----------Research Report----------

Youth Violence, Juvenile Crime and Youth Gangs in Utica, NY

May 23, 2005

Funding and Support for this Research Provided by:
City of Utica Department of Economic and Urban Development
NYS Division of Criminal Justice Services

Research Report prepared by:
Social Science Associates, Utica, NY
Utica Safe Schools/Healthy Partnerships, Inc.

Principal Authors:
Steve Darman, Nancy Kelly
Maurice Pauline, Jeremy Darman
Veronica Tichenor, Jane Schweinsburg

Table of Contents

List of tables and charts

Introduction

National juvenile crime rates have been dropping since a peak in the mid-1990s according to FBI Uniform Crime Reports based on arrest statistics. This decline in reported crime has been even greater than the simultaneous decrease in adult arrest rates since 1993. Simple assault (non-aggravated) rates, however, have remained at elevated levels since rising in the late 1980s and 90s; although aggravated assault has dropped significantly, along with all other violent crimes. Drug crimes are among the few categories of offenses that have remained at high rates nationally, and in New York the drug crime offense rates are even higher. The NY State index for juvenile drug arrests in 2002 was 706, compared to the U.S. level of 571 (which is an aggregation of state data).[1]

This drop in reported crime leading to an arrest should not be taken as an indication that youth violence and crime are no longer serious social problems in our nation today. National crime data from self-report victimization surveys tells a different story: reported crimes account for about a third of all crimes and only half of violent crimes (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1996). Visible manifestations of these problems like high-profile school shootings in upscale suburban and in rural school districts, and gang activity in our cities represent only a tiny fraction of the youth violence and crime in our society. Youth violence, largely unreported, is everywhere- in our best and our most disadvantaged neighborhoods, communities, and schools-- and this violence affects a large proportion of the youth in our country, for example, a third of the nation's youth (33%) report they have been in a physical fight in the last 12 months (Centers for Disease Control's Youth Risk Behavior Survey of high school students, 2003).

Youth violence can be deadly. Homicide is the second leading cause of death for 15-19 year olds in the U.S. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention reports (2004) that nearly two thousand youth (1,892) youth in this age group died in a recent single year (2002): more than the total number of U.S. soldiers killed in Iraq in the three years since the war began.

The toll this violence and crime takes on the individual victims and perpetrators, their families and communities, and on the nation as a whole is staggering- and immeasurable.
Law enforcement costs (police, courts, corrections), medical costs, foster care and mental health treatment costs, the loss of cohesion and trust in families, neighborhoods, communities, the loss of business and homeowner investment in neighborhoods and communities where violence and crime exist, and the psychological and emotional scars that everyone touched by violence carries represent only part of the significant financial and social costs associated with youth violence and crime.

Should we accept violent and criminal acts a "normal" part of youth behavior? Will a certain percentage of youth will be violent regardless of what we as families, communities, and as a society do? Cross-national comparisons with countries similar to ours like Canada, Great Britain, and other Western European nations indicate that the current rate of both youth and adult violence and crime in the U.S. is unique among developed nations- far surpassing the rates in similar societies. This fact suggests that there is much that we can do to reduce youth violence and crime in our in our nation.

[1] Note that these differences partially reflect differences in law enforcement behavior, and other state policies and practices—not necessarily the exact levels of juvenile offending.

Acknowledgements
Major research projects are not born in a vacuum. The effort this report represents began years before the actual research project was funded and initiated. Key individuals in Utica city government and its various departments, including the Mayor's Office, the Office of Urban and Economic Development, the Utica Police Department and the Office of Public Safety have been concerned about the state of Utica youth and their families and about public safety issues and have been working on a variety of initiatives to improve the quality of life in Utica. Also, this particular project rests on the foundation of a three-year federally-funded Weed and Seed Initiative that began in 2002, community policing efforts that go back many years, a Utica Safe Schools/Health Students Program that focused heavily on youth violence prevention, and a variety of other programs and initiatives by not-for-profit community providers and local government agencies that are too numerous to mention.

At a larger level, this project has its roots in the federal Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) that funneled dollars to the NYS Department of Criminal Justice Services that were then granted to select cities in NYS for projects like this. OJJDP is more than a fiscal agency: they provide a wealth of information and resources for researchers, planners, and providers on the causes of youth violence and crime and on the most effective, community-level approaches to addressing these problems. We used this knowledge base extensively to inform this research project.

In particular, we would like to thank **Reverend Scates of JCTOD, Outreach, Inc**. and **Mike Daley of Kids Oneida** for offering their full support and cooperation with this project and helping us identify and recruit at-risk youth and their parents to volunteer for interviews, facilitating parental consent, and providing space for confidential interviews, **Tom Marcoline and Jim Sojda of the Oneida County Probation Department** for helping us arrange a focus group of Proctor High School Students, **Diane Mancuso, Director of Special Education** for the Utica School District for providing access to special education student data, and **Nancy Kelly, Director of Utica Safe Schools, Healthy Students Partnership, Inc**. for her many contributions- in particular efforts to help us add two pages of survey questions to a student survey in progress conducted by MAGI consulting for Utica Safe Schools.

We would also like to acknowledge **Captain Al Candido of the Utica Police Department**. Captain Candido facilitated our access to UPD's juvenile crime data, participated in research team meetings throughout the duration of this project, asked insightful questions and made a number of helpful comments that contributed to this report, and **Carol Northrup of the YWCA of the Mohawk Valley** for suggesting that we measure victimization related to the sexual and gender identity of youth.

Regina Clark, **Lori Calabrese**, and **Jessica Basi** of the **City of Utica Department of Urban and Economic Development** have been watchful, helpful, and supportive throughout the project. We could not have done this work without them.

The Research Team

Steve Darman, B.A., ABD

A native of Central New York, Steve has an extensive background in local community research, program design, project management, and coalition and consensus building. His organization- *Social Science Associates*- has worked closely with the Oneida County Department of Mental Health and other local government departments and human service agencies to identify and assess a variety of social problems affecting area youth and families. Steve did his graduate work in sociology at the University at Albany from 1994-1998 and has taught a variety of sociology courses, including research methods, at SUNY Utica-Rome, Utica College, the University at Albany, and Skidmore College. He coordinated and managed the research portion of this project.

Maurice A. Pauline, B.A.

Maurice was born and raised in Albany, NY and was himself involved in gangs, violence, and the drug trade in his earlier years. After treatment and therapy for addiction and violent behavior he went back to school at the age of thirty-nine. He graduated third in his class from Utica College of Syracuse University in May 2004 with a B.A. in History. His paper, *The Cold War and McCarthyism: The Effects on Central New York, 1947-1953*) can be viewed in Utica College's *The History Project Volume V: War and Terror: Central New York Reacts.* Maurice conducted all of the in-depth interviews with youth for this project: his ability to connect with at-risk, minority young people who generally mistrust and avoid white adults greatly enhanced the validity of our research.

Veronica (Ronni) Tichenor, Ph.D.

Assistant Professor of Sociology at SUNY-IT, Dr. Tichenor has done extensive research on interpersonal power and violence, as well as work (both theoretical and applied) on community building and community organizing strategies. Her current work incorporates these issues with questions of gender, class, and race.

Jane Vail Schweinsberg, M.S.

Jane is the Director of Children's Services, a program within the Oneida County Department of Mental Health (DMH). Ms. Schweinsberg is also the coordinator of the Single Point of Access/Accountability Initiative (SPOA/A), and thus directly involved with coordination and designing programs for at-risk children and youth. Through her work with the Oneida County DMH and the SPOA/A Initiative, Ms. Schweinsberg has facilitated close partnerships with local school districts, the Oneida County Probation Department, the Oneida County Department of Social Services, and community agencies/organizations to collectively identify the needs and strengths of at-risk youth and their families.

Jeremy Darman, B.A.

Jeremy received his BA in Sociology from the University at Albany in 2004, graduating Summa Cum Laude with a Phi Beta Kappa. His academic work focused on crime and criminal justice policy. His research work centers on employment for ex-offenders, and prison reentry policy and practices, and he recently conducted a local evaluation of Utica Weed and Seed. Jeremy was accepted into the Dual Masters Program for Criminal Justice and Social Work at the University at Albany and will begin graduate work in the Fall of 2005.

Other research consultants and advisors:

Nancy Kelly, Director of Utica Safe Schools, Healthy Students Partnership, Inc.

Nancy has extensive experience designing, implementing, and managing human service and academic support programs for youth in both school and community settings.

Kenneth (Ken) Mazlen, Ph.D.

Professor and Chair of the Department of Sociology at SUNY-IT, Dr. Mazlen has conducted research and taught crime policy and criminal justice courses for many years. With particular interests in issues of policing, poverty, and practice, he brings these skills and expertise to the project.

Kirsten (Kris) Paap, Ph.D.

Senior Research Fellow at the Center for Women and Work at Rutgers University, Research Affiliate at the Center for Mental Health Services and Criminal Justice Research at Rutgers University, and Visiting Assistant Professor at SUNY-IT. Dr. Paap is a researcher focusing on the effects of work and other domains on crime and recidivism, as well as dimensions of inequality at work.

Our Research Approach: Data and Methods

Data Sources

A variety of secondary (previously collected) data is used throughout this report. Secondary data sources include:

- Oneida County Teen Assessment Project (TAP) survey data collected from 7th, 9th and 11th graders in the Utica Public School System.
- Oneida County Youth Single Point of Access/Accountability (SPOA/A) Data from the Child and Adolescent Needs and Strengths Assessment (CANS) tool given to youth who encounter the mental health, criminal justice and social welfare systems in Oneida County.
- Utica Safe Schools/Healthy Students (SS/HS) Program Pre and Post test survey data from 7th, 9th and 11th graders in Utica Public Schools, 2002 and 2005.
- Utica Alternative School data (Lincoln Academy)
- US Bureau of the Census Summary Files 1 and 3, Census 2000 tract-level demographic data.
- Utica Police Department, Juvenile Division: 2003 and 2004 juvenile incident and crime data.

In addition to a review of available secondary data relevant to understanding youth violence and crime in Utica, we collected a variety of new data using multiple methods.
Primary data was collected from:

- Utica youth using in-depth interviews (n=45)
- Parents of youth in Utica using in-depth interviews (n=36)
- A focus group with Utica high school students (n=9)
- A survey of 7th, 9th, and 11th graders (n=1,347) in Donovan and JFK Middle Schools and Proctor High School in Utica.
- Elementary school children from Martin Luther King, Watson-Williams, General Herkimer and one other elementary school using an exercise in their art classes.

A detailed description of the methods used to design the data collection tools (interview, focus group, and survey questions) and the methods of administering these tools is below. The instruments themselves can be found in Appendices A., B., and C. of the report.

Research Objectives and Methods
Our research objectives at the outset were- with respect to Utica, NY- to improve our knowledge of:

- The prevalence of youth violence and juvenile crime
- The geographic distribution of youth violence and juvenile crime
- The temporal distribution of violence and crime
- The causes and correlates of youth violence and crime, i.e. individual, family, school, peer group, and community risk and protective factors and the role that race, ethnicity, and gender play with respect to youth violence and crime
- The presence and operation of youth "gangs", the reasons kids join gangs, and the relationship between gang membership and violence and crime.

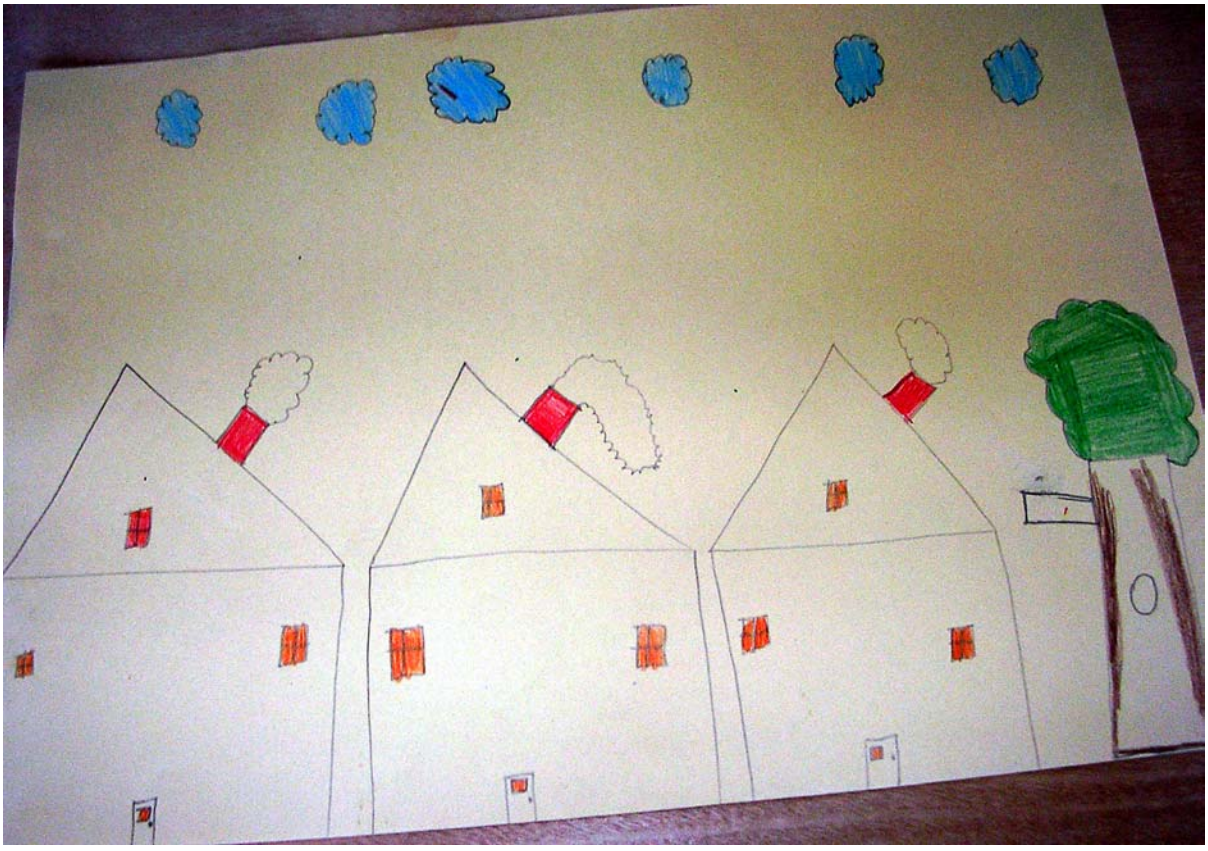
We used multiple methods – both deductive and inductive, and we collected both quantitative and qualitative data to address our central research questions. Our basic research approach was to use existing data whenever it could address one or more of our research questions, and to collect new data to address unanswered questions. When asking about topics for which no previous research existed, e.g. on gangs in Utica, we used open-ended, exploratory items as well as closed-ended questions.

To this end, we designed interview instruments for both parents of youth age seven to fifteen, and for youth age 12-17. Construction of these instruments began with a series of literature reviews, and the questions we asked were driven by current theories of youth violence and crime. When possible, we used existing, tested measures, e.g. many of the questions we asked youth about gangs, gang organization and gang activities, were adopted from resource materials made available by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. When there were no measures available, we developed our own questions using principles from the craft of sociological research methods. We pilot tested both our interview instruments, and made adjustments as necessary.

We followed standard American Sociological Association protocols to protect our research subjects: parents who were interviewed and parents of the youth who were interviewed and the youth themselves were fully informed about the research project- its funding, its objectives, how the data they were providing would be handled and used, and the methods we used to protect their confidentiality. No names or specific addresses were recorded on the interview instruments (only unique ID numbers), and all data and notes were destroyed after de-identified data was entered in a software program. Interviewers (two) were instructed not to let other personnel at *Social Science Associates*, including the Director, know the name or location of any youth or parent who was interviewed.

A first for research on youth in Utica was the addition of an item to a February 2005 anonymous survey of students in 7^{th}, 9^{th}, and 11^{th} grades that allowed us to identify (within a census block) the location of survey respondents- and then to determine the geographic distribution of the dependent variables (e.g. social disorganization, neighborhood safety, and gang activity indicators) relevant to our research objectives.

There is “good data” and “bad data”. Good data is valid data- it reflects what is actually going on- “what’s really out there”. To enhance the validity of our data we took great care to recruit and train research associates who could connect with their respondents and manage the interview process. We were lucky to find an associate who had the knowledge, education, and interpersonal communications skills to get youth who were in trouble at home, in school, and/or in the community to feel safe and open up and share their experiences and perspectives. Mr. Pauline, a recent graduate of Utica College and a former gang member who grew up in Albany, NY, did an outstanding job in this area. [During the course of this project, he was asked to speak several times to youth groups in Utica. At one large event highlighting individuals who had overcome obstacles or disabilities on their career path, Mr. Pauline was swamped for autographs by both minority and white youth after speaking.]



“My Neighborhood”, Elementary student, West Utica (Note the lack of people and the homogeneity of the housing in this drawing.)

What is "youth violence" and "juvenile crime"?
Before measuring any concept, including the concepts of "juvenile violence" and "juvenile crime", it is necessary to carefully define these concepts- and any sub-concepts that are theoretically and empirically related to "violence" and "crime", e.g. "property crime" and "violent crime" are sub-concepts of the larger collection of concepts that we call "crime".

Youth violence is defined as: an individual or group action committed by a person or persons who are not yet 16 years of age that is characterized by forceful contact with the intention to cause psychological, emotional and/or physical harm to the victim of this action. This action may or may not be a crime.

Juvenile crime is defined as: an action committed by a person less than 16 years of age that violates one or more NYS penal codes.

Does the behavior constitute criminal conduct? Was a penal law violated?

A. In general: Does the penal code apply (jurisdiction)?
B. In particular: Does the behavior meet the definition of a particular criminal offense defined in the penal code?

SOURCE: NEW YORK CRIMINAL LAW: A Web by Markus Dirk Dubber, Professor of Law & Director, Buffalo Criminal Law Center at State University of New York at Buffalo, School of Law, accessed April 13, 2005.

Why is there youth violence and crime and in the U.S today?
This is a complex question. To address it in a way that helps us make sense of it, we frame our discussion of what influences or causes youth crime and violence by domains and separately address causation at the individual, family, peer group, neighborhood, community, and societal levels. We also examine youth violence and crime from a developmental perspective that takes into account the fact that children and youth, by definition, are still in their formative years.

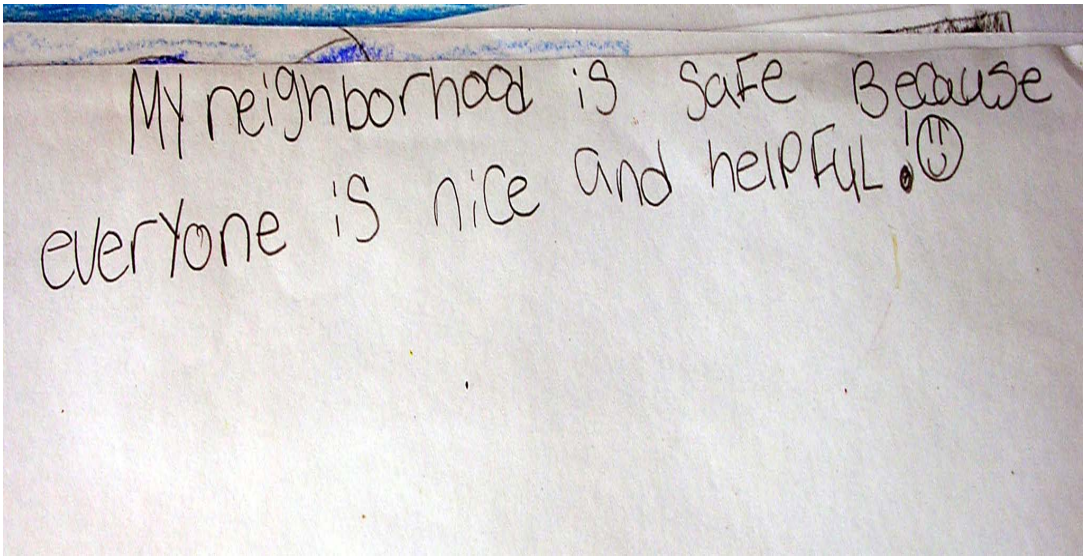
There are a number of correlates to juvenile delinquency, most of which apply equally to anti-social and violent behavior at all ages. The literature, at large, finds the correlates for such youth behavior to be the same as those associated with adult criminal behavior; as age of onset for adult criminal behavior is most often during the pre-adult years.

Biological and genetic factors
Social scientists focus largely on social factors to explain human behavior. Can genetic factors explain youth violence and crime? Is there a "violent gene" that causes some youth to act violently? There is no empirical support for this theory, and there is a mountain of evidence to indicate the power of social explanations to explain youth violence and crime. For example, there has been a dramatic increase in violence crimes committed by girls and a rise and fall in violent crime rates for boys over the past twenty years in the US. These trends contradict genetic explanations: genes do not change that quickly.

Although commonly confused, biological factors are distinctly different from genetic factors (Prothrow-Stith 2004). Unlike the human gene, body biology can be immediately affected by physical-social environmental factors like nutrition, light, threats, and stress.

> At birth a baby is a product of biology and nine months of environmental influences at one of the most sensitive and reactive times in the life cycle. If a fetus can hear and see light by mid-pregnancy, isn't it at all unreasonable to assume that the external environment has an impact on the biological development of the fetus… and that the mother's environment, stress, and trauma among other things during pregnancy can have a direct impact on the baby's personality and temperament as measured at birth? (Prothrow-Stith 2004:44)

Moffitt's life course theory (1993) of persistent offending combines the effects of biological and neuropsychological deficits such as impairments in verbal reasoning ability and executive functions with the effects of disruptive and inadequate social environments in which adults are unequipped to deal with children with difficult behavior problems setting the stage for a transactional process that leads to delinquency (Brennan et al, 2003). This combination of deficits is seen clearly in some children attending Utica's Alternative Schools. A review of records from Lincoln Academy revealed a number of youth who had a record of violent interactions with peers and/or teachers who had indications of neuropsychological problems- including several where high or extremely high lead levels were found in their blood- combined with serious family problems including a history of sexual abuse.



