

**Developing a Successful Street Outreach Program:
Recommendations and Lessons Learned**

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Executive Summary

Street outreach has reemerged as an important component of comprehensive gang control strategies. Communities throughout the nation are implementing outreach programs, and local governments are becoming interested in both cooperating with outreach workers and regulating this work.

Though still evolving after decades of development, the key element of street outreach programs is outreach workers engaging marginalized and at-risk youth in their communities. The youth may be delinquent and mistrusting and are typically not served by mainstream service-oriented organizations. Outreach workers, often indigenous to the community and with past experience in gangs or street organizations, seek out and connect with these youth where they live. They form mentoring relationships with their clients, link them to needed services and institutions, and advocate on their behalf.

Independent evaluations of Chicago CeaseFire, Boston's Operation CeaseFire, and the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP)'s comprehensive gang model have shown very encouraging results. However, most current street outreach programs have not been appropriately evaluated. Moreover, there is not yet consensus regarding best practices in street outreach or the combination of program activities that, coupled with street outreach, are most likely to be successful. Establishing an effective outreach program can be very delicate, considering the difficulties of developing effective relationships with law enforcement and the inherent risk of hiring outreach workers with past experience in gangs or street organizations.

This project

With generous support from The California Endowment and the Evelyn and Walter Haas, Jr. Fund, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency (NCCD) developed recommendations and lessons learned regarding how to best implement street outreach programs.

This work arose out of NCCD's involvement in the California Cities Gang Prevention Network (CCGPN). In partnership with the National League of Cities' Institute for Youth Education and Families (NLC), NCCD has worked closely with thirteen cities in California to develop and begin to implement a comprehensive, city-wide plan blending prevention, intervention, and enforcement, based upon the commitment of key city leaders. This report is informed by the questions and concerns of CCGPN city leaders, as well as by conversations with state and federal policymakers.

This report primarily consists of recommendations and key program characteristics, based on site visits to promising programs, a survey of California-based outreach programs, and extensive review of the literature.

Recommendations

Outreach workers must be able to connect with the youth targeted. It is essential that the outreach worker identify appropriate youth to target and establish trust and open communication. A similarity in background and ethnicity and an established reputation and relationships in the community can help a worker connect with local youth.

Clarity of goals and strategies. Programs must have well-articulated, achievable goals, and the activities they employ must be appropriate to meet those goals. Given the high levels of need in the communities that house outreach workers, without clear goals and strategies, it can be tempting for outreach programs to address a broader range of needs than the program can reasonably expect to successfully impact.

Problem analysis. Before developing a strategy to address a problem, it is important to ensure that the problem is understood. What is driving street violence? Why are youth attracted to street organizations? At what age are they beginning to join these organizations? An assessment of the problem is essential in order to determine clear goals and, more specifically, the appropriate target of the outreach, necessary partners, hot spots, and the type of resources needed to support the targeted youth.

Program integrity. Program integrity refers to the degree to which the intervention was followed as planned. During planning and implementation, outreach programs need to be aware of numerous threats to program integrity, including role confusion, high staff turnover, and limited training.

Collaboration. An outreach worker cannot directly provide all the services a client may need. An outreach program that does not actively collaborate with others and build relationships throughout the community with a number of groups, individuals, and agencies will not be able to provide its clients with the services they need or advocate successfully on their behalf.

Responsiveness and flexibility. Outreach workers should not provide the same response to all clients; they should tailor their approach to the individual youth with whom they are working. This requires that programs have strong collaborations with service providers; limit the amount of direct services, such as job training, that they provide themselves; and employ workers with flexible schedules that allow them to respond to the needs of their clients and to conflicts as they happen.

Relationship with police departments. The majority of street outreach programs consider productive partnerships with local police departments to be essential to their work. This can be a very complicated, sensitive relationship that is difficult to build, but it is well worth it for programs to make the effort, share valuable information, and sometimes to coordinate strategies to help reduce violence in the targeted communities.

Key Questions to Consider during Development and Implementation

In developing and implementing a street outreach program, there are a number of questions that are important to consider. These are discussed at length in the report.

What is the specific purpose and the target audience of the outreach program? Reduce Gang and/or Street Violence? Reduce gang membership? Connect at-risk youth to positive opportunities?

How will outreach be conducted? Long-term relationship building and linking youth to pro-social services and activities? Conflict mediation and high-risk situations?

How is the program staffed? What methods are used to recruit, hire, train, and retain staff? Official and “neighborhood” background checks; drug testing; tolerance of misbehavior or recidivism on part of staff; hiring panels; willingness to work with law enforcement; worker

safety; fair wage and benefits; apprenticeships and volunteering; management and supervision; training; passion and long term commitment.

Which type of agency or organization should host a street outreach program? Nonprofit, community, and grassroots organizations; city and county agencies; central agency, with workers located in CBOs in particular neighborhoods; faith-based organizations.

Which partnerships are essential, and how can they be developed and maintained? Police Departments; probation, parole, and correctional facilities; schools; hospitals; community-based organizations/service agencies; faith-based organizations; business community.

What data will be collected and how will it be used and evaluated?

How will funding be secured?

Preface

Street outreach programs rely on outreach workers (sometimes referred to as “gang interventionists”)—persons who are often indigenous to the community and who have past experience in gangs and/or street organizations to reach out to marginalized youth. The marginalized youth may be delinquent and mistrusting and are typically not served by mainstream service-oriented organizations. Outreach workers seek out and connect with these youth where they live and spend time, including locations such as “community events, on street corners, parks, homes of various youth, and other places that youth hang out”¹. Street outreach workers form mentoring relationships with their clients, link them to needed services and institutions, and advocate on their behalf.

Street outreach programs have been implemented differently and have evolved significantly over the past several decades. Historically, street work as a singular intervention has not had a consistent impact on curbing delinquency. While some interventions have proven successful, others have not proven any effect, and others still appear to have promoted delinquent behavior by increasing cohesion among gang members. More recently, street outreach has reemerged as an important component of comprehensive gang control strategies.² Compared to street outreach programs of the past, current street outreach programs place greater priority in collaborations with other groups and organizations, and focus more on the individual than the group. For example, instead of attempting to reform entire gangs or street organizations, current programs intervene in specific conflicts and help connect individual youth with positive activities.

Currently, there is increased interest in implementing street outreach programs and learning more about outreach workers. Outreach workers are perceived to be uniquely capable of reaching marginalized youth likely to engage in delinquent behavior. Communities throughout the nation are implementing such programs, and local governments are becoming interested in both cooperating with outreach workers and regulating this work. At the federal level, US Representative Diane Watson of Los Angeles recently introduced legislation to regulate outreach workers who collaborate with law enforcement and communities. At the same time, newspaper headlines in the last few years have focused on outreach workers who continue to engage in illicit behavior, such as selling drugs and weapons. Implementing a street outreach program can be very risky.

Unfortunately, there is not enough known about best practices in this area, and there is no uniformity throughout programs with regards to most criteria, including which partnerships are essential, how success is measured, and who should be hired as an outreach worker. Given the limited effectiveness of many outreach programs in the past, it is important that groups and entities that plan to establish, fund, or regulate outreach programs learn from the experiences of current and historical street outreach programs. Establishing an effective outreach program can be very delicate, particularly considering the difficulties of developing effective relationships with

¹ Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (2002). *Planning for Implementation. OJJDP Comprehensive Gang Model*. Washington, D.C.: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice.

² Spergel, I.A., and Grossman, S.F. (1997). The Little Village Project: A community approach to the gang problem. *Social Work*, 42, 456-470.

law enforcement and the inherent risk of hiring outreach workers with past experience in gangs or street organizations.

Importantly, though most current street outreach programs have not been appropriately evaluated, a few well-funded and thorough evaluations have shown that contemporary programs with a strong street outreach component can have positive results. In particular, an independent evaluation of Chicago CeaseFire, funded by the National Institute of Justice, found reductions in shootings, gang involvement in homicides, retaliatory murders, and a cooling of “hot spots” in CeaseFire target areas compared to similar areas in the city that are not served by CeaseFire. Other comprehensive interventions with a strong street outreach component, such as Boston’s Operation CeaseFire, and the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP)’s comprehensive gang model, also showed very encouraging results. Despite its risks, street outreach has unique advantages in reaching marginalized youth; other violence reduction approaches have not been able to affect these youth. Street outreach has an important role to play in community gang prevention efforts.

Introduction

With generous support from The California Endowment and the Evelyn and Walter Haas, Jr. Fund, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency (NCCD) developed recommendations and lessons learned regarding how to best implement street outreach programs. NCCD’s desire to conduct research on street outreach programs arose out of our involvement in the California Cities Gang Prevention Network (CCGPN). In partnership with the National League of Cities’ Institute for Youth Education and Families (NLC), NCCD founded CCGPN as a statewide network of city leaders committed to implementing comprehensive city-wide, gang-prevention strategies and sharing best practices. Through CCGPN, NCCD has worked closely with thirteen cities in California to develop and begin to implement a comprehensive city-wide plan blending prevention, intervention, and enforcement, based upon the commitments of all key leaders. This report is informed by the questions and concerns of CCGPN city leaders, as well as by conversations with state and federal policymakers. We believe this report will be relevant to those working to implement and improve programming on the ground.

This report primarily consists of recommendations and key program characteristics, based on visits to promising programs, a review of the literature, and a survey of California-based outreach programs. Unfortunately, at this moment there is not enough known about outreach programs to determine a comprehensive list of best practices. Some programs, such as Chicago Ceasefire, have been shown to be successful. However, it is more difficult to determine which particular characteristics of specific programs are essential to their success. The “recommendations” section of this document focuses on essential characteristics of outreach programs; a review of evaluations of historical programs, and discussions with current programs finds consensus regarding these characteristics. There is not yet consensus regarding the value of other program characteristics, such as the value of establishing a street program as a small nonprofit versus as a government entity. However, there is considerable information regarding how particular choices street outreach programs make affect the services they provide. These choices are discussed in the “key program characteristics” section of this report. The appendix includes a historical overview

of street outreach programs, short descriptions of all the programs visited, as well as a list of all the programs visited and surveyed.

Project Methods

Historical overview of street outreach programs. NCCD conducted a literature review of street outreach programs, and programs that incorporated outreach workers. The history of street work dates back 150 years to when church members and charity groups attempted to reach out to delinquent boys through “Boys’ Meetings,” which took place in areas outside of the physical confines of their organizations. Search terms included: outreach, detached work, intervention, juvenile(s), youth(s), violence, violent, crime, criminal(s), gang(s). Information was gathered from academic articles and books. The literature review focuses on the history and evolution of street outreach work, evaluations of current and past outreach programs, and lessons learned from these evaluations.

Site visits. NCCD conducted site visits to ten promising outreach programs throughout the country. The programs were selected for a number of reasons, including: they had been positively evaluated, CCGPN city leaders expressed interest in learning more about them, they had received positive press, or they were recommended to NCCD by programs visited or surveyed. Site visits allowed NCCD to speak with outreach workers and program partners, in addition to the program coordinators. Furthermore, visits allowed NCCD to better understand potential obstacles to successful program development and implementation and characteristics of partnerships that promote success.

Survey of California-based street outreach programs. NCCD surveyed ten outreach programs throughout California. All California street outreach programs identified were contacted. In order to locate these programs, NCCD asked CCGPN city leaders for local recommendations, looked for relevant California-based programs online, and asked surveyed programs for a list of other programs engaged in outreach work. NCCD surveyed these programs on a number of variables including but not limited to target population, age and gender of participants, capacity, funding, collaborations, cultural competency, and guiding principles. The survey allowed NCCD to assess California’s current outreach capacity and potential avenues to improve programming state-wide. Unfortunately, many of the programs recommended as “street outreach” programs did not consist of outreaching to youth outside of an organization setting; the ten surveyed all included a street outreach component.

Discussions with CCGPN city leaders. NCCD had numerous discussions with CCGPN city leaders to assess their particular questions and concerns about street outreach programs. At least one representative from all the CCGPN cities was contacted to find out about local outreach efforts, as well as each city’s concerns and future plans regarding street outreach. Furthermore, NCCD and NLC hosted conference calls and conference sessions with city leaders on street outreach. These conversations were essential to ensure the relevance of this report to those working to implement, regulate, or improve local programming.

Recommendations

Outreach workers must be able to connect with the youth targeted. Street outreach programs are unique because they target youth that are not served by mainstream programming; the young people targeted may be disconnected and mistrusting. Street outreach workers need to seek out these youth where they spend their time because the youth will likely not seek out programming or change their behavioral norms on their own. In order for the outreach worker to influence the behavior of the client, the young people must be able to open up to and trust the outreach worker. If the targeted youth does not trust the outreach worker, the outreach effort will fail. It is essential that the outreach worker recognize appropriate youth to target and is able to connect with these youth. A similarity in background and ethnicity, as well as an established reputation and relationships in the particular community, can help a worker connect with local youth. Different outreach workers may be more appropriate for different target clients. For example, if the target is a high-level gang member, it may be best if the outreach worker is a former member of the particular gang who has maintained a positive relationship with the group after departure. A high-level gang member may not be willing to listen to somebody completely unaffiliated with his group.

Clarity of goals and strategies. Programs must have well-articulated achievable goals and the activities they employ must be appropriate to meet those goals. Researchers that have analyzed street outreach programs in the past have pointed out that programs did not have clear goals and that their proposed activities were not always linked to their assumed goals³. They found that despite programs' stated goal of reducing delinquency, their strategies were not necessarily delinquency relevant. Not surprisingly, evaluations of these programs did not find that they had reduced delinquency among their clients. NCCD's survey of current outreach programs found that many programs suffer from a lack of well-articulated goals with appropriately linked strategies. Given the high levels of need in the communities that house outreach workers, without clear goals and strategies, it can be very tempting for outreach programs to try to address all the community's needs. For example, if the goal of the program is to reduce violence in the short term, it is necessary to work with the youth that are engaging in violence, not to outreach to at-risk elementary school students.

Program integrity. Program integrity refers to the degree to which the intervention was followed as planned. In a review of street outreach programs, Arnold P. Goldstein found that outreach programs suffered numerous threats to program integrity, including role confusion, high staff turnover, and limited training.⁴ NCCD found that the integrity of several outreach programs suffered when they were implemented, particularly in the case of central agencies that employ local organizations to conduct street outreach. The local organizations may have their own views of how outreach should be conducted, and may not faithfully follow the original model. Furthermore, outreach workers in programs with limited training may not fully understand the strategy; as a consequence, they are unable to faithfully implement it.

³ Spergel, I.A. (1966). *Street Gang Work: Theory and Practice*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley. Klein, M.W. (1971). *Street Gangs and Street Workers*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall. Goldstein, A. P., Harootunian, B., & Conoley, J. C. (1994). *Student aggression: Prevention, management, and replacement training*. New York: The Guildford Press.

⁴ Goldstein, A. P. (1993). Gang intervention: A historical review. In *The Gang Intervention Handbook*, edited by A. P. Goldstein and C. R. Huff. Champaign, IL: Research Press, pp. 21-51.

Responsiveness and flexibility. Outreach workers should not provide the same response to all clients; they should tailor their approach to the individual youth with whom they are working. Targeted Youth have a wide range of needs and issues, and outreach workers must be responsive to these needs. A youth may need specific services or somebody to talk to when they feel they may engage in violent behavior. If a young person needs assistance with substance abuse addiction, or with family issues, the street outreach worker should try to locate appropriate services for this youth. Similarly, if a client is considering engaging in a violent act, it is important that he can contact his outreach worker at that moment. As such, outreach programs should have strong collaborations with service providers; limit the amount of direct services, such as job training, that they provide themselves; and have flexible schedules that allow them to be responsive to the needs of their clients and to conflicts in the targeted communities.

Problem analysis. Before developing a strategy to address a problem, it is important to ensure that the problem is understood. What is driving street violence? Why are youth attracted to street organizations, and at what age are they beginning to join these organizations? An assessment of the problem is essential in order to determine the appropriate target of the outreach, necessary partners, hot spots, and the type of resources needed to support the targeted youth. A problem analysis can help a program determine and organize its goals and strategies. In its assessment of the implementation of the Comprehensive Community-wide Approach to Gang Prevention, Intervention, and Suppression Program in five sites, OJJDP found that a thorough assessment of the “nature and scope of the community’s gang problems” was necessary to successfully implement the model.⁵ The assessment is a key component in developing clear goals and in achieving program integrity.

Collaboration. In order to appropriately serve his client, an outreach worker must engage with a number of groups, individuals, and agencies that can provide the services needed by specific youth. An outreach worker cannot provide all the services a client may need. An outreach program that does not actively collaborate with others and build relationships throughout the community will not be able to provide its clients with the services they need or advocate successfully on their behalf. Researchers have found that programs that have failed in the past did not successfully collaborate with other community organizations, community leaders, criminal justice agencies, and similar street-work efforts.⁶ This is closely related to a perceived failure of program comprehensiveness, as researchers postulated that programming should match the multi-source, multi-level nature of the cause of delinquency with a multi-pronged intervention.

Relationship with police departments. The majority of street outreach programs consider productive partnerships with local police departments to be essential to their work. These partnerships allow outreach programs and the police to share valuable information, and sometimes to coordinate strategies to help reduce violence in the targeted communities. This can be a very complicated, sensitive relationship that is difficult to build, but it is well worth it for programs to make the effort. NCCD found that these relationships worked best when most of the communication—particularly the sharing of sensitive information—occurred between the outreach coordinator supervisor and a designated high-level police officer. Often police and

⁵ Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (2002). *Planning for Implementation. OJJDP Comprehensive Gang Model*. Washington, D.C.: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice.

⁶ Spergel, I.A., and Grossman, S.F. (1997). Klein, M.W. (1971). *Street gangs and street workers*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

outreach workers on the street did not have any relationship, due to mistrust as well as due to the need to protect outreach workers from the perception that they are “snitches.” Rarely will line officers and outreach workers demonstrate a relationship on the street.

Key Program Characteristics

In developing and implementing a street outreach program, there are a number of questions that are important for programs to address. Below are some of the questions programs should think about.

What is the purpose and the target audience of the outreach program?

Street outreach programs may have different purposes. The purpose of a street outreach program will have implications for the implementation of a program as well as its target audience. As such, it is essential to be clear about the goal of the program. Because outreach programs tend to come into contact with youth with very high levels of need, they may be tempted to be all things for all people and not succeed at accomplishing their stated goal. The two main purposes of street outreach programs in this study are as follow:

Reduce gang and street violence: These programs focus on reducing violence in their communities. They tend to focus on a small number of carefully selected individuals who are perceived to be causing a large amount of the violence. They may hope to steer youth towards pro-social activities, while they emphasize reducing violence. Instead of trying to convince a youth to leave a gang, an outreach worker in this type of program may try to convince the youth to maintain a less violent lifestyle while in the gang. Outreach workers that seek to reduce violence often mediate conflicts that could lead to a violent outcome and seek to reduce retaliations after gang shootings/killings. Most often, such programs assess their effectiveness by looking at violent crime, and specifically gang crime, in the target area.

Target audience: Hard-core gang members who are likely to be victimized by and perpetuate gang violence. These youth tend to be 16 years of age or older. They may not be willing to leave their gang, but may be willing to reduce violent behavior.

