. So, there's always a pay back.

Mr. GRANT. Yes. Nobody's going to forgive you. You jump some guy from over on the East Side or something and he saw you downtown by yourself somewhere, of course he's going to get back on you. He's not going to just let you get away with it. He see there when you jumped him and like a couple weeks ago or something.

Chairman MILLER. Let me ask you if you can go back to the time when you were first thinking about joining a gang and you were kind of hanging out before it got deep.

Mr. GRANT. It was more like you get known a little bit, girls—you know, people checking you out. You find that group, certain group, you don't want to be by yourself. You don't have to worry about too many people, you know, approaching you wrong or nothing like that.

Chairman MILLER. So, the gang in a lot of ways satisfies a lot of needs.

Mr. GRANT. Yes.

Chairman MILLER. You get to have some identity, you get some protection, you get some status among a certain group of people in a neighborhood or with the opposite sex.

Mr. GRANT. More like fear. You put fear on other people. Like, "He's with them. I won't say much to him or nothing like that. He's with that certain group. I'll let him go his way."

Chairman MILLER. So your membership provides you maybe a little bit of protection.

Mr. GRANT. Yes. It also provides you—you would have to watch your back. Like if you was like somewhere else, like you did something to somebody else, and you was like at the wrong place at the wrong time, you might just get yours.

Chairman MILLER. So, it cuts both ways. It can help you but it can also hurt you in terms of your neighborhood contact.

Mr. GRANT. Yes.

Chairman MILLER. What alternatives—I don't know if you can think about it. What alternatives were there for you to joining the gang? Were there sports? Was the school providing any alternative? What else is going on in the neighborhood or in your area for young people that would provide some of that same satisfaction in terms of identity and feeling good and getting some status in your neighborhood or in your community or in your school?

Mr. GRANT. Maybe you might go to a recreation center and hang out for a little while. But that's basically it. There was nothing.

Chairman MILLER. Why was there nothing?

Mr. GRANT. Because the government is not giving them any money.

Chairman MILLER. Were you bored with what was going on there or was there nothing going on there?

Mr. GRANT. Okay. The center closes around 8:00.

Chairman MILLER. In the evening.

Mr. GRANT. Some guys stay out until maybe on a Friday night until maybe about 11:00, a little later than that, you know. We might want a little something else to do. The recreation center, you do get bored of hanging around the same old thing all the time. Plus the jobs, to be honest with you, $3.35, something like that, minimum wage, you can't really do—and you work—those places like Burger King and stuff, they make you work hard. You know, you want a little bit more money than that. Things are more expensive nowadays. So of course you want to help in drugs to get some extra money. Things are going up.

Chairman MILLER. Well, that was my next—the cost of living is going up.

Marianne, let me ask you if you can help with this. If you listen to the testimony here and you listen to the escalation, whether it's in Portland or Atlanta where these different formats started, and even as you see people at the end of process, there's a slow escalation, a building of this thing in cities where this may be new. But in some ways, what Shawn just said is that young people are making the logical decision that if they're going to survive or they're going to provide for themselves or for their girlfriends or for their friends or for their own immediate family—we're not talking here about whether we agree with that decision—it may very well be a logical, economic fact of life that the gang can provide income and there's no other way to provide the amount of income that young people think they need to maintain a certain level of status.

Is that fairly accurate or am I way off the beaten path?

Ms. DIAZ-PARTON. Well, I know it's accurate in L.A. We live on the coastal areas, beach cities in L.A. For a long time, the gang activity was more or less in South Central, inland——

Chairman MILLER. Right.

Ms. DIAZ-PARTON [continuing]. Where there's more low income type places to live. Well, now we have all these drug dealers moving to our area because now they can afford to. They're buying houses out on our side of town, moving in. The city that I live in tried to demolish a gang by destroying all their houses. They went in there and just tore them all down and put up condos which they couldn't afford to live in. Well, they moved into the city. So now they're right in the heart of the city we live in. So, economics, making money, driving the Benzes and all that kind of stuff, they're moving from Watts and Compton and those areas out into more affluent areas out on the beach cities and bringing their home boys with them. They just come with them. They come and visit.

That's why we have so much violence going back and forth, because people can travel now. I talk to gang members that say, "Hey, we're going up to Vegas this weekend and make me some money." He can't make the same money on his rock in L.A. that he can make in Vegas. So he goes to Vegas for three or four days, comes back with a bank. I mean we're talking $10,000 coming back and does it in four days. I mean you can buy a house in a week.

Chairman MILLER. And that's the role model?

Ms. DIAZ-PARTON. That's the role model for all these guys. Like Ish, he went out and actually went and got a job. We were counsel-

ing him and said, "Hey, go find a job." He went and went looking. He got a job with the Amnesty program talking to illegal aliens who wanted to get their documents, spoke Spanish, he's bilingual. Then one day he was coming off work and there were four gang members waiting for him after work. So, see, the gang affects you even when you're working. You can't stay in a place when you know you're going to get killed maybe on your way home. So, his parents told him to quit.

The same thing in school. A lot of these kids won't go to school for the basic reason that they don't want to get jumped or stabbed or killed. So they make, like you said, a rational decision. "What's more important, me going to school or staying alive?"

Chairman MILLER. Then let me ask you this. Pit that rational decision, pit the pull of that system for all of the attributes that it has; what are your resources to work against that?

Ms. DIAZ-PARTON. Well, we re the ones who deal with them when they're not in school.

Chairman MILLER. No, I understand that. What do you tell an Ismael about why he's better off dealing with you than with his gang in terms of his long-term interest? I mean is it just the fact that he may get killed? Is that the threat?

Ms. DIAZ-PARTON. Our thing is that we've already been through it. We've already survived what he's doing—we'll tell him, "What you're doing, we've done. We're just one of the few people who have survived it." We tell them about how the law enforcement is going to stay on your back and all these things——

Chairman MILLER. Okay. But when you were a gang member, compare it to today.

Ms. DIAZ-PARTON. Oh, man.

Chairman MILLER. Did you have the potential when you were a gang member to generate the kind of income and cash and things that a gang member might be able to do today?

Ms. DIAZ-PARTON. On a smaller level. In those days it was dealing weed and stuff like that.

Chairman MILLER. Sure.

Ms. DIAZ-PARTON. We did the same things, just a different product in those days. We had to make our incomes up too. We had to sell things and do things illegally, do burglaries and stuff. We used to get our weaponry through burglarizing. That's how we got our guns. It's a little more hard to hit a house that you know it has guns in it. You're lucky if you run across one.

See, these guys, like I said in my statement, they have strung out people hitting surpluses and stuff just so they can go to them and get their 'caine.

Chairman MILLER. So, the weaponry is just barter for drugs or for cash or whatever.

Ms. DIAZ-PARTON. Yes. Gang members can get all the 'caine they want, but they want the weapons. That's what they want. The gang members, they'll trade all the 'caine they got to get a case of—they come up with crates of guns before and just dropped it and they just trade it off.

Chairman MILLER. Let me ask Major Derico and Mr. Brown, because you both again have described an evolutionary process. I've always felt in regard to crack cocaine, when we first started look-

ing at it in this committee, that we just saw what again was sort of a crass business decision, that crack was a much easier commodity. Even though I'm told by people that your profit margin is less on crack than it is on other forms of cocaine, this is a very easy way to market it. It can be put into very inexpensive packets in terms of rocks. It can be smoked, it can be used in ways that it's very easy for young people to begin with. This was essentially a marketing strategy to get people into the cocaine habit or trade or what have you.

You're also describing a marketing strategy which says to people in Miami, "The market is not as good here. Let's go to Atlanta and see if we can develop the market there or to Portland and let's see if we can develop the market there. There may be a better price for our goods in Portland than there is in L.A. or there may be a better price in Phoenix," or these other cities where, in fact, you don't have——

I hate to make the analogy between the drug trade and American business, but it sounds like we have some fairly good business people making decisions about what's going to happen in American cities with respect to the criminal trade. And the gangs start to look like marketing organizations.

Ismael, I think it was you talking about crossing out somebody's colors. You're just talking about sort of hostile takeovers of somebody's marketing apparatus. If the gangs in Atlanta are a little naive and a little stupid compared to the Miami Boys, they're about to lose out, and they're either going to join up and participate or simply lose whatever they had.

Is that a fair summation?

Major DERICO. Yes, sir, I think it's very fair.

Chairman MILLER. Whoa. I didn't want to hear that.

Major DERICO. That's a very fair summation, I'm afraid. What happened probably in the Miami area and L.A. area is that the markets become so saturated with the availability of drugs that the competition is so intense that a lot of people can go out and beat you out. "Let's franchise our product into other areas that are not as active in this trade." They started from Miami moving up to Orlando, Tampa, Jacksonville, Tallahassee area of Florida. Then into Georgia, Valdosta, Coastal Savannah, Macon, Atlanta They're going into larger cities in these areas. It's an organized effort on the part of the people in Florida to divest themselves a little further up north.

I think the first tactic they use when they move to an area is underpricing. When they first came in with the cocaine, they would underprice the locals. Then when the crack came on the scene, they sewed up the market because crack was not available in Atlanta. So, it's being produced by these people. They sold it at a much cheaper rate than the people in Atlanta could sell it for. And crack is so addictive that people, once they've involved themselves in this, there's a great demand for it.

Mr. BROWN. I think the——

Chairman MILLER. Portland sounds like a sitting duck.

Mr. BROWN. I think one of the—facetiously to say this. One of the worst things that could have happened in Portland and any city north of L.A. is that gang members could find the entry routes

to the I-5 system and make their way north. At the same time, they're also making their way east into Nevada and into Vegas.

There are two points I think that we need to look at. One is that we know that the adult members of gangs that are coming into the various cities, whether it be the mid-sized cities like Portland or whether it be like cities like Atlanta or larger cities, they're coming to sell crack or move weapons. They are not coming to find new gang members. The problem that comes up is that the high risk juveniles, the kids who are having problems in school, they're having family problems, they have low self esteem, those kids are the ones that will be attracted to that sense of belonging that is generated by being involved in a gang.

So, on the one hand you have this entrepreneur with spirit that comes forth and on the other you have these sitting ducks as we call them, kids that are just waiting for something to happen.

The drug traffic, I think, is one of the primary reasons that we are seeing such a movement of gangs out of the California area. According to some of the intelligence information, we're also seeing gangs coming out of the Chicago area into Portland. So, it behooves my city to set up a system to deal with this as soon as we possibly can. And we're doing that, recognizing that there are limited resources locally. Oregon, obviously, is coming out of recession and that does not generate a lot of money into our local coffers.

Chairman MILLER. Are you going to have adequate resources to deal with it?

Mr. BROWN. I'm not sure if we're going to have adequate resources that will be targeted specifically to gangs. I think one thing that we're looking at in Portland is trying to use a multi-faceted approach, one that involves utilizing the schools, the courts, the police, neighborhood organizations, churches, all getting together and attempting to deal with this issue because it's not just a police problem. It's not just a federal government problem. It's not just a local government problem. It's everybody's problem.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you.

Mr. Coats?

Mr. COATS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Shawn, in your statement that you submitted to the Committee, you said, "Like many of the other gang members, I grew up in a single parent household. My father has had little contact with me since I was one year old." Then later on you said, "When I was young, I used to wonder about my father. I resented his not being involved in my life. Now I don't care anymore. I think that I would not have become involved in a gang if I had had a job and if my father had had a relationship with me."

What you said there, is that typical of the gang members, the kids that are involved in selling the drugs and operating the gangs?

Mr. GRANT. Yes, most of them. Most of them, the parents really don't have that much anyway. Basically that's right.

Mr. COATS. Marianne, what's your experience with the situation of the gang members that you deal with?

Ms. DIAZ-PARTON. Yes, that situation applies to quite a few of the kids that I deal with. But more and more, we're finding gang members that are coming out of middle class areas. We have a lot of

white gangs now in L.A. coming up. They're all being attracted by the drug trade. They all want to make their money too.

See, L.A. is—everybody's calling it the gang capital. A lot of the kids are playing along with that. A lot of kids find that it's in fashion to be in a gang now. There's kids that hang around in his neighborhood that live in Torrance and those other parts of the city. They come down to hang out with the home boys because they have all the drugs, all the parties.

I was a gang member and I came from a two parent, middle class home.

Mr. COATS. What attracted you away from the home to the gang?

Ms. DIAZ-PARTON. The power.

Mr. COATS. The power?

Ms. DIAZ-PARTON. The power, the status that you get. I mean I was a nobody in school. I was just a kid who—I used to even be in the school band. I was all into school stuff.

Mr. COATS. Well, that's what most kids are into.

Ms. DIAZ-PARTON. School stuff, but——

Mr. COATS. You don't have a lot of power when you're 16.

Ms. DIAZ-PARTON. Right.

Mr. COATS. You'd like to, but you don't have a lot and most kids are in the band or——

Ms. DIAZ-PARTON. As soon as you get in a gang, everything changes. Teachers will treat you different. You're singled out. Everybody's paying attention to you. Other kids who before would maybe say something to you or—we're Hispanics, right? Before they used to call us wetbacks or whatever. Well, they don't say that no more when you get in a gang. They're real careful about what they say. They don't want to get on you bad side, don't want to make no enemies and nobody will harass you because they know if they do anything to you, they've got 100 other people who are going to come and get them later. You know what I mean?

You feel secure on one side, but you're setting yourself up for possible violence by rival gang members. But when you're 16, 17 years old, anything that gives you any kind of power, you want it. I mean your parents tell you what to do, teachers tell you what to do, the whole trip. You want to do something on your own. You have your own decisions to make in a gang and you have decisions over life and death and that's a trip. To basically look at someone and say, "I'm killing you," and that person is going to believe it, and believe me they'll go home and worry about it for the next three days waiting for you to do something.

Mr. COATS. When you were 16 or whatever age you were——

Ms. DIAZ-PARTON. Well, I got in when I was 13.

Mr. COATS. You decided, "Hey, school is boring. My family isn't giving me the support I want. I don't want to hang around here." What do you think society's response should be? What can we do that will make you have a different attitude or take a different approach? What can we give you? What do you want the school to give you, what do you want your parents to give you, what do you want the neighborhood or the community to give you that would be better than what you thought you could get by going down there and getting this power, holding this over people, becoming somebody?

Ms. DIAZ-PARTON. I don't think the school provided anything that was really interesting to me, for one.

Mr. COATS. What should it provide?

Ms. DIAZ-PARTON. There should have been activities besides cheerleading and all that kind of stuff.

Mr. COATS. Like what?

Ms. DIAZ-PARTON. Like some interesting sports activities or something. To get in sports in school, you kind of have to have a pretty good grade average like for guys' football teams and stuff. If you don't keep up your grade level, they kick you off. That's a lot of complaints I get from gang members on the street.

Mr. COATS. You think that schools then shouldn't have any requirements about grade averages?

Ms. DIAZ-PARTON. I think if a kid is interested in anything else besides gangs, you ought to build that. "If I'm interested in art or whatever, don't kick me out just because I'm a gang member and you don't like me or you don't like the way I talk or the way I act, or just because you tell me to jump and I'm not going to jump. You're not my mother. You're not my father."

Mr. COATS. So you don't think the schools should have any standards, any requirements?

Ms. DIAZ-PARTON. I think they need some but they can't just bully people around and kick them out just because you do something they don't like. I mean what does that do? If I'm in school and I do something you don't like, instead of working with me and getting somebody who understands me who will come in and say, "Hey, I know where you're coming from. I used to be involved in this. Let me talk to you." Teachers would try to talk to me about gangs. I'd say, "What do you know? You're sitting here telling me what I should do and I should just get out of that gang."

Mr. COATS. You think we should hire teachers that have previously been in gangs so that they can relate to you?

Ms. DIAZ-PARTON. No, I think you ought to hire people who can teach those teachers how to relate to gang members. It don't take much. Sit there for three or four hours a day, I'll teach you everything you want to know. Right?

Mr. COATS. I'm sure you could.

Shawn, I want to get back to your statement because someday you might be a parent. You might have a son. He's going to be 12, 13, 14 and if you see him starting to get involved in gang activity, what are you going to do?

Mr. GRANT. I'm going to try to sit down and talk to him. As long as he is under my roof, if I'm paying the bills and taking care of him, he's going to listen. I'll make sure that my son listens to what I have to say.

Mr. COATS. Do you wish your dad had done that with you?

Mr. GRANT. Yes. If I had a father, I'm sure he would have instructed me the right way, you know. More like the big hand around the house. If I have a son that's 12 years old, he's going to go to school and I'm going to make him listen, if I'm his father.

Mr. COATS. So, you don't want what happened to you to happen to your family?

Mr. GRANT. No.

Mr. COATS. See, the question I'm getting at, Shawn, is I'm wondering where are the fathers.

Mr. GRANT. Say it again?

Mr. COATS. I'm wondering where the dads are. I'm wondering why the fathers don't rise up and say, "I'm not going to let this happen to my family. I don't want my kid to get killed. I don't want my kid to get so strung out on dope that he's not going to be able to get an education or be able to be a father, get married or be a part of the society."

I'm wondering why fathers and mothers don't rise up and say, "Wait a minute."

Mr. GRANT. Well, a lot of parents—you know, kids coming up nowadays, they get a certain age, they're bigger than their parents. They intimidate their parents.

Mr. COATS. So, just overwhelmed by them.

Mr. GRANT. Especially if they're on drugs or they come in the house drunk. Maybe a lady have a child who's maybe about 6 feet. Big as a grown man. Maybe bigger than both his parents. It's easy to intimidate them. The parents love him. They don't want to throw him out or nothing like that so they can be intimidated in their own home.

Mr. COATS. Well, what are you going to do when your son is bigger than you? He's 15 and comes in and says——

Mr. GRANT. See, that's when I'm going to try to go take him to the court system or something. Then he'll be put away. I think if he do a little time like I did and sit in somewhere for like—if he did a first offense, maybe just sitting there for like 21 days or something like in a detention juvenile center for awhile and think about what you did, I think he'll come around a little bit.

Mr. COATS. It sounds like you think the answer is for somebody to get tough, for somebody to say, "Hey, I'm not going to allow this. You mess up, you're going to pay the penalty. You've got to get a good education. I'm going to make sure you're going to get an education. You're not going to do drugs. I'm going to make sure you don't do drugs. If I catch you doing drugs, you're going to respond to me."

It sounds like that's what you're prescribing.

Mr. GRANT. Yes, that's what——

Mr. COATS. Do you wish you had had that?

Mr. GRANT. Yes. At first, you know, I got a little treatment. I messed up and I went to the court system and they locked me up for 12 days. I couldn't stand it. So, I think if somebody—first offense, they do something wrong out there on messing around, they should just get a little taste of it and know how it feels to be locked up for a little while.

Mr. COATS. Ismael, do you agree with that?

Mr. HUERTA. The way I see it is our parents mess up when they don't detect it early enough to stop it from really happening. My parents didn't detect it until I was already into it. I think the only way they would have helped me if they would have detected it as soon as I got in the gang. They would have talked me out of it then. I would have just stopped hanging out with the boys and they would have forgot about me.

Mr. COATS. Why do you think it took them so long to detect it?

Mr. HUERTA. Because I was trying to keep it away from them for as long as possible because I remember they used to try and tell me, "Don't join no gang." So, I joined the gang. I was keeping it away from them. They noticed that I came home with a tattoo or a couple tattoos and they asked me what happened. I had to tell them. "I've been in the gang for this long." They'd tell me, "What can I do?" I'd say it's too late. "I thought you knew, that you were trying to make sure for yourself that I was in a gang."

Mr. COATS. What are you going to do with your kids?

Mr. HUERTA. I'd try and see where I messed up, try—if I see them doing where I started, because I can tell when somebody is getting started. At least as a Mexican, you can tell when they start growing their hair back, then the bigger pants coming on, then the shirts. If they start worrying about their creases in their pants. That's where I can detect that because you get harassed by your fellow gang members, "Your pants ain't creased enough or your hair isn't hung or you need more starch on your shirts." They bother you about that. That's how you can tell.

Mr. COATS. What are you going to do about schooling for your kids? If they come and say, "Hey, school's a drag. Teachers don't understand me. I don't want to learn. I'm not getting anything out of it," what are you going to tell your kids?

Mr. HUERTA. I would tell them to try to handle it because if they try and do what I did, drop out of school, that's what I did, it ain't going to get them nowhere. When you start hanging out, that's when you get even more seriously into a gang, when you leave school alone, because you ain't got nothing to do for the whole day but to hang out in the streets and make money.

Mr. COATS. Do you want to hang out in the streets the rest of your life?

Mr. HUERTA. No, that's why I'm trying to get my life straightened out. I'm planning on going back to school. But I'm planning on going back to school at night time, which is when most of the gang members are hanging out. So, if I'm going to school at night, I don't think they would know I'm going to school, because they'll probably think I'm hanging out like they are.

Mr. COATS. I think my time is up, Ismael.

Thanks Shawn, Ismael and Marianne for your answers.

Chairman MILLER. Mr. Durbin?

Mr. DURBIN. Thanks, Mr. Chairman.

If I could continue, I think you might detect a fascination by the members of Congress to talk with the two youngsters on the panel particularly to try to get their perspective on the world. We like to think we're changing this world and influencing it. If our message isn't getting down to these two young men and the people that they live with and Ms. Diaz-Parton, we're missing the boat. Maybe some of these questions are just our effort to determine how we might affect your lives and the lives of your brothers and sisters more effectively.

Let me ask you about two related issues that I think kind of effect some of the lifestyles here. There's a lot of talk in your testimony about drugs and it appears that it's the dollars and cents of gang life, it's the currency, the coin of the realm. Without it, I

don't know how many gangs would even exist if they didn't have this treasury that was building up and funding them.

Let me go to a related issue. You talk about marijuana and cocaine and such. Are you, in the gang activities, familiar with heavier drugs, the shooting up, IV drugs and the like? Is that common? Do you see it? Do gang members get involved in it?

Either one.

Mr. HUERTA. Well, the way I see it is the older members, like 22, 23, they don't really hang out with the younger guys like us. Those are the guys who are getting strung out on heroin or cocaine.

Mr. DURBIN. So you kind of graduate up?

Mr. HUERTA. Yes. You kind of keep progressing as in using—you start out usually with a joint. Then you go off to PCP and then you start doing cocaine. Then rock came around and everybody was buying rocks.

Mr. DURBIN. Tell me what rock is. I'm not familiar——

Mr. HUERTA. It's crack.

Mr. DURBIN. Crack, okay.

Mr. HUERTA. Yes. Then gang members found a way to make it themselves, from powder into a rock form, and that brought more money to the scene.

Mr. DURBIN. But it moves up.

Mr. HUERTA. Yes.

Mr. DURBIN. I mean as you get older, you get more drug dependent, you get into the heavier stuff, the IV drugs.

Mr. HUERTA. Yes.

Mr. DURBIN. Shawn, that's your experience too?

Mr. GRANT. Yes, in most cases it is. A lot of younger kids are strung out on cocaine though, like coking it up and everything. A lot of younger ones, maybe about 16, 17 are on cocaine. They start off smoking marijuana and stuff and move up to cocaine. As they get up in the 20s, they must start shooting up. You really see that—you mostly just see—where I live at, all you see is maybe some marijuana and a little use of cocaine.

Mr. DURBIN. We've spent the last several years here in Washington and around the country talking about AIDS related to shooting up, using IV drugs. Is that message getting down to the street? Do you know there's a problem there? Does it scare anybody?

Mr. GRANT. You might have two people just messing around. They don't listen to that. I have a friend, he sells a lot of drugs and stuff. He comes from a middle class family and everything and lives in a different side from me. There's girls out there that do anything just to get the drugs. They could be shooting up. They get laid up and stay with somebody that was shooting up or something. It just don't get to their head. There's still people going to mess around. They're going to do what they want to do.

Mr. DURBIN. So you're saying that message isn't getting to the streets?

Mr. GRANT. People, they just mess with a lady. They get what they want to get.

Mr. DURBIN. Ismael, what about yourself? What do you hear?

Mr. HUERTA. The message isn't getting through. You know, girls which are out there, they come around to the drug dealers saying, "I'll do anything if you give me a piece of crack." They'll go to bed

with them, which they don't know how many other guys they've been to bed with. So, they could catch AIDS from anybody out there.

Mr. DURBIN. So, once they're hooked, they aren't listening to anybody?

Mr. HUERTA. Yes. They don't have no money for crack, so they'll sleep with a guy just to smoke.

Mr. DURBIN. Let me switch to another topic. You talk about the importance and the influence of drugs in this whole thing, but there's some other things that are related.

Shawn, for example, do you have any sisters?

Mr. GRANT. Yes.

Mr. DURBIN. You do?

Mr. GRANT. Yes, I have a 12 year old sister.

Mr. DURBIN. One of the things we're real concerned about, growing in this country, out of control, the number of teenagers who are getting pregnant. Tell me a little bit about that in the life you live and the gang culture. What's the talk on the street about that?

Mr. GRANT. What, pregnancy?

Mr. DURBIN. Yes. Is it just her problem?

Mr. GRANT. It's like kids coming up like younger than me and everything is faster because their bodies are developed. You have a girl maybe 14, 13 years old, she could be developed like a 16, 17 year old. She can have a baby. Some get abortions and some are just stuck. From there on it can just be miserable for them.

Mr. DURBIN. Well, is the feeling among the male gang members, "That ain't my problem, it's just her bad luck"?

Mr. GRANT. Yes, some. You got some guys out there, some care, some don't. It's half and half. Some care about their kids. I have a friend and he had a child. He's trying to get out of school and he's working at the same time. He's trying to take care of his son the best way he can by working. So, it's not all out there that's doing—but you've got a few that just don't care. "Hey, leave her hanging."

Mr. DURBIN. Ismael, what about your experience?

Mr. HUERTA. It's similar to his, you know. It's like, she wanted it, so you live with it.

Mr. DURBIN. She's got to pay the price?

Mr. HUERTA. Yes. You could say it was a one night stand. It could be a little mistake. And it's like "That's your fault. You shouldn't have laid there and opened your legs for me."

Mr. DURBIN. Mrs. Diaz-Parton, am I pronouncing your name correctly?

Ms. DIAZ-PARTON. Yes.

Mr. DURBIN. Are you familiar with Garfield High School in Los Angeles?

Ms. DIAZ-PARTON. Yes.

Mr. DURBIN. They just did a feature on Garfield High School that said just the opposite of what you said earlier, I think. They suggested that that high school turned itself around by doing just the opposite things than what you're suggesting. They said, "We're getting tough. You make the grade or you're gone. You walk inside this school and you're under control of the discipline of this school and if you don't like it leave." The results of it, from what we are told, are rather dramatic, that the students at this public high

school have been setting national records in terms of math scores and the like.

Tell me about tha.. What is your thinking about that approach?

Ms. DIAZ-PARTON. Well, we have a school in our area that is making the same statements, but what they say and what's really going on could be two different things. We have a school that tells us there's no gang problem on their campus. I drive by and there's 40 or 50 gang members hanging out in the parking lot. They see what they want to see and they say what they want you to hear.

Mr. DURBIN. What I hear from Shawn sitting next to you and what I heard about Garfield High School is instead of the "go with the flow" attitude and let's let people set their own standards as long as they'll show up and we're making some progress, what I'm hearing from the other side is at a certain age when you're making critical choices, "Give me some guideposts, give me some direction, tell me what's right and what's wrong and enforce it. Help me to make these tough decisions. Don't let me make the wrong ones and if I make them, let me know."

Tell me, your testimony earlier suggested another approach to it. Am I wrong?

Ms. DIAZ-PARTON. Well, getting tough with some people will work, but there's some th[illegible] won't work. They threw me in the joint for three years. The h[illegible] two years, the time I did there made me crazier than I was when I got in. I had to fight everyday. The gang members were all over in the joint. There was no rehabilitation. There was nobody trying to straighten me out in there. I straightened myself out with the help of a deputy sheriff. He'd come up and visit me every week because he knew I had it up here.

All I'm saying is for people to look at kids as individuals and don't put them all into one box or one basket and say, "Hey, you're a gang member, so get out of my school." Just because he wears khakis or whatever, right, doesn't mean that he can't cut the grade. Right?

The school that I'm talking about kicks you out if you wear your gang clothes or stuff at school. What is that doing for him or for the community, putting him out eight hours in the street while you're at work? He could be burglarizing your house? How do you keep an eye on him when he's just out there? How's he getting an education, what's he doing?

If you're just going to say, "Hey, either you do this or get out of here," at least 30 percent are going to say, "Well, I'm getting out of here then. I'm gone." To me, that's too many kids to say, "If you can't cut it, then get out of here," and make your own way. Those are going to be your gang members and drug dealers. How are they going to make their money?

Mr. DURBIN. I've got many questions, Mr. Chairman, but I know there are a lot of members of the panel waiting. Thank you very much.

Chairman MILLER. What she just said reminded me of one of the great discoveries of my life was when I found out my local high school suspended you for cutting classes.

Mr. Hastert?

Mr. HASTERT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Very intriguing testimony. And I have to tell you right up front, I taught school for 16 years, but I taught school out in the country. We didn't have city influence and things like this.

We understand and talk about this and read about these problems, but I think one of the points that you bring out, Shawn, you especially, is that here is a way to get involved in a gang and get involved in drug trade. The only opportunity for you to make money is low income jobs, $3.00, $4.00 an hour and all of a sudden you can make big money. How much money can you make in a night? Say that you're pushing or you're spotting.

Mr. GRANT. A worker might get about $300, $400 a night. That's if you were working. But if you're the main man, you can collect large sums of money. Just sit back and just collect.

Mr. HASTERT. So, the thing all of a sudden to a kid who's never had anything, a kid who's been in a family whose mother is on maybe welfare or maybe she's struggling to keep her family together, all of a sudden you're talking about this drug that gives you an opportunity for a business, even if you're the low guy on the totem pole to bring in $300 or $400 a night. The chances are you're not going to get caught, right?

Mr. GRANT. It depends. I mean, if the cops—they know where the drug houses are. Everyone knows. If you were on drugs and you wanted it, you could find it. That's what I'm saying. It's like they know where to get the drugs from and everything. So it's like they're just looking at their own problems and not really doing nothing about it.

Mr. HASTERT. And the chance to have an economic opportunity like this really isn't there unless you're in a gang, right; because a gang is the protection? There are not many solo operators, are there?

Mr. GRANT. Yes, you have a few. You do have a few solo operators, but if they're more closer to a group that's making a lot of money, the group might offer them, "Be in or we'll just take your spot, take your 'crack' houses," and take them over or something like that.

Mr. HASTERT. Ish, how about you? The same thing? Is the potential to make a huge amount of money something that you had never even thought of before?

Mr. HUERTA. Yes.

Mr. HASTERT. Especially if you're a kid, a 15 or 16 year old.

Mr. HUERTA. When you're 14, 15, 16 year old, $300, $400 is a lot for one night.

Mr. HASTERT. If you're a member of Congress, $300 or $400 is a lot.