East Utica elementary student

The family context: Family structure and family dynamics linked to violence
There is a strong link between family structure and aggressive, violent, and delinquent behavior in children of all ages. Children who are born into or spend a significant amount of time in single-parent households are more likely to engage in violent behavior (Loeber and Hay 1997; Paschall, Ennett, and Flewelling 1996). Experiencing family disruption (i.e. divorce) or having a stepparent in the home also increases the incidence of delinquency (Gorman-Smith, Tolan, Loeber, and Henry 1998). Finally, children born to young mothers (under the age of 20 at the time of their first child's birth) are more prone to delinquency, violence, and arrest (Pogarsky, Lizote, and Thornberry 2003).

One set of indicators to test the relationship between family structure and youth violence available for youth in Utica are self-report statistics for the Teen Assessment Project (TAP) survey of Utica public school students in 7th, 9th, and 11th grades. As the tables below indicate, there appears to be a some relationship between family structure and youth violence using two different measures of violence and that youth in two parent homes are somewhat less likely to be using force or fighting. However, the differences in the values of the dependent variables are relatively small for the most part, and the statistical relationships between family structure and using force or fighting for males and females age 11-15 does not reach a level of statistical significance ($p < .05$).

Table 1. Percent used force or threatened people in past 12 months

	Male, Age 11-15		Female, Age 11-15	
	One/No Parent	Two Parent	One/No Parent	Two Parent
Never/rarely	74.7	81.1	82.3	87.1
Occasionally	12.0	10.8	9.2	8.6
Often/Very Often	13.2	8.1	8.4	4.3
Total	99.9	100.0	99.9	100.0

Table 2. Percent in a physical fight in past 12 months

	Male, Age 11-15		Female Age 11-15	
	One/No Parent	Two Parent	One/No Parent	Two Parent
Never	45.2	54.8	60.5	74.3
Once	20.2	15.1	19.4	11.2
2-3 times	26.2	16.1	13.2	10.7
4 or more times	8.3	14.0	7.0	3.7
Total	99.9	100.0	100.1	99.9

SOURCE: 2003 Teen Assessment Project (TAP) Data for Utica Students, n=586
Note: Totals do not always equal 100% due to rounding errors.

Across family structures, there are two dynamics that are strongly linked to violent and delinquent behavior among youth: poor parenting practices and maltreatment or abuse. Poor parenting practices run the gamut from lack of monitoring and minimal involvement with children (even neglect) to harsh and punitive disciplinary practices, all of which increase the risk that children will engage in violent and delinquent behavior (Berkowitz 1993; Elliott 1994; Gorman-Smith, et al. 1998; Heimer 1997; Klama 1988; Loeber and Hay 1997; Tolan, Gorman-Smith, and Henry 2002; Tolan and McKay 1996; Walter, Colvin and Ramsey 1995). Child maltreatment, including physical, sexual, and emotional abuse, dramatically increases the risk of engaging in violent and delinquent behavior; this risk appears to be relatively stable over childhood, as adolescents are maltreated at the same or higher rate as younger children (Ireland, Smith, and Thornberry 2002; Thompson and Braaten-Antrim 1998). Exposure to violence, such as witnessing conflict between parents or witnessing the abuse of others in the home (e.g. siblings), is another form of maltreatment, which also increases the risk of violent and delinquent behavior (Berkowitz 1993; Foshee. Bauman, and Lindner 1999; Laub and Lauritsen 1998; Lewis 1987; Tschann, Flores, Pasch, and Marin 1999).

Table 3. Parenting practices and violence

	Parents that…		
Not in a fight in past year	set clear rules for me to follow…	**always**	69.9%
		never	54.8%
	know my friends…	**always**	69.5%
		never	45.2%
	know what I do after school...	**always**	74.4%
		never	50.0%
	care about and encourage my interests...	**always**	72.9%
		never	44.6%

Note: All differences statistically significant at p <01.
SOURCE: TAP Survey self-report data collected from Utica middle and high school students, April 2003 (n=586)

- Children whose parents always encourage them in their interests are 63.5% more likely to have reported never fighting in the past year than those whose parents never encourage their interests.

- Children whose parents know always their friends and know of their whereabouts after school are over 50% more likely to report never fighting than those with parents who never know their friends or their whereabouts after school.

These significant differences in Table 3 support the relationship between parenting practices and likelihood of youth violence. These correlations remain when family structure is taken into account, while showing almost no differences across family type:

Table 4. Violence and family dynamics, controlling for family structure

		Percent never in fights in past year	
		2 parent home	non-2 parent home
Parents that…	…set clear rules for me to follow **always**	71.0%	68.8%*
	…know my friends **always**	68.8%*	69.0%*
	…usually know what I do after school **always**	74.7%**	74.2%**
	…care about and encourage my interests **always**	74.2%**	70.8%**

* significant at .05; ** significant at .01

Source: TAP Survey self-report data collected from Utica middle and high school students, April 2003 (n=998)

As Table 4 indicates, family structure has little independent effect on the likelihood on self-reported youth violence. Family dynamic factors such as parents knowing their children's whereabouts after school, knowing their friends, and encouraging them in their interests, continue to exhibit independent and statistically significant effects, regardless of family structure.

Our national preoccupation with psychotherapy and the "inner life" of the individual has blinded us to other ways of seeing. The collective, the sociological, has been conspicuously absent from the narrative… and most Americans have been distracted from the larger questions by breakdown-of-the-family mythologies. …

Social welfare [since the 1980s] has become a low national priority. In many families both parents had to go to work, yet the country was still not providing adequate or affordable childcare. Childcare has been arranged privately, illegally, or informally, by dumping kids in libraries or giving them self rule via latchkeys. Yet parents, increasingly hit hard by the economic pressures of divorce, unemployment, and the high cost of living are continuously bombarded by rhetoric about "the family".

Gaines, Donna in *Teenage Wasteland*, 1991, p. 243

Table 5. Key Family Demographics for the City of Utica, by City Section and Census Tract

Section	Tract	Number of Families with Children Under 18	Number and Percent of Population Age 7-15	Percent of All Families with Single Parent	Percent of All Families with Children in Poverty	Percent of Families on Public Assistance	Percent of Families White Alone (Not Hispanic)
Cornhill	**207.01**	321	407/10%	63%	56%	18%	38%
	212.01	232	309/18	57	45	15	53
	212.02	329	355/14	46	26	6	66
	215	285	458/22	66	59	17	38
East Utica-W/N	**203***	93	81/6%	83%	41%	11%	44%
	208.03	391	431/17	53	49	17	65
	210	198	216/13%	58	46	10	53
East Utica-E/S	**208.02**	450	454/13%	51%	39%	8%	78%
	213.01	332	498/14	30	49	12	89
	213.02	465	439/12	37	31	9	86
	213.03	232	226/8	24	12	3	96
West Utica-E	**203***	93	81/6%	83%	41%	11%	44%
	211.01	139	117/10	63	48	17	66
	211.02	222	250/10	59	43	8	72
West Utica-C	**201**	155	174/12%	84%	60%	13%	70%
	209	279	286/13%	69	42	17	76
	214.01	298	334/10	49	27	9	85
West Utica-W	**214.02**	259	257/13	52%	24%	6%	88%
	214.04	9	41/14	78	--	0	92
North Utica	**216.01**	589	590/11	22%	9%	1%	92%
	216.02	211	230/10	18	7	1	96
South Utica	**207.02**	418	414/10%	44%	30%	4%	79%
	211.03	170	156/12	53	39	12	81
	217.01	340	303/9	15	4	0	97
	217.02	393	339/11	28	23	6	89

SOURCE: U.S.Bureau of the Census, Census 2000, Summary Files 1., 3.
*Note: Census Tract 203 covers both East Utica-W/N and West Utica-E

- Most of the children age 7-15 in 1999 when the last census was taken were living in the predominantly white areas of East Utica. With the exception of tract 213.03 (near Proctor High School and Mohawk Valley Community College) a third to half these children were in families below the poverty level.
- Very high proportions of families in East and West Utica and in Cornhill are single-parent families. In many tracts, half or more families have one parent.
- The high rate of single-parent families in Utica's neighborhoods is correlated with a high rate of poverty.

- While half or more of families with children are below the poverty level in Cornhill and in many East and West Utica tracts, the percent of these families on public assistance ranges from only 6% to 18%.

Are children who are exposed to violence at home more likely to exhibit violent behavior?
A legal distinction is made between maltreatment and corporal punishment, however both are related to aggressive and violent behavior in youths. Experiencing corporal punishment increases the chance that children will grow up depressed, angry, or violent (Strauss 2000). Corporal punishment also appears to be an ongoing experience in children's lives. About half of all children who are spanked are still being hit well into adolescence (Flynn 1999). In short, maltreatment, witnessing abuse, and corporal punishment all communicate to youths that violence is an acceptable means of controlling others and achieving desirable ends, and increase the risk that youths will engage in violent behaviors themselves. Teen Assessment Project (TAP) Survey self-report data collected from Utica middle and high school students (n=998) in the spring of 2003 is consistent with these findings.

Table 6. The Relationship Between Being Hurt at Home and Using Force on Others

Male, Age 11-18	**Not Hurt at Home**	**Hurt at Home**
Used force on others	7.5%	16.7%

Female, Age 11-18	**Not Hurt at Home**	**Hurt at Home**
Used force on others	4.1%	14.9%

Source: TAP Survey self-report data collected from Utica middle and high school students, April 2003 (n=998)

- Male youth who self-report that they were "physically hurt at home" were more than twice as likely to report that they used force on others.

- Female youth hurt at home were more than three times as likely to report that they used force on others.

Many youths become disposed towards acting violently at an early age through the influence of violence they have witnessed within the home, either as direct victims or as bystanders. Witnessing violence in the home at an early age often results in post-traumatic stress, leading to heightened levels of stress, tension, and anger (Corvo, 1997; Prothrow-Stith and Spivak, 2004). This is not so much a social product as it is a psychological problem, which can become manifest in violent actions during times of personal and interpersonal stress. Utica TAP Survey data reveals that kids who say they do not feel safe at home are twice as likely to report that they used force on others often or very often during the past year, as the table below indicates.

Table 7. The Relationship Between Feeling Safe at Home and Using Force on Others

Used Force on Others	**Feel Safe at Home Disagree/Strongly Disagree**	**Feel Safe at Home Agree/Strongly Agree**
Never or Rarely	68.3%	83.6%
Occasionally	17.7	9.4
Often or Very Often	13.9	7.0

Source: TAP Survey self-report data collected from Utica middle and high school students, April 2003 (n=998)

Domestic violence also *socializes* youths; teaching that violence is an acceptable behavior, and that it is an adequate response to anger and fear (Prothrow-Stith and Spivak, 2004). As a result, youths raised in such environments learn to use violence to protect themselves or family members, and bring these coping methods into the community. In other words, abuse in the family- whether it is directed at youths, or is between adults only- teaches youths to be violent. It also increases youth aggression through psycho/emotional factors- it is likely that both issues are present in childhood victims and witnesses of family abuse (Corvo, 1997). Parental neglect also has a strong effect on the likelihood that children will become violent. Citing Widom (1989, 1992) Elliot et al. (1998, p.40) state that "this effect is as strong as direct abuse and exposure to violence in the family."

Early onset youths are more likely to become persistent (sometimes lifetime) violent offenders (Corvo, 1997; Elliot, et al., 1998). However, around half of such early violent youths undergo "spontaneous recovery" around adolescence, and stop committing violent acts (Elliot, et al., 1998, p.13; Thornberry, et al. 2004). Also, not all such youths who have been exposed to violence within the home end up chronically violent. It is necessary to look beyond the family context to fully understand youth violence in the U.S.

Neighborhood and community influences on youth violence and juvenile crime

On the community level, there are a number of theoretical propositions that attempt to explain neighborhood influences on youth violence and crime. They are the same propositions that attempt to explain crime rates in general: social disorganization theory, "broken windows" theory, routine activities theory, and social isolation theory. What, then makes the correlates of general crime any different from the correlates of youth delinquency and violence? The answer is not entirely clear, but it is known that most people who engage in criminal behavior start during their youth: "After age 19, at least up to age 30, the rate of onset [for serious violent behavior] is close to zero." (Elliot et al., 1998, p.9). In an analysis of three different youth studies, Thornberry and colleagues (2004) found that a large majority of the youths interviewed had initiated aggressive behavior before the age of thirteen. The early correlates of delinquency (especially family violence) can be targeted to *prevent* risky youth behavior, rather than to merely intervene, as is done with adults. This underlines the importance of focusing on the correlates to the onset of youth crime.

In the literature on delinquency, the concept of "collective efficacy" is used to identify an important factor related to youth violence. Collective efficacy refers to the social controls of the neighborhood, which encourages neighbors to take collective responsibility for what happens in and around their homes: "A community's ability to use informal social controls appears to be the key to understanding local levels of violence and disorder" (Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence, 1998). In the benchmark research study on the correlation between collective efficacy and youth violence, 'social control' is described as "the capacity of a group to regulate its members according to desired principles- to realize collective, as opposed to forced, goals (Sampson, et al., 1997, p.918). This can be realized through informal neighborhood networks, as well as through formal community organizations (Bennett & Fraser, 2000; Prothrow-Stith & Spivak, 2004; Sabol, et al., 2004; Zeldin, 2004).

As described by Robert J. Sampson (1997), *collective efficacy* refers to the social landscape of a neighborhood as affected by 1.) the degree of trust that residents have in their neighbors' ability to enforce norms in their neighborhood, and 2.) the actual existence of a collective set of norms in that neighborhood (this factor is often referred to as social organization). Violence can still be fostered within neighborhoods of enforced norms if those norms are not consistent with those in general society; referring to what Wilson (1996) calls social isolation. This concept suggests that more than intra-neighborhood cohesion, a community also needs inter-neighborhood ties, in which generally accepted societal norms are introduced and reinforced in an otherwise socially and culturally isolated community (Laub & Lauritsen, (1998); Sampson, Morenoff, and Earls, 1999).

It is still rather unclear whether neighborhood collective efficacy is merely an indication of a community that has less social disorganization and violence, or if such solidarity in fact prevents youths from committing violent acts. Some theorists argue that neighborhood crime and disorder precedes the erosion of collective efficacy and its attendant support for social control (Bennet & Fraser,2000; Wilson, 1996). Others indicate that collective efficacy prevents neighborhood crime and disorder (Reese, et al., 2001; Sabol, et al., 2004; Sampson et al.,1997). Regardless, both arguments support the correlation, and only go further by stating the causal order. It is more than likely that the relationship between delinquency and collective efficacy is reciprocal; they operate in a "feedback loop", where a negative relationship between collective efficacy and delinquency (a negative relationship is one in which an increase in x leads to a decrease in y) is mediated and perpetuated by another neighborhood level variable (Sampson & Raudenbush, 1999). It was found in an observational study (using quantitative and qualitative analyses) of 865 census tracts in the Chicago area, that social disorder was a mediating factor between delinquency and collective efficacy. Hence a decrease in collective efficacy would lead to greater social disorder, leading to more crime, further reducing collective efficacy (Sampson & Raudenbush, 1999).

The question now turns to the operationalization: what observable community factors determine the level of collective efficacy? Through resident interviews, Sampson, et al. (1997) measured collective efficacy by asking questions relevant to *shared expectations* (norms) among neighbors (asked to rate the likelihood that a neighbor would take action against delinquent acts in the community), and *social cohesion/trust*, where residents would agree or disagree (along a spectrum) to hypothetical statements involving the social conditions of their neighborhood. These measures were coded, weighted and combined to make up a degree of collective efficacy. Further neighborhood level variables empirically shown to reduce social organization were factored into determination of collective efficacy: namely *concentrated disadvantage, concentrated immigration, and residential [in]stability* (Sampson et al., 1997; 1999).

These three latter factors are comprised of tract level poverty, TANF receipt levels, unemployment, female-headed households, racial composition, foreign born residents, density of youths, household ownership and length of residency in households (Sampson et al., 1997; 1999). These factors indicate *social disorganization*, a frequently cited cause of high crime rates. Social disorganization (defined as the structural inability for a community to establish a common norms-commonly linked to the above variables) is largely the product of the economic marginalization of communities-a problem strongly correlated with unemployment, poverty, and

single parent households (Bennett & Fraser, 2000; Bowen et al., 2004; Prothrow-Stith, 2002; Reese et al., 2001).

These risk factors also contribute to the social-psychological phenomenon referred to as *resilience*; defined by Rutter as "[h]igh functioning in face of great risk or adversity"(in Bennett & Fraser, 2000, p. 102). This is the individual level of *efficacy*, used in terms of a collectivity earlier: one's neighborhood surroundings and opportunities (or lack thereof) will shape a person's understanding of their personal power over and within their own environment (Wilson, 1996). Without any self-efficacy, youths (or adults) may not be aware of any avenues for situation management outside of socially unacceptable behavior in the absence of any collectively recognized and enforced norms. Let it be noted that it is more likely for youth with a family abuse history to have lower levels of resilience, and therefore resort to violent or delinquent actions, than it is for those who have not been exposed and/or socialized to such behavior, which theretofore exemplifies violence as a viable action in adversity.

> "Neighborhood conditions…deeply affect children's' opinions about themselves, their interpretations of the intent of others, and their ability to sustain efforts to prevail over adversity…While some resilient children beat the odds, many do not." (Bennett & Fraser, 2000, p. 103).

The theory of collective efficacy has stood up to empirical testing, and concurs with social disorganization theory, which has been supported in various forms by many social scientists for decades; but it must be noted that the number of operational variables determining collective efficacy is dizzying. Sampson et al. (1997, 1999) performed thorough research on the topic, and have confirmed their results, yet practitioners may be dumbstruck by the results when trying to implement effective strategies towards the reduction of juvenile delinquency. The problem, on some levels, lies in the structure of the American economy; which disenfranchised a large proportion of the unskilled workforce and left millions of inner city residents without jobs. Wilson (1996) argues that such unemployment left a large proportion of this (largely black) unskilled worker population unmarriageable, and contributed to the large numbers of female-headed households. Furthermore, single parents are less likely to become active members of a community (decreasing collective efficacy), and have less financial resources to accommodate healthy emotional end mental development of their children (Bennett & Fraser, 2000).

This economic argument may be true and empirically supported, yet it is difficult to remedy economic structural disadvantage when working at the local level. Fortunately this knowledge can still be used to target census tracts or block groups that display these risk factors, and these areas can therefore be identified, assessed, and addressed. Zeldin identifies three general approaches to the prevention of youth violence: law enforcement, public health, and youth development (which aims at relationships between youths and adult figures--concurrent with the collective efficacy model) (Reese et al., 2001; Zeldin, 2004).[2] These domains are not theoretically exclusive of one another, but they incur differences in policy. The studies with the most empirical support relating to the reduction of juvenile delinquency borrowed from all three

[2] John Hagan (Elliot et al., 1998) also mentions the "demographic transition model", which is absent from all current literature and provides no insight on policy approaches since it merely points to the increase in a particular age group to the increase in violence.

fields; despite its proponents' preference for public health rhetoric (referring to the Boston Study, Prothrow-Stith & Spivak, 2004; both authors are medical doctors). As Elliot et al. note, the *culture* of a neighborhood is a powerful determinant of youth violence levels-not simply it's poverty level or "other compositional effects" (1998, p. 15). Yet the authors do point out that culture and social organization of a neighborhood often is *determined* by such economic correlates. Fortunately, this suggests that solutions need not attack the structure of the American capitalist economy if the social landscape can be addressed at other levels, as the Boston Study proved.

The strength of the Boston Study was its multifaceted engagement of community members and institutions. Zeldin, a critic of the public health model, which "offers potential, [but] the theoretical model and the delivery system are still being constructed", also supports the inclusion of *everyone* in the community when forming policy to combat delinquency, especially youths (2004, p. 627). The theme of community-wide support is pushed further by including the contributions that the youths themselves can, and must make. Zeldin proposes that youths will not become full beneficiaries of collective efficacy unless they are included in that collectivity: "The policy aim, therefore, is not to explicitly attend to issues of violence. Instead, the goal is to provide youths with a daily 'dose' of developmental opportunities and supports" (2004, p. 627). Without engagement in solutions, youths may thus be isolated not only from mainstream society, but even from the adults and authorities within their own neighborhoods.

Zeldin's notion of inclusion is a recurring theme in the autobiographical testimony of a former Latin Kings gang member Reymundo Sanchez, who credits his membership to a feeling of inclusion, long missing in his family life. Youth are often prey to older gang members who adopt them in a paternalistic relationship which can be very attractive to someone without many adult role models in their family or community. The attraction is only stronger when there are financial rewards attached to such membership. Reese et al. (2001) distinguish between economic and social risk factors in delinquent behavior; as both were explicitly identified in their study by community residents as contributing factors to delinquency. In the Reese study, youths that were interviewed expressed a desire for 'non-judgmental adults' with whom they could confide in; a suggestion further supported by Zeldin's call for a "social network that includes non-parental adults" (2004, p. 629).

Economic and social subordination in neighborhoods suggest to youths that they have few opportunities to gain status through legitimate means. Fagan and Wilkinson (1998) list four different types of violence among inner city youths: childhood aggression, gang violence, robbery, and dating violence. While the immediate goals of each type of violence may differ, they all serve the latent function of establishing dominance and/or status (Fagan & Wilkinson, 1998). The inability for youths to engage in legitimate opportunities, leading them to alternative methods of dominance, brings the focus back to the economic and social prerequisites to establish positive youth development and opportunity.

The socioeconomic health of a neighborhood is an antecedent factor to the existence of adult role models and other stakeholders in the community: without anything at stake, there will be nobody to hold it. Therefore, immediate short-term interventions must be coupled with ongoing long-

term efforts to develop community cohesion and promote public safety, giving residents reasons to establish a collective interest in their surroundings.