Example Program: Chicago CeaseFire. The goal of this program is to reduce gun violence, specifically homicides and shootings. Outreach workers do not target high numbers of youth; they target the small number of youth with a high chance of either “being shot or being a shooter” in the immediate future. To ensure that they are appropriately high-risk, the youth must meet at least four of the following criteria: be between the ages of 16 and 25, have a prior history of offending and arrests, be a member of a gang, have been in prison, have been the recent victim of a shooting, and be involved in “high risk street activity.” The explicit criteria help maintain the focus on the highest-risk kids. Outreach staff discussed that it is tempting to work with lower-risk youth because they also have high levels of need. The criteria helped them keep the focus on youth who are most responsible for violent gang crime. The NIJ-funded CeaseFire evaluation found that the vast majority (84%) of the outreached youth met the stated criteria. Furthermore, Ceasefire emphasizes conflict resolution and retaliation reduction, and its Violence

Interrupters (different than the Outreach Workers) work with high-level gang members who may have no intention to leave the gang lifestyle or to stop selling drugs, but who may be willing to resolve a particular conflict without resorting to gun violence. Violence Interrupters are hired for their ability to reach high-level gang members. The high-level gang members may be involved in violence themselves, or may oversee the activities of other members of their gang. The message to them is clear: “stop shooting;” drug selling and gang involvement are not emphasized. Violence Interrupters mediate conflicts however they can. In some cases, Violence Interrupters steered men into physical violence and away from shooting.

Reduce gang membership/Connect at-risk youth to positive opportunities: These programs support youth in making positive life choices. They aim to connect youth to positive social services and role models and to make youth understand that they do not need to follow a gang lifestyle to gain acceptance. Outreach workers in these programs may also work closely with the families of the gang-involved or at-risk youth to address the root causes of the youth’s behavior.

Target audience: Typically, these programs will target youth that are not yet hardcore gang members. These youth typically tend to be 10-14 years of age. They will be new to a gang, “wannabe” members, or simply exhibiting at-risk behavior (e.g., drug use, involvement in the juvenile justice system, truancy). These youth may be more susceptible to leaving the gang lifestyle and engaging in positive activities than hardcore gang members.

Example program: Boston Centers for Youth & Families’ Streetworker Program. Their stated goal is to “help youth and families gain access to a wide array of health and social services including: education, recreation, enrichment, substance abuse treatment, tutoring, food, clothing, and shelter, as well as violence prevention and intervention.” Though the program focuses on reducing gang violence, its main emphasis is on connecting youth to established agencies and programs. Outreach workers support youth who have a wide variety of risk factors, such as substance abuse and living in a high-crime neighborhood.

How is outreach conducted?

Long-term relationship building and linking youth to pro-social services and activities. Long-term relationship building usually entails identifying and recruiting appropriate clients, mentoring and counseling them, assessing their needs, connecting them with a broad range of services, and trying to keep them from engaging in violent behavior. To accomplish this, workers must be able to serve as good role models, to identify and connect with the appropriate youth, and to be able to access services for their clients. Youth may need help finding a job or job training, returning to school, controlling their anger, handling court appointments or their probation officers, and engaging with their family. Workers often spend time with youth on the street, in their home, and on the phone. Yet, workers must do more than connect youth to services. They must be able to connect with the youth and begin to move the youth towards a pro-social path. This may include relationship-building with the client’s family, as family members may be able to positively influence the youth or as family difficulties may be leading to negative behavior. Many youth need support to change their behavioral patterns and how they approach problems. Youth may not see that they can solve problems without resorting to violence and that involvement in street life is an option, not a necessity. Outreach workers that focus on long-term relationship building often develop close relationships with youth. The National Institute of Justice-funded evaluation of

Chicago Ceasefire found that youth typically rated their outreach worker as the most important adult in their lives after their parents, well above brothers and sisters, grandparents, and clergy.

Example Program: Stockton's Peacekeepers develop long-lasting relationships with school-aged youth in the community. They visit their clients homes, meet with their parents and family members, talk with their teachers and school officials, call their clients on the phone, and spend unstructured time with their clients in their schools and neighborhoods. Peacekeepers also develop strong relationships with essential partners, such as the schools and local service agencies, to enable them to guarantee that their clients will be able to access services in a timely fashion and to advocate on their behalf.

Conflict mediation and high-risk situations. Outreach work may focus on preventing and addressing conflicts. Conflict mediation may prevent street conflicts from escalating into violence or may seek to stop the retaliation after violence has already occurred. To prevent conflicts from escalating into violence, outreach workers must use their street connections to learn about any dispute that may be brewing in the streets. Such conflicts may include property, gang, or personal disputes. For example, a prisoner may be released and demand that his turf be returned to him; the current occupants of the turf may have no interest in returning it. Furthermore, they must be able to use these connections to influence the parties involved in the conflict. Outreach workers may attempt to negotiate workable settlements to conflicts that do not rely on violence. Some organizations may simply warn the police that violence is about to occur in a given spot if they do not feel that they can prevent the conflict themselves. Sometimes, simply the presence of outreach workers at high-pressure situations, such as vigils and wakes, may help calm the scene and prevent violence from taking place. Several street outreach programs have worked with feuding gangs to establish long-term truces to violence.

Often conflict mediation consists of attempting to stop retaliation or halt ongoing gang violence between two groups. Since street violence often leads to retaliation, it is important to halt the cycle as soon as possible. Outreach workers work closely with victims of violence, as well as gang leaders, friends, and family of the victims, and others who are in a position to initiate or sustain cycles of violence. Additionally, some outreach workers collaborate with gang organizations to implement gang truces to halt ongoing conflicts.

Example Program: Chicago CeaseFire's Violence Interrupters focus exclusively on conflict mediation. Interrupters work to establish alternative solutions to disputes that do not rely on shootings. They remind the parties that gang warfare is "bad for business" and has significant personal costs, that gang violence attracts the attention of the police and that their families will be distraught if they are hurt in the midst of warfare. Interrupters also appeal to "street property rights," reminding a returning prisoner that custom indicates he no longer has valid street claim to his old drug turf or reminding involved participants of established turf outlines or ground rules. They work with street organizations to push them to resolve their conflicts peacefully, as opposed to relying on the police or established laws to prevent violence. Finally, violence interrupters reported that they sometimes appeal to their personal relationships with gang leaders and those involved in the dispute. If appealing to self-interest or street property rights does not work, a Violence Interrupter may simply appeal to his friendship with the appropriate parties: "I know you aren't worried about the police or your life, but do it for me." Interrupters are very creative in their approach to conflict and take advantage of whatever was available to them to prevent shootings; simply distracting an individual involved in a dispute and

asking him to wait 24 hours may be sufficient to have the participant re-think their actions. Chicago CeaseFire also has a Hospital Intervention component. Here, Violence Interrupters are alerted when a hospital receives a shooting victim, and try to begin working with the homicide victims and those that visit them before they leave the hospital. Because victims and their allies have a high likelihood of retaliating, reaching them as early as possible while in the hospital may prove helpful. Homicide victims are also keenly aware of the dangers of gang violence, and may be willing to consider leaving the gang lifestyle.

How is the program staffed?

Outreach workers. The stated goals of an outreach program, and particularly the intended clients, will affect who is an appropriate outreach worker. For example, if a program hopes to target entrenched gang members with leaders that are unwilling to speak to most individuals, it may be most appropriate to hire a former member of the specific gang who is still respected in his community. Furthermore, virtually every program stated that youth needed to be able to relate to the outreach worker, and that workers should be passionate and committed to the work.

It is helpful for all new outreach programs to assess who in the community may already be doing similar work, to see if they should be incorporated into the new program, or, if not, how they can best work together to reduce the overlap of services and to prevent conflict.

Workers with gang and/or street experience. Many street outreach programs hire outreach workers with direct experience with gangs and/or street violence. These programs emphasize that individuals who have “lived that life” are credible messengers to the community and to the targeted youth. Workers with street experience have unique insight into what attracts youth to negative life choices and can serve as role models to at-risk and gang-involved youth. Youth can see that individuals with a background in gangs can make positive life choices and turn their lives around. In neighborhoods with few role models, it is important for youth to visualize and imagine a different life for themselves. Workers with street experience may also be able to navigate the streets more safely, as they can recognize impending dangers, and may have an easier time understanding which youth should be targeted.

Outreach workers that have experience with and ties to local gangs may be better able to gain access to the world of street gangs, particularly to individuals with influence in their gangs. These outreach workers may also be able to leverage their past relationships and friendship with current gang leaders to influence the gang’s behavior. Workers with local ties to gang members and residents may be able to gather better intelligence regarding upcoming conflicts, in order to address these conflicts before they are resolved with violence. They may help minimize community resistance to the program by providing the program with legitimacy.

By hiring individuals with prior street experience, outreach programs can play a valuable role in supporting these men and women as they turn their lives around. These programs provide outreach workers with meaningful employment and a chance to play a positive role in their community. Given the few job opportunities available to ex-offenders and convicted felons with limited legitimate work experience or educational, this is a valuable service. Furthermore, individuals with past street experience may be particularly passionate and committed to improving their community to mitigate some of the harm they have caused..

Of course, there are challenges involved in hiring workers with street experience. These workers often lack experience in traditional jobs and may have a difficult time filling out paperwork and following directions. It is also possible that the workers have not fully left the street lifestyle behind. Even if they have turned their lives around, it may be too risky for former gang members and drug addicts to spend their time around their past influences and temptations. Partners, particularly the police and faith-based organizations, may be unwilling to associate with programs who hire convicted felons. Furthermore, youth may not be willing to work with outreach workers that have ties to a rival gang, and an outreach program does not want a reputation as serving a specific gang. This may make it difficult to recruit youth in areas with competing gangs.

Example Program: Chicago CeaseFire's Street Outreach Workers and Violence Interrupters have street outreach experience. The organization believes this is important in making them "credible messengers" and in helping accomplish its mission of mediating street conflict and reaching to those at high risk of becoming a shooter or a victim of a shooting. The Violence Interrupters often have very extensive histories in street organizations, and typically held a high rank in their organization. As such, they are able to reach the decision makers of local gangs. This is essential, since the Interrupters' goal is to mediate conflict and help parties reach nonviolent solutions. Only by working directly with leaders in street organizations can they have significant impact on the community's violence issue.

Workers from the community. Some programs hire individuals with strong ties to the community who have not been directly involved in gangs. These individuals have ties that allow them to minimize potential resistance to the program among community residents and that may help them in gathering intelligence on gang leadership, impending gang conflicts, and active gang members. By hiring workers without a street past, programs minimize the chance that their workers will be caught engaging in illicit behavior. Workers from the community may also serve as role models to youth, who will see that it is possible to succeed in the neighborhood without resorting to gang involvement and violence. However, it is not clear if these individuals are able to relate to youth as well as those with past experience in gangs, or if they are able to influence high-level gang leaders. Usually, these individuals have already work with the community in some capacity before becoming involved in the program.

Program Examples: Kevin Grant, coordinator of Oakland's Street Outreach Program, suggests that workers from the community without specific street experience can serve as great role models for youth, and he has such workers in his program. Youth can look up to them and see that it is possible to grow up in their neighborhood and avoid gang involvement.

Workers with no background in the community or street experience. Tracy Littcutt, former manager of Boston's Street Outreach Program, does not believe it is essential to hire individuals with street experience *or* with a background in the particular community. He suggests workers without such backgrounds are easier to train and less likely to engage in damaging behavior. He believes the most important quality is passion and commitment, not a person's background.

Other Criteria

Program staff mentioned several other important characteristics of successful outreach workers. In particular, programs stressed the importance of passion and commitment to the job. This is a difficult job that often requires a very flexible, unpredictable schedule, and forces workers to handle very complicated, violent situations. Flexibility, commitment, and passion are essential to success. A few programs stressed that workers needed to be willing to work with law enforcement agencies, regardless of their negative history with these organizations. Some programs require a high school equivalent or diploma, or a demonstration of basic reading and writing skills, to ensure that workers can complete the necessary paperwork to record their work.

Staffing Concerns

Recidivism among staff. Given the background of many outreach workers, programs tend to be very concerned with ensuring that their outreach workers will not be arrested and will not engage in illegal activity while representing their program. This could discredit the program in the eyes of the community and bring much unwanted publicity to a program, affecting funding and the support of partners. As Pastor Anthony Ortiz, founding director of California Youth Outreach says, “We don’t want to take down the organization for the sake of one worker.” Most programs take a wide variety of steps to prevent such a scenario; however, some program staff expressed concern that valuable workers would be dismissed or not hired if they implemented such measures.

Restrictions on gang and criminal justice involvement of staff. Such restrictions stated that staff could no longer be on probation or parole, that staff must have been released from prison at least five years prior to being hired, and that restrictions were placed on the type of gang involvement or type of arrest. Individuals on probation or parole may face significant punishment if they are found near drugs and/or guns (which can be a job requirement).

Program Examples: California Youth Outreach does not hire individuals who have been convicted of child abuse or sex-related offenses or who are currently under probation or parole.

Hiring Panels. Hiring Panels typically involve program staff, law enforcement, and various community leaders. By attending these panels, the job candidates must sit in the same room with local law enforcement. Law enforcement will share what they know about the job candidate, particularly if they believe the candidate remains involved in street life. Furthermore, simply having to sit in the same room as law enforcement may dissuade some individuals involved in the street from participating in the hiring process. Hiring Panels protect the program from hiring pressures by creating a transparent hiring process that is much less susceptible to influence by politicians, program partners, or funders. Furthermore, by including law enforcement, the program protects itself from suspicion by the police if a worker is arrested. The police will have participated in the hire, making it difficult for them to place the blame for the hire solely on the outreach program. Hiring Panels can also help ensure the support of partners, by giving them a voice in the process.

Program Example: Stockton’s Operation Peacekeeper’s hiring panels include representatives from the program, police officers in the gang unit, probation, and school staff.

Background checks. Background checks provide some assurance that potential hires are no longer involved in criminal activity and do not have open warrants against them. These typically occur before an individual is hired, though some programs conduct warrant checks periodically. In addition to formal background checks, programs routinely conduct “street background checks.” That is, they check with appropriate people in the community to assess the reputation and trustworthiness of the potential candidate. Programs typically want to ensure that the potential hire indeed has the street connections he or she claims, is respected in the community, left the gang in an acceptable manner (is not considered a “snitch” or a traitor in the community), and is not currently engaged in criminal behavior. Even after an individual is hired, some programs encourage individuals in the community to share with them worries or concerns about the workers, particularly in regards to illegal behavior.

Example Programs: Communities in Schools conducts background checks when workers are initially hired and conducts warrant checks on its staff every six months. Bay Area Peacekeepers conducts “street background checks” with all its applicants.

Drug testing: Drug free employees can help serve as an example to youth in the community, may be more engaged during work hours, and are less likely to be tempted to engage in illegal behavior, as outreach workers must often engage with drug sellers and users as part of their job. However, given the prevalence of drug use in many communities, particularly of the use of marijuana, some programs and staff worry that a strict adherence to a drug-free rule will eliminate too many candidates.

Example Program: Chicago Ceasefire conducts drug testing at initial hiring, as well as randomly after hiring. The NIJ-funded process evaluation of the program reported that Chicago CeaseFire staff felt drug-free employees served as examples to their clients, and felt a positive drug test “raises questions about fitness for duty.” Program staff also reported they wanted to avert potentially negative press coverage that the arrest of a staff member would spark.

Placing workers outside of their communities. In some outreach programs, workers with a past in the streets do not work in their own neighborhoods. The coordinators of these programs believe it is too dangerous for these workers—as workers may be targeted by rival gangs—and do not want the program to be seen as too closely tied to any one gang. Furthermore, it may be too tempting for former gang members to spend time with their old friends. These programs choose to send workers to other communities, where they can still relate to at-risk and gang-involved youth, given their past. However, workers outreaching outside of their own communities will likely not have the strong ties that can provide them with important information and access to gang members.

Example Program: Bay Area Peacekeepers places workers outside of their communities, if they are perceived as being too close to the streets. In particular, the program worries if a worker has only recently left the gang lifestyle or if rival organizations do not believe he has left.

Fair wage and benefits. Workers with street experience who are hired by street outreach programs often have a very limited amount of legitimate work experience. Providing workers with a fair wage and benefits can be important in helping keep workers away from drug selling or other illegal ways of earning money. Fair wages are also essential to limiting turnover among staff, as many have family and other financial obligations. Furthermore, many programs viewed generous benefits as essential to workers who were often risking their lives for the program; benefits could include medical, dental, and life insurance. Most surveyed programs stressed the importance of providing fair wages and benefits. Several were adamant about providing fair wages and benefits; unfortunately, due to financial constraints, many were not able to provide do so, and their program suffered as a result.

Example Program: The Institute for the Study and Practice of Nonviolence provides its streetworkers with livable salaries, cell phones, gas money, and lines of credit and loans.

Apprenticeships and volunteering. Several programs only hire individuals who have been volunteering on their own and who have a good reputation in the community. Other programs first take workers on as volunteers to get a sense of how they work with the community and how they react to stressful situations particularly if they have to interact with a rival gang and asks the community for feedback on the worker. These programs are willing to give workers a chance, but want to see them in action before officially hiring them.

Example Program: Communities in Schools often hires individuals who have worked as volunteers for the organization for years. They are able to assess first-hand how the worker relates to youth, and confirm that they are committed to the work and able to spend time in high-crime neighborhoods without engaging in illicit activity.

Close supervision. Several programs provide very close supervision to their workers to prevent workers from returning to street life, particularly in the first several months on the job. They believe these workers can succeed in the job but need to become accustomed to high-tension and high-temptation situations without resorting to violence or engaging in inappropriate behavior. Close supervision and support can help the workers make this transition smoothly. Furthermore, close supervision can alert program managers to any potential difficulties quickly. If these difficulties are resolvable, they can work with the workers to find a solution; if they aren't, they can remove the worker from the organization before any serious issue occurs.

Example Program: California Youth Outreach hired higher-risk candidates in the past, due to their ability to impact the behavior of gang leaders. These workers needed to report to work in the morning and carefully detail where they would be spending their time. Morning face time and a detailed accounting of their whereabouts was essential in keeping them accountable.

Tolerance of misbehavior and tempering of expectations. Though programs tried very hard to avoid having workers engage in illicit behavior, several program coordinators admitted it was unrealistic to expect that nobody would engage in street behavior given the background of many of the outreach workers. Programs worked to temper the expectations of the media and of their partners, particularly law enforcement. These programs also suggested that it was beneficial for workers to know that the organization cared about them and would support them if they made an error. These programs did not necessarily believe in a zero-tolerance policy.

Example Program. The Institute for the Study and Practice of Nonviolence works hard to explain to the media and its law enforcement partners that sometimes recidivism will occur.

Turnover. Turnover is a concern for many programs. Often, outreach is a job that requires high levels of flexibility among its staff, as they must be willing to work with youth at all hours of the day and night. Furthermore, unstable funding and exposure to risky situations often may make people more willing to leave these jobs. The fact that many outreach workers do not have significant past experience working legally may mean they have difficulty adjusting to a full-time job. All these factors can lead to high turnover rates within outreach programs, which can be very problematic for organizations. Most outreach workers are supposed to form long-term relationships with youth to support them to move towards pro-social activities, or at least develop ties to gang members in the community that will enable them to prevent conflict. If an outreach worker leaves an organization, the organization risks losing relationships with high-risk men on the street. Youth learn to trust outreach workers and may even share incriminating information with them. They may not be willing to begin a new relationship with a new outreach worker. Furthermore, if a worker is fired or leaves an organization upset due to how he was treated or the conditions of his job, he may disparage the organization to the community. Because outreach workers are often hired for their close street ties, this could cause significant damage to the organization's street reputation.

Programs report that the most important factor in reducing turnover is to properly support workers. This includes providing appropriate wages and benefits that are stable, adequate training, and opportunities for workers to discuss their personal and family difficulties.

