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DO GANG PREVENTION STRATEGIES ACTUALLY REDUCE CRIME?

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NCJRS

FEB 25 1993

ACQUISITIONS

Papers presented at the 44th annual
meeting of the American Society of
Criminology, November 4-7, 1992, New
Orleans, LA

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Introduction

Many communities are now receiving federal grants to develop gang prevention strategies. The belief is that if juveniles can be convinced not to join gangs, drug use and crime will be reduced. Some of these strategies involve developing partnerships among community organizations such as schools, law enforcement, social services, community associations, neighborhood groups, block watches, boys and girls clubs, the YMCA and YWCA, and various city and state agencies. Others involve having police officers present information about gangs to children in seventh grade in the hope that they will develop negative attitudes about gangs.

This paper presents research about three such efforts operating in Arizona. One is called "New Turf," which operates in Phoenix, Mesa, and Sierra Vista, Arizona. Another is Gang Resistive Education and Training (GREAT); and the third is called "Community Reliance Resource Effort" (CARE). The latter two also are programs operating in Arizona.

Although each has been operating for about a year, there is sufficient data to enable us to reach some tentative conclusions about them. We have been involved in evaluating each program and will present the evaluation data for the first year of operation of each program. First, however, we present some conceptual background and literature about gangs.

Conceptual Background and Literature Review

Youth gangs have existed throughout recorded history (and probably before). There even is reference to gangs in the Old Testament. Some Hispanic gangs in Los Angeles have been in existence for over 10 years. In some families, a child may be a member of a gang that his father and grandfather belonged to.

Scholars have not paid much attention to gangs. The first major research was done by the Chicago school which led to books such as Fred Thrasher's *The Gang* (1927). However, since then

until very recently, little research on gangs has been done. Figure 1 shows that relatively few articles about gangs were published in journals and periodicals in the early 1980s but increased somewhat in the latter part of the decade. This pattern reflects the pattern of attention paid to gangs by the press, although the increase in journal and periodical articles in the latter 1980s is not as dramatic as was the case in the press.

Figure 1 about here

Figure 2 shows that there was more than a four-fold increase in press articles about gangs in 1988 and from then on there continued to be a large number of articles about gangs.

Figure 2 about here

Media coverage has constructed an image of gangs as being crime, drug and violence ridden. However, there is considerable doubt that gangs generally are involved in crime, violence and rugs. First, it is essential to define what "gang" means. As Horowitz points out, there is little consensus on the definition of gangs since "every group (police, media, a community, or social scientists) has its own interests and taken-for-granted assumptions." Although lacking an accepted definition creates difficulties for researchers, Horowitz believes the current definitional status is helpful to researchers because "definitions tend to focus research in particular ways that may narrow the topics studied and questions asked. New conceptions may encourage refocusing the questions and the development of new understandings." Horowitz does admit that "definitions that exclude the element of illegal activities are not particularly useful," but is quick to point out that "it is not clear that all youths in all gangs are involved in illegal activities." (Horowitz, 1990)

This unsettled definitional status extends into the law enforcement arena with differing definitions substantially impacting policy decisions. As Jankowski notes,

...not all the violence now labeled as "gang violence" is in fact gang violence. A very large portion of it is violence committed by people who are members of a gang, but not as part of the gang's effort to achieve its objectives. To understand the contemporary violence associated with gangs, we must distinguish the individual-based violence perpetrated by members of a gang from the collective-based violence undertaken by the gang organization. (Jankowski, 1991)

The different definitions for "gang related crime" used by the Chicago (collective-based) and Los Angeles (individual-based) police communities illustrate Jankowski's concern and dramatically impact homicide rates attributed to gang activity. As Maxson and Klein note, "A motive-based definition of gang-related homicides yields about half as many gang homicides as does a member based definition" (Maxson & Klein, 1990). Thus, different definitions impact the number of homicides attributed to gang activity.

Given the media fascination with and general distortion of gang behavior -- "The media emphasize the violence associated with gangs and the violent nature of gang members; but while violence does occur involving gang members, it is less central to gangs (or their members) than the media would lead one to believe" (Jankowski, 1991) -- the policy implications for this definitional quandary are self-evident. Highly publicized gang violence statistics can contribute to public anxiety about gangs. Furthermore, it is often the case that after highly publicized acts of violence are attributed to gangs, cities react by forming "gang units" in the police force with an emphasis on suppression tactics (Huff, 1990a).

The primary focus of public policy towards gangs throughout the 1980s has been suppression. For example, the Los Angeles Police Department used a conspiracy act to prosecute members of gangs for criminal acts even if the person was not actually involved, but was a member of the gang whose members were involved in the crime. The LAPD also engaged in sweeps, arresting gang members for even minor infractions.