Neighborhood Boundaries

When looking at neighborhood and community level correlates of juvenile delinquency, it is necessary to determine the most suitable definition of neighborhood, and how such a definition may be approached methodologically. Census data is most useful in demographic analyses, yet has been questioned as far as researchers' assumptions that census tracts reflect actual neighborhoods. It is important that proper neighborhood boundaries are determined when investigating relationships between structural and demographic characteristics and levels of delinquency.

Coulton and colleagues (2001) note that the US Census employs local committees to draw tracts based on residents' perceptions of their neighborhood boundaries. Sociodemographic homogeneity is also considered when forming tract boundaries, in order to allow "structural attributes of tracts [to be] reliable proxies for the ecological dynamics hypothesized to influence crime" (Wooldredge, 2002, p.686). These statements support tract level analysis, but specifically for research focused at the neighborhood level—what Wooldredge terms the "parochial" level, as determined by the non-intimate nature of social relationships and the sharing of local institutions (2002).

In a study on child abuse, Coulton et al. (2001) surveyed parents or guardians of minors as to their perceptions of their own neighborhood boundaries. The subjects were asked to draw these boundaries on an already provided map of their city. The mean areas of resident perceived neighborhoods and census tracts were rather close, yet the similarity in sociodemographic characteristics differed depending on the particular variable. Coulton et al. (2001) also note that youths have different neighborhood boundaries than their own parents. Furthermore, parents of minors generally perceive smaller neighborhoods than non-parents of children (Wooldredge, 2002).

In a study on collective efficacy and its relationship to crime and delinquency, Sampson et al. (1997, 1999) used two different definitions for neighborhood: census tracts and neighborhood clusters. Neighborhood clusters (NCs) are combinations of contiguous census tracts grouped together because of socioeconomic and racial homogeneity and common "natural" boundaries (parks, major streets, railroads), comprised of around 8,000 people, as opposed to census tract populations of roughly 1,000 to 4,000. For this research project, we use U.S. Census data at the tract level- and then aggregate contiguous tracts in neighborhood clusters with similar demographic characteristics to provide information on many of the variables that contribute to social disorganization and supplement it with data from qualitative interviews with both parents and youth living in Utica's neighborhoods; all serving the purpose of gaining insight on the social landscape of each neighborhood. This data is then correlated with Utica juvenile crime data and survey data from a 2005 survey of middle and high school students in Utica's public school system. Among other things we use this data to determine whether collective efficacy does indeed reduce the likelihood of juvenile delinquency and violence. Our findings elaborated below suggest specific sections of the city that should be prioritized or targeted for the implementation efforts to reduce youth violence and crime.

What is a "neighborhood"? Utica parents and youth define neighborhood.
Though many of the teens interviewed for this project live in pre-defined sections of the city (e.g. East Utica, Cornhill), for the most part they considered only the street that they lived on as their neighborhood and the residents of the street as their neighbors.

Below are sample responses to an open-ended question about what their definition of their neighborhood was:

- "Some say its Cornhill or "da hood" but I just consider the street that I live on as my neighborhood."
- "… just the street that I live on."
- "…just the block that I live on and the people in it."
- "My street is my neighborhood but I live in the Cornhill section of the city."
- "I live on Oswego Street and my block is my neighborhood which is in West Utica. My neighbors are those who live around me on my street."

Data in the form of children's drawings of their neighborhood (obtained with the cooperation of art teachers from four elementary schools in Utica) reinforces this concept of "neighborhood" for very young children. Nearly all the drawings depict just a few houses on a single block.

Sometimes I feel way unsafe because some kids throw rocks-play jokes on people that live in that hous- also [white ethnic group] guy he driks and drives and crashed into hes own hous with his wife in shok going to hospital and crying daughters. On good thing theres nice people to talk and play with. I like to play with the kid up the street but not across the street-there mean they play triks and trow rocks at my friends dog. Utica Elementary student, West Utica near Oneida Square.

Table 8. Neighborhood-level indicators of collective efficacy and social disorganization, Utica, NY

Neighborhood	Tract	Percent of All Families with Children in Poverty	Percent Moved Last 15 Months	Percent Responding "Yes" to observing following events:			
				Heard gunshots in neighborhood	Seen people shoot gun in neighborhood	Seen people attacked or robbed in neighborhood	Seen drugs sold in neighborhood
Cornhill	**207.01**	56%	28%				
(9)	**212.01**	45	24	54%	18%	36%	55%
	212.02	26	18				
	215	59	21				
East Utica-W/N	**203***	41	33				
(4)	**208.03**	49	36	45	17	33	41
	210	46	33				
East Utica-E/S	**208.02**	39	26				
(3)	**213.01**	49	15	18	10	18	22
	213.02	31	26				
	213.03	12	11				
West Utica-E	**203***	41	33				
(6)	**211.01**	48	34	33	16	31	26
	211.02	43	28				
West Utica-C	**201**	60	27				
(7)	**209**	42	32	41	18	33	47
	214.01	27	17				
West Utica-W	**214.02**	24	17	31	15	15	40
(8)	**214.04**	--	0				
North Utica	**216.01**	9	9	8	4	11	15
(1)	**216.02**	7	7				
South Utica	**207.02**	30	31				
(2)	**211.03**	39	18	18	5	13	23
	217.01	4	12				
	217.02	23	18				

SOURCES: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census 2000 and Utica SS/HS survey of 7th, 9th, and 11th graders, Feb. 2005
*Note: Census Tract 203 covers sections of both East Utica-W and West Utica-E

The data in Table 8 clearly supports the theoretical connection between social disorganization (indicated by family poverty and neighborhood mobility rates) and crime. Sections of the city with high rates of family poverty and a high rate of mobility (families moving in and out) are the same sections where youth are more likely to report that they hear gunshots, see people shoot guns, get attacked and sell or buy drugs. Note how the central section of West Utica has levels of social disorganization and crime that rival the levels seen in Cornhill.

Social cohesion at the neighborhood level in Utica: Findings from interviews of youth and parents, and from youth survey data.

- Over half of the teens interviewed reported that adults in their neighborhood would get involved if they were doing something wrong in their neighborhoods.

- Over half of the teens interviewed reported that they agreed with the idea that if they were having trouble or a problem, there were adults in their neighborhoods who they could go to for help.

- Slightly less than three-fourths of the parents interviewed reported that it was more than likely that their neighbors would intervene if their children were hanging out on the corner or skipping school.

- Over three-quarters of the parents interviewed agreed that it was likely or very likely that their neighbors would intervene if their children were spray painting graffiti on a local property.

- Over three-quarters of the parents interviewed agreed that it was likely or very likely that their neighbors would intervene if their children were being disrespectful towards another adult in their neighborhoods.

- Almost all the parents interviewed reported that their neighbors would be likely to intervene if their children got into a fight in front of their neighbor's house.

- Over three-quarters of the parents interviewed reported that their neighbors would be likely or very likely to intervene if their children were selling drugs on the street corner of their neighborhoods.

This interview data was not obtained from random sampling and cannot be considered statistically representative. However, these comments by parents and youth indicate there is some degree of social cohesion at the neighborhood level in Utica.

Overall perceptions of neighborhood quality
Teens comments about what is good about their neighborhood:

- "A lot of friends, but not too much family live in my neighborhood and it's generally a good place."
- "My family and friends live in my neighborhood and it is good because I walk around without any worries."
- "My neighborhood is good because there is no drama or fights. It's mostly all white and my family is the only black family on the block."
- "My neighborhood is a good neighborhood but there are a lot of old people who live in it. My family and friends live in my neighborhood."

Teens comments about what they don't like about their neighborhood:

- "Drug dealers, prostitutes, crackheads and none of my friends live in my neighborhood."
- "My neighborhood is bad. Drug dealers and everything live in it."
- "My neighborhood is bad because my uncle was killed on West Street. My family and friends live in my neighborhood."
- "My neighborhood is a very dangerous and I don't like living here. My friends and family live in my neighborhood."
- "My neighborhood is scary and I'm afraid of being kidnapped or grabbed by drug addicts. I have one friend, an adult not part of my family that protects me when I'm out and about."

Some teens considered their neighborhoods as a mixture of good and bad:

- "My family, friends, and enemies all make up my neighborhood which is neither good nor bad."
- "Friends and family live in my neighborhood and it is a mix of good and bad because in the winter it is good but in the summer, it gets bad."
- "My neighborhood is neither good nor bad, it's alright. My family and friends live in it."
- "It is mostly a mix of good and bad. My friends and family live in my neighborhood."
- "I don't consider my neighborhood good or bad and I like living in it. Some of my friends along with my family and neighbors."
- "It is a mixture of good and bad but I like it. My family and friends live in it but my enemies live here also."

Table 9. Indicators of neighborhood safety by section of the city

Percent answering "Yes" about neighborhood:	North	South	Cornhill	East-W/N	East-E/S	West-E	West-C	West-W
Q7-7a Heard gunshots	8.1	17.5	54.2	45.3	18.1	33.3	41.2	30.8
Q7-7b Seen people shoot gun	4.1	4.7	18.2	17.2	9.5	15.9	17.6	15.4
Q7-7c Seen people attacked or robbed.	10.8	12.6	36.0	33.3	17.8	31.1	33.3	15.4
Q7-7d Seen drugs sold	14.9	22.8	55.2	40.5	22.3	26.1	47.1	40.0
Q7-9a Carried weapon in past 30 days	6.8	12.4	21.3	15.7	7.1	10.9	19.6	3.7
Q7-7h Kids wanting to join gangs.	14.9	16.3	47.4	44.8	20.9	31.1	39.2	19.2
Q7-7i Gangs fighting with one another.	9.5	10.1	49.1	46.5	18.2	17.4	35.3	19.2

Percent who disagree or strongly disagree	North	South	Cornhill	East-W/N	East-E/S	West E	West C	West-W
Feel safe after school.	0	2.3	5.6	8.9	4.4	4.3	11.7	11.1
Feel safe after dark.	4.1	12.3	25.1	25.8	17.2	28.9	31.4	14.8
Feel safe on weekends.	1.4	3.1	7.8	6.8	5.1	4.4	11.7	7.4

SOURCE: Utica Safe Schools/Healthy Students-Social Science Assoc. survey of 7th, 7th, & 11th graders, Feb. 2005

- A citywide average of 31.8% of 7th, 9th, and 11th graders reported hearing gunshots in their neighborhood. These levels were highest in East and West Utica, and Cornhill.
- Reports of witnessing someone firing a gun are most common in Cornhill, East-W/N Utica, and all West Utica neighborhoods (all above 15%).

- Reports of witnessing attacks or robberies are most common in Cornhill, East-W/N Utica, and all West Utica (C&W), with over 30% of respondents in these neighborhoods reporting such events.
- Drug dealing was reported most in Cornhill, East Utica (W/N), and West Utica (C&W), with over 40% of respondents in these neighborhoods reporting such events.
- Gang presence is greatest in Cornhill, East Utica (W/N), and West Utica (C)
- Respondents in West-C Utica were most likely to report feeling unsafe after school, after dark, and on weekends.
- Over 25% of respondents in Cornhill, East Utica (W/N), and West Utica (E&W) reported feeling unsafe after dark.

General neighborhood characteristics by section of the city: qualitative data from interviews

West Utica-E between Genesee St and the Arterial (203, 211.01, 211.02)

"Describe your neighborhood and who lives in it."

Considers his neighborhood a good one: normal people live in his neighborhood.

His neighborhood is scary because he's afraid of being abducted or picked up by drug addicts. He has one friend, an adult outside of his family who acts as his protector or guardian.

Family is here, but no friends. Doesn't think his neighborhood is a good one.

Family members and some neighbors that he got along with.

Other youth comments about this neighborhood and why they do or don't feel safe.

Can't go to the store without an adult because of the drug activity around the store.

Because there are not many people that hang out in his neighborhood commiting crimes.

Because of shootings around the area and his fear of someone breaking into his house because of the drug activity in his neighborhood.

Because there are a lot of shootings by people in his neighborhood.

Because there was no drama in his neighborhood when he lived there.

West Utica-C, Between Arterial and York, N. of Oriskany (201, 209, 214.01)

"Describe your neighborhood and who lives in it."

Her family and friends live in her neighborhood and she considers it a good neighborhood because she can walk around with no worries.

Her neighborhood is a good neighborhood but a lot of old people live in it. Her family and friends live in her neighborhood.

Drug dealers, prostitutes, crackheads, his family, and none of his friends.

Other youth comments about this neighborhood and why they do or don't feel safe.

Because she can walk around and not worry about people bothering her.

Because it is racist over there and people get hurt because of that.

Because he knows his way around it and stuff like that.

Cornhill (207.01, 212.01, 212.02, 215)

"Describe your neighborhood and who lives in it."

Her friends, family, and some nosy people.

Her neighborhood is good because there is no drama or fights. Her neighborhood is mostly all white and her family is the only black family on the block.

Friends, family and her neighborhood is a mix of good and bad because she said in the winter it is good but in the summer, it gets bad.

It's so-so, some of it is kind of broken down, some is not. He knows some of the people in it and he thinks it is ok.

Cornhill has a lot of Black families but it's mostly quiet on her street with 6 houses that are owned by her neighbor who are all elderly. It's quiet most of the time.

Family, friends, and enemies all make up her neighborhood, which is neither good nor bad.

A lot of friends, not too much of her family, lives in her neighborhood and it is generally a good place.

Her neighborhood is bad. Drug dealers and everything live in her neighborhood.

His relatives, and friends. His neighborhood is neither good nor bad.

He considers his neighborhood a good neighborhood. His family and his neighbors which are a mix of ethnicities live in his neighborhood.

It is a mixture of good and bad but he likes his neighborhood. His family and friend live in his neighborhood but his enemies live their also.

She considers her neighborhood all right- a friend, her family and two cousins live in her neighborhood.

It is a very dangerous neighborhood and she doesn't like living there. Her friends and family live in her neighborhood.

Peaceful as long as there are no shootings. His cousins, family, and some of his friends live in his neighborhood. He considers it a good neighborhood.

Other youth comments about this neighborhood (Cornhill) and why they do or don't feel safe.

Because there's really nothing that is going on in her neighborhood that can harm her and her family from what she sees.

Because most of the time she is with her mother and she feels safe.

Because nothing happens to her and she's not worried about anything happening to her.

Her family support makes her feel safe in her neighborhood.

Because there are a lot of Bloods and CRIPs in her neighborhood.

Because he feels that his mother will protect him if anything goes wrong, she steps up and keeps him safe.

Because he's either with one of his friends or either his parents. He stated that he doesn't do anything to hurt anyone so he feels safe.

Because there are supposedly gangs like the Bloods and CRIPs and sometimes they are shooting at each other around his block.

Because there were convicted child molesters that lived on her block and she did not feel safe.

Because her people support her and she knows that they got her back.

Because she knows every one on her block.

Because she has lived there for a long time and she knows just about everyone in her neighborhood.

Because he knows everyone there so he feels kind of safe.

Because sometimes she feels safe and sometimes she doesn't, especially after there has been a shooting. When she is around her family and friends, she feels safe.

Because she's always with friends when she's out and about, so she feels safe.

Because she knows mostly everyone around her neighborhood.

Issues of Race, Ethnicity, and Gender in Violence and Aggression

Race and ethnicity

Race is often treated as a primary risk factor for violent behavior. This view is often bolstered by evidence of higher arrest rates and incarceration rates for racial and ethnic minorities, especially African Americans. However, the evidence also shows that such disparities in arrest rates among ethnic groups may be largely a result of higher levels of police surveillance and reporting of crimes committed by racial and ethnic minorities (Elliott et al., 1998). As for victimization, with the exception of hate crimes, ethnicity *by itself* is not a risk factor for victimization, though racial and ethnic minorities experience higher rates of victimization than do whites (American Psychological Association, 1993).

Kingery, Biafora, and Zimmerman, 1996 conducted a three-year study of 4000 6th and 7th grade boys in South Florida. The sample was quite diverse ethnically and included Cubans, Nicaraguans, other Hispanics, African Americans, Non-Hispanic Whites, and Caribbean Blacks. The risk factors assessed were race/ethnicity, normative values, derogation (from self, teachers, and parents), crack or cocaine use, marital and educational status of parents, grade in school, beliefs, and behaviors (i.e. delinquency and response to anger). The study assessed the following aggressive behaviors: carrying a weapon, taking part in gang fights, using force to get money or other items, beating someone up for no reason, and the likelihood of hitting someone or getting even when insulted. Using these composite measures, no single race or ethnic group engaged in more violent behavior than another. In fact, conflict was most common *within* ethnic groups, rather than *across* groups. The highest correlations with violent behavior were with frequency of violent behavior among friends, derogation by teachers, and low normative values. This last risk factor was the greatest predictor of aggressive or violent behavior. The authors conclude that

> *[S]ituational factors may be more important than race or cultural factors in predicting adolescent male violence. An ability to derive benefits from educational, legal, social, and economic systems, personal feelings of vulnerability, a willingness to take charge and to match the striking power of potential enemies appears to underlie weapon carrying and interpersonal violence (Kingery, Biafora, and Zimmerman, 1996 p. 184).*

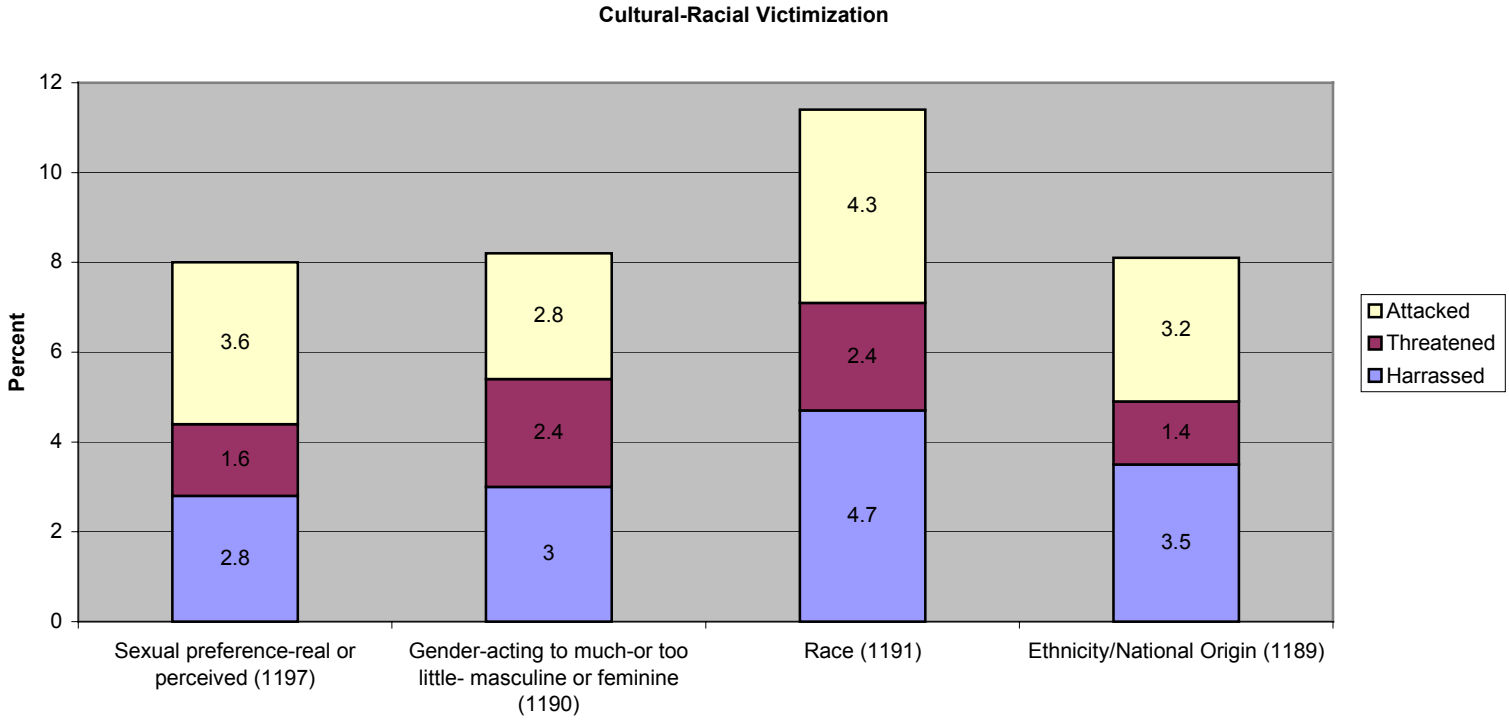
The authors see normlessness, rooted in deprivation, as the primary risk factor for violent behavior. These results are similar to other work that sees violence among racial and ethnic minorities as rooted in a sense of social injustice (Cartledge and Johnson, 1997).

These results, however, do not mean that ethnic differences are unimportant in the study of violence and aggression. In designing intervention programs, for example, cultural differences between ethnic groups must be taken into account (Hampton, Jenkins, and Gullotta, 1996). A few examples will be illustrative. Inner city youth often adopt a "cool pose" to maintain a façade of pride, strength, and control despite their depressed status in American culture (Anderson, 1999). This may make it difficult for these youth to back down from a confrontation or apologize. Also, arguing in African American culture tends to be more heated, without following the "turn taking" norm of middle-class white culture. This confrontational manner may be misunderstood in the classroom. These students aren't being more verbally negative, but

are being more verbally aggressive than European Americans (Cartledge and Johnson, 1997). It is also important to remember that ethnic membership, which emphasizes similar geographic, racial, or national origin, may be distinct from cultural membership, which signifies identification with a particular group, or a commonality of life experiences and/or value systems. Researchers argue that the best intervention programs come from grassroots efforts that are sensitive to local cultural variations (see Hammond and Yung, 1991, or Yung and Hammond, 1995 for good resources in designing culturally sensitive interventions for youth violence and aggression).

Chart 1 indicates the proportion of youth in Utica who indicate that they have been victimized as a result of their race or ethnicity or national origin is relatively high.

Chart 1.