Training. Training varies tremendously according to program; there is no standardized curriculum or training topics covered by most programs. There have been some attempts to "professionalize" street outreach workers and create a standardized curriculum, but currently most programs still do not collaborate with other organizations on appropriate trainings nor do they have structured trainings. Several programs simply rely on on-the-job training, and have new outreach workers accompany experienced outreach workers for approximately one month, until they are acquainted with the program and services. Topics covered by programs include anger management, conflict mediation, how to address burnout, how to work with law enforcement, and how to respond to sexually exploited children. In addition to helping workers better do their work, training is important in professionalizing street outreach work. It can provide workers with certificates that can help them obtain future jobs, as well as reduce turnover by supporting workers in improving their skills and advancing within the organization.

In 2008, Maximum Force Enterprises in Los Angeles implemented a "Professional Community Intervention Training Institute." The Institute aims to professionalize gang interventionists and violence intervention specialists and to develop uniform guidelines for behavior among these workers. The Institute is a response to the perceived lack of uniform codes of conduct and guidelines among community/gang intervention specialists. Furthermore, the Institute aims to help street outreach organizations address funders' requests to implement accountability and effectiveness measures. By certifying the specialists that complete the Institute's training, the Institute hopes to professionalize and validate the work of community/gang intervention specialists, and foster a community of specialists in Los Angeles.

Management and supervision. It can be very difficult to manage and supervise outreach workers because of the free-form and unpredictable nature of their work, as well as its sensitive subject nature. The work often consists of spending unstructured time on the streets, schools, or recreation areas. It can be difficult for a manager to assess if workers are outreaching or simply hanging out. As part of their job, workers must often spend time around illegal activity and they may respond and try to diffuse potentially dangerous conflicts. Managers must ensure that workers are not encouraging (or participating in) such activity, and protect their workers if they are found hanging around while illegal activity is taking place (particularly given many workers' street background). Furthermore, because outreach workers may develop very close and trusting relationships with clients, they may be privy to incriminating information that they do not want to share with their manager. Similarly, because of these close relationships, some outreach workers may develop inappropriate relationships with clients, such as sexual relationships. Many workers have never held a formal job before, or have extremely limited experience with jobs, and may need to learn basic skills such as punctuality and the importance of completing paperwork.

Programs engage in a variety of tactics to properly supervise workers. For example, California Youth Outreach asked that workers always let their supervisors know where they were going to be and who they were going to be working with at all times. This is important to manage the workers' time and to protect workers if a violent event or drug raid occurs while a worker is in the field. Several programs require daily check-ins to ensure that the worker is present and does not appear to be engaged in drugs, to assess the worker's stress level, and give workers a chance to discuss their concerns. Programs often relied on an apprenticeship system where the worker had to accompany a more experienced worker for the first few months to ensure that they were completing their tasks as asked.

Worker safety. Worker safety is essential when workers are engaging daily in high-risk environments. Workers are vulnerable to street violence, to community fears they are "snitches," and to police concerns that they are still involved in street life. Programs took a number of measures to promote worker safety. Programs often encourage workers to outreach in pairs if they are entering a high-risk situation, and to always check in with their supervisor when they are about to enter, and after they have safely left the situation. Some programs provided workers with ID's and uniforms that provided them with some defense in front of law enforcement and school officials, and committed to supporting workers in court and in front of the police if they are picked up in the midst of work. The uniforms may prevent workers from becoming caught in the midst of violence. A gang individual may choose not to engage in violence if they see the uniform. Finally, programs hire street savvy individuals partly due to their ability to gauge which situations are too dangerous to enter and what is appropriate behavior in such situations.

Which type of agency or organization should host a street outreach program?

The type of organization that hosts an outreach program can have implications for hiring policies, for access to resources and connections to other agencies, how the program is perceived in the community, and how the program approaches its work.

Nonprofit, community, and grassroots organizations. Ideally, community organizations have the flexibility to hire and manage outreach workers with varying schedules and possible histories of street crime. Community organizations may also already have established partnerships with other local organizations and may have space available in the community where they are outreaching. A

concern is that some of the relationships community organizations have had with other organizations or groups may make it more difficult to establish productive, working relationships; in particular, if a community organization has a negative history with the police department, this is something it may have to overcome. nonprofits that house street outreach programs vary significantly, affecting their approach to outreach. Some nonprofits are focused almost exclusively on their street outreach program; this is why they were developed and the heart of their work. The worry with small organizations is that they do not have the capacity to maintain human resource criteria that can be helpful in running a street outreach program, such as background and drug tests. Furthermore, they may not have the infrastructure to apply for competitive grants. Other nonprofits may be much larger organizations where the street outreach program is only a part of their work. Youth targeted may even benefit from the other programs and resources offered by the nonprofits. The worry is that large organizations may be more bureaucratic and be unwilling or unable to hire and manage individuals with unpredictable schedules or with a criminal history. A survey of community partners as part of the NIJ-funded evaluation of Chicago CeaseFire found that larger, more organized community agencies tended to be less likely to develop extensive partnerships, because they tended to be more inwardly focused.

Example Program: The Institute for the Study and Practice of Nonviolence (ISPN) in Providence, Rhode Island, is a nonprofit organization with a predominant focus on youth outreach. Workers outreach to youth in schools, on the streets, at recreation centers, and in the Institute's classes. Youth are also referred to the Streetworker program by public schools, social workers, and hospitals. Teny Gross, the Executive Director of ISPN, believes it is best for street outreach programs to be housed in a nonprofit. He suggests that programs housed in a city agency do not allow the flexibility in worker schedules necessary to do this kind of work, which occurs at all hours of the night. It also keeps the program from becoming a "dumping ground" for city employees. Furthermore, it allows the program to be more aggressive and flexible in responding to the ever-changing nature of violence in the city. For similar reasons, he suggests that programs should not be housed in a large, bureaucratic, nonprofit organization.

City and county agencies. Government agencies benefit from their ability to obtain funding, connect with other important government entities, and connect youth with resources. These agencies also tend to attract considerable attention and be viewed as legitimate, particularly by political leaders and other city or county agencies. City or county agencies are more likely to collaborate with each other. In particular, a city agency affiliated with the Mayor's Office may benefit from pressure exerted by the Mayor for other agencies to collaborate. City or county agencies are also more likely to have access to experienced proposal writers; some program leaders report that programs associated with a Mayor's office find it easier to obtain long-term funding, as they have a powerful lobbyist in the Mayor and a more established role in the city's violence prevention efforts. Unfortunately, city or county agencies may have more restrictive hiring criteria than a nonprofit organization; this may significantly restrict their ability to hire individuals with a criminal background or street experience. Furthermore, these agencies may be more bureaucratic, making it more difficult to hire and manage street outreach workers with relatively unstructured and flexible work days. Some individuals also expressed worry that a city agency could become beholden to political pressure, and potentially a place to "dump" city employees. It may be difficult for a program based in a city agency to reject a Mayor's request to hire a specific individual.

Example Program: Boston Center For Youth and Families' Streetworker Program is based in a city agency. Because the Boston Center for Youth and Families houses many other programs, and because of the pressure of the Mayor's office and the force of being a city agency, the Streetworker Program has been able to access many resources for youth. In addition to other BCYF programs, Streetworker also works with the Boston Police Department, the Department of Public Health, the Attorney General's Safe Neighborhood Initiative, the Ten Point Coalition, BSMART, Boston Public Schools, Municipal Courts, and District Courts. For example, the Streetworker program is housed under the same umbrella (Boston Centers for Youth and Families) as the YO Unlimited Boston which is a mayoral initiative that connects Boston youth with educational opportunities, employment and case management. The Streetworkers have close ties with other city agencies and so can connect their services to the youth who need them. At the initiative's inception, outreach workers tended to have criminal records and were often former gang members who were out on the street at night during times when street violence was most likely to take place. However, following outreach worker unionization in 1997, hours and backgrounds of outreach workers changed. For example, under union-negotiated contracts, outreach workers are only allowed to work until 9 PM. Following a state law regulating people who work with youth, Streetworker staff are required to have a clean criminal record and at least two years of experience working with at-risk youth. Unionization makes outreach workers subject to strict rules regulating the hours and scope of the program's work, distinguishing Streetworker from other outreach programs with similar objectives.

Central agency, with workers located in CBOs in particular neighborhoods. In this model, a central agency is responsible for overall management of outreach workers who are hired and supervised by local community organizations. Ideally, this model combines the benefits of a large bureaucratic organization (access to resources, grant-writing abilities, connections to powerful individuals in the city) with the benefits of smaller community-based agencies (close relationships with the community and with local leaders, the ability to hire the most suitable worker regardless of criminal history, the availability of meeting space in the community). The disadvantages of this model are that the central agency and the local organizations may not share a vision of how outreach should be conducted, that local agencies may not have flexible hiring criteria or may have a negative reputation with other leaders in their community, and that the central agency will not be sensitive to the cultural and community variations where the different local organizations are housed. It can be difficult for the manager in the central agency to retain some level of oversight with outreach workers who are supervised day-to-day by their host organizations.

Example Program: Chicago Ceasefire is managed by the Chicago Project for Violence Prevention (CPVP), housed at the University of Illinois' School of Public Health. CPVP selected local organizations to house the outreach work, mostly based on the levels of violence in their communities. CPVP secured funding for the local organizations, provided technical assistance and training to sites, assisted in the hiring of outreach workers, and monitored the local organizations' compliance with the CeaseFire model, including ensuring that they were targeting appropriate youth and having enough contact with the youth. An NIJ-funded evaluation found that, despite significant successes, CPVP had difficulties working with a number of local organizations. Well-established local organizations often had their own programs and goals to promote; some had CPVP-funded outreach workers supporting their own programs instead of conducting outreach, while

some faith-based organizations wanted to use religion to move youth away from gang violence. Other programs had difficult histories with law enforcement, which complicated collaboration. The evaluation also found that many outreach workers did not fully understand the CeaseFire model, which affected their implementation of the model. In cases where CPVP was not able to locate an appropriate local organization, CPVP sometimes took on oversight for the local CeaseFire model themselves. The evaluation found that this tended to be problematic, as CPVP was not located in the community and did not have the local ties that were needed to develop effective relationships with local partners. Despite difficulties encountered establishing relationships with local organizations, it seemed clear that the central agency was less successful at implementing the program locally.

Faith-based organizations. Some street outreach programs are housed in faith-based organizations. Faith can be a powerful motivator for individuals to leave the gang lifestyle and can serve as an explanation to a gang as to why an individual is no longer involved. Furthermore, outreach workers with a faith background assert that they are trusted more due to their faith; their faith allows the community to believe that they have really changed their ways, and so can gain the trust of youth in the community. Churches and other religious institutions often are strong in neighborhoods with high levels of violence and are one of the positive social outlets and role models that the community is familiar with. However, though religion or faith can be a great tool to use to work with some at-risk and gang-involved youth, for others this may not be an appealing message. Faith organizations can vary in the role faith plays in their message to youth. While some may simply use faith as a helpful tool when outreaching to youth, others may pressure youth to participate in church-related activities.

Example Program: California Youth Outreach (CYO), originally called Breakout Ministries, is a faith-based outreach organization founded by Rev. Anthony Ortiz and headed in San Jose, California. Tony Ortiz and his staff reported that faith personally motivated them to change their ways and strive to better themselves while helping youth avoid the mistakes they had made. They reported that their faith made it easier for the community to believe that they had really changed. They suggested faith could give youth a powerful incentive to change. Rev. Ortiz conducts funerals or weddings as necessary in support of the community, and prays with the community when appropriate, typically after violence in the community. However, though CYO workers openly discuss their faith, they are careful not to demand a religious commitment from the youth or to make youth participate in explicitly religious programming in order to receive CYO services.

Police Department. Overwhelmingly, the majority of outreach staff and coordinators do not believe that a program should be housed in the police department. The partnership with the police department is critical to the success of outreach programs, but the relationship is extremely sensitive, and programs stress that it is important to retain a clear distance between the two groups. Usually outreach programs work hard to distance themselves from the police department even without being housed there.

Example Program: The Oxnard Police Department Clergy Council began after then Chief Art Lopez instituted several Police Councils in order to improve relations with the community. Pastor Edgar Mohorko, who heads the Oxnard Police Department Clergy Council, believes the Council has been able to retain sufficient distance from the police in order to avoid losing the trust of the community. Mohorko stresses that, though the

Council is affiliated with the Police Department, it is an independent group. He suggests that the faith component of his program makes it easier for the community to trust them and believe that they are promoting peace, not serving as police informants. The Clergy Council appears to have a productive relationship with the police. The Council is alerted by the police immediately after violence occurs to enable the Clergy Council to begin an incident response. The Council receives referrals from the police, and Mohorko is in constant communication with officers. The Clergy Council is careful to avoid sharing details of individual cases with the police; instead, it shares general gang trends with the police, such as an increase in activity in certain neighborhoods.

Which partnerships are essential, and how can they be developed and maintained?

Police Departments. The majority of street outreach programs consider productive partnerships with local police departments to be essential to their work. In particular, outreach programs benefit tremendously from the information provided by the police. Usually, the police have the most immediate information on violence that occurred, such as shootings and killings, and may also have very timely information on impending gang conflicts, the identity of individuals the police suspected and were looking out for, hot spots, and other information on crime and criminals. They have information on the suspected causes of crime, the suspects, or at least the suspected gang. This is tremendously useful to outreach programs that work on conflict mediation and work to prevent retaliation. Some programs have been able to arrange mechanisms with the police, where they are informed of violent incidents (typically shootings) as soon as possible after they occur, to enable them to respond to the scene right away. Stockton Peacekeepers even have access to the radio communication of the Stockton Unified Police Department, to enable them to respond to any situation right away. It is also helpful for programs that work with victims of crimes, organize vigils, and try to calm the community after such an event. Some programs have even been able to sit at strategic meetings hosted by the police departments, where impending situations are discussed and strategies are devised. This can allow communities to work along with the police department to devise strategies that do not solely rely on suppression. For example, if a holiday is coming up that typically results in violence, school administrators, community partners, and outreach workers can work with the community beforehand to prevent violence, in coordination with the suppression by the police on the day of the event. Good information from the police department can also help programs demonstrate their success to funders, the media, and politicians.

Police officers also assist several programs with their hiring of outreach workers, either through hiring panels or by providing feedback on potential candidates. This helps programs avoid hiring somebody that is known to be involved in crime and provides them with some protection if somebody is found to be involved. Furthermore, outreach workers have been able to mediate between youth and police officers; programs have reported assisting youth in turning themselves in to the police and having police release youth to the custody of an outreach worker. Some outreach workers also reported that if the police saw them on the street, they may allow them time in the street to do their work with youth on the street without interfering. Police departments have also supported programs by providing security for events. One outreach program informs the police if it knows a gang fight is about to occur, as it does not believe it has the capacity to prevent these fights from occurring without police assistance. In these cases, the police flood that particular area and the fight, at least for the time, is contained.

Despite the benefits of the relationship, it can be very difficult for street outreach programs and police departments to establish and maintain productive working relationships. Often outreach workers have a criminal history and a particular history with the local police department and with officers in the department. Both the outreach workers and the police may have negative views of the other party from that shared history. Some outreach workers report they are still harassed by the police on the streets and may be upset about how their clients are treated by the police. Furthermore, outreach workers worry that youth will believe they are “snitches” if they have a relationship with the police, and police worry that outreach workers may share sensitive information pertaining to suspects or policing strategies with the community. Police departments have been upset at outreach programs that they believe are not sharing the information they want to be sharing.

Police departments and outreach programs usually take several precautions to avoid the perception that inappropriate information is being shared. Often, this involves keeping some distance between workers and the police. Outreach programs almost never share information about specific cases with police officers. Usually, information from the outreach workers is limited to their view of which neighborhoods are becoming more active and where the police should be spending more time. Some programs discourage their clients from sharing too much information about their criminal activity. If the youth is arrested, they do not want any perception that they have communicated with the police about the specific case. In many programs, the majority of communication involves only the outreach supervisor and a designated police officer. Often police and outreach workers on the street will not have any relationship, and will definitely not demonstrate this relationship on the street. One outreach worker shared that he and a police officer may be in the same site communicating about a specific incident, but that this communication occurs over the phone or via text message to avoid any perception that they are sharing too much information.

Building a relationship between street outreach workers and the police department may be difficult and time consuming. Outreach programs have used a variety of strategies to build and maintain productive relationships with police departments, including attending police trainings and roll calls to introduce themselves, attending police-sponsored beat meetings, providing police with ready-made cards with cell phones for police. Despite the difficulties involved in developing a constructive relationship, NCCD believes it is well worth the effort and that information sharing can be essential to both the police and the outreach program.

Example Program: Oakland’ Street Outreach Program has worked diligently to develop and maintain strong relationships with law enforcement, particularly with the Oakland Police Department. Oakland police officers praise the street outreach workers; they report that outreach workers are able to connect with youth in a manner that is not possible for officers in uniform. In order to foster this relationship, Oakland outreach workers attend police trainings and roll-calls to introduce themselves, and provide police with their contact information and a list of services they can provide. Police line officers attended the first training of Oakland’s outreach workers. Kevin Grant, coordinator of the Street Outreach Program, also has many years experience working closely with law enforcement in the violence prevention arena. The trust police have in him, despite his past, has made it easier for police to trust his outreach workers. Oakland has also had representatives of the original Boston CeaseFire meet with their officers to share the benefits of the outreach-police relationship. The police share some information with outreach workers regarding

locations where crime has spiked, as well as information regarding particular homicides and shootings. Police mostly communicate with Grant about individual cases and sensitive matters, to protect the outreach workers on the street. Furthermore, police are willing to give the outreach workers space in the streets to work with youth, and try to avoid disrupting their work when possible. Grant suggests that if outreach workers are sharing information with police officers about a specific case, this should be done openly where the youth in question can hear the conversation. That way, the youth will understand exactly what information was and was not shared. For example, Grant might call a police officer about a warrant open against one of his clients. This only occurs if the youth specifically gives permission to share this information. Outreach workers are also reminded to avoid learning about the criminal activities of their clients to avoid the perception that they may be sharing this information. Oakland's Street Outreach Program also works closely with the BART Police (rapid transit police force) and are alerted when a violence incident occurs on BART.

Probation, parole, and correctional facilities. Various street outreach programs also partner with criminal and juvenile justice agencies, such as probation, parole, and corrections. These partnerships can be very beneficial for several reasons. For programs that work with high-risk youth and adults, their clients may be under probation or parole supervision. Outreach workers can serve as advocates for their clients with probation and parole officers. They can contact these officers to ensure that their clients receive needed services and speak on behalf of their clients if the parole or probation officer believes the client is not meeting the requirements of their parole or probation condition. For outreach organizations whose clients are sent to juvenile facilities, such as local camps, ranches, and juvenile hall, a relationship with juvenile probation allows them to maintain their client relationship even while the youth is away. Outreach programs with strong relationships with probation have been able to acquire passes to remain in contact with their clients. Other outreach programs actually conduct outreach in juvenile and adult facilities. This can be an important time to reach out to youth and adults that may be reconsidering their street life and be willing to consider a different path once they are released. Some programs visit the facilities and talk to the youth and young adults, while others provide programming inside the facilities. Some programs have received funding from probation departments to provide services to their youth. Furthermore, outreach organizations could receive lists of youth and adults about to be released in their community through relationships with probation and parole. This can help programs plan for potentially increased activities and any conflict that may occur when a former gang member returns (like trying to reclaim turf).

Example Program: Judith Cox, the former Chief Probation Officer of Santa Cruz County, said that they contract with Barrios Unidos because the organization is able to provide certain services that their probation officers can not. They accept that the outreach workers can better connect with the youth in custody. Barrios Unidos provides classes and programming within the Juvenile Hall. The organization also helps youth plan a reentry strategy for youth under the custody of the Probation Department. Nane Alejandrez, Director of Barrios Unidos, also visits, speaks to, and writes letters with men in prison.