Chairman MILLER. You'd be surprised what we do.

Mr. HUERTA. That's a lot of money. That's all you think about is money. "I can go out and buy me some new clothes." The home boys are looking at me and say, "Ah, business is rolling good."

As you make more money, you get up higher. You start buying as in a bigger sum and making more money. You start off with a little bit of cocaine and then you get more money, because you double up your money mostly, and then you go buy more, bigger sums. Every night you keep bringing in more and more. That's how you get to the top.

Mr. HASTERT. So, it's a roll.

Mr. HUERTA. Yes.

Mr. HASTERT. You get in this thing and you get on a roll and you can really cycle out of the misery of hanging around youth centers or being banged on school or being ridiculed by teachers. This gives you a way out of that, right?

Mr. HUERTA. Yes. And another thing is a lot of people are now really killing each other, not only for gang purposes but for drug dealing. It's like he's got a cheaper price than you and you can't go no lower because you're going to be losing money. So you're going to have to take him out, out of the scene. If he finds out you're selling crack for a cheaper price, then he's going to have to bring his prices down and you don't want to bring yours no lower.

Mr. HASTERT. All of a sudden business is murder.

Mr. HUERTA. Yes. You guys are going to have to bring him down now or you guys are all going to be losing money. You either take him out or you move out of there and go look for another spot to sell.

Mr. HASTERT. So, things really get out of control, whether you're talking about L.A. or you're talking about Philly. Things are out of control, right, especially down at that lower echelon. You have your own justice. I mean if somebody crosses you out, you wipe them out. He ain't there anymore.

Marianne, it's interesting, the conversation. I think you bring out some good points. You talk about the school situation and if a kid is in a gang that the school needs to keep them in there and keep an influence on them. But at the same time, you talk about teachers. I'm just trying to ask you a question here and get a feel. You said when you were in school, when you became a member of the gang, all of a sudden teachers treated you different. Right? Why?

Ms. DIAZ-PARTON. I think they were afraid.

Mr. HASTERT. Afraid of what?

Ms. DIAZ-PARTON. They think all gang members are murders and killers and they just don't really want to have you there.

Mr. HASTERT. So, as a potential then, if a teacher has you in a class and gives you a bad grade or crosses you, in their mind——

Ms. DIAZ-PARTON. In their mind, they think they're going to get shot or something after school. There were a few times that I would use my intimidation on the teachers.

Mr. HASTERT. So, sometimes with gang members, in all fairness, there's a problem in trying to teach kids things.

Ms. DIAZ-PARTON. There is, yes. There is a problem, but problems are something to be dealt with. You deal with problems. If you have a kid and he's giving you problems, you're not just going to throw him out on the street. You're going to try to work with them.

I know my parents, me being a gang member, they would rather at least see me come home and know that I was alive than throw me out and not know from week to week if I was still alive.

Mr. HASTERT. What would happen to the infrastructure, the structure tying together the gangs as you know it, if all of a sudden drugs were hard to get, the supply was shut off? What would happen?

Ms. DIAZ-PARTON. Well, from what I see, there were gangs before the drug trade really got to where it was anyway, but it was easier to deal with them then because it was mostly a turf type thing. "You stay in your neighborhood, I'll stay in mine. You don't come over here, nothing will happen to you."

But now with the drugs, it makes people have to move. Like in his neighborhood, I know like my ex-home boys, the gang I was from are enemies to his. Okay? I see my home boys down there copping drugs. They let you slide on that. "Oh, he's coming in to buy some stuff from us, so it's cool." He can come in and buy, but he can't come in and hang out. As long as he's making a transaction, he can come through. You know what I mean?

There's a neighborhood over there called Crenshaw Mafia. They're Bloods. They were renting out corners to Crip gangs. They'd say, "Okay, you made $400. We want our cut because we allowed you to be here."

So, if the drugs were harder to get, it would slow down. It would slow down, but I don't think gangs would dissolve because Hispanic gangs have been around for 50 years.

Mr. HASTERT. Shawn, one thing really hit me when you were talking about the question from Mr. Coats. You said if you had a kid 12 years old who was under your roof, you're responsible. You'd make him listen. "I am his father." That type of an authority. You're saying that you could make a difference in that kids life.

But what if that kid, say you gave him $5.00 or $10.00 allowance a week and all of a sudden he had this opportunity to make $300 or $400 a night, do you think that still your strong influence as a father who cared about that kid, that you could make a difference in that kid's life?

Mr. GRANT. I probably couldn't if it got that far out of hand. Like I said, I would try—take legal action and get him under some supervision that's stronger than that.

Mr. HASTERT. I see you and Ish both struggling with something. I credit you for being here today because it's not easy to do that. But there is a line of right and wrong, what's right and what's wrong. I think you're trying to deal with that. You're talking about trying to make yourself straight and you're dealing with that issue. I really commend you to go through that struggle. Yet you have the gangs and still your affiliation there. Do you think that there's a way that we can get that message across, that there is a right and wrong?

Mr. GRANT. Yes.

Mr. HASTERT. How?

Mr. GRANT. Like I said, a first offender most of the time will get probation in most places around the country. I think first offenders should at least just get a taste of how it feels for awhile, how it feels to be locked up for awhile. I know it can get overcrowded in there, but just for awhile. Let him see how it feels. Maybe he might come out then and they put him on probation and give him counseling.

Mr. HASTERT. Thank you very much. I really appreciate you being here and talking to us.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman MILLER. Congresswoman Boxer?

Mrs. BOXER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you for this hearing.

How old are the leaders of these gangs, in your experience? Are we talking about people in their 20s, are we talking older, are we talking younger? Not just your gang, but the gangs you're aware of, what's the oldest?

Mr. HUERTA. Well, the gang I'm from, usually the leader who starts up the gang is one of the first ones to die because that's who they'll really go out and look for. They said, "Well, if we take him out, then they'll probably stop recruiting people then because they don't have the permission to do it without him."

Mrs. BOXER. What's the age of the oldest leader who's still a leader, who hasn't gotten assassinated?

Mr. HUERTA. Some of them live to the age of 30 or 40 years old.

Mrs. BOXER. Really?

Mr. HUERTA. And still come around to see how the younger guys are doing.

Mrs. BOXER. Okay. So we're talking about adults who are essentially still leading the whole situation of these children, who start off at the age of what, 13 is what you said.

Mr. HUERTA. 13.

Mrs. BOXER. What do you think of an adult who would get a kid at 13, 14, 15 into crack, into ruining their school life? Do you have anger toward this person or do you—how do you feel?

Mr. HUERTA. The way I see it is, they give him more respect than they do their parents.

Mrs. BOXER. In other words, even in you right now, while you have decided to pick yourself up and do something about your life, which I applaud, you don't feel an anger inside toward an adult who would use these kids to earn money? Do you feel anger? Don't just answer it because I'm looking for that. If you don't, I think that's important for us to know.

Mr. GRANT. Well, I do myself. I don't think a person that they ain't got nothing better to do, coming around messing with the younger ones. I think they should be off working somewhere. Some of the older guys like that have kids and stuff like that. They ain't got nothing else better to do. They've been messed up for the longest. They ain't trying to change. They're a bad influence.

Mrs. BOXER. Okay. Now, so without these older members, do you think the gangs would be a little different? Do you think that this is what's made it worse?

Mr. GRANT. No, because then again it's the money. It's not really no more the turf. That's like played out in Philadelphia. Nobody goes through that no more, like fighting over turf. Now it's just money and getting the most money.

Mrs. BOXER. Okay.

Mr. GRANT. That's all it really is.

Mrs. BOXER. There is something, Ish, in your statement which I found very compelling. You said; "Sometimes I want to get out, but I think that I'll have to come back because if something happens to one of my friends, I'll have to help out."

Then you say, "Where I come from, a gang is like family."

Mr. HUERTA. Yes.

Mrs. BOXER. So, your feeling is, and I would ask all three of you, is the gang a substitute for family? What can we do, all of us together, who have come to the decision that it's not the best thing long-term for people, to be able to move into that void, to fill that vacuum, to fill that problem, to solve that problem, to substitute a family? Have you given it any thought?

Now, let me tell you, a very long time ago when I was in school, and I grew up in the inner city of Brooklyn, New York in a very—nobody owned their own home, we lived in apartment houses and all of that. We had clubs in school and these clubs were very competitive with one another. We had jackets, we had hats. If I told you what the competition was about, you'd laugh me out of the room because it was really square stuff. It was games and it was dances and it was drama and all that. It was things that you would find boring probably. But we did have clubs because we wanted that sense of community.

I guess it leads into, Marianne, your point and I hear what you're saying. You're saying, "Don't lose these kids. If these kids are in trouble, don't just take the easy way out, close your eyes, kick them out and say; 'I've done my thing.' " On the other hand, a kid comes into a classroom stoned, and I go to a lot of schools and I've seen it myself. They're disruptive to the process, it's a problem.

So, short of not kicking the kid out, knowing that we need to find somehow a substitute family because a lot of children are having children and they're not going to get that, no matter how much we may wish it, what do we do? We've got the kid. We know the kid's in trouble. The kid's in school. We may never see the kid again. What do we do?

Ms. DIAZ-PARTON. Well, I think before the kid even gets that far, you need to have prevention programs in the schools as young as elementary age.

Mrs. BOXER. How old?

Ms. DIAZ-PARTON. We have a program now that is just going into L.A. unified schools. We done some work in the Pasadena area and some Compton schools. We're getting into the Lennox school district and they'll tell you that at least 70 percent of the kids that come out of that school join a gang because it's Lennox. I mean everybody knows Lennox.

Mrs. BOXER. Are you talking 9, 10?

Ms. DIAZ-PARTON. Yes, I'm talking 9 and 10 year olds. And we go in—well, not myself because I'm a street counselor—but we have staff that are educated, but have also learned the streets. They're street-wise people. They're taught by us, the ex-gang members. They're taught by us how to deal with it and they go in and they do the same thing like Mrs. Reagan wants, "Say no to drugs." We say no to gangs. We have kids leaving classrooms saying, "I'm never joining a gang, never." Wearing buttons with gang with a slash through it, you know like the no smoking signs, and little pamphlets that show gang activity, coloring books and things like that. You've got to program them to know what a gang member looks like, what it is to be approached or be recruited, because the only way to stop a gang is to end recruitment. As long as you keep getting kids that join gangs, they're never going to stop. You've got to stop it before they get in.

Like working with these guys is hard.

Mrs. BOXER. Right.

Ms. DIAZ-PARTON. They're already in it. They're alre washed. If somebody would have come and talked to n was hard core, I would have said, "Get out of my face. know what you're talking about. Just get out of here." Right? The only reason we have respect is because they can see by looking at us—in fact, one of his home boys works for us now. He's going to be a deputy sheriff. People can change, but instead of going through that whole hassle of trying to pull them out, why not keep them from getting in first.

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. Chairman, I know my time is up. I think that is obviously one of the things this committee has tried to do from the beginning, is focus on prevention. But when we get into these circumstances it's very late. You may have some success.

I want to urge both of you to hang in there because you'll gain respect, your own self respect because you're standing up and you're being counted. It's real important. Thanks.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you.

Mr. Lewis?

Mr. LEWIS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for holding this Committee and providing me with an opportunity to ask a question.

Shawn and Ismael, let me just ask a question. Most of the young people that happen to be your age, out of school, are they holding jobs, are they doing anything?

Mr. GRANT. Some are. Some go to work and maybe get little jobs here and there. That's in the beginning. They have to go to college. They will have to get some more education in order to get a good job out there. Just getting a high school diploma ain't going to get you the job that you want. I don't think it will give me the job that I want, that you can be satisfied——

Mr. LEWIS. Ismael, would you like to respond?

Mr. HUERTA. Well, see, there is people that do have jobs. But then they see the drug dealers and they say, "I'm over there working my behind off and I'm making $4.00 an hour and these guys are bringing in more than I do in a week in one day." So, they see to get the hang of dealing of drugs and they eventually start dealing themselves.

Mr. LEWIS. Let me ask Mr. Brown and Major Derico a question. Listening to your statement, your testimony, will you agree that the problem that we're faced with is so massive, just so widespread and that it's growing to such a great degree that there must be some type of help or some type of assistance on the national level? You're saying that you don't have the resources. What would you recommend to the Chairman of this committee and to members of Congress to do?

Mr. BROWN. I do think we have a massive problem. I live on the West Coast in the Northwest. Problems that I hear just from Atlanta mirror those that have happened in Portland. They mirror those problems that are happening in Southern California. They are probably the same problems that are going on in Chicago, New York, probably here even in D.C.

So we're talking about a national problem which needs a national focus. The massive amounts of program services that are going

to be needed include early education, prevention, intervention; parent education. We're talking about trying to teach parents how to parent kids and specifically how to parent kids that are involved in gang activity. The need for mentor programs, the need for leisure time and recreation programs and the need for jobs programs.

I have to ask a question which kids ask me and I can't answer. "Why is it that as a kid at 16 years old I am only allowed to make $3.35 an hour? What rights of passage do I have to go through to make $6.00, $7.00, $8.00 an hour? "

I have kids on my caseload whose parents are making $4.00 an hour, qualifying for public assistance and these kids are looking at that. They look at mom and dad, assuming that both parents are together, they're looking at that family situation and they're saying, "You're not even making it. Why are you telling me to stay away from drugs and stay away from selling dope when I know that you can't make the rent payment."

Now, we are talking about some very deep—and I'm sure there are other folks that will be coming up in the second half of this who will talk about this—but we're talking deep societal issues here. We're not talking about something that has just crept up on us over the last two years. Representative Miller is correct. The Kerner Commission talked about this 20 years ago.

What has changed? The change has come around in that we now have a more deadly form of addiction in the community; but the conditions are the same, high unemployment, neighborhood blight, decay, lack of programs that can positively interact in these kids lives.

We're seeing job programs that are defunded. We're seeing public works type programs, which I grew up—I'm 35 years old. I grew up in the old neighborhood youth corps days. I saw the advantages of the Comprehensive Employment Training Act, which has now gone into JEPTA and I recognize that those programs are no longer available in the scale that they were in the early and late '70s. That's a federal issue. That is not a state or local issue.

The issue that I think we must look at, we cannot just deal with the issue of prevention and intervention. There has to be consequences. For the adult members of gangs that are transporting drugs interstate, they're transporting weapons interstate, that again is a federal issue. It has to be dealt with on a federal level.

The issues of dealing with hard core gang members, and I'm not talking about the juveniles that are looking to be involved in the activities and they're kind of standing back—I think I defined them in my testimony as peripheral and affiliates—the hard core members who are wholly invested in the violence aspect need to be separated from the community because they will cause violence to come upon other members of the community. Those kids who are at the affiliate and peripheral levels, they can be worked with. The prevention programs, the recreation programs, the mental programs, the jobs programs, those can all be focused on those particular groups.

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. Brown, my time is almost up.

Mr. DERICO. Very quickly, from a law enforcement standpoint, I think the Justice Department must take the lead in the investigation of local and state problems with the drug problem. It is widely

spread. The DEA assisted by the ATF group, Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, need to examine the problems of weapons that are purchased in one state, transported to other states and being used in these violent activities. ATF needs to play a very active role in following up on these kinds of cases.

Once again, I say you as the members of Congress must look at the whole issue of gun control and how easily guns are obtained in certain areas and they're transported to other areas where they make the problem more devastating.

Mr. LEWIS. If we fail to act as a society or as a nation, what do you see for the future for the American society in the next 20 years or so?

Chairman MILLER. You'd better be right. You didn't think you were going to be asked a question, did you, Mr. Carver?

Mr. CARVER. I wish I had an easier question to answer. From where I sit, it's just total pessimism. I see very, very little good news. I guess the only good news I've heard on this whole drug situation is the data that's coming out of the national high school senior survey that maybe we're finally beginning to see less of a tolerance for drug use. The problem is, none of the people we've been talking about ever make it far enough in high school to become seniors, so they're never going to be reflected in those surveys. I really don't think there is any cause for optimism whatsoever. And at the street level, we're just being carried away by drugs and violence.

Chairman MILLER. Mr. Sikorski?

Mr. SIKORSKI. Mr. Chairman, I have no questions. I do think it's important to thank the people, you and the staff, the people who come here to testify for raising a sad, terrible and depressing, pessimistic story. It's a good needed slap in the face of the federal government to understand this isn't West Side Story or the Bronx Zoo, this is America. Lake Woebegone, Minnesota has the same problems as Portland and L.A. and New York. And for those who believe it's "Morning in America," it's time to open our eyes, to wake up to the fact that we are putting Band-aids, as Marianne said, on severed arms. America ain't going to have any arms left unless we deal with the drug problems and the violence and urban problems. We need to look at what's worked in the past, as James had said.

Again, all of you deserved to be thanked. Your message is understood. It's not especially appreciated, it's not fun, but it's understood. Thank you.

Chairman MILLER. Let me just say a couple of things and maybe ask a quick question. I certainly want to get onto the next panel. I think they certainly have some of the resources available to tell us how to deal with this, should we decide that that's what we want to do.

Very often, and certainly in the political framework, issues come and go sort of in the center ring of the circus. Gangs and drugs and children and youth, we had a false start before the last election, but I think we're about to see the big time in terms of this country's concern and attention.

The question really is, what do we do? When you're talking about 50,000 gang members in Los Angeles, it's hard for me to believe that that city can survive. And then you talk about gangs

being formed based upon an ethnic basis. You divide it into Asian gangs; in San Francisco we have Clackers, which are Samoans; we have Filipino groups; we have black groups. You can break them down as far as you want to. We can break them down within the Vietnamese community. We can do this all the way down the rung if you want.

Last year we had a hearing on racism and the rearing of that ugly head again. In a survey in California, of all the Asian immigrant children surveyed, none could testify that they hadn't been extorted, beaten, cudgeled, punched, what have you, by fellow students. Therefore, their response was to form a gang. Now, that is a different response than to form a gang to sell drugs, but obviously what we're seeing here today is it's not a very far leap from forming a gang to protect your turf, to protect your neighborhood or whatever you do, to then becoming a part of a cog in this big machinery that markets drugs.

What concerns me is that none of you are surprised by what you're telling us today, nor will the people on the next panel be surprised by what you're telling us today, because you've been witnessing it for years. See, I don't think gangs really became an issue in L.A. until a young woman was inadvertently shot down off the UCLA campus.

What's the neighborhood?

Ms. DIAZ-PARTON. Westwood.

Chairman MILLER. Westwood. Until she came out of the restaurant and it was a stray bullet, then it became a big issue with the City Council and 14 patrolmen were put on the streets and there's a hassle now over whether it's going to be done in the Hispanic community or in Westwood and who's going to be responsible and how this is all going to happen.

See, what's happening all of a sudden, it appears to me, is that gangs are starting to slop over into middle America. They're slopping over because they're looking to Portland, Oregon, where nobody thinks people go to buy drugs. But the gangs think people will be there to buy drugs. In Atlanta, it's slopping over into suburban communities. In my district it's slopping over into suburban communities.

So, I think you're about to get real popular politically. That may be a good or a bad sign, because we may do something very quickly before the presidential election and then like before the last election, we'll cancel it right after the election. There was sort of a war on drugs. Well, skirmish I guess is what we declared it. I think we lose that one if we do that again. And the Congress—this isn't partisan—the Congress was as much a part of that as the Administration.

I think it's a real failure to recognize, one, that these young people sitting here are very, very valuable resources. We say that in the abstract, but I suspect when most politicians say that, they don't think about gang members being a valuable resource.

But I'd say the business acumen that's represented at this table and sophistication about the capitalistic system would make many people in this country proud. We've just got you in the wrong channel. Your resources are going to waste, but you're also becoming

very dangerous. You and other members of the gangs are becoming very dangerous to American society.

My friend, John Lewis—one of the reasons we're having this hearing is because he said to me one day on the floor of the Congress, "If we don't do something, this group of people have the ability to pull down the shade on American society." When you're talking about 50,000 gang members in the Los Angeles basin, there may be more, I think you're obviously talking about that potential.

When we witness on the streets of the District of Columbia rival gang wars between the Jamaican gangs and other gangs and we start to see random killings, I think politicians start to be aware of this. But the question is, will we address it, dealing with you as individuals or are we going to decide to make one statement about gangs and one statement about all the members? Are we going to treat you all the same?

My real concern is that I think there's still a belief in the political community that there are institutions strong enough to combat this: the black family, the extended family, the relatives, the churches, religious organizations, neighborhood organizations. I get a sense that those organizations where you have a concentration just simply don't have the strength to combat this effort. We're really talking a generation now removed from when we thought those institutions had a hold on young people and could be responsible for turning them around. The gangs, in fact, are stronger than those institutions. Is that fair?

Ms. DIAZ-PARTON. Well, those institutions you're talking about, churches and things like that, what we do as an agency is we pull them all together. We have to do everything together. We form parent groups. We have people who have lost kids to gang violence who come and talk to parents. We have kids involved. We as an agency have always stated we're not going to do it alone. It's everybody's problem. So we pull all these resources together and try to do something, but the problem is that the resources we go to, half of them are getting the rug pulled out from under them too moneywise. We are.

We're going on our seventh year and every year either they give us the same amount of money, which isn't going to go as far the next year, or they take some. We started out having six people per team in a unit and now we're down to two people per team. Okay?

Chairman MILLER. And in the meantime, the Senate is listening to testimony by a gentleman that claims he was laundering $200 million a month for the people who were simply using these gangs as overhead. That's just the cost of doing business.

Ms. DIAZ-PARTON. So, we have to do what we can. The only thing that we can do is organize things that are out there naw, churches, community based organizations that are left. Parks and Rec., we have one person on the park all day. There's one person there and how much recreation can he do by himself?

So, we go in there and we try to fill the gaps, getting these guys together and having some sports, taking them to other areas, taking them camping. Some of these guys have never even fished in their life. There's things they've never experienced. Now, myself, I've experienced so much since I've got out of a gang, gang life looks kind of boring now. We used to just hang out on the

street all the time. Now I go traveling. Look where I am now. Look where he's at now. Believe me, when he goes back and tells his home boys about this, a lot of them are going to go, "Wow. Maybe I'm going to start thinking about bettering myself."

You need to have role models for these guys in the first place. I'm one. They see me. I pull up in my '87 car that I worked hard for and paid for and I pay my taxes and all that stuff and I tell them, "Man, you can do it, but you have to have somebody who's willing to help you and pull you along." If everybody keeps saying, "They're no good anyway," you start to believe it pretty soon. See, I'm sitting here telling them they're valuable to me. That's why I say in my testimony this is a personal involvement with me. It's not anything else but that. I love all these people out there on the streets. If you don't, then I don't know what you guys will be doing here representing all of us.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Chairman, if I can say this, and I'll try to keep this brief, I think if you look at the individuals to my right, you'll see the result of local efforts. California Youth Gang Services is a local program funded by the city of Los Angeles and I believe it has some state funding as well.

I think, however, looking at Portland and looking at L.A. and looking at Atlanta, I think we're now beyond the ability of local programs to impact what I think is a national problem. We are asking the Congress, representatives, to assist us in saving not only our children, because I have children too, we're asking Congress to save our neighborhood. We're asking Congress to save our police officers and our corrections workers who have to deal with this particular problem. And it is such that we cannot any longer do this by ourselves, but we have to have some teamwork from the federal government.

Your assistance through having this panel certainly, I believe, is a step in the right direction.

Chairman MILLER. Well, thank you. And let me again thank all of the members of this panel. And Shawn and Ismael, we really appreciate you taking your time and coming to share your experience with us. It means a great deal to this committee to have you do that and we really, really appreciate you making that effort on behalf of a lot of other people in your same situation. Thank you very much.

The next panel that the Committee will hear from will be made up of Professor Elliott Currie; John Calhoun; Dr. Deborah Prothrow-Stith and Doctor Martin Kesselman; Robert Martin, Director of the Chicago Intervention Network; and Sister Falaka Fattah, Director and Founder of the House of Umoja from Philadelphia, accompanied by Robert Allen.

Thank you very much for having patience and sticking with the Committee. I think it was important for members of the Committee to start to grasp not only the scale of this problem, to which some of you are going to testify and which goes beyond the previous testimony, but also some of the complexities and some of the distinctions that have to be made with respect to these individuals.

Professor Currie, we'll start with you.

STATEMENT OF DR. ELLIOTT CURRIE, CRIMINOLOGIST, CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF LAW AND SOCIETY, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY, CA

Dr. CURRIE. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Like the other speakers here today, I'm really delighted that the Committee has chosen to hold these hearings.

Chairman MILLER. I just want to say that your written statements will be put in the record in their entirety. To the extent that you think it's beneficial for us to have you comment on something you heard in the previous panel or something we said that's inaccurate, please do that. We try to create an accurate record here in terms of what the predicaments really are. So, please feel free to proceed in that fashion.

Dr. CURRIE. Okay. That's an important point, because I think that a lot of what I have to say, today unfortunately, is going to confirm some of the rather unpleasant and devastating things we've heard this morning.

I've been studying youth violence for a long time—over 20 years. But I have to tell you in all candor, I've never been more worried, more troubled, than I am today about what I'm seeing out there.

I'd like to continue the discussion we started to have this morning about what lies behind all this and a little bit about what we can do about it.

For the last year or so, I've been engaged in a study of the roots of violence and of hard drug abuse and self-destructive behavior among a group of kids in one not untypical urban American community. I've been talking in depth with several dozen young people, many of them kids who are locked up in juvenile institutions. Those kids are black, white, they're Hispanic, they're Asian, they're male and they're female. What they have in common is that they're in deep trouble.

And another thing that they have in common is that they're the products of some very destructive social and economic forces which have been underway in America for a long time. I think if we don't begin to confront those forces, we will never get a handle on the problems we've been hearing about this morning.

First and foremost, most of the young people that I've been talking with over the past year are the children of the economic disaster which has afflicted a very large chunk of American families over the past 15 years. They were born just about the time when the fortunes of the lower income family in our society, which were never so great to begin with, began to shift downward.

We don't have time for a lot of statistics today, and this Committee has itself produced some very good ones describing those trends, but let me just remind you briefly of the extent of the disaster that's affected many of those families in recent years.

Since 1974, just about the time when the youngest of the kids that I've been talking to were born, the share of income going to the poorest fifth of the population has fallen by about 20 percent. In real dollars, the income of poor families with young kids has fallen by 25 percent in the past decade. Now, all of these numbers, and many more like them, can get pretty abstract, to the point where we become numb to them. But they come alive, believe me,

when you start talking face to face with the children of these families.

The kids that I've been talking with who were locked up for serious crimes of violence are kids whose parents have been the first casualties of these changes. Their parents have lost good jobs (or have never had them) in the wake of the massive loss of stable, well paying employment that has shattered the labor markets of our cities since the early '70s. Some of them have parents who have never worked and who maybe never will.

Others, somewhat paradoxically, are parents who may be working two or even three low wage jobs, 12 or 14 hours a day, in order to put together an income sufficient to keep them from getting thrown out of their house, an income that's sufficient to buy their kids enough clothes so they can go to school without feeling humiliated and resentful.

But it's important to realize that the economic disaster that's hit so many of these families isn't just a matter of having enough dollars. Maybe even more importantly, it has accelerated the breakup of the social supports that might help these families bring up their kids in reasonably humane and compassionate ways.

The families of the kids that I talk to are always moving. Nobody ever seems to live in the same place for very long. A startling number are kids whose families came from a different state, a different city, a different neighborhood, always somewhere else. So the family is constantly uprooted. It's losing friends, it's losing extended kinship networks. It's losing all of the other stable and respected adults who might be there to help care for children, provide role models, and generally ease the burdens of combining work and child care that these families face.

Mr. Miller mentioned earlier that these community institutions ought to be out there somehow countervailing the force of the gangs. Well, one of the reasons they're not doing it is because families have been consistently uprooted from these networks and local institutions, often in the search for work or the search for affordable housing. As families move to find a better job, or to find any job. They move to find cheaper housing because they've lost their job and/or because their rent has gone up well past what they can afford.

So, then, on top of the economic strain that these families suffer, there's also, all too often, a terribly, terribly destructive social impoverishment and isolation.

Of course, many families manage to do very well, surprisingly well, even in the face of all that. But an awful lot of the families of the kids I've been working with have simply collapsed. There's really no other word for it. They collapse into apathy, into disability, into alcohol and hard drug abuse. The level of drug abuse, in particular, among some of the parents of kids I've been talking with is just absolutely astonishing. You'd have to see it to believe it. It can really blow your mind at first when you talk to 15 and 16 year olds who will tell you what it feels like to have their mothers go down the tubes on rock cocaine. After you hear that enough times, it ceases to shock you.

A lot of these parents will start using drugs because they feel they need them to get through the day, particularly if they are

working two or three jobs all day long. But sometimes that backfires, the drugs take over and the pa t pretty much ceases to function altogether. What often happens then is that their kid winds up p ying the bills, cleaning the house, doing the grocery shopping—if anybody's doing it at all.

I've worked with several kids in the last few months who dropped out of high school—we were talking about schools before—who dropped out of high school in order to take care of the family's business, to take care of parents who are too demoralized or too addicted to take care of business themselves.

Now, that kind of isolation and social impoverishment is compounded by something we keep hearing about over and over again this morning and which I'd just like to hammer on again, as often as I can. That's the weakening, the erosion, of the public agencies of support and care. Again, we've got plenty of figures charting the extent of cutbacks in public social services in the last several years; Medicaid, community health services, drug treatment, job programs. But when you see the consequences of this at close range, then the human meaning af these reductions gets really brought home to you.

I often ask the kids that I work with a question that goes something like this. I say, "Look, when you had a real difficult problem, when you started getting involved in bad stuff or when your mom started smoking rock cocaine or when you were getting beaten up at home, was there anybody there to help you, anybody to lend a hand?" Most often, the answer is no. They shrug their shoulders. In the communities where these kids live, there are just shockingly few public services that they can afford, or that have the resources to make any kind of effort at outreach to families that are in need of help.

So, you've got this tragic paradox out there which I see over and over again talking with kids of all classes; the families that are more together, that are in better shape to begin with or that have more resources, can generally find at least reasonably decent social services. They can find psychological help, they can find drug programs, family support services and what have you. The families that most need them simply cannot. I know kids whose parents can't even get out of bed all day long, or who are afraid to get on a bus to ride downtown. For those families, trying to find social services in our mean spirited time is a losing battle.

And that same backward process, in which kids who are favored from the start are able to get real help, while those who are less favored are pretty much left to just flounder and sink, has also infected most of the public schools that my kids go to. We've heard a lot about the public schools this morning and I can only confirm some of what our young people have been saying.

I've heard of some good experiences that my kids have had at school. I've heard of some humane, caring, compassionate teachers. But most often I hear something else. Most often what happens in what I've come to call the "sink or swim" public schools of our time is that the school is a place of humiliation, of frustration and defeat, and of festering resentment for these kids.

