

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. schedule	Schedule for Hillary Rodham Clinton (partial) (3 pages)	10/07/1998	b(7)(E), b(6)
002. schedule	Schedule for Hillary Rodham Clinton (partial) (1 page)	09/18/1998	b(6)
003. schedule	Schedule for Hillary Rodham Clinton (partial) (1 page)	04/14/1998	b(6)
004. schedule	Schedule for Hillary Rodham Clinton (partial) (1 page)	01/26/1998	b(6)
005. bio	Re: Jennifer Ford (partial, POB) (1 page)	01/24/1998	b(6)
006. bio	Re: Elaine Edmonds (partial, POB) (1 page)	01/26/1998	b(6)
007. bio	Re: Matthew L. Brown (partial, POB) (1 page)	01/26/1998	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 19011

FOLDER TITLE:

Youth Development Afterschool Violence #2 [binder] [3]

2013-0534-S

ry1771

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1998

FINAL

WASHINGTON, D.C./WESTPORT, CT/WASHINGTON, D.C.

TRAVELING PARTY: THE FIRST LADY
WHITNEY WILLIAMS
MARSHA BERRY
KELLY CRAIGHEAD
SHARON FARMER

(b)(7)e

[001]

WESTPORT

LEAD ADVANCE: MWITU NDUGU
CLUB HOTEL
BY DOUBLETREE ROOM 722
203/853-3477 PHONE
203/855-9404 FAX
202/757-5000 CELL

SITE ADVANCE: ERIN FISHER
203/325-8154 HOME
203/964-7731 CELL

PRESS ADVANCE: ANU RANGAPPA ROOM 716
202/757-9189 CELL

SCHEDULER: HUMA ABEDIN
202/456-2587 PHONE
202/456-6244 FAX
202/625-0097 HOME
WHCA PAGER #4403

PREV RON The White House

10:00 am- [t] **BRIEFING**
10:25 am Location tbd
CLOSED PRESS/NO WH PHOTO

PARTICIPANTS:
The First Lady
Melanne Verveer
Janet Murgia
Steve Richetti

CONTACT: Melanne Verveer 202/456-7264

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1998

PAGE 2

10:30am- **MEETING** w/ Freshmen Democratic House Members
11:30am Yellow Oval Room
CLOSED PRESS/WH PHOTO

NOTE: See briefing book for list.

CONTACT: Melanne Vermeer 202/456-2538

12:30pm- **PRIVATE MEETING**
1:00pm Residence

CONTACT: Capricia Marshall 202/456-2399

1:30pm- **BRIEFING** for Coming Up Taller Awards
1:35pm Elevator
CLOSED PRESS/WH PHOTO

PARTICIPANTS:

The First Lady
Capricia Marshall
Laura Schwartz

CONTACT: Laura Schwartz 202/456-5655

1:35pm- **MEET AND GREET** w/Awardees
1:45pm State Dining Room
CLOSED PRESS/WH PHOTO

Note: See briefing book for complete list.

CONTACT: Laura Schwartz 202/456-5655

1:50pm- **COMING UP TALLER AWARDS**
2:30pm East Room
OPEN PRESS

FORMAT:

- The First Lady, accompanied by NEA Chair Bill Ivey, John Brademas of PCAH, Jesse Trevino, and Alfred Kahn, is announced into the East Room.
- The First Lady makes welcoming remarks and introduces Jesse Trevino.

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1998
PAGE 3

- Jesse Trevino makes remarks.
- The First Lady introduces Alfred Kahn.
- Alfred Kahn makes remarks.
- The First Lady introduces John Brademas.
- John Brademas begins award presentation and reads first citation.

Note: As each citation is read, the First Lady presents an award to each awardee and poses for a picture.

- Upon conclusion, the First Lady introduces James McDaniel, students Mayleen Cancel and Candy Godoy, and pianist Rusty Magee from the 52nd Street Project.
- Mayleen Cancel makes brief remarks from off stage performance area.
- Performance by the 52nd Street Project.
- The First Lady invites guests to proceed to reception in the State Dining Room.

CONTACT: Laura Schwartz 202/456-5655

PARTICIPANTS: 180 guests.

3:15pm

DEPART South Portico
VIA Motorcade
EN ROUTE Andrews Air Force Base
[Drive time: 25 minutes]

MOTORCADE MANIFEST

LIMO: THE FIRST LADY

STAFF VAN: BERRY, CRAIGHEAD, FARMER, WILLIAMS

3:40pm

ARRIVE Andrews Air Force Base

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1998
PAGE 4

3:50pm **WHEELS UP** Andrews Air Force Base
EN ROUTE Tweed-New Haven Airport, New Haven,
Connecticut
[Flight time: 50 minutes]
[Meal: Snack]

4:40pm **WHEELS DOWN** Tweed-New Haven Airport, New
Haven, Connecticut
FBO: Robinson Aviation
Phone: 203/467-9555
Fax: 203/467-6346
CLOSED PRESS

GREETERS:
Richard Blumenthal, Attorney General
Senator Harp, Clinton/Gore State Director
Phyllis Silverman, aid to Senator Harp
Charlotte Koskoff
Alderman Luisa DeLauro
Representative Patricia Dillon
Representative John Martinez
Representative Cameron Staples
Representative Barbara Kennelley

4:50pm **DEPART** Tweed-New Haven Airport
VIA Motorcade
EN ROUTE Sandra Wagenfeld and Francine Goldstein
Residence

(b)(6)

[Drive time: 45 minutes]

MOTORCADE MANIFEST

(b)(7)e

5:35pm **ARRIVE** Sandra Wagenfeld and Francine Goldstein
Residence

GREETERS:
Sandra Wagenfeld
Francine Goldstein
Cynthia Friedman, WLF National Chair

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1998
PAGE 5

Ronni Ginott, WLF Connecticut Chapter Chair

5:40pm-
6:20pm

WLF ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION

Living Room
HRC Hold: Downstairs Bedroom 1
Phone: 203/454-2802
Fax: 203/221-0484
Staff hold: Downstairs Bedroom 2
Attire: Business
CLOSED PRESS/WLF PHOTO

FORMAT:

- The First Lady greets roundtable participants in a photo receiving line and proceeds to her seat.
- Ronni Ginott makes welcoming remarks and introduces the First Lady.
- The First Lady makes brief remarks and opens discussion.

Note: Cynthia Friedman will call for the last question.

- The First Lady departs.

PARTICIPANTS: 22 guests.

Note: See briefing book for complete list.

6:25pm-
6:45pm

PHOTO RECEIVING LINE

Walkway
Wagenfeld and Goldstein residence
CLOSED PRESS/ WLF PHOTO

FORMAT:

- The First Lady proceeds to walkway for a photo receiving line.

PARTICIPANTS: 40-50 guests.

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1998
PAGE 6

6:50pm

WLF RECEPTION

7:20pm

Tent

Back Lawn

Wagenfeld and Goldstein residence

OPEN PRESS/ WLF PHOTO

FORMAT:

- The First Lady and Barbara Kennelly are announced onto stage by Westport Selectwoman Diane Goss Farrell.

- Barbara Kennelly makes brief remarks and introduces the First Lady.

- The First Lady makes remarks.

- Upon conclusion, the First Lady has the option to work a ropeline.

- The First Lady departs.

PARTICIPANTS: 700 guests.

7:25pm-

INTERVIEW w/Ann Douglas

7:40pm

Room tbd

Wagenfeld and Goldstein residence (T)

CLOSED PRESS/WH PHOTO

7:45pm

DEPART Wagenfeld and Goldstein residence

VIA motorcade

EN ROUTE Tweed-New Haven Airport

[Drive time: 45 minutes]

MOTORCADE MANIFEST

(b)(7)e

8:30pm

ARRIVE Tweed-New Haven Airport

8:40pm

WHEELS UP Tweed-New Haven Airport

EN ROUTE Andrews Air Force Base

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1998
PAGE 7

[Flight time: 1 hour]

9:40pm **WHEELS DOWN** Andrews Air Force Base

9:50pm **DEPART** Andrews Air Force Base
 VIA Motorcade
 EN ROUTE The White House
 [Drive time: 25 minutes]

10:15pm **ARRIVE** South Portico

RON The White House

TALKING IT OVER

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

October 7, 1998

One of the very first projects I worked on as a young attorney at the Children's Defense Fund 25 years ago was a study of what happens to juveniles incarcerated with adults.

Not surprisingly, I found that children placed in adult prisons experience unspeakable horrors. They are eight times more likely to commit suicide and five times more likely to be sexually assaulted than those who serve their time in juvenile facilities.

As a result of these facts, Congress acted in 1974 to separate juveniles from adults in prison.

Now, in the pre-election flurry of activity on Capitol Hill, these protections are in danger of being eroded. There is a move in Congress to rush through a juvenile crime bill -- without a moment's debate on the Senate floor -- that could result in young runaways and truants being placed in adult prisons.

Juvenile crime is too important an issue to deal with in this manner. It requires full and proper debate.

During the 1980s, lots of tough talk failed to stem the increase in violent crime. When my husband was elected, he abandoned tough talk and replaced it with a real strategy, focused on the local level, that combined tough prosecution measures with smart prevention efforts. The Brady Bill and his 1994 crime bill cracked down on the sale of handguns to fugitives, stalkers and felons, banned 19 types of assault weapons and funded 100,000 new police officers on our streets. Communities got the tools they needed to address their own crime problems.

The President's strategy has worked. We have seen violent crime decrease each of the last six years and overall crime rates go down to their lowest level in nearly 25 years.

This same approach can work for juvenile crime. Communities all across the country are abandoning rhetoric for prosecution and prevention strategies that show real results.

San Diego County is attacking this problem with a comprehensive plan in which law enforcement, schools, public agencies and communities work together. There is zero tolerance for guns and drugs in school. Young people who break the law are held accountable. Families in trouble are directed to a wide array of support services. And at-risk youth are steered into a variety of after-school activities.