Schools. Schools can be important partners for outreach programs. Significant gang tensions and rivalries can occur at school. Some outreach programs are able to outreach to youth directly in schools and respond to any tension that occurs on school property. It can be difficult for schools without expertise in street organizations to understand and intervene appropriately when tensions

arise. Outreach workers can respond to tensions, without necessarily relying on law enforcement. Schools can also be a source of referrals for outreach programs, and some outreach workers teach violence prevention lessons in the local schools. Outreach workers can also work with school administrators to help youth that are chronically truant or no longer attending school to transition back into school life.

Some programs report that their target clientele are the highest-risk individuals that do not attend school. For these programs, working with middle and high schools may not make the most sense. However, gangs operate within schools, even if the most active members do not attend the schools. Outreach programs have also partnered with community colleges for skills training or with particular agencies to support youth that have left school to obtain their GED.

Several outreach programs report significant difficulties obtaining access to schools, due to concerns about having men with criminal backgrounds on school property, and due to a desire to avoid the perception that gang violence occurs in their schools.

Example Program: Stockton's Operation Peacekeeper has a great relationship with local schools. The program works in both middle schools and high schools. The outreach workers are designated to certain geographic zones and outreach to the appropriate schools in those zones. They usually attend school during breaks and when the school day ends and youth are leaving, where they can outreach to specific youth and observe group dynamics. They are also alerted by school personnel and the Stockton Unified School District (SUSD) Police Department if any incident occurs. To enable speedy responses, outreach workers have access to SUSD's Police Department radio signal. School officials share information about specific youth with the outreach workers. They also discuss progress of specific youth with the outreach worker handling that case. Despite some difficulties initiating relationships with different school officials, Operation Peacekeeper has now been able to form productive working relationships with school personnel. These relationships may have started slowly with school officials being invited to participate in Peacekeeper Activities and with outreach workers giving presentations at schools to students. Over time, these relationships have deepened to the point where the school is comfortable sharing information about a particular youth and contacts the outreach workers when incidents occur in the school.

Hospitals. Retaliation is an important component of street violence. Partnering with hospitals can be very beneficial to programs that are interested in preventing retaliation and in working with victims of violence. Retaliation planning may begin as soon as an individual is shot, and the sooner an outreach worker can reach the victim of crime, as well as the family and friends of the victim, the higher chance he may have to positively intervene and prevent a crime, re-injury, or arrest for the crime victim. Furthermore, a victim of crime that is involved in street crime may be feeling particularly upset with the negative consequences of street life and may be willing to consider changing his behavior once released from the hospital.

Example Program: Youth Alive!'s Caught in the Crossfire program, with locations in Oakland and Los Angeles, California, employs Intervention Specialists with street experience to support youth victims of crime admitted to local hospitals. Hospital staff calls an Intervention Specialist as soon as a youth is admitted to the hospital with a violence-related injury. The Specialist arrives within an hour of the call, and immediately begins to reach out to the youth, family, and friends in the hospital. The Specialist

comforts the victim, family, and friends; begins to develop a relationship with the young person and identify his or her short-term needs; and discusses alternatives to retaliation as well as plans for staying safe. Caught in the Crossfire's clients are both at risk of engaging in violent retaliatory acts and of being violently re-injured. After release, the Specialist continues to provide mentorship, support, and links to prosocial activities and resources for six months, assisting in the youth's community reintegration.

Community-based organizations/Service agencies. Relationships with community-based organizations and service agencies serve a number of important purposes for outreach programs. Service agencies can provide essential services to clients, including job and GED preparation, counseling and anger management, and substance abuse treatment. They can also provide prosocial recreation activities, such as basketball leagues. Unfortunately, outreach clients often do not access services in their community. A strong relationship between an outreach program and service agencies can help bridge this divide. Service agencies may not be used to working with such high-risk clients, or may have practices that make it difficult for youth to participate in their programs (e.g., located in a rival territory). They also may believe that the clients of outreach programs may not be likely to finish a program or training and that their limited services could be better used by somebody else. Outreach programs have worked with local service agencies to ensure that their clients can receive access to services, and that their programming is adequate for the high-risk caseloads of outreach programs, and may commit themselves to ensuring that youth will participate in the programming (e.g., an outreach worker may drive a client to a training provided by a service agency). The recently funded Boston StreetSafe, a partnership of the Boston Foundation, Mayor Thomas Menino, and the Boston Police Department, has prioritized relationships with local service and community organizations. StreetSafe is supporting local service providers by funding extra hours of operation. In this way, the programs can serve youth at a time when they may be engaged in criminal activity.

Furthermore, in order to gain legitimacy with the surrounding community, it can be important to form relationships with organizations with a strong community organizing component. These organizations can also help outreach programs plan activities in the community, and can help ensure that the planned activities are suitable to the neighborhood (e.g., how would the community receive a late-night barbeque in the park? Could the community organization publicize the event?).

Example Program: Stockton's Operation Peacekeeper has been very successful at collaborating with local community and service agencies. The organization has an Advisory Committee that includes community-based, faith-based, and government organizations. They meet monthly to network and to share resources and information. They discuss gang patterns and particular resource needs as well as untapped resources. This monthly meeting has helped reduce service overlap, and fostered closer relationships between local organizations, particularly between Operation Peacekeeper and local organizations. Now, community organizations and service agencies are quick to alert the Peacekeepers about new and available resources that may be appropriate for their clients. The close relationship between Peacekeepers and these organizations has led some organizations to specifically tailor their services to Operation Peacekeeper's clients, such as classes targeted to gang-involved youth that address anger management, substance abuse, and extracting oneself from a gang.

Faith-based organizations. In many high-violence neighborhoods, faith leaders are one of the most important, respected community leaders that run some of the most powerful and active local organizations. Positive relationships with the faith community helps outreach programs gain credibility with the community. Faith leaders can speak positively about outreach programs, and more broadly about the importance of violence prevention in their communities. They can provide counseling and support for street outreach clients and their families. For some youth, developing a stronger relationship with God or stronger spiritual beliefs can be essential in choosing to leave a violent street lifestyle. Faith leaders can also support street outreach programs by publicizing and participating in events sponsored by the programs and by providing recreational space for programs to use. Several programs visited and surveyed used space in local churches to provide recreational activities for their clients, such as late-night dancing and basketball leagues. Faith leaders can also provide referrals to outreach programs.

It can be difficult to form relationships with some faith leaders and congregations, as some may not want to work with such high-risk youth, and as program staff may have difficulties properly communicating with religious leaders. Some faith leaders may simply be so busy that they do not feel that they can take any additional time to support outreach programs.

Example Program: the Oxnard Police Department Clergy Council began after then Chief Art Lopez instituted several Police Councils in order to improve relations with the community. Though there was some initial resistance from local faith leaders to joining the Council, Pastor Edgar Mohorko, who heads the Council, has succeeded in recruiting several hundred faith leaders to participate in the Council. The faith leaders participate in peace marches and distribute peace fliers after violent incidents occur in neighborhoods. They also provide mentors and tutors to Clergy Council clients. In all likelihood, Mohorko's role as Pastor helps him connect to faith leaders. Mohorko reports that in order to recruit faith leaders, it is important to find activities that are appropriate for them and that they will feel comfortable doing. For example, while some may not feel that they can safely provide space for gang members in their church, they may feel comfortable knocking on doors and promoting peace to residents.

Business community. Local businesses can be a source of jobs as well as financial support for outreach programs. Providing an entry level part-time job can be a relatively small gesture for a business, but can be transformative in the life of a youth. Businesses can also help programs publicize events by displaying posters and pamphlets.

Example Program: The Institute for the Study and Practice of Nonviolence based in Providence, RI runs the "Beloved Community" Summer Jobs Program. Young people are placed in local businesses part-time, and are supported by the Institute the remainder of the week with nonviolence training and job readiness support. The Mayor and Police Chief support the program by calling on local businesses to participate. The Institute also works with the local Chamber of Commerce to recruit local businesses. In addition to directly employing young people, the business community is also encouraged to financially support the program.

Data and Evaluation

Data collection and evaluation measurements are essential for guiding outreach efforts, assessing a program's effectiveness, and for engaging with the media and with potential funders. Effective crime data can help programs strategize where to focus their efforts, as well as specific groups and types of crimes to target. It can also quickly provide information about the success of strategies. Funders want to ensure that their money is spent on successful programs; program data collection efforts can show funders that the program is taking this issue seriously and cares about improving their services and showing their effectiveness.

Unfortunately, a majority of the programs surveyed and visited had very limited data collection and evaluation. Outreach staff tended to avoid the administrative work of completing case files and notes and of demonstrating their work in writing. Furthermore, outreach programs were often small and did not believe they could fund dedicated staff to focus on data collection and evaluation; their current staff may not have had the capacity to do so effectively. Most programs do not believe they can fund formal evaluations of their work, though many said they would be interested in having their services evaluated.

Example Program: Chicago CeaseFire prioritized data collection and evaluation from its inception. The program organizes its outreach efforts along police beat areas specifically so that it can use these police statistics to assess its work, as well as to more easily coordinate information gathered from the police department. CeaseFire also employs an in-house evaluation unit; having a unit in-house allows them to modify their efforts in real-time, by assessing how specific sites are doing and make quick corrections if necessary. The in-house evaluation unit maintains beat-level data on shootings and killings. The unit assesses how crime trends in the beats where outreach workers are present compare to those of the other beats in the city. The evaluation unit is also responsible for managing the data sharing with the police department; it is faxed a daily list of all the shootings and killings in the relevant beat areas. This immediate information allows Violence Interrupters to quickly begin working to prevent retaliation. They also track and assess CeaseFire's work by looking at activities performed by sites and workers, such as the number of responses to violent incidents conducted, the number of conflicts mediated, and the number of outreach clients and weekly visits with clients. Of course, sites and workers are often reluctant to spend too much time sharing details of their work, out of concern for their client's privacy, a worry about being subpoenaed, and a general reluctance to complete paperwork.

Chicago CeaseFire has benefited from its evaluation by the National Institute of Justice conducted independently by a team from Northwestern University's Institute for Policy Research, led by Dr. Weskley Skogan. The evaluation included a process evaluation, which described the program's development and implementation, including how the central agency worked with the local sites, relationships with important partners such as the police, how the program is staffed, and how program clients rate their experiences with the program. The outcome evaluation compared Ceasefire beat areas with other similar areas in the city to address how shootings and killings, as well as hot spots and gang networks, were affected by the program. The evaluation found reductions in shootings and killings, retaliatory murders, and a cooling of hot spots in CeaseFire target areas. The evaluation also found that funders and reporters were very impressed with the data provided by CeaseFire. Simply having data made CeaseFire stand out.

As a result of this independent evaluation, CeaseFire has been able to proclaim itself as an “evidence-based public health approach to reducing shootings and killings.” The evaluation has also led to profiles in New York Times Magazine, the Economist, and the Christian Science Monitor. Violence prevention funds distributed as part of the American Recovery and Reinvestment Acts specifically listed Chicago CeaseFire as a promising approach to reducing violent crime that it would support to replicate or expand.

Funding

Street outreach programs often label funding as their most significant challenge. This can be very problematic as programs often do not have enough funding to operate at an adequate capacity and may provide inadequate wages and benefits and rely on volunteers when paid staff would be more appropriate. They cannot always fulfill long-term promises to youth or communities if funding is abruptly cut. Programs are funded through the city general funds, state and federal funds, foundations, and corporations. Some programs receive contracts for specific services, such as Barrios Unidos’ contract to provide services to youth under the jurisdiction of the Santa Cruz Probation Department. Some programs even generate their own revenues; Barrios Unidos generates revenue through BU Productions, a custom screen printing shop that employs community youth, providing youth with some job experience and skill while generating revenue. Barrios Unidos is also acquiring property, where they hope to support some of their operations through rental income.

Some programs have relatively stable funding, while many appear to struggle year after year and suffer unpredictable program cuts. Some organizations have been able to combine a variety of funding sources to provide some stability. Others have been able to acquire more stable funding sources from the start. StreetSafe Boston, a partnership of the Boston Foundation, Mayor Thomas Menino, and the Boston Police Department, has a guaranteed minimum level of funding for four years. The program has a total budget of \$26 million over six years and a commitment by the Boston foundation of \$1 million per year for the next four years. The Boston Foundation also is leading the initiative’s fundraising efforts, and has already raised \$7 million. Some organizations have succeeded at becoming very integrated in city’s gang prevention efforts. In this manner, they have had an easier time obtaining annual funding. California Youth Outreach is very well-integrated into San Jose’s violence prevention efforts. Pastor Tony Ortiz, founder of the organization, is represented in the Policy Team of the Mayor’s Gang Prevention Task Force. CYO receives funding from the City of San Jose.

APPENDIX I: Literature Review

Historical Review of Street Outreach Programs

Introduction

Street outreach relies on street workers to provide support and advocate on behalf of individuals in areas with high levels of gang activity in order to change behavior patterns as well as link them to needed services and institutions (Spergel, 1966; OJJDP, 2002). The role of street outreach workers requires reaching out to youth in their neighborhoods and locations such as “community events, on street corners, parks, homes of various youth, and other places that youth hang out” (OJJDP, 2002, p. 54).

Street outreach programs have been implemented differently and evolved significantly over the past several decades. More recently, street outreach has reemerged within a broader framework, and street outreach efforts have become a crucial element of more comprehensive gang control strategies (Spergel & Grossman, 1997). Though in the past, street work as a singular intervention did not have a demonstrable impact on delinquency, street outreach continues to be recognized for its unique advantages in reaching marginalized youth and its potential contribution to integrated gang control approaches (Spergel, 2007).

Origins of Street Outreach

The history of street work dates back 150 years to when church members and charity groups attempted to reach out to delinquent boys through offering “Boys’ Meetings,” which took place in areas outside of the physical confines of their organizations (Spergel, 1966). These efforts were continued by other service organizations such as the YMCA, Boy Scouts, and Boys’ Clubs, which provided services to boys in the areas they frequented and resided (Spergel, 1966).

The Chicago Area Project (CAP), inaugurated in 1934 and developed by sociologists Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, “was the first organized attempt to use workers to establish direct and personal contact with ‘unreachable’ boys, to help them find their way back to acceptable norms of conduct” (Kobrin in Spergel, 1966).

CAP was based on research that showed that crime was regulated by the nature of neighborhoods, not the individuals within them (Lilly, Cullen, & Ball, 2007). Shaw and McKay felt that earlier efforts to address delinquency were ineffective at reaching delinquent youth. Shaw and McKay emphasized the social and cultural distances between control workers and delinquent youth, and attributed the ineffectiveness to:

The bureaucratization of agencies of control.

The professionalism of service provision.

The institutionalization of practices focusing on the individual treatment.

Shaw and McKay stressed that the relationship between youth and control agents relied on threats, orders, and other coercive methods, which prevent trust and closeness; that control workers were too distant socially and culturally from the youth; that interventions were too institutionalized and not responsive to the needs of the youth; and an insufficient focus and acknowledgement of social factors and forces that contributed to delinquency such as group or community influences (Finestone, 1976).

Accordingly, Shaw and McKay determined that attempts to reach out to delinquent youth and connect them to the existing social structures should be made and the “primary agency selected for bridging the distance between gang boys and the rest of society was the street worker” (Finestone, 1976, p. 12). They proposed the use of “indigenous” workers from the local community in an “attempt to reduce the impersonality of the situation in which services are provided” to people in disadvantaged areas (p. 149). Finestone (1976) notes that the design and implementation of the project as a whole proved not to be as influential as some of its themes, most notably, the ideas of:

Using street gang workers.

Using former gang members.

Informally “reaching out” to neighborhoods and communities.

Though first conceived of by Shaw and McKay, the employment of “indigenous” or street workers was a practice that was implemented by numerous other programs. Klein (1995) explains that:

The notion was to enrich the local community’s capacity to handle its own problems, including the recruitment of streetwise young men to work with the local gangs. These street workers became the heart of programs.... In varied forms, the street workers became the change agents and data sources... All of this came about because the logic of their underlying theories and the liberal tone of their intervention strategies (p. 53).

Furthermore, CAP relied on several approaches to address the community and social factors considered crucial to delinquency, including 1) recreational programs, 2) improving neighborhoods, 3) detached worker support and mediation, and 4) indigenous staff to provide “curbside counseling” (Lilly et al., 2007).

Theoretical Underpinnings of Street Outreach

During the 1950s, the major theoretical developments in the area of youth gangs included:

Albert Cohen’s delinquent subculture theory

Cloward and Ohlin’s blocked opportunity theory

Walter Miller’s lower-class subculture theory

Along with the theories of Shaw and McKay and the Chicago school, these were the dominant sociological theories used to explain gang behavior (Miller, 1990). Despite their differences, all these theories emphasized the social context as opposed to the individual. The ideas of Shaw and McKay supported a “social disorganization” approach, which stressed the importance of social context and environmental factors and rejected individualist explanations of crime. Instead, delinquency was rooted in the social disorganization of communities that led to a lack of

conventional means to control delinquency and the subjection of youth to a criminal culture (Lilly et al., 2007, p. 40).

The writings of Cohen, as well as the work of Cloward and Ohlin, both grew from the writings of the Chicago school and early work of Merton (Klein, 1995; Lilly et al., 2007). Initially, anomie theory as proposed by Merton (1938) “contended that the very nature of American society generates considerable crime and deviance” (Lilly et al., 2007, p. 58). According to strain theory, the causes of crime stem from a disjuncture between socially approved goals and the availability of legitimate means to achieve them. When legitimate means were blocked, anomie was the result, which produced strain on individuals to attain culturally supported success by whatever means possible. Cohen emphasized that the source of strain was status frustration, which was resolved by substituting oppositional values and behaviors. Cloward and Ohlin argued that gang activity was the result of not only blocked opportunities to achieve goals but also depended on access to either legitimate or illegitimate means to achieve status. In contrast, research by Miller led him to theorize that youth were not reacting to middle class views and standards but instead responding normally to the conditions and circumstances of their environment.

Several new gang interventions were developed across the country and were heavily influenced by the theoretical advancements of this period. In particular, programs were rooted in the belief that the social structure generated crime.

Early Steet Outreach Programs

Beginning in the late 1940s through the early 1960s, street outreach programs burgeoned but then decreased before reemerging in the early 1990s (Spergel & Grossman, 1997) (see Table 1 Goldstein et al., 1999, p. 158). The theories described above collectively informed and were the impetus behind early research, policy, and programming initiatives. The Ford Foundation and the federal government funded gang intervention projects in New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles based on these new theories (Klein, 1995).

Table 1. Gang Intervention Programming

Up to 1950	Minimal, unsystematic
1950-1965	Detached work, youth outreach, street gang work
1965-1980	Social and economic opportunities provision
1980-1990	Gang busting, suppression, incarceration
1990-Present	Comprehensive programming, psychological, vocational, recreational, familial, educational, and criminal justice

Purpose of Early Street Outreach Work

Spergel (1966) defined street work as “the systematic effort of an agency worker, using social intervention techniques, to help the delinquent group and its members achieve conventional adaptation” (p. 220). In acknowledging the context in which street work occurs, Spergel added that street work “also requires work with or manipulation of, neighborhood processes or agency representatives who interact with the delinquent group” (p. 220). Spergel outlined five major approaches of street work (p. 23-26):

- 1) **Control:** Control delinquent behavior of gangs who pose the largest threat to the community through a saturation of surveillance and collaboration with other community groups and organizations
- 2) **Treatment:** Counseling and therapeutic interventions to address psychological disturbance or interpersonal difficulties, which have been caused by dysfunctional family relationships
- 3) **Opportunities:** Developing and organizing resources to help youth access educational, employment and recreational opportunities through modifying existing institutional programs
- 4) **Value change:** Interrupting the socialization of youth into careers of crime by changing their orientation from antisocial to prosocial and the orientation of the adults and organizations responsible for institutionalized criminal patterns
- 5) **Prevention:** Targeting younger, less delinquent youth for conventional adaptation and positive growth while modifying the social, cultural, organizational, and psychological conditions that contribute to delinquency

These objectives would be met through casework, group work, and community organization. Street workers would open new channels for delinquent youth to access legitimate opportunities and status, and to live pro-social values.