Although not conclusive, the evidence suggests that suppression has not worked. University of Chicago sociologists Spergel and Curry (1990:309) note:

It appears that primary strategies of social intervention, suppression, and organizational change and development do not contribute to perceived effectiveness of agencies in the reduction of youth gang problems in cities or areas where the problem is either chronic or emerging.

A national survey of youth gang problems and programs conducted in 1988 and 1989 (Spergel, et al., 1990) found that most local officials believed that the gang situation had worsened in their cities during the 1980s. In addition, participants attending a national gang conference held in Los Angeles in 1989 felt that the gang problem had gotten worse. Commander Lorne Kramer of the Los Angeles Police Department said that the growth of gangs in LA had been dramatic, especially between 1985 and 1988 (Bryant, 1989). Andrew Hague of the Dade County, Miami Attorney's Office said that the gang situation in Miami exploded in 1984.

A shift in strategy thus seems to be in order. The shift that is occurring is in the direction of focusing on the social and cultural environment rather than on trying to change individuals. The officials who attended the conference mentioned above stressed that the best strategy is community mobilization and the provision of educational and employment opportunities (Spergel, 1990:3). Officials attending the Los Angeles conference agreed. According to LA's Kramer, a community's strategy must be system-wide reaching schools, courts, parents, and community leaders. Other officials at the conference presented the same message. Several participants stressed the need to tailor the strategy to the particular situation, to the ages of the youth and the stage of their identification with gangs. But, there is no doubt that relying on police suppression alone is no longer the central approach to dealing with youth gangs.

While there is agreement that no single prevention strategy will work in all situations, according to two scholars, "much research has drawn attention to the key areas of family, the peer group, the school, and the community as appropriate settings for prevention efforts. The implication is

that prevention programs must attempt to affect all these areas, not just one or another" (Wallack & Corbett, 1990:16). Spergel & Curry agree:

It is more likely that community mobilization and more resources for and reform of the educational system and the job market, targeted at gang youth or clearly at-risk youth, would be more cost-effective as well as more effective in the reduction of the problem. (Spergel & Curry, 1990)

Although Huff argues that "we have not yet arrived at a point where we can embrace a general theory of gangs or recommend by consensus the policies that ought to be pursued to prevent and control gangs," (Huff, 1990b) there are commonalities in the positions of various researches on the structural conditions likely to produce gangs. For example, Miller believes "the formation of gangs is a response by alienated minority youth to the unavailability of legitimate employment and potential for fulfillment in their local communities" (Miller, 1990). Similarly, Jankowski comments that "everyone seems to acknowledge that poverty and lack of job opportunities are instrumental in the formation and maintenance of gangs" (Jankowski, 1991). These observations tend to support the findings of Spergel and Curry insofar as effective strategies are primarily aimed at structural conditions.

In recent years, there has been a call for more research on gangs. As Hagedorn notes, "We need more field studies because existing contemporary research makes a strong case for wide variation in gang types, structures, activities, and roles in the illegal economy" (Hagedorn, 1990). The hope is that from this data two "weaknesses" in current policy efforts can be rectified: theoretical understanding of gangs and program evaluation (Miller, 1990). New data will augment the development of new theories, which will enhance policy proposals aimed at dealing with gang related problems. These new policy initiatives must be coupled with evaluation measures since "the virtual abandonment of sound evaluation of gang control efforts is a major reason for our failure to reduce gang problems" (Miller, 1990).

It is in this spirit that the following evaluations were conducted.

Evaluation of Three Gang Prevention Strategies

Two of the three programs that we have evaluated are based on this shift in strategy. The first that we will describe is called Community Alliance Resource Effort (CARE). It is an intervention/prevention program aimed at mobilizing and empowering community residents to organize and implement prevention services. It is administered by the Murphy School District in South-Central Phoenix. The District has four elementary schools (K-8) that serve a predominantly Hispanic community.

The second program that we will describe is called Gang Resistance Education and Training (GREAT). It is an education program run by police officers for seventh graders in schools throughout Maricopa County, Arizona.

The third is the New Turf Drug and Gang Prevention Project. This is a community-based youth gang program in Phoenix, Mesa, and Sierra Vista, Arizona.

We will describe each program briefly and their results to date and then offer concluding comments.

Project CARE

The principal thrust of this program is to get the neighborhoods of the four elementary schools involved in helping combat drugs and gangs. A Community Prevention Specialist was hired in late 1991 through a federal grant and charged with the responsibility to:

- organize neighborhood coalition teams
- develop interinstitution and agency agreements
- formulate a community marketing and awareness plan
- develop after school programs
- develop a summer youth program

- implement a continuum of comprehensive services such as gang workshops, parent training, teen programs, neighborhood clean-ups, block watches, and eradication of graffiti.