Since San Diego implemented its plan, there has been a significant decrease in juvenile crime coupled with reductions in teen birth rates, dropout rates, possession of drugs and weapons on campus, and truancy rates.

The widely reported success of Boston's juvenile crime initiatives has made it a model for communities around the country as well as for the President's

Anti-Gang and Youth Violence Strategy.

In Boston, a comprehensive community-based program reaches at-risk youth before they take their first step into crime and deals with those already in trouble, specifically targeting gang activity and illicit gun trafficking. Prevention efforts, including after-school programs and part-time jobs, are also key elements.

This three-pronged strategy of prevention, intervention and enforcement is paying off. Between 1990 and 1995, Boston's youth homicides dropped 80 percent, and in 1996, not a single juvenile died in a firearm homicide in the city.

The President's own juvenile crime strategy also targets gangs and violent youth, cracks down on guns and gun traffickers, and works to keep children in school, off drugs and out of trouble.

Any juvenile crime initiative must balance real accountability for those who commit acts of violence with prevention measures that keep our children on the right track. It should prohibit serious and violent juvenile offenders from ever possessing guns. And it should target children's easy access to handguns by raising penalties for adults who unlawfully supply them.

Prevention programs must offer young people constructive activities during the hours when most juvenile crime occurs -- after school.

One successful Baltimore after-school program we will highlight next week at the White House Conference on School Safety and the Causes and Prevention of Youth Violence stresses academics and is staffed by police officers who know that often the best way to fight crime is to prevent it in the first place. Since this program opened, crimes against children in the neighborhood have decreased 44 percent and the juvenile arrest rate has dropped 16 percent.

A different model in San Antonio, Texas, introduces at-risk youngsters to arts after school. Urban smARTS combines a variety of arts activities with conflict resolution, training and a range of child and family services -- all with an eye to keeping kids out of the criminal justice system.

The debate over juvenile justice must not be framed in terms of prevention OR prosecution. We must demand both: tough measures that punish criminal behavior and protect children in custody, along with strategies and programs to keep kids out of the criminal justice system in the first place. That's the formula for federal legislation that could really decrease juvenile crime across the country. Let's hope this Congress agrees.

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Talking it Over

[Read our Privacy Policy](#)

**PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION**

Capitol Campaign Tenn
Learning Center 9/18/98

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1998
FINAL

WASHINGTON, DC

CBC LEAD

ADVANCE: **AL RUTHERFORD**
 202/364-3628 PHONE

PRESS ADVANCE: **DOUG SMITH**

BARRY TENNIS CTR

LEAD ADVANCE: **BAIN ENNIS**
 202/395-2126 CELL PHONE

SCHEDULER: **EVAN RYAN**
 202/456-6751 PHONE
 202/456-5340 FAX
 202/483-0383 HOME
 WHCA PAGER #4223

PREV RON **The White House**

10:00 am **DEPART** South Portico
 EN ROUTE Washington Convention Center
 9th & I Streets entrance
 [drive time: 10 minutes]

10:10 am **ARRIVE** Washington Convention Center

GREETER: Congressman Donald Payne
 Secretary Rodney Slater

INSIDE

GREETERS: Bob Arnot, NBC
 Alec Wek, model with IMG
 Charisse Glassman, Payne staff person
 Bob Cottingham, Payne staff person
 Secretary Rodney Slater

10:15 am- **CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

10:50 am **BRAINTRUST "OPENING DOORS IN AFRICA"**

Room 27
Washington Convention Center
Hold: General Manager's Office
Phone: 202/371-3010
Fax: n/a
Staff Hold: n/a
OPEN PRESS

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1998
PAGE 2

FORMAT:

- Congressman Payne escorts the First Lady onto stage and to her seat.
- Congressman Payne introduces the First Lady.
- The First Lady delivers remarks.
- At the conclusion of the First Lady's remarks, Congressman Payne identifies two people who ask questions of the First Lady.

OPTION:

- The First Lady works a ropeline.
- The First Lady departs.

PARTICIPANTS: 100 guests expected.

CONTACT: Charisse Glassman 202/225-3436

10:55 am

DEPART Washington Convention Center
EN ROUTE Hart Tennis Courts
Sixth and Mississippi Avenues, SE
[drive time: 10 minutes]

11:05 am

ARRIVE Hart Tennis Courts

GREETERS: Cora Masters Barry
Max Salas, Chairman of the Recreation
Wish List Committee

NOTE: This event is outdoors.

11:10 am-
12:00 pm

**THE OFFICIAL LAUNCH OF THE CAPITAL CAMPAIGN FOR
THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE SOUTHEAST TENNIS AND
LEARNING CENTER**
Hart Tennis Courts
Sixth and Mississippi Avenues, SE
Hold: Tent
OPEN PRESS

FORMAT:

- Tennis exhibition featuring young people from local tennis programs.

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1998
PAGE 3

- Max Salas, Chairman, Recreation Wish List Committee Board of Directors, makes welcoming remarks.
- Barbara Skinner says a prayer.
- A. Scott Bolden, DC Chamber of Commerce, makes brief remarks.
- Pamela Shriver, USTA, makes brief remarks.
- William McSweeney, Treasurer, RWLC Board of Directors, makes brief remarks.
- Betty Jo Gaines, Director, Department of Recreation and Parks, makes brief remarks.
- Cora Masters Barry makes brief remarks and introduces the First Lady.
- The First Lady makes brief remarks.
- Max Salas concludes the program and unveils the sign designating the future site of the Southeast Tennis and Learning Center, with the First Lady, Mrs. Barry and two young people from the tennis center.
- The First Lady departs.

12:05 pm **DEPART** Hart Tennis Courts
 EN ROUTE South Portico
 [drive time: 10 minutes]

12:15 pm **ARRIVE** South Portico

12:20 pm- **PHOTO**
12:25 pm Diplomatic Reception Room
 CLOSED PRESS/WH PHOTO

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1998
PAGE 4

PARTICIPANTS:

The First Lady
Veran Matic, Founder and Editor-in-Chief, of the
First Independent Radio Station in Serbia
Gregory Schulte, NSC
Nick Dowling, NSC
Melanne Verveer

CONTACT: Gregory Schulte 202/456-9101

12:30 pm-
12:45 pm

PRIVATE MEETING

Residence

CLOSED PRESS/WH PHOTO

PARTICIPANTS:

The First Lady
Marsha Berry
Patti Solis Doyle
Melanne Verveer

CONTACT: Patti Solis Doyle 202/456-2468

12:50 pm-
5:30 pm

DOWN TIME

5:30 pm

(b)(6)

[002]

7:00 pm-
7:15 pm

BRIEFING

Red Room

CLOSED PRESS/WH PHOTO

PARTICIPANTS:

The President
The First Lady
Ellen Lovell
Capricia Marshall

CONTACT: Capricia Marshall 202/456-7136

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1998
PAGE 5

7:15 pm- **MEET & GREET**
7:25 pm Blue Room
CLOSED PRESS/WH PHOTO

PARTICIPANTS:

President Havel and Mrs. Havlova
Mr. and Mrs. William Ferris, NEH
Mr. Bill Ivey, Chairman, NEA
Mr. and Mrs. James Smith, Gilman Foundation
John Marselle, Sun Microsystems
Joseph Robuck, Sun Microsystems
John Croll, Sun Microsystems
Timothy Dwyer, Sun Microsystems
Robert MacRitchie, Sun Microsystems
Douglas Morris, Sun Microsystems
John Leahy III, Sun Microsystems
John Sykes, President, VH-1
Lori Sykes
Mr. and Mrs. Bob Morrison, Save the Music
Mr. Mark Rosenthal, President MTV Networks
Lisa Rosenthal
Ms. Tracy Wagner, Vice President TCI Worldwide
Brad Anderson, husband of Tracy Wagner

CONTACT: Capricia Marshall 202/456-7136

7:30 pm- **MILLENNIUM LECTURE #4**
9:00 pm East Room
Attire: Business
POOL PRESS/WH PHOTO

FORMAT:

- The First Lady opens the discussion.
- The President makes brief opening remarks.
- See briefing book for script and detailed program
- The President closes the discussion and invites guests into the State Dining Room for a reception.

PARTICIPANTS: 120-140 guests.

CONTACT: Ellen Lovell 202/395-7200

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1998
PAGE 6

9:05 pm- **BLUE ROOM GREET**
9:10 pm Blue Room
CLOSED PRESS/WH PHOTO

PARTICIPANTS:

President Havel and Mrs. Havlova
Rob Gibson, Musical Director, Jazz at the Lincoln
Center
April Smith, Musical Coordinator, Jazz at the
Lincoln Center
Bill Flannagan, Producer, VH-1
Sean Murphy, Producer, VH-1

CONTACT: Capricia Marshall 202/456-7136

OPTION:
9:15 pm **MIX & MINGLE / DEPART**
State Dining Room
CLOSED PRESS/WH PHOTO

RON The White House

WEATHER FORECAST FOR WASHINGTON, DC: Partly cloudy. Winds
southwest at 5 to 10 knots. Low 67. High 85.

September 17, 1998

**OFFICIAL LAUNCHING OF THE CAPITOL CAMPAIGN FOR THE
SOUTHEAST TENNIS AND LEARNING CENTER**

DATE:	Friday, September 18
TIME:	11:10 am -12:00 am
LOCATION:	Hart Tennis Courts SE Washington, D.C.
FROM:	Brenda Costello

I. PURPOSE

To participate in the official launching of the capitol campaign for the construction of the Southeast Tennis and Learning Center.