According to Goldstein (1993), the approaches above aimed to:

- Reduce antisocial behavior,
- Produce friendlier relations with other street gangs,
- Increase participation of a democratic nature within the gang,
- Increase responsibility for self-direction among individual gang members,
- Improve social and personal adjustment,
- Create better relations with the community of which the gang was a part.

Aggressive street work was a core component in the programs that were implemented in major cities across the country including New York, Chicago, Boston, and Los Angeles (Spergel, 1990). The gang, instead of the individual, was perceived to be the agent of change. The early street outreach programs operated under the assumption that:

Youth gangs could be redirected to fit the expectations and needs of the larger society. Youth gang norms and values could be changed sufficiently with the aid of outreach supportive services... The gang itself was to be the vehicle for its own transformation” (Spergel, 1995, p. 174).

Though some of the original street outreach programs attempted to increase youth access to legitimate opportunities, “most detached worker programs came to the position that their central aspiration was values transformation” (Goldstein, 1993, p. 23).

Early Models

Though programs proliferated around the country, the literature has focused primarily on the following four.

The New York City Youth Board Project. The establishment of the New York City Youth Board Project signaled a “significant shift in youth gang program approaches, from prevention by means of community organization to interventions relying almost exclusively on detached workers” (Howell, 2000, p. 15). In 1947, The New York City Youth Board Project began funding other agencies that worked with gangs, and by 1950 it had started its own program. This project was modeled on the work done by CAP (Schneider, 1999). Central to the project’s mission was the transformation of antisocial values into prosocial beliefs and behavior (Goldstein, 1993, p. 23; Thompson, 1999, p. 14). The means through which this would be accomplished was through worker-member relationships (Klein, 1995). Detached workers were to advocate for youth with their families, schools, and with police and in court as well as provide employment support and counseling referrals. Group action such as, “club activities, athletic teams, and fund raisers such as car washes, dances, trip and parties” were emphasized (p. 143). The New York projects differed from CAP though in that “few incorporated a similar respect for the community and fewer still implemented its policy for community empowerment” (Schneider, 1999, p. 190).

The Roxbury Project. Like the New York City Youth Board Project, the core component of the Roxbury project was detached work (Klein, 1971). The Roxbury project was operational in Boston from 1954-1957. The four major components were 1) work with local citizens and groups, 2) interagency relations, 3) family casework, and 4) detached work with gangs. The drive of the program emanated from the detached worker component, and the areas of employment and education were the most highly emphasized (Klein, 1971).

The Chicago Youth Development Project. The Chicago Youth Development Project (CYDP) was implemented by the Chicago Boys’ Clubs between 1960 and 1966. In general, this program differed from the Roxbury Project in that it had a longer duration, had higher rates of gang member participation, focused more heavily on community organization, and relied on data analysis to improve programming (Klein, 1995). The CYDP shared the same assumptions and utilized a similar framework as the New York City Youth Board and Roxbury projects in its emphasis primarily on street work as well as work with the larger community (Spergel, 1995).

The Los Angeles Group Guidance Project. The Los Angeles County Probation Department’s Group Guidance Section was created following the “zoot suit” riots in the 1940s. The agency commenced the Group Guidance Project in 1961 and primarily emphasized group programming such as “group discussion, counseling and recreational activities” (Spergel, 1995, p. 230). These activities “including weekly club meetings, sports activities, tutoring, individual counseling, and advocacy with community agencies and organizations, were designed to reunite gang members with their community institutions” (Howell, 2000). This project also relied on the concept of values transformation where the goal was to change “gang member values, attitudes and perceptions through counseling and activities” (Spergel, 1995, p. 250). Like other projects launched during this period, community involvement and collaboration with other stakeholders,

such as, community groups, grass-roots agencies, and law enforcement were neglected (Spergel 1995).

Evaluations of Early Programs

According to Spergel (1995) street outreach programs have undergone more evaluation than any other gang control approach. Reviews of street outreach projects have produced conflicting findings where some report positive outcomes, whereas others have determined the impact of street outreach to be negligible or to contribute to an increase in gang delinquency. Howell (2000) reviewed a selected group of gang program evaluations, and overall, those with a detached worker component (with noted exception) reported a negligible impact, no differential impact, led to a significant increase in gang delinquency, or had indeterminable results (see Table 2).

Table 2. OJJDP Review of Programs with Detached Worker Component

Program	Sample Size	Study	Evaluation Results
Roxbury Project (Boston) (1954-1957)	377 members	Miller, 1962	Negligible impact
The Chicago Youth Development Project (1960-1966)	4 city boroughs	Caplan et al., 1967; Gold and Mattick, 1974; Mattick and Caplan, 1962	No differential impact
Chicago YMCA Program for Detached Workers		Short, 1963; Short and Strodbeck, 1965	Early results encouraging; no final results: evaluation suspended
The Los Angeles Group Guidance Project (1961-1965)	576 members	Klein, 1969, 1971	Significant increase in gang delinquency

Since the New York City Board Project was never rigorously evaluated, its impact is unknown. The Roxbury Project was evaluated by Walter Miller who collected “voluminous data” on individual gang members and gang structure (Klein, 1995, p. 144). Over three years, the intervention group did not show improvements compared to the control group in the areas of court appearances, delinquent behaviors or arrests. In particular, increases in delinquency occurred more for males compared to females, for younger compared to older boys, and for more serious compared to less serious offenses (Klein, 1971). Results from an evaluation of the CYDP found that the targeted areas continued to have delinquency problems and that, counter to the hypothesis, “youths who said they were closest to their workers continued to be most often in trouble with the police” (in Spergel, 1995, p. 249). Likewise, Group Guidance participants showed increases in delinquency, which were the highest among participants who received the most services and younger participants (Klein, 1971). These results have led to the questioning of the effectiveness and push for the discontinuation of these early forms of gang intervention.

These combined evaluations did not demonstrate the anticipated results of positively impacting gang involved youth. Researchers have pointed out several aspects of the early street -outreach program designs to explain their lack of demonstrated success:

Focus on the group instead of the individual. Klein (1968) postulated that this focus led to increased gang cohesion and new membership, ultimately strengthening gangs instead of transforming member values and redirecting members toward prosocial goals and behavior.

Unclear program goals and design. Researchers pointed out that programs did not have clear goals, and that their proposed activities were not always linked to their assumed goals. Researchers pointed out that the techniques employed were not necessarily delinquency relevant (Spergel, 1966; Klein, 1971; Goldstein et al., 1994).

Lack of cooperation and conflict. Programs did not successfully collaborate with other community organizations, community leaders, criminal justice agencies, and similar street work efforts (Spergel & Grossman, 1997; Klein, 1971). This is closely related to the perceived failure of program comprehensiveness, as researchers postulated that programming should match the multi-source, multi-level nature of the cause of delinquency with a multi-pronged intervention (Goldstein et al., 1994)

Lack of resources given the scope of the problem. In part due to the underestimation of the gang problem, “youth gangs and their members were more prevalent, probably more seriously delinquent and better organized” than was previously predicted (Klein, 1971; Spergel, 2007).

Failure of program integrity. (degree to which intervention was followed as planned). (Goldstein, 1993).

Overview. Goldstein (1993) argues that given these difficulties, particularly those of resources and integrity, “program effectiveness remains indeterminate and conclusion regarding efficacy must be suspended” (p. 7). He suggests that the view that the interventions failed should be tempered, and instead the efficacy of street work should be considered indeterminate. The outright declaration that these programs were a failure has been challenged (Moore, 1991 in Spergel, 2007), and researchers have pointed out that despite their lack of demonstrated success in reducing delinquent activity, programs have demonstrated success in other domains. For example, CYDP participation led to an increase in educational goals (Spergel, 1995). Other projects goals were noted as successful such as positive worker-youth relationships and movement “toward better family, school, and job involvement” (Klein, 1995, p. 144). Howell (2000) acknowledges that while there is disagreement regarding the effectiveness of street worker programs, “as a singular intervention, detached workers have not conclusively produced positive results” (p. 16). Spergel (1966) notes that, “[i]t may be in the long run that none of these techniques are the best for dealing with delinquency, and only a commitment to the purpose of primary prevention will serve” (p. 26). Klein and Maxson (2006) believe that outreach workers can positively support gang interventions, but caution that interventions that employ outreach workers should be closely monitored so as not to lead to some of the negative outcomes that plagued earlier programs.

Street Work from the mid-1960S through the 1980s

During the 1960s through the late 1970s, there was a shift in both theory and practice regarding gang control. Responding to the lessons learned from previous street outreach efforts, the Ladino Hills project was implemented in 1966 (Klein, 1971). The program targeted a Mexican American

gang for an 18-month period. The goals were to lower delinquency rates through reducing gang cohesion. All group programming was eliminated and replaced by activities such as individual tutoring, individual counseling, individual mentoring, and job seeking (Klein & Maxson, 2006). A reduction in cohesiveness by 11 to 40 percent was reported, and new gang members entering the gang ceased. Though the number of offenses per gang member did not decrease, overall delinquency rates for several offenses decreased by 35 percent (Klein, 1971, p. 51).

Though some of the original street outreach programs attempted to increase youth access to legitimate opportunities, “most detached worker programs came to the position that their central aspiration was values transformation” (Goldstein, 1993, p. 23). In the period that followed, the goal of values transformation was replaced with the aim of opportunities provision, which became the central mission. Instead of focusing on the individual or group level, by the mid-1960s, interventions aimed for institutional and structural level change through community-action programs. Detached workers were incorporated into the community-service realm and were charged with connecting youth to educational and employment programs (Spergel, 2007). Unfortunately, few programs at this time were evaluated (Goldstein, 1993).

By 1980, policies and practices related to gang control sharply turned to a “get tough” approach, where suppression tactics were the most heavily utilized. During this period, social control largely replaced social improvement as the preeminent approach to gang youth due to a combination of factors such as increases in drug use, violence, and political conservatism (Goldstein, 1993). According to Hagedorn (1988), this period is best described as where “the basic strategy for coping with gangs remains the iron fist, a strategy that moves the problem from visibility in the community to invisibility in the prison” (p. 150).

Current Models

The 1990s and new millennium have ushered in a call for more comprehensive and integrated approaches to gang prevention, intervention, and control. According to Spergel and Grossman (1997), “currently, youth gang work is experiencing a rebirth within a broader, more collaborative interagency and community framework in a variety of contexts: school, inner-city neighborhoods, American Indian reservations, residential centers and prisons” (p. 457). These programs have “more complex design, innovative program or case management, and the availability of additional, mainly federal and state, resources” (Spergel, 1995).

The “detached worker” model has expanded over the past several decades into a more comprehensive street outreach approach that includes additional roles and strategies (Spergel & Curry, 1990). Now, numerous gang intervention programs across the country incorporate a street outreach component (See Table 3). These programs had more resources and organization to tackle the gang problem, and emphasized collaboration with other agencies. Several of the street outreach program’s core components include the coordination with outside agencies, organizations and community leaders such as probation, police, and faith leaders. An emphasis on community organizing has resurfaced, and public education and training are also incorporated into some of the more recent programs. Importantly, though most current street outreach programs have not been appropriately evaluated, a few well-funded and thorough evaluations have shown that contemporary programs with a strong street outreach component can have positive results. In particular, an independent evaluation of Chicago CeaseFire, funded by the National Institute of Justice, found reductions in shootings, gang involvement in homicides,

retaliatory murders, and a cooling of “hot spots” in CeaseFire target areas compared to similar areas in the city not served by CeaseFire. Other comprehensive interventions with a strong street outreach component, such as Boston’s Operation CeaseFire, and the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP)’s comprehensive gang model, also showed encouraging results.

Table 3. Overview of Selected Current Street Outreach Programs

Program	Year Started	Core Components
Boston Streetworker Program	1990	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Outreach activities and home visits Advocate for gang members in the courts Help probation department with supervision Mediate disputes and gang truces Provide referrals to community programs Meetings with gang members and law enforcement agencies
Chicago CeaseFire	1999	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Street-level outreach Public education Community mobilization Faith leader involvement Police participation
Comin’ up	1994	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Education and employment Life skills development Establish gang truces Employ clients as outreach workers
Community Response Network	2003	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Crisis response Street Outreach Care management services
Institute for the Study and Practice of Non-violence	2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Intervention and outreach program Teach nonviolence in the schools Train adults and youth in nonviolence
Stockton’s Peacekeepers Program	1998	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Street Outreach: Conflict resolution Mediation Community organizing Mentoring Case management

Conclusion

Street outreach has had a long and uneven history as a social intervention to address gang violence. Detached work was the most prominent feature of the first systematic approaches to gang problems during the 1950s-1960s. The detached worker was intended to be the change agent responsible for both instilling prosocial values and directing youth away from gangs and crime. Initial program evaluation results were mixed and while few interventions reported positive results, most had either no effect or negative effects (Spergel, 1990). Over the next several decades, the prominent position of detached work in gang programming diminished drastically, though it evolved with the societal and political changes that followed. The value of street work in reaching disenfranchised and marginalized youth has endured decades of shifting politics and remains a vital element in more complex and comprehensive programming.

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APPENDIX II: Summary Descriptions of Programs

Boston Center for Youth and Families' Streetworker Program

Boston Center for Youth and Families' Streetworker Program is a violence prevention program that employs street outreach work, community engagement and inter-agency collaboration to meet its goals. It is housed in and funded by the Boston city government and targets at-risk youth and their families.

History. Boston Community Centers (BCC) arose out of a movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s to push government to create spaces available for a wide range of community activities. In 2001, the Boston Centers for Youth and Families (BCYF) was created when Mayor Menino merged the Office of Community Partnership, the department of Parks and Recreation, and BCC. The Streetworker program was initiated in 1990 as a violence prevention program and has been housed in some incarnation of BCYF since its inception.

Charlie Rose and Robert Lewis initiated the program for Mayor Raymon L. Flynn's office in 1990 in response to Boston's crack-fueled gang wars that threatened to engulf the city in violence. The Streetworker program came into fruition in response to the city's desire to intervene in gang members' lives in a meaningful way. He and his staff noticed that gang members were not accessing social services through government agencies, so he hired street workers to meet them on their territory.

Strategy. The Streetworker program uses prevention and intervention to reduce gang and youth violence. In addition to working with at-risk youth, the program targets families and the community in an effort to realize a comprehensive approach to gang violence. As such, the program has varied and multi-directed goals that are intended to effect change in youth behavior, inter-agency interactions, and the community at large.

On the client side, the program's stated goals are to help youth and families gain access to a wide array of health services including education, recreation, enrichment, substance abuse treatment, tutoring, food, clothing, and shelter. The Streetworker Program aims to encourage drop-out youth to return to school and to direct them towards services and programs that help them receive an education—either academic or professional depending on the clients' capacity and needs. The Streetworker Program strives to establish and maintain a resources and referral system of services for Boston youth and agencies that streetworkers and youth can easily access and that improves ties between CBO agencies, streetworkers, and Boston youth. Streetworker's intervention piece translates to mediating emergency situations as they arise and intervening in violent street situations. The Streetworker Program also provides intense crisis response for youth-related homicides. Staff meet monthly to share information about youth in need and share resources and to collaborate to solve collective program issues.

The success of the Streetworker strategy depends on inter-agency collaboration. In addition to other BCYF programs, the Streetworker Program also works with the Boston Police Department, the Department of Public Health, the Attorney General's Safe Neighborhood Initiative, the Ten Point Coalition, BSMART, Boston Public Schools, Municipal Courts, and District Courts. The Streetworker Program works with outside agencies primarily in three capacities: 1) coordination

and sharing of information and resources, 2) provision of joint training sessions and workshops on youth prevention issues such as substance abuse and violence, and 3) training of new outreach workers for the job of street work by familiarizing them with neighborhood agencies, resources, and human services available to youth.

The Streetworker Program is housed in a city agency, making collaboration with other agencies easier than if it were housed in a private organization. As city employees, outreach workers are also in a uniquely well-placed position to direct youth to services. The Streetworkers have close ties with other city agencies; this facilitates connecting youth to city services. For example, the Streetworker program is part of the city of Boston's Human Service cabinet as the YO Unlimited Boston, which is a mayoral initiative that connects Boston youth with educational opportunities, employment, and case management.

In addition to working with community and service agencies, Streetworker staff also partner with individuals and groups within the criminal and juvenile justice system, advocating on behalf of their youth with probation officers, police officers, and in court. Streetworkers and the police share information regarding "hotspots." Street-level relationships between outreach workers and police are informal and personal and tend to be tactical in orientation, while relationships between higher-level police officers and outreach workers tend to be more strategic and public in orientation. The court system refers youth to Streetworkers for counseling and personalized follow-up. Incarcerated youth are also referred to the program three months prior to release to try to reduce recidivism. Streetworker involvement in youth court cases is institutionalized—there are forms and protocols for the involvement of street workers in court procedures. The court system recognizes the work of Streetworkers by encouraging their testimony in court and recognizing the validity of their judgment and recommendations for court-involved youth.

Target demographic. The Streetwork Program services are directed toward at-risk Boston youth. These youth are identified as such if they meet three of the following characteristics: past or current substance abuse; past or current court involved or on probation; truant or school dropout; gang member with special attention to girl gang member or "wannabes"; over-age student for grade level/ retained; expelled or chronically suspended student; special needs youth; HIV/AIDS; low-income; economically disadvantaged; supported by public assistance; public housing resident; from single-headed households; from substance abusing family; living in a neighborhood of high incidence of crime, drug abuse, poverty or gang violence; pregnant or parenting; in custody of Department of Youth Services or Department of Social Services; living in foster home, homeless, or runaway, independent living situation; lacking proficiency in the English language; depressed, suicidal, or prior mental health history; victim of physical or sexual abuse or assault. Youth are directed to the program by court referrals and by street outreach.

Staff. The Streetworker Program employs 25 streetworkers. Since the Streetworker Program is housed in a city agency, outreach workers are city employees and receive commensurate benefits and salaries. At the initiative's inception, outreach workers tended to have criminal records and were often former gang members who were out on the street at night during times when street violence was most likely to take place. However, there were a lot of lessons learned in terms of putting ex-gang members back on the same streets without adequate supervision and the unionization of Streetworkers. Prior to the Streetworkers joining the union, there were certain conditions that the department did not have to concern itself with like paying overtime beyond the workers regular work shift or ensuring that the Streetworker work hours did not go beyond the department community centers' hours for safety reasons. Also, as part of the commonwealth's

efforts to protect vulnerable populations (children, elderly, etc.) CORI (criminal background checks) and SORI (sexual offender information) made it more difficult to hire those who had past challenges like criminal records and gang involvement.

Funding and evaluation. BCYF' Streetworker Program is housed in a city agency and is funded by the city. There has not been a formal evaluation, but the Streetworker program keeps track of the total number of youth reached and total number of referrals and maintains caseloads of 10-15 active clients.

For more information, please visit <http://www.cityofboston.gov/BCYF/>

California Youth Outreach

California Youth Outreach (CYO), based in San Jose, provides direct services to gang-impacted youth, families, and communities. CYO outreaches to youth in schools, the community, as well as in state prisons and juvenile facilities. CYO received the National Gang Crime Research Center's 2006 Thrasher Award for exemplary gang prevention and intervention programs. As part of this award, its Proud Parenting Program was designated as an exemplary program with proven effectiveness, replicable in other communities. CYO's founder Pastor Anthony Ortiz was awarded the 2004 California Peace Prize Award.