All of these things were implemented energetically and effectively by the Community Prevention Specialist.

Our evaluation is a process as well as an outcome evaluation. We tried to determine:

- (1) How bad the gang and drug problem is;
- (2) How well CARE was being implemented; and
- (3) What impact it was having on the children and community.

We collected official data and conducted interviews and surveys with parents, school personnel, and the children in the four schools.

How Bad is the Gang and Drug Problem? There is no doubt that the gang and drug situation in the neighborhoods of the four schools is extensive. We administered a questionnaire to all the students (K-8) in each of the four schools. We used a different instrument for K and first graders, second through fourth graders, and fifth through eighth graders. The questionnaire used for K-4 was a very simple instrument administered by the teachers, asking students about their attitudes towards drugs and gangs (i.e., are they good or bad). The questionnaire for fifth through eighth graders was more extensive, and contained questions concerning their attitudes towards alcohol and other drugs (AOD) (see Table 1 below for the list), how easy it is to get these, how often they and their friends tried them, and attitudes about their neighborhood, schools, and gangs.

Table 1 about here

We focus on the results of the fifth through eighth grade responses because the earlier grades are less valid. First, there is no doubt that it is easy for the children to get AOD. Forty-nine percent

said it is easy or somewhat easy to get alcohol; 36 percent said it is easy or somewhat easy to get marijuana; and 52 percent said it is easy or somewhat easy to get inhalants (see Table 1). Even hard drugs, such as cocaine/crack, were easy or somewhat easy to get for a surprisingly high 24 percent.

Not only is it fairly easy for these children to get AOD, they no doubt use them. Self reports are unreliable as a measure of the *absolute* percent who use AOD, but, as Table 2 shows, the percent who say they have tried alcohol (60%) and marijuana (20%) is rather high. The question of whether or not their friend use AOD is a better measure of how many of these children are using drugs since it is likely that if their friends are using drugs, then they are also. Table 3 shows that a full 39 percent say that their friends use marijuana, and 57 percent say their friends use alcohol. Only 33 percent say their friends do not use marijuana and only 20 percent say their friends do not use alcohol. It also is a fairly safe bet that the large percent who say they don't know whether or not their friends use AOD actually do know, but do not want to say so.

Tables 2 and 3 about here

When we consider these three different sets of responses: the percent who say they use AOD, the percent who say their friends use AOD, and the percent who say they don't know if their friends use AOD, it is clear that a very large percent of these children use AOD. It is somewhat speculative, but if we add to the percent those who say their friends use a particular drug such as marijuana, a part of those who say they don't know if their friends use drugs, we probably have a better measure of what percent use drugs than the self report figures. For example, 39 percent say their friends use marijuana and 27 percent say they don't know. If we add one-half of the latter to the former, the result is about 42 percent, which is probably closer to the true figure than the 20 percent who say they use marijuana.

There is therefore no doubt that there is a significant amount of drug use in this school district. There also is a significant amount of gang activity. The two dominant gangs in the neighborhood are the "miniparkers" and the "wetbacks." The former take their name from the mini-park where they hang out and which they control. The latter call themselves wetbacks because most of them are children of recent arrivals from South America. They speak little or no English.

The gangs engage in violence. There are shootings and gun fire in the neighborhood almost every night. Arson is a big problem as well. And there are fights between the gangs and with the "Hollywoods," a gang of older kids in the same neighborhood.

Shortly after a block watch program was formed in one of the neighborhoods, gang members confronted residents who joined the program and threatened to "get them" and to "get even." These threats intimidated some residents. Gang members carry guns openly since it is perfectly legal for one to carry a weapon in Arizona as long as it is not concealed. No doubt this deterred some residents from participating in anti-gang programs.

School personnel (i.e., teachers, nurses, and administrators) believe there is a serious safety and gang problem. Over 77 percent of the 61 school personnel who were interviewed believe that there is a gang problem in the district. Sixty-five percent said they felt it is fairly or very unsafe around their school and 90 percent felt that vandalism is a serious problem.

Students, on the other hand, do not believe that gangs are very bad. A third of the fifth through eighth graders said that gangs are like a second family to many kids in their neighborhood.

In summary, there is no doubt that there is a significant gang and drug presence in the Murphy School District.

How Effectively is CARE Being Implemented? There is no doubt that the problem is being implemented very well. The great majority (75%) of the 61 school personnel who were interviewed said that they thought it was doing a good job. The accomplishment that was mentioned most often is

that it kept children busy so they would not get into trouble. Many said that it was helpful to mothers who work especially because their children could stay in school until their mothers came home. Neighborhood clean-up campaigns were the second most mentioned accomplishment. Tons of trash were picked up and the neighborhoods were cleaner. Other things that the teachers thought were valuable are reaching out to parents and getting the community involved.