II. BACKGROUND

On Friday afternoon, you will be welcomed by the District's First Lady, Cora Masters Barry, to participate in the official launching of the capitol campaign for the construction of the Southeast Tennis and Learning Center. The event will take place at the newly renovated Hart Tennis Center- the site of Saturday's *Heart to Hart Tennis Experience* (see description below). The Southeast Tennis Center will be a multimillion-dollar state-of-the-art recreational/educational complex in Southeast D.C., geared towards engaging inner city youth in enriching adult-supervised activities during "non-school" hours. The "tennis focused but family friendly" center is a vision of Mrs. Barry and the Recreation Wish List Committee of Washington, D.C. (RWLC), to meet the needs of D.C. children who are interested in playing tennis, but do not have adequate facilities in their communities.

You will speak during a brief ceremony that includes the participation of young people who frequent the Hart Tennis Courts. During the ceremony, you, Mrs. Barry, and two young people from the tennis program, will unveil the sign marking the site for the "Future Home of the Southeast Tennis and Learning Center."

The audience (approximately 50 people) will be comprised of the Board of Directors of RWLC, friends of the community, and benefactors including Bell Atlantic, Fannie Mae, Freddie Mac, Geico, Philip Graham Fund, and Leo Daley Architects who donated the design work for the center.

The Southeast Tennis and Learning Center

The specific objective of this new center is to provide the opportunity for young people to integrate their love and commitment to the sport of tennis, with life skills training

such as self-esteem and interpersonal skill development. The center is designed to accommodate the more than 2,000 young people who are learning tennis in inner-city communities. Children will have the opportunity to learn from top-flight tennis instructors and to participate in on-site academic enrichment programs. The proposed center, which will be located on the site of the existing courts adjacent to Hart Junior High School, will feature indoor and outdoor tennis courts, a walking and fitness trail, a golf driving range, an athletic center, a playground, and an educational facility which includes computer equipment, a multi media center, as well as a multi-purpose room open to the community.

Pledges from local and national business and foundations totaling \$1.8 million have already been raised to meet the projected costs of \$4 million. The D.C. Department of Housing and Community Development will donate \$1 million towards the project. The ground breaking for the center is scheduled for Spring 1999, and it is expected that the center will be ready for use by late 1999.

Cora Master Barry

Cora Master Barry, Chairperson of the Mayor's Inaugural Committee and Founder and CEO of the Recreation Wish List Committee, has served as a leader by bringing together the business community and private citizens to facilitate fundraising events for the purpose of providing inner city youth with increased recreational opportunity. Initially, Mrs. Barry requested that the D.C. Department of Recreation and Parks (DRP) develop a "wish list" of equipment that would be most beneficial in communities lacking resources. Using surplus funds from Inaugural festivities, the Inaugural committee purchased and donated the equipment to the DRP. In early 1995, Mrs. Barry responded to the enormous need to expand and improve the equipment by creating the Recreation Wish List Committee.

The Recreation Wish List Committee of Washington

Since 1995, RWLC has successfully solicited the involvement of business, government, and community leaders, to contribute funds to ongoing projects. Working with the DC Department of Recreation and Parks (DRP), the RWLC identifies communities with the most urgent needs for recreation centers. The RWLC has spearheaded efforts to provide safe, structured, and recreational opportunities to young people in the eight city wards through the construction of athletic and learning facilities. For example, the RWLC has donated two 15-passenger vans to the DRP, installed an after-school computer lab at Fort Stanton Recreation Center, and designed and constructed basketball courts at the Arthur Capper Recreation Center.

Fourth Annual Heart to Hart Tennis Experience

The ceremony will also kick off the fourth annual Heart-to-Hart Tennis Experience, which will be held at the same site on Saturday, September 19th. The Heart-to-Hart Experience is a unique all-day event including a charity tournament in which young

tennis enthusiasts are paired with adult tennis players, renowned tennis professionals, and local celebrities. Proceeds from the event will go to RWLC and will help fund the continued development of inner city tennis courts and programs. Last year's event raised \$21,000.

III. PARTICIPANTS

- The First Lady
- Cora Masters Barry, First Lady of the District of Columbia
- Max Salas, Chairman, RWLC Board of Directors
- A. Scott Bolden, DC Chamber of Commerce
- Pamela Shriver, United States Tennis Association
- William McSweeney, Treasurer, RWLC Board of Directors
- Betty Jo Gaines, Director, Department of Recreation and Parks

IV. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- The First Lady
- Tennis exhibition featuring young people from local tennis programs.
- Max Salas, Chairman, Recreation Wish List Committee Board of Directors, makes welcoming remarks.
- Barbara Skinner says a prayer.
- A. Scott Bolden, DC Chamber of Commerce, makes brief remarks.
- Pamela Shriver, USTA, makes brief remarks.
- William McSweeney, Treasurer, RWLC Board of Directors, makes brief remarks.
- Betty Jo Gaines, Director, Department of Recreation and Parks, makes brief remarks.
- Cora Masters Barry makes brief remarks and introduces the First Lady.
- The First Lady makes brief remarks.
- Max Salas concludes the program and unveils the sign designating the future site of the Southeast Tennis and Learning Center, with the First Lady, Mrs. Barry and two young people from the tennis center.
- The First Lady departs

V. PRESS

Open press.

VI. REMARKS

Provided by Christy Macy.

CORA MASTERS BARRY

Cora Masters Barry, First Lady of the District of Columbia, is a scholar, strategist and activist in the political arena. Her understanding of the political process influences her commitment to work toward improving the quality of life of the residents of the District of Columbia and the political empowerment of African Americans.

SCHOLAR

Cora Masters Barry, the educator, is committed to ensuring that future generations understand, actively participate in, and have access to the American political system.

- *Twenty-one year tenured Professor of Political Science, University of the District of Columbia, Washington, D.C.*
- *Academic Specialization: U.S. Presidency, Legislative Process, Urban Politics, Black Politics, American Government, and Political Ideologies.*

STRATEGIST

Cora Masters Barry, the political strategist, has adeptly applied her leadership skills to orchestrate and implement voter education and registration initiatives. She was instrumental in the historic political return of her husband, Marion Barry Jr., Mayor of Washington, D.C., spearheading a voter registration drive resulting in 19,000 new voters, many of who were 18 years old.

- *Director of Communications, Marion Barry, Jr. 1994 Mayoral Campaign, Washington, D.C.*
- *Campaign Manager, Ward Eight Candidate, Council of the District of Columbia.*

- *Chair, Voter Registration Campaign, National Council of Negro Women, Inc., Washington, D.C.*
- *Vice Chair, Black Women's Voter Crusade, Inc., Washington, D.C.*
- *Chairperson, Million Man March (MMM), National Voter Registration Drive.*

PUBLIC SPEAKER

Cora Masters Barry, the orator and motivational speaker, addresses audiences as a moderator, panelist and keynote speaker focusing on voter registration and education initiatives .

- *Delta Sigma Theta National Convention, "Voter Education and Registration Workshop", New Orleans, Louisiana.*
- *District of Columbia City-Wide Observance of Dr. Martin Luther King Holiday.*
- *NCNW Inaugural Ceremony, Centers for African American Women and the Dorothy Height Leadership Institute, Washington, D.C. Quoted in "Voices of Vision, African American Women on the Issues", published by NCNW.*
- *Congressional Black Caucus Braintrust, "African American Women Response to the Million Man March", Washington, D.C.*
- *National Political Congress of Black Women, Inc. "Voter Mobilization Workshop, Washington, D.C.*
- *National Council of Negro Women, Black Family Reunion, "Town Meeting with Media: Voter Registration and Education", Washington, D.C.*

- *Delta Sigma Theta Sorority National Convention, "Voter Registration and Education Workshop", Orlando, Florida.*
- *National Political Congress of Black Women, Inc., Women's Roundtable Leadership Summit, Seattle, Washington.*
- *Million Man March, Washington, D.C.*

Cora Masters Barry is a skilled presenter and is available to address the following topics:

- *Voter Education, Registration and Mobilization*
- *Race and Presidential Politics*
- *Politics of African American Organizations*
- *Politics of Race*
- *Impact of Legislative Politics*
- *Politics of Federalism*
- *Political Empowerment*

COMMUNITY ACTIVIST

Cora Masters Barry, the community activist, is a master consensus builder committed to improving the quality of life of the residents of the District of Columbia by supporting city-wide community projects. Her community involvement focuses on the plight of youth, as well as education, health and welfare issues.

- *Chairperson, Mayor-elect Marion Barry's 1995 Inaugural Committee.*
- *CEO and Founder, Recreation Wish List Committee of Washington, DC.*
- *Executive Director, Riddick Bowe Better Life Foundation, Washington, D.C.*
- *Chairperson, District of Columbia Boxing and Wrestling Commission, Washington, D.C.*

- *Chairperson, Coming of Age: ElderFest 1996, Washington, D.C.*
- *Honorary Chairperson, FutureFest '96, Washington, D.C.*
- *Honorary Washington, D.C., Co-Chair with Tipper Gore, 1996, 1997 Race for the Cure (Against Breast Cancer). Co-Chair, 1998 Race for the Cure, Diversity Programming Committee.*
- *Honorary Committee Member, 1996 Bethune Dubois Fund, Annual Awards Dinner.*

AWARDS

Cora Masters Barry has been nationally recognized for her outstanding work in the political arena.

- *The 1996 "Fannie Lou Hamer Outstanding Service Award", National Coalition on Black Voter Participation.*
- *The "Lifetime Achievement Award", National Council of Negro Women, Inc.*
- *The Community Service Award, National Coalition of 100 Black Women, Inc.*
- *The Black Woman of Courage Award, National Federation of Black Women Business Owners.*
- *The Leadership Award, Political Science Students Organization, University of the District of Columbia.*

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

Cora Masters Barry believes that change must come from within and actively supports the work of organizations that promote the improvement of the quality of life and political empowerment of African Americans.