All too often these schools, especially if they have a high proportion of low-income kids, are institutions that aren't so much devot-

ed to teaching kids or training them, in the way they did when I was a kid, as they are just sort of validating or ratifying the kid on the basis of the characteristics that he or she already brings to the school.

So, if the kid comes to the school with a lot of familial or intellectual resources, then the school can do a pretty good job. But Lord help the kid in many public schools today, at least in the community that I've been studying, who enters with some kind of learning disability or behavior problem. I can't begin to tell you how many of the young people I've talked with who are in deep trouble began that journey into the juvenile justice system or the adult criminal justice system by starting with some kind of school problem, whether it was a learning problem or getting out of hand in school, as Marianne Diaz was pointing out this morning, sticking your head up at the wrong time and getting thrown out at the drop of a hat. That's happened over and over again with my kids.

Then, of course, what happens is that in our society in the last part of the 20th century, for a kid—particularly one who's 15 or 16 years old—who's outside of school, there is nothing to do that's legal or respectable. What that kid winds up doing outside of school is pretty much limited to smoking dope, dealing dope, and partying.

Now, the result of this withdrawal of the schools and the diminishing social services is that there's really shockingly, shockingly little constructive intervention in the lives of most of the kids I've talked to. I mean intervention of any kind by anybody. So, the emotional problems, the medical problems go untreated, family violence or parental drug addiction or alcohol abuse goes unnoticed, or if it's noticed nobody appears to do anything about it.

So, for many of these families and children, over and over again I've seen that the juvenile justice system becomes the social service agency of first resort. The only way a lot of these kids can be assured of getting halfway adequate social services is by getting locked up. That's something I didn't expect, but it's really true. I've often seen concerned police or probation officers incarcerate a kid just to see to it that that kid gets a couple of nutritious meals everyday, gets some basic medical services, and has someone to keep them from hurting themselves or damaging their brains with chemicals, at least for the time being.

But of course, without some deeper intervention, the underlying problems those kids bring to the system are left unresolved. The result is that the juvenile justice system just becomes a kind of revolving door. The kids know it, the people who run the system know it, everybody knows it. The parents know it. The same faces appear over and over again in that system, and the kids for the most part become unafraid of that system, increasingly contemptuous of it, and, as a couple of people pointed out this morning, often bitterly angry, bitterly resentful over the way it treats them and ready to strike back at somebody or something when they get out.

OK. I could go on and on about what I think are some of the roots of these things. But let me just briefly, since time is short, talk quickly about a couple of things I think we need to do. I hope we'll have a chance to talk more later on about these matters, but let me just leave you with a couple of thoughts about what I think

our priorities ought to be, based on my own research as well as other people's.

I think that if we're really serious about confronting violence among young people today two things are of most critical importance, work and family. You've heard about both of those things a lot this morning. Let me say a couple of words about them.

In stressing the importance of work, I'm emphatically not saying that we need a whole lot more jobs for kids. We heard something about that this morning. We have a lot of jobs for kids. There's a million jobs for kids out there. Most of the kids that I've been talking to have been through that teenage labor market, into it and out of it at least once, maybe several times. They'll work at a fast food place for a little while. Then they'll quit, and they'll quit for all the reasons you've heard about today. They'll often alternate working at Taco Bell with selling dope. They'll sell dope for awhile and then things get a little hot for them and they'll go to work at Taco Bell for awhile and see how that goes.

What they do not have in our economy today is the prospect of a more challenging work world to look forward to in the future, an adult role, an adult livelihood that's sufficiently compelling to keep them in school and keep them off the dope track. When I ask kids what they'd really like to do in the future, they'll either say they don't know, which is shocking—you know, when I was a kid, when I was 16 or 17, I had some notion of what I might want to be. When I ask kids of that age today who are locked up what they would like to do in the future, they will say either that they don't know or they'll come up with something usually out of reach; that they want to be a pro basketball player or a famous movie star. There's nothing that's both realistic and compelling.

As Mr. Brown pointed out this morning, their parents don't have those roles. Their parents are not in a situation where there's some concrete vision of them contributing to a recognized adult community and being respected for what they do. Without that vision, what happens with school, for example, is that school very quickly comes to seem like a real silly thing to them. It's a waste of valuable time when you could be out there making some really good money. It's hard to stay in school under those pressures.

Without that vision, I really don't see an alternative, for many kids, to the pull of the dope trade that we've heard so much about this morning and the violence that goes with that trade.

Again, I think we've heard over and over again today, kids out there who are serious drug dealers on the street are not afraid—the ones I've talked to—of anything that you might throw at them by way of imprisonment. In fact, several kids that I've talked to, including young girls who deal crack in California, will tell you that the first reason they deal crack, the first reason that kids are attracted to dealing crack, is money, as we've heard. But the second reason for being attracted to dealing crack is that people give you so much respect because you're facing hard prison time if you get caught. So, the very fact that it's dangerous in that sense—that they could get caught and locked up—gives them a great reputation on the street and it gives them something they don't get anywhere else.

They'll also say, at least in public, that they're not afraid of other things happening to them on the street, which always surprises me. I'll describe awful things that go on in the street drug trade, people getting killed and the Uzis and the sawed off shotguns, and I'll say, "Aren't you scared out there? Doesn't it make you want to quit sometimes?" And they'll say, "Look, man, you're going to die someday. You're going to die young or you're going to die old. That's the way it is."

Meanwhile, if you're brave and if you're smart, if you use your head and you think, you can live very well indeed. You can make much more money than you can conceivably spend, particularly if you're 14 or 15 years old, doing this stuff. Or, as one crack dealer that I've gotten to know well likes to say, "Who have heart, have money."

Okay. So we need work, serious work. We also need serious and adequately funded family resource programs. I don't need to remind this Committee, which has done important work on this issue, that we have a lot of encouraging models to work from. I was very encouraged that yesterday The New York Times had a front page article on family resource centers and how these centers were catching on in a number of states across the country. I think that's a trend that we need to vigorously encourage and vigorously fund as well.

The families of the kids that I've been talking to need help in many, many intertwined ways. Most of all, they need help in raising their kids without the use of violence themselves. I've always believed that there's a connection between violent families and violent kids. But I've still been really, really amazed at what I've seen this year.

With few exceptions, the violent kids I've talked to come from families where violence against the kid has been the norm. Black kids, white kids, Hispanic kids, all of them. They'll talk with bitterness and with anger and bewilderment about "whuppin," about the "belt." Then they get too big. As several people pointed out this morning, what happens with that style of parenting is you beat on the kid until the kid gets big enough and then it doesn't work anymore because if anything the kid will turn around and beat on you. Well, that doesn't work.

It's hard to stop parents from hurting their kids unless we're also at the same time looking to relieve the larger pressures that the economy and the weakened public sector have put on those families, but I think we do have to try. These programs aren't panaceas. We'll have to do a lot more. But they are important, and we should support them.

There's much more. We need to replace that current rhetorical skirmish, as you pointed out, with drugs, with some real drug treatment, treatment that includes aggressive outreach, aggressive after-care for the vast numbers of children and their parents, perhaps especially their parents, who need it.

We need to restore adequate resources for accessible health care so we can ward off some of the remediable damage from untreated health problems, from lousy prenatal care. We need a serious commitment to addressing learning problems in the schools in humane and caring ways. Of course we need sufficient and high quality day

care so that somebody, somewhere who is reasonably qualified is watching out for some of these kids when they're very young.

Like Major Derico, I would also add that I think we've got to have some kind of serious and halfway adult attempt to control some of those heavy weapons that are flooding the streets.

I don't think we lack for things to do that are useful. I don't think we lack for good models. What I think we lack is will and commitment. I think that may be changing. I hope so. Mr. Miller pointed out that the political movement is shifting. I hope it is. I think we need to push it.

Shortly before I was asked to come to this hearing, I spent the better part of an afternoon hanging out with a 15 year old crack dealer. He was behind bars for having beaten a man nearly to death over an $8.00 drug misunderstanding. Over and over again he kept repeating that where he lived, in his neighborhood, "only the strong survive." I kept thinking about that and I kept thinking, yes, the problem is that he's right—or at least he's right enough. I've been hearing those words over and over again since he spoke them.

The bottom line, I think, in understanding the current crisis of youth violence is that we've created a society in which at the bottom it takes strength or cunning or sometimes sheer good luck to survive, at least with a measure of dignity and self-esteem. But in a society, as ours is increasingly becoming, where the legitimate means of exercising that strength are few and may be shrinking, and where the consequences of weakening in that struggle or falling behind are so bleak and so severe for kids today, being strong and surviving is likely to mean being willing to maim or kill somebody over eight bucks, or learning to use an Uzi, learning to use a 12-gauge sawed off shotgun, learning to use a grenade launcher.

That's about all I've got to say. Thanks a lot.

[Prepared statement of Dr. Elliott Currie follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DR. ELLIOTT CURRIE, CRIMINOLOGIST, CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF LAW AND SOCIETY, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY, CA

I'm delighted that the Committee has chosen to hold these hearings on youth violence. The timing could hardly be more appropriate, or the urgency greater.

I've been studying youth violence for twenty years. It's never been a happy task. Throughout that time our levels of youth violence have been strikingly higher than those of any other Western industrial society. But today I have to say in all candor that I'm more troubled than ever before by what I'm seeing.

During the past year I've been engaged in a study of the roots of violence, hard-drug abuse and self-destructive behavior among kids in one American urban community. I've been talking in depth with several dozen young people, many of them locked up in juvenile institutions. They are Black, white, and Hispanic, male and female; what they have in common is serious trouble--and the fact that most of them are products of some very destructive social and economic forces which have now been underway for some time.

Most of the young people I've been working with are, first and foremost, the children of the economic disaster that's afflicted the poorest 25 or 30 percent of the American population over the past fifteen years. They were born just about the time when the fortunes of the lower-income family--never very promising-- began to shift downward. We don't have time for a lot of statistics, and in any case this Committee has itself produced some very good ones describing these

trends. But let me just remind you of the extent of the disasater that's affected many of these families in recent years. Since 1974, about the time the youngest of the kids I've talked with were born, the share of income going to the poorest fifth of the population has fallen by about twenty percent. In real dollars, the income of poor families with young children has fallen by 25 per cent in the past decade. There were two and a half million more poor kids under 18 in 1985 than just six years earlier.

All of these numbers get pretty abstract, to the point where we are numbed by them after awhile. But they come alive, believe me, when you talk to troubled and violent kids in the flesh. These are kids whose parents have lost good jobs, or never had them in the wake of the de-industrialization that's ravaged the labor markets of the cities since the early seventies. Some of them are parents who have never worked and who, perhaps, never will. Others, casualties of the same economic trends, may be working two or even three low wage jobs in order to put together an income sufficient to keep them from being evicted and to buy their kids enough decent clothes so they won't feel humiliated at school.

But the economic disaster that's hit so many of these families isn't just a matter of not having enough dollars. Perhaps even more importantly, it has accelerated the breakup of the social supports that might help these families bring up their kids in

humane and compassionate ways. The families of these kids are always moving--nobody ever seems to live in the same place for long. A startling number of my kids were born somewhere else than where they're living--in a different state, different city, different neighborhood. So the family is constantly uprooted, losing friends, extended kin, other stable and respected adults to help care for the children, provide role models, and generally ease the burdens of work and childrearing. They move to find a better job--or any job; to find cheaper housing because they've lost a job and/or the rent has gone up beyond what they can afford. So to the economic strain these families suffer is added, all too often, a deeper and perhaps even more destructive social impoverishment and isolation.

Faced with this, many families manage to do surprisingly well. But others--perhaps those more vulnerable to begin with--simply collapse; collapse into passivity and disability, into alcohol and hard-drug abuse, into routine violence against their children. The level of drug use among some of the parents of the kids I've talked with, in particular, is simply astonishing. They may start by using drugs to get through the day, especially if they're working two or more jobs. But sometimes the drugs gain control; the parent pretty much ceases to function altogether, and the child winds up paying the bills and doing the grocery shopping--if it's done at all.

The isolation and social and economic impoverishment among

these families is compounded by the weakening of the public agencies of support and care. Again, there are plenty of figures charting the extent of cutbacks in public social services;in Medicaid, in community mental health services, in drug treatment. But when you see the reality at close range it's startling. I often ask kids a question that goes something like this; when you had a problem or got in trouble. or your mom started to smoke rock cocaine, or you were getting beat up at home, was there anybody to help? Usually the answer is no. For the families of these children there are shockingly few public services that they can afford, or that have the resources to make any effort at outreach to families in need of help. Paradoxically and tragically, families that are more "together" or have more resources can generally find decent family support services, psychological help, adequate drug treatment; the families that most need them cannot.

That same tragic process--in which the young who are favored with more resources can get still more while those less favored are left to flounder and sink-- also infects the public schools. In talking with troubled kids I've heard of some very good experiences with school, some effective and caring teachers. But more often the school, in the "sink or swim" society these kids increasingly face, is a place of humiliation, defeat, and festering resentment. All too often, the schools--especially those with a high proportion of low-

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income kids--are institutions that are less devoted to teaching the young than, in a sense, to validating, or ranking, them according to the pre-existing abilities they bring to the school. If they have the familial or intellectual resources already, the public schools may serve them very well indeed. But heaven help the kid, in many public schools today, who enters with a learning disability or a behavior problem. I can't tell you how many of the young people I've talked with began their journey to the juvenile justice system this way--with a school problem that caused them to slip out of school virtually unnoticed, or get thrown out. But the result is catastrophic for a kid today, for in the last quarter of the twentieth century in the United States there is virtually nothing respectable--or legal--for a kid of say, 16 to do all day long outside of high school.

The erosion of the public sector means that there is shockingly little constructive intervention in the lives of most of the kids I've talked with. So emotional or medical problems go untreated, family violence or parental addiction un-noticed or, if noticed, inadequately addressed. For many of these families and their children, the juvenile justice system has increasingly become the social service agency of first resort--the only way they can be assured of getting basic services is by getting locked up. I've often seen concerned police or probation workers incarcerate a kid just to ensure that he or she gets a couple of nutritious meals every day,

asic medical services, and someone to keep them from hurting themselves or damaging their brains with chemicals, at least for the time being. But, of course, without some deeper intervention, the underlying problems are left unresolved. The result is that the juvenile justice system becomes a revolving door; the same faces appear over and over from one year to the next, and the kids are, for the most part, unafraid of it and increasingly contemptuous of it--and often bitterly angry and resentful over the way it treats them. For some kids, in fact, the tnreat of prison backfires; one 17 year old crack dealer--female--told me that, after money, the second main reason kids were attracted to dealing dope was the respect others gave you knowing that you were courting hard prison time.

It's terribly clear that the roots of youthful violence are many and tangled, and because we've left them alone--or aggravated them--for so long, have deepened. But there are a number of things we can and must do, and the encouraging part is that we know how to do them. In the time I have I can only mention a few of the most crucial.

Two areas are especially critical, and have been most under siege in recent years; work and family. In stressing the importance of work, I'm emphatically not saying that we need more jobs for kids. There are already a lot of those; most of the kids I've been working with have been in and out of the

teenage labor market; they'll work at Taco Bell for awhile and then quit, often alternating that with selling dope. What they do not have in our current economy is the prospect of a more challenging work role in the future, an adult livelihood, that's worth looking forward to, that'ssufficiently compelling to keep them in school in a serious way and off of the dope track. When I ask kids what they'd really like to do in the future they either say they don't know or they want to be famous pro ballplayers or movie stars. What's deeply, tragically missing in their view of the future is any concrete vision of how they'd contribute to a recognizable adult community and be respected for it. Without that vision I really don't see an alternative, for many kids, to the pull of the dope trade and its attendant violence. The kids who are serious drug dealers aren't afraid of whatever we might throw at them by way of imprisonment, and they'll say, at least in public, that they're not afraid of getting hurt or killed in the line of business. "You're gonna die someday", they'll tell you; "you're gonna die young or you gonna die old". Meanwhile, if you're brave and smart you can live very well indeed; as one crack dealer I've gotten to know likes to say, "who have heart, have money".

We also need serious and adequately funded family resource programs. I don't need to remind this committee that we have some encouraging models to work from, such as the Parent-Child Development Centers of the 1970s. The families of violent kids

need help in many intertwined ways, and most of all help in raising their children without the use of violence. I've always believed there was a connection between violent families and violent kids. But I've still been amazed at what I've seen this year. Almost without exception the volatile kids I've talked with come from families where violence against the child was the norm; Black, white, Hispanic, these kids talk with bitterness and anger about "whuppin'", about the "belt". It's hard to stop parents from hurting children without also working to relieve the larger pressures the economy and the weakened public sector have placed on them. But we can start. And we know how.

There is much more. We need to replace the current rhetorical war on drugs with real treatment, complete with aggressive outreach and aftercare for the vast numbers of children--and parents--who need it. We need to restore resources for accessible health care, to ward off remediable damage from untreated health problems or poor prenatal care. Serious committment to addressing learning problems in the public schools, in caring and humane ways. Of course, sufficient and high-quality day care. And much more. We don't lack for things to do or useful models. What we lack, so far, is will and committment.

Shortly before I was asked to come to this hearing I spent the better part of an afternoon with a fifteen year old crack

dealer behind bars for having beaten a man nearly to death over an eight dollar drug misunderstanding. Over and over again he kept repeating that where he lived, "only the strong survive". And I thought, yes he's right--at least, enough right to be deeply troubling. The bottom line in understanding the current tragedy of youth violence is that we've created a society in which, at the bottom,it takes strength, or cunning, or sheer good luck to survive, at least with a measure of dignity or self-esteem. But in a society where there are fewer and fewer legitimate options for the energetic, and not much help for those who start out hobbled or who weaken or stumble along the way, being strong may come to mean being willing to maim (or to kill) someone for eight dollars. Ultimately this is a challenge to our culture at its deepest levels. It's going to take a long time to undo the damage; we'd better get started.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you. Mr. Calhoun?

STATEMENT OF JOHN A. CALHOUN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NATIONAL CRIME PREVENTION COUNCIL, WASHINGTON, DC

Mr. CALHOUN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am Jack Calhoun, Executive Director of the National Crime Prevention Council, formerly Commissioner of Youth Services in Massachusetts and U.S. Commissioner of the Administration for Children, Youth and Families here in Washington.

I commend you on this hearing and tackling these tough issues. I won't go into the numbers—they're there. Perhaps it's the plateau of acceptance that's tough to accept: The Assistant DA in Oakland saying that "—in 1955 we had eight homicides. Today, if we stay under 145, we're doing pretty well."

As Dr. Currie has pointed out, the question is not really how many, but why, why the acceptable retort is not, "I disagree," but "I will get you." Why that, "I don't like you," is replaced with, "Now that you're dead, I don't have to deal with you." It's complex, as it's been said, and it suggests a variety of solutions.

But I think we have to remember two things. Most kids aren't violent. Second, the kids that resort to it, it works. It gets them what they want. We have been involved for years in prevention, mainly self and situations in neighborhoods. Preventing violence, we've just begun to tackle. It is much more challenging.

We all wrestle with this from our different perspectives. The Jeffersonians among us would quicken a civic response, the Hamiltonians would urge more government intervention. To us, it is a combination. And I think Shawn himself said it this morning, there's this curious axis, this dual axis—as a matter of fact, Dr. Currie said it too—of the economic as well as the family and community.

The drug dealer may earn $500 a day versus flipping hamburgers for $3.50 an hour. Yes, we need an aggressive jobs policy. But what if an individual is making $1,000 a day or $1,000 a week? Does the government match that? The government role is compelling, but only to a point.

Thus we've got to engage the thornier questions of values, social norms, why some individuals begin and why some don't. So, to us it is definitely government and the people—it is a combination.

To us, the underlying problems are several. Where community institutions are not there, there's going to be trouble: Work, family, religious and civic associations, a local economy capable of generating stable livelihoods and neighborhood cohesion are needed If those aren't there, as researchers have pointed out throughout our history, it's not going to work. The sturdiness of the community's institutions relate directly to its ability to resist crime and violence.

Economic health, studies of employment and crime consistently show that low-paying, unstable jobs are frail counterweights to the temptations of a fast, illegal buck.

Control issues, weak parental and community controls over youths give rise to a peer-control system that supports co-offending.

Absence of role and recognition which the kids spoke to this morning play an enormous part. Picture the poignant symbol of a

kid at a dance holding up a sign, waiting for hours for the DJ just to recognize him. Rollo May, the famous psychiatrist said: "Deeds of violence are performed largely by those trying to establish their self-esteem and self-image to demonstrate that they too are significant."

Disconnection. Teens are by definition changing. Their self-image is clouded, self-esteem is fragile, but the equal truth is, and I don't think we realize this as a society, that teens have tremendous energy and great idealism. But today they exist in increasingly frail, tenuous situations: less decent wages, lack of stable extended families and community supports, increasingly isolated and relying upon peers. They are not bonded. When they become unbonded or "disconnected" from family, school, work, community and future, there's trouble.

I recently returned from Detroit. We're setting up a project there with the schools. I thought I was quite a veteran of youth work having been in the field for almost 25 years; but I came back frightened, not for my safety, although perhaps if I were wiser I may have been, but it was talking with kids. I sensed an absolutely colossal aloneness on the part of every one of these children, the uncertainty, and a lack of beholden-ness, a lack of connection, a lack of stake, if you will. You could imagine the eventual disregard as they got older.

Where do we start? Our starting point is to create a sense of stake. We do not pay much attention to teens, until they get into trouble, until they cross a pathological line—suicide attempts, pregnancy, delinquency, psychiatric distress. We have got to forge a new policy which just doesn't "fix" kids, if you will, but starts to "claim" them as partners with us. This is being talked about by Urie Bronfenbrenner at Cornell, Ernie Boyer at the Carnegie Endowment and others.

We're running some programs now, one in three cities in Indiana and the other in Boston that Dr. Stith and I helped put together called "Youth As Resources." The essential thesis is that kids can make a difference. We are seeing them design and administer programs that are remarkable. We feel we've tapped a gusher which could fuel thousands of communities, help thousands of teens while tackling community problems.

Teens with such a sense of stake do not have a reason to resort to violence, as Marianne pointed out.

There are things the federal government can and should do such as early childhood education—Head Start works. It's our best preventive program. Expand it.

Child support; having a child necessitates lifelong responsibilities.

AFCD and WIC should contain training and work provisions for it's simple decency to treat and help our clients act as competent citizens rather than as inferiors. And, as Dr. Currie points out, we need strong family and community perspectives and policies.

Child abuse and neglect initiatives must continue. As Commissioner of Youth Services in Massachusetts, it was not very difficult to see that most delinquent kids poured out of violent and torn families.

Research and information dissemination is a key role the government must play.

Economic policies: a stable but growing economy is required. But in addition, job training and retraining programs are needed.

I've only enumerated a few of the federal efforts. The government can encourage policies in HUD which can give more authority to tenants. And supporting tenant authority can help stabilize potentially volatile communities. The Juvenile Justice Act and the Justice Assistance Act have helped with crime and deliquency prevention efforts. They need your support.

But there is an array of non-federal strategies available. Schools, the one portal through which all kids pass at some time or other. I think of the Oasis program in Pittsburgh: one hundred of the most difficult kids, 7th graders, are taken every year, 50 percent of the time in education, 50 percent in service to the community. In 8th grade, 38 percent, it was reported by Pennsylvania's Assistant Secretary of Education, whom I met last week, were on the honor roll.

Principals make a difference. Schools linked with businesses make a difference. Violence reduction curricula give me great hope, such as Deborah Stith's program. We have a program winning in 19 cities, 300 high schools, servicing about 20,000 students. These are tough schools and our program is called Teens, Crime and the Community. It has a dual thesis: reduction of teen victimization through a very interactive curriculum, and the driving piece which says, in essence, "Okay, kids, what can you do to make your schools not only safer, but better." A rich array of teen-sponsored, teen-run projects have grown up such as peer counselling, students courts, cross-age tutoring, drug abuse prevention. One school administrator testified that this program is so successful because it believes in the power of kids to change the community. We're optimistic about reducing teen victimization and delinquency.

Local service providers should continue to deliver services, but would it not be possible to ask something in return—for the delinquent youth to give something back to the victim or, by extension, to the community? For the pregnant teen whose child we're worried about and whose GED we're worried about to talk to 4th and 5th graders about what it means to be a teen mother. Again, we argue for dignity in the exchange. "We need you," is the implicit message that these kids are not getting.

Churches can play a role. We're involved in a project now called Family Mentoring which is analogous to Big Brothers/Big Sisters, to assign an adult volunteer mentor to help families about to blow up. And than there is Father Clement's "One Church, One Child initiative." There are many things churches can do.

Community empowerment, which relates to a sense of control. Doctor Paul Lavrakas of Northwestern says, "We can't focus on specific anti-crime strategies without also recreating the broader process of developing communities."

Control issues around tenant authorities; civic groups, the Urban League, for instance, which believes in a strong government in combating racism and assisting with jobs. But John Jacob, President of the Urban League said, and I quote, "Black institutions must marshal volunteer resources. Blacks must accept responsibil-

ity for themselves, preserving the family values that helped us survive."

Drug abuse prevention is a skirmish. There are three legs, the interdiction, demand reduction, and treatment. The symbol McGruff is astoundingly recognized by kids, 97 percent. We are using that now with kids, concentrating on drug abuse for the younger age. Drug abuse is not cool. It's wrong. It hurts.

Parent and family issues, especially concentrating on teen pregnancy, which is a cauldron of trouble as we all know. I agree with Doctor Marion Wright Edelman, who says it's really a self-esteem issue, and I think family life education must be taught. I mean, they worry in Massachusetts about driver's ed. They teach drivers ed, although if you've driven there you'd think nobody passed. But, they don't teach parenting, and I think it's absolutely critical.

At root we must acknowledge that isolation is a killer. When one examines the literature on child abuse, spouse abuse, violence, homicide, one discovers a motif of isolation. The abusing mother may be poor, but she is also alone, unsupported, trapped in her misery and tension.

Crime and violence arise out of a disbelief that the community's social contract applies, that there's no relief for rage, out of an intrinsic sense that there's no constructive alternative.

With the concept of stake as our fundamental starting point, I have proffered some suggestions that are the province of government, and others which are communitarian: local in nature, the province of families, schools, individuals, and communities.

I would leave you with this image. I started my work with kids in the early '60s in the streets of North Philadelphia. I remember most vividly a Mrs. Thomas and a Mr. Collins. Mr. Collins, sitting in his lawn chair on the sidewalk with a whistle, was the turnstile for all kids. You didn't get out of your house or you didn't get back in without hearing "Where are your books," why this, why that. And a Mrs. Thomas who, when there was trouble with family, with sibling with teacher, was there. The kids went to her.

Where would they be today? Would they be hounded out of communities, scorned, shot, or would they be woven into its fabric? The government must provide tools that enable its citizens to be fully functioning, but the government cannot create citizens. The community through its Mr. Collins and Mrs. Thomas must do that. Every one of us must do that, take a step.

Unless we help our young people develop a sense of stake in their communities and their futures, there may be neither communities or a future.

I thank you.

[Prepared statement and attachments of John A. Calhoun follow:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JOHN A. CALHOUN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NATIONAL CRIME PREVENTION COUNCIL, WASHINGTON, DC

I am John A. Calhoun, Executive Director of the National Crime Prevention Council. NCPC, a non-profit organization, is the nation's focal point for community crime prevention. Before coming to NCPC, I served as Commissioner of Youth Services for Massachusetts, and as the United States Commissioner of the Administration for Children, Youth and Families.

To all of you who serve on this Committee I extend my deepest appreciation. The existence of this Committee, your dedication, and your energy provide a crucial focus for the problems and needs of America's children and youth and their families. I am honored to be asked to share my thoughts with you.

The Problem and Challenge

What is the issue? It is a conviction shared by those who care for young people and their families that violence among the young has reached intolerable levels, and that a response is demanded.

The current level of violence is intolerable: Detroit, averaging a teen a week murdered; a classroom for Washington, D.C.'s gifted elementary students in which seven of ten knew someone who had met handgun death; San Francisco, wh 'bus drivers are viewed as mobile targets.

The October 27th Wall Street Journal chronicled three months in the life of eleven-year-old Lafayette Walton -- almost daily gun battles in his Chicago housing project, beatings of relatives and friends, rapes, gang recruiting, cocaine running by a nine-year-old female cousin, and several murders.

Violence has touched our young people in its most vicious and brutal forms, including kids killing kids.

The homicide statistics are chilling. In 1986, the last year for which we have reliable national data, four to five people under 18 were murdered per day, 10% more than in 1985. Equally chilling, three to four people under 18 were arrested for murder every day, a 7% increase over 1985.

But as tragic as murder is, and as appalling as violence among the young is, the story doesn't stop there -- and it isn't new.

The violence which engulfs young people goes beyond homicide. Although teens commit crimes in disproportion to their numbers, they are twice as likely as adults to be victims of violent crime, and ten times more likely than the elderly. In a violent crime, a teen is more likely to be actually attacked physically.

According to AMA, mortality and morbidity rates for all age groups are decreasing, except those for teens which are an appalling 11% higher than 20 years ago.

Violent crime against teens doesn't come from total strangers. About 45% of teen victims at least recognized the offender. And the violence is predominently intra-racial: 83%

of black teen victims report black assailants; 76% of white teen victims report white assailants.

And teens present a special problem, because they're far less likely to report crime than adults. Only one in three teen victims ages 12-15 told police about the crime; four in ten older teen victims (16-19) did so, compared with fully half of all adults.

Reports of child abuse document the fact that teens comprise as many as half the 1.5 million abuse victims in any given year -- that's 750,000 teens hit by the physical and emotional consequences of abuse.

The statistical picture is appalling. But we must be wary of numbers in talking about violence. Do we want to decide that "only 14 homicides" represents a good year, as one chief in a wealthy suburb put it? Or, as Oakland, California's Assistant District Attorney, Robert Platt, said: "In 1955 we had eight murders in Oakland. Today, if we stay under 145 annually, we think we've done pretty well." Is there an acceptable level, a tolerable amount of violence against and among young people? Clearly, no. The numbers help describe what we face. They do not help meet the threat.

The key question is not "how many?". The question is why a fourteen-year-old thinks robbery is a good way to gain a radio or jacket; why a twelve-year-old sees assaulting someone as a rite of passage; why the acceptable retort is not "I disagree," but "I will get you...;" and why "I don't like you" has been replaced

with "now that you're dead, I don't have to deal with you anymore."

The challenge before us is to confront squarely the causes of violence. We must treat the symptoms -- the manifestations of violence. But we will have failed, tragically for us all, if we do not simultaneously treat the diseases which underlie the symptoms.

Violence among young people is a complex problem. Preventing violence, like other forms of crime prevention, requires a variety of solutions. We need to explore some causes of violence, examine approaches to solving the problems, and look at some specific programs which offer hope.

Two facets of the issue need to be kept in mind:

- o Most kids aren't violent, and, given a choice, don't want to be around olence.
- o But for many of the young people who resort to it, violence works, at least in the short term. It gets them what they want -- adult attention, a pair of sneakers, respect, a boom box radio, peer approval.