Youths that reported victimization due to race were not limited to minorities, however minorities were victimized in greater proportion to Whites. For example, a majority of those reporting victimization as a result of their race were White, yet when looking at racial groups individually, Whites are the least likely to report victimization:

Table10. Victimization as a result of race

Victimized	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/Pac. Islander	Native American	Other	Total
% within each group	8.2%	12.0%	9.8%	32.8%	33.3%	12.0%	11.2%
Number victimized	48	26	15	22	4	14	129

SOURCE: Utica Safe Schools/Healthy Students-Social Science Assoc. survey of 7th, 9th, & 11th graders, Feb. 2005

Gender and youth violence and crime

> *"There is potential for a third wave in America's youth violence epidemic, a wave involving girls. Girls now make up 25% of the adolescents arrested for violent crime. In the past it was uncommon or even rare to have a girl arrested for violent crime." (Prothrow-Stith, HP, 2004 p. 19)*

Most research on "youth" violence and aggression is actually about boys. There is a debate in the literature about whether substantial differences exist between girls/women and boys/men. Campbell (1993) argues that men and women have completely different conceptions of aggression. The masculine conception of aggression as a desire for power or control is foreign to women. Women, Campbell argues, use aggression to release frustration; men use it to impose control and prove who they are. Women view their aggression as a "loss of control", and often feel guilty about it afterward. To put the difference simply, for a man to be opposed to aggression is to cast doubts on his masculinity; for a woman to support the use of aggression is to cast doubts on her femininity.

These differences do not appear to be biological, but rather cultural (Adams, 1992). We treat boys and girls differently from birth in ways that may have implications for subsequent aggressive behavior. For example, more rough handling of boys may decrease calm and patience and increase irritability (Miedzian, 1991). Aggression is a desirable masculine trait in American culture, so parents are ambivalent about discouraging it in boys— not so for girls. Interestingly, girls often rate themselves as feeling more aggressive than do boys, while exhibiting less aggressive behavior. This suggests that girls are more successful at inhibiting those impulses (Eron, 1992). Other researchers argue that sex differences in self-reported aggression tend to be exaggerated because people believe that such differences do, and ought to, exist (Klama, 1988). White (1983) argues that whatever biological differences exist between boys and girls can be reduced to a minimum through socialization, especially through exposure to interpersonal and media violence, contact sports, etc.

In her study of the "violent schoolgirl", Artz (1998) demonstrates that girls are much more like boys in their expression and use of violence than has been previously thought. Her work makes use of both quantitative and qualitative data. In the case studies she presents, she demonstrates that girls, far from thinking violence "unfeminine", felt that violence was an appropriate way to get what they wanted, and used violence for many of the same reasons boys do: to maintain social hierarchy ("put down cocky girls"), maintain respect, and mete out punishment to those who break the rules. They saw the victims of their violence as deserving of, or responsible for, the beatings that they received. Contrary to popular beliefs about girls adhering to an "ethic of care" (Gilligan, 1983) and being concerned with relationships as the foundation for moral decision-making, these girls were not at all concerned with maintaining their peer relationships. In fact, they would often beat up girls they had once considered "friends". Alliances between girls in these peer groups shifted constantly. Artz finds that for these girls, engaging in violent behavior was not related to family structure but to family dynamics. They had all experienced some combination of verbal, physical, and/or sexual abuse in the past, and feared further abuse in the future. Artz argues that this oppression at home, and the negation of them as young women,

has been internalized, which produces this horizontal violence against other similarly oppressed, similarly situated girls (see also Weiler's (1999) review of the literature).

It remains to be determined how substantial the differences are between boys and girls because gender neutrality (or gender blindness) continues to be a problem in youth aggression/violence research and intervention (Artz, 1998). What may be needed are new conceptualizations of aggression that separate aggression from hostility and passive-aggressive behavior. Some researchers suggest that girls may exhibit more indirect aggression/violence, such as ignoring, avoiding, and excluding, that is currently untapped (Eron, 1992; Kingery, Biafora, and Zimmerman, 1996). What is clear is that arrest rates for violent offenses are increasing for both boys and girls (Weiler, 1999), though boys are still far more likely to be arrested. For girls, these violent offenses are more likely to involve hitting a family member (often while defending herself or trying to leave home). Boys are more likely to fight with friends or strangers, and 2-3 times more likely to be carrying weapons. Though girls seem to be at special risk for sexual victimization, they share other risk factors with boys, including: negative attitudes toward school and poor school performance, perceived lack of opportunities, low self-esteem, and family poverty. Interactions between gender and race, ethnicity, and social class and remain largely unexplored.

Gender, youth violence and crime in Utica

Arrests of female youth in Utica were nearly one-third of all juvenile arrests in 2004 (41 of 131 arrests or 31.3%). In 2003 female arrests were 17.6% of all juvenile arrests. The number of recorded arrests for both males and females has increased, but as the table below indicates, the proportion of female arrests has increased at a very high rate relative to the increase in male arrests.

Table 11. Utica Juvenile Crime Arrests: 2003-2004

Sex	2003	2004	% change
Male	70	90	28.6%
Female	15	41	173.3%
Total	85	131	54.1%

(sex unknown: 4 cases)

<u>Utica girls describe the circumstances surrounding being threatened or injured in the past 12 months</u>

-One incident was at her house and her sister's house where her and her sister got into an altercation. Another was when she was at a party at her sister's and this drunk guy attacked her and she ended up chasing the guy down the street with a butcher's knife. The other's she really couldn't recall offhand.

-Because of an argument that turned into a fight.

-Because people just want to start trouble in and out of school. There are just too many reasons why she was threatened, friends, family, etc.

-Because the person did not like her.

-Because the person thought that she was talking about her and then the girl pushed her and it became a fight.

-It was three times at school and twice at her house where she has been threatened by people who think that she is talking about them.

-She doesn't really know what the problem was; she thinks the girl had some mental problems.

-She really can't remember why the incidents occurred.
-She was threatened in Utica by girls from Frankfort but has never actually gotten into any physical altercations with them.

-Some girl she knew said that she was going to beat her up but she had already beaten the girl up.

-The girl just wanted to fight her over some he said, she said.
-The whole boyfriend/girlfriend dumping situation, just because somebody doesn't like her, a girl threatened to kill her mother. When people threaten her, she threatens back.

These comments by Utica girls who said they were physically injured or threatened in the last year, while not representative of all girls in the city, indicate that violent conflict for girls centers on personal relationships- family, friends, and acquaintances.

Utica boys describe the circumstances surrounding being threatened or injured in the past 12 months

-An accident that happened while playing basketball in gym, a guy threatened him and he threw a basketball at him; troubles with individuals in the lunch room; and other things that just go on at school.

-Over a football game, he can't really remember the rest.
-Because each time he was talking to the other guys' girlfriends and they would try to scare him by saying that he was going to get jumped after school and stuff. But they would never do anything.
-Because he called the boy's brother a retard and the brother has cerebral palsy. The boy beat him up. He tripped a guy while playing soccer going for the ball and the boy got mad and wanted to fight but they didn't.

-Because of gossip he got into fights because people said he said things about them and it got his lip busted over it.
-Because of the fact that he's good in sports, people get jealous and want to fight with him. He got into physical confrontation many times over this but he doesn't like to fight.

-Because people be sometimes just beefing and stuff.

-He got into fights with the same person because this person kept hitting him.
-It was at school when he lived in Rome because this guy kept threatening him because he thought that he was messing with the guy's sister. The other two times he couldn't really recall.

-It was far too many times to remember them all.
-It was over a basketball game at the Boys and Girls Club but there was no fight. The person who threatened him was mad because they lost the game and was just a sore loser.

-Most of his incidents are "because of his brother's mouth".
-Most of his incidents occur on the streets and it is mostly about people thinking that they want to scrap with him but they really don't. He is not worried about getting beat up.

-Some people just "be hating" on him.

-Too many times to count all the threats made against him.

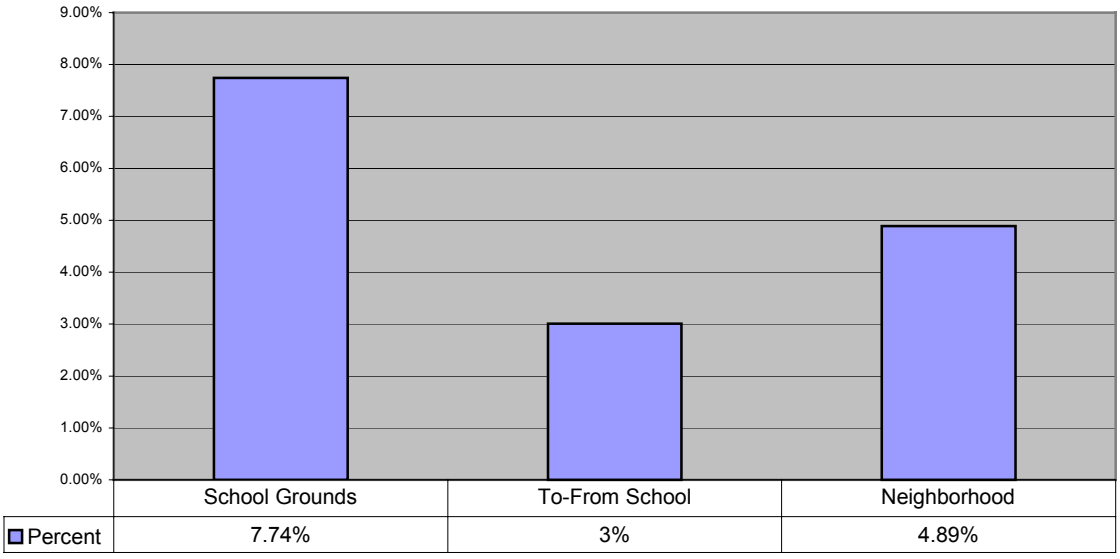
Boys' explanations for being threatened or injured are similar to what we heard from girls, with the addition of conflict related to competition in sports- a stage for the performance of masculinity for males.

Schools and youth violence and crime

Victimization in/out of school

While acts of violence and crime that victimize youth are differentially distributed by neighborhood, schools and school grounds are also a site where violence and crime occurs. As the chart below indicates, youth are much more likely to be robbery victims on school grounds than in their own neighborhood.

Chart 2. Property taken from youth by force in the past year



Source: Utica SS/HS-Social Science Associates survey of 7th, 9th, & 11th graders, 2005

> *My neighborhood is sometimes bad. People play on the road. And I like to play games. There are a lot of kids. I love my family. I love my school. I love my neighborhood.*
>
> Utica Elementary Student, Blandina Street

Exposure to violence and the use of weapons

Exposure to violence in the home, whether or not children and youth are direct victims of this violence is strongly correlated with the likelihood that these children will be violent as they move through their formative years, as discussed previously in the section of this report on the family. Data from the youth interviews we conducted in the table below is just one indication of the positive relationship between exposure to violence and using violence for youth.

Table 12. Exposure to adult violence by engagement in violence

Number of *incidents* of adult violence witnessed by youth	Number of *youth* who have seen adult violence/past 12 mos.	Number of youth who were exposed to adult violence who have been in a fight/past 30 days	Percent of youth fighting relative to exposure to adult violence
0	15	8	53%
1	8	7	88%
2-3	10	8	80%
4 or more	12	8	67%

SOURCE: In-depth interviews with Utica youth, Social Science Associates, 2005. N=45.

Viewing violence in one's home, neighborhood, and through a variety of media outlets leads some children and youth to see the world as a dangerous place. When this happens, they logically feel the need to protect themselves, and, sometimes (not-so-logically) see violence and aggression as the best way to meet that need. When we asked Utica youth in 7th, 9th, and 11th grade why they carried a weapon, most (but not all) said it was either for protection or to hurt someone. Of those who said they carried a weapon for protection, several spoke of a generalized threat (*because there are nuts out there; cause* [there are people out there who] *are criminally insane; for survival situations and protection; to protect me from stupid idiots in streets; in case of emergency; to kill anyone that talks to me*). Others spoke of specific threats (*have a frequent feud in neighborhood; for protection against a stray dog; received a threat; to fight against other gangs; involved in a gang battle)* and several indicated they carried a weapon for offensive, rather than defensive purposes (*to hurt someone; cause I'm bad; cause I'm a thug for sure; to threaten someone*). Three youth said they carried a weapon "to kill".

The use of weapons for defensive or offensive purposes heightens the likelihood that violence will lead to injury or death, especially when youth have access to deadly weapons like handguns. Both legal and illegal firearms have proliferated in the U.S. to the point that they are relatively easy for youth to obtain, even in Utica. A third of male youth in Utica report that it would be very easy or easy to "get a gun".

Table 13. How easy would it be for you to get a gun?

	Male	Female
Very easy/easy	33.0	18.9
Not so easy	9.2	7.2
Very difficult/difficult	4.9	5.5
Don't know	52.8	69.4

SOURCE: 2003 Teen Assessment Project (TAP) Data
Utica 7th, 9th, and 11th grade students, N=998.

Mental health, substance abuse and youth violence and crime

Violent and delinquent youth have very different psychological profiles than those whom we perceive as "seriously mentally ill" i.e. those with schizophrenia and other psychotic disorders. In fact, the persistently mentally ill are more likely to be victims of violent crimes rather than perpetrators. A recent report published by the American Psychiatric Association suggests that only a small percentage of individuals with severe and persistent mental illness are at risk of becoming violent, specifically those with neurological impairments, disease or injury that cause damage to the brain and/or those with severe psychosis with delusions that others are persecuting them. With consistent treatment and medication, these individuals are no more dangerous than those in the general population (National Mental Health Association, 2004).

Notwithstanding the above, few distinctions can be drawn between children served in the juvenile justice and mental health system. Juvenile justice youth have high rates of "mental health" problems (defined more broadly than serious and persistent mental health problems) and kids in the mental health system have high rates of criminal involvement (Evens and Vander Stoep, 1997). Rosenblatt and colleagues (2000) indicate that youth incarcerated in psychiatric hospitals and detention centers share similar profiles. Many studies link youth violence with other co-occurring mental health disorders (Cocozza, 2000; Veysey, 2003; Shelton, 2004; Rosenblatt et al, 2000).

Research strongly links conduct and mental health disorders with substance abuse problems. Cocozza (2000) agrues that as much as 50.9% of the juvenile justice population with a mental health disorder has a co-occuring substance abuse problem. Shelton (2004) concluded that 80% of children in detention centers had at least one mental health diagnosis or substance abuse disorder. Rosenblatt and colleagues (2000) conducted research comparing youth receiving mental health services who had recent arrest records to those that had no recent arrest record and found that the likelihood of substance abuse disorders in these youth were 3% to 1% respectively.

Co-occurring mental health and substance abuse disorders can interfere with the rehabilitation of youth in the juvenile justice system due to the emotional impairments of these youth who are not able to adjust to incarceration resulting in negative behaviors and lack of participation in treatment. These youth are also at higher rates of recidivism once discharged if their mental health needs are not adequately treated (Wasserman, Ko, and McReynolds, 2004).

Teplin and colleagues (2002) conducted a rigorous study of the prevalence of psychiatric illness in youth in detention finding 74% of females and 66% of males met the criteria for a mental health disorder. Affective disorders were especially prevalent among females with 25% meeting criteria for a major depressive episode. Types of disorders indicated and their prevalence in both males and females respectively were as follows: affective disorders: Males-18.7%, Females-27.6%, psychotic disorders: 1% both males and females, anxiety: Males-21.3%, Females 30.8%, ADHD: Males-16.6%, Females 21.4%, disruptive behavior disorder: Males-41.4%, Females 45.6%, substance abuse: Males-50.7%, Females-46.8%. Borderline, PTSD, and somatoform disorders are higher among girls than among boys in the juvenile justice system. In relation to the occurrence of violent acts in girls, this study attributes such behavior in girls as an indicator of PTSD. These girls were more likely to have been victims of sexual abuse/physical abuse and

therefore more vulnerable to react defensively to triggers in the environment that evoke trauma responses (Veysey, 2003).

In addition to substance abuse, Rosenblatt and Biggs (2000) measured other mental health disorders prevalent in youth within the juvenile justice population. This study compared youth who were or were not receiving mental health services and who had a recent arrest to those that held no recent arrest record and found the following: oppositional defiant disorder - 33%: 20%, mood and affective disorders – 37%: 41%, anxiety disorders – 4%: 7%, ADHD – 6%: 7%, developmental disorders- 2%: 3%, psychotic disorders 1%: 2%. Scores on a widely used assessment tool (CAFAS) for those with an arrest record relative to those with no arrest record were substantially different: 61%: 31% of those who scored higher than 70 in risk domains such as school, home, community, behavior toward self/others, and substance abuse. Those with recent arrest records scored higher in aggressive behavior toward self/others mean scores 19:13, substance abuse 14:6, and community 17:6 (Rosenblatt and Biggs, 2000).

Research reveals a weaker correlation between affective/mood disorders encounters with the juvenile justice system for these youth. MH/JJ kids tend to have a lower rate of affective disorders such as anxiety and depression (Evens and Vander Stoep, 1997). For example, the detained youth in Shelton's study revealed that 20% of the youth were diagnosed with affective disorders and 24% with anxiety disorders (Shelton, 2004). Another study examining the prevalence of psychiatric disorders in juvenile justice youth revealed the following results: any anxiety disorder 18% (PTSD 4%), any mood disorder 9%, disruptive behavior disorder 31% (including ADHD 2%, ODD 2% and CD 31%), substance abuse 49% (including alcohol dependence 12%, abuse 17%, marijuana dependence 25%, abuse 15%). The prevalence of suicidal ideation is 9%; suicide attempt 2% in the past month (Wasserman, Ko, and McReynolds, 2004). Children with mental health disorders stay in detention an average of 5.7 months longer than those without mental health disorders for the same offenses (Cellini, 2001).

> *Powerless, useless, ineffectual, you are only remotely connected to life around you. The most you can hope for is to get through the day—at home, at work, in school. Drugs and alcohol will help you kill the pain; protect you from things that would, if fully perceived, drive you crazy. … For a bored, lonely kid, drug oblivion may offer immediate comfort: purpose and adventure in the place of everyday ennui. But soon it has a life of its own—at a psychic and social level, the focus of your life becomes getting high (or "well" as some people describe it). Ironically, the whole miserable process begins as an act of self-preservation.*
>
> Gaines, Donna in *Teenage Wasteland*, 1991, Pp. 101-102

Juvenile crime in Utica, NY and the US in general: Patterns and time trends

The available measures of juvenile crime in the city of Utica are limited to 2003 and 2004 arrest data from the Juvenile Division of the Utica Police Department (UPD) and self-report victimization data for 7th, 9th, and 11th graders in Utica Middle Schools and (their one) High School. Generalizable victimization data (data from a sample that represents the population it is taken from) is available from four separate surveys of these student cohorts including 1.) The 2003 TAP survey, 2.) The 2005 Safe Schools/Healthy Students/Social Science Associates (SS/HS/SSA) survey. Additional victimization data was collected by interviewing Utica youth (n=45) for this project, however, while this interview data adds descriptive depth, it does not statistically represent the entire population of youth in Utica.

Utica Police Department Juvenile Division data indicates that the number of reported juvenile crimes that resulted in a formal charge against a youth in Utica increased substantially from 2003 to 2004 (from 85 in 2003 to 135 in 2004, an increase of 59%). However, the UPD Juvenile Division Supervisor indicated to the research team that because a new data system was introduced in 2003, some juvenile arrests may not have been recorded in this new system for this year. When asked if the increase in arrests recorded in the UPD database was entirely the result of its introduction in 2003, the UPD Juvenile Division supervisor said (paraphrasing) 'no, our unit processed substantially more arrests in 2004 than during the previous year'. As the tables below indicate, an increase in arrests is evident for all age groups, and females account for a large share of the increased number of arrests in 2004.

Table 14. Utica Juvenile Crime Arrests: 2003-2004

Age Group	2003	2004	% change
8-11	7	10	42.9%
12-13	22	37	68.2%
14-15	56	88	57.1%
Total	85	135	58.8%

Sex	2003	2004	% change
Male	70	90	28.6%
Female	15	41	173.3%
Total	85	131	54.1%

(sex unknown: 4 cases)

Children under 10 years old only account for .2% of all urban arrests nationally, and 1% of all urban arrests under 18 years of age. A jump in arrests occurs for both males and females at age 13-14, making up 4.4% of all arrests nationally in 2003.

Female juveniles in Utica accounted for 17.6% of recorded juvenile arrests in 2003 and 31.3% of recorded juvenile arrests in 2004. The percent of female juvenile arrests in Utica for 2004 reflects the national-level proportion of juvenile arrests by sex as Table 15 below demonstrates.

Table 15. US Juvenile Arrests Age 10-15, 2003

Age	Male	Female	Total	% Female
10-12	84,736	30,352	115,088	26.4%
13-14	243,127	121,583	364,710	33.3%
15	204,037	95,829	299,866	32.0%
US Total, 2003	**531,900**	**247,764**	**779,664**	**31.8%**
Utica, NY, 2004	**90**	**41**	**131**	**31.3%**

Females accounted for 29% of juvenile crimes reported to the FBI in 2002. In all areas of juvenile crime that increased from 1993 to 2002, the female share grew at a proportionately greater pace than the share of male juvenile crimes. For juvenile offenses that have been declining since 1993, female offenses have decreased at a lesser pace than for males.

As discussed earlier, juvenile crime in general has declined dramatically in the last decade. However, this decline is not consistent for specific categories of juvenile crimes committed by sub-groups defined by sex and race. The trends in juvenile crime by sex can be contradictory as noted in Table 16 below, where a 29% decline in aggravated assault by juvenile males is offset by a 7% increase for this crime by females.

Table 16. Percent Change in Juvenile Arrests in US, 1993-2002

Most Serious Offenses	Female	Male
Aggravated assault	7%	-29%
Simple assault	41	4
Larceny-theft	-11	-38
Motor vehicle theft	-41	-52
Vandalism	-6	-36
Weapons	-26	-49
Drug abuse violations	120	51
Liquor law violations	37	9
DUI	94	37
Curfew and loitering	50	29
Runaways	-35	-41

Data source: *Crime in the United States 2002,* table 32

A greater percentage of females are arrested at younger ages (under 15) than are males, yet these findings should be approached with caution and skepticism because they are likely more indicative of the gender attitudes law enforcement rather than offender behaviors. Police often view young males as inevitably devious, and not worth intervention, whereas females should be

stopped to set back on a straight path, or protected. This gender bias is also exhibited in differences in judicial practices for white and minority females, where white girls will get more severe punishments for the same offenses. Social scientists hypothesize that this happens because the court wants to ensure that white offenders get set straight as quickly as possible, and minorities will naturally behave badly.