- *National Council of Negro Women, Inc., Life Member*

- *Delta Sigma Theta National Sorority*
- *National Political Congress of Black Women, Inc.*
- *National Conference Black Political Scientists*
- *American Political Science Association*
- *National Education Association*
- *National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples*

EDUCATION

Cora Masters Barry studied at Lincoln University (Missouri) from 1963-65, majoring in Sociology and received the Bachelor of Arts degree in Sociology and Psychology from Texas Southern University. She was the recipient of the Masters of Science degree in Urban Studies and Public Administration from Howard University. She also studied at the University of California-Hayward and completed post graduate work in Political Science at Howard University.

PERSONAL

Cora Masters Barry, the mother, has two daughters and a stepson. Lalanya Masters Abner, an actress and Howard University graduate and Tamara Masters Wilds, a graduate of Occidental College, Los Angeles, California and the University of Maryland. Christopher Barry, her stepson, attends Hampton University, Hampton, Virginia. Cora Masters Barry, a woman of God, is a member of Union Temple Baptist Church, Washington, D.C.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1998

Cora Barry's Passionate Behind-the-Scenes Quest

D.C.'s First Lady on a Mission to Build Youth Center

By Yolanda Woodlee
Washington Post Staff Writer

From the window of her Washington View apartment, Cora Masters Barry watched boys throw basketballs into milk crates at a city recreation center that lacked proper hoops.

She saw the same children loitering late into the night, learning the lessons of the streets on the corners of Martin Luther King Jr. Avenue SE.

The two images nagged at her. The District's budget for recreation had been slashed just before her husband, Marion Barry, resumed the office of mayor in 1995. That left the new first lady, who views herself as an advocate for

children, to ponder, "What can we do for the kids?"

That was the genesis of the D.C. Recreation Wish List Committee, a nonprofit organization Cora Barry created three years ago to raise money to improve the city's deteriorating recreation centers. So far, under her leadership, local companies have paid about \$500,000 to renovate playgrounds, tennis and basketball courts and to provide computers.

Now, she has escalated her efforts. She is on a mission to build the city's first multimillion-dollar tennis and learning center in Southeast Washington. She envisions a facility, built next to the

See WISH LIST, B8, Col. 1



BY TIM SLOAN—THE WASHINGTON POST

Donta Leonard, left, races Antoine Knight for the ball on new asphalt basketball courts at the Arthur Capper Dwellings community center.

Cora Barry's Wish List Group Aims to Build Tennis Center

WISH LIST, From B1

Hart Tennis Courts at Sixth Street and Mississippi Avenue SE, where children can learn to excel at tennis and in academics.

For the last year, Cora Barry has been consumed by her commitment to build the center. "Obsessed," is how she describes it. The magnitude of raising megabucks—an estimated \$3 million—for the project is "a very scary thing," she said, sounding little like the woman known for her tough style.

"It's a full-time passion for me," Barry said. "I'm probably the hardest-working CEO without pay. . . . It takes that kind of commitment to make it work."

Once front-and-center stage with her husband, Cora Barry now is behind the scenes working passionately to raise money to make her personal wish—the tennis center—come true.

What matters most to Cora Barry those who know her agree, is the quest to improve recreational opportunities for children in the city.

"I saw a lot of kids with idle time," she said. "I thought, 'These kids are not going to survive like this.'"

The Wish List was incorporated by Barry and two friends—then Secretary of the District Marianne Coleman Niles and business owner Marilyn Funderburk. Since then, it has attracted support from the likes of Bill McSweeney, a prominent retired businessman; D.C. Superior Court Chief Judge Eugene N. Hamilton and gymnast Jair Lynch, an Olympic medalist.

On Valentine's Day 1995—10 months after Barry's inauguration—the Wish List board members gathered to announce their plans at the

What matters most to Cora Barry, those who know her agree, is the quest to improve recreational opportunities for children in the city. "I saw a lot of kids with idle time," she said. "I thought, 'These kids are not going to survive like this.'"

Bald Eagle Recreation Center at the city's southernmost tip. Already the air in that center was thick with the smell of fresh paint paid for through the Wish List, and before long, it would receive 10 computers and table tennis equipment and be equipped with a mirrored dance studio.

The committee, which has no paid staff, announced that it would spend \$200,000 to spruce up six community centers and donate a 15-passenger van to the D.C. Department of Recreation and Parks. Nearly \$100,000 of

the amount was left over from money raised for Barry's inauguration festivities.

Since then, the committee has spread money to centers throughout the city, using it to paint walls and buildings, resurface tennis and basketball courts, purchase gym sets and open after-school computer labs. Working in conjunction with the city's recreation department and the private sector, the Wish List expanded and cleaned up and resurfaced the Hart Tennis Courts in Southeast Washington. A water fountain was added.

The Benning Park Recreation Center, where six youngsters were wounded when a gang member opened fire on the swimming pool in 1993, received a paint job, exercise equipment and a boxing gym. Outside, an amphitheater was rebuilt.

A spanking-new blue and orange swing set graces the playground at the Guy Mason Recreation Center, not far from the Naval Observatory in Northwest Washington.

On the other side of town, a group of boys recently played basketball on new asphalt courts at the Arthur Capper Dwellings community center.

Among them was Antoine Knight, 12, who approached Cora Barry at a Christmas celebration in 1996. The children at the community center needed a place to play basketball, he told her. The courts had been torn down 20 years ago.

"I said, 'Mrs. Barry, we don't have nothing to do,'" recalled Antoine, a seventh-grader. "We don't have any basketball courts, and every other center has one. I asked her, 'Can you give us one?'"

"I thought she just ignored me," he said, "and I found out that she didn't."

—
Cora Barry credits the Wish List with raising \$500,000, though the committee's tax records show that \$70,000—including the \$100,000 that over from the inauguration—is the most that has come into its bank account.

The records are misleading because money from corporate sponsors doesn't flow through the committee's bank account, said George Hudnet, a Browning-Ferris Industries Inc. executive who is chairman of the Wish List board.

"If you only look at what we spend, the inference that I would take is that we haven't done a damn thing," Hudnet said.

Geoffrey Allard, a board member who formerly was with the committee's accounting firm, Thompson, Cobb and Bazillo and Associates, explained that "sponsors make contributions directly to the programs."

Those sponsors have included the Washington Wizards Basketball Organization, Bell Atlantic Corp. and the Phillip L. Graham Foundation.

"We should have the money flow through our account so we can get credit for raising the funds," Allard said.

The tax records show the committee has \$159,000 in the bank, money saved as a down payment on the planned new center. The committee has spent \$19,000 on fund-raising, while contributing \$14,000 to recreational projects. The contributions include \$5,000 to a basketball and cheerleading program in the Ward 3 Palisades community and \$1,000 to a Ward 8 Parkland community program run by the Wish List's secretary, Brenda Jones.

On Feb. 19, Barry is scheduled to meet with potential financial backers—an audience expected to include business leaders at the offices of the influential Greater Washington Board of Trade—whom she hopes will sign on to help finance the tennis center.

John R. Tydings, Board of Trade president, said he was intrigued by Barry's proposal to build it in South West Washington, where he grew up. Some luncheon guests may need persuading, but Tydings said, "The need convinced me."



BY TIM SLOAN—THE WASHINGTON POST

Antoine Knight asked Cora Masters Barry for new basketball courts.

**PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION**

Youth at Risk Dinner
9/3/98

**SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
MONDAY, AUGUST 3, 1998**

FINAL

WASHINGTON, D.C.

SCHEDULER: **WENDY ARENDS**
 202/456-7007 **PHONE**
 202/456-5340 **FAX**
 202/518-8209 **HOME**
 WHCA PAGER **#4781**

PREV RON **The White House**

12:00pm- **SCHEDULING MEETING**
1:30pm **Residence**
 CLOSED PRESS/NO WH PHOTO

PARTICIPANTS:

The First Lady
Marsha Berry
Kelly Craighead
Patti Solis Doyle
Bobbie Greene
Missy Kincaid
Jennifer Klein
Ellen Lovell
Capricia Marshall
Laura Schiller
Melanne Verveer

1:45pm- **DROP-BY with Ambassador Shirley Barnes**
2:00pm **Diplomatic Reception Room**
 CLOSED PRESS/WH PHOTO

PARTICIPANTS:

The First Lady
Ambassador to Madagascar Shirley Barnes
Anne Patchell, State Department

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
MONDAY, AUGUST 3, 1998
PAGE 2

2:00pm- **HAITI FOUNDATION MEETING**
3:00pm Map Room
CLOSED PRESS/WH PHOTO

PARTICIPANTS:

The First Lady
Tim Wirth, UN Foundation
Vicki Sant, Summit Foundation
Anu Kumar, McArthur Foundation
Ellen Chesler, Open Society Institute
Amy Coen, Population Action International
Fulton Armstrong, NSC
Jim Dobbins, NSC
Mark Schneider, USAID
Norma Parker, USAID
Phyllis Forbes, USAID Mission Director,
U.S. Embassy, Haiti
David Greenlee, Special Haiti Coordinator,
State Department
Melanne Verveer

7:15pm- **BRIEFING [w/POTUS]**
7:30pm Map Room
CLOSED PRESS/WH PHOTO

PARTICIPANTS:

The President
The First Lady
Attorney General Janet Reno
Bruce Reed
Jennifer Klein

7:30pm- **VIOLENCE AMONG YOUTH DINNER [w/POTUS]**
9:30pm Blue Room
CLOSED PRESS/WH PHOTO

FORMAT:

- The President, the First Lady and Attorney General Janet Reno greet guests on the State Floor and invite them into the Blue Room for dinner.
- Dinner is served and discussion begins.
Note: Bruce Reed to facilitate discussion.

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
MONDAY, AUGUST 3, 1998
PAGE 3

- Upon conclusion, the President and the First Lady depart.