Prevention is Possible

The National Citizens' Crime Prevention Campaign, for which NCPC provides day-to-day management, has proved in its eight years that Americans can be educated to take effective action to prevent both personal and property crimes. Our report, "Success of Community Crime Prevention," provides a multitude of examples.

Preventing violence is a more challenging task -- one we have already begun to tackle.

Who Does The Job?

We wrestle and struggle with this question throughout our national policy process. Some would cluster the answers around strengthened religious and civic impulses. To others, the road to solution is paved by government action.

Our solutions to major social problems tend to reflect our belief in the proper role of government. Suspicious of the power of government, Jefferson said "I am not a friend of very energetic government...it is always oppressive."

Counterpoised to Jefferson is the approach advocated by Alexander Hamilton, who believed in the existence of certain common problems which had to be addressed by government: "Unless common resources are mobilized to meet [problems], the national experiment with independence may succumb..."

One hard example: the fifteen-year-old confronted with two opportunities -- $500 a week for part-time drug-dealing, or $3.50 an hour for part-time fast food work.

The solution? An aggressive job policy which would train and provide employment. Does the government match it dollar for dollar? What if the drug-involved occupation nets $1,000 per week? Do we match that? A government role is compelling, but only to a point. We must engage thornier questions: of personal values, of social norms, of why some individuals begin, and why those in similar situations do not.

Does the responsibility rest with "the people" or with "the government" to tackle this problem?

The answer is government and community -- parents, schools, police, business owners, churches, social workers. We do the job together because none of us can do it separately.

The answer is, both must do the job. Communities will not restore and renew themselves by executive fiat; but some government role -- federal, state, local -- is critical, for only government can assemble certain types of resources and exert certain moral and legal authority.

The Underlying Problems

Violence is one manifestation of crime and like crime, it arises in specific communities in reaction to conditions in those communities. Crime can be prevented where there is trust and mutual support, even if the neighborhood is disadvantaged. But if the links of trust do not exist, anyone seeking to develop crime prevention must build them, as NCPC points out in its book Preventing Crime in Urban Communities.

Community Structure and Institutions

Communities thrive or fail to thrive, become healthy or diseased as a result of the strength or weakness of the bonds woven by and among community institutions -- work, family and kin, religious and civic associations, a local economy capable of generating stable livelihoods, and good schools.

Many studies reveal that increases in crime and violence are signals that the front line institutions -- family, school, church and civic groups -- have failed to hold.

In 1928, the Wickersham Commission identified neighborhood stability as a key to preventing crime. Current research documents that the community's health has much to do with people's perceptions of their power to control and change their lives. Stability and a sense of ability to control help communities. And the reverse is true.

Many researchers (Burgess, Shaw, McKay among others) indicate that neighborhoods in which crime and violence are high "are associated with the diminished capacity of local institutions and organizations to control the behavior of residents -- a condition often termed 'social disorganization.'"

Albert Reiss, Professor of Sociology at Yale asserts that "deviance or criminality results both from the failure of personal controls...and failure of formal and informal social controls...certain kinds of community structure either weaken forms of social control that induce conformity to law-abiding norms or generate controls that inhibit conformity."

In other words, the community's structures and institutions can either reinforce and renew its agreed-upon rules, or can be neutral, or can at worst push large numbers away from abiding by the community's understood rules.

Robert Sampson, sociologist with the University of Illinois, has pointed out that "high-crime communities lack a larger network of parental or family control..." That type of network lies

at the very heart of community. Sampson also points out that many minority communities were once vertically integrated. Positive role models were part of the daily landscape -- people saw not only the prostitutes and pushers, but the clergymen and the business owner. Now there is conformity: of 28,000 families in public housing in Chicago, 9 of 10 are single parents; 50% of poor blacks live in all-poor areas, whereas only 7% of poor whites live in all-poor areas. It is not just family disruption but a neighborhood of disrupted families.

The sturdiness of a community's institutions relates directly to its ability to resist crime and violence.

Economic Health

Studies of employment and crime consistently show that the kinds of low-paying, unstable jobs often available offer young people no solid stake in their communities, little reliable hope for the future and a frail counterweight to the temptations of a fast, illegal buck.

Compounding this aspect of the problem is the burden generated by economic dislocations.

Elliott Currie suggests that such dislocations can "cut off individuals and families from the community ties and networks of social support and informal social control. The resulting social isolation brings increasing pressures on families and individuals that are often aggravated by a lack of social services... That kind of 'social impoverishment' is frequently linked to child abuse and other forms of domestic violence."

If we want to create a social system to maximize internal strife, we should build long-term structural unemployment in a context that makes self-esteem a function of affluence, and an economic system which closes down entire towns, dealing savage blows to communities and the children, youth and families who live there.

Loss of Control

Weak parental and community controls over youths give rise to a peer-control system that supports co-offending, and to networks that simplify the search for accomplices. Hence, crime and a predisposition toward violence - learned, perhaps, from domestic example.

Our current national obsession with the issue of violence may actually rise from a more basic source of anxiety: what worries so many people is a sense of loss of control and authority of social institutions -- the home, the courts, the church, the school. There is much literature about people's need to feel "in control" of their daily lives. We need to look harder at how absence of that sense of control can (and probably does) lead toward violence.

Absence of Role and Recognition

Psychologist Rollo May notes the connection between crime and powerlessness: "...deeds of violence in our society are performed largely by those trying to establish their self-esteem,

to defend their self-image and to demonstrate that they, too, are significant."

We observe the agonized symbol of a teen at a dance holding up his name on a sign for hours on end waiting, just waiting for his name to be called by the disc jockey, a poignant cry for recognition.

Dr. Alvin Poussaint, a Harvard psychology professor and leading expert on black-on-black violence, believes that poor black teenagers with little education and low self-esteem resort to macho displays of violence to preserve a "twisted sense of dignity." It's not the content of the argument that turns a minor dispute into a murder," he maintains. "These kids will kill to save face..."

Disconnection

Arising from and along with these disruptive forces on the community are a series of problems centered more proximately around adolescence.

Teens are by definition in transition. They are undergoing the radical change into physical, intellectual, emotional and economic maturity. Their self-images may be clouded; their self-esteem is often fragile. These are eternal truths of adolescence.

But an equal truth is that teens bring to adolescence an energy, a freshness, a vigor and an undaunted spirit. By capturing these assets for the community, we can shape up self-image and self-esteem and help the community meet vital needs. Teens

are eager to explore their community, emerging from the family cocoon (however frayed) to test their growing skills and abilities in the adult world. They need to interact with adults in the community to mature.

Adolescents today find themselves in especially tenuous situations: not generally employable at a decent wage, lacking in stable extended family and community supports, and increasingly isolated and reliant on peers. Teens in troubled or distressed communities are apt to face all these negative forces magnified.

Missing is a sense of place in the community, and of stake in that community as well as a useful and responsible role in it. The absence of such bonding strikes at the very heart of our political structure, for if teens do not view themselves as being subscribers to the social contract to which the rest of us subscribe, they will see no sense in following it. Teens in troubled or distressed communities are apt to face all these negative forces magnified.

The result of these conditions and developments is an enormous pressure on teens -- and a tendency to disconnect.

Teens are likely to disconnect from one or more of five anchors. They can become:

- disconnected from family
- disconnected from school
- disconnected from work
- disconnected from community
- disconnected from future

Is this disconnection just theory? No. It is frighteningly real.

I returned from a recent working visit to Detroit, more frightened than after any place I have visited and worked in over 25 years - and I have spoken and visited programs in almost all of our 50 states.

It was not personal danger that worried me, but a terrible aloneness on the part of children. I spoke with many of them at one of the few downtown institutions left standing to serve children -- a Boys and Girls Club which does a valiant job against great odds. Many of these children were not certain who would pick them up that night. When I showed the slightest attention, sitting down merely to discuss the construction of a model plane, a dozen kids clustered, waiting their turn just to talk.

These kids are already alone at age six or eight. They are not bonded to school, to community, sometimes not to family or not even to themselves or each other. And being unbeholden, "disconnected," they can easily as teens shoot and kill over a girl friend, a bump in the hall, or a jacket. Without investment in self, family or community, they have nothing to lose. Or, in seeking any connection, any sense of place and belonging, they might joint a gang.

What's the Answer?

To state the obvious, there is no single answer to violence among youth. There are many avenues we must pursue.

A sense of stake. My thesis is that acts of violence stem from the extreme disconnectedness of youth, and that answers, in part, lie in helping to make them partners in the social contract, in preventing that crucial disconnection from community.

Society seldom pays attention to teens until they cross the line into pathology -- crime, pregnancy, psychiatric distress, running away, suicide. Then various "systems" intervene to fix or control. Little attention is paid to teens' thirst for commitment, high idealism, and inexhaustible energy.

We must forge a new policy toward our nation's teens. Our suggested approach involves both program and process. The program focuses on providing teens with opportunities for responsible contribution; the process focuses on "dignity of exchange" in which the ability of the individual to contribute is acknowledged as an integral part of the individual's receipt of needed services. We must help teens, but we must also start claiming them as assets.

We are not speaking here of make-work or of one-shot activities. We have documented, in our book Making A Difference: Young People in Community Crime Prevention (sponsored by the Ford Foundation) that teens can prevent crime and improve schools and

communities, doing the same tasks adults do for their community. And we have successfully pressed that concept to other community needs.

A number of national leaders (such as Urie Bronfenbrenner at Cornell and Ernest Boyer at the Carnegie Endowment) have urged creation of opportunities for youth to serve. We have termed the concept "youth as resources," to focus more emphatically on the positive engagement of teens' abilities and skills.

Hundreds of examples of small student-run projects are popping up all over the country -- high school students tutoring troubled second and third graders, youth from a half-way house cleaning parks and escorting the elderly, teens caring for children of battered spouses while they are cared for in shelters.

Youth As Resources

Building on our experience with teen competence and energy, NCPC designed a project for the Lilly Endowment to emplace this concept in three cities -- Evansville, Ft. Wayne, and Indianapolis, Indiana. Local boards, broadly respresentative of people interested in youth, make small grants to aid projects which teens take responsible roles in managing and which meet real community needs. The success of the initial pilot which NCPC helped design, Youth as Resources in Boston, and the momentum among teens and adults in Boston and in each Indiana city convince us that we have tapped a gusher which could fuel thousands of communities and help scores of thousands of teens while tackling hundreds of school and community problems.

Claiming and valuing teens, both in general program opportunities and in social service exchanges, can enhance self-esteem, and develop that vital sense of stake, even overt investment, in the community and the future. Teens with such a stake not only have no reason to resort to violence; they have every reason to avoid and deflect violence, and to help drive it from their environment.

The creation of "stake" undergirds all that follows.

Federal Strategies

Early Childhood Education

There are hopeful signs for children. The earlier the effort begins, the better, preferably with Head-Start-like day care in which parents are totally involved.

The numbers speak for themselves: two-thirds of the Head Start kids finished college compared to one-half of the controls; twice as many went to college or job training, and by age 19 were dramatically more law-abiding and self-supporting than the control group kids, who were twice as likely to have illegitimate children and be on welfare.

We have an endorsement of this program from a remarkable source, Fortune Magazine. Its May 11, 1987 issue said:

> "It makes sense to proliferate programs like this, and states that require workfare for mothers with children over three should use these programs as a day-care

component. Though the programs are costly, the High/-Scope Foundation calculates that every dollar it spent on its target group saved society $7.00 in subsequent welfare, crime, lost taxes, unemployment compensation, and mediation." (p. 146)

Head Start works. Irrefutably eloquent testimony exists indicating that well developed day care programs produce dramatic results. It should be expanded to enroll all eligible children.

Child Support

Governments -- state and federal -- must use every opportunity to emphasize the responsibility of parents for the children they have created. Child support needs to be seen as a fundamental obligation. Divorce or l[illegible] of marriage should not obliterate the relationship between child and either parent. The issue is both support and inculcation of a value: having a child necessitates lifelong responsibilities.

AFDC and WIC

The programs should include "dignity of exchange" in the way they deliver benefits. Again, it is a question of establishing basic life supports -- training, maternal and child care, requisite finances and food, and value. According to Lawrence M. Mead, a New York University political scientist, in Beyond Excellence:

"We talk politically only about rights, but obligations are just as important...the public has always expected people to earn a living and support their children."

We return again to the issue of dignity and stake because it is simple decency to treat and help welfare clients act as competent citizens rather than as inferiors from whom normal behavior cannot be expected.

Family and Community Perspective in Policies

When government policies (and regulations) are considered, every effort must be made to insure that families are supported to the greatest degree possible. For example, social policies must work with the child in the context of family and kin, and where that cannot work, develop as close an alternative as possible.

Child Abuse and Neglect/Family Violence

Many children who experience violence done to them at an early age use violence as a behavioral norm later and more often than children raised in non-abusive households. Federal support for research, information and testing new and promising approaches must continue. At the same time, state and local enforcement, human services agencies and public education are critical to breaking this cycle of violence. And community support to heal these families is essential.

"Often these are children who have grown up under great stress and difficulty," said Dr. Carolyn Newberger, a child psychologist at Boston's Children's Hospital. "Often [they] come from very desperate backgrounds where there may be family violence..."

The current federal role, supporting a national minimum standard of child protective services, is an excellent example of a common problem addressed through common resources.

Research and Information Dissemination

An invaluable role the government can and must play is in the finding, touting and spreading of information and effective strategies that would combat the symptoms and causes of youth violence. The Runaway and Homeless Youth Act, which provides such critical services as short-term shelter and counseling, has also established a national toll free Hotline for runaways and their families, as one example. The National Crime Prevention Council presses local communities to action - by providing tools and contacts.

Economic Policies

A relatively stable but growing economy is obviously required if new job market entrants are to be absorbed. The type of inflation which sharply erodes the status of those on fixed incomes can add fuel to the fires of tension.

A frightening one of four American children under six is poor. Poverty combined with separations, neglect, abuse, inconsistent discipline and poor achievement in school can create children who are at risk of becoming serious delinquents and chronic adult offenders.

More explicitly, jobs and job training have to be matched as far as possible with the demands and pressures of the marketplace. This means training for all kinds of people -- those starting, changing, or restarting careers. Programs such as the Job Training Partnership Act, which should be strengthened to target severely disadvantaged youth, are extremely important.

Economic development must be linked to regional capacity to provide the social and community services necessary to support an influx of new families.

I have enumerated only some of the federal efforts which are amenable to this approach. For example, HUD, by supporting increased tenant authority, can help stabilize potentially volatile communities.

Both the Juvenile Justice Act and the Justice Assistance Act, which deserve your support, have provided opportunities for the federal government to help states and communities find ways of addressing the core issue: violence, crime and its prevention.

Non-Federal Strategies

Schools. Schools, at their best, are a hybrid of parent support, community commitment and government resources. They are also the common denominator through which we can hope to influence, support, and assist the substantial majority of young people.

Schools can and must help youth develop stake and investment. The Oasis program in Pittsburgh takes 100 of the most difficult youth in the 7th grade, educates them 50% of the time in vocationally oriented courses, and involves them 50% of the time in community service projects. By 8th grade 38% of the youth were on the honor roll.

NCPC, thanks to a grant from the Florence V. Burden Foundation, is writing a book to help principals, teachers, education policymakers and parents develop and sustain school-based programs in which young people are resources for the community.

Educators by their personal motivation and commitment can make a difference. Marva Collins, Principal at Chicago's predominantly black Westside Preparatory School inculcates the lessons of responsibility, that "if you don't work you don't eat," communicates the highest of educational standards, produces three-year-olds reading at first grade levels and sends almost all of her graduates to college.

Schools can link students to work and real prospects of jobs via programs such as Adopt-A-School, or the Boston Compact (which in exchange for improved education and lowered drop out rates,

promises jobs for all high school graduates), and groups of business leaders all over the country working with educators to make curricula relevant to industry's needs in the 21st century.

Violence reduction curricula, specifically that designed and taught by Dr. Deborah Prothrow-Stith, give me great hope. There are specific life skills, such as mediation and decision-making which can and should be a part of everyone's education.

Teens Learn, Serve and Invest

NCPC has developed, together with the National Institute for Citizen Education in the Law, a curriculum which is now reaching more than 15,000 students in almost 300 high schools in 19 major cities. The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention has funded development of this landmark effort, with local and private foundation funds supporting many sites.

Our curriculum, Teens, Crime and the Community, has dual thrusts: education -- how to reduce chances of becoming a victim, and action -- harnessing the tremendous energy of teens to help make schools both safer and better. The results have been striking:

- o A rich array of teen-led projects has sprouted including cross-age tutoring, drug abuse prevention projects, school watch, peer counseling.
- o After only a ten-week test the curriculum was made part of a required course in the Phoenix (Arizona) Union School District.

- o The Cleveland school system has contributed money to insure the program's continuation.
- o Both Knoxville and Dallas have developed city-wide youth organizations which address crime prevention and teen-involvement activities.
- o One school administrator testified: "The program is so successful because it believes in the power of the kids to change the community. We are optimistic about reducing teen victimization and delinquency and using the considerable energy of teens to make schools safer and better."

Local Service Providers

Those who deliver services to youth on the local level can and should request something in return. Most of those entering our social service systems are indeed victims, sometimes brutally victimized. Yet we rarely move beyond the pathological; our desire to "fix," which is vital, sometimes makes us forget to "claim." But the most fundamental of human needs is to be needed, to feel of worth to someone. Would it not be possible, for example, to ask the delinquent to return something to victim or community; to ask of the teen mother whose new baby we assist and whom we are helping with her high school equivalency diploma, to speak to 4th and 5th graders about what it really is like to be a teen mother? Again, dignity in the exchange.

Churches

Reverend Richard Neuhaus, minister in the depressed Bedford Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, agrees with black leaders who focus on the need to start at the grass roots. He argues that those in the core city have lost control of their lives because of the decline and disappearance of the mediating structures that once gave them personal and community control, structures which include the family, schools, churches.

NCPC's newest project, "Congregations and Support for Families," will work with six parishes, two each in Washington, New York and Hartford, to link frail families with "parent mentors," church volunteers who are willing to spend time doing whatever needs to be done with a family in great distress.

Father Clement's "One Church, One Child" project is making a major dent in Illinois' foster care system.

In the Bridge Street AME Church in Brooklyn, teens who need tutoring receive it. They, in turn, tutor elementary school children, and, in the presence of their parents, are paid for their work.

Community Empowerment

The Citizens' Committee for New York City operates from the belief that citizens and government officials, working together, can invoke and manage extraordinary change -- ranging from block parent groups to wars against drug dealing to unsnarling traffic tie-ups. The Committee successfully sponsors a problem-solving

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process which any concerned community group can use in tackling problems. Their successes vouch for the effectiveness of the process.

The Neighborhood Councils in Independence, Missouri, are thriving and strongly led organizations of neighbors, supported only by a small city-sponsored office. The Councils inform, educate, mediate, innovate, maintain, and meet needs of all types. They exemplify what concerned community groups can do -- nearly anything!

Professor Paul Lavrakas at Northwestern University explains that successful crime prevention is integrally entwined with community dynamics in regaining control of neighborhoods. "We cannot focus on specific anti-crime strategies without also re-creating the broader process of developing communities."

Tenant Authority

Housing projects are often seen as hotbeds of crime -- assaults, drug dealing, robberies. It doesn't have to be that way.

Tenant management of housing projects can change community mores. As a tenant confronted with high crime, drug abuse, hostile law enforcement, Kimi Gray, a welfare mother of five, was elected head of residents' council at Kenilworth-Parkside in Washington, D.C.. Under her leadership, crime is down "85-90%," neighborhood participation in the PTA has risen, test scores of children have gone up and some have gone to college. In 1972 nearly 85% of Kenilworth's families were on welfare; only 20% are

today. "It works," says Cicero Wilson of the American Enterprise Institute, "if people are required by their peers to be better."

Civic Groups

John E. Jacob, President, National Urban League, asserts that though government must combat racism and assist with jobs, "black institutions must marshal volunteer resources, and individual black people must accept responsibility for themselves for preserving the family values that helped us survive..." The Urban League sponsors a "male responsibility" program that teaches black teens it is wrong to make a baby if they are unwilling to be fathers in more important ways.

Business

Businesses - large and small - have the expertise to help in many ways. Their in-kind assistance can be a major support to many community efforts.

But businesses also have the direct opportunity to help young people develop that vital sense of stake in the community.

Our own three-city employment project trained high-risk youth for careers in the security industry. One of the sites, the Harbor City Learning Center in Baltimore, an alternative school for the "troubled" kids in the system saw all program participants completed the program successfully: finished high school; most assumed jobs or entered the military or moved on to college.

The program's success was not due simply to the availability of a job, but the fact that businessmen and women volunteered their time to teach these kids -- and in a surprising number of cases, became true mentors. The kids got the message that someone cared. And the local governing board included a cross--section of education, employment, and business and crime prevention professionals.

Drug Abuse Prevention

Like other types of crime prevention, both short and long-term actions are vital to prevent drug abuse. Moves against supply -- ranging from interdiction overseas or at our borders to stepped-up arrests - are critical and in most instances remain the province of government.

Demand reduction, however, is chiefly a process of education -- teaching current and potential abusers what's wrong, why it's wrong, how to stop, and the consequences of starting or not stopping. It requires teaching how to say no, not just exhorting.

Says Melba Chaves, executive director of La Frontera Center, Inc., in Tucson, Arizona: "The earlier we get the message across to young people and begin to intervene, the higher our successes will be....early intervention is not as expensive as treatment later on...."

And that task falls as much - or more - on parents, churches, schools, youth groups, and other key elements of the community. In many ways, it's similar to the task of educating

teens on their risk of crime victimization, their value to the community, and the value of their skills.

NCPC and the 118-organization Crime Prevention Coalition have brought to this issue a major national asset. McGruff the Crime Dog is recognized by 99% of children ages 6 to 12, according to market studies. With the help of the Advertising Council, Inc., we have developed public service messages and support materials which emphasize to this impressionable age group that refusing to use drugs is not just "OK" -- it's cool -- and more fun. Will it work? We know that an astonishing 97% of the kids who know McGruff said they would try to do what he tells them. And he is telling them not to use drugs.

Parents and Family

Parents' involvement is obviously critical in many aspects of the prevention of violence. They can contribute in many ways -- spend more time with children; become involved with schools; set more sensible limits; try not to bear a child until they can care for one.

Aggressive programs to combat teen pregnancy must be instituted locally, for as we all know, teen pregnancy is a cauldron of trouble. Teen pregnancy probably is rooted in the most elemental of cries to acknowledge existence: "I reproduce, therefore I am." As Marion Wright Edelman has so accurately stated, "Self-esteem is the best contraceptive."

No parenting assistance program, no matter how community-grounded, can survive the continuing onslaught of stressed

families in which children are parenting children. The cycle must be broken before the family is broken.

Dr. Emmett Burns, regional director of the NAACP, said:

"You have children rearing children, with no sense of what parenting is all about."

That "sense of what parenting is all about" is an acquired sense, not an inherited talent. It can and should be taught.

At the Root: Interconnection

Isolation is a killer. When one examines the literature on child abuse, on spouse abuse, on murderers, one discovers, for the most part, profound social isolation: the abusing mother may be poor, but she is also alone, unsupported, trapped in her misery and tension; the same holds true for violent families. According to psychiatrists, those driven to violence are often loners -- mistrustful, secretive, and unable to modulate anger. We must encourage opportunities for the development of parent support networks where parents and their children can solve problems together and where professional help, including family reconciliation services are available.

Crime and violence arise out of a disbelief that the community's social contract applies, that there is no relief for rage, out of an intrinsic sense that there is no constructive alternative.

We must anchor all children with people who care, give them responsibilities for others, harness their energies to help solve

community problems, and communicate to them that they are needed, desperately needed and valued. Every one of them.

With the concept of stake as a fundamental starting point, I have proffered some suggested solutions to the problem of violence by and to young people, both solutions which are government-based and those preeminently communitarian, local, strategies more properly the domain of families, schools, individuals and communities.

Our current state leaves much to be desired. Let me illustrate with a personal example.

In the early 1960s, I worked with youth in an extremely impoverished section of Philadelphia. One block stood out as a beacon, mainly because of Mrs. Thomas and Mr. Collins. They cherished, admonished, worried over and knew every child on their block. Mr. Collins would station himself in a lawn chair on the sidewalk with a whistle hung around his neck to get the kids' attention. Mrs. Thomas, though quieter, was the sage advisor and no less determined to find out how each child was, how school work was going, and what had happened that day. Together, they formed a turnstile of support, attention and affection which nurtured every child who passed through it.

What would happen if Mr. Collins and Mrs. Thomas showed up today? Would they be welcomed or scorned? Shot or applauded? Chased out of the neighborhood or woven into its fabric?

The government must provide certain tools to enable its people to be fully functioning citizens. But the government

cannot create citizens. The community, through its Mr. Collinses and Mrs. Thomases, must do that. The burden is on each of us.

Unless we help our young people develop a sense of stake in their communities and their futures, there may be neither communities nor future.

Thank you.

APPENDICES FOR THE HEARING RECORD

"Success of Community Crime Prevention"
"Teens: Crime's Most Frequent Targets"
"Teenage Victimization", a National Crime Survey Report, from U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, NCJ-103138, dated November 1986, is retained in committee files.

Topics in Crime Prevention

...a series of timely reports to meet the needs of people working to build safer communities...

National Crime Prevention Council

In partnership with the Bureau of Justice Assistance

The Success of Community Crime Prevention

Introduction

Crime prevention works, and it works because of a two-track approach–reducing opportunities for crime and building neighborhood and community cohesion.

It recognizes the need to reduce criminals' opportunities to commit crime, through techniques such as block watch, target hardening or more careful behavi· An array of evaluations provides evidence that reducing opportunities for crime reduces crime, lessens the fear of crime, and builds stronger neighborhoods, among other benefits. Other evaluations and studies focus on how interwoven crime prevention is with stability a.d quality-of-life issues in our communities.

· Experience sends a powerful message that this kind of crime prevention works, both to reduce crime and restore communities' health The effects of community projects which aim at correcting causes of crime are less widely touted in the crime prevention community. These projects try to meet such needs as better housing, employment opportunities, improved education, better social services. But formal evaluations as well as ancedotes provide clear evidence that citizen action to solve community problems and meet neighborhood needs can prevent or reduce crime as well.

For many neighborhoods, decay comes first. Crime comes on the scene in its wake, pushing decaying communities deeper into the spiral of self-destruction. But the upward path is open as well. Community improvement and crime prevention go hand in hand, and may be inseparable.

"The first thing to understand is that the public peace... is not kept primarily by the police, necessary as police are. It is kept primarily by an intricate, almost unconscious, network of voluntary controls and standards among the people themselves.... No amount of police can enforce civilization where the normal, casual enforcement of it has broken down."

Jane Jacobs, *Death and Life of Great American Cities*

What Do We Mean By Successful?

We measure the success of crime prevention efforts through a variety of criteria:

- *Is crime reduced?* Are there fewer robberies, assaults, vandalisms, burglaries than last month? Than this time last year?
- *Is fear of crime reduced?* Do residents *see* crime as being reduced? Do they act in ways which show they are less afraid to move about their neighborhoods?
- *Are attitudes changed?* Do citizens have more confidence in their community and its institutions? Are they more convinced that their actions can improve the community? Are they more involved in civic activity?
- *Are the needs of the community and its residents met?* Are teenagers finding positive recreation, employment, leadership opportunities? Do children have access to crime prevention and child protection instruction, reliable adults with whom to speak if scared or threatened? Can people and businesses function free from intimidation? Are senior citizens comfortable walking and driving in their community? Are all citizens provided with the chance to lend their skills to community betterment?

There are many ways to reduce crime and improve communities. While the reduction of opportunities for crime is vital, many communities need to move beyond immediate crime concerns to strengthen their ability to deal with the problems that underlie the crime issue.

Why Citizen-Based Crime Prevention?

It's a fair question–why is there an emphasis on citizens in crime prevention efforts? After all, a large and costly criminal justice system has been put in place to handle the crime problem. What evidence exists that indicates that citizen involvement is necessary–or even useful?

The very structure of the criminal justice system–from crime reporting through investigation and testimony–relies *heavily* on active participation by individual citizens.

The criminal justice system has acknowledged the need for citizen involvement. William Webster, former Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, stated, "If we are to succeed in making some impact on crime, then the American public must join hands with the criminal justice community and focus attention on this social ill."

In 1967, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice put the problem bluntly: "Crime is a human behavior; controlling it means changing the minds and hearts of men. Controlling crime is the business of every American institution. Controlling crime is the business of every American."

And by 1973, there was acknowledgment that citizens' roles were broader than personal protection. The National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals said "the term community crime prevention can mean citizens patrolling their neighborhoods or conducting campaigns to improve street lighting and reduce auto thefts. The term also can mean the renovation of slums, the improvement of schools, jobs for the unemployed, and the counseling of troubled young people."

Many see the community emphasis as continuing or growing. John Naisbitt in *Megatrends* observes that "Self-help has always been part of American life. In the 1970s it again became a movement that cut across institutions, disciplines, geographic areas, and political ideologies. Self-help means community groups acting to prevent crime, to strengthen neighborhoods . . . to rebuild homes . . ." In *Crime Warps: The Future of Crime in America*, Georgette Bennett predicts that "Decreases in public services and an emphasis on volunteerism will lead to an increase in neighborhood patrols and other community crime prevention programs. . . ."

People doing it say it works. While they may not be precise as researchers, large numbers of practitioners and citizens firmly state that their work has made a difference. A recent Department of Justice-funded study, "Improving The Effectiveness and Utilization of Neighborhood Watch Programs (Draft Final Report)," found that 72% of the Neighborhood Watch participants interviewed in this nationwide study perceived the rate of crime in their neighborhoods to be lower than in adjacent communities. The National Crime Prevention Council's Computerized Information Center records over 3,000 programs that rated themselves as having caused or helped cause a reduction in crime or fear of crime. Community crime prevention does work, at least in the view of these observers. And there is a growing body of objective evidence to affirm that view.

Individual Action—Necessary but Not Sufficient

Individuals can take immediate, often relatively inexpensive measures to protect themselves and their belongings. Many of these aim at making the potential crime target—person or property—less accessible to, or less attractive to crime.

These actions, sometimes called target hardening, are basic building blocks of crime prevention. Many have been independently verified as effective. Simply installing appropriate locks for homes in four Seattle communities reduced burglaries between 37% and 77%. Just installing doors which are less susceptible to break-in can reduce burglaries, as a Chicago neighborhood documented.

Knowledge of effective techniques to reduce individual risks of crime—such as "tips"—must be part of an ongoing education effort that reaches all segments of the community. These basics, like fundamentals in any other endeavor, are essential. But they cannot carry the day by themselves. They must be folded into an ongoing comprehensive community crime prevention effort to have maximum impact.