Background. In 1981, Pastor Anthony Ortiz, an ex-gang member and ordained minister, founded Breakout Prison Outreach (Breakout Ministries) to meet the needs of gang- and/ or drug-involved youth. The organization's name was later changed to California Youth Outreach to better reflect its mission.

CYO originally provided direct services in California state prisons and youth authorities through prison ministry services and live-in adult and youth homes in San Jose. As the organization evolved, its services expanded to include prevention-orientated programming that targets gang-involved and at-risk youth both in the community and in the juvenile and criminal justice systems.

Strategy. California Youth Outreach is headquartered in San Jose and currently also operates in Santa Rosa, Fresno, Oakland, and Salinas.

CYO works with gang-involved and high-risk youth that exhibit antisocial and delinquent behavior. In San Jose, CYO works with the Mayor's Gang Prevention Task Force to identify the city's most gang-impacted neighborhoods. Following neighborhood identification, outreach workers' primary duty is to connect and develop good relationships with known gang members and at-risk youth in those areas, while CYO staff conduct programming and events to meet and engage residents regarding the gang problem. In addition to developing a relationship with the youth, outreach staff work to connect youth to services such as substance abuse treatment, counseling, special education assistance, housing, and family issues. Importantly, CYO provides recreation space and some programming for youth in house, so they do not necessarily need to refer youth to outside services for all their needs. Outreach staff target youth based on referrals from probation and parole officers, juvenile hall, and ranch staff members.

Outreach staff also provide mediation and crisis response services. When an outreach worker becomes aware of a crisis or violent incident, they 1) attempt to mediate the situation and 2) provide crisis response services, contacting the parties involved as well as partner agencies as appropriate.

CYO aims to be culturally competent. The organization has found their work to be most effective when outreach workers are paired with clients of similar ethnicity, former gang-affiliation, and gender.

In addition to their intervention programming, other services provided by CYO include the Restorative Justice Program, the Multi-agency Assessment Center (M.A.A.C.), the Proud Parenting Program, the school-based programs and city-funded programs. These programs direct re-entering juvenile offenders to specialized services, work with youth currently in county Juvenile Hall, educate parents of incarcerated and at-risk youth, conduct school-based gang violence education, and counsel reentering youth in gang and substance abuse management, respectively. Importantly, these programs help CYO reach gang members who may be skeptical of leaving their gang. For example, CYO's Proud Parenting program is a 12-week Survival Skills Curriculum focused on helping young parents—typically gang-affiliated—develop the skills needed to raise healthy children. Youth are referred by probation, schools, and the courts. Through this program, CYO staff have been able to develop a relationship with gang-affiliated youth, eventually helping them leaving the gang lifestyle and limit their substance use for the sake of their future and their children's future.

CYO has very strong relationships with city and county agencies. For example, in San Jose, the organization works heavily with the San Jose Mayor's Gang Prevention Task Force, which is a cross-agency gang prevention and intervention initiative housed in the mayor's office. In this role, CYO helps guide the city's strategic response to street violence. The relationship with the city has enabled CYO to obtain funding and to link its youth to a number of essential services and resources. Similarly, its relationship in several cities with the police, the courts, and probation allow it to receive contracts to serve incarcerated youth, to serve as a referral source for these agencies, to visit their clients in juvenile facilities, and to advocate on behalf of youth.

Target population. California Youth Outreach targets three sets of at-risk and gang-involved youth: 1) youth aged 14-25 being released from the California Department of Correction and Rehabilitation, 2) youth aged 12-17 on probation or being released from county juvenile facilities for gang-related incidents and offenses, and 3) at-risk youth in the community aged 12-17, exhibiting early behaviors and warning signs of gang involvement. The organization also targets family members and community members in communities with high levels of gang activity.

Staff. CYO's outreach workers are individuals who have successfully moved away from the gang lifestyle, bringing first-hand knowledge of gang life to their relationships with the youth they serve. CYO staff receive extensive training for intervening with gang-involved youth that has been refined over the course of the organization's existence. Staff receive training in case management, gang intervention, life skills, conducting presentations, and education of the symptoms and effects of drugs and alcohol. Training focuses on how to work with police, probation, and schools, as often newly hired staff do not know the protocols and appropriate manner in which to work with these organizations.

There are specific requirements for outreach workers to ensure their safety and to sustain CYO's positive relationship with city police departments. To this end, outreach workers face stringent

work protocols that govern their behavior both during and outside work hours. Outreach workers must let their supervisors know where they are and who they will be working with at all times. Additionally, supervisors are required to make weekly work schedules that can be used in the event that intervention staff whereabouts are questioned. When conducting outreach, workers are required to wear identification badges along with outreach uniforms.

California Youth Outreach hires intervention staff who have a natural aptitude for the work that they do. Additionally, CYO requires the following of outreach staff: first-hand knowledge of the gang lifestyle, at least five years clean from any convictions or run-ins with the law, no sex-related or child abuse convictions on record, a clean reputation on the streets as a former gang member, no ongoing affiliation or ties with known gangs (e.g., sporting gang-related clothing, gang symbols or sporting a new gang tattoo), basic reading and writing skills, a teachable and collaborative spirit, a valid California Drivers License and insurance, the ability to produce three or more character references, good communication skills, and a willingness to undergo random drug testing.

Funding and evaluation. California Youth Outreach is funded in part by the City of San Jose, the Santa Clara County Probation Department, the Fresno County Department, the Fresno County Department of Education and the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation. CYO has an annual operating budget of about \$1.9 million.

For more information, please visit www.cyoureach.org or contact Pastor Anthony Ortiz at (408) 280-0203 or cyooffice@cyoureach.org

Chicago CeaseFire

Chicago CeaseFire is a violence reduction and prevention strategy grounded on the principles of public health, employing the sciences of epidemic control and behavior change. Chicago CeaseFire seeks to reduce serious violence, specifically shootings and homicides. Its outreach workers and violence interrupters target youth most likely to become a shooter or be shot, intervene directly in street conflicts, and work one-on-one with CeaseFire clients. In addition to outreach and conflict mediation, Chicago Ceasefire utilizes community mobilization, public education campaigns, and strong partnerships with the police and the faith community. Through these activities and partnerships, CeaseFire works to change community and individual norms towards violence and to teach youth alternative means of resolving conflicts that do not rely on gun violence.

An independent evaluation, funded by the National Institute of Justice, found that CeaseFire target areas experienced significant reductions in shootings and homicides, retaliatory homicides, and in the concentration of shootings. Other cities, including Baltimore, Maryland, are currently replicating Chicago CeaseFire in their communities.

Background. The Chicago CeaseFire program is housed in the University of Illinois' School of Public Health and is administered by the Chicago Project for Violence Prevention (CPVP). Founded in 1999 by physician Gary Slutkin, Chicago CeaseFire grounds its violence reduction strategy in principles of public health. Prior to starting CeaseFire, Slutkin worked in the developing world as an epidemiologist for the World Health Organization, focusing on stemming the spread of outbreaks of infectious disease (e.g., tuberculosis and cholera in Somalia, AIDS in

Uganda). Upon returning to the United States in 1994, Slutkin was taken by the country's high rate of youth violence. Slutkin believed that public health tools used to respond to infectious diseases could be useful in addressing youth violence. For example, in public health models, indigenous workers are often recruited to reach those infected and to convince them to alter their behavior in order to stop spreading the infection. It is important to reach those engaging in the riskiest behavior since they are most likely to spread the infection. Similarly, youth violence tends to be perpetrated by a very small group of individuals. Furthermore, due to retaliatory violence, violent acts tend to lead to more violent acts. In order to stop the spread of violence, it is important to hire individuals who can reach and influence the youth most likely to engage in violent behavior. Similarly, public education and community mobilization models used in the public health field could be important in changing the community behavioral norms that make it acceptable for youth to engage in serious violence.

Strategy. Chicago CeaseFire aims to reduce gun violence by changing community and individual norms towards violence, teaching youth (ages 16-25) alternative means of resolving conflict that do not rely on gun violence, and increasing the understanding of risks associated with violence. In order to accomplish this, Chicago CeaseFire relies on community mobilization, public education campaigns, outreach to youth, conflict mediation, and strong partnerships with the police and the faith community.

CeaseFire's outreach is conducted by outreach workers and violence interrupters. Outreach workers have caseloads of high-risk youth with whom they develop long-term mentoring relationships. Outreach workers serve as role models and work to change their clients' views towards violence using cognitive restructuring and risk reduction techniques. They see their clients in the street and in their homes, and check-in with them often. Outreach workers connect youth to alternative paths by linking them to much needed resources such as anger management classes and job readiness training. When connecting youth to services, outreach workers often accompany their clients to the location of the service agency, and support the clients if they experience difficulties while receiving services. In addition to outreach workers, the CeaseFire strategy relies on violence interrupters to mediate conflicts. Violence interrupters seek to prevent retaliation after a violent incident takes place, and to prevent violent incidents from taking place in the first place. They spend much of their time gathering information about potential conflicts in order to mediate these before they are resolved through violence. Interrupters work to establish alternative solutions to disputes without relying on shootings; they remind men that gang warfare is "bad for business" and has significant personal costs. Interrupters appeal to "street property rights" and work with street organizations to push them to resolve their conflicts peacefully.

In addition to outreach, CeaseFire relies on public education efforts and collaborations with the faith community and the police department to implement its strategy. These efforts are managed by the CeaseFire Program Manager. Faith leaders can mobilize the community and influence community norms towards violence. CeaseFire partners closely with faith leaders and community members to conduct marches, vigils, and shooting responses that underscore the community's intolerance for gang and street violence. CeaseFire's relationship with the police enables the organization to receive timely information regarding shootings and homicides, including daily notifications and official data quarterly. Police are also involved in outreach worker hiring panels and can veto a potential hire if they believe he or she is still involved in illicit behavior.

To administer the CeaseFire strategy at the local level, CPVP relies on local community organizations. Local organizations can provide space for programming and have closer ties to

other community leaders. CPVP secures funding for the local organizations and provides them with technical assistance, training, and assistance in the hiring of outreach workers. CPVP also monitors their operations to ensure the local organizations are complying with the CeaseFire model.

Staff. Chicago CeaseFire’s street outreach workers and violence interrupters have street experience. The organization believes this experience is important in making them “credible messengers” and in helping accomplish its mission of mediating street conflict and reaching those at high risk of becoming a shooter, or a victim of a shooting. The Violence Interrupters often have a very extensive history in street organizations, which allows them access to decision-makers in street organizations. This is essential, since the Interrupters’ goal is to mediate conflict and help parties reach alternative solutions to conflict that do not rely on violence. Only by working directly with leaders in street organizations can they have significant impact on the community’s violence issue.

Like any disease control program, CPVP has specific management structures and systems in place to ensure replication of the CeaseFire model with fidelity and to professionalize the violence prevention and reduction work. Each category of CeaseFire worker has a standardized training curriculum that starts with an in-depth initial training, followed by a series of topic-specific booster sessions.

Program Managers receive a three-day, 24-hour training that provides a framework for managing the day-to-day operations and successful management of a team comprised of individuals that may not have prior legal work experience. Outreach workers receive a six-day, 48-hour training session that combines classroom work and site visits. Interrupters receive a three-day, 24-hour training that is followed by weekly meetings led by a supervisor. In these meetings, the interrupters discuss actual and potential conflicts and strategies to resolve them.

Target demographic. The primary goal of CeaseFire is to reduce gun violence. As such, the program does not target high numbers of youth. It targets the small number of youth with a high chance of either “being shot or being a shooter” in the immediate future. In order to be categorized as high risk and thus eligible for outreach, clients had to meet a minimum four of the following criteria: be between the ages of 16 and 25, have a prior history of offending or arrests, be a member of a gang with a history of violence, have been in prison for a serious violent offense, have been the recent victim of a shooting, or have been involved in “high-risk street activity.” Rather than recruit from institutions, outreach workers recruit clients from the street.

Funding and evaluation. CeaseFire Chicago is funded through a combination of government and foundation sources. The majority of funding for operations comes from the State of Illinois. Unfortunately, the reliance on state funding through appropriations has led to significant funding instability, given the short one-year funding cycle.

CeaseFire prioritized data collection and evaluation from its inception. The program organizes its outreach efforts along police beat areas to use police statistics to assess its work, as well as to more easily coordinate information gathered from the police department. CeaseFire’s in-house evaluation unit allows program coordinators to modify their efforts in real time, by assessing how specific sites are faring and making quick corrections if necessary. The in-house evaluation unit maintains beat-level data on shootings and killings and is responsible for managing the data sharing with the police department. The evaluation unit receives a daily list of all the shootings and killings in the relevant beat areas. This immediate information allows violence interrupters to

quickly begin working to prevent retaliation. They also track and assess CeaseFire's work by looking at activities performed by sites and workers, such as number of responses to violent incidents conducted, number of conflicts mediated, number of outreach clients, and weekly visits with clients.

An independent evaluation, funded by the National Institute of Justice and conducted by a team led by Dr. Wesley Skogan of Northwestern University's Institute for Policy Research found reductions in shootings and homicides, retaliatory murders, and a cooling of "hot spots" in CeaseFire target areas compared to similar areas in Chicago not served by CeaseFire. The outcome evaluation compared CeaseFire beat areas with other similar areas in the city, to assess how shootings and killings, hot spots, and gang networks were affected by the program. The evaluation also included a process evaluation, which described the program's development and implementation, including how the central agency worked with the local sites, relationships with important partners such as the police, how the program is staffed, and how program clients rate their experiences with the program.

For more information about Chicago CeaseFire, please visit <http://www.ceasefirechicago.org>

Institute for the Study and Practice of Nonviolence, Streetworker Program (Providence, RI)

The Institute for the Study and Practice of Nonviolence (ISPN) is a nonprofit agency that is housed in St. Michael's rectory in Providence, Rhode Island. The Institute's programming is based on the nonviolence teachings of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and aims to propagate the practice and teaching of nonviolence as a solution to violence by engaging community members and youth in its work.

History. ISPN was founded in Providence in 2000 by Father Ray Malm and Sister Anne Keefe of St. Michael's Church. Providence ranks third with New Orleans on the list of America's poorest cities for youth under the age 16 and is one of the Northeast's more diverse cities. In 2001, the Institute hired former Boston Ceasefire street outreach worker, Teny Gross. Pairing lessons learned in Boston with an expressed focus on nonviolence, Gross developed ISPN's Streetworker Program.

Strategy. The Institute provides five core programs: nonviolence community training, youth nonviolence programming, juvenile reentry programming, victim support services, and the Nonviolence Streetworker program. Trainers teach nonviolence in elementary and middle schools throughout the city via a curriculum that builds on concepts and skills taught in previous years. Youth nonviolence programming consists of employment, development, and leadership opportunities for at-risk youth citywide. The employment program has become the city's third largest summer employer for youth. Program staff believe that employment provides youth economic alternatives to street life and keeps them occupied during the summer, when youth crime tends to peak. The Juvenile Reentry program assists youth transitioning from Rhode Island Training School back in to the community by using a family model approach. Victims Support Services provides advocacy, outreach, and support for victims of crimes and their survivors.

The Nonviolence Streetworker Program is an intervention initiative that employs culturally competent workers to intervene and refer services in the event of street violence. Broadly, streetworkers are meant to act as positive mentors to at-risk youth, connect youth to services, intervene in situations of potential street violence, and respond when violence has occurred. Workers outreach to youth in schools, on the streets, at recreation centers, and in the Institute's classes. Youth are also referred to the Streetworker program by public schools, social workers and hospitals. Streetworkers provide a positive presence on the streets; help resolve neighborhood and youth conflicts by providing nonviolent tools and solutions; pro-actively prevent crimes; respond to crises 24 hours a day; provide a calming presence on the streets and work to prevent retaliation after a crisis occurs; assist youth in making informed decisions to prevent impending violence; assist youth who have dropped out of school; advocate for youth in court; connect youth with advocacy programs by enabling fast-track service placement into schools, recreation centers, and health centers; assist in the resolution of family conflict; and provide a bridge between neighborhood residents, businesses, and youth. To accomplish all these tasks, Streetworkers are required to be very flexible about their schedule; it is impossible to predict when a crisis will occur that they must respond to. Institute streetworkers currently work in seven Providence neighborhoods: Chad Brown, East Side, Hartford, Manton, Smith Hill, South Side, and West End.

Teny Gross suggests that working at a relatively small nonprofit, as opposed to a city agency or large bureaucratic nonprofit, allows the Institute to manage and hire workers with flexible schedules and with criminal backgrounds. Furthermore, he reports it also helps prevent the program from becoming a "dumping ground" for employees.

Partnerships are essential to the success of the Streetworker Program. Partners include the Providence Police Department, the US Attorney's Office, Providence Public Schools, the Chamber of Commerce, the Family Service of Rhode Island, and the Local Initiative Support Corporation. The Institute has done a particularly good job developing and maintaining a partnership with the police department. Both the Institute and the police have worked hard to strengthen this relationship. For example, Streetworkers teach nonviolence principles at the police academy and supervisory trainings for new sergeants and also brief them personally on the content of their work. The police department invites senior Institute staff to its weekly CompStat meetings in which crime patterns are analyzed, mapped and prioritized. Nevertheless, the Institute and the police are careful to maintain an appropriate distance. It is essential that Streetworkers not be perceived as "snitches" on the street; this would threaten their relationship with gang members. The Institute only shares limited information with the Police Department, mostly pertaining to impending "hot spots," and sensitive information is routed by the Streetworker coordinator to one senior police officer.

The Streetworker program also partners with local hospitals in order to provide services to victims of violence and prevent potential retaliations. Streetworkers are able to respond to every shooting and stabbing that happens in the city because they are notified by the police department and hospital staff.

Staff. ISPN currently employs 13 street workers who work in seven Providence neighborhoods. Streetworkers are provided livable salaries, cell phones, gas money, and lines of credit and loans. Cultural competency and ability to relate to at-risk and gang-involved is a critical component of the Institute's outreach philosophy. To that end, outreach workers represent all the ethnicities of the neighborhoods they work in (e.g., Cape Verdean, Puerto Rican, Laotian, Cambodian, African American, Caucasian, Native American). The Institute also employs former gang members and

those with criminal records. Institute staff believes these individuals are uniquely suited to reach and influence gang-involved and at-risk youth.

Funding and evaluation. The Institute for the Study and Practice of Nonviolence Streetworker Program is funded by the Office of the Mayor, Project Safe Neighborhood (federal funding through the US Department of Justice), Lifespan (network of Rhode Island hospital trauma units), and smaller scale public and private donors.

A formal evaluation of the program has not been conducted although data have been kept on crime and homicides rates since its inception. Homicides have markedly decreased in Providence from 2005 to 2007. From 2005 to 2006, the homicide rate in Providence was cut in half (22 to 11) putting homicides at their lowest level since 1971.

For more information about the Institute for the Study and Practice of Nonviolence's Streetworker Program, please visit www.nonviolenceinstitute.org.

Maximum Force Enterprises (Los Angeles, CA)

Maximum Force Enterprises is a Los Angeles-based, hands-on training institute with a focus on violence abatement, threat assessment, personal security, and crisis prevention/intervention. Services include safety instruction, school violence reduction, gang prevention/intervention, crisis prevention and abatement, grief response, and anger management. Clients have included Los Angeles Unified School District, Los Angeles County Probation Department, Los Angeles City Parks and Recreation, Unity II Gang Intervention, A Better LA, Los Angeles Urban League, the Advancement Project, and Teach for America.

Maximum Force Enterprises has trained a variety of street outreach workers and street outreach organizations. Recently, the organization has implemented a "Professional Community Intervention Training Institute" with the goal of professionalizing community gang/violence intervention (street outreach).