PARTICIPANTS: 26 guests. Please refer to briefing book for complete list.

RON

The White House

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO: THE PRESIDENT AND THE FIRST LADY
WHAT: YOUTH AT RISK DINNER
WHEN: MONDAY, AUGUST 3, 1998
NOTES: APPROX 26 GUESTS/CLOSED PRESS/BUSINESS ATTIRE
FROM: CAPRICIA PENA VIC MARSHALL, LAURA SCHWARTZ

7:15 p.m. THE PRESIDENT, THE FIRST LADY and The Attorney General receive briefing in the Map Room.
Contact: Jennifer Klein

7:30 p.m. THE PRESIDENT, THE FIRST LADY and The Attorney General greet guests on the State Floor and invite them into the Blue Room for dinner.

Dinner is served and discussion begins.

Note: Bruce Reed will facilitate discussion, White House Communications Agency will make an audio recording.

9:15/9:30 p.m. THE PRESIDENT and THE FIRST LADY depart to the Residence.

President's List

YOUTH AT RISK DINNER - Monday AUG 3 1998 - 7:00 PM White House - Business - East Appointment Entrance

Page 1

THE PRESIDENT AND FIRST LADY

REPORT DATE: July 31, 1998
REPORT TIME: 5:14 PM

Accepts and No Responses

Mr. Shay Bilchik
Department of Justice

M Sissela Bok
Harvard University Dept. of Population Studies

M. Rahm Emanuel

Mr. William Finnegan
New Yorker Magazine

Mr. James Fox
Northwestern University College of Criminal Justice

Ms. Sylvia Ann Hewlett
National Parenting Association

Dr. Steven Hyman
Director, National Institute of Mental Health

M. Robin Karr-Morse
Portland, OR

Mr. David Kennedy
Harvard University JFK School of Government

Mrs. Jennifer Klein
Special Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy, The White House
Washington, DC

Ms. Nicole Rabner
Office of the First Lady
Washington, DC

Hon. Bruce N. Reed
Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy and Director of the Domestic Policy Council, Domestic Policy Council
Washington, DC

Hon. Janet Reno
U.S. Attorney General, Department of Justice
Washington, DC

Rev. Eugene Rivers
Director, Ella J. Baker House in Dorchester, MA

Mr. Robert Sampson

Dr. Howard Snyder
National Center For Juvenile Justice
Pittsburgh, PA

Mr. Ron Suskind
Wall Street Journal

file

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 31, 1998

DINNER AND DISCUSSION ON YOUTH VIOLENCE

DATE: August 3, 1998
LOCATION: The White House Blue Room
TIME: 7:30 pm
FROM: Bruce Reed
Melanne Verveer

I. PURPOSE

To discuss issues of youth violence and the factors placing children at risk with a diverse group of leading writers and thinkers.

II. BACKGROUND

You will hear from a broad group of authors, writers and experts on topics such as: (1) the root causes of violence among young people; (2) the recent incidents of extreme violence; and (3) next steps we can take as a nation to address these problems. The discussion is likely to focus on the broader social forces that may contribute to youth violence, such as access to guns, the pervasiveness of violence in the media, early childhood trauma, the weakening of communities, and new social and economic stresses on families.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Briefing Participants

Rahm Emanuel
Bruce Reed
Melanne Verveer

Dinner Guests

Sissela Bok, author of Mayhem: Violence as Public Entertainment.
William Finnegan, author of Cold New World: Growing Up in a Harder Country, and writer for the New Yorker.
James Fox, Dean of the College of Criminal Justice, Northeastern University of Boston Massachusetts and author of Mass Murder; Overkill; and, Killer on Campus.
Sylvia Ann Hewlett, co-author of The War Against Parents (with Cornel West).
Dr. Steven Hyman, Director of the National Institute of Mental Health.

Robin Karr-Morse, author of Ghosts from the Nursery: Tracing the Roots of Violence.
David Kennedy, author of "Can We Keep Guns Away From Kids?" in *The American Prospect*
and Director of the Boston Gun Project.
Rev. Eugene Rivers, Director of the Ella J. Baker House in Dorchester, Massachusetts.
Dr. Howard Snyder, Director of the National Center for Juvenile Justice in Pittsburgh,
Pennsylvania.
Ron Suskind, author of A Hope in the Unseen and *Wall Street Journal* reporter. .
Robert Sampson, Professor of Sociology at the University of Chicago and Project Director for the
Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods.
John Tierney, former Attorney General of Maine.
Cornel West, co-author of The War Against Parents (with Sylvia Ann Hewlett).

Administration

Attorney General Janet Reno
Shay Bilchik, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Department of Justice
Leslie Thornton, Chief of Staff, Department of Education
Melanne Verveer
Rahm Emanuel
Bruce Reed

VI. PRESS PLAN

Closed Press.

Note: Two guests are authors who are also print reporters (Finnegan and Suskind); they understand that the dinner is entirely off-the-record.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

Informal dinner.

Bruce Reed will serve as discussion facilitator, as necessary.

VI. ATTACHMENTS

Background on dinner guests, including bios and excerpts of their writings.

BACKGROUND ON PARTICIPANTS

Dr. Sissela Bok, Ph.D., author of Mayhem: Violence as Public Entertainment

Professor Bok's work focuses on the deleterious impact on children of exposure to violence as entertainment, associated with glamor and thrill. Bok argues that viewers who become accustomed to seeing violence as an acceptable and attractive way of addressing problems find it easier to identify with aggressors and suppress a sense of pity or respect for victims of violence. She concludes that the growing exposure to violence has contributed to a tendency for increased aggression and absence of empathy, which she argues, has played a role in the most recent spate of school shootings. Although Bok concedes that child abuse, substance abuse, and access to firearms play a larger role in determining violent behavior than media violence, she asserts that we cannot ignore the impact of exposure to violence. She argues that there are opportunities for individuals and communities to guard against the impact of excessive media violence, without resorting to censorship.

Professor Bok is likely to argue for a public discussion of media violence through the use of campaigns intended to create public norms against such portrayals. Such efforts would be similar to current campaigns to de-glamorize smoking and drugs.

William Finnegan, author of Cold New World: Growing Up in a Harder Country

Mr. Finnegan's work depicts the lives of four American teenagers and young adults struggling to survive while confronting gangs and guns, drugs and violence, poverty and desolation. Finnegan focuses on way in which these young people are forced to raise themselves in the absence of parental or community support and structure. As a result, they create their own support system and sources of protection -- gangs. This, he argues, leads to a greater need for self-protection and increased youth violence. Finnegan asserts that the thriving economy has in fact increased the sense of hopelessness for those who have been left behind.

Mr. Finnegan is likely to encourage efforts to achieve broader inclusion in economic prosperity for more of America's at-risk families and children.

James Fox, Dean of the College of Criminal Justice at Northeastern University, Boston

Mr. Fox's professional efforts have been devoted to analyzing trends in juvenile crime and exploring the causes of increased crime rates. He notes that while we are facing a declining juvenile violent crime rate, it is still double the rate of the early 1980s. Nevertheless, Mr. Fox argues, investment in programs for youth that provide alternatives to violence, drugs, and gangs has declined over the past 20 years.

Mr. Fox is likely to urge greater investments in programs for youth that provide community and structure and that protect America's young people from falling into a tragic cycle of violence and drugs.

Dr. Sylvia Ann Hewlett, Ph.D. & Professor Cornel West, co-authors of The War Against Parents

Dr. Hewlett and Professor West argue in their new book that a large scale erosion of the role of parents is at the heart of the central problems facing America's children. They assert that business, government, and today's media-driven culture are undermining the effectiveness of parents, which in turn ensures that more and more children are left to raise themselves. Hewlett and West then identify steps that can be taken to revitalize the "art and practice of parenting." They argue for a "Parents Bill of Rights," fashioned after the G.I. Bill of Rights, to ameliorate the tight economic and social conditions facing today's parents. Hewlett and West propose such measures as paid parental leave, tax breaks for stay-at-home parents, flexible work places, a family allowance for families with children under age six, an extended school day and year, increased spending on early childhood education, and a removal of the sales tax on children's necessities.

Dr. Hewlett and Professor West are likely to discuss the changing role of family in society and its impact on youth violence, and may urge specific measures by government, both at the federal and local level, to support and strengthen parents and the family structure.

Dr. Steven Hyman, M.D., Director of the National Institute of Mental Health

Dr. Hyman brings the medical perspective of a mental health professional to bear on the issues of youth violence and at-risk youth. He argues that children's emotional development -- healthy or impaired -- can have enormous implications for their predisposition to violent behavior later in life.

Dr. Hyman is likely to urge greater emphasis on preventive mental health services.

Robin Karr-Morse, co-author of Ghosts from the Nursery: Tracing the Roots of Violence

Ms. Karr-Morse's work focuses on the connection between early brain development and later violent behavior. She argues that a predisposition to violent behavior can result from brain development that is impaired by abuse, neglect, and exposure to drugs and violence. Karr-Morse suggests a critical period of 33 months -- including nine months of prenatal development and the first two years of life -- during which the quality of physical, emotional, and cognitive care is of tremendous significance. Infancy, she asserts, is the crucial stage at which individuals form the core of conscience, develop the ability to trust and relate to others, and build the capacity for focused thinking and empathy. Karr-Morse's premise is that rage-filled adolescents are formed in the nursery, where infants develop a framework of expectations -- anticipating responsiveness or indifference, success or failure. When this is combined with early negative family circumstances, such as prenatal exposure to alcohol or early child abuse, there is an enormous risk for violent tendencies in later life.

Ms. Karr-Morse is likely to discuss the importance of healthy, early brain development, and will urge greater investment in home visitation, quality child care and health care.