Meeting The Needs of The Whole Community

Crime prevention, to succeed in the long term, requires building caring as well as safe communities, meeting needs and solving problems before they lead to or attract crime. Neighborhood Watch and other crime prevention programs are often the foundation for addressing a broad array of additional community concerns.

Examples abound: Operation SafeStreet in St. Louis provides community clean-ups, operates youth employment projects, improves street lighting, and enforces building codes. The Salt Lake City Crime Prevention Program deals with graffiti, flood relief, a senior citizens hotline and snow emergency projects. The Crime Prevention Unit of the Washington Township Police Department in New Jersey operates a drunk driving prevention program for teens and coordinates emergency medical information for senior citizens. The Orange County, Florida, Sheriff's Crime Prevention Program helps in neighborhood supervision of minor offenders sentenced to perform community service, operates an abandoned vehicle watch, and addresses safety issues like improvements for railroad crossings.

A classic partnership arose in Philadelphia, where many citizens were concerned over the plight of crime victims. Block watch participants organized and trained their members as volunteers to offer vital neighborhood-based help to those struck by crime.

Younger citizens can learn to make themselves safer as well. A McGruff curriculum teaching children self-protection for grades K-6 is in place in more than 30,000 classrooms across the nation. Over 15,000 teens in a dozen cities have learned how to make themselves, their families and their friends safer through NCPC's *Teens, Crime and the Community* program. They've also learned how they can become positive resources for their communities through such activities as teaching younger children, counseling peers, providing drug abuse prevention education, and preventing vandalism and producing crime prevention videos.

The Housewise/Streetwise child safety program for third graders was written by the Victim Assistance staff of the Greenville (SC) District Attorney's Office, the Legal Auxiliary, and Duncan Chapel Elementary School. It teaches

critical safety decision-making, abuse prevention, and coping skills. Its value is measured in part by such accolades as the President's Child Safety Partnership Award, by its growth (92 school districts in South Carolina and use in 45 other States), and by how it helps children. In one year in just one county with 19 elementary schools, 86 children reported abuse as a direct result of the program's messages.

The Virginia Beach (Virginia) Police Department devised a fourth-grade crime prevention curriculum that was eventually incorporated throughout the school system. A formal evaluation showed that student awareness and knowledge increased significantly.

Increasing numbers of police departments see clear benefits in better community linkages and stronger citizen involvement. The Community Oriented Police Enforcement Unit (C.O.P.E.) in Baltimore County, Maryland, has substantially reduced crime and fear in target areas by tackling and helping solve problems communities face, instead of reacting individually to repeated complaints. The Problem Oriented Policing concept in Newport News, Virginia, has cut downtown robberies, parking lot thefts, and apartment burglaries, among other crimes.

In both approaches, police draw on a full range of community agencies to help resolve issues, not address symptoms. For example, the C.O.P.E. team helped organize a teen recreation program and helped citizens find out how to have a tavern's liquor license revoked. In a case in Newport News, combined police/citizen action ended a prostitution ring.

Training citizen volunteers as mediators has helped reduce arguments and tensions which could otherwise have led to assault. The Hawthorn Area Neighborhood Dispute Service (HANDS) in Minneapolis, Minnesota, was so well received in settling neighborhood and landlord-tenant disputes that within three years it had to stop hearing cases and reorganize to handle the workload.

Student mediators of the Glenmore Middle School in Racine, Wisconsin managed 262 disputes in a recent year. Teachers report that disruptions have been significantly decreased, with gangs and graffiti virtually eliminated.

The Community Boards mediation program in San Francisco has trained adults—but has gone beyond into high schools and elementary schools, where students are trained as Conflict Managers to help settle disputes among classmates. Has it worked? School principals told a California General Assembly Committee they spent two-thirds less time settling disputes.

Mediation, community-oriented policing, victim assistance, programs for children and teens, and community services provided through Neighborhood Watch programs are just a few examples of crime prevention moving to meet broader needs of the community. Many types of programs could be cited. Their message: citizens can promote community stability and improve the quality of neighborhood life. In the opinion of many, there is no greater proof of success.

Neighborhood Watch

Neighborhood Watch programs, have become fixtures on the American landscape. Their very pervasiveness testifies to their success. These programs generally include block watches, home security inspections, property marking (Operation Identification) other forms of education and target hardening, and community improvement efforts. An estimated nineteen million Americans take part in Neighborhood Watch; seven out of eight American police departments help citizens set up Neighborhood Watches to reduce crime. One in four urban families lives in a Neighborhood-Watch-protected area. Four out of five who don't have a Neighborhood Watch in their area say they would like to, according to a 1982 Gallup Poll.

Neighborhood Watch can serve as the foundation for programs to reduce burglary and robbery, strengthen neighborhoods in transition, prevent arson and auto theft, reduce fear of crime, improve relations between police and community, and make communities more stable.

Some results of Neighborhood Watch are difficult to quantify. But there is no doubt that citizens and local law enforcement strongly support and want to continue the programs. In the final analysis, that may be the most important indication of its effectiveness.

Success stories about Neighborhood Watch abound. A home repair scam victimizing elderly residents was uncovered by alert neighbors in Albany, Georgia. In Milford, Connecticut, 110 Neighborhood Watches helped check on elderly, handicapped and sick residents after Hurricane Gloria hit. Eagle Scouts in St. George, Utah, organized a Neighborhood Watch; observations from participants led to the apprehension of a commercial burglar. A working mother in Detroit, fed up with local drug dealing and disruptive behavior on her street, was instrumental in organizing citizens for action. Among the concrete results—the confiscation of 15 firearms, a stash of cocaine, and $25,000 in cash. Thirty cases of residential burglary were cleared by a tip from a Neighborhood Watch member in Orlando, Florida.

More Stringent Judgment

Formal evaluations testify to the success of Neighborhood Watch in reducing crime and fear of crime:

- In *Evaluation of the Urban Crime Prevention Program*, researchers termed Neighborhood Watch the most effective strategy to involve citizens, strengthen neighborhoods, and to build working partnerships.

- People feel safer and perceive their neighborhoods to be safer. In a national survey, 72% of Neighborhood Watch area residents "perceived the rate of crime in their Neighborhood Watch areas to be lower than in adjacent neighborhoods." ("Improving the Effectiveness and Utilization of Neighborhood Watch Programs, Draft Final Report").

- In *Community Crime Prevention: Does It Work?* Robert Yin, a widely respected criminal justice expert, concluded that "... the evaluation results are positive and encouraging—in most cases,

the targeted crime was reduced and the perceptions of citizens were changed in a desirable direction. Furthermore, the evaluations used sound research methods and were done by experienced research investigators, giving credence to the results."

Broad national surveys speak to the widespread acceptance and utility of the concept. Statewide studies have similarly endorsed its effectiveness:

■ *An Evaluation of the California Community Crime Resistance Programs* reports that Neighborhood Watch programs "are perceived by both citizens and law enforcement as an effective means of reducing crime." In addition to noting other positive benefits of the programs, the report states that burglary rates were reduced in target communities.

■ A telephone survey of Neighborhood Watch programs by the Florida Attorney General's office discovered over 14,000 active Neighborhood Watch programs with 2.4 million citizens involved, and a 15% to 64% reduction in crime in programs which could document effects.

But the strongest evidence comes from local programs.

Successful Neighborhood Watch programs testify to property and violent crime reduction, reduced fear, improved police-community relations, and/or positive changes in residents' attitudes. Efforts to improve community stability through Neighborhood Watch are so numerous that the quantity of programs is in itself an indicator of success. University research teams or other qualified evaluators have conducted formal evaluations of most of the Neighborhood Watch programs listed below. These studies go far beyond simple short-term comparisons of crime data before and after the program.

These studies are just a representative sample of results:

■ The Pennsylvania Commission on Crime and Delinquency's comprehensive program, implemented in Warminster Township, reduced property and personal crime 19%. In a second city, Easton, reported crime fell by 29%.

■ Burglary rates in Seattle, Washington, target areas were cut roughly in half by implementing a strong Neighborhood Watch program, cited by the Department of Justice as an exemplary project. Citizens reported crime to police more frequently, and calls to report burglaries in progress increased.

Reducing Fear

Fear of crime can cripple a community. It can have a greater impact than crime itself. Research shows that where residents feel more responsibility and control over disturbing situations and events, fear is reduced. Evaluations of programs designed to reduce fear of crime demonstrate that such efforts not only achieve their purpose, but help stabilize communities as well.

An exhaustive study by The Police Foundation of programs in Houston, Texas, and Newark, New Jersey, demonstrated that "there are relatively simple, inexpensive yet effective ways that police, working with citizens, can interrupt the cycle of fear and crime that has been destroying neighborhoods...." Citizen surveys in both cities documented that reduced fear of crime was associated directly with perception of a safer community. And there were more concrete results as well--for instance, five businesses opened in a coordinated policing area in Newark.

■ The Crary-St. Mary's area of Detroit, Michigan, in a 1977 infusion of Neighborhood Watch experienced a 61% drop in reported residential burglaries and a 58% decrease in total measured crime, including violent crime. Fear was reduced as well. A comparison area showed only a 12.6% reduction in burglary and a 10% reduction in all measured crime. Detroit's success with targeted Neighborhood Watch has continued. In a 1987 report Detroit's East Side neighborhoods showed a 22% reduction in overall crime three years after initiation of the targeted Neighborhood Watch effort.

■ In Sidney and Shelby County, Ohio, the Eyes and Ears program recorded a 50% overall reduction in crime in rural areas and a 12% reduction in crime in parts of the town. Residents also became more trusting of their neighbors and more satisfied with their neighborhoods.

■ In Fall, 1933, St. Louis, Missouri, introduced a city-wide neighborhood crime prevention program, Operation SafeStreet, which resulted in substantial reductions in both violent and property crimes. Participants were enthusiastic--75% rated Operation SafeStreet either good or excellent; 78% felt that the home security projects deterred crime.

■ The Bromley-Heath (Boston, Massachusetts) housing project suffered many of the traditional ills of public housing units, including crime, dilapidated hallways, and broken windows. Tenants, took over operations, repaired and maintained the property and started a community patrol. Robberies were reduced by 77%.

■ Burglary fell 77% in 15 neighborhoods in Lakewood, Colorado, after Neighborhood Watch programs were started.

■ Real estate agents in Cypress, California, helped police organize an area of 600 homes into Neighborhood Watches to reduce burglaries, thefts and vandalism. Burglaries declined by 52%, theft by 45%. There were virtually no reports of vandalism. Evaluators also noted an estimated savings of $79,000 because volunteers rather than police did the organizing.

■ Sometimes, more reported crime is a good sign. After all, reporting crime is one of the behaviors Neighborhood Watch is supposed to encourage. Minneapolis, Minnesota, neighborhoods showed a 21.6% reduction in residential burglary, based on reports to police. The evaluators concluded that because of an increase in

reporting rates, the actual reduction in burglary was is probably closer to 34%.

■ In a study of 37 Watch neighborhoods in Baltimore County, Maryland, Watch members were estimated to be only one-third as likely to be victims of residential burglary as non-members.

■ In the metropolitan area of Bakersfield, California, almost 43% of Neighborhood Watch participants also made improvements in their own homes' security. An overwhelming 97.9% felt that Neighborhood Watch reduced the crime rate; 40.4% felt that it *greatly* reduced it.

■ Researchers studied fifteen neighborhoods in Montgomery, Alabama. While all but two had experienced burglaries before Neighborhood Watches were established, twelve were without burglaries after the programs were in place.

The Youth Crime Watch Program in Dade County, Florida, has instituted a crime reporting system, anti-crime rallies, and emphasis on student pride in the concept of school and community. The program has in effect transferred and adapted Neighborhood Watch concepts to junior and senior high schools. Between 1981 and 1986 many crimes were reduced: assaults on staff declined by 26%, robberies were reduced 34.5%, sexual offenses went down 34%, incidents involving drugs plummeted 29.6%. These reductions came while crime was generally increasing in Dade County. One school official termed the introduction of the program "the best year in our school's history."

Neighborhood Watch enlists older citizens as well. Sun City, Arizona, has 200 fully trained senior citizen volunteer members of the Sheriff's Department. They provide more than 70,000 hours of service each year to the city's 45,800 residents. Seniors patrol by car and on foot, conduct vacation watch programs, assist in search and rescue, provide traffic control, and organize and maintain Neighborhood Watch programs. Sun City claims one of the lowest crime rates in the United States.

In Jacksonville, Florida, 24 senior volunteers have organized 95% of the approximately 500 Neighborhood Watches. Participants rate the programs as exceptionally well organized and professionally prepared.

In sum, Neighborhood Watch evaluations document that community efforts resulted in fewer crimes, reduced fear, increased control by community members over their persons and their property, greater trust among neighbors and more satisfaction with the community. Partnerships were formed and the quality of life improved.

NCPC has made every effort to report accurately on program results and activities reported to it, but has not independently audited any program or study. Mention of a particular program should nor be construed as endorsement by NCPC or the U.S. Department of Justice.

The Inseparable Partnership: Community Improvement and Crime Prevention

One of the special challenges in crime prevention is to see crime as a community-wide problem. If specific crimes are reduced, but the circumstances that lead to crime remain unresolved, there will be little long-term change. The best block watch program possible will only have a limited impact if the community is seen as an undesirable place in which to live and do business.

A variety of research provides strong evidence that the quality of community life is related to crime. Selected examples include:

■ In a *Biennial Report* of research funded by the National Institute of Justice, investigators in Baltimore, Maryland, found an association between the appearance of a neighborhood and fear of crime. Symbolic barriers such as fences were perceived as improving the appearance of the neighborhood and reducing theft. People felt safer where the residents could identify the neighborhood, knew their neighbors, and felt that they had a stake in the community.

■ The same report cites a Chicago, Illinois, study finding that deteriorating property or disruptive neighbors affected the desirability of a community as a place to live. It recommends that community crime prevention include the goal of maintaining and developing neighborhoods.

■ In *Disorder and Community Decline*, the authors found that community disorder, including crime, has been causally linked back to infrequent social interaction, little community solidarity, and lack of cooperation, according to their study of 40 urban neighborhoods. Other factors affecting the level of disorder included fear of crime, problems with new neighbors, and unresponsive landlords.

■ A chapter of *Metropolitan Crime Patterns* cites additional research on links between crime and the strength of community organization—what services or opportunities the neighborhood has to offer. *Evaluation of the Urban Crime Prevention Program* speaks to the need to strengthen neighborhoods before serious decline takes place.

■ *Communities and Crime* illustrates the need to strengthen neighborhoods. In a 26 year study in Los Angeles County, California, it concluded that neighborhood decay *precedes* the rise of crime. Breakdown is then hastened by an increase in crime.

The quality of schools, real estate sales practices, housing rehabilitation, disinvestment practices are among factors cited throughout the literature that affect quality of life and the level of crime. Increased focus on community improvement issues by those seeking to prevent crime is essential.

A Good Combination

An excellent combination of community improvement and crime control can be found in projects

generally categorized as Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED). CPTED seeks to alter the community's physical environment to reduce opportunities for crime and provide more natural opportunities for citizen interaction. CPTED projects have their greatest impact when they are designed and implemented with the active support of those individuals, organizations and businesses who use the area. Strategies could include physical changes like redesigning streets, or improving the security of a home or business, or beautification projects and repair projects, plus efforts to help citizens take control of an area.

A successful CPTED project in the Asylum Hill neighborhood of Hartford, Connecticut, started as an experiment. The program included street closings and design changes to make the neighborhood more residential, the use of trees and shrubs to make street entrances and exits more attractive, the organization or strengthening of community groups, and creation of neighborhood police teams. The evaluation, *Neighborhood Crime, Fear and Social Control*, showed that the combination of strategies reduced burglary, robbery, and fear of crime. A follow-up study found that even when crime returned to previous levels, citizens had high confidence that the neighborhood was safer, that the neighborhood was improving, and that it would continue to improve.

In Dayton, Ohio, a CPTED effort led to street closings in the McPhersontown neighborhood. The predominantly residential community experienced a 65% reduction in crime and a 37% decrease in through traffic.

CPTED projects can enlist a variety of community resources, especially young people. The Youth Council of the Whittier Alliance (Minneapolis, Minnesota) coordinated a clean-up campaign to improve a deteriorating commercial area. Businesses hired teens to spruce up the area. Crime went down. Business picked up. Teens got paid and gained a sense of involvement. Everybody won.

The Dorchester, Massachusetts, Youth Collaborative's TIES clubs are tightly knit, highly structured groups offering one or more high-interest activities. One club does break-dancing, for example, and has received national recognition. But each club is also a work crew to help the community. Clubs have collaborated in the rehabilitation and renovation of two neighborhoods as part of community wide crime prevention projects and have taught older residents practical crime prevention tips.

CPTED can also be applied to commercial strips. Neighborhood business districts often serve as—or are seen as—barometers of the strength and attractiveness of surrounding residential areas. Dangerous or failing commercial strips can have a detrimental impact on community life.

Planners in Portland, Oregon, revamped a "strip" commercial area—making street repairs, planting trees, installing new bus shelters and street lights, improving the security of businesses, and developing a business association. Results? Residents were more positive about the future of the area. Steady gains were made in the area's economic vitality. Commercial burglary was significantly reduced.

Communities Reach Out To Young and Old

But communities don't have to close streets and plant trees to have a favorable impact on both crime rates and quality of life. Any crime prevention program is capable of addressing both. One community group reached out to address the problem of latchkey children. In State College, Pennsylvania, a local chapter of American Association of University Women started PhoneFriend, a warmline (non-emergency help line) for elementary students. The evaluation indicates success—children do call when scared, bored, or lonely. Younger children (up to age 9) feel better because of PhoneFriend.

Crime prevention begins early in Missouri. The Urban League's Crime Prevention Center, (Kansas City), uses puppets to help three- to five-year-olds in inner-city, extended-day-care facilities learn safety and crime prevention. These children will, as they get older, spend considerable time in self-care. Puppets explain the concept of an emergency, present police officers as kindly and appropriate "helpers," and define "a stranger." Children are taught basics—such as their home address and how to use a key. Test results show that even these very young children do learn self-protective measures.

Pasadena, California, volunteers, in their early sixties, trained and sponsored by the Fuller Theological Seminary's Psychological Center and the Pasadena police department, are specialists in victim assistance and crime prevention. The National Council of Christians and Jews and the police developed the program in 1976 to meet needs of elderly crime victims for emotional support, help through the court system, referrals to other agencies, and professional psychological services. The program fills these needs for 60 to 75 people a month—*and* gives multi-media crime prevention shows, provides home security checks, and installs locks on request.

The Fairview Homes Crime Prevention Program in Charlotte, North Carolina, used a comprehensive approach to counter several problems associated with public housing projects. Everyone got involved. Physical security was improved; weekend police patrols were increased; residents were organized to report suspicious activity. But the Fairview Homes Crime Prevention Program didn't stop there. Programs to support and encourage residents were established: victim-witness assistance, help with drug and alcohol problems, job referral for youth, dispute settlement, community clean-ups, and a special watch for seniors.

The program was primarily organized, operated and managed by the residents. Burglary and larceny dropped by 35% in Fairview Homes at a time when such offenses were increasing by 20% within the city of Charlotte. Better yet, the community took new pride in its ability to assist victims and look after and utilize the talents of both young and old. It's community development and crime prevention at its best—and it works.

Another type of community that has a reputation for being difficult to organize is a neighborhood of renters. Once again, however, dedicated residents showed that community crime prevention can thrive in all kinds of communities.

The Midwood Kings Highway Development Corporation (MKDC) in Brooklyn, New York, is a comprehensive neighborhood revitalization project. Seventy percent of the community's population live in rental apartments. Before the program started, the area had begun to deteriorate. Crime rates were up; the maintenance of buildings and public areas had declined. Longer-term residents began to view their community as an area in transition. Perhaps it was time to call it quits. But instead of leaving, residents got to work.

MKDC's effort to restore its neighborhood was engaged on three fronts. First, residents were enrolled in citizen car patrols, Operation Identification, block watchers, and other crime reduction programs. Second, MKDC started a small "town hall" for residents and businessmen, giving the neighborhood a strong, clear voice in registering complaints and demanding services from city officials. Third, the Corporation won federal, state, and city financing for housing rehabilitation, commercial revitalization, youth recreation, education, and environmental improvement.

Each of 235 block and tenant associations had a block watch network. Over 1,500 citizens became car patrol volunteers. Block Homes to help children were started along with youth recreation, housing, commercial revitalization and other projects. Police-community relations improved.

A community can be a town, a neighborhood, an apartment building or a school. Elements of the city and the school teamed up in Paterson, New Jersey to virtually eliminate by 1985 what had been, just three years earlier, rampant drug dealing at one high school. Higher school standards, tougher enforcement of rules and a program of positive interaction with local police were key components in the mix at Eastside High.

Within the school community itself, the Greenway Middle School in Phoenix, Arizona, reduced drug related referrals to administrators by 78% and cut discipline related referrals overall by 62%. How? Students were taught what drugs could do to them, helped with ways to resist peer pressure, and taught how to act as counselors to fellow students.

Community improvement can result in self-improvement, too. Boys and Girls Club members in Port Hueneme, California conduct anti-litter campaigns, build devices for disabled persons, hold peer discussions on troublesome issues, take part in job programs, and record public service announcements for the clubs. Criminal justice and business leaders spoke to club members. The community is better off, there's a substantial positive change in school performance by club members, and of 144 teenagers who had some prior history with the juvenile justice system, only *one* had another contact.

Committed, active citizens are essential to creating an atmosphere of security and development. A report sponsored by the Ford Foundation looked at the role of block associations in New York City in increasing a sense of community and encouraging development. The more active the block association, the stronger the social fabric and the higher the level of collective anti-crime activities. Residents of the organized blocks were both more aware of crime and less fearful than were residents of unorganized blocks.

The study recommends that block associations link up with larger community development programs and neighborhood social service agencies to increase services to residents. It concludes that "Strong durable block associations—particularly if linked with one another and with larger organizations—will produce measurable benefits for urban neighborhoods, including increased collective ability to combat crime."

The York Road Area in Baltimore, Maryland, needed jobs and a revived commercial area. The area's Planning Committee obtained $36 million in private investment, 400 new jobs, increased pride, and a $25 million annual increase for Baltimore's tax base. They also obtained the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development's "Award for National Excellence." Community organizations in Philadelphia have started activities for youth, educational projects, monitoring of real estate practices, homes for the retarded, day care centers, blood banks, food co-ops, and a credit union. Houston communities have substantially reduced litter—they recycled 11 million pounds of paper, glass, steel and aluminum.

These are just a few of the thousands of examples of citizen action to prevent crime and improve the community. Citizen action works— prevents crime, makes communities more stable, and improves the quality of our lives.

Success and the Future

Crime prevention—from locks to jobs, from porchlights to hotlines, from cleaning up a neighborhood to tearing down deserted buildings—*works*. It prevents crime and curbs fear. It makes people feel safer and more comfortable where they live and work.

But crime prevention has its greatest success where it is an integral part of the community. It works best when the citizens involved see it as an expected part of community life.

For the future, this suggests that community crime prevention

- must continue to demonstrate its success;
- needs to identify and explore ways to become more firmly embedded in community institutions,
- should be on the agenda of every group concerned with the quality of life in our communities,
- can forge a wide range of partnerships and appeal to a remarkable diversity of audiences

That community crime prevention works should not be in doubt. *How* to make it most effective at reducing crime and fear of crime, and in building the community's strength should be the focus of the future.

SOURCES

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If there are questions or if you wish further information on crime prevention activities, contact:

National Crime Prevention Council Resource Center
733 15th Street, N.W., Suite 540
Washington, D.C. 20005
202-393-7141

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TEENAGERS: CRIME'S MOST FREQUENT TARGET

▶Once every 19 seconds, a teen in the U.S. is a victim of crime.

▶In 1983, over 1.7 million crimes of violence and 3.6 million crimes of theft were committed against teens.

▶One in four rape victims in 1983 was a teenage girl; one in five assault victims was a teenage boy. But teenagers represent only about one-tenth of our population.

It's a fact. Teenagers (people 12-19 years old) are more frequent targets of crime than any other age group in the U.S.

What crimes? Robbery, assault, rape, larceny, purse-snatching, pocket-picking... all the crimes adults are victims of.

If you are a teen, what are your chances? Out of a gym filled with 2,000 teens, between 358 and 362 were probably victims of personal crimes in the past year. Fill that same gym with 2,000 parents (ages 35-64) and you'll probably find about 144-147 victims. Replace them with 2,000 grandparents — people over 65 — and expect 54-58 victims. (Remember, though, that those over 65 are most in fear of crime and when victimized, are severely traumatized.)

Why don't the police do something? Because teens don't tell them about it when they are victimized. Teens report crimes of theft and violence far less frequently than adults — for some crimes, less than half as often.

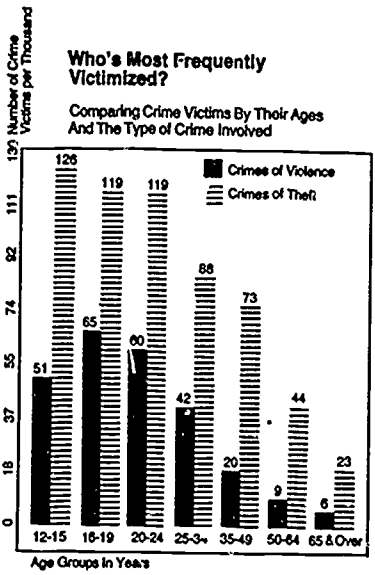
Where are teenagers safe? Only where they take safety with them. Crime can — and does — strike teens anywhere: streets, parking lots, schools, homes, offices.

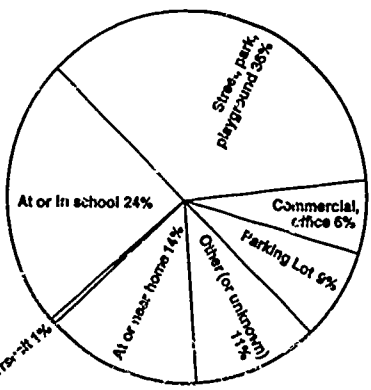
Teens can cut their chances of being targets, by following common sense tips to prevent crime. Using your head to keep your body out of crime's way is good advice for all ages!

Look out for yourself, your friends, your community, and help me...

Who's Most Frequently Victimized?

Comparing Crime Victims By Their Ages And The Type of Crime Involved





Where Violent Crimes Against Teens Occur

(1983 Victimization)

Chairman MILLER. Thank you. Doctor Stith?

STATEMENT OF DEBORAH PROTHROW-STITH, M.D., COMMISSIONER, MASSACHUSETTS DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH, BOSTON, MA

Dr. PROTHROW-STITH. Let me start by adding my thanks to you for having this hearing. This is an important area for which many of us have struggled for a while. It's good to have it receive this kind of attention.

I am now the Commissioner of Public health for Massachusetts, and I've been in that office since the first of October. As a result, I am trying to find out what it means as a State Department of Public Health to view violence as a public health problem.

Prior to that, I worked at Boston City Hospital as an adolescent physician, teaching in schools a curriculum on anger and violence. This curriculum has been evaluated and is available for distribution at this point.

I also speak to you as a parent. Parenting is one of the most difficult things I have done, and that includes going to medical school, doing internship, and now being Commissioner of Public Health. So, when you struggle with what it means to be a good parent and how you can keep your teenager from being involved in the kinds of activities we are talking about, you know exactly the kind of question we need to raise.

And I'm also a resident of Roxbury, Boston's neighborhood that has the lowest per capita income and the highest homicide rate.

The thrust of my presentation this morning is looking at violence as a public health problem. While it seems a bit isolated in its view, let me start by saying I would underscore the kinds of things you've heard around social supports, social and economic needs being met.

Looking at violence as a public health problem, however, brings you to certain conclusions that I think turn out to be very helpful. If you look at the United States, we have the fifth highest homicide rate in the world. It's 10 times that of Great Britain, 25 times that of Spain, and 50 times that of New Zealand. There are about 20,000 homicides a year in this country. Most of the victims are young and most are men.

If you look at the gangs, however, they only account for one percent of that total number of homicides. If you look at 15 to 24 year olds, the gang activity still only accounts for 15 percent of the total number of homicides.

Most often, over half of the time, two people who know each other, who've been drinking alcohol, who have a handgun, get into an argument is the usual homicide setting. More street lights, more police, stiffer sentences, won't keep two people who know each other, who are drinking, who get into an argument, and who have a handgun, from committing a homicide.

We now have to look at violence from a different perspective. We have the wrong attitudes as a society, and we actively teach that to children. We teach them that violence is glamorous, that it is entertaining, that it is the hero's way to solve a problem, and they learn it. There are some in this society, young male adolescents

who are poor and, in an urban setting in particular, who are more vulnerable to those lessons.

I would add that the absence of a male role model who is nonviolent in the life of a young boy seems to be one of the factors that makes him vulnerable to the television hero.

The President said, "Make my day." It's a quote from a movie hero. It not only means, I will use violence, but it means, I want to, I'm going to enjoy it. Parents tell children, "Go back outside and fight. Don't let that so and so take advantage of you," or, "I'm going to beat you for getting beat up." Parents don't want a wimp for a child.

We have television heros and movie heros who time after time use violence as a first choice. It is always successful. They are always rewarded, and there is never any sorrow. That is a glamorous, unrealistic view of violence. We, as a society, have become fascinated with this. We find it glamorous.

The popularity of the vigilante response to crime is yet another example of how we have an attitude that says, "If you have a noble cause, if you are on the side of right, there's no limit to the violence that you can use." For adolescents, a noble cause is defending your boys or your girls or your girlfriend or your boyfriend or your school pride or your little sister or your neighborhood. Those are very noble causes for adolescents and they've learned that message.

What can we do about it? What does a public health approach mean? What does it bring to the table? The same things that we have used to change your attitude and your behavior around smoking are the things and the strategies that we want to use around violence.

I remember when smoking was glamorous, when the beautiful people smoked, when on television all of the movie stars smoked, and when I took my candy cigarette and imitated the movie stars being the beautiful person. I also remember somebody coming into my elementary school and bringing a set of lungs, one that had been charred from years of smoking and one that was normal to show us the difference.

We used health education. We said, "You can't advertise smoking on television, and not only can't you advertise it on television and make it glamorous, we're going to say on television that it's unhealthy." So, we used that as a way of saying, "Smoking is unhealthy." We labeled the product, writing on the pack of cigarettes. We've used legislative initiatives making it illegal here and not there. We have also used insurance incentives, a variety of strategies, many of which are appropriate to violence.

We can do health education. The curriculum that I mentioned changed attitudes, changed knowledge, and in one school that used the curriculum for three years the number of suspensions for violence was reduced by two-thirds. What have we learned? That it's appropriate and it can be effective, but what we also knew was that kids went home.

I'll share with you the story of one teacher who taught the curriculum. A young boy who had taken the class came back to her very depressed and upset. They talked. It turned out a fight had been brewing over time. He had masterfully avoided the fight using some of the techniques in the class. He was depressed be-

cause his friends did not think that had been a good idea, nor did his parents think that that had been a good idea.