The 45 parents who were interviewed also were positive in their comments about CARE. A majority (51%) had a child or knew a child who participated in CARE and 57 percent said that the program was very good.

The Community Prevention Specialist is a dynamic person who approaches her job with energy. She has been a successful organizer. The principal stakeholders (teachers, administrators, parents, law enforcement) see CARE as "providing a valuable service to the community and the children," and say it has "shown the community that something can be done"; it "has brought the community together in new ways."

What Impact has CARE had? The news here is not as good, although it should be emphasized at the outset that the program has been in operation for only a year. It is likely that it will be several years before any positive results can be seen. However, some data from this program plus the two others we will describe below provide enough evidence to enable a few conclusions.

The school personnel believe that CARE has not had much impact. Only 7 percent said it is working very well. They said that they doubted that it has had any impact on the children's behavior. The second bit of evidence points to how long it may take for results to be registered and a potential problem here. This is the difference in attitudes between fifth and eighth graders. The eighth graders have much more negative attitudes about police than fifth graders: 54 percent of fifth graders and 22 percent of eighth graders say that police officers are helpful and welcome in their neighborhoods. Note that a large percent of both grades have negative attitudes about police. Also, the percent who say they

have tried AOD doubles from the fifth to the eighth grade (from an average of 15 percent for all the drugs listed in Table 1 above for fifth graders to 31 percent for eighth graders). However, the percent who say that gangs are like a second family to them is the same for fifth and eighth graders: 33 percent.

These data seem to show that as kids get older, it is more difficult to change their attitudes and subsequently their behavior. CARE is putting most of its effort into the lower grades, which seems to be a good strategy. The next program we describe puts *all* of its effort into seventh graders and, as we will show, does not seem to be working at all. On the other hand, although CARE may be targeting the right age groups, it will take several years before results, if any, show up. CARE is funded for only two years. If it is not funded beyond that, it is very doubtful that it will produce any results. So the question is, will this policy be continued for a long enough period to produce results? The answer is that the American political system and American culture is geared toward short term not long term results.

Project GREAT

This program and its results can be described more briefly because it is much simpler in concept and implementation than CARE. The program involves having a police officer in uniform conduct a class of seventh graders for one hour each week for eighth weeks. It is, therefore, an education and information strategy rather than community mobilization as the other two are. The curriculum is aimed at changing the attitudes of the children about gangs so that they reject them and to develop positive attitudes about police. In addition, parts of the curriculum deal with prejudices, responsibilities, and crime. Over 10,000 students received this training in 1990-91 in Maricopa County, Arizona. Our evaluation involved both a pre- and posttest survey of 5800 students as well as eleven focus group interviews. Each focus group had about fifteen students.

Of the 21 questions on the survey that dealt with gangs, there was an increase in the percent of students who selected the desired answer for four questions, a decrease in the percent who selected the desired answer for four questions, and no change in the percent for 13 questions. Thus, for the most part, the training had very little impact.

The four items where there was some improvement in scores in the direction desired by the police dealt only indirectly with gangs; they dealt with prejudice, responsibilities and culture. Only one focused on gangs. Table 4 shows the percent who selected the correct answer before and the percent who selected the correct answer after, and the percent change.

Table 4 about here

The four questions for which there was a decrease in the percent selecting the desired answer dealt more directly with gangs. Table 5 gives the percent who selected the correct answers before and after the training.

Table 5 about here

Obviously, the training is not having the desired effect. The focus groups confirm this. Each group of about fifteen students was led by a researcher who raised questions and led the discussion. The format was the same for each group. The questions focused on what they thought were the goals of the course, their reaction to who taught the course, what they believed they learned, how knowledgeable they thought the instructors were, and how truthful they believed the students were in answering. Only the students and the researchers were present during the one-hour session. The

principals of the schools provided the room and selected the students, but they were instructed to use a random procedure and give us half girls and half boys.

The students clearly knew that the purpose of the course was to teach them about gangs and drugs. But some complained about being indoctrinated. They also felt that they were not allowed to participate in the sessions. They were allowed to do some role playing in some classes and they liked this.

Many of the students in the focus groups knew gang members. They believe that gangs are not all bad. They said that gangs were helpful and provided an important outlet for kids. For example, a number of students said that they did not believe police officers when they said that gang members would not stick by their fellow members who were arrested or shot.

Many students said that they did not believe the officers were very knowledgeable about gangs nor did they learn very much about gangs. They did not believe that gangs were a big problem in their neighborhood.