Background. Aquil F. Basheer is the Executive Director of Maximum Force Enterprises. Mr. Basheer, a fighting "grandmaster" and an experienced trainer, has over 35 years in the field of threat assessment and crisis intervention.

Professional Community Intervention Training Institute. In 2008, Maximum Force Enterprises implemented a "Professional Community Intervention Training Institute." The Institute aims to professionalize gang interventionists and violence intervention specialists and to develop uniform guidelines for behavior among these workers. The Institute is a response to the perceived lack of uniform codes of conduct and guidelines among community/gang intervention specialists. Furthermore, the Institute aims to help street outreach organizations address funders' requests to implement accountability and effectiveness measures. By certifying the specialists that complete the Institute's training, the Institute hopes to professionalize and validate the work of community/gang intervention specialists, and foster a community of specialists in Los Angeles.

The Institute consists of a 16-week training curriculum, covering a variety of topics and including hands-on trainings; participants demonstrate their learned skills in scene scenarios and exams. Topics include: conflict resolution, anger management, make-up of gangs, gang injunctions, legal use of force, family engagement, crisis management, appropriate street behavior, the need for

evaluation, and the importance of record-keeping. The training also covers the importance of relationship building among gang/violence intervention specialists, and includes visits by important partners such as law enforcement, probation, the public defender's office, and county social services. Finally, the Institute is in the process of developing a Manual of Operations, including Standard Operating Procedures and Standard Operating Guidelines. Currently, 100 individuals have completed the 16-week training institute.

For more information, please visit <http://www.maximumforceenterprises.com/>

Oakland Street Outreach Program

Oakland's Street Outreach Program, implemented by Mayor Dellums and coordinated by the Department of Human Services, employs street outreach workers hired and managed by city-funded nonprofit organizations. The outreach workers maintain a presence in high-crime areas of the city, mediate conflicts, and develop long-term mentoring relationships with at-risk and gang-involved youth and young adults.

Background. In 2004, Oakland voters passed Measure Y, which provides approximately \$20 million annually to fund violence prevention programs, police, and fire services. Measure Y funds are generated through a new parcel tax along with a parking surcharge in commercial lots. Measure Y listed hiring youth outreach counselors as a priority goal for its violence prevention funds. Furthermore, City Council and several community groups had demonstrated interest in investigating outreach strategies for Oakland before the passage of Measure Y.

As a response to interest by city agencies, community groups, and voters in street outreach, as well as research supporting its effectiveness, Mayor Ron Dellums implemented Oakland's Street Outreach Program in 2008. Oakland's strategy was influenced by the street outreach component of Boston Ceasefire, and key figures in that program were part of Oakland's training.

Strategy. Oakland's street outreach workers maintain a presence in "hot spots"—high-crime areas—at hours of peak activity, develop relationships with high-risk youth and connect them to services, respond to high-profile incidents such as shootings, and mediate conflicts in target areas or among target groups to prevent their escalation into violent behavior.

Oakland's Street Outreach Program has worked diligently to develop and maintain strong relationships with law enforcement, particularly with the Oakland Police Department. The relationship with the police can be sensitive and must be carefully managed, but is essential to the success of the program. Oakland police officers praise the street outreach workers; they report that outreach workers are able to connect with youth in a manner that is not possible for officers in uniform. The police share some information with outreach workers regarding locations where crime has spiked and information regarding particular homicides and shootings. To protect their clients' privacy and ensure their ability to form close relationships with youth, the outreach workers do not share their client's information with the police. Additionally, police mostly communicate with the outreach coordinator, Kevin Grant, to protect the outreach workers on the street. Furthermore, police are willing to give the outreach workers space in the streets to work with youth, and try to avoid disrupting their work when possible. Through their relationships, outreach workers advocate on behalf of their clients with probation and parole officers; these officers benefit as their clients receive additional services through the outreach workers. Kevin

Grant stresses that it is essential that these relationships be transparent so that youth do not believe inappropriate information is being shared. For example, a street outreach worker can call a probation officer in the presence of the youth to enable the youth to hear all the information that is being exchanged. Outreach workers are also reminded to avoid learning about the criminal activities of their clients to avoid the perception that they may be sharing this information.

The Street Outreach Program has also worked to develop relationships with other important partners throughout the city. California Youth Outreach is closely tied to the alternative high schools in the city, helping mediate potential gang conflicts and working with at-risk or gang-involved youth in those schools. Given its emphasis on conflict mediation and community support after shootings and homicides, the Outreach Program has also partnered with Catholic Charities and Youth Alive! Catholic Charities works to support the families of homicide victims, while Youth Alive! works to support the victims of shootings and prevent retaliation in Oakland hospitals. Oakland plans to hire a case manager to support the outreach workers; the case manager will focus specifically on finding and forming relationships with groups and organizations that can provide valuable services to the targeted youth. A particular goal of the manager will be to find employment and training opportunities for the youth. This will allow youth to generate income without relying on dangerous and illegal behavior.

Target population. The program aims to reach individuals at the highest risk of perpetuating violence. As such, the target age for youth approached is 18-35.

Staff. Kevin Grant of the Department of Human Services is responsible for overall oversight of Oakland's outreach workers. The workers are hired and managed on a daily basis by three nonprofit organizations supported with Measure Y funds: California Youth Outreach, Youth UpRising, and Healthy Oakland. Each organization is responsible for a particular geographic region in the city, though California Youth Outreach has broad oversight of Latino gangs throughout the city. The outreach workers are indigenous to the area and street credible. Outreach workers can, but are not required to, have past gang or criminal experience. Kevin Grant suggests that individuals that grew up in the same communities as the targeted youth but managed to avoid engaging in criminal activity can serve as great role models for youth in the community. There are currently 20 outreach workers in Oakland.

Data, funding, and evaluation. The program tracks street outreach workers' daily location and activities, and workers file incident reports. There has been no formal evaluation of Oakland's Street Outreach Program. This year, the program will receive \$777,000 in city funds.

For more information, contact coordinator Kevin Grant at (510) 238-6393 or kgrant@oaklandnet.com.

Oxnard Police Department Clergy Council

The Oxnard Police Department Clergy Council (Clergy Council) is a coalition of volunteers and faith-based communities who work towards gang violence prevention and intervention. The Council's philosophy is grounded in the belief that faith-based organizations have a unique power to effect change in violence-prone populations. The Council tries to leverage the power of the faith community in the violence arena primarily through the HopeBoyz who mentor high-risk youth and gang members. Peacemakers is the Incident-Response component of the Clergy

Council, these interventionists use direct engagement as a tool to reduce retaliation and gang violence.

History. The Oxnard Police Department Clergy Council is a street outreach, faith-based program that aims to prevent and intervene in instances of gang violence. The Council was founded in 2001 by Oxnard Chief of Police Art Lopez (Ret.), Pastor Edgar Mohorko and Betty Ham from City Impact as an extension of work that Pastor Mohorko had been doing in the past with gang intervention, prisoner re-entry and outreach to the homeless. Pastor Mohorko's interest in this work was shaped by his own experience as a homeless person who was familiar with street life. The Council currently consists of 150-200 churches, pastors, youth leaders, service providers, police officers, elected officials and community activist; exceed over 500 participants; representing about 30,000 people in the city of Oxnard and surrounding area.

Strategy. The Clergy Council uses street outreach and long-term mentoring to reduce crime and gang violence in the city of Oxnard. There are several arms to the Clergy Council's gang intervention efforts: the Peacemakers, who do street intervention and outreach; the HopeBoyz, who do the school interventions, offer alternative activities, and long-mentoring; Next Step Reentry offers services to inmates and soon to be released parolees to reduce recidivism; Granny's Love is the team of grandmas who do intervention at the middle schools by showing unconditional love, Grannies-style, during the students lunch break. Outreach typically occurs following incidences of street violence. Following an incidence of gang or street violence, the Peacemakers—who are often former gang members—are deployed to an affected neighborhood to knock on doors and distribute fliers. They urge residents to work towards peace and nonviolent solutions to street conflict. Most often, Pastor Edgar is alerted via phone by the Police Department after a violent incident or an incident that has the potential to escalate to violence. Then he initiates an incident response led by the Peacemakers. This arm of the Clergy Council is meant to encourage gang members and at-risk youth towards prosocial behavior through community pressure. The Peacemakers do not mediate violent conflicts or form long-term relationships with youth; they are meant to exert community pressure and offer support to communities affected by violence. The HopeBoyz are long-term mentors who are paired with at-risk or former gang-involved youth and adults. Originally HopeBoyz were culled from ex-gang members, but now the organization casts a wider net. Today, if an ex-gang member would like to be a HopeBoy and mentor an at-risk youth, he will also be mentored at the same time to ensure that he does not slip back into street activities.

The Clergy Council targets neighborhoods by using information from the Police Department and through its own analysis of crime statistics. The Council drives through at-risk neighborhoods to assess areas of conflict and where and how they should target resources. The group also looks at crime statistics provided by the Oxnard Police Department and then plans their approach accordingly. Possible responses to neighborhood violence include block parties and targeted mentoring and outreach from either the Peacemakers or HopeBoyz. The Clergy Council has also put on free concerts with rap artists and actors who can effectively communicate anti-gang rhetoric. Peacemakers focus on intervening in the lives of hardcore gang members while, as mentors and long-range outreach workers, HopeBoyz target high-risk youth recommended to the program by community members, police, parole, probation, and schools. Siblings of hardcore gang members are heavily targeted by HopeBoyz volunteers; they are reached through door-to-door outreach.

HopeBoyz and Peacemakers both provide and direct families to services befitting their situations. For example, counseling is available for the families of gang members, and grief counseling is available to friends and families of homicide victims. On the prevention side, the HopeBoyz have an after school programs from 3:15 pm to 5:30 pm different days of the week at different middle schools throughout the city, which includes programming for high-risk youth. Additionally, the Clergy Council partners with various youth-targeted organizations (e.g., Boys and Girls Clubs, Oxnard City Corps, City Impact, community-based NGOs) to which youth can be directed for preventative programming.

As an outreach organization that draws its strength from communities who have sometimes had adversarial relationships with the Police Department in the past, Pastor Mohorko claims his organization has a very congenial relationship with police. He feels the organization's relationship with the police department is important and finds that screening volunteers thoroughly is one way to honor that relationship. This is not meant to limit community involvement but to ensure the integrity of the outreach work and the relationship with law enforcement. The police department participates in Clergy Council events and helps the outreach work with security, information, and access. The information sharing goes both ways, but is done discreetly. The information given to law enforcement is not "snitching" because it remains couched in broader terms (i.e., not fingering a person or a gang, but perhaps mentioning a particular neighborhood should be given more attention). The police call immediately when an incident occurs and identify gang-involved or potentially gang-involved youth.

Faith affects the Clergy Council's relationship to the community. Mohorko explained the role faith plays when he is providing services and counseling to the community: "But how faith gets involved is sometimes we're talking to people and you see them sad, you see their face drop or crying, distressed—and sometimes you just offer hope and say, you know, can we pray for you? Can we at least encourage you? Everything's going to be ok."

Though there was some initial resistance from local faith leaders to joining the Council, Mohorko has succeeded in recruiting several hundred faith leaders to participate in the Council. The faith leaders participate in peace marches and distribute peace flyers after violent incidents occur in neighborhoods. They also provide mentors and tutors to Clergy Council clients. Mohorko reports that in order to recruit faith leaders, it is important to find activities that are appropriate for them and that they will feel comfortable doing. For example, while some may not feel that they can safely provide space for gang members in their church, they may feel comfortable knocking on doors and promoting peace to residents.

HopeBoyz and Peacemakers make up the majority of the Clergy Council's youth violence prevention and intervention work. However, the Council also spearheads smaller programs for specific populations including Granny's Love, an outreach program aimed at middle school students and Next Step, a prisoner reentry program that aims to effectively reintegrate prisoners into society. Senior Services educates the community regarding elder abuse and elder fraud. Homeless Solutions finds solutions to reduce the homeless population. Emancipated Youth Solutions is the team that finds homes and services for youth released from foster care. The Community Chaplains Corps serves as an auxiliary Chaplain team in support of Police or Fire Chaplains.

Target population. The Oxnard Police Department Clergy Council directs services towards gang members and high-risk youth of all ages. Programs target victims of gangs, victims of financial

abuse, and victims of domestic abuse, although its main focus is on youth outreach for at-risk youth and gang members. The HopeBoys primarily focus on adolescent youth who are associates or siblings of gang-involved individuals, while the PeaceMakers focus on intervening with community members broadly to exert pressure on hardcore gang members. Clients are referred to HopeBoys by probation, parole, the school system, police and community members. The youth are reached through door-to-door outreach by HopeBoyz volunteers.

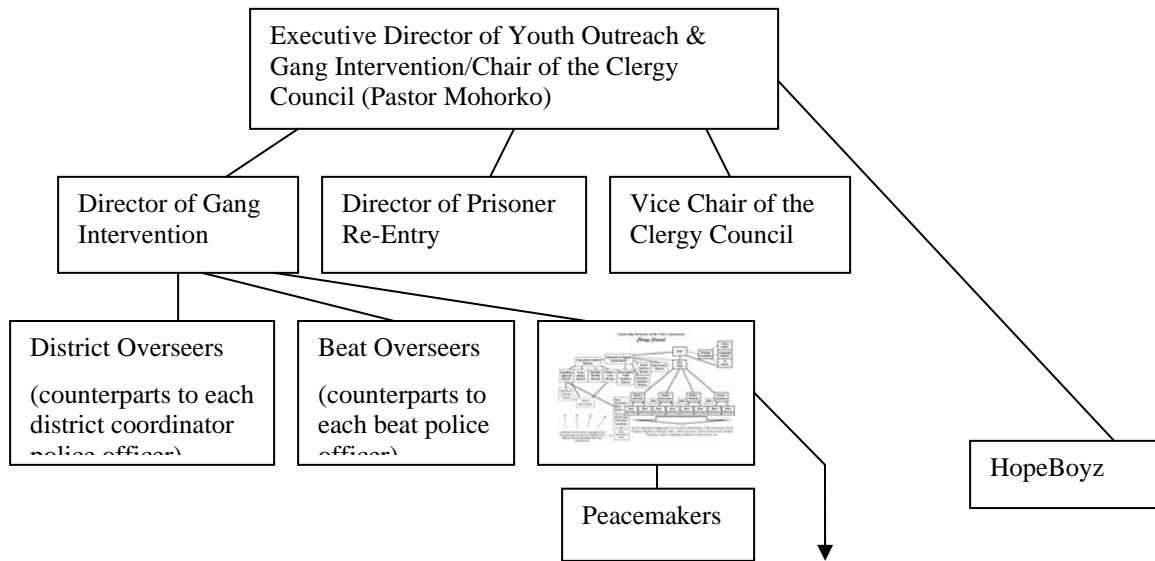
Staff. With the exception of Mohorko and three other administrative staff, all staff are volunteers. There is a leadership team of 18, an incidence response volunteer group of 100, and from 100 to 200 other volunteers at any given time. Most of the volunteers are Christian though faith is not a requirement for participation. Indeed, the Clergy Council has members of every denomination in the City—a fact that Mohorko believes makes them “most effective at reaching gang members.”

Mohorko recruits for volunteer positions for both Peacemaker and HopeBoyz through block parties, door-to-door peace flyer sweeps, community-based organizations, and religious institutions. If an individual is interested in becoming a volunteer with the program, they are interviewed by a district overseer and the program director. Volunteers begin by handing out peace flyers to violence-prone communities. Mohorko says that this process has been effective in maintaining a successful volunteer pool.

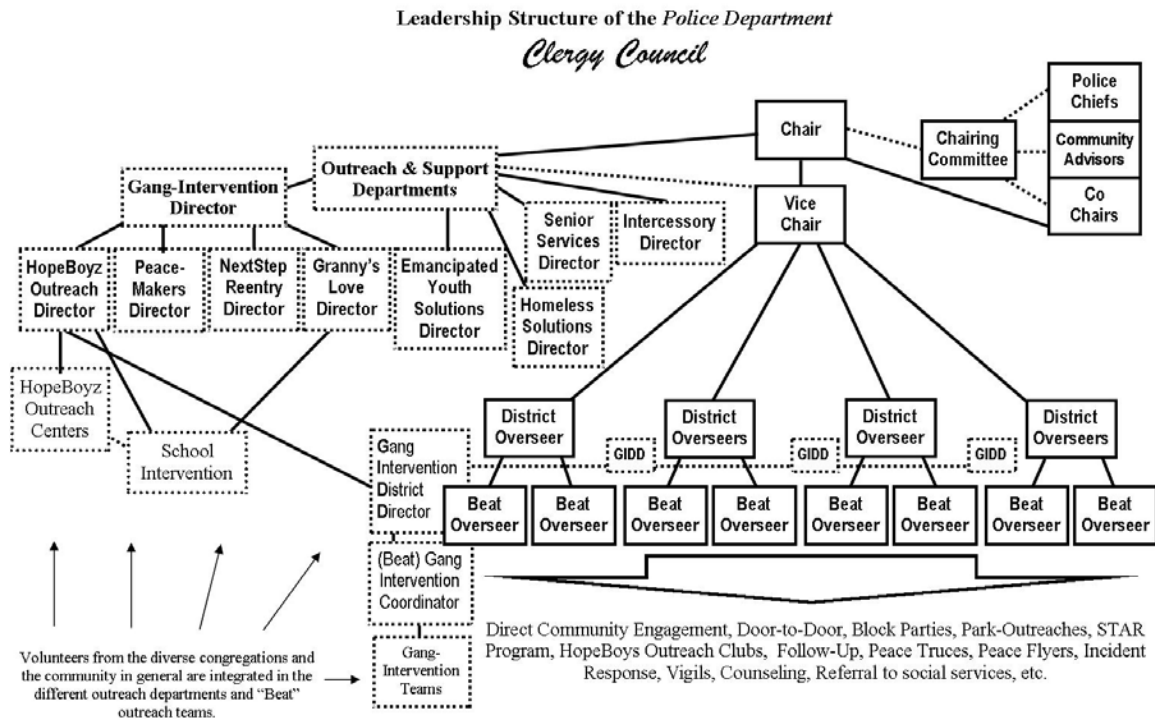
At the time of NCCD’s interview and visit, the Clergy Council did not offer trainings to its staff or volunteers. However, the Council now trains intervention teams jointly with the Police. The training consists of learning how to effectively engage a gang member and how to navigate potential conflict stemming from outreach work when one is alone on the streets.

Funding and evaluation. The Oxnard Police Department Clergy Council keeps limited data on the number of youth they have reached. Mohorko reports that an evaluation would be useful. The Council receives \$100,000 a year from the Mayor’s office for consulting services. Supplies, work space, and other items are donated from members of the community and volunteers as need arises.

Structure:



PDCC STRUCTURE (Below)



Other “outreaches” that are specific to the Clergy Council are, Next Step Re-entry, Senior Services, Granny’s Love Outreach, Emancipated Youth Solution, Homeless Solutions, Block Parties, Family Resource Centers, and Community Chaplains Corps.

To learn more about the Oxnard Police Department Clergy Council, please contact Pastor Edgar Mohorko at pastoredgar@yahoo.com or (805) 201-7791 or visit pastoredgar.com.

Santa Cruz Barrios Unidos, Street Outreach Program

Barrios Unidos is a Santa Cruz-based nonprofit that aims to reduce violence through providing at-risk youth with alternatives to street economies. The governing philosophy behind the group is that youth get involved in criminal and gang activity because there are few other options available to them. To this end, Barrios Unidos leverages culture, community, spirituality, and committed outreach workers to work towards gang violence prevention and intervention and community building.