So, while it's effective to talk about a curriculum in the context of the high school, we have to challenge our attitudes as a society. As a result, we targeted two neighborhoods in Boston, Roxbury and South Boston, one black, one white, both the poorest in the city, both with the highest homicide rates. In those two neighborhoods, we're using the churches, the schools, the police athletic leagues, the neighborhood health center, every way that we can get the message of preventing violence out.

We are also using the media. There's a 30 second spot called "Friends for life don't let friends fight." It shows a girl in one and a boy in another lamenting their role in setting up a fight that caused a friend to be killed. They're lamenting overlooking a body. The girl is saying, "I should have never tried to make you jealous." The boy is saying, "I should never have told you to beat him up. I didn't know he had a gun."

When we look at the kind of fighting—and it's glamorous and it's exciting to look at the gangs, but that begins to overwhelm us and that begins to put us in the extreme category—we miss what's happening to the normal kids and the amount of fighting that's going on in the regular school system.

If you look at that fighting, most often people know each other. Most often it gets choreographed over time. Teachers know it's happening. Kids know it's happening. They set the time and the date, 3:00, in the back. There's a crowd of people there. It has a real entertainment quality to it.

Those are all reflective of attitudes that we have shared actively with these kids. I suggest to you that just like our attitudes around smoking have changed, we find it offensive and unhealthy now, and our behavior has changed, smoking is down 30 percent in this country, that while we have to work on those kids who are at most risk for these messages, we also have to challenge the source of the message and decide as a society that the hero is the person who figures out how to avoid violence and not the person who indulges in violence.

In the classroom, you get kids to list what's good about fighting and what's bad about fighting. It's a very interesting exercise. They'll list what's good about fighting. They're not stupid. They get something from fighting. And then, you list what's bad about fighting. In every setting, the alternative setting, the setting where kids are particularly violent, that list of what's bad about fighting or what you can loose from fighting is always longer.

And you can, in students in the high schools—and this high school that I mentioned was not Boston's best—it was one of Boston's worst. You can, in a high school and I suggest to you in a community, using the same strategies that we use to change attitudes and behavior in this country, have an effect on our attitudes around violence and on children's behavior.

So, I would offer that as you make your recommendations I hope they include the social and economic supports as have been outlined—the need to support parents as only one in ten children live in a household where there are two parents where the mother is not working. So, we have schools that open at 9:00 and close at 3:00

and close for the summer. Nine tenths of our children go home to families who happen sometimes not to have the resources to come up with after school and summer camp and vacations.

So, while we live in a society where all of that has to be addressed, we also have to address our attitudes around violence.

Thank you.

[Prepared statement of Deborah Prothrow-Stith, M.D., follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DEBORAH PROTHROW-SMITH, M.D., COMMISSIONER, MASSACHUSETTS DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH, WASHINGTON, DC

The United States has the fifth highest homicide rate in the world. Mexico, Brazil, Peru and Thailand have higher rates, but these countries have recently been at war or have experienced major economic and political upheavals. Our homicide rate is 10 times that of Great Britain, 25 times that of Spain and 50 times that of New Zealand.

Our rate of 10 homicides per 100,000 population translates into about 20,000 homicides each year. Seventy percent of the victims of these homicides are men and 50 percent are under age 35. From the perspective of lost productivity, homicide is the fourth leading cause of life years lost. Moreover, it is the second leading cause of death for teenagers and the leading cause of death for young black men.

Forty-nine percent of the 20,000 homicides in the United States each year occur in settings where the victim and assailant know each other. Thirty-three percent of the time the assailant and the victim are friends or acquaintances, and 16 percent of the time they are even members of the same family.

In 47 percent of the cases an argument has been established as the cause, whereas the commission of another crime, such as robbery, accounts for only 15 percent. Half the victims have been drinking prior to the assualt and half the homicides are committed with handguns. Indeed, the most usual homicide setting is two people who know each other are drinking and arguing and one or both have a handgun.

Homicide, though, is only the tip of the iceberg. There are 100 assaults reported to the police for each homicide, but four times the number of assaults reported to the police are reported in the emergency room. The injury prevention program at the Massachusetts Department of Public Health found adolescent assault rates in 14 non-urban communities to be 1,600 per 100,000 population for 16 to 18 year olds.

More street lights, more police on patrol and harder sentences -- even the death penalty -- won't have an effect on two people who know each other. Violence is not just a criminal justice problem. It is also a public health problem. And over the past couple of years evidence has strongly suggested that by employing the basic preventive

strategies that have been successful with public health problems whose causes are to a good extent behavioral, such as heart disease and cancer, the incidence of violence too can be reduced.

Important institutions and leaders of our society, however, are sending unhealthy messages to our children about the role of violence. Hollywood movies, now ubiquitous with the advent of cable TV and VCRs, are the biggest culprits, presenting violence as a glamorous way to solve a problem or make a point. But the media need not take full blame. How many young boys have been admonished by their fathers not to be bullied around but to fight back? How many school principals and teachers have said, "that kid deserves to be hit?" And the rhetoric of "The Great Communicator," our President, includes the bellicose oneliner from Clint Eastwood's Dirty Harry, "Go ahead, make my day."

Notwithstanding this difficult environment in which to teach against violence, I strongly believe that we can make good progress, especially through formal education. In fact, my former colleagues at Boston City Hospital and I developed and tested a "violence" curriculum in several greater Boston schools. The results of our work showed that knowledge about violence can be increased and violence

reduced at the crucial stage of adolescence. One of the principles we taught was that anger is normal, yet it need not be expressed in violence, and that other societally acceptable and more effective ways of channeling anger exist.

Certain psychological characteristics of adolescents can be catalysts of violence. These became crucial in the development and use of the violence curriculum. One such characteristic is narcissism.

Narcissism helps the adolescent make the transition from family to the outside world. Yet this narcissism is also responsible for the extreme self-consciousness of adolescents, which makes them vulnerable to embarrassment. Adolescents feel that they are always in the limelight. They are particularly sensitive to verbal attack, and it is nearly impossible for them to minimize or ignore embarrassments.

Another adolescent charactistic that predisposes them to violence is the transient stage of extreme sexual identify, or "macho." Establishing a healthy sexual identity requires transient states of extreme femininity for girls and macho for boys. Macho is often synonymous with "violent." Indeed, the image of a coward is a deadly one for a male adolescent at this stage.

Peer pressure has been labeled the single most important determinant of adolescent behavior. This vulnerability to peer pressure, a normal part of adolescence, facilitates the accomplishment of several developmental tasks. Yet it also is a characteristic of adolescence that enhances the predisposition for violence. If fighting is the expectation of peers, then an adolescent is often unable to disregard those expectations.

There is also evidence of the existence of a societal moratorium from responsibility during adolescence that allows the requisite experimental behavior to occur without compromising future options. The adolescent is able to adopt a variety of roles without making a commitment. Although it is debatable whether this moratorium occurs at all, most agree that for youths living in poverty, it does. The poor adolescent struggles with developmental tasks without the protection of a societal moratorium.

Black adolescents, and to a lesser extent other youths "of color," are in a more difficult situation, as they must develop a healthy racial identity in addition to these developmental tasks. Contact with racism results in anger, and that appears to contribute to the over-representation of black youth in interpersonal violence.

Violence prevention programs that are developmentally appropriate for adolescents and have a realistic cultural context can be effective. Developmentally appropriate programs utilize peers in education and counseling and reflect an understanding of the stages of adolescent development. They have a cultural context within which the violence, racism and classism that many such adolescents experience is acknowledged.

Of course, successful educational interventions will reduce, but not end, violence in our society. It is obvious that the fundamental causes of violence in our society lie in our social environment - an environment whose poverty, injustice, racism and indignity create what social scientist Lewis Ramsey calls a "free floating anger" that often explodes into violence. It is this unhealthy environment that we must ultimately eliminate.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you. Dr. Kesselman?

STATEMENT OF DOCTOR MARTIN KESSELMAN, M.D., DIRECTOR OF CLINICAL PSYCHIATRY, KINGS COUNTY HOSPITAL CENTER, AND PROFESSOR OF CLINICAL PSYCHIATRY, STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK, HEALTH SCIENCE CENTER, BROOKLYN, NY

Dr. KESSELMAN. Like the other speakers, I would like to thank the Select Committee and the Chairman for having convened this hearing, and also for having invited a psychiatrist.

Psychiatry sees the problem of violence in the youthful patient from a very specific perspective. It's a partial perspective. We see only a small group of patients who come in with violence, but we're seeing an increasing number of them. We think that because we look at them from our own particular point of view, we may have something to offer to supplement, not to replace, some of the comments that were made by other speakers.

In fact, our problems of violence on our wards and in our emergency room has been so severe that recently we've had to take what we felt was a rather unpleasant step of instituting metal detection searches of people coming in for screening. The final straw in that situation which made us decide we had to go ahead with that was an 11 year old boy who was disarmed of a five inch knife and was carrying a 30 inch sharpened metal rod under his pants leg at the point where he was admitted.

Now, I happened to hear about that. Well, he sounded like a horrendous ogre, from the description of the emergency room personnel. I happened to see him the next morning because he had a seizure in the unit. What I found when I got to the unit was a youngster, very very small, and not at all terribly frightening looking.

When I looked at the record and talked to him after he recovered from his seizure, I found out that these lapses had been going on for some months. The parents—actually, there was a single mother and a succession of men in the house—had neglected it. They themselves were overwhelmed and busy and failed to identify a serious neurological problem that the youngster was suffering from. There were other children, and there was a question of physical abuse in the family.

From our point of view the episode highlighted something that I think psychiatrists are concerned about and Dr. Stith certainly mentioned, and that's the issue of vulnerability. We recognize that violence is an interactional issue. We recognize that the social problems that have been amply delineated by other speakers are going to focus on every individual in a community and in some communities a culture of violence will emerge.

But, it's always going to be the most vulnerable and fragile member of that society or that culture who may be more apt to evince the kind of violence we see first. We feel that in concrete terms a careful case finding, screening and early intervention of some of these individuals will pay amply if it's instituted and carried through.

The kind of violence that a psychiatrist sees tends to be explosive, impulsive, or the result of a major underlying mental disor-

der. It's not the kind of secondary violence that was described before where somebody decides that in order to get a good business deal or eliminate a rival, he plans to murder that person at a certain time and a certain place. That kind of violence, which besets a shockingly high proportion of our inner city kids, can only be understood in terms of interaction between vulnerability and social and familial circumstances.

I ought to say that we're seeing a different kind of patients in psychiatric hospitals now, and it's putting us under enormous pressure and may in fact be the most important problem confronting state government. We currently no longer see the old psychiatric patient—I never thought we'd be nostalgic for that—the patient who came in with delusions, hallucinations, catatonia.

The patients we now see are showing behavioral changes. They're more apt to present us with a long history of police and correctional contacts as well as residential treatment as well as previous psychiatric history. They are more apt to experience academic and vocational failure. They're very likely to have had an experience of a mixture of alcohol and polydrug abuse. I think alcohol has gotten scanted in these hearings. I can't overemphasize that it's still, as far as I'm concerned, the most deadly drug of abuse of them all.

These patients are apt to be referred by others rather than by themselves, because of impulsivity or threat of violence. These patients attack staff—I have more staff out on "comp time" year by year than I ever used to have—and make the traditional kinds of therapy almost impossible. They're noncompliant. They don't follow through. What they do respond to, as several speakers have already pointed out, is peer support and peer interaction, the working with people who know their life and can understand them.

Now; it's difficult to determine whether our experience reflects an absolute increase in the manifestations of violence in this population, because the correctional system, the social work system, and the psychiatric system trade-off patients. When the correctional system doesn't have enough beds, patients who would otherwise have been identified as criminal come into our system. They're flooding into our system and I think they're overwhelming it.

Now, I'd like to comment briefly on three elements of this problem and even more briefly on what kind of responses might be addressed.

First, the alcohol and drug abuse. It's been emphasized again and again. It's appearing very early. We're seeing nine and ten year old kids who are heavy drinkers and who are beginning to abuse crack. These kids are abusing everything that's on the street. They are not selective. We don't quite see that even progression. We see people who are grabbing at whatever they can get high on, and they're grabbing at drugs which have as a direct toxic effect, hyperactivity and violence.

These drugs, cocaine, crack, amphetamines, produce paranoia. When you come off them, they produce severe depression, every bit as severe as the kind of depressions people suffer spontaneously. They need treatment. Currently, at least 50 percent of the patients presently in our emergency room are alcohol or drug abusers, and

a third of the patients in our emergency room are on crack. So, we're a microcosm of society.

Secondly, we're becoming increasingly aware that many youngsters, through a combination of perinatal birth damage, physical abuse, malnutrition and frequent head injuries, are brain damaged. Dorothy Otnow Lewis of NYU has demonstrated very nicely that if you stop to examine these cases one by one, you frequently find treatable identifiable evidences of neurological dysfunction, like in the patient I started with, which can be dealt with and treated.

I think that I would caution the committee against taking global solutions only. We need a combination of the knowledge we currently have combined with more global and socially oriented solutions.

Finally, many of our kids are exposed to violence, as Dr. Stith has mentioned. We see an awful lot of physical abuse, and in the City of New York, the City simply cannot follow through on child abuse cases. We've been hit over the last couple years by a succession of scandals. I don't think it is the city government that is at fault. The incidence of child abuse in this country is shocking and is transmitted transgenerationally and is going to spread geometrically.

Now, what do I think can be done? Well, obviously it's a complex problem, but from the point of view that I'm coming from I would certainly first suggest that our attention to drug and alcohol abuse needs to be integrated with all other mental health efforts. Because of funding streams and local politics, at least in New York State, the treatment of drug and alcohol abuse is separated from the treatment of mental health disorders. That means that both systems are free to refuse the very patient that we're talking about.

Secondly, we need to have early case finding, things like court-referred projects, people who stay in the court room and pull out kids who have a clearly psychiatric disorder, school screening programs for neurological dysfunction—learning disability was mentioned by Dr. Currie—and at residences we need to have outreach teams. These programs can be funded via block grant mechanisms for the states. We need to intervene early in child abuse programs to identify cases.

I'd like to end by suggesting we need to know more along with prescribing a cure. I think that NIMH and other governmental research agencies might be given a mandate and some support for helping us to understand more than we currently do about some of the etiology and mechanisms of violence.

[Prepared statement of Martin S. Kesselman, M.D., follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MARTIN S. KESSELMAN, M.D., DIRECTOR OF PSYCHIATRY, KINGS COUNTY HOSPITAL CENTER, AND PROFESSOR OF CLINICAL PSYCHIATRY, STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK, HEALTH SCIENCE CENTER, BROOKLYN, NY

Psychiatry and the Problems of Youthful Violence

I am the Director of Psychiatry at a large city hospital in Brooklyn, New York which serves the needs of a large inner city population. When Mr.Gilligan asked me to address you, he referred to a report from the "front lines". The military analogy is apt for our resources, both financial and personnel, always scarce in the public sector are increasingly beleaguered by changes in the nature of the population which we treat. Patients are far less apt to present with the classic pictures of psychiatric illnesses in which symptoms were largely manifested in terms of the patients inner experience (depression, hallucinations or delusions). Instead, we are seeing patients in whom these symptoms are largely subordinated to behavioral changes. The "new" psychiatric patient (as the N.Y.Times has dubbed him) is more apt to present with a long history of academic and vocational failure and with an arrest record admixed with numerous brief psychiatric contacts. He is likely to have begun to abuse alcohol and drugs (generally a mixture of different drugs) early in his teens. He is more apt to be referred by others (rather than himself) ecause of episodes of impulsivity, threat or violence. This threatening aspect persists in the hospital where attacks on staff have risen dramatically. These patients tend to be manipulative and distrustful of authority. They fail to make treatment relationships, are difficult to retain in treatment and are non-compliant with medication. They respond poorly to treatment and their careers tend to vacillate between brief contacts with correctional, psychiatric and social agencies.

It is difficult to determine whether our experience reflects an absolute increase in the manifestations of violence in this population. Since they are difficult to maintain and manage, a greater relative number may be referred into the psychiatric system from jails and residences where we might otherwise have been unaware of them. Of the broad spectrum of violent behavior, psychiatric facilities tend to see patients whose violence is impulsive, explosive or a manifestations of a radically altered mental state such as are produced by substance abuse or psychotic changes. Hence, our experience is relevant to a part of the sphere of interest of this committee.

I should like to comment briefly on 3 elements of this problem which are of current concern:

1. Alcohol and Drug abuse is a prime determinant of violent behavior in this population and is appearing in successively younger patients (9 or 10 years of age). Alcohol abuse alone is sufficient to "dissc the superego" or prevent inner controls from de loping. In the patients we see, polydrug abuse is the rule -whatever is "on the streets". While heroin abuse leads to "secondary" violence -the patient needs money for his habit- the street drugs our patients are now using elicit violent behavior

as a direct effect. They include amphetamines, cocaine (particularly "crack" which is endemic in the ghetto), PCP ("angel dust") and hallucinogens such as LSD. All of these are commonly admixed with alcohol. At least 50% of the patients brought to our Emergency Room have major drug abuse problems and about a third are directly involved with crack. These drugs produce intoxications manifested by hyperactivity, impulsivity and paranoid thinking which makes the patient unable to test reality and leads to highly dangerous behavior.

2. Through the work of Dorothy Otnow Lewis of NYU and others, we have become increasingly aware of the role of neurological factors in our population. Lewis has noted that many of these patients have a history of physical abuse, multiple head injuries and frequent episodes of medical illness. This leads to neurological dysfunction manifested by learning difficulties, impulsivity, seizures and violent outbursts. The patient is unable to discriminate social situations and to inhibit violence. Many of our violent patients have low intellectual levels. Some suffer from major psychotic disorders which themselves impair intellectual functioning. Clearly these factors act directly to increase violence and indirectly to impede social development and to limit the sense of esteem and achievement which might support the youngsters' internalization of controls.

3. Finally, many of our patients are exposed to violence, often family violence at an early age. We are increasingly aware that physical or mental abuse is "propagated" transgenerationally. Exposure to violence through TV has been implicated as a factor in reducing the threshold for such behavior; the evidence is mounting (e.g. Jerome Singer at Yale) but far from completed. Certainly, the acceptance of the tenets of a "culture of violence" in impoverished communities is common. It is possible that neurological dysfunction, poor education and dominant modes of communication which inhibit use of verbal rather than action based modes of expression may also dispose towards violence.

Briefly, among the remedies to be considered are:

1. Efforts are control of substance abuse must be intensified and tailored to the inner city setting. Psychiatric and substance abuse programs must be integrated rather than administered separately as is currently the case in New York State.

2. Preventive health measures including early case finding and treatment for ghetto youths with neurological dysfunction and learning disabilities must be emphasized.

3. Identification and early intervention in cases of child abuse must be a goal of well funded effective programs.

4. Research efforts (through NIMH) must be supported and

targeted to these populations.

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Chairman MILLER. Thank you. Mr. Martin?

STATEMENT OF ROBERT MARTIN, DIRECTOR, CHICAGO INTERVENTION NETWORK, CHICAGO, IL

Mr. MARTIN. Let me briefly reiterate my appreciation to be before this committee and to give a special thanks to you, Mr. Miller, who is so diligently pursuing this issue regardless of if it's appealing or not appealing. I also want to thank your staff, Tim Gilligan, who is an example of your dedication, who has called us at Chicago a number of times.

I represent the Chicago Intervention Network. That is an anti-gang program, or a gang alternative program that is run by the City of Chicago. It's a comprehensive approach to gang violence and recruitment that was spearheaded by the late Mayor Washington. Presently, the Mayor, Eugene Sawyer, is very strong behind the program. We're housed in the Department of Human Service, under the Commissioner, Judith Walker.

My statements basically are going to keep toward the ground level of what we see on the street. The CIN has been in existence three years in April. Basically, we have a number of staff persons that are out aggressively on the street building one on one relationships with youth. We have Chicago organized into nine areas where we receive input from advisory councils, private citizens who help us organize activities for youth.

We run an anti-graffiti program, pulling and drawing youth from the gangs to repaint over graffiti in their area, knowing that graffiti is a code and a symbol that charges gangs up toward each other.

In addition to that, we work very closely in 40 different high schools identified with having gang problems organizing parents and community block clubs.

I would like to speak on this problem. What we see in Chicago, which I think is a trend that has been echoed by a number of my colleagues, particularly the youth and some of the professionals on the first panel, is presently the continuing weakening of family structure and family ties. This plays a tremendous role in young gang violence. Many of the youth who join gangs join gangs because their emotional needs are not being met.

Many of the gangs today are performing tasks that the family used to perform. The gangs provide the youth housing, income, and support during stressful times. It is not uncommon to see a gang respond to the anniversary of the death of one of its member's parents. They will escort that member to the grave site and sit and support the member's grieving.

In addition, we see additional loyalties that develop for the gangs, and the youngsters are willing to commit any crime for the sake of the gang. The gang provides youth with a separate language, rank and attention. These are natural emotional needs for adolescents who are between the ages of 12 and 17 years old. The gang has organized itself into an ability to hook into these emotional needs. Therefore, when one of the gang members are hurt, it is extremely easy to convince a gang member to retaliate out of re-

venge for the sake of their fallen comrade. It is as if someone has hurt one of their family members.

A factor which influences this attitude of a willingness to commit violent crime for the gang has to do with youngsters seeing adult role models commit violent crimes also in their neighborhood. Many of our youth see tremendous domestic violence all around them and see adults settling disputes in the street with guns or knives. This lends to the attitude that it is okay to steal, intimidate, or even kill for the gang.

The increased numbers of truant and dropout youth in our school system contribute to the gang violence. There are a large number of youth who are out on the street with minimum activity. These youth tend to harass children who are going to school on a regular basis. Inherent in these youth dropout and truancy rates is the whole issue of what area grade school youth come from. The youth who come from feeder schools to rival gang turfs are oftentimes sent to high schools with opposite rival gang territory. These youth are followed home. Once it can be determined that they come from a rival gang area, they are immediately harassed. We are talking about ninth graders. They don't even have to be part of the gang, just the fact that the elementary grade school that they came from is from a specific gang area. We see this playing tremendously into the dropout rate ard the truancy rate around the schools.

In addition to the above-mentioned factors, we see an upsurge in the homeless youth population. These are children who have been abandoned by their parents and told to just get out of the house. These children roam the street and become members of gangs and often gravitate toward the goals and direction of the gangs. These youth have no family support and very quickly form an allegiance to the gang and are willing to do whatever gang leaders say.

Many youth join the gangs because of the money which can be generated from drug sales. We have cases of young youth 19 years old stating that they make $500 a week. We have had other youth stating that they are able to make $5,000 a week from drug sales.

Young youth are recruited to become lookout posts for drug dealers. These youth graduate to become connections for drug sales with other youth, and then these youth graduate to becoming drug sellers themselves making large amounts of money for themselves, but also making large amounts of money for the gangs and setting that money aside for the operation.

It is felt by the youth on the street that if they are caught they will not do much time. They will get some of the better lawyers that exist in the city to defend them, because of the monies and revenues brought in from drugs. If a youth does do time, then the gang will pledge to support their family financially. So, according to the youth, this is an unbeatable deal.

Anyone or any organization which moves in to threaten this economic structure is dealt with quite clearly through violence. The gang has a structure already laid out to sell drugs in its area and will not tolerate interference from other gangs or other persons without retaliating

Communities which have minimum opportunities to employ youth and whose families are receiving minimum support to work

through stressful situations such as unemployment, death, inadequate housing, medical care, poor academic standards in neighborhood schools, et cetera; these are the neighborhoods where gangs seem to spring up and strengthen themselves by recruiting youngsters and providing for the youngsters' needs which cannot or will not be met by the family or neighborhood.

However, a trend that is developing rapidly is the escalation of gang recruitment and gang violence in influential and well-to-do communities. Gangs, again, are able to recruit youth successfully because of the breakdown in the family and meet those youths' emotional needs. We see clearly that the poverty and other factors which are associated with low income communities are not the only contributors to gang violence.

Particularly in those communities which are affluent and have an economic base, gangs are attracted to those communities because of an ability to sell drugs. The markets are there, and anywhere that the market is a gang will pursue.

We are beginning to see this in the colonization of gangs which was mentioned earlier, which I think is just a trend that no matter where you are at gangs are moving toward this. They will send one of their leaders who has made contact with another gang member in prison and that leader will take a large amount of money and go out and start up a drug distribution network in another area. We see this in Chicago as it relates to some of the subsurbs, but we are beginning to see this happen in terms of traveling out of state. So, I think this is just a consistent progression.

A serious factor which contributes to gang violence is how the gang views the criminal system. When you talk to the youth on the street, they are very quick to inform you that the newspapers will carry a violent homicide on the front of the newspaper. When it comes to the sentencing of the offenders, the newspaper does not carry the sentencing of the offender.

Youth on the street believe that if you commit a homicide or a murder, the chances of you getting caught are slim and if you do get caught you will get a short sentence of three to five years and you will be back on the street again.

The gang structure rewards gang members who commit homicide, assassination, murder for the gang's benefit. Once they return to the street from prison, they are given immediate higher rank. Oftentimes, their families have been supported financially and they have rubbed elbows with the hierarchy in the gang and have more clout and power from their relationships with leaders in the prison system.

In addition to this, the gang members view the conviction rate as it relates to certain neighborhoods. We're beginning to get gang members who are sophisticated enough to look at the percentage of arrest and sentencing which is occurring in each area. When they track that, they see that a particular area is easier to commit a homicide and a murder and their perception is that it is not an all-out cost to go after them, that if they commit that murder downtown that's a higher risk but if they commit that murder in some other areas, that's a lower risk.

They are even computing that, if I can use that word, into their calculations when you talk about retaliating. They see that in some

neighborhoods violent crimes are given high priority at any cost, and that in other neighborhoods violent crimes are not solved. This gives a message that it is a better risk to commit homicide in certain areas of the city.

Because of this attitude by many gang members, their confidence spills over into the community. Many community residents are unwilling to stand up and testify because they believe what the gang members tell them in terms of the intimidation on certain cases.

Youngsters on the street refer to prison as gladiator school. It simply provides an opportunity to make the right contacts, to get the kind of prestige and rank needed to have other persons under them in their organization when they come back on the street.

This is played out by many youngsters because they have relatives who are in the gang structure, or immediate family members in the gang structure. We are beginning to see third generation gang members where they have seen the scenario played out where someone in their family has gone to prison and come out in three years to have higher rank and the family was supported financially. So, prison really doesn't threaten them under these kind of short circumstances, when you talk about two or three years.

Recommendations that I would talk about very briefly and just some quick comments: the recommendations that we see, we feel that it's a long-term unemployment problem that has to be worked on. Many of the youth do not start off in the gangs just simply for money. The drugs play a very cohesive and kind of a glue factor in the gangs. They allow gangs to do much more than they have been able to do.

Kids are attracted to the gangs because of their emotional needs. It is that gang member who is spending the time. When we talked about the school that had excluded some children and turned the school around, we feel that you have to have strong standards in schools, but what happens to those youngsters when they hit the street? They are very very easily devoured by the gang and join that gang.

Long-term unemployment, a national policy that will look at that not only for youth but for family. Alternative programs for youth, which has continued to be articulated. I agree with my colleague who sits to the left of me. It has to be a very comprehensive approach to elementary schools. We are seeing children recruited at the age of 18 years old—I'm sorry, 8 years old and under. Why? Because, again, their father is in the gang, their uncle is in the gang.

So, the reasons on why to not join a gang, and what is beyond that is the tolerance level for frustration of how you solve a problem. Rather then making a hit on someone or throwing down, as the kids would say, to be able to work on that. So, I think a comprehensive preventative program in an elementary system must take place.

One of the things that I did not go into that needs to be mentioned is the criminal justice system, looking at the whole issue of how gangs control the prison system. Our feeling is that you cannot enter a prison without being stronger, without coming out being more stronger in the gang structure. Because, you can't survive in a prison—and even if you go in prison without a gang-relat-

ed incident, you're going to join a gang before it's over just so you can survive. So, this whole control of our prison system is an issue.

Tougher sentencing on those persons who really have bought into the whole violent concept where life is cheap and really commit homicide and murder without a flinch. These persons must receive tougher sentencing. Basically, the youth see them come right back on the street and this must be strengthened. In the Chicago area, this has been strengthened and I think this makes a big difference.

In conclusion, we're looking at—I was previously a U.S. probation officer and had the pleasure of working with a number of federal officers who were working on a local and state level. But, what we're beginning to see as relates to the youth and citizens coming forth, we really need more investigators who are trained in the language and culture of various communities. You cannot really expect the kind of help that the community must give in order to make this work unless we can get more investigators trained in that area.

As we look at gang crime across the country, the units that are responsible for responding, many of those professionals—not taking anything away from them—cannot come into a Hispanic area and speak the language, cannot come into different areas and really work with the community. This needs to me improved on and I think this can be done.

Finally, the media being more responsive to sharing in the paper what happens to someone who does commit a violent offense. If I talk to ten kids on the street, I can say that nine of ten of them really believe that they won't get caught, that nothing will happen in the area that they live in.

And finally, to be able to put more stringent enforcement on protecting the borders of the United States from drugs entering the country. This is something that we really feel needs to be done. The drugs are really affecting our youth and I echo what some other persons are saying. We're seeing younger and younger children on drugs, and they cannot be reached. They cannot even be reached on a preventative level when they are on the drug at eight, nine, and ten years old.

Thank you very much for me being able to share these brief statements.

[Prepared statement of Robert Martin follows:]

City of Chicago
Eugene Sawyer, Acting Mayor

Department of Human Services
Judith Walker
Commissioner

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March 8, 1988

Mr. George Miller
Chairman -Select Committee
on Children, Youth and Families
385 House Office Building Annex 2
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Honorable George Miller:

I am please to participate in the Select Committee on Children Youth and Families hearing on youth violence and the current crisis on Wednesday, March 9, 1988 in Washington, D.C. You will find attached to this letter a number of current factors and issues which contributes to youth street crime and violence in the Chicago area. I believe you will find that issues contained in this document articulating and describing Chicago's problems to be relevant to national trends which are taking place.

If I can be of any help in the future or contribute in any way, feel free to contact Commissioner Judith Walker, Department of Human Services in Chicago for further information or comments. We are extremely pleased to participate in the hearings provided by your committee.

Sincerely,

Robert E. Martin

Robert E. Martin
Director
Chicago Intervention Network

CC: Commissioner Judith Walker

RM/la

Prepared Statement of Robert Martin, Director, Chicago Intervention Network, Chicago, IL

Reasons for Increase in Street Youth Gang Violence and Crime in the Chicago Area

There are a number of reasons why youth crime and violence are escalating in the streets. The following is a listing of reasons and factors which play into increase street violence and crime among youth.