Race, ethnicity, and juvenile crime

An Overview

Race-based differences in the incidence of juvenile crime (and for all other ages) have been difficult to measure reliably, mainly due to large discrepancies between arrest data and self-report data. The general finding is that African-Americans and Hispanics are much more likely to be arrested than Whites, however there is little difference in self-reporting of the same crimes. It has been hypothesized that these discrepancies are a result of any of the following: selectivity in reporting crimes; police geographical patterns; and racial biases in self-reports, in police, in victims, and in witnesses. However, Dr. Delbert Elliot sums it up nicely: "It reflects very general cultural patterns in this country, not just police practices, although I think the police are certainly a part of it" (Elliot et al., 1998, p.25).

Table17. Ratio of violent crime: Black:White

Year	Violent Incident rate*	Arrest Rate**
1983	1.2	8.25
1993	1.5	6.4
1998	1.6	4.75

*Includes assault w/ injury and robbery w/ weapon (based on self-reported behavior from high school seniors).
**Includes robbery & aggravated assault.
Source: Surgeon General Report on Youth Violence, 2001

Furthermore, racial differences in crime rates become much smaller when structural factors like family dynamics, neighborhood quality, and local socioeconomic indicators are taken into account. For example, Elliot et al. (1998) found that when given stable jobs and intimate social relationships, youths of any racial group were unlikely to continue violent behavior into adulthood. They also found that high socioeconomic status census tracts exhibited homicide rates equally low among African-Americans and Whites, yet in high poverty census tracts, African-Americans suffered disproportionate homicide victimization (1998).

While it appears that race-based differences in crime are largely due to spurious effects from structural factors and biases in crime reporting and/or enforcement, there is still danger that while no more likely to *begin* deviant behavior, minority youths are more likely to *continue* this behavior into adulthood (Elliot et al, 1998). While this continuation factor can be controlled through engagement in jobs and intimate relationships, these opportunities are less present for African-American youths. During research for her dissertation on employment and ex-offenders,

Devah Pager found that a White person with a criminal record is more likely to be hired by a company than an African-American *without* a criminal record, with the same qualifications (Kroeger, 2004). Race clearly does still affect structural correlates of crime, like employment.

Race and juvenile crime in Utica

The two-year trends by race and ethnicity (Hispanic/Not Hispanic) in Utica exhibit similar differences by sub-group. The number of black juvenile arrests increased by 29% from 2003 to 2004, and the number of white juvenile arrests doubled (increased by 100%) during this same time period. The proportion of white juveniles arrested increased from 2003 to 2004, while the proportion of arrests accounted for by Black juveniles declined during this time period.

Table 18.

Number of All Juvenile Arrests by Race/Ethnicity, Utica, NY

	2003	2004	% change, 2003-2004
Asian	2	0	-100.0%
Black	48	62	29.2%
Hispanic	2	8	300.0%
White	32	64	100.0%
Total	84	134	

Percent of All Juvenile Arrests by Race/Ethnicity, Utica, NY

	2003	2004	% change, 2003-2004
Asian	2.4%	0.0%	
Black	57.1	46.3	-18.9%
Hispanic	2.4	6.0	150.0%
White	38.1	47.8	25.5%
Total	100%	100%	

Juvenile violent crime in Utica, NY and the US

Most juvenile (and adult) crime is characterized by offenses that are non-violent in nature. Individuals under the age of 18 years are also subject to laws that adults 18 and older do not have to comply with. When they break these laws, they have committed what is called a "status offense", e.g. running away from home, failure to attend school.

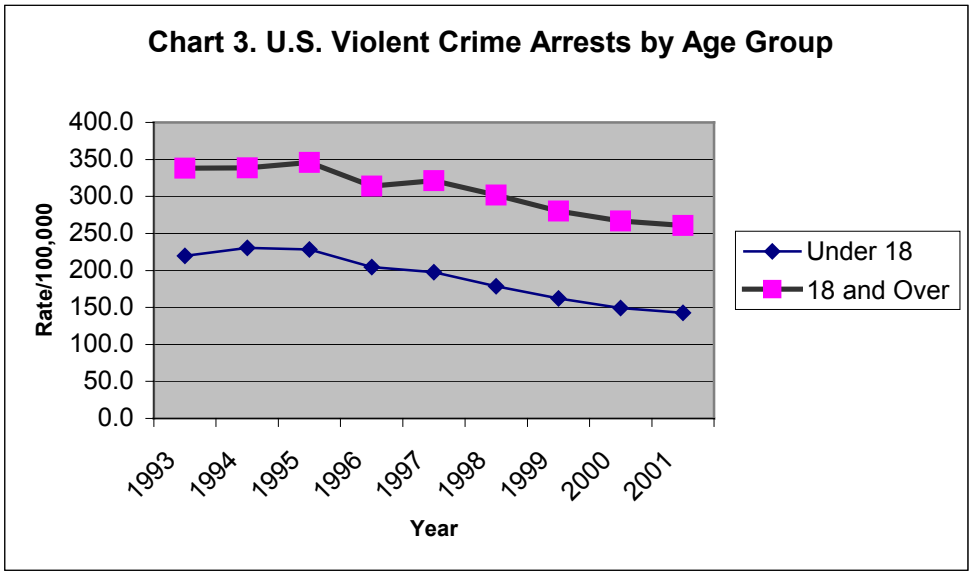
Violence often occurs outside the view and reach of law enforcement, and therefore is not well represented in arrest statistics, with the exception of violence that results in the death or hospitalization of another. In this report, we examine juvenile violence in the Utica and the US that results in an arrest, as well as juvenile violence that does not come to the attention of school and law enforcement personnel or get into official records. The table below lists the entire range of juvenile offenses recorded by the Utica Police Department during the last two years. Only some of these offenses can be categorized as violent in nature.

Table 19.

Violent Juvenile Offenses, Utica, NY 2003-2004

	AGG HAR: ANON PHO/TEL/MAIL ANOY
	ARSON-4TH: RECKLESSLY DAMAGE
	ARSON 5TH
X	ASSAULT-3RD
X	ASSAULT 2ND - W/INT TO CAUSE PHYSICAL INJ W/WEAPON
X	ASSAULT 3RD RECKLESSLY CAUSES PHYSICAL INJURY
	ASSAULT 3RD WITH INTENT TO CAUSE PHYSICAL INJURY
	ATTEMPT TO COMMIT A CRIME
	BURGLARY-2ND
	CPSP-5TH
	CRIM POSS CONTRL SUBST - 7TH
	CRIM POSS NARCO DRUG-4TH
	CRIM POSS NARCO DRUG INT/SELL
	CRIM POSS WEAP-4TH: NOT CITIZEN
	CRIMINAL MISCHIEF-3RD
	CRIMINAL MISCHIEF:RECKLESS DAMAGE-PROPRTY 4TH
	CRIMINAL MISCHIEF:RECKLESS PROPERTY DAM> $250 4TH
	CRIMINAL MISCHIEF:RECKLESS PROPERTY/DAM>$1500 2ND
	CRIMINAL TRESPASS-2ND
	CRIMINAL TRESPASS-3RD
	CSCS-4TH:NARCOTIC PREPARATION
	GRAND LARCENY- 4TH CREDIT CARD
	GRAND LARCENY-2ND:EXTORTION-PHYSICAL INJ
	GRAND LARCENY - 4TH VALUE > $1000
X	MENACING-2ND:WEAPON
X	MENACING 3rd
	OBSTRUCT GOVERNMENTAL ADMINIS
	PETIT LARCENY
X	POSS SEXUAL PERFORM BY CHILD
	POSSESSION OF A DANGEROUS WEAPON
	RECKLESS ENDANGERMENT-2ND
	RECKLESS ENDANGERMENT PROPERTY
	RESISTING ARREST
X	ROBBERY-1ST:FORCE THEFT/DEADLY WEAPON
X	ROBBERY-1ST:USE DANGER INSTRMT
X	ROBBERY-2ND:PHYSICAL INJURY/DISPLAY FIREARM
X	ROBBERY-3RD
X	SEX MISCONDUCT:INTERCOURSE W/O CONSENT-FEMALE
	TRESPASS
	UNAUTHORIZED USE VEHICLE:W/O OWNER CONSENT
	UNLAW POSS MARIHUANA
	UNLAW POSSESS NOXIOUS MATTER
	UNSPECIFIED VIOL OF FAMILY COURT ACT

In general, both adult and youth (under age 18) violent crime rates have dropped in the last decade for all categories of crime: including murder, rape, assault, robbery, and sex offenses. Rates for some of these categories of crimes have dropped dramatically, for example the murder rate (per 100,000 population) for youth has plummeted to less than a third of its 1993 level (from 6.2 in 1993 to 1.9 in 2001) and the robbery rate for this age group dropped to less than half its 1993 level: from 80/100,000 to 42.7/100,000 in 2001. Overall there was a rather dramatic drop in violent crime for both adults and youth during this time period, as the chart below illustrates.



SOURCE: Uniform Crime Report, 2002, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Victimization data, a better indicator of actual levels of violence and crime because it captures the large volume of crime that goes unreported reinforces the validity of the trend indicated by arrest data. National Crime Victimization Survey data from the Bureau of Justice Statistics shows that…

> Dramatic declines have been observed in both serious violent crime victimization of youth and offending (perpetration) by youth. After peaking in 1993, serious violent crime victimization rates dropped 74 percent: from 44 crimes per 1,000 youth ages 12 to 17 in 1993 to 11 crimes in 2002 . Likewise, since 1993,serious violent crime offending rates dropped 78 percent: from 52 crimes per 1,000 youthin 1993 to 11 crimes in 2002.
>
> In 2002, the race of youth did not affect their likelihood of being victimized. This represents a change in victimization patterns since 1993, when Black youth were more likely to be the victims of serious violent crimes than were White youth. In 1993, the serious crime victimization rate for Black youth was 72 crimes per 1,000 compared to 40 crimes per 1,000 White youth. By 2002, Black youth were as likely to be the victims of serious violent crime as were White youth. The 2002

serious crime victimization rate for Black youth was 17 crimes per 1,000 versus 10 crimes per 1,000 White youth.

According to 2002 victims' reports, 17 percent of all serious violent crimes involved a juvenile offender. Victims' reports from 2002 also indicate that more than one offender was involved in 57 percent of all the serious violent crimes involving youth offenders.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics. National Crime Victimization Survey. Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reporting Program, Supplementary Homicide Reports. (as cited in America's Children in Brief: Key National Indicators of Well-Being, 2004)

Juvenile arrests for violent offenses in Utica, NY

A quarter (26%) of the 216 juvenile arrests where the sex of the youth was recorded in Utica in 2003-2004 were "violence-related" (possession of a dangerous weapon (10 arrests), menacing, 2nd and 3rd degree (9 arrests) and resisting arrest (6 arrests) were included with assault, robbery, and other violent offenses in this category).

Males committed 45 and females committed 11 of these violent-related offenses. Approximately one of five female arrests was for a violent-related offense, while more that one in four offenses committed by males was violent or violence-related as the table below indicates.

Table 20. UPD Juvenile Arrests, 2003 and 2004

Offense	Female	Male	Total
Non-Violent	45	115	160
Violence-Related	11	45	56
Total	56	160	216

Offense	Female	Male	
% Non-Violent	80.4%	71.9%	74.1%
% Violence-Related	19.6%	28.1%	25.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Youth gangs and youth violence and crime

What is a "gang"? Problems with definitions

Part of the human experience is the formation of groups or collectives. Group activity is essential to maintaining the well-being and homogeneity of the members involved (Eggendorf, 2001; Horowitz, 1990; Parsons, 1951). Collectives, when formed in an urban setting with minorities' members forming the majority consensus, are often referred to as "gangs" (Thornberry et al., 2003). This term creates difficulties for interested parties that are looking for measures to describe, assess and deal with these collectives because definitions of the term "gang" are grounds for highly politicized arguments and diverse self-interests (Horowitz, 1990; Grennan et al., 2000).

There is little, if any, consensus on the types and definitional parameters of 'gang' (Horowitz, 1990; Grennan et al. 2000). Horowitz (1990) and Grennan et al., (2000) offer two explanations for the ineffectiveness of a firm definition: 1.) every group (police, media, community, and social scientists has their own interests and assumptions and there is little room for agreement, and 2.) definitions have a tendency to steer research in a particular direction which allows for limitations on topics under study and the kinds of questions asked. Room must be made for new conceptions that refocus our questions and lead to new understandings. Research constrained by particular definitions of the "gang" has limitations that impede our knowledge (Horowitz, 1990; Grennan et al., 2000; Schatzberg and Kelly, 1996).

Cohen (1990) defines gangs as collectivities in which there are: "those actors to which individual human beings or 'natural persons' are related as 'members'; the members are seen to 'belong to' the collectivities" (Cohen, 1990: 9). The most important fact is that they are actors, which are seen as doing things including things of a criminal and deviant nature (Cohen, 1990). Criminologists, as well as ordinary people, are usually thinking about this type of collective when using the term "gang". Refinements of this general definition include elements that address the level at which this social group is functioning, e.g. its organizational structure, hierarchy, leadership, territoriality, and its propensity to engage in disruptive, antisocial, or criminal behavior (Cohen, 1990).

Miller (1974), through a survey of over 100 criminal justice and youth services agencies, reviewed their respective definitions of what constituted a gang and found consensus on six key elements: 1) organization; 2) identifiable leadership; 3) territorial boundaries; 4) association continuity; 5) definitive purpose; and 6) participation in activities of an illegal nature (Miller, 1974). Even with these six elements criminologists and the public cannot arrive at a point where there is an agreement on a general theory of gangs or a consensus of recommended policies that are practical for prevention or control of gangs (Huff, 1990).

A problem with stereotypical conceptions of the term "gang" is that it is almost always in reference to racial and ethnic minority groups and denotes a negative racial distinction (Vigil and Long, 1990; Thornberry et al., 2003). The term "gang" is usually not applied when the public refers to white youths in suburban or rural settings who may engage in the same types of activities as their urban, minority counterparts (Klein, 1995; Landre et al., 1997; Schatzberg and Kelly, 1996; Thornberry et al., 2003). Because we lack a clear, consistent definition, public

officials may not respond effectively to the problems associated with deviant and criminal peer groups, and the community may think that they do not know what is going on within it (Grennan et al., 2000). This in turn may create the atmosphere where those in public positions either deny that there is any gang problem at all, or overstate the presence of one (Huff, 1990).

The predominant strategy for addressing the gang problem in our larger cities centers on intervention and control efforts using law enforcement. This strategy can have an adverse effect and instead of halting the growth of these collectives, can contribute to their proliferation and cohesion (Klein, 1995; Thornberry, et al. 2003). Such policy measures stem from two general approaches to understanding the causes and correlates of gangs and gang formation: The first is an "individual responsibility" position favored by conservatives and the second is a "social injustice", or structural position favored by liberals (Miller, 1990). The first position places blame for the youth gang problem on the personal failings of the members of the gangs, their families, and their communities as related to a general decline in the public morality; the second blames gang problems on discriminating and exploitative policies by the larger society that fosters inequality, race discrimination, and blocked opportunities (Miller, 1990: 272).

Gangs in America: A historical perspective

There is a general misconception that the "gang" problem in American cities is something new. The reality is that it is many of criminology's "new issues" that are merely just "new urgencies" to old issues (Short, 1990). Gangs have been a part of the American culture for over two hundred years and can be traced back to the immigration patterns that helped to form the diverse populations that comprise the United States.

Gang history can be traced to the middle part of the 19th century where bands of gunslingers robbed and terrorized towns in the frontier of the Wild West (Grennan et al., 2000; Sachs, 1997; Schatzberg and Kelly, 1996). Collectives such as these have been in existence in one form or another since the 18th century, even prior to westward expansion (Gurr, 1989). Immigrants that were new in America including the Irish, Italians, Chinese, Jewish, etc., all formed collectives and some of these collectives, like the Chinese Tongs and the Triads, as well as the Sicilian *La Costra Nostra*, were carryovers from their homeland (Grennan et al., 2000).

The racial and ethnic homogeneity of these social groups is strongly linked to their position in the U.S. economic structure: when they first arrived these racial and ethnic groups were at the bottom rung of the social ladder. They organized as a means of achieving group or individual status, to provide an outlet for physical activities, and to achieve economic gains (Grennan et al., 2000). Many of the juvenile collectives organized in the late 19th and early 20th century reflected the definitions of their times and called themselves play groups, athletic clubs, social clubs, secret clubs, and adolescent groups. It was the influence from adult collectives over time by which these groups evolved into the criminal subcultures that signify the gangs of today (Goldstein, 1991: 8). With the passage of the Volsted Act in 1919 after World War One, the bootlegging gangs turned the American landscape of the larger cities such as Chicago and New York, into a battlefield over the control of the profits that could be gained from the selling of illegal intoxicants. The Italian crime families were established during this period and became known to the American public as the *Mafia* or the Mob. Many juvenile collectives worked for

their adult counterparts hoping to gain attention and become part of the more powerful crime family.

These organized crime syndicates expanded their "business" activities into prostitution, gambling, drug dealing, protection, and other activities that brought money into the coffers of the organizations and operated in cities throughout the United States, including Utica, NY. Violence was used to instill terror and obedience into members and those who resisted them in their communities (Grennan et al., 2000; Schatzberg and Kelly, 1996).

Contemporary gangs

The most prolific gang in the U.S. today is the CRIPs. This acronym (according to some) stands for "Continuing Revolution In Progress" and was fashioned in the late 1960s after the Black Panther Party (BPP) by a youth named Raymond Washington, after he was told he was too young to join the BPP (Henderson, 1997; Schatzberg and Kelly, 1996; Grennan et al., 2000; Landre et al., 1997; Shakur, 1993). The CRIPs were originally involved in social programs designed to help and empower their community. However, this changed as the Black Panther Party became enmeshed in criminal activities that alienated them from the support of the black community and many of the leaders were either killed or imprisoned. Emulating what they saw being done by the BPP, the CRIPs turned to criminal activities including drug-dealing and strong-arm robberies of adults and adolescents in their area. As a counter-measure for their own protection, a group of neighboring youths and adolescents formed a new collective, which became known as the Bloods.

The Black Guerilla Family was also established during the turbulent 1960s, formed by members of the BPP while in prison (Henderson, 1997; Grennan et al., 2000). Also, Latino and Hispanic collectives that may have an affiliation with either one of these two collectives or may be operating independently in their own neighborhoods referred to as *barrios* emerged around this time. These collectives are known as the Mexican Mafia, La Nuestra Familia, The Texas Syndicate, the Border Brothers, and Sidicato Nueva Mexico (SNM) (Grennan et al., 2000). One also cannot overlook the deadly and highly organized Columbian Cartels that have control of the cocaine business to this day. By the late 1970s, gang activity became prevalent in big cities and towns in California and the Southwest.

In the Midwest, the spread of gangs from the urban enclave to the surrounding suburbs happened at a rather alarming rate. Criminologists and law enforcement officials started to see gangs and gang activity north of Chicago with the expansion of gangs such as the Black Gangsters Disciples, The Vice-Lords, The Blackstone Rangers which later became the El Rukns P (Peace) Stone Nation, the Devil's Disciples, the FOLK (Follow Our Loving King) Nation, the Almighty Latin Kings, and in Detroit with the emergence of the supergang, Young Boys Incorporated (YBI) (Henderson, 1997; Grennan et al., 2000; Schatzberg and Kelly, 1996).

Many of these gangs spread throughout the U.S. and some are no longer in existence. There may be local chapters of at least one of these collectives in many moderate-sized cities and some rural communities, as well as in the larger metropolises. These "supergangs" emulate and fashion themselves after the model of organized crime families who became the targets for local metropolitan crime fighters and the FBI, and were made famous by films such as *The Godfather*

Saga, and *Goodfellas* (Shakur, 1993; Henderson, 1997; Grennan et al., 2000; Miller, 1975). Other films emulated by the modern and highly expansionist-corporatist drug-dealing gangsters are *The King of New York, Scarface*, and *New Jack City*.

White supremacists youth collectives that hold allegiance to organizations such as the Knights of the Klu Klux Klan and The Aryan Nation and Brotherhood are also part of the history of gangs in America. There are also motorcycle gangs that have white supremacist leanings and rhetoric (Grennan et al., 2000). These types of collectives need to be distinguished from street gangs and others that operate in the urban areas because they are not confined to specific geographic areas, and do not fit the popular model of a street gang (Klein, 1990).

Gang types/categories

Taylor (1990) has defined essentially three-types of social groups that can be characterized as gangs and it is not uncommon to find that these gang-types evolve from one to another (Taylor, 1990; Grennan et al., 2000). The most harmless of these gang types are called scavenger. Scavenger gangs are transitional collectives of loosely organized youths with no real leader, who participate in acts of property destruction and disorderly conduct just for something to do. They have no common bond beyond the willingness to behave compulsively and their need to belong (Taylor, 1990; Grennan et al., 2000).

Scavenger groups can evolve into territorial gangs when one of the members takes on a leadership role and designates a geographical area and/or business as something that belongs exclusively to the collective and is worth defending with violence if necessary. When collectives evolve to this stage, they develop an unwritten code for their home turf or territory. This territorial law can- and often does- become more respected and feared by the inhabitants that reside within the neighborhoods in this territory than the legal law. To defend their interests from intrusion by outsiders and enforce their code within the neighborhoods they control, the territorial gang will employ violent means where innocent bystanders and non-gang members can be injured and killed (Taylor, 1990; Grennan et al., 2000).