In summary, the GREAT program was not too successful in its first year of operation. The program is being refunded for five years. Changes are going to be made in it as a result of our evaluation. Kids will be given more chance to participate in the classes; gangs will not be depicted as being all bad; kids will be told that they will have more success in life if they stay in school rather than drop out and join a gang; and they will experiment with providing the training eight days in a row rather than one day a week for eight weeks.

These changes may improve the program. We will do the evaluation for the next phase and will be able to determine if it produces better results. At this point, however, we might note that the CARE program results seem to show that a child's attitude tends to harden and become more negative toward police by the time they are in eighth grade, so GREAT may not work as long as it focuses on seventh graders.

New Turf

The main goal of this program is to increase collaboration and formulation of linkages among law enforcement, juvenile justice, schools, community agencies, local businesses, parents, and the religious community. The goal is to make them more aware of the nature of the gang problem in the community and to reduce alcohol and other drug related crime and gang membership in Phoenix, Mesa, and Sierra Vista, Arizona.

The New Turf program is a small one with only four staff members in each city charged with the responsibility of implementing the program. The staff consists of a director, secretary, and two youth counselors. Figure 3 depicts the theory underlying the program.

Figure 3 about here

Our evaluation involved interviews with 47 officials and community members and a survey of 155 students. According to these respondents, the main accomplishment of New Turf is to promote awareness of the gang and substance problem and to promote collaboration among community agencies. The main activities that New Turf engaged in were meetings among agencies. Information sharing, discussion of goals, and a description of gangs and the gang problem in the respective cities were the things that took place at these meetings. Eighty-three percent of the people interviewed said that they had attended these meetings.

In addition to the meetings, the New Turf staff conducted a number of other activities. These include:

- neighborhood clean-ups
- elimination of graffiti
- parent training

- development of summer youth programs
- after-school study groups
- drug-free zones
- anti-gang art contests
- one-on-one counseling with gang members

The people we interviewed made positive comments about the program. The majority (64%) said that they were committed to New Turf. However, as one police officer noted, New Turf is a very limited effort aimed at a very complex problem and it is necessary to be realistic about what it can accomplish.

The student survey confirms this. Seventy-six percent of the students said that they know gang members and 67 percent said they have friends in gangs whom they see daily. The students said that the principal New Turf activity that they engaged in was organized youth and recreational activities. Only 31 percent said they participated in activities aimed at reducing gang membership. Ninety percent said they were not gang members themselves, but, as noted above, 67 percent said they have friends who are gang members. Obviously, they were not telling the truth about their own gang affiliation.

Discussion

What, then, is the answer to the question posed by this paper? One thing is clear, and that is the amount of effort being put into prevention programs is small, perhaps not addressed to the right age group (in the case of GREAT), and may not have the staying power to last long enough for the programs to have results. This, of course, does not mean that prevention rather than police suppression is not the right strategy to use.

But beyond the issue of whether or not prevention as a strategy can work is the question of whether or not gangs are the problem that needs to be addressed. One of the most significant things

these evaluations turned up was the disparity in the attitudes of the adults and the children about gangs. A large proportion of the children do not have negative attitudes about gangs. This points to the social construction of gangs as the main problem for reducing youth crime. Who are the claims-makers in this case? They consist of the media, law enforcement officials and politicians. The claim that gangs are a social problem is not a new one -- we all are familiar with the Dalton gang, the Jessie James gang, and the Capone mob. The problem may be that the focus of anti-gang activity and the claims about gangs stigmatizes minorities, poor people, and inner city residents.