Presently the continuing weakening of family structure and family ties plays tremendously into youth gang violence. Many of the youth who join gangs, join gangs because of their emotional needs not being met. Many of the gangs today are performing tasks that the family used to performed. The gangs provides the youth housing, income, and support during stressful times. It is not uncommon to see a gang respond to the anniversary of the death of one of its members parents. They will escort that member to the grave side and sit and support the members griving. In addition we see additional loyalties that develop for the gangs and the youngsters are willing to commit any crime for the sake fo the gang. The gang provides youth with a separate language and rank and attention. These are natural emotional needs for adolescents who are between the ages of twelve and seventeen years old. The gang has organized itself into an ability to hook into these emotional needs. Therefore, when one of the gang members are hurt it is extremely easy to convince a gang member to retaliate out of revenge for the sake of their falling comrade. It is as if someone has hurt one of their family members. A factor which influences this attitude or willingness to commit violent crime for the gang has to do with youngsters seeing adult role models commit violent crimes also in their neighborhood. Many of our youth see tremendous domestic violence all around them and see adults settleing disputes in the street with guns or either knives. This lends to the attitude that it is ok to steal, intimidate or even kill for the gang.

The increased numbers of truant and drop out youth in our school system contribute to the gang violence. There are large number of youth who are out on the street with minimun activity. These youth tend to harrass children who are going to school on a regular basis. Each neighborhood must be able to develop more alternative activities or these youth will gravitate to the gangs. Being part of the gang is the same syndrome of almost being a superstars in a sport. Your are able to get the girls, everyone around you gives you attention and looks up to you and it is a very coll and attractive organization to be part of from the viewpoint of the youth on the street. The higher the school drop out rate and truancy rate becomes the more youth will be recruited into the gangs and a higher rate of violence will take place. Inherited in these youth drop out and truancy rate is the whole issue of what area grade school youth come from. Those youth who are in feeder schools who belong

to rival gang turfs are often times sent to high schools which are in the opposite rival gang territory. These youth are followed home to see what areas they live in and if they live in the wrong area they are attacked and harrassed ongoingly. The whole issue of turf and who controls what area is a factor which contributes tremendously to gang violence.

In addition to the above mentioned factors we see an upserge in the homeless youth population. These are children who have been abandoned by their parents and told to just get out of the house. These children roam the street and become members of a gang and often gravitate toward vacant buildings and open apartments in housing complexes. These youth have no family support and very quickly develop allegiance to the gang structure and gang goals.

Because of the large number of children who are on the street generated by the high drop out rate, truancy rate, homeless youth and children who have emotionally severed ties and have become ungovernable or unsupervised, they are extremely attracted by the alternative economic structure which the gangs have develop quite well. Many youth join the gangs because of the money which can be generated from drug sales. We have had cases of young youth nineteen years old stating that they make $500.00 a week. We have had other youth stating that they are able to make $5,000.00 a week from drug sales. The drugs that are generally sold on the street as it relates to youth street gangs in the Chicago area is cocaine, crack, marihuana, and white heroine. Young youth are recruited to become look out posts for drug dealers. These youth graduate to become connections for the drug dealers to other youth until finally becoming drug sellers themselves making large amounts of money and setting aside of money for the gang operation. It is felt by the youth on the street that if they are caught they will not do much time and they will get some of the better lawyers that exist in the city to deffend them because of the monies and revenues brought in from drugs. If a youth does do time then the gang will pledge to support their family financially, so according to the youth this is an unbeateable deal. Anyone or any organization which moves in to threaten this economic structure is dealt with quite clearly through violence. The gang has a structure already layed out to sell drugs in its area and will not tolerate interference from other gangs or other persons without retaliation.

Communities which have minimum opportunities to employ youth and whereby their families are receiving minimum support to work thru stressful situations such as unemployment, death, inadecuate housing, medical care, poor acedemic standards in neighborhood school, etc.; these are the neighborhoods where gangs seems to spring up and strengthen themselves by recruiting youngsters and providing for the youngsters needs which cannot or will not be met by the family or neighborhood.

However, a trend that is developing rapidly is the escalation of gang recruitment and gang violence in influential and well to do communities. A number of communities which would be consider suburbs of the Chicago area are beginning to experience gang problems. This is taking place because the gangs again are able to recruit youth successfully because of the breakdown in the family and meet those youth emotional needs. We see clearly that poverty and other factors which are associated with low income communities do contribute to gang violence. In particular those communities tend to have more drugs problems and more fight and rival powerplays over drug sales. This can lead to extreme violence in those communities. But you also see a growing trend which has existed for quite some time of youngsters in fluent neighborhoods purchasing drugs also. The gangs have found a market all over and will utilize that market whenever they can to sell drugs. Most recently this can be seen in some street youth gangs whereby they are using the monies from drug sales to colonized. Gang members are given large sums of monies and are transported by plane to other states and other areas in order to develop gang allegiance and a new drug disbursement structure for that area.

A serious factor which contributes to gang violence is how the gang views the criminal justice system. When you talk to youth on the street they are very quick to inform you that the newspapers will carry a violent homicide on the front of the newspaper. When it comes to sentencing of the offender the newspaper does not carry that where everyone can regularly see it. Youth on the street believe that if you commit a homicide or a murder the chance of you getting caught are slim and if you do get caught you will get a short sentence of three to five years and you will be back on the street again. The gang structure rewards gang members who commit homicide, assasination, or murder for the gang's benefit. Once they return to the street from prison they are given immediate higher rank, often times their families have been supported financially and they have rubbed elbows with the hierarchy in the gang and have more clout and power from their relationships with leaders in the prisons system.

In addition to this the gang members review the conviction rate as it relates certain neighborhoods. They see some neighborhoods violent crimes are given high priority and are solve at any cost in other neighborhoods violent crimes are not solved. This gives a message that is a better risk to commit a homicide in certain areas of the city.

Because of this attitude displayed by many gang members their confidence overspills into the community. Many community residents are unwilling to stand up and testify because they believe what the gang members tell them in terms of intimidation on certain cases. Youngsters on the streets refer to prison as gladiators school. It simply provides an opportunity to make the right contacts, to get the kind of prestige and rank needed to have other persons under you for your organization in the gang when you come out. This is played out by many youngsters because they have relatives who are in the gang structure or family members in their immediate family who are in the gang structure who had done short time in prison. We are seeing a trend now where youngsters on the street are third generation in terms of members of the same gang. They have seen the scenario played out and have no reason to doubt that the gang cannot protect them and provide for them during any situation.

Recommendations efforts which will support and develop a number of alternative activities for youth in their various communities must be encouraged and facilitated. More monies must be allocated towards employment of youth and supportive programs which will keep a family intact and together.

The criminal justice system must begin to move toward getting control of the prisons where gangs are flourishing and provide tougher sentencing on those offenders who have committed violent crime. In terms of qualified representatives and investigators in communities which understand the language and the culture this needs to be increased and improved upon. All violent crime should be given top priority not just some crime solved and others are not given top priority in terms of resources and follow ups. The media must become more responsible and report on news even if they feel it will not totally add to the selling of papers in a sensational way. It is just as important to report on the committing of a homicide as it is the sentencing of an offender so that the youth and the commu-

nity see that crime does not pay.

There must be a comprehensive, educational, preventative gang program implemented in the elementary school sytems. We must get to youngsters while their values are still developing at the ages eight years old thru thirteen years old. We are intervening with youngsters at a point that the gang has pretty much convinced them that it is worth it to commit their lives to the gang structure. The issues around homeless youth and neglected children must be addressed more seriously. If we do not addressed these issues the gangs are prepared to recruit these children into a structure which gives support from the children viewpoint.

We need to realize the importance that all the gang is, is an alternative economic structure which has emerged because of the lack of private business, government and community to addressed effectively the need of our children in various communities.

It should also be mentioned that the battle against gang recruitments and violence will be won only when an emphasis is placed on improving longterm unemployment, provide more alternative activities for youth and establish stronger responses which prevent drugs from entering the boarders of the United States.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you. Sister Fattah?

STATEMENT OF SISTER FALAKA FATTAH, DIRECTOR AND FOUNDER, HOUSE OF UMOJA, PHILADELPHIA, PA

Sister FATTAH. Thank you very much for inviting me. I guess everybody's almost ready to go to sleep now. I do have a few additional remarks. I have no disagreement with any of the previous panelists, however I do want to emphasize the problem of family violence in the form of battered wives, child abuse and parent abuse.

In America, there are an estimated 86 million families in which 5,000 wives per day are beaten. Witnesses to and sometimes co-victims are the children who therefore learn very early to accept violence both individual and collective. Here is the training ground for youth violence. The home is where youth learn to use violence to resolve conflicts. If we are to save them and us, we must change our violent society, if necessary, family unit by family unit.

In my home at the House of Umoja in Philadelphia, we are attempting to intervene in the lives of these high risk, violence prone youth. We began this journey almost 20 years ago when my husband told me that one of my six sons was a gang leader. At that time, in the late '60s, gang members killed each other in Philadelphia at the rate of 40 to 45 a year. Philadelphia was the gang capital of the country. Now, Los Angeles is.

As a desperate attempt to save my son's life, I invited his division of the gang, 15 boys, to live in our home along with my husband and our sons. This invitation set us firmly on the path of caring for over 1,000 boys between the late '60s and 1988. We have had over 73 different gangs represented within the House of Umoja.

I have found, through this experience, that the devastating difference between youth of the '60s, the '70s, and the '80s, is the availability of cocaine and the increased availability of guns. The street price of cocaine has fallen from $600 per gram in the early 1980s to $70 or $100 per gram today. The increase in urban murders across the country in the past two years has been attributed to the rise in cocaine abuse.

This subculture of violence is creating a moral and spiritual crisis in America today. To change things, we've got to find a way to stop the flow of drugs, to unlearn criminal behavior, to dispel the lingering tolerance for violence and deromanticize deviant behavior.

I've shortened my remarks because I've asked Robert Allen to come with me, because I've never been a gang member. I don't like to talk about Indian problems when I'm not an Indian. So, Robert Allen is a former gang leader. He was a gang leader for ten years until I met him at a gang conference which he called. He was quite a problem, now he's part of the solution.

So, with your permission, I'd like to have him make a few remarks.

Chairman MILLER. Sure.

Mr. Allen? You've demonstrated a great deal of patience today, Mr. Allen.

Mr. ALLEN. I'd just like to say I've heard a lot of stuff said here today and I'd just like to comment on some of them.

A gang is a family, no doubt about it. Anybody who thinks they can stop gangs is just wasting their time. The thing is not to stop the gangs, it's to stop the negativity of the gangs. Gangs are a positive thing if they are doing it in a positive way. That's the great unity that black people have is gangs. The only problem they have is that they do violent harm against each other.

Now, I heard the brother talk about Chicago. If one lady in Philadelphia could sit 500 gangs down and get them to come to some kind of peace, that means that they can be saved. I've been to Los Angeles, Chicago, Atlanta, all the cities you have listed here. I've worked with different gangs: the Savage Nomads, the Ching-a-lings, the Black Stone Rangers, the Almighty, and we all have the same problems.

Like the brother said from Oregon, that they are going to fight the gangs, you cannot sit here and tell a gang that you are going to try to battle them. You have to sit here and tell them you are going to try to work with them and come up with some solutions. You cannot ask any gangs to stop if you're not going to have a solution. I know $3.35 is a little bit of money to make, but you still have to teach them responsibilities.

In the schools, the problem with the schools is you took the discipline out, getting child abuse mixed up with discipline. You have to discipline children. Now, any time a child knows that they cannot be disciplined they're going to act up. They're going to do what they want to do. So, you have to come up with some kind of solution where a child cannot tell a teacher, "If you hit me, I'm going to put you on charges of child abuse."

Now, it's up to you to learn. The teacher cannot make you learn. You have to learn yourself. I gang-warred for ten years. The teachers told me I wouldn't live to be 18. I'm 34. So, every year I go back to the high school and let them know I'm here another year, and I'm going to college for five years. I know if I wouldn't have met Sister Fattah in '72, I probably would be dead or in the penitentiary for the rest of my life.

But, I'm saying nobody in any city or any state can fight any gang. The best thing to do is try to work along with them. You have to tell them not to be like you were, to be like you are now. Every young gang member has somebody that was their idol from the past and they're trying to be like that person. So, you have to take your time and sit down and say, don't be like we were, be like we are now.

You need, as far as cocaine and the gangs, cocaine used to be a rich man's high and now it's a poor man's high. What public welfare needs to do is start checking on these welfare people who trade these food stamps in for cocaine and spend their checks on cocaine instead of their children and paying their bills and stuff.

You should go around when they get their food stamps and check the refrigerators and see whose refrigerators are filled and whose are empty and you'll know whose on drugs. When young kids come home with gold on all their fingers and all over their neck, then the parent in that house is condoning that because they have to know what they're doing.

Now, I heard a young guy say earlier that they should be locked up. All young people shouldn't be locked up. A lot of them are misdirected. So, what you should do is not allow them to go through the juvenile system 100 times. When they come there three times, then that's when you're going to have to put your foot down and deal with them. If you let them go through there 100 times, of course they're going to keep on doing it and think they can get over. Somebody is going to have to deal with them right then and there. Not saying, "Lock them up," because if you lock some of them up, then they get institutionalized and then they use that.

When I went to jail, one thing I found was that all the gangs that we were fighting stuck together. If we were from West Philly, we stuck together. If we were from North Philly, we stuck together. If you were from South Philly, you stuck together. So, I said to myself, "If I can do that in here, I'm going back out on the street and do it."

Nobody ever told me what a human life meant. Until I met Sister Fattah, I didn't care about shooting or killing anybody. Then, she told me only God's supposed to take a human life. Then, you've got to get these churches more in violence. When I was younger, the reverends would get out there on the street with us and walk with us and talk with us and go to the police station with us. They don't do that any more.

So, then you take five or ten years to deal with a problem. Young people have to realize that there are people out there who are trying to make money off them. So, they want them to gang fight. They want them to kill. Then, you are giving a lot of programs money that are not working. You should have some young people sitting right up there with you making decisions for young people. Ask them which programs are working, which programs should get funded.

At House of Umoja, we don't get paid. In all the years I've been there, 15 years, dealing with gang problems. Every month, every week, we're dealing with a gang problem that other people are getting paid for. We have one thing they don't. A young life means more to us than a paycheck. That's what a lot of other people have to start doing, stop thinking about that paycheck and getting paid and think about saving one of those kids lives. You save one out of 100 and that's more than a million dollars.

I wish that you would get some kind of a group together that everybody could bring their resources together and just go to different cities and help each other out. That's all we could do. But, trying to get rid of the gangs, when gangs are fighting nothing moves, drugs, numbers, nothing moves, and that's why people are manipulating them to do the drugs, sell drugs.

So, you have to get on the parents and the young people. I just thank God that they sent Sister Fattah before I got killed or went to jail for the rest or my life. She helped me go on to college for five years. She showed me that I had leadership potential to use in a positive way, not a negative way. So, since I was part of the prob-

lem, I'm going to always try to be part of the solution now. Because, there's going to always be young people killing young people.

So, that's all I have to say. Thank you.

[Prepared statement of Sister Falaka Fattah follows:]

Prepared Statement of Sister Falaka Fattah, Director and Founder, House of Umoja, Philadelphia, PA

Mr. Chairman, I am grateful for the opportunity subject of youth violence.

In defining the problem I remember former Attorney General Ramsey Clark's remarks on the root cause of the problem.

"In every major city in the United States you will find that two-thirds of the arrests take place among only about two percent of the population. Where is that area in every city? Well, its in the same place where infant mortality is four times higher than in the city as a whole; where the death rate is 25 percent higher; where life expectancy is ten years shorter; where common communicable diseases with the potential of physical and mental damage are six and eight and ten times more frequent; where alcoholism and drug addiction are prevalent to a degree far transcending that of the rest of the city; where education is poorest-the oldest buildings, the most crowded and turbulent schoolrooms, the fewest certified teachers, the highest rate of dropouts; where the average formal schooling is four to six years less than for the city as a whole."

Further causes would include: family violence i.e. child abuse, battered wives, etc.

In America there are an estimated 86 million families in which 5,000 wives per day are beaten. Witness to and sometimes co-victims are the children who therefore learn very clearly to accept violence as a part of daily life.

This is your training ground for youth violence both individual and collective.

Youth use violence to resolve conflict.

If we are to save them and us, we must change our violent society.

Between 1820 and 1943 an killed another person every 86 seconds, today a child kills another child every day: They haven't caught up with us yet, but they are making the effort.

Since violence is a learned trait, we must do as Michael Jackson says, "Look at the man in the mirror".

At the House of Umoja Boystown we are attempting to intervene in the lives of these high risk, violence prone youth and re-direct them.

We began this journey twenty years ago when I discovered that one of my sons was a gang member.

Beyond reason I have always loved my son Robin. He is the second in a family of six boys and was born when I was just twenty-one years old. The night before his birth I had been watching a particularly brutal boxing match on television. I have always found violence repulsive and my premature labor pains started just as the losing fighter was counted out. It was a prophetic beginning.

My first husband, an army sargeant, stationed on base in another state, was not at home. My mother, stepfather and three-year-old son were sleeping in their bedrooms when I quietly left in a taxicab to go to the hospital alone.

Shortly after 1:00 p.m. the next day, five-pound Robin was born, while in the background I could hear the strains of the 1953 record "The Little White Cloud That Cried," from a distant hospital radio.

That haunting, plaintive song was the prelude to my unbridled love for this baby and the beginning of the House of UMOJA Boystown which actually came into being sixteen years later in 1969. It also signaled the start of a lifelong battle with American street violence and its cause; boys and men who are too quick to fight and kill each other.

I named the baby Robin after the baseball player Robin Roberts; as a nonviolent sports fan. I find ball playing preferable to boxing. But Robin himself didn't take to playing baseball, basketball or football. As a boy he instinctively loved to fight. At the age of ten or eleven he would come home bruised and behoveled, and happily report that he had had a great

time! What that really meant was that he had been fighting.

We lived on a block which formed a dividing line between a welfare-supported, lower-class neighborhood and a middle-class working district.

Robin always chose his close friends from the poorer side. He always wanted to share his toys with boys who had nothing - not even a father.

I guessed it made him feel important in a family blessed with talent, intelligence, and a middle-class income. But none of this maternal understanding prepared me for the revelation which came when Robin turned sixteen years old.

It was my second husband who told me the truth. He had discovered that Robin was an active gang member in our home town of Philadelphia, a town where gang members killed each other forty-five times in that year alone. While I sat stunned at the news, my husband went on to explain what he knew from his own experience as a former gang member; that I couldn't deal with Robin as an individual. I had to deal with his group because he now had more loyalty to his group than to his family.

And so, in a desperate effort to save Robin's life, I invited his gang division of fifteen boys to live with our family; to my surprise they accepted the invitation. That act set us firmly on the path to caring for over 1,000 boys between 1969 and 1988, because the fifteen original boys were gradually followed by 200 others who came of their own accord, and 800 who were sent by the court.

These 1,000 new "sons" have each come with individual and group needs, stayed for varying periods of time, and then left to make room for new boys.

America is the most violent of all the Western nations even though the seeds of violence can be found in every human being in the world. Gang violence in Philadelphia, the city where America was born, can be traced back to 1791, when waves of European immigrants arrived to start a new life. By

1840 various ethnic groups were fighting for turf and inscribing their names on neighborhood walls. Those gangs were armed with sling-shots, pistols and knives, and they often caused riots that ended in arson, shooting and murder.

The gang problem has been found all over the world, from England, Japan and Germany, to Austria, Scotland and Russia. In America there have been gangs drawn from members of every ethnic group - Polish, Irish, Jewish, Italian, Puerto Rican, Chinese, Mexican-American, native Indian, and African-American. Often they were motivated by deprivation. In Philadelphia violent clashes between youths of African-American descent rose sharply after the youngsters saw the political and social gains of the 1960's being taken away in the 1970's. By 1973, Philadelphia's homocide rate for black males between the ages of fifteen and nineteen had risen to 10 for every 100,000 black residents.

In June 1969 I asked my husband, David Fattah, to research the black gang culture so we could understand what moved these youths to violence. The study was completed before we asked Robin's gang to come and live with us and was the foundation on which the invitation was made.

The research revealed that the origins of black gangs lay in the second great migration of black people from the rural South to the urban North, the black trek which took place in 1945, at the end of World War II. They came north to Philadelphia to escape the poverty and racism of the south, the legacy of slavery.

Usually the men came north first to find jobs and settle in. As money became available they would send for the rest of the family. At that time it was customary for blacks newly arrived in Philadelphia to head straight for South Street, a traditional block on the south side of the city about which a saying developed; "Walk South Street and find a friend". The friend they found would be someone from home, a "home boy".

As time went on, within the gang culture, the word home boy was shortened to "hommie". The hommie would assist the new-comer to find a place to live and a place to work. He could also be counted on to fight in case of trouble. From this arrangement developed living patterns that ensured that clusters of home folks or kin folks lived together in specific neighborhoods.

Originally, black people from Virginia, Georgia, North Carolina and Florida all chose to live in different sections either according to the name of a street or, if the gang had power ambitions, they called the streets nations, such as "Zulu Nation" or "Mor ation".

Consequently, a traditional Philadelphia black street gang was composed of friends who lived in the same neighborhood and usually had kinship links developed over generations with ties to the South. Many of these traditional gangs were founded by families, since recruitment took place at funerals where families and friends gathered in mourning. It was easier to acquire new followers when emotions were aroused over the death of a gang member.

In contrast to white gangs, which has motorcycles, these black youths were usually not mobile. Black gangs had less money than white gangs and so they usually kept to their ground, their "turf", socialized with each other and drank wine or watched movies and television when they were not involved in gang wars or making court appearances.

Their fascination with the media resulted in many gang members adopting street names from Hollywood gangster movies featuring James Cagney, Edward G. Robinson and Humphrey Bogart. Bogart in particular, so fascinated the gang youth that they included him in their language. "Bogart" in street talk is a verb meaning "force your way past obstacles".

The names chosen or given to gang members usually gave a clear indication of their personalities or skills. Thus a name like "Killer," "Shotgun," or

"Craz", meant exactly what it suggested.

Gangs were broken down by age into a rigid hierarchical system:

Pee Wees	10 to 14 years olds
Juniors	15 to 18 years olds
Seniors	18 to 21 years olds
Old Heads	21 and older

Only the older divisions were permitted to buy and keep weapons. But those arsenals included shotguns, knives, car aerials, broom handles, boards and fire bombs.

Orders for gang wars were usually issued as a result of complaints from Junior or Seniors, and after being sanctioned by the Old Heads. Some orders were issued from prisons which housed the Old Heads.

Robin's gang was called Clymer Street and he was one of the leaders, or "runners" of the Juniors.

This division of Clymer Street was named the "Dark Angels," and Robin shared command of the division with two other boys, Bird and Sam. By virtue of their roles as leaders, these three boys were also targets for rival gangs 13th and South Streets, which had a combined membership of 300, and 20th and Carpenter Streets which has 250 members. Therefore, 550 boys might have reason to kill my son.

The Pee Wees beneath The Dark Angels were called "The Little Wheels of Soul and included Robin's younger brother Arthur, who liked to call himself "Little Rob".

In order for The Little Wheels of Soul to graduate to the status of the Dark Angels, they had to undergo three tests involving loyalty, fighting and drinking. To prove loyalty, the prospective gang member would have to walk through a rival gang's turf; fighting involved boxing with the Dark Angels and holding your own drinking until the person almost passed out.

The role model for my son's Clymer Street gang was a gang named "The Savage Seven". The great attraction of this group was that even though they were black, they owned motorcycles.

Also, even though they resided in a poor black area eleven locks away, The Savage Seven claimed a white area, Rittenhouse Square, as part of their turf. Rittenhouse Square looks just like a European Park. It's centered in an affluent white neighborhood and peopled by the idle rich and professionals who live in stately high rise apartment buildings. Around the park was land claimed by a black gang. So the residents quietly walked their dogs, planned art shows and admired the flowers, while around them street youth played their deadly war games.

However, since the Clymer Street gang didn't have motorcycles, they settled for bikes and developed a specialty for stealing them. They could take apart and reassemble bikes in minutes and were skilled, fast riders who were adrior in getting away from the police. They used these bikes to peddle their way into my heart and my home.

At the start of our arrangement we had to establish rules to live by. I asked three of the boys to form a committee which would report back to the group. The rules they came up with were approved and have stood the test of time.

Very simply they are:

1. No fighting among the residents.
2. Resolve conflicts through discussions.
3. Fifty push-ups for being high on drink or drugs.
4. No girls in the bedroom.
5. Collective decision making.
6. No stealing.

7. 10 p.m. curfew.

8. No weapons in the home.

9. Shared work and responsibility.

10. Communal spending based on the needs of the group.

11. No gang warring.

12. Tell the truth in house discussions

In return for following these rules the boys get a place to sleep, regular meals, a ten dollar a week allowance, and freedom from jail or public institutions. Most important of all, they get a sense of belonging to a family that cares. The boys themselves say they learn to take responsiblity for their own lives, to respect themselves and to stand on their own two feet.

The scheme worked. There was sanctuary and harmony inside our home, which became known as "The House of UMOJA." Umoja is a swahili word meaning "unity".

Our contentment lasted from 1969 to 1972, during which time boys came and left on their own. None of them returned to gang warring, but gang wars continued to take the lives of young people throughout the city at an alarming rate.

In 1972 the city administration appealed to gang members to turn in their weapons. Gangs had in their possession thousands of shotguns and automatics. Some had even obtained high-powered rifles. We didn't believe they would give up their guns and we were fearful of the consequences since the new mayor, Frank Rizzo, had won his job by campaigning on law and order. A former police commissioner, he had a rough reputation. Because of our fears of the mayor's reaction if the youths refused to give up their weapons, we launched a series of gang conferences in an attempt to negotiate peace agreements.

At each conference recurrent themes were expressed. The boys wanted jobs, respect, decent recreational opportunities, and understanding, but they

themselves had no respect for or understanding of the value of human life. They were hopeless but aggressive, and their tolerance for frustration was small. We found that they were used by everyone. They were exploited by politicians to get elected and by government and social agencies to get money. We found that gang youth had become an economic base for the greedy and an escape value for the racist. However, we also found a need for love and a willingness to communicate.

In 1973 we decided to visit gang members in prisons throughout the entire state to solicit their support in planning a final conference which developed into an all-out campaign to end gang wars.

That final conference was held on January 1, 1974, with thirty-two gangs in attendance. One of the most significant agreements to come from that meeting was a peace between the Valley and Norris Street gangs. Traditional enemies for generations, they had been responsible for four gang deaths in 1973.

We chalked up another success four days after the conference during a private meeting between the Zulu Nation and 8th and Diamond Streets Gangs at the House of Umoja. Their agreement was written on the "No Gang War Poster", which became the symbol of the campaign. This poster was presented to the state governor on January 8th, 1974, and he responded by ordering every state store in Philadelphia to display the poster.

The struggle for peace agreements continued throughout the year with meeting held in schools, police stations, and even camp sites. Hundreds of people became involved. Apparently, it was an idea whose time had come, and the young people responded positively to the outpouring of attention they so badly needed.

No one person or organization deserves the credit for the campaign's success since it involved total community's effort, but because of this explosion of love, gang deaths declined from thirty-two deaths to one between

1974 and 1977.

Today we are building an Urban Boystown in memory of this declaration of love and to provide a permanent refuge for street kids who are still dying from poor education, high unemployment, crime, drugs, and high risk life-styles.

According to the Department of Health and Human Services, nearly one million young people drop out of high school annually. Nationwide approximately one out of every four ninth graders will not graduate from high school and, in some urban areas, the drop-out rate approaches 50 percent. One out of every 17 year-olds in this country is functionally illiterate. More than 573,000 babies are born to teenage mothers each year, and half of these young women will not complete high school. Moreover, teenage pregnancy is often associated with long-term poverty, health defects and other types of problems. An alarming number of young people use alcohol, and a high percentage are users of drugs such as marijuana and cocaine. A 1986 survey of high school seniors found that more than 65 percent of the youth surveyed were current users of marijuana and more than 6 percent were current users of cocaine. Automobile accidents, homocides and suicides, respectively constitute the three leading causes of death among adolescents.

I have found through experience that the devastating difference between youth of the 1960's, 1970's and 1980's is the availability of cocaine and the increased availability of guns.

According to "Justicia" newsletter of the Genesee Ecumenical Ministries, "the street price of cocaine has fallen from $600 per gram in the early 80's to $70 - $100 per gram today.

The increase in urban murders across the country in the past two years has been attributed to the rise in cocaine.

Victim rights activist, Karen Kurst-Swanger claims that, "violent crime

occurs every 24 seconds, every 28 minutes a murder is committed. Every six minutes a woman is raped and every three seconds a property crime is committed."

This sub-culture of violence is creating a moral and spiritual crisis in America Today.

To change things we must find a way to stop the flow of drugs. unlearn criminal behavior, dispel the lingering tolerance for violence and deromanticize deviant behavior.

Chairman MILLER. Well, thank you. Again, my appreciation for your being with us here this afternoon. You know, in listening to the testimony, I have to say that—maybe it's just because of the service on this committee—but, you really haven't told us anything new. And I don't suggest that you have a responsibility to tell us anything new.

Let's just say that there obviously was a decision made in Washington, and it was a joint decision between the Congress and the Administration, everybody involved, that we were going to make a dramatic withdrawal from this field in 1980, and we did. Democrats, Republicans, everybody voted to do it, and we have watched the resources dwindle.

When I look in the area that I represent, which is a kind of a cross-section of the country—it's rich and poor, and it's minority and majority communities and very diverse—I don't really care what the kid's problem is; there are not the resources to deal with it. I mean, if you want to take the most limited number of kids, the kid that is so severely disabled because of mental illness, and we may only have a handful of them, they're all on the waiting list. Now, if you want to take the kids that have encountered drugs, they're all on the waiting list.

And what I see is a system that is just shuffling kids back and forth from mental health to juvenile justice to the education system and searching for a dollar or searching for a placement or searching for a service for that young person. And that's for the person that they're searching for, but there's a thousand kids waiting for someone to pick up their case.

We convened a meeting here a couple of weeks ago of people, mainly youth advocates, attorneys, people delivering services, and people who are challenging the existing system, and nobody in that room, from every section of the country, was talking about a social worker, a mental health worker, a juvenile justice worker, a corrections officer, anybody dealing with less than 200 or 250 cases.

Now, I learned a long time ago that 200 cases didn't mean 200 kids. That meant 200 kids and mothers and dads and uncles and aunts and probation officers and mental health workers and doctors. Nobody has that kind of time in the world.

So, we shouldn't be terribly surprised, if I'm listening to you, that we now have a huge number of young kids that are in trouble; from the full grade, from mildly in trouble or potentially in trouble, to kids that are into just severe anti-social behavior, to obviously the taking of human life or visiting tremendous amounts of violence on other people on a random basis.