Professor David Kennedy, author of "Can We Keep Guns Away from Kids?" in *The American Prospect*

Professor Kennedy's work focuses on youth access to guns and its impact on the rates of juvenile crime in America. He posits that fear is the central reason kids arm themselves, which often results in a cycle of increasing reliance on weapons and a localized arms race. Kennedy argues that if we work to remove guns from the streets, we can reduce this fear and reverse this trend. He advocates a strategy that would disrupt the black market in guns -- target sellers, buyers, and black marketers to raise the costs and lower the benefits of the youth gun trade. Kennedy's research serves as the theoretical underpinning of the Boston Gun Project, which traces crime guns and removes these illegal weapons from the streets. The President has expanded this approach to 27 other cities. In addition, Professor Kennedy has done much work analyzing urban juvenile crime, arguing that such crime is committed by a small number of offenders, and therefore, targeted strategies to deal with these specific offenders can reduce crime rates in general.

Mr. Kennedy will likely discuss the differences between the recent shootings and general urban juvenile crime, arguing for specific approaches that separate these issues. In addition, he will argue to maintain the current level of support for and attention to gun strategies, such as the project in Boston.

Rev. Eugene Rivers, Boston

Reverend Eugene Rivers, an ex-gang member who attended Harvard University and then went to work in Dorchester, the poorest section of Boston, has committed his life's work to reaching at-risk youth with a hands-on, faith-based approach. Based on conversations in 1991 with Boston heroin dealers as to why they were effective in luring local children, Rivers and his colleagues established a 10-point action plan. The underlying objective is to provide a substitute family, set of values, and support structure for at-risk youth through the church.

Reverend Rivers will likely advocate for a national expansion of his Boston faith-based program and will urge broader inclusion of civic and faith-based organizations in crime prevention strategies.

Professor Robert Sampson, Professor of Sociology from the University of Chicago

Professor Sampson's work has focused on studying Chicago neighborhoods across race, class, and ethnic lines. In the course of his studies, he has found that the level of "collective efficacy," defined as the willingness to monitor children's play groups, help neighbors and intervene in preventing acts such as juvenile truancy or street-corner loitering, is the key indicator for violence in a community. In addition, Professor Sampson has examined single-parent families from the vantage point of the community, finding that large clusters of single-parent families within a small community can lead to increase rates of delinquency, because of the lack of adult

supervision in the neighborhood.

Professor Sampson is likely to address the role of community cohesion as a key indicator of juvenile crime and discuss steps to build such community.

Dr. Howard Snyder, Ph.D., Director of the National Center for Juvenile Justice, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Dr. Snyder is the director of a U.S. Department of Justice-funded project to collect and improve the quality and availability of data on juvenile crime, victimization and the justice system. Dr. Snyder brings a vast understanding of juvenile crime statistics. He emphasizes that statistics reveal that the increase in violent juvenile crimes is not the result, as some might suggest, of a "new breed of predators," but rather, of greater numbers of juveniles committing violent crimes. *Dr. Snyder is likely to avoid commenting on the policy implications of juvenile crime trends, but will offer a research-based, factual perspective.*

Ron Suskind, author of A Hope in the Unseen and *Wall Street Journal* reporter

Mr. Suskind describes the journey of Cedric Jennings, a talented black teenager struggling to succeed in one of the harshest, lowest-performing public high schools in Washington, D.C. Mr. Suskind follows Jennings beyond his high school graduation to Brown University, and describes his story and the struggles of inner-city youth in modern America. The President sent a note to Cedric Jennings following Mr. Suskind's first series of profile articles in the *Wall Street Journal*.

Mr. Suskind will likely urge greater investment in intervention programs targeted at inner-city youth ages 11-13, when, he argues, peer pressure and expectation to reject education for crime is the most intense.

James Tierney, former elected Democratic Attorney General of Maine

Mr. Tierney advises state Attorneys General throughout the country and approaches the issue of juvenile crime from the perspective of a prosecutor. He argues that efforts to confront juvenile crime must take into account the role of punishment -- specifically, how plays an important role in alleviating community anger, as well as promoting accountability in young offenders. He has promoted blended sentencing, which tries to find a middle ground between juvenile and adult sentences.

Mr. Tierney is likely to discuss the need to balance prevention and early intervention strategies with efforts to prosecute youth and hold them accountable for their crimes.

Suggested Discussion Questions

What are some of the root causes of violence among youth? What are the policy implications of these causes?

How can we take advantage of public attention on this issue?

Why are extreme incidents of violence happening now?

How should we respond as a nation to these extreme outbreaks of violence? What do they say about us as a nation? Are they symptoms of larger problems?

Are changes in family structure connected to increased violence?

What are the connections and differences between these extreme incidents of violence and the crime that takes place at schools all the time?

Where are we heading in terms of youth crime? Is there anything we can learn from our most recent declines?

What do these recent incidents tell us about changing youth culture?

What can we as a nation do about the rising level of disconnection between young people and their communities? How does that disconnection bear on the community's role in stopping violence?

What is the connection between these incidents and increasing access to guns? Why do young people seek guns?

How can we address the implications of children's increased exposure to violence?

What is the connection between mental health problems and violence? How do we address the rising number of children with clinical depression?

How do we address the issue of media violence within the context of a strong commitment to the First Amendment?

How do we instill a sense of hope and possibility in those children whose families and communities have thus far not benefited from the improved economy?

What long-term steps can we take as a nation to address these problems?

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SISSELA BOK

Sissela Bok, a writer and philosopher, was born in Sweden and educated in Switzerland and France, before coming to the United States. She received her Ph. D. at Harvard University in 1970, and holds honorary doctorates from Mount Holyoke College, George Washington University, Clark University, the University of Massachusetts, and Georgetown University. She has received the Radcliffe Society Graduate Medal, the Barnard College Medal of Distinction, the Hastings Center Henry Knowles Beecher Award, and the Harvard Graduate School of Arts and Sciences Centennial Award.

Formerly a Professor of Philosophy at Brandeis University, Bok is currently a Distinguished Fellow at the Harvard Center for Population and Development Studies. She has written extensively on topics in the fields of bioethics, applied ethics, biography, and public affairs. A former member of the Pulitzer Prize Board and of the Board of the Hastings Center, she is on the editorial boards of a number of journals. She is a Fellow of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, and a member of the Executive Board of the Association for Practical and Professional Ethics.

With John Behnke, Bok has co-edited The Dilemmas of Euthanasia (1975), and with Daniel Callahan, Ethics Teaching in Higher Education (1980). She is co-author, with Gerald Dworkin and R. G. Frey, of the forthcoming Euthanasia and Physician-Assisted Suicide. Other books include: Lying: Moral Choice in Private and Public Life (1978), for which she received the George Orwell Award and the Melcher Book Award; Secrets: On the Ethics of Concealment and Revelation (1982); A Strategy for Peace: Human Values and the Threat of War (1989); Alva Myrdal: A Daughter's Memoir (1991), for which she received the Melcher Book Award; Common Values (1996); and Mayhem: Violence as Public Entertainment (1998).

A CONVERSATION WITH SISSELA BOK

author of
MAYHEM: Violence as Public Entertainment

1. How does your current focus on media violence relate to your earlier books *Lying and Secrets*?

In *Mayhem*, as in *Lying and Secrets*, I take up practical moral problems that arise in all our lives. Each of the three books focuses on a particular cluster of moral problems, but also on their links with the others. Lies are part of the arsenal used to guard and to invade secrets, which in turn may be used both to guard legitimate privacy and to conceal every form of deceit and violence. From earliest times, these themes have been treated in myths, epics, fables, and histories—and, in recent decades, more massively and graphically—on movie, television, and computer screens. It's the special allure of violence when offered as entertainment that attracts most immediate attention to moral conflict; and it's via the screen that modern publics are treated to entertainment violence on an unprecedented scale.

Few people doubt that massive exposure to graphic violence has significant impact on those who experience it. But although social scientists and child advocates have been exploring the effects of such exposure for decades, it is only in recent years that a groundswell of concern at home and abroad has generated a wide-ranging public debate about how we might best respond. My book aims to contribute to this debate, with special focus on works produced, marketed, and consumed as entertainment violence, for pleasure, excitement, thrill. Do they contribute to callousness and violent crime, as large majorities of Americans tell pollsters, or merely provide harmless amusement? In either case, might such works also help viewers confront and deal with violence in real life, perhaps informing them better or satisfying some deep-seated need that might otherwise find more brutal expression? Is it alarmist or merely sensible to ask about what happens to the souls of children nurtured, as in no past society, on images of rape, torture, bombings, and massacre channeled into their homes from infancy?

2. To what extent do you think violent programming contributes to violence in our society?

Most studies agree that children who are heavy viewers of screen violence are more likely to be more aggressive, and that habits of aggression formed early in life are the basis for later behavior. Besides, apart from actual aggression, violent programming has also been found to increase the fear of many viewers, adding needlessly to their distrust of others; to desensitize a proportion of viewers; and to increase the appetite for becoming involved with violence and for more violent programming.

3. Do you feel media violence is affecting our national character?

Americans have special reasons to inquire into any factor that may be contributing to societal violence, given that our levels of violent crime are higher than in all other stable industrialized democracies. And we need to consider all possible influences on young people and children in this regard. Although America's homicide rate has declined in the nineties, the rates for suicide, rape, and murder involving children and adolescents in many regions have too rarely followed suit. The rates of injury suffered by small children are sky-rocketing, with the number of seriously injured children nearly quadrupling from 1986 to 1993; and a proportion of these injuries are inflicted by children upon one another. Even homicides by children, once next to unknown, have escalated in recent decades.