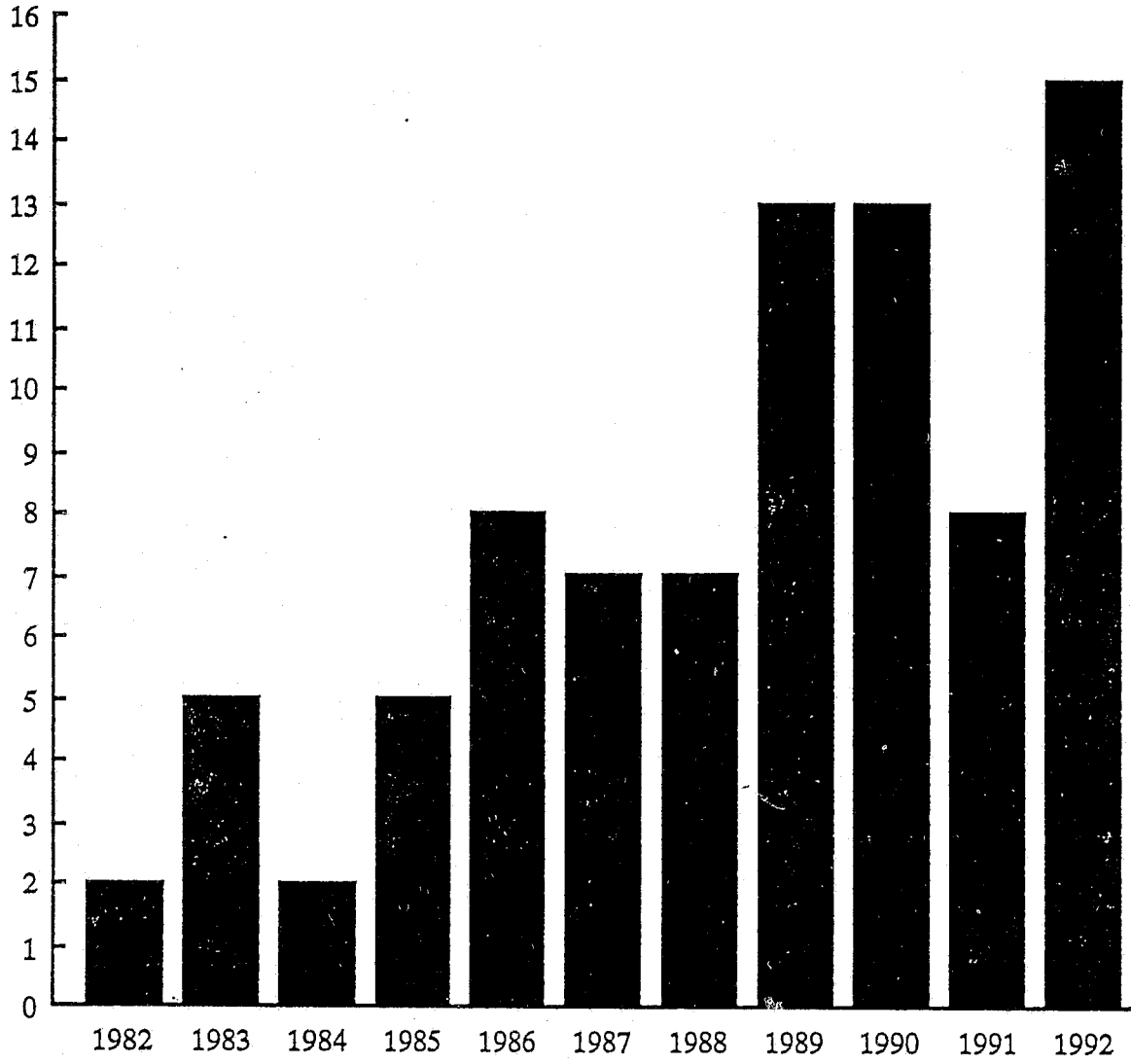
More importantly, we know very little about the gang phenomena. How big is it? Has it grown and if so, why? What is the connection between drugs, crime, and gangs? Why has it been only since the mid- to late 1980s have claims-makers constructed gangs as a social problem?

We do not have answers to these questions yet, but until we do, we cannot answer whether or not gang prevention strategies can help reduce crime, or whether or not this really is the right question to ask.