With the establishment of a lucrative business such as drug and gun trafficking, a territorial collective can evolve into the most sophisticated of all these collectives: organized or corporate. A strong leader runs this type of collective and the main focus is on making money for the organization. Mobility within the organization is based on an individual's merit and loyality to the collective and this type of gang is run with military efficiency and discipline. Violence is used to further the business and to keep members and others who get in the way of their objectives in compliance. This type of collective will not hesitate to commit murder, arson, and whatever is seen as necessary to get their point across to those who oppose them. The biggest problem with a collective such as this is that it attracts members from all walks of life and socioeconomic backgrounds because of the vast amounts of money and power that it is capable of providing (Taylor, 1990; Grennan et al., 2000).

> *The highest rates of delinquency and violence [for youth in Rochester, NY] are exhibited during periods of active gang membership…Put simply, when gang members join gangs their behavior worsens; when they leave gangs, their behavior improves.*
>
> *Thornberry et al. 2003, pp. 108, 109.*

Developmental pathways to gang involvement
Longitudinal studies funded by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention followed gang and non-gang members in three emergent "gang cities" (Rochester, NY; Denver and Pittsburgh) found that there are three the onset and development of delinquency (Thornberry, Huizinga, and Loeber, 2004). These topics are: 1) childhood aggression, 2) developmental pathways to delinquency, and 3) the overlapping of problem behaviors.

The developmental pathways topic is the most interesting because research proved that childhood aggression is usually limited to early childhood, but if continued, can escalate as the person ages. Such childhood aggression is the precursor to more serious and violent behavior later in life (Thornberry et al., 2003; Thornberry, Huizinga, and Loeber, 2004). Developmental pathways refer to the different trajectories of life and development. Often, deviant behavior early in life may set the youth on developmental pathways that lead further into criminal, rather than legitimate behavior. Thornberry et al. found that gang membership in particular had a powerful effect leading youths into illegitimate or deviant developmental pathways that often prevent them from reentering the mainstream. It was found that gang membership and its correlative behavior often forces youths to adopt adult roles very early, so they close off many legitimate developmental pathways open to other youths not involved in gang. For example, early pregnancy or dropping out of school sends youths on pathways that intersect legitimate opportunities far less often than pathways of normatively developed youths (Thornberry et al., 2003).

I had, while in primary school, been victimized by cats during their ascent to "king of their school". My milk money was taken. My lips were busted two or three times. Not because I decided to defend my honor, but because my assailant simply whacked me… It was during my time in elementary school that I chose to never be a victim again if I could help it. There was no gray area, no middle ground. You banged or held strong association with a gang, or else you were a victim, period.

Kody Scott in *Monster: The Autobiography of and L.A. Gang Member*, p. 100 [Kody was initiated into a Crip set at 11 years old by shooting eight rounds from a sawed-off shotgun at a group of Bloods.]

Thornberry, Huizinga, and Loeber's initial research findings comparing single and multiple pathways provided a model that supported their theory of three distinct developmental pathways: 1) The "Authority Conflict Pathway" which begins with stubborn behavior prior to age twelve, then progresses to defiance and later avoidance of authority; 2) the "Covert Pathway", which begins with minor covert acts prior to age fifteen and progresses damaging of property and later to moderate and serious acts of delinquency; and 3) the "Overt Pathway" which begins with minor aggression and then escalates to physical fighting and later to more severe violence, this has no minimum age association (Thornberry, Huizinga, and Loeber, 2004). These results were replicated in three cities amongst African Americans and Caucasian youth and adolescents that had an emergent gang problem.

Current research indicates that many delinquent youth, especially those committing more serious offenses, evolved into problem behaviors through multiple pathways and experienced difficulties in more than one area of their lives (Thornberry et al., 2003; Thornberry, Huizinga, and Loeber, 2004). These difficulties are related to their class position, their neighborhood context, their family structure and dynamics, their relationship to learning and school and their association with deviant peers. They often result in severed ties with legitimate pathways to healthy development early in life, as delinquent pathways can either cut off relationships with legitimate social/familial/ institutional contacts, or they have trajectories that rarely intersect with the so-called legitimate, or mainstream pathways

Gangs in Upstate NY

There are elements of CRIPS and Bloods in the Hudson Valley and in Upstate New York urban centers. The Capital District has a gang problem so pervasive that the city officials created a special task force to address it. There are also elements of Latin Kings activity and some Asian gang influences in the Capital District. There is evidence that these collectives are here in Utica, NY including data from the interviews we conducted with youth in Utica, survey data from students in Donovan and JFK Middle Schools and Proctor High School collected in February 2005, and local graffiti and gang hand signs used by some local adolescents. At this point in time it is still difficult to determine with certainty the origins of gang culture, the level of organization of local gangs, and the extent to which these collectives have proliferated in Central NY including in Utica. Gang crime has been reported in local press accounts in recent years in Syracuse and Binghamton, a city of similar demographics and size when compared to Utica. Recently, the *Press and Sun Bulletin* of Binghamton (Nogas 2003) reported that there are at least 300 known gang members in Broome County with most residing urban areas of the county (Nogas, 2003). There is anecdotal evidence that some New York City and downstate families send their children to live with relatives so they can attend upstate schools thinking that it is safer here; yet they are unaware that many of their own children bring the gang culture with them when they come to these areas. Youth who are incarcerated in juvenile and adult detention facilities are exposed to gang culture while they are detained and can bring this culture back to their community of origin when released (Thornberry et al., 2003).

"Gangs" in Utica, NY?

Based on our literature review and the data we collected for this research project we argue that Utica, NY has an emerging gang problem. Taylor's (1990) theory of gang evolution describes three gang types and the process by which gangs evolve from: 1) scavenger; 2) territorial; and 3) corporate. The collectives we found in Utica would be considered scavenger gangs which show indications of developing into territorial type of gang. There is evidence that these gangs have been influenced by national gangs with well-known names including the CRIPs, Bloods, and Latin Kings and Queens. We did not find evidence of any Asian gang formation, or gang formation by newly arrived ethnic groups from Bosnia, but the time limitations imposed on our research and the limitations of our research design may account for this. This is an area for further research, as immigration may be an indicator for the formation of gang-type collectives: gang membership may serve as an adjustment to life in a foreign place for some immigrants (Gurr, 1998; Grennan et al, 2000).

Findings

Twenty-seven out of the forty-five youths interviewed (62.2%) reported gang activity in their neighborhoods. Most of the activities that they reported seeing were fighting and dealing drugs:

What types of activities do you see or hear about these gangs doing?

- "Shooting, fighting, and selling drugs."
- "Always fighting, selling drugs, and killing other people."
- "Fighting, jumping people, killing, stealing, and selling drugs."

Over half of the respondents (60%) reported that gangs operated in their schools. The most common responses when asked what these gangs did were: fight, jump people, and deal drugs. These responses are virtually the same given for gang behavior in neighborhoods, suggesting that the same gangs extend and have influence from neighborhoods to schools:

What types of things do the gangs in your school do?

- "Deal drugs and fighting."
- "Talk junk about people and start fights, write on the school walls."
- "Just fight."
- "Just go around beating people up and writing their graffiti on the bathroom walls. There was a fight in school today that was gang-related."

Eight of the forty-five youth interviewed reported currently belonging to (7) or recently having belonged or to a gang (1). Of these eight, there was equal gender representation, consistent with evidence in the literature that males and females join such collectives in nearly equal numbers (Campbell, 1990; Chesney-Lind and Hagedorn, 1999; Thornberry et al., 2003). Of the eight reported gang members, five were African-American, two of mixed lineage, and one was Caucasian. The neighborhoods that the children who reported of their involvement with gangs were: Cornhill (5), and one each in East, West, and South Utica.

The main reasons indicated for having joined a gain were: for fun and protection, and/or because a family member or friend was already affiliated:

- "I joined for fun and protection."
- "I started dating someone who was in the gang and in order to be with him, I had to join the gang too."
- "For fun, for protection, a friend was in the gang."
- "Some of my friends and family were in the gang so I joined too."
- "I joined for fun and because my brother was already in it."

The names of the gangs that gang-involved respondents said they were involved in included CRIPs, DONZ (a mixture of CRIP and Bloods), East Side Thugs (EST), BOB, (female youth said she couldn't remember what it stood for), GGFL (Ghetto Gurlz For Life), and MOB (Money Over Bitches). Other names of Utica-based gangs mentioned by youth in our interviews or by other key informants are Bloods, NLC (No Limit Chix), and Stack-a-Mill.

Though some criminal behavior reported was attributed to respondents' gang involvement, not all of these collectives had criminal underpinnings. This finding contrasts with previous research (Miller, 1974; Cohen, 1990; Venkatesh, 1997) proposing that these collectives are formed primarily for criminal purposes. However, our research did concur with other theories hypothesizing that membership in these collectives is often transitional, experienced during adolescence and/or other dynamic life stages (Grennan et al., 2000; Horowitz, 1990; Thornberry et al., 2003).

When respondents were asked what types of things their gang did, fighting and providing protection for other gang members were the most frequently reported behaviors: Five out of eight respondents reporting fighting with other gangs and seven out of the eight reported providing protection for one another. Stealing things, destroying property, and drug sales were also reported by these youths:

What kinds of things does your gang do?

- Get into fights with other gangs; provide protection for each other; steal things; rob other people; damage or destroy property; and use weapons.

- Fight with other gangs; protect each other; stole things; steal cars; sell marijuana and other illegal drugs; damaged and destroyed property; and used weapons.

Most of these gang-involved youth stated that they could join their gang before the age of 13; that there were rites of initiation (most of the male members that had to fight or be "jumped in"); that leaders were clearly established; and that there were colors or symbols worn or used. Areas reported by self-described gang members as being under their control were Cornhill and East Utica.

Regarding gang size and composition, the largest number of members reported was "about seventy-five members" with one female respondent answering that there were too many members in her organization to count but she knew of at least twenty of the members being female. Another gang-involved youth reported that there were twenty-five to thirty members in his gang; another reported that about fifty members belonged to his group. The smallest group size reported was seven to eight members.

Using data gathered from the Utica Safe Schools/Healthy Students (SS/HS) survey of Utica residents in 7th, 9th, and 11th grade, 327 (27.9%) of 1173 respondents indicated "yes" when asked if there were gangs that fight with each other in their neighborhood. Also, 30.6% of the respondents indicated "yes" when asked if there are kids in their neighborhood who want to join gangs. Affirmative responses to gang presence are heavily skewed towards certain neighborhoods, particularly in Cornhill and parts of East and West Utica.

Table 21. Indicators of gang presence by neighborhood

Percent answering "Yes" about neighborhood:	North	South	Cornhill	East-W/N	East-E/S	West-E	West-C	West-W
Q7-7h Kids wanting to join gangs.	14.9	16.3	47.4	44.8	20.9	31.1	39.2	19.2
Q7-7i Gangs fighting with one another.	9.5	10.1	49.1	46.5	18.2	17.4	35.3	19.2

SOURCE: Utica Safe Schools/Healthy Students-Social Science Assoc. survey of 7th, 7th, & 11th graders, Feb. 2005

There is discrepancy between the gang information provided by teens who were surveyed and interviewed and that provided by parents in in-depth interviews. Many parents reported no gang activities in their neighborhood, citing lack of evidence, while youth survey and interview results clearly indicate the presence of gang activities in Utica's neighborhoods and schools. Many parents interviewed stated that they have not seen enough evidence to say whether or not there is any gang activity in their neighborhoods. Some reported that they heard from others but have not seen enough firsthand to convince them that the groups of kids they see hanging out are any more than just teenage cliques. Many of the youth we interviewed spoke of specific gangs by name and cited behaviors identified with gangs including "shooting, fighting, and selling drugs" and "fighting, jumping people, killing, stealing, and selling drugs". Reasons for this discrepancy may be due to poor communication between youths and parents, differential opportunities for witnessing or hearing of such behavior, or a different understanding of the word "gang".

Table 22. Gang Activity in Neighborhood

	Yes	No	Don't Know
Parents	12.2%	43.9%	43.9%
Youths	62.2%	22.2%	15.5%

Source: UJJ Project in-depth resident interviews

During a youth focus group we conducted in April 2005, many of the teens agreed that there are gangs in their school and in certain neighborhoods of Utica. One interesting fact that emerged from this focus group was that Bosnian teens, rather that forming their own gangs, are joining gangs such as the CRIPs and Bloods. Bosnian teens in the focus group reported that some of their friends are affiliated with these factions in East Utica and that they are a mixed-ethnicity group. Several of the teens in this focus group were asked by gang members to join their gang but they turned them down. One girl reported:

> "I had a friend that was in the NLC (No Limit Chix) and she asked me did I want to hook up with them. I told her no. We remained friends but our friendship had changed because she was doing her thing with them and I was just being me."

None of the focus group members had any gang affiliation, although one of the males stated that the CRIPs and Bloods always ask him to join because of his hand skills, but he stated that he would just rather play basketball and chill. When asked about turf issues, the youths did not know of these gangs controlling any specific territory.

Our focus group participants only knew of one all-female gang, the No Limit Chix, (NLC) and they told us that most gangs in Utica really were not that big, maybe only having fifteen to sixteen members. Outside in the neighborhoods they had no idea how big the gangs really were because members come and go for one reason or another. They all agreed that these gangs were into doing negative things that were often criminal. The focus group participants theorized that the reason that many of their schoolmates join gangs is because they are looking for a place to fit in and be accepted. They may not be getting this type of acceptance at home, so they join up with a group that acts to fill these voids. They also stated that many teens join up for protection and safety so as not to be harassed by others. They felt that things needed to be done to get kids that have been involved in gang-related violence to do something more positive. They thought that the first step was to first get them away from gangs and show them something different. As to how to accomplish this, they could not propose any specific approach.

Discussion of "gangs" in Utica

This research is the first formal and systematic effort to collect data on youth gangs and youth gang activity in Utica, NY. We found strong evidence, from surveys, in-depth interviews with gang-involved and other at risk youth, and from key informants living in neighborhoods with a youth gang presence that there are indeed youth "gangs" in Utica. The collectives we identified have most of the features of a social group that warrants the label of "gang": initiation rites, colors, hand signs, a distinct group identity with a name, social and recreational activities than include violent and criminal behavior, and inter-gang conflict. However, we found no evidence that these collectives or gangs were well-developed criminal enterprises that had reached the territorial stage of development (at which they would control blocks, corners in the city) or the corporate stage of development.

None of the youth we interviewed spoke of a charismatic gang leader- an element that could hasten the organizational development of the youth scavenger gangs we identified. We conclude that Utica, NY is an "emerging" gang city: if all else remains the same, youth gangs will continue to evolve in organizational structure and size. If charismatic local youth gang leaders emerge or enter the community after a stint in prison or jail, or in a youth detention facility- or move here from another community- one or more youth gangs could begin to claim, use, and defend with violence certain neighborhoods in the city while they develop a stronger economic base for their activities. Whether or not this happens is largely up to us as a community.

Why did you join a gang?
I joined for fun and protection.

Summary and discussion of select key findings

Utica is the home of the Refugee Center of the Mohawk Valley, which has resettled over 10,000 refugees in the past fifteen years. Today, youth in Utica speak over thirty different languages, and Utica has African American and Hispanic populations that are growing at a faster rate than the majority white population. We found that a substantial number of Utica youth report victimization (assaulted, threatened, harassed) related to their race, national origin, perceived or real sexual identity, and perceived gender identity. These facts suggest that we need to do more as a community to understand and embrace diversity in positive pro-social ways. Cultural awareness and cultural competency education and training should be integrated into all community institutions: our schools, human service agencies, city and county departments, healthcare organizations.

As a result of the efforts of many individuals and groups over the past twenty years, several youth social and recreational resources have been developed to serve Cornhill, Utica's poorest section of the city (East of Genesee St.). However, changes in the local economy after the de-industrialization of Utica have contributed to the degradation of working class housing stock, shifts in population, increased poverty and social disorganization in many West Utica neighborhoods (see table on page 21 of this report: Neighborhood-level indicators of collective efficacy and social disorganization, Utica, NY), but there are currently very few resources for youth and families on the West side of our city. The recent departure of the West Side Boys and Girls Club after school program leaves only Donovan and Kernan after school programs operating limited weekday hours in West Utica. Youth throughout the city need more safe, monitored social and recreational opportunities: West Utica youth in particular are underserved.

While supporting effective parenting and healthy family relationships should be central to youth violence intervention efforts, it is important to remember that families do not exist in isolation. Even the healthiest family will struggle in an environment of disadvantage, poverty, and social disorganization (Anderson, 1999). Comprehensive interventions must address the social isolation of parents and environmental stressors that may impede effective parenting (Tolan and McKay, 1996). Programs that support pregnant and parenting young mothers – and that facilitate father involvement are important. When they exist, e.g. the Oneida County Healthy Families Program supported with NYS Department of Health funding, Cosmopolitan Center's Fatherhood Program, they deserve our support and we should do what we can to expand their reach to families with unmet needs.

While strong family attachment protects youth against gang involvement (Li, et al., 2002), it is also true that gangs thrive in neighborhoods that lack effective social institutions. To be successful over the long-term, efforts to address youth violence and delinquency must include remedies that promote neighborhood stabilization and economic development as well as family preservation (Hagedorn, 1991). Initiatives and programs that facilitate the development of collective efficacy and neighborhood social cohesion in neighborhoods where there are strong indications of violence and gang activity should be supported where they exist (e.g. Utica Weed and Seed law enforcement and community development initiatives) and developed where they don't exist or lack the capacity to empower neighborhood residents and ensure public safety.

Developing a Comprehensive Plan to reduce youth violence and crime in Utica, NY.

Short (1990) argues that no matter how successful our efforts are to punish, rehabilitate, and control delinquents and delinquency, unless the forces and processes that produce delinquent behavior are changed, we will continue to deal with delinquency and delinquent youth. Keeping this point in mind, it is equally important that-- no matter what policies and programs that we are trying to implement, whether designed for prevention, deterrence, or control, they must be based on sound theoretical principles and be collaborative efforts involving the entire community, including youth (Short, 1990: 224; Prothrow-Stith and Spivak, 2004).

A comprehensive plan to reduce youth violence and crime should be just that: a *comprehensive* plan. A theoretically sound comprehensive plan begins with a shared understanding of what drives- and what inhibits or prevents- youth violence and crime within the individual, peer, family, school, and community domains. Once this understanding has been developed and shared by key community members, planned responses or interventions should be theoretically linked to the risk and protective factors that are targeted: "prevention intervention research should be hypothesis driven, with specification of the linkages and intervening mechanisms through which interventions are expected to affect identified risk and protective factors (Mrazek and Haggerty, 1994, p. 326)". (See also Huesmann, et al., 1996.). Any planned interventions should have a sound research base, or at a minimum be supported by research that indicates that a particular approach may be effective.

"Commonsense" approaches that can harm children and youth

The importance of using the body of research on youth violence and crime when developing programs and strategies to address these social problems is underscored by the fact that a number of well-intentioned programs that appear to make perfect sense at first glance have actually increased the likelihood that youth commit violent or criminal acts. For example, kids in Scared Straight Programs who were exposed to inmates in a prison facility were more likely to be rearrested than similar kids in a control group (Elliott, et al., 1998), and some programs to promote prosocial behavior for delinquent youth (Dishon and Andrews, 1995), including a program where these youth went to summer camp together (McCord, 1997), were found to increase engagement with criminal activity. There are other examples of programs that have backfired, and unfortunately, we now live with expensive institutionalized approaches to juvenile delinquency that are contributing more to the problem than to the solution.

> There are a number of studies that indicate real caution should be used in implementing programs that bring kids together in these kinds of facilities [group homes or foster care homes]. There is strong evidence from the research for showing that no positive gains come from placing kids [with problems] together in delinquency homes, except possibly the prevention of the crimes while they were incarcerated.
>
> Comments by Joan McCord, Professor of Criminal Justice at Temple University, at a Congressional Seminar on "Youth Violence, Children at Risk, 1997.

Thornberry et al. (2003:197) after a careful review of the literature on the effectiveness of programs targeted at preventing and/or suppressing gang membership and activity, offer a discouraging conclusion: "there is no convincing evidence that any of these programs to prevent, reform, or suppress gang delinquency has been successful. … At best, some

promising programs show signs of early or modest success." At worst, gang prevention and/or suppression approaches can contribute to increased youth gang criminal activity, e.g. citing Dishion, McCord, and Poulin (1999), Thornberry et al. (2003:197) argue that their experimental design research indicates "…that peer-based interventions [with gang members] have iatrogenic effects – that is, they *increase* delinquency. Regardless of the level of adult involvement in intervention programs in which delinquent peers are brought together, the positive reinforcements for deviance provided by the peers outweigh the negative reinforcements by the adults." [italics in original]

What works to reduce youth violence and crime?
In general, addressing both risk and protective factors in the multiple domains in which children and youth live and operate (family, school, peer group, and neighborhood/community) as well as the individual risk and protective factors (e.g. anti/pro-social attitudes and beliefs) associated with youth violence are crime is essential to any comprehensive effort to effect change (Surgeon General's Report on Youth Violence, 2001).

Interventions must be developmentally appropriate…
There are multiple trajectories for youths who become involved in seriously violent and aggressive behaviors that require different interventions at different times in the lifecycles of children, youth, and their families. For some children, the patterns related to negative outcomes manifest themselves very early. It is possible to predict with great accuracy which kindergarteners or 1st grader students will be violent or aggressive by adolescence (Elliott, 1997; Flannery, 1997; Walker, Colvin, and Ramsey, 1995). This pattern applies to 6-8% of all students, and tends to continue across the life cycle. These children are often diagnosed with conduct disorder and/or anti-social personalities. They exhibit out of control behavior, related to early socialization patterns (especially parental abuse or neglect). There seems to be a small window of opportunity for treating these children and/or their families: opportunities for effective prevention and intervention diminish as these children mature (Flannery, 1997; Walker, Colvin, and Ramsey, 1995).

The most prevalent trajectory for violence and aggression begins with the onset of puberty. Violent and aggressive behavior at this stage is seen as a response to the developmental tasks of adolescence. These include new social contexts, new performance demands by peers and schools, moving into adult roles and work that require new skills, and the search for acceptance. However, a full 80% of students who exhibit violent and aggressive behavior at this age mature out of it within 1-2 years (Flannery, 1997).