Barrios Unidos’ mission statement reports, “The ultimate goal of the Institute is to transform the most impoverished and disenfranchised sectors of society—our ghettos and barrios which are currently plagued by poverty, violence and internal conflict—into peaceful and prosperous communities in which human, natural, technological, and financial resources are fully developed and utilized for the individual and social well-being of all members of society. The work of the Institute will draw from and expand upon the multiple strategies and activities that have been developed over the years by Barrios Unidos staff, which are guided by cultural, spiritual, and non-violent principles, to promote social justice, economic equity, civic leadership, democratic participation, community development, self-reliance and peace.”

History. The California Coalition of Barrios Unidos began as a community-based peace movement in the violent streets of urban California in 1977. Incorporated as a non-profit organization in 1993, the national office of Santa Cruz Barrios Unidos established the mission to prevent and curtail violence among youth within Santa Cruz County by providing them with life enhancing alternatives. The group first received foundation funding in 1988.

Barrios Unidos moved into the spotlight of national youth gang prevention when, in 1993, it helped organize a National Urban Peace and Justice Summit. This “gang summit” brought together 160 youth from gangs in 26 cities to Kansas City to talk about alternatives to gang violence. Gang summits have been held periodically since and have in part propelled Barrios Unidos to the forefront of youth gang prevention work.

Strategy. According to the organization’s Theory of Change, Barrios Unidos operates on the premise that the root causes of interpersonal and street violence are found in the social conditions of poverty (e.g., racism, discrimination, unemployment, poor healthcare, inadequate housing, and education). The group therefore tries to improve the quality of life of its target population and the communities that population inhabits.

Barrios Unidos primarily targets Latino youth in its programming and considers cultural consciousness essential to its programming. The organization’s leaders believe that grounding youth and families in their cultural traditions solidifies their sense of community and better allows them to connect with values that underlie principles of peace and nonviolence. As such, the

organization attempts to add a Latino cultural element to all of its activities. Examples of traditionally Latino programming include sacred altars, prayer ceremonies, talking circles, candlelight vigils, traditional processions, a Posada/Christmas celebration, a Day of the Dead celebration, and sweat lodge ceremonies. Though the program's strategy draws heavily from Latino tradition, inter-racial harmony is a core goal as well. Barrios Unidos leadership sees racial tension as one of the major causes of violence in Latino and impoverished communities they target. To this end, Barrios Unidos strives whenever possible to collaborate with other ethnically-oriented organizations. One such organization is the Simba Circle based in Chicago, Illinois, which is a nonprofit "rites of passage" organization aimed at young African American males. Since 1993, Barrios Unidos and the Simba Circle have been doing intercultural exchanges to promote understanding between the two groups.

Barrios Unidos' street outreach component offers alternative activities and support for at-risk populations. Self-identified strategies for street organizing include conducting outreach in community, school, and institutional settings; identifying and supporting youth in at-risk circumstances; building trusting, caring relationships through individual and group counseling; sponsoring mentorship, supplemental education, and tutorial programs; organizing positive group activities in the community; providing conflict mediation support; encouraging truces that suspend gang and interpersonal disputes; administering community advocacy training; championing cultural awareness; and advocating healthy behaviors relative to substance abuse, sexual relations, nutrition, and physical fitness.

In addition to their street outreach piece, there are a number of programs offered that help them accomplish this goal. The Cesar Chavez School of Social Change (CCSSC) offers courses and activities with the goal of increasing the self-esteem and leadership skills of the participating youth. Some courses offered by CCSSC include art, computer literacy, cultural dance, English, silk screening, video production, multi-media projects and writing. Community economic development is another focus of Barrios Unidos. They provide youth jobs and raise some funds for the organization through its silk-screening business. Kids clubs, youth groups and parent groups all provide support for individuals and their particular struggles with gang violence. Juvenile hall programming provides youth with anger management, truce work, and staff training to facilitate youth and group counseling. Rule of Law provides reentry education, including conflict management, communication, and decision making, for youth on probation. Barrios Unidos's strong partnership with the Santa Cruz Probation Department allows it to provide programming to youth within the juvenile facility as well as to youth on probation.

Target population. Barrios Unidos primarily focuses on middle and high school aged youth, although its commitment to holistic community change means that it endeavors to involve family members of all ages in its work. In addition to its youth-oriented programming, there are kids' groups that are meant to promote positive, multi-cultural learning environments as well as parent groups that are meant to act as support systems and resource referrals for families.

Staff. There is a team of five youth outreach workers who are available to meet with youth and help defuse tense situations, whether in neighborhoods, schools, or Santa Cruz County's Juvenile Hall.

Funding and evaluation. Since 1992, Barrios Unidos was one of the organizations to receive grant money from The California Wellness Foundation's 10-year, \$60 million Violence Prevention Initiative. Subsequently, the organization has received financial support from the

David and Lucille Packard Foundation for technical assistance activities. Barrios Unidos' also is contracted to provide services to youth under the jurisdiction of the Santa Cruz Probation Department and generates some revenues through BU Productions, a custom screen printing shop that employs community youth, providing youth with some job experience and skill learning while generating revenue. Barrios Unidos is also acquiring property, which they hope will support some of their operations through rental income on a portion of this property.

For more information, please visit <http://www.barriosunidos.net/> or contact Director Nane Alejandrez at nane@barriosunidos.net

Stockton's Operation Peacekeeper

Stockton's Operation Peacekeeper Program aims to utilize outreach workers in partnership with law enforcement, community, and faith-based organizations to reduce gang related violence, reach out to at-risk and gang-involved youth, and provide the resources necessary for youth to abstain from a gang lifestyle and become productive members of society.

History. Stockton's Operation Peacekeeper is a gang-prevention and intervention strategy that borrows heavily from the Boston Ceasefire model. The original Ceasefire model was the result of collaboration between Harvard researchers, Boston law enforcement, the faith community, and street outreach workers that is largely perceived to have been successful in reducing youth violence.

Stockton implemented Operation Peacekeeper in 1997 after the city saw a rapid rise in youth violence. The tipping point came when a young female who was standing in a group of bystanders was killed by stray bullets from gang conflict. At the time, Stockton had more than 150 gangs who had relatively easy access to firearms. Stockton typically recovered twice the number of guns used in crimes than Boston did, though Boston had more than twice as many residents. The death of this young woman galvanized the community into acting on what was seen as an impending gang violence epidemic. Due to the desire for immediate action, the city introduced a limited version of CeaseFire that could be implemented quickly. This effort unfolded from the fall of 1997 through the fall of 1998.

In order to combat the increasing levels of gang and youth violence taking place in Stockton, Operation Peacekeeper facilitated cooperation between different law enforcement agencies including the county DA office, county probation, the county sheriff department, police departments in neighboring cities, Department of Juvenile Justice parole, the California Department of Corrections parole, the bureau of alcohol, tobacco and firearms, the FBI, and the US Attorney's Office. A key part of Peacekeeper's violence prevention strategy was to ensure that gang members saw law enforcement as a united front.

The Outreach component of Operation Peacekeeper was introduced in 1998. Gang-related homicides fell from a high of 22 in 1997 to 2 in 1998; between 1999 and 2003, the City had five homicides or less per year. Perhaps because of its success, the program was not seen as a priority anymore, funding was lost, the coordinator departed, and the youth outreach workers were reduced to one position. In 2006, as crime rose, Mayor Chavez' Blue Ribbon Crime Prevention Task Force recommended the reinvigoration of the Operation Peacekeeper Program. In 2007, the

City Council decided to provide additional funds to hire three new workers. Later in the year, Peacekeeper received a grant that allowed two more outreach workers to be hired, bringing Stockton's total number of city-funded street outreach workers to six. The program is housed in the City Manager's Office in City Hall. Previously, the program was housed in the city's Park & Recreation Department. Program staff believes the program's place in city hall will help ensure it remains a priority for the city and that funding remains stable.

Strategy. Peacekeeper outreach workers, known as Peacekeepers, reach out to youth aged 10 to 18. Peacekeepers work in neighborhood settings, particularly in the schools, street corners, and apartment complexes where at-risk and gang-involved youth are found. The outreach workers are assigned to cover particular middle schools, where they outreach to youth and focus on calming gang tensions and addressing the aftermath of any incident that may occur. Peacekeepers form mentoring relationships with youth. They become role models for youth and work hard to connect them with appropriate resources. A particular emphasis of the Peacekeeper Program is connecting youth to educational resources, keeping youth in school, and assisting youth in returning to school. Though outreach workers often meet youth in schools or on the streets, youth may be referred to the program from schools, partner agencies like probation and the police department, and concerned citizens or family members. Peacekeepers also conduct home visits to their client's families and respond to crisis situations to prevent the escalation of violence and future retaliation.

In order to successfully intervene in the lives of youth, Operation Peacekeeper has fostered relationships with law enforcement, schools, and community-based organizations. The relationship with the Police Department is particularly sensitive and important to the success of the Peacekeeper program. Operation Peacekeeper is led by Ralph Womack, a retired police captain. This helps maintain a close relationship with the Police Department, and any sensitive information shared between the two groups is routed through Mr. Womack. In addition to referring youth to the Peacekeeper Program, police alert outreach workers to hot spots of gang activities or incidences of possible gang violence and retaliation. Police also play a role in hiring decisions, and alert Operation Peacekeeper if a potential hire is suspected of involvement in illegal activities. Peacekeepers also alert gang unit officers if they know a gang conflict is about to occur and do not have the capacity to stop it. Gang unit officers can then flood the area and prevent the violent incident from taking place.

Operation Peacekeeper has formed productive relationships with local schools. The program works in both middle schools and high schools. The outreach workers are designated to certain geographic zones and outreach to the appropriate school in those zones. They usually attend school during breaks and when the school day ends and youth are leaving. At these times they can outreach to specific youth and observe group dynamics. They are also alerted by school personnel from the four school districts in Stockton, including the largest district, Stockton Unified School District (SUSD), if any incident occurs. To enable speedy responses, outreach workers have access to SUSD's Police Department radio frequency. School officials share information about specific youth with the outreach workers. They also discuss progress of specific youth with the outreach worker handling that case.

Stockton Peacekeepers has also been successful at collaborating with local community and service agencies. The organization has a Peacekeeper Advisory group that includes community-based, faith-based, and government organizations. They meet monthly for networking and sharing resources and information. They discuss gang patterns and particular resource needs as well as

untapped resources. This monthly meeting has helped reduce service overlap and connect local agencies. It has also fostered closer relationships between local organizations, particularly between Stockton Peacekeepers and local organizations. Now, community organizations and service agencies are quick to alert the Peacekeepers about new and available resources that may be appropriate for their clients. The close relationship between Peacekeepers and these organizations has meant that some organizations now specifically tailor their services to Peacekeeper's clients, such as providing classes for gang-involved youth that address anger management, substance abuse, tattoo removal, parenting classes, and many others. Some members of the agencies in the Advisory Group have previously received funding from the city for their participation and for services to gang-involved youth. However, though many participants do not receive financial support, they continue to participate in the group as it helps them access local resources, network, and keeps them abreast of new developments in youth violence and prevention strategies. The group meetings are open to the public and, as a result, citizens have attended and offered suggestions or volunteered to help.

Staff. Currently, staff consists of one female and five male Youth Outreach Workers. They are mostly former gang members and have a variety of ethnic backgrounds. Peacekeepers are seen as particularly effective in communicating with gang-involved youth, given their similarity in background in regards to street and gang experience. Peacekeepers tend to work with youth of the same ethnic background, and the female worker tends to work with young girls. Operation Peacekeeper's street outreach workers are screened for cultural competency through background and personal history checks that are meant to assess their fitness for the job. Training includes conflict resolution, mediation, community organizing, mentoring, and case management. They also receive city training such as sexual harassment prevention, customer service, and safe workplace practices.

Funding and evaluation. Operation Peacekeeper is funded through the general fund and through grants from The California Wellness Foundation and the Juvenile Accountability Block Grant. Equipment and materials are funded through the general fund.

Operation Peacekeeper has not been independently evaluated, although outreach workers are required to track each youth on their caseload. The main measurements of youth success is whether or not they fall off the caseload and whether or not they complete anger management or other services to which they are referred. The outreach program director estimates that in the 9 months of 2007 since the program was reinvigorated, about 10,000 youth have been reached through one-on-one meetings, through larger gatherings ("forums"), and through meetings with groups at juvenile hall.

For more information, please visit <http://www.stocktongov.com/peacekeepers/>

StreetSafe Boston

StreetSafe Boston was launched in December of 2008 as a collaboration between the Mayor's Office, the Boston Foundation, and the Boston Police Department. The initiative will target five Boston neighborhoods through street outreach work and the provision of targeted services from community-based organizations.

Background. StreetSafe Boston is an updated version of Operation Ceasefire, the successful street outreach program that began in 1995, which was associated with dramatic reductions in youth violence and homicide in the city of Boston. Ceasefire’s strategy drew on the strength of the clergy, the police department, social agencies, and street workers to reach out to at-risk youth. Although Ceasefire had been very successful in curbing violence in the mid-1990s, when gang violence began to resurface in the 2000s, the program proved less successful.

StreetSafe Boston is an updated version of Boston’s Operation Ceasefire that accounts for lessons learned from the original strategy. StreetSafe differs in three ways from the original Ceasefire model. First, outreach staff hired by the initiative will be allowed to have a criminal background and their hours will not be restricted to daytime. Second, StreetSafe will target about 2,000 youth in a 1.5 square mile area of Boston that accounts for about 78% of the city’s shootings and homicides, rather than broadly focusing on youth throughout the city. Third, the Boston Foundation will create a single lead organization to supervise the effort and work with leaders of community organizations in each hot spot.

Major individuals and agencies involved in Operation Ceasefire are leading the efforts of Street Safe Boston. These groups and agencies include Harvard’s Kennedy School of Government, the Boston Foundation, the Ten Point Coalition, and Mayor’s Office. Boston Mayor Thomas M. Menino has instructed city agencies, including the Boston Police Department, the Department of Public Health, and the Boston Center for Youth and Families, to cooperate with StreetSafe in the initiative’s implementation.

Strategy. StreetSafe Boston plans on reducing violence by using two strategies: 1) intervening with gangs through street outreach workers, and 2) expanding services of relevant organizations in the five neighborhoods that contribute to a disproportionate share of Boston’s street violence.

The program’s strategy was developed based on findings from Harvard’s Kennedy School of Government that approximately 1,600 to 2,200 Boston young people are at risk for committing violent offenses. In other words, researchers found that 1% of Boston youth aged 16 to 24, from 5% of the city’s geography, are committing more than 50% of that city’s youth violence.

Researchers identified five neighborhoods as targets for StreetSafe services. They are Dudley Square in Roxbury, Grove Hall in Roxbury, South End/ Lower Roxbury, Morton and Norfolk Street in Dorchester, and Bowdoin Street Geneva Avenue in Dorchester. Clusters of proven organizations will change their hours of operation and develop programs and social services to better serve the designated neighborhoods and target youth who are outside the reach of current organizations. The programming will aim to engage these youth in education and job training.

Goals. StreetSafe has five stated major goals:

1. Dramatically reduce youth violence along the Blue Hill corridor and in the South End by reducing the numbers of homicides, shootings, and aggravated assaults.
2. Increase the number of higher-risk and “proven risk” young people engaged in ongoing programs and services, especially during weekend and evening hours.
3. Create a well-trained workforce of street outreach workers and youth workers with ongoing professional training.
4. Create a culture of safety among families and youth in key neighborhoods.

5. Create and sustain ongoing partnerships and systems that facilitate collaboration among key stakeholders, including law enforcement, city leadership, nonprofit organizations, and community leaders.

Staff. A total of 25 outreach workers will be hired by the program. StreetSafe intends to hire outreach workers with street credibility so that they can optimally relate to the target group. Workers will be allowed to have a criminal past and will be between the ages of 25 to 38 years old. Outreach workers are to establish relationships with gang-involved youth, at-risk youth and neighborhood residents to reduce violent escalations in the five targeted neighborhoods. Approximately half of the outreach workers will focus on “interrupting” violence, similar to Chicago CeaseFire’s violence interrupters. These workers will spend their time investigating any potential conflicts and mediating actual conflicts; their goal will be to keep youth from resolving their conflicts through violence.

Outreach staff will be managed by Chris Byner, who currently manages the city’s streetworker program, and the Boston Ten Point Coalition (BTPC), a faith-based coalition of clergy and lay leaders that was established in 1992 in response to gang violence and was a crucial partner in the original Boston CeaseFire. The street workers will receive extensive training put together by several organizations and agencies including the Boston Medical Center, the Boston Public Health Commission, and the Medical Foundation.

Funding and evaluation. An ambitious evaluation has been incorporated into Street Safe’s program design. Data collection will occur from the project’s inception. Experts from Harvard University’s Department of Sociology and the Kennedy School’s program in Criminal Justice Police and Management plan to work closely with city and community members to evaluate the initiative’s progress. StreetSafe’s expected outcomes include: a reduction in youth-related homicides and other violent crime city-wide, the creation of durable relationships between at-risk youth and streetworkers, the creation of an increased perception of safety in each of the five designated neighborhoods, and increased engagement of at-risk youth in community-based programs and services. Because the strategy was launched very recently, there are not yet preliminary results from this evaluation.

StreetSafe is supported by a partnership of funders, led by the Boston Foundation. The Boston Foundation has committed to investing \$4 million in the initiative. Other funders include the Lewis Family Foundation, State Street Foundation, the Ansara Family Fund at the Boston Foundation, the Alchemy Foundation, the Josephine and Louise Crane Foundation, United Way of Massachusetts Bay, the Merrimack Valley, the Baupost Group, and the Barr Foundation. The program has budget of \$26 million over the course of six years.

For more information about StreetSafe please visit streetsafeboston.org.

APPENDIX III: Program List

Programs visited

1. Boston Center for Youth and Families' Streetworker Program (Boston, MA)

www.cityofboston.gov/BCYF/

2. California Youth Outreach (San Jose, CA)

www.cyoutreach.org

3. Chicago CeaseFire (Chicago, IL)

www.ceasefirechicago.org/

4. Institute for the Study and Practice of Nonviolence (Provide, RI) www.nonviolenceinstitute.org.

5. Maximum Force Enterprises (Los Angeles, CA)

www.maximumforceenterprises.com/

6. Oakland Street Outreach Program (Oakland, CA)

Please contact coordinator Kevin Grant at (510) 238-6393 or kgrant@oaklandnet.com

7. Oxnard Police Department Clergy Council (Oxnard, CA)

Please contact Pastor Edgar Mohorko at pastoredgar@yahoo.com or (805) 201-7791.

8. Santa Cruz Barrios Unidos (Santa Cruz, CA)

www.barriosunidos.net/

9. Stockton Operation Peacekeeper (Stockton, CA)

www.stocktongov.com/peacekeepers/

10. StreetSafe Boston (Boston, MA)

www.streetsafeboston.org

Programs surveyed

Bay Area Peacekeepers (Richmond, CA)

www.myspace.com/onebap

Big Homies (Los Angeles, CA)

www.bighomies.org/

Caught in the Crossfire, Youth Alive! (Los Angeles & Oakland, CA)

www.youthalive.org/cinc/

Communities in Schools (Los Angeles, CA)

www.cisgla.org/

5. For Youth By Youth (East Palo Alto, CA)

www.fyby.org/

6. Homey SF (San Francisco, CA)

www.homeysf.org

Homies Unidos (Los Angeles, CA)

<http://homiesunidos.org>

Hope Now for Youth (Fresno, CA)

www.hopenow.org/

Second Chance (Salinas, CA)

www.scyp.org

Street Ambassadors, Neighborhood House of North Richmond (Richmond, CA)

www.nhnr.org/