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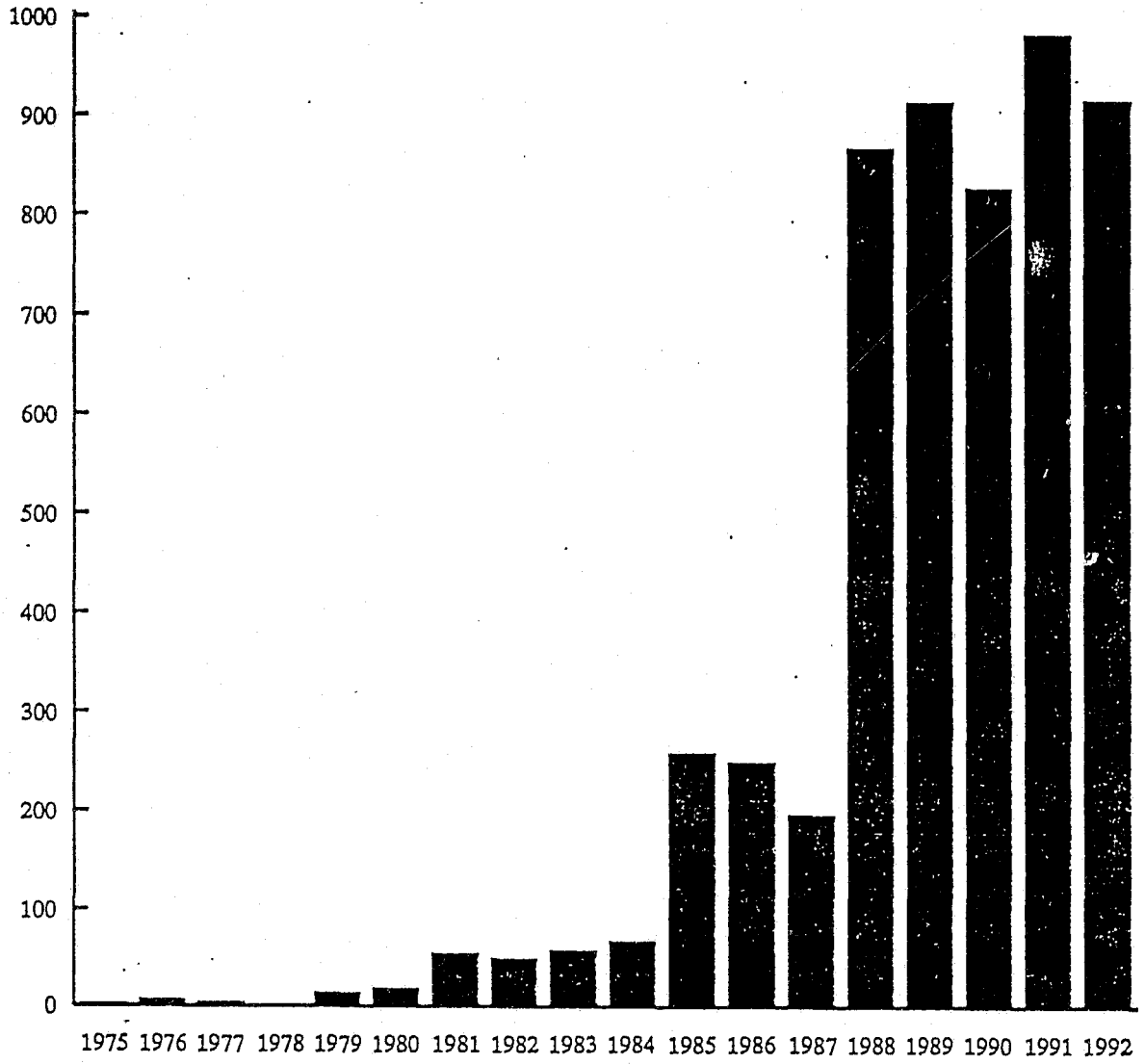
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Figure 1. Number of Articles Published in Journals and Periodicals, 1982-92