And interventions must address multiple domains
Family-level approaches:
Most interventions designed to reduce youth aggression and violence are school-based, and targeted toward adolescents. Some argue that these interventions should concern themselves with precipitants of aggressive behavior at school only, because factors such as family and media violence are outside of the school's control (Keller and Tapasak, 1997). But most researchers argue that it is pointless to address students' behavior only at school, because of the demonstrated contributory effects of other factors, such as family, community, the media, etc. (see Powell, et al's (1996) review of 15 evaluation projects). For example, family interventions

are important to improve parenting skills and help reinforce school programs (Berkowitz, 1993; Christenson, Hirsch, and Hurley, 1997; Cornell, 1999; Laub and Lauritsen, 1998; Lewis, 1987). And because parents are the most stable presence in a child's life, and have the most at stake in terms of seeing the child succeed, parent training is not just desirable, but crucial to the success of any intervention program (Rolider, et al., 1990; Samples and Aber, 1998).

The evidence we presented above indicates that family dynamics are more important than family structure in determining youth behavior. While growing up in a single-parent family is associated with an increased risk of youth violence, stable single-parent families and effective parenting styles among single parents seem to outweigh the effects of family structure (Heimer, 1997; Loeber and Hay, 1997). In fact, family cohesion may be the most protective factor of all regarding violent behavior among teens (Franke, 2000). What we know at this point in time suggests that targeting parenting practices and other family dynamics should be part of any comprehensive plan to reduce youth violence and delinquency.

Two family intervention approaches, Multi-Systemic Family Therapy and Functional Family Therapy have been proven effective (Elliott et al., 1998). These approaches "help the family with the pattern of interactions between the parents and children in the family; between children, peer groups and family, and between children, school, and peer group. These are very sophisticated and complex interventions that try to deal with the cluster of contexts (i.e. family, school, peers) involved and how youth are managing the interactions in each of these contexts" (Elliott et al., 1998 p.31). Elliott also mentions that mentoring programs like those designed by Big Brothers and Big Sisters are promising, and that Botrin's Life Skills Training Programs (and others) appear to be effective for drug use prevention.

While supporting effective parenting and healthy family relationships should be central to youth violence intervention efforts, it is important to remember that families do not exist in isolation. Even the healthiest family will struggle in an environment of disadvantage, poverty, and social disorganization (Anderson, 1999). Comprehensive interventions must address the social isolation of parents and environmental stressors that may impede effective parenting (Tolan and McKay 1996). Further, while strong family attachment protects youth against gang involvement (Li, et al., 2002), it is also true that gangs thrive in neighborhoods that lack effective social institutions. To be successful over the long-term, efforts to address youth violence and delinquency must include remedies that promote neighborhood stabilization and economic development as well as family preservation (Hagedorn, 1991).

School-based approaches:
Our findings, consistent with national data, that youth commit violence acts and are victims of violence in our schools, indicates that we need to consider what we can do as a community to reduced the likelihood of violence in our schools. (Note: we do not mean to imply that violence in schools or on school grounds is the direct result of any failure or action by school administrators or other personnel. Schools are where youth come together and school-based violence is driven by many factors not related to the structure or operation of our public schools.) School-based approaches can be designed to address risk and protective factors related and not related to the functions our public schools.

Delbert Elliott (1998) one of the nation's leading scholars in the area of youth violence, cites Quantum Opportunities, "a high school graduation and work incentive program [that] has demonstrated significant reductions in arrest rates and involvement in crime" as an example of a school-based program that is very effective. The Young Scholars program at Proctor High School in Utica uses a similar approach, but with a very small number of youth. These are examples of programs that bolster protective factors (commitment to school) and reduce risk factors (academic failure) in the school domain.

School-based interventions aimed at individual students typically contain anger control training. This approach helps students learn to recognize triggers of aggressive behavior by examining external events, the student's physiological responses to these events (such as sweating, changes in breathing or heart rate), and the student's interpretations of these events (Baron, 1983; Goldstein and Glick, 1987; Keller and Tapasak, 1997; Walker, Colvin, and Ramsey, 1995). Students are taught to reduce arousal and agitation through relaxation techniques (such as deep breathing), and to replace the aggressive response with a more socially appropriate one (Berkowitz, 1993). Students learn these appropriate responses by modeling and role-playing. They have the opportunity to practice new behaviors, and learn strategies for defusing anger (such as walking away, taking a time out, etc. (Bandura, 1973; Goldstein, et al, 1981; Goldstein and Glick, 1987; and Madden, 1987).

These approaches to behavior modification also focus on improving students' communication skills. Students learn to verbalize their feelings (Lewis, 1987; Walker, Colvin, and Ramsey, 1995), which helps them develop positive social skills for interacting with peers (Kelder, et al., 1996). Peer mediation is also typically an important component of these interventions.

Initiating changes in students' value systems is also a central part of youth aggression reduction programs. These components of the program attempt to advance the moral reasoning of students, and to help them learn to respond to the world prosocially (Goldstein and Glick, 1987). Facilitators attempt to provide reinforcement and a rationale for the new values being taught. For example, the program may redefine anger and aggression as sources of shame, rather than sources of pride. Pride comes from exercising self-control and avoiding an angry, aggressive response (Bandura, 1973). Facilitators provide students with the praise and reinforcement for changes in behavior, and emphasize the rewards for non-aggressive behavior in the real world (Goldstein and Glick, 1987; Wong, Slama, and Liberman, 1987; Walker, Colvin, and Ramsey, 1995).

Spirituality has even come to be a central component of some intervention programs. Garbarino (1999) argues that youth need spiritual anchors, people who care about them and can help them develop "resilience" (recover from abuse, cope with stress, etc.). Spirituality, with its reliance on a higher power, helps people cope with things outside their realm of control. It emphasizes forgiveness, self-control, and reaching out to others, all of which could have positive implications for reducing violence and aggression (Meyer and Lausell, 1996).

Researchers have linked a lack of social problem-solving skills to youth violence (Pepler and Slaby, 1994; Baranowski, et al., 1997). When children and adolescents are faced with social situations for which they are unprepared emotionally and cognitively, they may respond with

aggression or violence. Many assert that we can improve children's ability to avoid violent situations and solve problems nonviolently by enhancing their social relationships with peers, teaching them how to interpret behavioral cues, and improving their conflict-resolution skills (Nadel, et al., 1996).

Social cognitive interventions strive to equip children with the skills they need to deal effectively with difficult social situations, such as being teased or being the last one picked to join a team. They build on Bandura's social-cognitive theory, which posits that children learn social skills by observing and interacting with parents, adult relatives and friends, teachers, peers, and others in the environment, including media role models (Bandura, 1986). Social-cognitive interventions incorporate didactic teaching, modeling, and role-playing to enhance positive social interactions, teach nonviolent methods for resolving conflict, and establish or strengthen nonviolent beliefs in young people.

Social-cognitive interventions cannot succeed in a vacuum. The surrounding community must be engaged in violence prevention activities that support the school-based effort. If a school or community wants to prevent aggressive behavior before it starts or wants to improve the overall attitude toward violence, a social-cognitive intervention that's aimed at all students is one possible strategy. Research has shown that between ages 6 and 12, children's beliefs about aggression and their tendencies to attribute hostile intent to other's actions are developing rapidly (Aber, et al., 1996). The PATHS (Promoting Alternative Thinking Strategies) Curriculum was developed to help students in kindergarten through fifth grade develop essential skills in emotional literacy, positive peer relations, and problem solving. Teachers blend intervention materials with the regular curriculum, and activities are conducted both in and out of the classroom. Parents are also given materials for use at home to help students generalize the lessons learned in class.

Aggressive youth tend to have trouble with impulse control, problem solving, anger management, assertiveness, and empathy. Social-cognitive interventions are designed to improve interpersonal and problem-solving skills so these children will be less likely to resort to aggression or to become the target of violence and better able to negotiate mutually beneficial solutions (Slaby, et al., 1995).

High-risk youth should participate in interventions that use multiple components – for instance, academic enhancement and relationship building with both peers and adults. A broad intensive intervention is needed to prevent violence by children with chronic aggressive behavior (Orpinas, et al., 1996; Lochman, et al., 1993).

Responding in Peaceful and Positive Ways (RIPP) is a sixth-grade curriculum that was designed for students with high rates of suspension, low grade-point averages, absenteeism problems, and a history of violent behavior. All 25 50-minute sessions are implemented by specialists trained in conflict resolution and combine behavioral repetition and mental rehearsal, experiential learning activities, and didactic learning opportunities. Early lessons focus on team building and expanding students' knowledge about nonviolence; later sessions focus on skill building and critical analysis. The skills taught in the sixth grade are reinforced by a school-wide peer-mediation intervention and by seventh- and eighth-grade curricula implemented by teachers

(Meyer and Farrell, 1998).

Interventions designed for the general student population may fail to impact children at high risk for aggression. To address the needs of both the general and high-risk student populations, interventions with several levels of activities need to be planned. These multi-tier efforts may combine, for example, a curriculum to be delivered to all students with special small group activities designed for high-risk youth. Some of these interventions also include activities for parents or the entire family.

Interventions to prevent youth violence should involve multiple segments of children's social experiences and interactions. Studies have suggested that integrating the components of school-based social-cognitive interventions (e.g., social-skills development) with other types of interventions can improve effectiveness (Goldstein and McGinnis, 1998; McGinnis and Goldstein, 1998).

The FAST (Families and Schools Together) Track Program is a prime example of blending strategies to prevent youth violence. It combines social-cognitive curriculum, parent training, and home visits to prevent conduct problems, promote social relations, and improve school performance among elementary school students.

When several strategies are incorporated into a program, a diverse implementation staff is needed. Select one organization to coordinate hiring of staff, keep track of all activities in the various interventions, and monitor staff performance. This will ensure continuity among the interventions and improve the overall effort.

Neighborhood-level and community-based approaches

At the neighborhood level, any approach that stimulates social organization, e.g. the formation of tenant and block associations, the rehabilitation of dilapidated housing, codes enforcement to fix "broken windows", or that increases the economic vitality of the neighborhood and the income and wealth of its residents is theoretically associated with the general reduction of violence and crime- both for youth and adults. Utica's current Weed and Seed initiative is an example of a multi-faceted approach to community development that can help in this area. A recent evaluation of Utica Weed and Seed (Darman, 2005) indicates that residents of the Weed and Seed target area (Utica's poorest neighborhoods- on both the East and West sides of the city) feel more in control of their neighborhoods with respect to dealing with and suppressing crime. Weed and Seed community organization principles that emphasize the development of safe havens and neighborhood-level resources like senior and youth socialization and recreational facilities have the potential to reduce youth violence and crime if implemented in areas where there are community resource deficits. Undeveloped green spaces and schools situated in poor neighborhoods with few other community resources are natural sites for the location of recreational and socialization programs, that- if properly designed- can reduce youth violence and crime.

While parent-based interventions are among the most effective strategies known thus far for preventing violence by children and adolescents, once children reach school age it is essential to

complement this strategy with one that addresses the influence of factors outside the home (Taylor and Biglan, 1998; Brestan and Eyberg, 1998).
At the community level, factors that can increase the likelihood that children and teens will become involved in violence and related problem behaviors include the availability of drugs, alcohol, and firearms; extreme poverty; neighborhood disintegration (e.g., vacant lots, graffiti, crime, drug-dealing, and boarded-up houses); and resident views that are tolerant of misbehavior and violence.

Research has shown that the presence of a positive adult role model to supervise and guide a child's behavior is a key protective factor against violence (National Resource Center, 1999). The absence of such a role model – whether a parent or other individual – has been linked to a child's risk for drug and alcohol use, sexual promiscuity, aggressive or violent behavior , and inability to maintain stable employment later in life (Beier, et al., 2000; Walker and Freedman, 1996).

Mentoring – the pairing of a young person with a volunteer who acts as a supportive, nonjudgmental role model – has been touted by many as an excellent means of providing a child or adolescent with a positive adult influence when such an influence does not otherwise exist (Council, 1996; Brewer, et al., 1995). Evidence has shown that mentoring can significantly improve school attendance and performance, reduce violent behavior, decrease the likelihood of drug use, and improve relationships with friends and parents (Sipe, 1996). And the Council on Crime in America (1997) identified mentoring as one of three interlocking crime-prevention strategies. The other two are monitoring (the provision of community-based adult supervision of young people who have been in trouble with the law) and ministering (mobilizing and empowering caring adults, through churches, to assume responsibility for the well-being of children in their neighborhoods).

In a community-based intervention, there is no set location where sessions must occur; the venue may vary by mentor-mentee pair and by session. In Sipe and Roder's survey (1999), slightly more than half of the programs were community-based. The majority of these interventions featured one-on-one sessions between mentors and mentees, and many focused on social or recreational activities. Because the location can vary, community-based efforts often include field trips as part of their activities. Big Brothers/Big Sisters (BB/BS), founded in 1904, is the oldest and best-known community-based mentoring intervention in the United States; it has also been studied the most. Its mission is to provide young people with one-on-one relationships that help them develop according to their full potential and become confident, competent, and caring adults.

In most programs, the overarching goal is to develop successful relationships between mentors and mentees. In Sipe and Roder's survey (1999), nearly three-quarters of mentoring programs had the general goal of positively impacting the young person's personal development. In many cases, that meant increasing self-esteem, developing positive values, improving conflict-resolution skills, increasing the social skills, or improving relationships with family and peers. Other goals identified in that survey were promoting social responsibility and improving school performances, school behavior, attitudes and decreasing delinquent behavior among participants.

West Utica from Genesee St. to the arterial, and from the arterial to Yorkville have levels of social disorganization and crime that rival the levels seen in Cornhill and the section just to the east and south of Cornhill (East Utica-East/S). Unfortunately, in West Utica there is a discerning gap in services and activities for youth and families. West Utica's lack of safe and healthy programs and activities make it the prioritized target area for this comprehensive plan toward youth violence prevention.

Individual – Peer Level Approaches:
At the individual/peer level, the factors include friendships with other youth who engage in violent or antisocial behavior, and individual factors such as tendencies toward sensation seeking, impulsiveness, anxiety, and even sadness or depressed mood (Hawkins and Catalano, 1995). When children and teens are exposed to such risk factors, they are more likely to become involved in violent behavior. Normally, the more risk factors present, the greater the likelihood a teen will become involved in violence.

However, if several protective factors are also in place, teens that are exposed to a number of risk factors are less likely to become involved in violence. The goals of a community violence prevention program should be to reduce risk factors for violence in the community and increase protective factors (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2001).

One of the most effective ways to protect young people from risk exposure is to encourage them to develop strong, supportive relationships with positive, prosocial adult role models. These adults might include family members, teachers, coaches, and youth leaders. Another effective way is to encourage families, schools, and communities to develop and communicate clear standards and expectations for behavior (Howell, 1995).

Activities that promote positive youth development include after-school programs that give a child or teen the opportunity to learn new skills and build relationships with caring adults, and mentoring programs that pair a teen with a supportive, nonjudgmental role model. Skills training programs in schools and the community give children and youth the social, emotional, and problem-solving skills they need to deal with difficult social situations (Thornton, et al., 2000). Intensive treatment programs that look at the many influences on the youth, including the family, school, peer, and neighborhood environments; have shown to have a positive impact (Howell, 1995).

Teens can join existing efforts or volunteer with organizations in their schools and communities. Others can play an important role in the violence prevention process in the community, serving on local planning boards. Youth can be encouraged to fill a gap in their community by launching their own programs and violence prevention efforts.

Collaboration

Linkages are a critical component of a comprehensive approach. By bringing together existing organizations, groups and individuals, it is often possible to have greater impact on an issue than any single person or organizations working in isolation. Working in partnerships, collaborations and coalitions can be challenging, but can be powerful ways to mobilize individuals to action. Such associations can bring community issues to prominence, and lead to policy development. These associations are also effective means for integrating health services with other human services so that resources are not wasted, and efforts are not needlessly duplicated.

There is interplay between developing partnerships and multi-faceted approaches. New partners will add to the array of approaches, and new suggestions of approaches will necessitate new partners.

Collaborations such as the Juvenile Crime Enforcement Coalition (JCEC) that developed this framework play a very important role. The behaviors and relationships that emerge from these networks have an additive value to initiatives.

What do Utica youth think?

When we asked youth in in-depth interviews what they thought would keep them- and kids like them out of trouble over two-thirds of the kids mentioned neighborhood-based socialization and recreational opportunities that are accessible to them after school and on the weekends.

What do you think will help keep you and other kids out of trouble?

A place like JCTOD where they can go and be safe and have fun.

A program like JCTOD but for older kids.

Afterschool activities that have available transportation.

An afterschool program where her and her friends can hang out and just chill that's safe and offers food.

As long as they have someplace to go and something to do to keep them off the streets, where they are not exposed to the shadier sides of life in her neighborhood.

Games and activities such as movies and sports will help to keep her and kid like her out of trouble.

Give them some jobs and stuff.

Having a mentor or someone to guide them will help keep them him and others out of trouble.

Having a place like the Cosmopolitan Center because after it closed, a lot of the kids started doing drugs and alcohol.

Having a place to go that's safe and where the kids can get along.

Having a recreation center that's free where everybody can go and is situated in a place where everyone can get to it without worrying about getting home afterwards.

Having mentors and learning how to act like an adult.

If there were some things that could keep her and her friends occupied that was positive, then they would stay out of trouble. But there is nothing in Utica that does this.

If they had places to do more activities for kids her age.

If they have some place to go and hang out and socialize with one another afterschool and on weekends.

Joining a program like JCTOD but for older kids.

Just having a safe place to hang out at.

Just to have someplace to go afterschool to keep them busy.

More activities and employment opportunities.

More activities and places for them to go she thinks would keep them off and out of the streets.

More activities and things to do to keep themselves and their minds occupied.

More afterschool activities and more places for them to do them.

More attention given to them and teaching them about more things to do that will keep them out of trouble.

More people to talk to about her problems and to do positive things with.

More places for them to go.

More positive things to do and positive places to go.

More sports activities and opportunities for employment.

Open up more community centers to give them places to go and things to do.

Some place where they can chill that's safe.

Twenty-six of the forty-five youth interviewed had ideas to make their neighborhood and/or school a better place. Again, many of their suggestions were for neighborhood-based places to go- and a number of kids thought that there was a need for specific anti-violence programming.

What do you recommend to make your neighborhood and school a better place?

An afterschool homework program and a safe place for kids to go afterschool and on weekends.

Better security at school and she really doesn't know how or what would or could make the neighborhood a better place.

Build a recreation center nearby to try and keep kids out of trouble.

By trying to bring different people together with social activity fairs and family programs. Not having too many rules in school she thinks would make school a better place.

Get gangs off the streets and out of the schools.

Get rid of the guns and teach them how not to be violent.

Get the drugs and violence out of the neighborhoods by any means possible. Anything would be good in the school to make it a better place.

Get the drugs off the streets so that the parents that are addicted can get the help they need.

Give us someplace where we can go afterschools and weekends.

If kids stop carrying weapons and pushing on other kids.

If there were a gym on his street or a street nearby, or just maybe a place for him and his friends could just go and hang out at.

If they had all the activities that the kids are interested in.

Keep the drugs and dealers of the streets and out the schools.

Less fighting and violence along with less mean people.

Lockup all the people that are doing bad things in the neighborhood and in school, people need to do their jobs more often because most of them are lazy.

More activities and recreational centers for kids her age.

More jobs for kids his age and older will help to keep them out of trouble and make their school and neighborhoods safer.
More jobs she believes for kids her age will make her school and neighborhood a safer place because they'll be too busy working.

More jobs, activities, and places where her and her friends can hang out.

More police patrolling the neighborhood and more teachers' aides in the schools.

More recreation centers and programs like JCTOD in her neighborhood. As far as her school, she doesn't think anything could help the school.

More recreation centers where they don't have to pay.

More things to do and stuff, more places to go, and employment for kids 12 and up.

Start cleaning up the neighborhoods and his school is alright.

Stop the people from fighting by teaching them other ways to solve problems.

Just need more afterschool and weekend programs.

As a result of the efforts of many individuals and groups over the past twenty years, youth social and recreational resources have been developed to serve Cornhill, Utica's poorest section of the city (East of Genesee St.). However, changes in the local economy after the de-industrialization of Utica have contributed to the degradation of working class housing stock, shifts in population, increased poverty and social disorganization in many West Utica neighborhoods (see table on page 21 of this report: Neighborhood-level indicators of collective efficacy and social disorganization, Utica, NY), but there are currently very few resources for youth and families on the West side of our city. The recent departure of the West Side Boys and Girls Club after

school program leaves only Donovan and Kernan after school programs operating limited week-day hours in West Utica. Youth in this section of the city are clearly underserved.

Addressing societal factors contributing to youth violence and crime

Largely ignored in this report, social and economic ("macro-level") changes in our nation over the past generation have had a significant impact on youth violence and crime. Societal structures and forces that contribute to youth violence and crime are for the most part beyond the reach of a small community to effect change. However, as a small city in Upstate, NY we do have the power and ability to cushion the blow of the forces that drive violence and crime. For example, until there are changes in state or national health care and childcare policies that now limit access to healthcare and childcare for working class and poor families, we can work to increase the proportion of families that receive help with finding and paying for these services. We can also continue to address the societal issues of economic inequality, extreme poverty, differential access to employment opportunities, and racism on the local level. The first step toward addressing these issues is to develop our awareness of what they are and how they impact on youth violence and juvenile crime. We encourage community members to work toward this end in conjunction with their work on implementing our community-level plan to promote the healthy social development of our children and youth.

References

Aber JL, Brown JL, Chaudry N, Jones SM, Samples F. 1996 . The Evaluation of the Resolving Confliect Creatively Program: An Overview. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*. 12(5Suppl):82-90.

American Psychological Association. 1993. *Violence and youth*. Commission on Violence and Youth.

Anderson, Elijah. 1999. *Code of the Street: Decency, violence, and the moral life of the inner city*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company.