Another curious effect that I believe is related to the endless proliferation of violent acts on our screens is that Americans have acquired a totally unwarranted reputation, at home as abroad, as one of the world's most lawless and violent countries. In fact, though we do have the highest rates of violent crime among industrialized democracies such as Japan, England, and France, many developing societies have rates several times higher than ours. Surveys show Colombia, South Africa, and Russia to be the three countries in the lead in this regard. And yet, if you ask any group of people to name the three societies with the highest measured levels of homicide in the world, and chances are that America will top the list. During the years when I worked on this book, I posed this question to gatherings at home and abroad. Invariably, most took for granted that America is among the most violent countries on earth if not the most violent of them all. Foreign policy experts, military strategists and peace activists showed no greater hesitation in this respect

than others. Young and old, liberal and conservative, religious and agnostic—all were equally startled at being told that they were wrong.

4. We can't burden entertainment violence as the root of all our societal ills. More violence is caused by poverty, family breakdown, substance abuse, and the availability of firearms. So why focus exclusively on the media?

Whatever role the media play in legitimizing, sometimes glamorizing, violence is only part of the problem. Even if there were no media violence, this would obviously not wipe out the problem of violence in the U.S. or any other society. The same can be said for the proliferation and easy access to guns, or for poverty, drug addiction, and other risk factors. So we have every reason to look with care at each one and at how they interact. It would make no sense to leave any one of them out on grounds that it is not the only contributing factor or not the strongest one.

It is against the background of all of the causes that contribute to societal violence, taken together, that my book focuses on what we can know about the role played by media violence in interaction with the others. And in this regard, there is something special about media violence: it is on the screen that most Americans meet up with every form of killing, abuse, rape, and torture from childhood on, no matter how placid their own lives might otherwise be.

5. Why are you concentrating on violence rather than pornography or hate speech?

Pornography and hate speech are legitimate problems. But they present different issues from violent entertainment. To take up all the forms of programming to which different groups might take objection would dilute the debate about how best to respond. Instead, since I could not cover everything, I chose to concentrate on the problem that many people feel threatens to have the most direct and severe consequences.

6. Will your book provide support to the Christian right and those who would like to censor films and the Internet?

No. I do not advocate censorship. The principal purpose of my book is to get beyond the simple dichotomy of censorship vs. free speech and to show that there are other ways to address the prominence of media violence that do not get caught up in this not very helpful debate.

7. What do you mean when you say that the debate over media violence poses a false dilemma?

It is wrong, I believe, to imagine that there is an insuperable dilemma between opting for either censorship or free speech in responding to media violence. There are ways for individuals and societies to guard against the risks posed by unfettered media violence without either resorting to censorship or standing by helplessly, feeling immobilized. Such a feeling of immobilization is needless on two grounds: first because censorship of the media is less and less feasible in today's media environment; second, because there are many ways to exercise control, both by producers and consumers, that are quite unrelated to censorship. We have seen how it has been possible to cut back on the glamorization of smoking, drug-taking, and drunk driving on the screen without recourse to censorship. There is no reason for producers as well as consumer groups not to make similar efforts when it comes to media violence.

My book aims to challenge the helplessness that so many now experience with respect to media and entertainment violence: a helplessness that reflects a deeper unrest about families and cultures, about the kind of society ours is becoming, and about our responsibilities to one another, to our children, and to ourselves. I argue that there is no reason to feel impotent, no excuse to opt out. The factors entering into the sense of moral conflict and insuperable dilemma are, when we look at them more closely, far from immobilizing. Beyond these barriers, I want to suggest, opportunities for imaginative responses abound.

violence as public entertainment

MAYHEM

SISSELA BOK

DOUBLE TAKES

Imagine that Rip van Winkle had slept almost two centuries instead of twenty years, only to wake up in 1995 in the town of Hudson, New York, while *Frontline* reporter Al Austin and his associates were filming the documentary "Does TV Kill?" In Washington Irving's story, the indolent, henpecked Rip had been used to rambling about the little town where he lived and hearing children shout with joy when he approached, "knowing how he assisted at their sports, made their play things, taught them to fly kites and shoot marbles, and told them long stories of ghosts, witches and Indians," only to wake up twenty years older and find that

Strange names were over the doors—strange faces at the windows—every thing was strange. His mind now misgave him; he began to doubt whether both he and the world around him were bewitched.³

This time, Rip would discover an entirely new town where his village had been. He would see fewer children at play outdoors. Instead, he would find them sitting indoors, often in front of television sets, some of them in turn being observed and filmed by Austin and his

television crew, who had come to Hudson with psychologist Leonard Eron, for the purpose of "watching people watching television":

This is where the Headless Horseman rode and Rip van Winkle slept. Columbia County, in the Catskills, Hudson, New York. An old town with deep wrinkles. Uncomfortable with the changes it sees all around. . . . *Frontline* came to Hudson because this is where television was born. And it was among the people here, more than anywhere else in the world, that experts have worked to learn what television does to us, and here that they first found a connection between television and violence.⁴

Austin and Eron had received permission from several families to train cameras both on the children and others watching television and on the sets themselves, in order to study how viewing habits, home conditions, and child-rearing practices might relate to aggressive behavior in children.

When Eron had first interviewed 835 third graders in Columbia County in 1960, he had been surprised by the role he found television played in their lives. The more violent the programs they watched at home, the more aggressive they were in school. He came back in 1971, and again in 1980, to reinterview the same subjects and found that a higher proportion of those who had been heavy consumers of TV violence as children also turned out to have problems with violence in late adolescence and early adulthood. The more aggressive they had been at eight, moreover, the more aggressive they tended to be at thirty: they logged more arrests and more criminal convictions, were more aggressive in their homes, and had more aggressive children.⁵ Now, in 1993, Eron wanted to meet with some of these individuals once again and to study, as well, the viewing habits of current third graders. The documentary shows him exploring the views of children and adults and confirming the earlier research findings about the links between television viewing and higher levels of aggression.

Unfortunately, the lurid title of the *Frontline* program—"Does TV Kill?"—made it harder for reporters and viewers to sort out the evi-

dence for such links. As a result, the greatest revelation turned out to be, for the reporters, not some new discovery about the role of television violence but rather, simply, "the stupefying amount that people watch."⁶ It was only five decades ago that the first American families acquired their first television sets. By now, 98 percent of households have television, and a majority of children have sets in their bedrooms. The typical American household has the television set on for more than seven hours a day, and children ages two to eleven watch it on an average of three to four hours a day.⁷

Rip van Winkle might well find the children watching TV in their bedrooms and living rooms the most perplexing of all. If he watched *Frontline*, he would see a boy—one that psychologists would call an unusually heavy viewer—stretched on his bed in his own room, eyes trained on his TV set, day after day, sometimes taking time out only for brief meals, fidgeting, changing position, but absorbed in his viewing. Other children were filmed coming in and out of darkened living rooms, the screen flickering before their eyes, their faces mostly expressionless, at times half-excited or turned away in fear.

How to explain to anyone not familiar with the role of television today these children's passivity, their remaining indoors for hours on end, their absorbed silence? Or the American Heart Association's 1992 poster: CAUTION: CHILDREN NOT AT PLAY, warning of the health risks from too much passive viewing?⁸

Most troubling of all might be the chill realization that the children in the *Frontline* documentary were doing what they actually thought they preferred to do. At the close of the program, a young boy, standing with his father and mother, is asked what he would say to someone offering him one million dollars on the condition that he never watch the television screen again. His instant reply: "I wouldn't do it." "Not even for a million dollars?" his mother asks incredulously. "Not even for a million." "Why?" Again an instant retort, as if the answer were self-evident: "What [else] would you do?"

Anyone who had written on the subject of education and child-rearing before the advent of TV, from Aristotle and Rousseau to Dewey, Montessori, and Piaget would be hard put to explain what

would cause a child to give up so many activities and to refuse a fortune in order not to be deprived of television. However much these thinkers differed about what sort of child-rearing is needed for individuals and societies to thrive, such a preference would jar with each of their views. Likewise, those who fought to establish the United States of America or who endured hardship to come to this nation as immigrants, however varied their own educational ideals and their hopes for their descendants, would surely be taken aback to learn how so many among today's children have been led to envisage "the pursuit of Happiness."

To be sure, many children in previous societies were much more deprived of opportunities to develop their full potential than the American youngsters studied by Eron. But it is odd that we in the twentieth century should pride ourselves on having arrived at a more enlightened view of children than the previous perception of them as "miniature adults," even as we acquiesce in having our own children targeted, long before the age of consent, as "miniature consumers."⁹

When Aldous Huxley looked back in 1958 at his novel *Brave New World*, written in 1931, he noted that some of the nefarious changes he had projected for a distant future were manifesting themselves much sooner, especially with respect to children. He warned of the growing powers of the communications industry in catering to what previous thinkers had ignored—"man's almost infinite appetite for distractions"—and in seeing children, especially, as offering lucrative prospects if they could be enlisted at an early age as lifelong consumers:

They are ignorant of the world and its ways, and therefore completely unsuspecting. Their critical faculties are undeveloped. The youngest one of them have not yet reached the age of reason and the older ones lack the experience on which their newfound rationality can effectively work. In Europe, conscripts used to be playfully referred to as "cannon fodder." Their little brothers and sisters have now become radio fodder and television fodder.¹⁰

Huxley was referring to television and radio in general, not to violent programming in particular. His condemnation is too slashing to do justice to the extraordinary opportunities for creativity, learning, and enjoyment that modern media were already then capable of providing. It is important to go beyond such blanket indictments as we consider screen violence in the larger context of the media, and to keep in mind that in homes where television sets are on most of the time, whether or not anyone watches them, much programming may serve as background "wallpaper" with few measurable effects of any kind.

There is nevertheless widespread agreement that television habits can be harmful. But as many investigators point out, it is not easy to sort out how different causal factors interact. It is even harder to pinpoint the precise neurological pathway of any one factor as it influences the others. For this reason, while most studies of the relationship between viewing patterns and, say, health or school performance speak of the "effects" of television, they also make clear that they have in mind some form of correlation rather than some direct cause-effect relationship.