If that's accurate, there's just no way in hell we're going to address this problem under the current situation that exists today. We're back now to where we've got to make a decision, it seems to me. We can pull together churches, somebody's got to go out and pull those churches together; I mean, somebody's got to be existing in the community, it seems to me.

But I haven't visited a community in the five years we've been in this Committee where anybody has told me they have enough resources. I don't care if they're right-wing, left-wing, liberal, conservative, Democrat, Republican, if they care about kids and families, all I have heard for the last five years on this committee is

that all of the caseloads are going up and all of the resources are going down.

We see a dramatic increase and I suspect it's due to change—all teachers and physicians have different responsibilities about child abuse than they did before. But we see a 55 percent increase in reports of child abuse and a two percent increase in the resources to deal with it.

What worries me, and I'll finish—what worries me is I remember the fights when Timmy Walters fought Fred Fees and there were 200 students at my high school looking on. We waited for 3:00 p.m. at the terrace for that fight to take place, but nobody ever believed one of these kids was going to kill one another. We were just talking about the upper parking lot versus the lower parking lot at that point and where you parked your car. That was kind of minimum.

Now, what we see is kids with a huge destructive capability. And gang violence may be only one percent. (That's probably true in Bolivia, Colombia) they have a tremendous multiplier effect today. I just don't see—I don't think I would vote for a war on drugs today because I think I'd be lying to everybody. I did that once, and all I got was a lot of disappointed people in my community who thought they were now going to be able to address the problems as they described them. So, I think that would be consumer fraud at this point.

But I just don't see, after listening this morning, the descriptions of the patterns, your discussions and then each one of your recommendations is diametrically opposed to what we're doing in the Congress. It's exactly the opposite. I'm supposed to be in a Budget Committee meeting today where we're going to cut juvenile justice funds, where we're going to pit mental health against special education and nobody's talking about new monies for gangs. Nobody's talking about new money for youth violence. Nobody's talking about looking at this as a public health problem.

I find in Congress we're one of the few bodies that constantly are amazed and yet we've participated in this action like nothing was ever going to happen. If we continued to dismantle 15 percent of the military over a seven year period, and I'm not pitting social spending against defense spending, what do we think would happen at the end? We'd end up with inadequate resources to address the national defense problem. We have continued to dismantle about 15 percent of the social structure and delivery system in this country and now we have no delivery system. Now we have a problem that really threatens the existence of our communities.

This is the family; this is an alternative economy, by default, is maybe what you're suggesting. When we passed Proposition 13, we closed all of the playgrounds, the libraries are closed, the city of San Francisco is now going to close 20 libraries. The institutional structures where you could go as a young child have disappeared. There's great fanfare after 13 that all the fathers were going to get together in the suburban communities and line the baseball fields and cut the grass. Well, they didn't. They didn't, but they did it a little bit longer than they did in the inner cities.

But there's no big recreation program in the city of San Francisco or in Oakland or in Berkeley. There's no person to teach you how to kick a ball after school. I mean those structures, it seems to me, have just simply disappeared from the landscape of the youthful experience. I'm not sure how we get back to that point. We can moralize to families and tell them what their responsibilities are. We're talking to a lot of families who don't have the slightest notion of what their responsibilities are or the resources to deal with them.

Now, that's my scenario. Will you fix that system in the next 20 minutes? I'd just like to hear the mismatch, that this isn't as bad as I think it is. With the best of intentions, I don't get the sense that any of us can honestly walk out of here and tell our constituents that we can address this problem today under the current status; that this problem is going to be addressed—from a law enforcement base, when we are out gunned, to a social service delivery system where you're simply overwhelmed.

Does anybody disagree with that? I don't want to be preaching to the choir, but I see that as an indictment. I don't say that just as a status report. I think that's an indictment of where we are with our children.

Dr. PROTHROW-STITH. I don't disagree that programs have been significantly cut and under funded and that is a critical part of what we're offering. I do think—and this is not even as an alternative, and I almost hesitate to put it as a response to what you said because I totally agree that it's underfunding and cutting. I do think that the public health approach does offer something new.

As a medical student, I trained in one of the local emergency rooms learning to suture. A fellow came in at 3:00 in the morning—put in two stitches. We talked for those two hours it took me to do that about what had happened. He knew I was a student. At the point that he was ready to leave, he said, "Look, don't go to bed because the person who did this to me is going to be in this emergency room in about an hour and you're going to get all the practice that you need."

Well, the emergency rooms and the health care system are contact points that we don't consider at this point, nor do we try to intervene. If you look at what's reported to the police in the way or assaults and what's reported to emergency rooms, four times the number of assaults are reported to emergency rooms as are reported to police. So we're talking about a very significant contact point.

If that young fellow had come in having made a suicide attempt and we had lavaged his stomach, cleaned it out, declared him medically stable and he had said, "Look, don't go to bed because I'm going home and I'm going to take the pills that are at the top of the shelf and I'll be back in here and you'll get all the practice lavaging my stomach that you need," we would have approached it very differently.

So, I offer that while under funding and all of that are serious problems that have to be considered, and this is not an alternative to that, but just to say that there are some new strategies, there are some new approaches that need to be on the table because the emergency room, the health care system needs to stop stitching them up and sending them out. We need to provide within the con-

text the same kind of approach that we provide for heart disease, for smoking, for suicide. We do prevention. We have exercise classes, we have all kind of personnel for each of those areas and this represents yet another problem that ought to be addressed in that context.

Dr. CURRIE. I'm going to add just one quick thing. I too am afraid that I agree with just about 99.9 percent of what you said. I feel that same frustration, especially everyday when I go out there and talk to some kid who's a piece of wreckage, a casualty of just those processes you're talking about.

I do think, though, that there are at least a couple of things that we can do, that we can say we can do credibly because they don't cost much money. They involve things like seeing to it that people, or institutions, don't do certain things that they should not be doing.

Take the schools. Again, we've heard several times today about the problem of kids getting tossed out at the moment that some problem appears. I see that over and over again. I think it's possible to have an influence on that simply by starting to say, "We're not going to tolerate that anymore. We want teachers to behave differently. We want to change the way we think about what the role of the schools ought to be and the kind of responsibility they should take for kids who are in trouble." I think we can begin to do some things like that, by exercising what you might call "cultural" pressure on how these institutions that we still have operate.

Dr. KESSELMAN. I kind of like Robert Allen's statement that if you save or help one person out of a hundred, that's still one person out of a hundred and it's worth an awful lot. I think everything you're saying is right. There are things that work. There are things which we should be doing in spite of the fact that we know the world won't be a much better place the next morning.

In my own hospital, we hit The New York Times front page just last week because we were accused of not having identified a potentially violent patient, one that killed both his mother and father. The same week, I heard about another patient who I've been following for some time who had been stashing an arms supply ready to assassinate half the city government and who we worked with and who's now actually functioning and able to actually resume his role as head of the household.

We're not going to win them all. Our knowledge isn't perfect.

Chairman MILLER. No, but also from Jack Calhoun to the rest of you, the suggestion is that you can win a hell of a lot more than you're winning.

Dr. KESSELMAN. Well, it's your responsibility too to insist on quality assurance and effectiveness studies before you dole out money like you did in the '70s. But there are effective things. Some of them are new programs and I think they're worthy of support. I wouldn't withdraw from the attempt because the problem looms so large. It's that sense of hopelessness that I think has infected a good deal of the efforts and probably a sense of hope and movement that will do more for you than any number of extra dollars.

Mr. MARTIN. I just wanted to say just briefly from my point of view in the Chicago area and watching a local government just make a commitment of $4 million to the problem, and how long

that local government can do that, I don't know, but I just commend you and encourage you to continue the fight because you have to have the money to have the people out there.

In Chicago you have a few admirable programs like my colleague's who just stated that they don't get funding or whatever. But if you're going to deal with this problem, you've got to have programs that receive funding, that get adequate staffing who can be out on the street relating to these youth and trying to redirect that energy. I don't suggest that there shouldn't be some evaluation methods put in place so that we can see how the money is being spent, but the bottom line is while we do not do more of that, gangs are going to recruit more and they're moving.

The trend now is to move out of the local areas and to move to a state. They're going to do more. And over the next six, seven, eight years, what you think you're hearing now as a problem is going to be greatly increased because they have a formula. This is not no haphazard thing. They have a formula that they have put together.

Chairman MILLER. I guess maybe that's the dichotomy that causes me trouble because I sit here as one that gets to participate to some extent in the formation of national policy and I know there's an alternative system out there that says, "Folks, we've got to fund this operation," and it's fully prepared to fund the continuation of this system, whether it's the recruitment, the marketing, from soup to nuts. They're prepared to make the investment necessary to generate the number of people necessary to carry out the commercial activities.

This is different from the neighborhood operation where we were just going to take care of our four blocks and we were just into trading off who was the toughest. We're now talking about a commercial apparatus.

I just question whether or not you can, in good conscience, sit here and suggest that that can be handled on a volunteer, piecemeal basis. Just that component of it—I mean I can back you all the way up into maternal and child health and Head Start and all of those other things that generate the candidates for this system. That's what this Committee has been about. It's like if the Yankees decide they need a long ball hitter. They're putting the resources into it because they figure they get the pennant. The rest of the clubs, if they don't develop the talent, they're not going to play.

Right now, we've got one group of people that are willing to put the resources into developing the talent and you're hanging out there hoping that you can have $4 million year in and out. They know that they've got $4 million year in and year out. We just sat here with Mr. Allen talking about three generations. They made the commitment for three generations to develop this system. We can't make the commitment for one fiscal year. To me, that's a hell of a mismatch. I wouldn't get in the ring under those odds.

I just think you're so right. People I talk to all talk about this on an annual basis, hoping to keep this program. We've got a pilot study, we've got a pilot this and a pilot that and we've got the studies. We know what works. You know what works. We do it in one or two towns and in one or two cities in the country. We've got 50,000 candidates in L.A. Forget the notion that pro sports will bring you fame and fortune.

Sister FATTAH. Mr. Miller, I just wanted to add something. Last year I had the fortune to work as a consultant to the Police Foundation and it afforded me the opportunity to travel throughout this country and to Puerto Rico, which incidently has the largest crime problem in America. What I found was not just the transference as far as the drug trafficking is concerned from one city to another city, but I found an international connection. You must talk about the Jamaicans, about the Cubans, about the South American connections.

It's not just that some gangs in Los Angeles decided to do some different types of marketing strategies. I just would like to add that.

Chairman MILLER. Mr. Coats?

Mr. COATS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Calhoun, I appreciate your testimony. In that, you mentioned a number of different projects, but one in which I'm particularly interested in, the Youth as Resources Project which is underway in three Indiana cities and also, I think, you testified in Massachusetts. I wonder if you could describe that in a little more detail, what you're seeking to achieve and why you think this might be a sucessful model.

Mr. CALHOUN. I think underneath it, Representative Coats, is the fact of looking at kids not just as objects of our service but as national and local assets, as resources, if you will, hence the name. When Doctor Stith and I and one other in Boston went about designing the youth and resources program, it was our essential thesis that we tend to look at teens only as wounded as hunks of pathology waiting to happen. Even kids who are indeed wounded in some way or other we can start claiming. I had done this a bit when I was Commissioner of Youth Services in Massachusetts where in one program we had delinquent kids meet their victims and give something back. We ran quite an array of programs, foster care, group care, et cetera, and this had one of the more striking successes. I think because we were saying, A, "You're responsible," and B, "We need you and we need you now."

A couple of quick specifics. There is a program in Boston for abused teens. It's seen as a bit of a problem for the neighborhood; the citizens don't particularly like it and they wanted out, wanted to move the halfway house. The kids are now escorting the elderly in the neighborhood and they're working in the parks to keep them clean. These are kids who are potentially those who may wind up in gangs. Citizens now see them as a resource.

We have the Log School in Dorchester, a poor neighborhood. Teens have started a hunger program. Kevin FitzGerald, again a possible candidate for trouble, aged 13, said, "I remember what it was like to wait in line for food stamps and for cheese." He said, "You don't know what it's like to be able to give something back." He now sees himself as a valued resource.

In Indianapolis, I'll mention two programs. One is drop-out kids going back into school and talking to the younger kids in school about what it means to be a drop-out, and what they face. Another program has taken a group of young mothers who are writing a play to take into the elementary schools, about what it means to be a teen mother.

So, there's a sense, if you will, of dignity. In Fort Wayne, there is a teen who is chairing the board out there. The Vice President of the bank board, who is head of one of the largest banks said, "Why didn't we think of this before?"

I'm not suggesting this as a panacea. There have been deep, very painful cuts that have hurt some of the programs that I was close to and ran. But I think in this adversity we are suddenly beginning to realize we've got a resource out there that we usually don't wake up to until they're about 22 or they're in college or they're out of school.

Carlos Mendiata, not your honor society student, a very big kid, a tough kid from Miami South High School where they have metal detectors, came up to our training and said, "Unless we kids take some responsibility, it's not going to change." He is a leader, a big factor at the school. That school changed. Metal detectors are gone, et cetera.

Again, I'm not suggesting it as a panacea, but I think we cannot have the perspective that these kids are all diseased, and we as a society must pay attention to them. We've got to give them the message that they are claimed as early as possible. We've seen it work.

Mr. COATS. There's an interesting parallel with that because a number of public housing projects have turned over to a tenant management type program with some remarkable success. I visited a couple of those and they have basically done the same thing, "You put some responsibility in our hands for our own destiny, you give us some of the dignity of being able to give something back, to participate in the process and make decisions that effect our own lives," and people respond. There have been some remarkable successes.

Mr. CALHOUN. Kimi Gray here in Washington at Kenilworth-Parkside projects is a very dramatic example.

Mr. COATS. Yes.

Mr. Allen, you also talked about that same concept, young people being a part of making the decisions. I was intrigued by your concept of the gang as family, supplying a need, meeting a need, but trying to turn that from a negative impact into a positive impact. Can you be more specific as to how that can be done? Realistically, who does it and how do you walk into a gang situation that is thriving currently on hatred, bitterness, retribution and selling drugs and take that negative and turn it into a positive?

Mr. ALLEN. Well, what we do in Philadelphia is we have a gang council. To do that you just have to be a gang member yourself. Once you're a gang member, everybody knows you. So, what we do, our word is good. We give our word to each other and I can walk up to any gang that's fighting in our area and sit down and talk to them.

What I'm saying is, the positive way, we have to give them positive things to do. Some gang members like can't work for other people, so we have to show them how to set up their own type of jobs that they want to do.

To me, I can go in any state, any city and work with any gang and turn them around if I'm given the opportunity to do that. The only thing you have to do is show them that they're doing bodily

harm against each other and nobody's gaining but the people who are making money off of them.

Just like when I stopped gang warring, I've never stopped working with my gang. Once a gang member, always a gang member. I'm going to always be able to go back to them 12 gangs in my neighborhood and tell them, "We're not going to fight." When I said we're not going to fight, either they're going to kill me or they're not going to fight. Nine out of ten they're going to sit down and talk it out because you get a child that's going to a funeral, seeing your friend's mother and father and everybody else sitting there all sad because there son's not here and then when you stop and think about how he got killed, it was over nothing.

And once you go to prison and you see the same guys that were out there trying to kill everyday are in there tempting each other, then you're going to come out with a different attitude altogether. If we have to stick together inside of institutions, then we can do it out on the street.

The only thing is, just the media, they play a great part. Like the brother was saying from Chicago, the media always print when you kill somebody, but go and fix up some houses or do something for some senior citizen, do some project, it'll be on the back page. I mean if somebody do something wrong, I'm not looking for the sentence in the paper. But when I got sentenced it was on the front page because the judge made an example of me because I was the leader. He said, "No gang war in '74 that Sister Fattah made, you're not going to be there for that," and I was in there for the next two years for that.

Plus, I was shot six times in three months. Just like we all did with tempting each other and fighting for each other, my mother, my father, my brothers and my sisters, everybody that loves me and cares about me has to understand that if somebody does something to one of my hommies, that I'm going to fight to the last drop of blood. One thing about a gang, if one do it, they all do it. So, if we all say we're not going to fight, there ain't going to be no fight and there ain't nobody going to break my word. When I said there ain't going to be no fight, nobody sitting at this table is going to break that word. Before we leave this table, we know what each other is going to do.

That's what people have got to do, sit down and reach out to the younger people and show them that they can get them same alligator shoes, them same gold chains by going to work, making some money and getting some responsibility.

Just like the House of Umoja is a family. If I get in trouble, I know Sister Fattah is going to be out there working to help me, whether I'm right or wrong. If I'm wrong, she's going to tell me I was wrong, but she's still going to be out there trying to help me.

One thing she did, she never promises nothing. You've got so many city agencies telling parents and young kids they're going to do this and that just for the summer, to keep them cool, but when the mother comes from school, there's no help. It seems like they just want them to go out there and fight.

It's like when I was leader, I always had a job. I didn't never have to worry about a summer job, winter job or nothing because I knew I was getting one. What you have to do, you have to treat

each other the same. I don't see no city nowhere that nobody can stop a gang problem or stop young people from killing young people. The only thing you've got to do is sit down and be honest with them, just tell them up front. Just like with police officers. We get along with the police officers good because the police officer is going to tell you, "I'm a police officer first. Don't come telling me nothing you want to do wrong. I'm going to do my job." I can respect that police officer.

Mr. COATS. I don't disagree with the Chairman when he says that there aren't enough resources out there. There aren't enough. There aren't enough federal resources, there aren't enough non-federal resources. Mr. Calhoun outlined a whole series of potential non-federal resources that ought to be culminated.

During the 1960's and 1970's we had had a social experiment of pouring a great deal of money into a lot of different social programs with some very poor results. People were pretty much fed up with that expenditure of money bringing about so few results.

Now, the answer isn't necessarily to stop addressing the problem. The answer is to try to find a better way to spend the money and get better results for the dollars that are spent.

Now, it seems to me we've gone through a period of time during the '80s where we've been trying to sort out how we could do this in a better way, where we have had to turn to some non-federal resources. They're not adequate to deal with some of the enormity of these problems. I'm th first to admit that. Yet maybe we can learn something from some of the principles that come out of this, such as things that we talk about here today involving those in the situation, making them part of the solution. The prospect of strengthening community involvement, community effort, demonstrating, if only the hard way, that the federal government simply isn't going to be able to solve all their problems. It's going to have to be a joint federal/state effort.

But a lot more people are going to have to get involved with this on a personal level than are currently involved. A lot of individuals, community leaders, bank presidents, Chamber of Commerce presidents, labor leaders, school boards, teachers, parents, ministers, on and on, are going to have to get involved if we're going to successfully deal with these problems.

I don't believe that simply doubling the funding for some of these programs coming out of the federal government is going to do a good job. We've got to put more counselors out there.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Coats, I'm not saying double the funding. I'm saying did you all ever ask the kids themselves which programs worked and which programs should be funded?

Mr. COATS. I don't disagree with you.

Mr. CALHOUN. I would just like to comment one more time. I think the cuts have been deep and extremely painful and we do need more resources, we've got to have them. But there's a curious opportunity now to unleash a new source of energy. I think it's not just on this Committee, and I appreciate the indignation of this Committee, more than appreciate it, I celebrate it, but I think it's not just what's going on here. I think there's been a national neglect of kids, national.

When you look at studies showing adult time spent with kids, a piece of it is economic, yes, but a piece of it is also choice. So, I think that we have to sound a clarion cry in terms of programs for children and youth and their families across the board. But I come back to this—maybe the older I get, the simpler I get, I don't know—but this image of a Mr. Collins and a Mrs. Thomas is there. They are not the solution, but they are a start. There was Rosa Parks who decided that her feet were tired and she would not go to the back of the bus; she helped begin the civil rights revolution.

Everybody has got to take a step, and this Committee can do more. There must be more funding in certain areas, but we are not going to win until every citizen inculcates in their minds, their values and the way they behave, that we're not going to have a future unless these kids are empowered, able and full participants and claimed.

Mr. COATS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman MILLER. Mr. Calhoun, what does it cost to implement your curriculum, Teens, Crime and Community? What does it cost a school district to implement that?

Mr. CALHOUN. In a school district, Congressman, it's about $25,000. That includes a lot of volunteer help, teacher help, citizens from the outside coming in.

Chairman MILLER. I just wrote my sister a check for $500.00 just to buy reading books for her classroom. Not her school, her classroom. I don't know a public school teacher, people who I know that are teaching school, who aren't reaching into their pocket to buy supplies and materials for the schools.

Mr. CALHOUN. You're right.

Chairman MILLER. I don't know a public school teacher that's not working more hours than they ever contracted for to try to save kids inside and outside the school hours.

I guess what concerns me is that we're on the verge of the anecdotal solution to this problem. I appreciate Mrs. Thomas and Mr. Collins and we can ask the kids what programs work. There are no programs in my community. There are none. You talk to the Richmond PD, you talk to youth service workers, there are no programs. We're just into managing; we're just shuffling. We're just pretending that we're helping these kids. That's my concern. See, I don't think you can do it with all of the best intentions. I don't think you can do it without the money, because we're talking about families and we're talking about young people that in many instances, at a very young age—forget the 19 year olds for a second—we're talking about kids that are devoid of any social values or structure.

We talk about parenting? I listen to my friends in white, upper middle class suburbia talk about problems with their adolescents that they can't handle and they want to have Blue Cross and Blue Shield handle those problems for them.

Dr. Kesselman, they want to enlist your professor or a Master of Social Work to handle those problems for them.

Now we're suggesting that the poorest communities with the poorest families in the poorest parts of this country can do it if everybody bands together? It's the old story about bootstrapping. You've got to have boots before you can bootstrap. It's not the

answer that it's just federal resources, but damn it, I cannot believe that when you look at the numbers that are here, that we can con people into believing that this thing will cure itself if every community will just cure it. I just think that there's a countervailing force here.

When I go to teenage pregnancies, whether it's on Indian reservations or in inner-city schools and I go to those clinics, we're talking about fundamentals. And the people who are trained—and they must be trained, not just well-intentioned, they must be trained to deal with those young people and with those families—that costs money. That sounds like money to me.

I want talented people to work with it. I don't need to help out the Phi Bet, he can get on to school himself. You need the most talented people with the most difficult cases. That sounds like training and education and salaries. That doesn't sound like volunteers. I don't think we should just ask these communities to rely on the best intentions of people. You can incorporate that, but those programs, those curricula are managed and paid for and you put somebody in charge of that because you wanted a success in Phoenix. You didn't throw that at the school district and say, "Here, adopt this curriculum." You put somebody in that school district to make sure that curriculum worked in those ten weeks.

Mr. CALHOUN. Absolutely. May I just respond to that?

Chairman MILLER. Yes.

Mr. CALHOUN. The whole resource issue is vital and the nation has got to show leadership and invest. The cuts, as I've indicated, were incredibly painful, but I use a Mr. Collins and a Mrs. Thomas as a symbol of individual commitment also. I've listed a partial range of what I consider vital federal programs, most of which are wounded and are limping. But at the same time, my core message is that it's got to be a combination, that we somehow have to figure out a way of combining a strong resource-driven federal program with policies which would quicken the individual citizen response.

Mr. COATS. Mr. Chairman, if I could just interject something here.

Chairman MILLER. Sure.

Mr. COATS. I don't think anybody's trying to make the point that the resources are adequate. They're not. But I think the point that at least I'm trying to make or what I hear some of the panelists trying to make is that there has to be an attitude of change, behavior change out there among the American people in terms of their willingness to invest some time and effort in the problems of parenting and the problems of helping others. Unless that comes, you can pour every federal dollar in the Treasury into a program and you're not going to have success.

I know a lot of teachers that don't give a damn about kids. All they want to do is get out of the classroom at 3:00. Indiana Legislature passed a law to add five schools days because we were 50th in the nation in number of days and the teachers lobby went down the very next year and knocked two days off it because they just didn't want to spend the extra time.

I know a lot of people that could care less about the kids in their own family. They'd rather have a boat in the marina or a new VCR or a new television than go out in the yard and throw a ball

with their kids. What they want is for the federal government to hire some social worker or some psychiatrist to teach their kids how to play ball, to deal with any problems that they have, problems that they're not willing to address themselves. Unless there's an attitude change in this country that goes along with the federal funding, we're just kidding ourselves.

Carolyn Wallace, when she spoke about the black family on Bill Moyer's show, about the crisis in black America, spoke very eloquently to that very point and said there's going to have to be a change in the behavior and in the attitude of this community before things are really going to turn around. Fathers and mothers and uncles and aunts and storekeepers and everyone is going to have to say, "It does matter. I do care. I'm willing to get personally involved." I think when we bring that combination together, that change in attitude along with the resources, then we're going to see results.

I just don't think we're going to see them by pumping in more resources to let somebody else do the job that an awful lot of people are neglecting, including churches, including a number of non-federal institutions that have neglected it for whatever reason and aren't doing the job. Hopefully we can mobilize that attitude. That's the point I was trying to make and I think that's the point several on the panel were trying to make.

Chairman MILLER. You have to understand, this is not an argument. This is both of us being deeply concerned about this. Obviously, we both believe that it's a combination of services and resources, but I think it's incredibly frustrating in this committee because we deal with the dark side of American society. Most of the adolescents that we're talking about here today are kind of the leftovers and the left outs. I think recognizing the potential that some of those kids have who may never realize it drives you to this. And I have always said, "I will write off those families that don't care. Let me just assist the families that come and ask for help, that say, 'My son's in trouble, my daughter is in trouble. I've got violence in my house.' " If we could just address those for openers.

Again, where I come from, which is an area that historically has been high in the delivery of social services, we can no longer even address those people who are asking for help.

Sister FATTAH. I would just like to say one final thing and then I have to get back to where I live. When I left this morning there were black kids, Hispanic kids, Vietnamese kids, white kids. This is 1988. When I started the House of Umoja, we served black kids. Everybody thought that all the crime and pathology was in the black community. I just want to leave this with you, that every one of those kids needs help and I don't have enough money to help them. I've been working for 20 years and I'm tired of asking people who don't have Blue Cross and Blue Shield, who don't have an adequate salary for their own families, to continue to volunteer. Volunteerism does not get it. Yes, we are funded for child care, but Robert is saying the extra work, that after he puts in is after eight hours of doing the job he is paid for, then he has to go out in the community to volunteer to make sure that there still is a community out there.

I'm glad you all are not arguing. You fooled me for a moment.

Mr. COATS. Some of our best discussions and some of the best thought processes in this Committee take place after everybody else has gone.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you very much for your help. I was passed a note in the middle of this hearing saying, "Where do we go from here?" I think that's a very important question because we have all done a splendid job, especially the two panels, of describing the problem for those of us in Congress and for those of us who have some ability to make some change here. The question really is now that policy, that mix of private and public and federal and non-federal resources to see if we can get it on some kind of sustained basis so we can have a chance at one of these generations.

Mr. ALLEN. Let me make one quick statement, just to echo something that was said. We see communities rising up in Chicago and coming together and doing some things in a volunteer nature, but we also see in those communities the bank presidents and the school teachers and the coaches. It takes a special type of person with a background who can get to some of these youth today in gangs. Volunteerism is not going to generate that kind of person. It has to have a person who is well trained, who has the background, who's had somebody else touch their life, who can make that liaison approach.

You can pull all the bank presidents you want in the world and other people in, but like he said, the gangs are here to stay from their perspective. They take care of each other. When we talk about volunteerism, they see that as us back-treating or taking a gap. There's a gap there and they're prepared to fill it and they're filling it and they're going to continue to fill it. As long as we have these philosophical talks about how much we should do, they're moving out. They're moving out of Chicago and they're moving out all around.

Mr. CALHOUN. I'd like to say thanks to this Committee.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you.

[Whereupon, at 1:47 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF V.G. GUINSES, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, SEY YES (SAVE EVERY YOUNGSTER YOUTH ENTERPRISE SOCIETY), LOS ANGELES, CA

The subject of crime control is indeed a top-priority issue with neighborhood crime being at the top of the list. Statistics show that the County of Los Angeles unfortunately leads the nation in violent juvenile crime in which over 95% is related to gangs.

The County of Los Angeles has an estimated 500 street gangs with an approximate 70 to 80,000 membership. As of September, 1987, gang related crime in this area had risen by 40% which includes 214 homicide victims. In the Compton area, there has been a 46% increase in gang related homicides. The terrible thing about these increased figures, is that, approximately 35% of the homicides were innocent victims (people in the wrong place at the wrong time).

From the SEY YES point of view, there have been several factors that have lead to the tremendous increase of violent juvenile crime over the past three (3) years;

1. Youth are more vicious in general -
   a. What type of movies and television shows are most popular among youth.
   b. Where are the positive role models for today's youth.
   c. What has happened to the family unit.
   d. What has happened to morals of people in general.
   e. The increase of drug use and sales among youth and especially gang members.
   f. Social programs have been eliminated due to budget cutbacks, so youth have no place to go to encourage positive thinking and activities.

2. Gang Members
   a. Becoming more organized.
   b. Becoming experts in drug sales.
   c. Former gang rivals becoming united and backing each other in gang wars.
   d. Drug sales enable gang members to buy dangerous weapons (magnums, uzis and hand grenades.
   e. Gang set not involved in crime will retaliate for the set that is involved thereby no one goes to jail for the act.
   f. Drug sales enable gang members to buy cars and trucks that make them more mobile - expanding their operations outside of California.

g. Members becoming less afraid to commit murder because their current system is 1) keeping them out of jail, and 2) they know they can only be sentenced to die once for 1 or 10 murders.
h. Gang members used to retaliate against each other, now they will kill any member of the rival's family - mother, father, siblings. Five mothers have been killed this year due to this type of retaliation.
i. Gang members being trained by youth coming into this country as refugees that used to fight as guerillas in their mother country.
j. Gang members on the streets being given order by gang members behind bars.

These are but a few reasons for the increase in violent juvenile crime in the Los Angeles area. SEY YES does however, feel that are some solutions to the problem facing us all. The gang phenomenon is an ever changing one. What was valid two years ago has changed in many ways and is invalid this year. For law enforcement, schools, churches, parents and the community-at-large to keep up with the changes and to stay on top of the problem, they need to have access to a channel and/or process whereby their gang related education can be expanded and valid and concrete information can be gathered through a hot line and a communications network from the community and fed back into their system so that;

1. Law Enforcement Officers will be knowledgeable.
2. School Administrators will be knowledgeable and teachers can teach without fear.
3. Parents can recognize a problem in their household before it gets out of hand.
4. Churches can set up positive youth programs.
5. Investigations will be positive.
6. Arrests will stick.
7. Witnesses won't be afraid to come forward.
8. Conviction can be made and these violent perpetrators of the law will be put behind bars.
9. The community-at-large will be aware of what's going on in their neighborhood and take it back from the criminal element.

The above model has been demonstrated in a small targeted area of South Central Los Angeles and violent juvenile crime was reduced by 18% overtime. This method can be expanded and replicated for a period of time in a certain area to see if it will have the same effect on the juvenile crime in that area.

Thank you for allowing SEY YES, Inc., to contribute to this hearing and we hope that our testimony will prove to be of some benefit to you.