Artz, S. 1998. *Sex, power, and the violent school girl*. Toronto: Trifolium Books.

Bandura, A. 1973. *Aggression: A social learning analysis*. Englewood Cliff, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Bandura, A. 1986. *Social Foundations of Thought and Action: A Social Cognitive Theory.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Baranowski T, Perry CL, Parcel GS. 1997. "How Individuals, Environments, and Health Behavior Interact: Social Cognitive Theory." In: Glanz K, Lewis FM, Rimer BK, editors. *Health Behavior and Health Education: Theory, Research and Practice (2nd Edition).* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Beier, SR; Rosenfeld, WD; Spitalny, KC; Zansky, SM; Bontemp, AN. 2000. The Potential Role of an Adult Mentor in Influencing High-Risk Behavior in Adolescents. *Annals of Pediatrics and Adolescent Medicine.* 154(4):327-331.

Bennett, M. Daniel Jr. and Mark W. Fraser. 2000. Urban violence among African American males: Integrating family, neighborhood, and peer perspectives. *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare* [Electronic version]. 27(3):93-117.

Berkowitz, L. 1993. *Aggression: Its causes, consequences, and control*. Philadelphia: Temple Press.

Bowen, Linda K., Victoria Gwiasda, and M. Mitchell Brown. 2004. Engaging community residents to prevent violence. *Journal of interpersonal violence*. 19(3):356-367.

Brestan, E.V., and Eyberg, S.M. 1998. Effective Psychosocial Treatments of Conduct-Disordered Children and Adolescents: 29 years, 82 Studies, and 5,272 Kids. *Journal of Clinical Child Psychology.* 27(2):180-189.

Brewer DD, Hawkins JD, CatalanoRF, Neckerman HJ. 1995. Preventing Serious, Violent, and Chronic Offending: A Review of Evaluations of Selected Strategies in Childhood, Adolescence, and the Community. *A Sourcebook: Serious, Violent, & Chronic Juvenile*

Offenders. Eds. Howell JC, Krisberg B, Hawkins JD, Wilson JJ. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc: 95.

Campbell, Ann. Female Participation in Gangs. 1990. *Gangs in America.* ed. C. Ronald Huff. Newbury Park: Sage.

Campbell, A. 1993. *Men, Women and Aggression*. New York: Basic Books.

Cartledge, G., and Johnson, C. 1997. School violence and cultural sensitivity. In A. Goldstein and J. Conoley (Eds.), *School ViolenceIintervention: A practical handbook* (pp. 391-425). New York: Guilford Press.

Cellini, Henry. 2001. "Mental Health Concerns of Adjudicated Youths". *Corrections Today.*

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. 2004. Web-based Injury Statistics Query and Reporting System (WISQARS). Online at http://www.cdc.gov/ncipc/wisqars

Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence. 1998. University of Colorado at Boulder. Online at http://www.colorado.edu/cspv/

Chesney-Lind, M. and Shelden, R. 1998. *Girls, delinquency and juvenile justice, 2nd edition*. Belmont, CA: West/Wadsworth.

Christenson, A., Hirsch, J., and Hurley, C. 1997. Families with aggressive children and adolescents. In. *School violence intervention: A practical handbook* (pp. 325-365). New York: Guilford Press.

Cocozza, Joseph J. and Kathleen Skowyra. 2000. Youth with Mental Health Disorders: Issues and Emerging Responses. U.S. Department of Justice: Journal of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

Cohen, Albert, K. Foreword and Overview. 1990. *Gangs in America.* ed. C. Ronald Huff. Newbury Park: Sage.

Cohen, Larry, and Jeanne Erlenborn. 2002. Cultivating Peace in Salinas: A Framework for Violence Prevention. *Prevention Institute*. www.preventioninstitute.org

Cornell, D. 1999. *What works in youth violence prevention*. Virginia Youth Violence Project. University of Virginia.

Corvo, Kenneth N. 1997. Community-based youth violence prevention: A framework for planners and funders. *Youth and Society*. 28(3):291-317.

Coulton, Claudia J., Jill Korbin, Tsui Chan, and Marilyn Su. 2001. Mapping residents' perceptions of neighborhood boundaries: A methodological note. *American Journal of Community Psychology* [electronic version]. 29(2): 371-383.

Council on Crime in America. 1996. *The State of Violent Crime in America*. New York: Center for Civic Innovation of the Manhattan Institute.

_____. 1997. *Preventing Crime, Saving Children: Monitoring, Mentoring, and Ministering-Second Report of the Council on Crime in America.* New York: Center for Civic Innovation of the Manhattan Institute.

Darman, Jeremy. 2005. *Evaluation of Utica Weed and Seed*. Utica, NY: Social Science Associates.

Eggendorf, Laura K (ed). *Opposing Viewpoints: Gangs.* San Diego: Greenhaven, 2001.

Elliott, Delbert. 1994. *Youth violence: An overview*. Boulder, CO: Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence.

Elliot, Delbert, John Hagan, and Joan McCord. 1998. *Youth Violence: Children at Risk*. Washington, DC: American Sociological Association.

Eron, L. 1992. Gender differences in violence: Biology and/or socialization?. In K. Bjorkqvist and P. Niemela (Eds.), *Of Mice and Women: Aspects of female aggression* (pp. 89-97). New York: Academic Press.

Evens, Carina C., and Ann Vander Stoep. 1997. Risk Factors for Juvenile Justice System Referral Among Children in a Public Mental Health System. *The Journal of Behavioral Health Services and Research. 24:4 443-455*

Fagan, Jeffrey, and Deanna L. Wilkinson. 1998. Social contexts and adolescent violence. In D.S. Elliot, B. Hamburg, and K.R. Williams (eds.) *Violence in American Schools: A New Perspective*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press. Retrieved online at http://www.colorado.edu/cspv/publications/ factsheets/schoolviolence/FS-SV03

Flannery, D. 1997. *School Violence: Risk, prevention intervention, and policy*. Kent State University.

Flynn, C. 1999. Exploring the link between corporal punishment and children's cruelty to animals. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 61, 971-981.

Foshee, V., Bauman. K., and Linder, G. 1999. Family violence and the perpetration of adolescent dating violence: Examining social learning and social control processes. *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 61, 331-342.

Franke, Todd. 2000. Adolescent violent behavior: An analysis across and within racial/ethnic groups. *Journal of Multicultural Social Work* 8: 47-70

Gaines, Donna. 1991. *Teenage Wasteland*. NY: Random House.

Garbarino, J. 1999. *Lost Boys: Why our sons turn violent, and how we can save them*. New York: Free Press.

Gilligan, C. 1983. *In a Different Voice*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Goldstein, A. Carr, E., Davidson, W., and Wehr, P. 1981. *In response to aggression: Methods of control and prosocial alternatives*. New York: Pergamon Press.

Goldstein, A.P. 1991. *Delinquent Gangs: A Psychological Perspective.* Champaign: Research Press.

Goldstein, A.P., McGinnis, E. 1998. *Skillstreaming the Adolescent: New Strategies and Perspectives for Teaching Prosocial Skills*. Champaign, IL: Research Press. 218.

Gorman-Smith, Deborah, Patrick Tolan, Rolf Loeber, and David Henry. 1998. Relation of family problems to patterns of delinquent involvement among urban youth. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology* (26) 319-333.

Grennan, Sean, and Marjie T. Britz; Jeffrey Rush; Thomas Barker. 2000. *Gangs: An International Approach.* Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall.

Gurr, T.A. 1989. *Violence in America: Protest and Rebellion.* Newbury Park: Sage.

Hagedorn, John. 1991. Gangs, neighborhoods, and public policy. *Social Problems* (38) 529-542.

Hammond and Yung, B. 1991. Preventing violence in at-risk African-American youth. *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved*, 2, 359-373.

Hampton, R., Jenkins, P., and Gullotta, T. (Eds.) 1996. Threads that link community and family violence: Issues for prevention. *Preventing Violence in America* (pp. 33-52). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Hawkins, J.D. & Catalano, R.F. 1995. Risk-Focused Prevention: Using the Social Development Strategy. Seattle: Developmental Research and Programs, Inc.

Heimer, Karen. 1997. Socioeconomic Status, Subcultural Definitions, and Violent Delinquency. *Social Forces,* 75:3 pp. 799-833.

Henderson, Errol A. 1997. The Lumpenproletariat as Vanguard?: The Black Panther Party, Social Transformation, and Pearson's Analysis of Huey Newton. *Journal of Black Studies.* Vol. 28, No. 2, 171-199.

Horowitz, Ruth. 1990. Sociological Perspectives on Gangs: Conflicting Definitions and Concepts. *Gangs in America.* ed. C. Ronald Huff. Newbury Park: Sage.

Howell, J.C. (ed.). 1995. *Guide for Implementing the Comprehensive Strategy for Serious, Violent, and Chronic Juvenile Offenders*. Washington, D.C.: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice, 84-87.

Huesmann, L., Maxwell, C., Eron, L. Dahlberg, C., Guerra, N., Tolan, P., Van Acker, R., and Henry, D. 1996. Evaluating a cognitive/ecological program for the prevention of aggression among urban children. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, supplementary volume, 120-128.

Huff, Ronald C. 1990. Introduction: Two Generations of Gang Research. *Gangs in America.* ed. C. Ronald Huff. Newbury Park: Sage.

Ireland, Timothy, Carolyn Smith, and Terence Thornberry. 2002. Developmental issues in the impact of child maltreatment on later delinquency and drug use. *Criminology* (40) 359-396.

Keller, H. and Tapasak, R. 1997. Classroom management. In A. Goldstein, and J. Conoley (Eds.), *School Violence Intervention: A practical handbook* (pp. 107-126). New York: Guilford Press.

Kingery, P., Biafora, F., and Zimmerman, R. 1996. Risk factors for violent behaviors among ethnically diverse urban adolescents: Beyond race/ethnicity. *School Psychology International*, 17, 171-186.

Klama, J. 1988. *Aggression: The myth of the beast within*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.

Klein, Malcolm, W. 1995. The American Street Gang: Its Nature, Prevalence, and Control. New York: Oxford.

Kroeger, Brooke. 2004, 20 March. When a dissertation makes a difference. *New York Times*. Retrieved 21 March 2004 from: http://www.nytimes.com

Landre, Rick; Mike Miller; Dee Porter. 1997. *Gangs: A Handbook for Community Awareness.* New York: Facts on File.

Laub, John H., and Janet L. Lauritsen. 1998. The interdependence of school violence with neighborhood and family conditions. In D.S. Elliot, B. Hamburg, and K.R. Williams (eds.) *Violence in American Schools: A New Perspective*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press. Retrieved online at http://www.colorado.edu/cspv/publications/factsheets/schoolviolence/FS-SV05

Lewis, D. 1987. Special diagnostic and treatment issues concerning violent juveniles. In L. Roth (Ed.), *Clinical Treatment of the Violent Person* (pp. 138-155). New York: Guilford Press.

Li, Xiaoming, Bonita Stanton, Robert Pack, Carole Harris, Lesley Cottrell, and James Burns. 2002. Risk and protective factors associated with gang involvement among urban African-American adolescents. *Youth and Society* (34) 172-194.

Lochman JE, Dunn SE, Klimes-Dougan B. 1993. An Intervention and Consultation Model from a Social Cognitive Perspective: A Description of the Anger Coping Program. *School Psychology Review*. 22(3):458-471.

Loeber, Rolf, and Dale Hay. 1997. Key issues in the development of aggression and violence from childhood to early adulthood. *Annual Report of Psychology* (48) 371-410.

McCord J, editor. 1997. *Violence and Childhood in the Inner City*. Cambridge Criminology Series. New York: Cambridge University Press.

McGinnis, E, and Goldstein A.P. 1998. *Skillstreaming the Elementary School Child: New Strategies and Perspectives for Teaching Prosocial Skills, Revised Edition*. Champaign, IL: Research Press.

Meyer A, Farrell A. 1998. Social Skills Training to Promote Resilience in Urban Sixth-Grade Students: One Product of an Action Research Strategy to Prevent Youth Violence in High Risk Environments. *Education and Treatment of Children*. 21(4):461-488.

Miedzian, M. 1991. *Boys will be Boys: Breaking the link between masculinity and violence*. New York: Anchor Books.

Miller, W.B. 1990. Why the United States has Failed to Solve its Youth Gang Problem. *Gangs in America.* ed. C. Ronald Huff. Newbury Park: Sage.

_____.1975. *Violence by Youth Gangs and Youth Groups as a Crime Problem in Major American Cities.* Washington: National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

_____.1974. "American Youth Gangs: Past and Present." In A. Blumberg, *CurrentPerspectives on Criminal Behavior.* New York: Knopf.

Mrazek, P. and Haggerty, R., (Eds.) 1994. *Reducing Risks for Mental Disorders: Frontiers for preventive intervention research*. Institute of Medicine. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.

Nadel H, Spellmann M, Alvarez-Canino T, Lausell-Bryant LL, Landsberg G. 1996. The Cycle of Violence and Victimization: A Study of the School-Based Intervention of a Multidisciplinary Youth Violence-Prevention Program. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*. 12(5 Suppl):109-119.

National Mental Health Association. 2004. *Violence in America: A Community Mental Health Response.*

National Resource Center for Safe Schools. 1999. *Early Warning Signs and Resiliency Factors for School Violence: Resiliency Factors.* Fact Sheet Number 1, Spring.

Nogas, Connie. 2003, 10 Feb. Gangs draw attention of Tier police, community drug money, need for acceptance lure adolescents. *Press and Sun-Bulletin*.

Orpinas P, Kelder S, Murray N, Fourney A, Conroy J, McReynolds L, et al. 1996. Critical Issues in Implementing a Comprehensive Violence Prevention Program for Middle Schools: Translating Theory Into Practice. *Education and Urban Society*. 28(4):456-472.

Parsons, T. 1951. *Toward a General Theory of Action.* Cambridge: Harvard.

Pepler, D., and Slaby, R.G. 1994. Theoretical and Developmental Perspectives on Youth and Violence." In Eron LD, Gentry JH, Schlegel P, eds. *Reason to Hope: A Psychosocial Perspective on Violence and Youth.* Washington, DC: American Psychological Association: 27-58.

Pogarsky, Greg, Alan Lizotte, and Terence Thornberry. 2003. The delinquency of children born to young mothers: Results from the Rochester Youth Study. *Criminology* (41) 1249-1276.

Powell, K.; Dahlberg, L.; Friday, J.; Mercy, J.; Thornton, T.; and Crawford, S. 1996. Prevention of youth violence: Rationale and characteristics of 15 evaluation projects. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, supplementary volume, 3-12.

Prothrow-Stith, Deborah. 2002. Youth violence prevention in America. in *Youth Cities: A Cross National Perspective*. Eds. Marta Tienda and William Julius Wilson. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

_____ and Howard R. Spivak. 2004. *Murder is no Accident: Understanding and preventing youth violence in America*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Reese, LeRoy E., Elizabeth M. Vera, Kyle Thompson, and Raquel Reyes. 2001. "A qualitative investigation of perceptions of violence risk factors in low income African American children." *Journal of Clinical Child Psychology* [electronic version]. 30(2): 161-172.

Rolider, A., Van Houten, R., Hamm, S., and Williams, L. 1990. Severe school-related behavior problems in adolescents: The use of a home-based interpersonal treatment model with parents as mediators. In R. Mc Mahon and R. Peters (Eds.), *Behavior Disorders of Adolescence*. New York: Plenum Press.

Rosenblatt, Jennifer A and Abram Rosenblatt, Edward E. Biggs. 2000. Criminal Behavior and Emotional Disorder: Comparing Youth Served by the Mental Health and Juvenile Justice Systems. *The Journal of Behavioral Health Services and Research. 27:2 227- 236.*

Sabol, William J., Claudia J. Coulton, and Jill E. Corbin. 2004. Building community capacity for violence prevention. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*. 19(3) 322-341.

Sachs, Steven, L. 1997. *Street Gang Awareness: A Resource Guide for Parents and Professionals.* Minneapolis: Fairview.

Samples, F. and Aber, L. 1998. Evaluations of school-based violence prevention programs. In D. Elliott, B. Hamburg, and K. Williams (Eds.), *Violence in American Schools: A new perspective* (pp. 217-252). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Sampson, Robert J., and Stephen W. Raudenbush. 1999. Systematic social observation of public spaces: A new look at disorder in urban neighborhoods. *American Journal of Sociology* [electronic version]. 105(3): 603-651.

Sampson, Robert J., and Stephen W. Raudenbush, and Felton Earls. 1997. Neighborhoods and violent crime: A multilevel study of collective efficacy. *Science*. 277: 918-924.

Schatzberg, Rufus, and Robert J. Kelly. 1996. *African-American Organized Crime: A Social History.* New York: Garland.

Shakur, Sanyika aka Monster Kody Scott. 1993. *Monster: The Autobiography of an L.A. Gang Member.* New York: Penguin.

Shelton, Deborah. 2004. Experiences of Detained Young Offenders in Need of Mental Health Care. *Journal of Nursing Scholarship*. 36:2, 129-133.

Short, James, F. 1990. New Wine in Old Bottles? Change in Continuity in American Gangs. *Gangs in America.* ed. C. Ronald Huff. Newbury Park: Sage.

Sipe CL. 1996. *Mentoring: A Synthesis of /PV's Research, 1988-95*. Philadelphia: Public/Private Ventures.

Sipe, CL, and Roder, AE. 1999. *Mentoring School-Age Children: A Classification of Programs.* Philadephia: Public/Private Ventures.

Slaby RG, Roedell W, Arezzo E, Hendrix K. 1995. *Early Violence Prevention: Tools for Teachers of Young Children*. Washington, DC: National Association for the Education of Young Children.

Strauss, M. 2000. Ten myths that perpetuate corporal punishment. In. M. Hutter (Ed.), *The Family Experience: A reader in cultural diversity, 3rd edition* (pp. 268-277). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Taylor, Carl, S. Gang Imperialism. 1990. *Gangs in America.* ed. C. Ronald Huff. Newbury Park: Sage.

Taylor, T.K., and Biglan, A. 1998. Behavioral Family Interventions for Improving Childrearing: A Review of the Literature for Clinicians and Policy Makers. *Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review.* 1(1):41-60.

Thompson, Kevin and Rhonda Braaten-Antrim. 1998. Youth maltreatment and gang involvement. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* (13) 328-345.Thornberry, Terrence P., David Huizinga, and Ralph Loeber. 2004. "The causes and correlates studies: Findings and implications." *Juvenile Justice* [electronic version]: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. 9(1):3-19.

Thornberry, Terence, P., David Huizinga, and Rolf Loeber. 2004. The Causes and Correlates Studies: Findings and Policy Implications. *Juvenile Justice*, Vol. IX, No. 1, 3-19.

Thornberry, Terence, P., Marvin D. Krohn; Alan J. Lizotte; Carolyn A. Smith; Kimberly Tobin. 2003. *Gangs and Delinquency in Developmental Perspective.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Thornton, T.N., Craft, C.A., Dahlberg, L.L. Lynch, B.S., Baer, K. 2000. *Best Practices of Youth Violence Prevention: A Sourcebook for Community Action*. Atlanta: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, 39-78.

Tolan, Patrick, Deborah Gorman-Smith, and David Henry. 2002. Linking family violence to delinquency across generations. *Children's Services and Social Policy Research Practice* (5) 273-284.

Tolan, Patrick and McKernan McKay. 1996. Preventing serious anti-social behavior in inner-city children: An empirically based family intervention program. *Family Relations* (45) 148-155.

Tschann, J., Flores, E., Pasch, L., and Marin, B. 1999. Assessing interparental conflict: Reports of parents and adolescents in european american and mexican american families. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 61, 269-283.

Uniform Crime Report. Federal Bureau of Investigation Retrieved November 3, 2004. (http://www.fbi.gov/ucr/civs_03/pdf/03sec4.pdf).

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. 2001. *Youth Violence: A Report of the Surgeon General*. 115-117.

U.S. Department of Justice. Office of Justice Programs. Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. 2002. *OJJDP Comprehensive Gang Model: A Guide to Assessing your Community's Youth Gang Problem*.

Veysey, Bonita. 2003. *Adolescent Girls with Mental Health Disorders*

Involved with the Juvenile Justice System. National Center for Mental Health and Juvenile Justice.

Vigil, James, Diego and John M. Long. 1990. Emic and Etic Perspectives on Gang Culture: The Chicano Case. *Gangs in America.* ed. C. Ronald Huff. Newbury Park: Sage.

Walker, G, Freedman, M. 1996. Social Change One on One: The New Mentoring Movement. *The American Prospect.* 12:75-81.

Walker, H., Colvin, G., and Ramsey, E. 1995. *Antisocial Behavior inSschool: Strategies and best practices*. Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing Co.

Wasserman, Gail A., Susan J. Ko and Larkin S. McReynolds. 2004. Assessing the Mental Health Status of Youth in Juvenile Justice Settings. *Juvenile Justice Delinquency Bulletin U.S. Department of Justice.* Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

Weiler, J. 1999. *An Overview of Research on Girls and Violence*. Institute for Urban Minority Education. New York: Columbia University.

White, J. 1983. Sex and gender issues in aggression research. In *Aggression: Theoretical and empirical review, vol. 2* (pp. 1-26). New York: Academic Press.

Widom, C.S. 1989. The Cycle of Violence. *Science* 244:160-166.

Widom, C.S. 1992. Childhood Victimization and Adolescent Problem Behaviors. Pp. 127-164 in *Adolescent Problem Behaviors: Issues and Research*, edited by M.E. Lamb and R.D. Ketterlinus. New York: Erlbaum.

Wilson, William Julius. 1996. *When Work Disappears: The world of the new urban poor*. New York, NY: Knopf.

Wooldredge, John. 2002. Examining the (Ir)relevance of aggregation bias for multilevel studies of neighborhoods and crime with an example comparing census tracts to official neighborhoods in Cincinnati. *Criminology*. 40(3): 681-710.

Zeldin, Shepherd. 2004. Preventing youth violence through the promotion of community engagement and membership. *Journal of Community Psychology*. 32(5): 623-642.