Source: Social Science Citation Index

Figure 2. Number of Articles in the Press about Gangs, 1975-92



Source: Omni File Index and NEXIS Services

Figure 3. Logic Diagram of New Turf

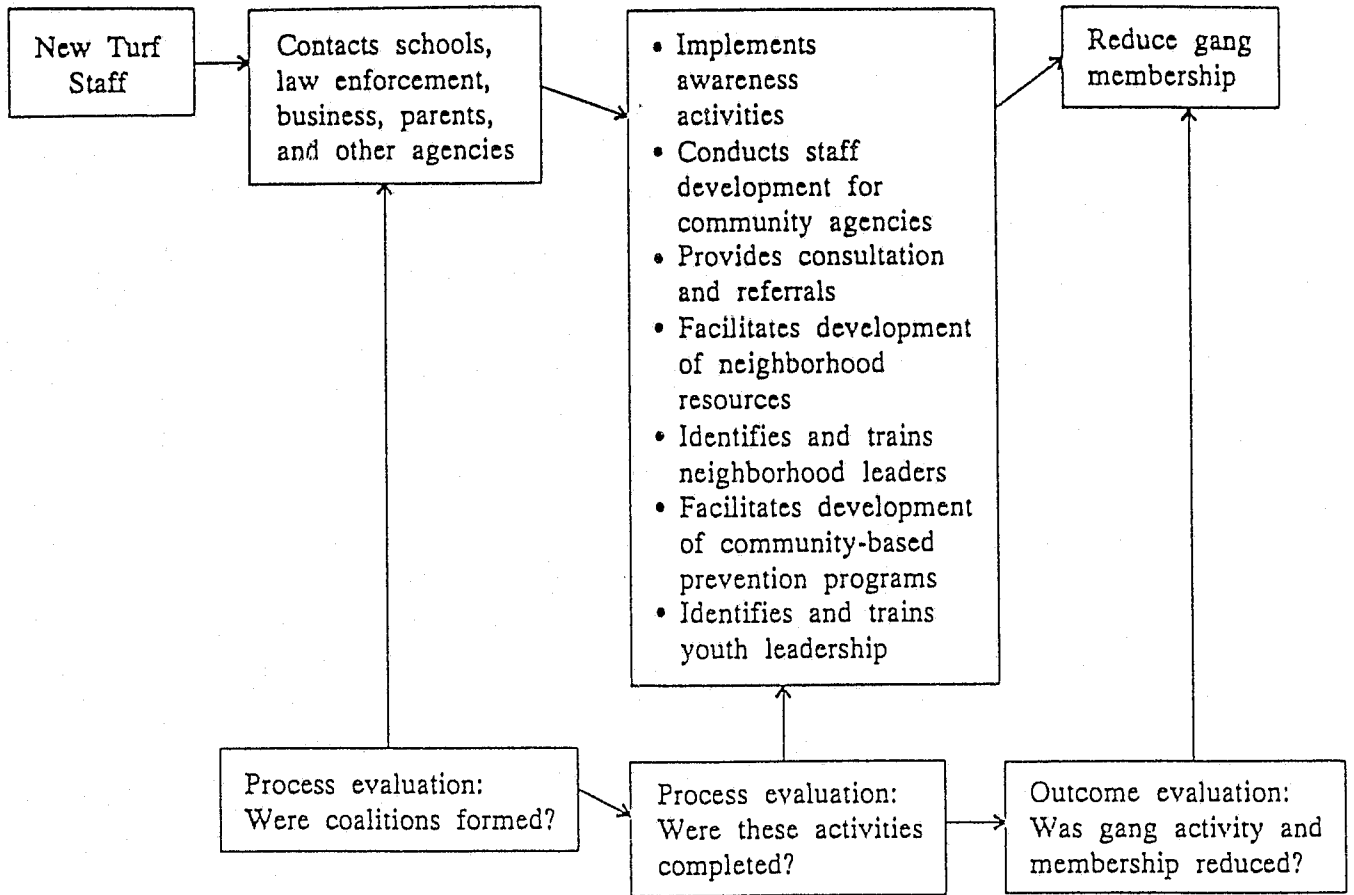


Table 1. Fifth through Eighth Grade Perceptions about How Easy it is to Get AOD

Drug	Easy		Somewhat Easy		Somewhat Hard		Hard	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Alcohol	207	29	145	20	123	17	237	33
Cigarettes	262	37	116	16	92	13	239	34
Smokeless tobacco	103	14	83	12	118	17	409	57
Marijuana	161	23	92	13	75	19	387	54
Inhalants	294	41	78	11	65	9	274	39
Cocaine/crack	98	14	69	10	77	11	469	66
Other drugs	138	19	72	10	127	17	375	53

Table 2. Percent of Students in Each Grade Who Say They have Tried Drugs.

Drug	GRADE							
	5th		6th		7th		8th	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Alcohol	99	25	109	61	91	66	100	75
Cigarettes	72	34	83	46	68	49	74	55
Smokeless tobacco	13	6	14	8	7	5	12	8
Marijuana	25	11	26	14	37	26	43	32
Inhalants	33	16	40	22	26	19	33	24
Cocaine/crack	12	5	4	2	3	2	10	8
Other drugs	17	8	18	10	13	10	15	12

Table 3. Percent in Each Grade (5th through 8th) Who Say Their Friends Use Drugs.

Drug	GRADE							
	5th		6th		7th		8th	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Alcohol	95	45	79	44	97	70	98	74
Cigarettes	96	46	90	50	85	61	85	64
Smokeless tobacco	24	11	20	11	26	19	35	27
Marijuana	49	23	55	30	74	53	72	55
Inhalants	40	19	59	32	47	34	51	38
Cocaine/crack	22	11	26	14	36	26	36	27
Other drugs	22	11	36	20	39	28	40	30

Table 4. Percent of Students Who Selected the Desired Answers to 4 Questions in the GREAT Curriculum

Question*	Pretest Correct %	Posttest Correct %	% Change
1. Prejudice is an oversimplified image of a group of people.	59.8	64.3	+4.5
2. Responsibilities are being trustworthy and accountable for one's own actions.	85.0	88.1	+3.1
3. Most gangs can be made up of just about any ethnic group.	53.0	57.8	+4.8
4. There are many cultures in the U.S. Everyone should be free to express their own culture with its own uniqueness.	75.4	78.0	+2.6

* The questions are all multiple choice. Because of space considerations, only the correct response is given here.

Table 5. Percent of Students Who Selected the Desired Answers to 4 Questions in the GREAT Curriculum.

Question*	Pretest Correct %	Posttest Correct %	% Change
1. A gang is a group of people who on a regular basis engage in delinquent or criminal activities.	83.4	77.5	-5.9
2. A crime is any act that violates the law.	75.9	67.2	-8.7
3. When someone picks a fight with you, you should try to resolve the situation peacefully.	64.0	59.0	-5.0
4. Goals are important for everyone.	56.1	61.8	-5.7

* The questions are all multiple choice. Only the correct answer is given here.