Does this mean that all talk of effects can be set aside as unreliable until the firmest scientific evidence is in hand? No—no more than talk of the effects of tobacco, say, or of malnutrition. An approach to causation that helps make sense of the language of effects even before absolute physiological proof is in hand is that of "probabilistic causation." According to this perspective, it is not necessary that a suspected risk—such as cigarette smoking—produce the designated effect—lung cancer—in all or even most cases, nor that it be the only or the greatest cause of that effect. Rather, it is thought to have an effect if it "increases the incidence of the effect for a population and increases the likelihood of the effect in an individual case."¹¹ It is from this perspective that I shall be considering the different studies of the effects of media exposure.

Sitting too long in front of a screen proves both physically and psychologically debilitating, no matter how innocuous or even beneficial the programs may be. The most basic physical needs of children,

such as those of developing healthy hearts and lungs, are directly endangered by too many hours spent in front of television or computer screens. The more time children spend in front of the TV set, the more likely they are to be overweight and in poor physical condition.¹² On these scores, the American Heart Association, the American Academy of Pediatrics, and many other groups concerned with children's well-being unite in cautioning parents.¹³

In addition to physical risks from prolonged exposure to television, evidence is growing that it has harmful influences in other areas of life. Not unexpectedly, television watching has been found to cut back on time spent outdoors and on sports. Increasingly, now that most homes have several sets and many children have sets in their own rooms, it also isolates viewers. The time spent by parents with their children has continued to dwindle; a 1992 study shows that children have lost ten to twelve hours per week of parental time compared with 1960.¹⁴ For beleaguered parents, television has come to seem a ready-made replacement for family interaction, storytelling, and supervision.¹⁵ Studies have also linked sexually suggestive television programs with adolescent sexual behavior and out-of-wedlock pregnancy, as well as ads for beer and wine with increased alcohol consumption and greater incidence of accidents, drunk driving, and violence.¹⁶

When it comes to the relationship between viewing habits and schoolwork, opinions diverge. Does television expose children to learning opportunities they might not otherwise have, or does it interfere with their creativity, schoolwork, and reading ability? While heavy viewing is correlated with poorer performance in school and lower reading ability, both may be linked in the first place to the lower intellectual ability that is also associated with heavy television viewing, rather than to the viewing itself.¹⁷

Once young people go to college, their viewing habits have been found to correlate with lesser participation in activities in which they might otherwise engage. According to educational researchers Linda Sax and Alexander Astin, "the only measure to produce strong and negative effects on 'citizen development' among students, including leadership skills, cultural awareness, and tutoring other students, is

more time spent watching television"; they have also found "uniformly negative effects of watching television [on] . . . college grades, self-reported growth in most areas of academic and personal development, and nearly all aspects of satisfaction with college."¹⁸

Given the variety of screen offerings now available from infancy on up and their impact, for better or worse, on health and well-being, much rides on the choices that parents make for children, and on those that older children and adolescents learn to make for themselves. The pediatrician and media consultant Milton Chen argues that it is as important to make informed choices about TV diet as to select balanced, nutritive foods.¹⁹ And Elizabeth Thoman, director of the Center for Media Literacy, likewise stresses the importance of managing one's media diet, "that is, making choices and managing the amount of time spent with television, videos, electronic games, films, and various print media forms."²⁰

While children and young people are more vulnerable in these respects, no age guarantees immunity to the different sorts of damage. And as with all consumption, viewing intake can be harmful in two ways. It may either simply displace activities needed for adequate growth and sustenance, or else be actively toxic, at times addictive. It is in this context that questions concerning media violence enter in. Too much of any passive "consuming" of entertainment, even of the finest programs, damages children's health by taking away opportunities for sports and play and creative activities and the give-and-take of reciprocal engagement with others; but what has increasingly concerned parents and researchers is whether the consumption and enjoyment of media *violence* has additional and uniquely damaging effects.

SIZING UP THE EFFECTS

A great deal of research has been conducted to sort out the kinds and amounts of violence in the media and to learn how exposure to media violence affects viewers, and especially children. There have also been many meta-analyses, or studies of existing studies.²¹ Focusing primarily on television, they all confirm the commonsense observation that the screen is a powerful teaching medium, for good and for ill, when it comes to violent as to all other material.

There is general agreement that children ought neither to be insulated from gradual acquaintance with the treatment of violence in art and in the media nor assaulted by material they cannot handle. The "*catharsis* theory" put forth in the 1960s and 1970s, to the effect that violent material can help young people live out their aggressive impulses vicariously so that their day-to-day conduct becomes less aggressive, has been abandoned by almost all scholars in the field today.²² The debate suffers, however, from the fact that different studies concern persons of different ages with different levels of understanding of the nature of violence and of distinctions between real and fictitious events. It seems reasonable to suppose that screen violence

offers some viewers a chance for strictly vicarious role-playing and an outlet for aggressive fantasies, just as others are more easily frightened or mesmerized or incited by what they view. But scholars increasingly dismiss as unfounded any categorical claims that the average heavy viewer of media violence is somehow less likely to be aggressive than someone without such exposure.

Instead, the vast majority of the studies now concur that media violence can have both short-term and long-term debilitating effects. In 1993, the American Psychological Association published a report by a commission appointed to survey and review existing studies. According to this report,

There is absolutely no doubt that higher levels of viewing violence on television are correlated with increased acceptance of aggressive attitudes and increased aggressive behavior. . . . Children's exposure to violence in the mass media, particularly at young ages, can have harmful lifelong consequences. Aggressive habits learned early in life are the foundation for later behavior. Aggressive children who have trouble in school and in relating to peers tend to watch more television; the violence they see there, in turn, reinforces their tendency toward aggression, compounding their academic and social failure. These effects are both short-term and long-lasting: A longitudinal study of boys found a significant relation between exposure to television violence at 8 years of life and anti-social acts—including serious violent criminal offenses and spouse abuse—22 years later. . . . In addition to increasing violent behaviors toward others, viewing violence on television changes attitudes and behaviors toward violence in significant ways. Even those who do not themselves increase their violent behaviors are significantly affected by their viewing of violence in three [further] ways:

- Viewing violence increases fear of becoming a victim of violence, with a resultant increase in self-protective behaviors and increased mistrust of others;

- Viewing violence increases desensitization to violence, resulting in calloused attitudes toward violence directed at others and a decreased likelihood to take action on behalf of the victim when violence occurs (behavioral apathy); and
- Viewing violence increases viewers' appetites for becoming involved with violence or exposing themselves to violence.²³

The report, like most of the research it surveys, speaks of viewing violence as correlated with effects rather than as directly causing them. And it specifies a number of risk factors capable of contributing to the first of these effects—increasing aggression. Among these risk factors, some, such as access to firearms, substance abuse, and experience of abuse as a child, doubtless play a larger role than media violence.²⁴ But it is on the screen that, as in no earlier generation, today's children, including those not subject to the other risk factors, become familiar with them all and with graphic depictions of every form of mayhem.

Commentators have spoken of the four effects specified in the report as increased aggression, fear, desensitization, and appetite.²⁵ Psychologist Ronald Slaby, a member of the APA commission, has named them "the aggressor effect, the victim effect, the bystander effect, and the appetite effect."²⁶ Not all of these effects, he suggests, occur for all viewers; much depends on how they identify themselves in relation to the violence they see and on their ability to evaluate programs critically.

Without taking such variations into account, it is natural to ask, as does critic John Leonard, "How, anyway, does TV manage somehow to *desensitize* but also *exacerbate*, to *sedate* but also *incite*?"²⁷ As with other stimuli, individuals react to media violence in different ways. While many people experience the quite natural reactions of fear and numbing when exposed to repeated depictions of assault, homicide, or rape, fewer will ever come close to feeling incited by them, much less to engaging in such acts. But among those who do cross that line, the combination of a surge of aggression and numb pitilessness is surely not unusual. Psychiatrist James Gilligan, in a study of homicidally violent men, takes it as a precondition for their being able to engage in

violent behavior that ordinary human responses are absent: "What is most startling about the most violent people is how incapable they are, at least at the time they commit their violence, of feeling love, guilt, or fear."²⁸ In such a state, Macbeth's words are anything but incongruous:

I am in blood
Stepp'd in so far that, should I wade no more,
Returning were as tedious as go o'er.²⁹

As research evidence accumulates about the effects linked to media violence, it reinforces the commonsense view that violent programming influences viewers at least as much as the advertising directed at them for the express purpose of arousing their desire for candy and toys. Both types of exposure affect children most strongly to the degree that they are more suggestible and less critical of what is placed before them, and have more time to watch than most. The American Academy of Pediatrics, the American Medical Association, and the National PTA are among the many organizations signaling such effects and calling for reduced levels of television violence and greater parental involvement with children's viewing.

In the early 1990s, researchers frequently mentioned the estimate that the average child leaving elementary school has watched 8,000 murders and more than 100,000 acts of violence.³⁰ Because network television was for decades the primary source for screen violence in most homes, its role has been especially carefully charted in this regard. In recent years, growing access to numerous cable channels has brought in considerably more violent fare and made it available at all hours. By now, the vast assortment of slasher and gore films on video contribute to a climate of media violence different from that studied over the past four decades. So does the proliferation of video games offering players the chance to engage in vicarious carnage of every sort. These sources bring into homes depictions of graphic violence, often sexual in nature, never available to children and young people in the past. Because videos and interactive games also provide opportunities to play sequences over and over, they add greatly to the amount of violence to which viewers

now have access. As a result, it may well be necessary to revise the earlier figures sharply upward.

Although most of the public's concern has been directed primarily toward the first of the four effects noted by researchers—increased levels of aggression—the other three may have a more widespread and debilitating impact on adults as well as children. After all, even in a high-crime society such as ours, the vast majority of citizens will never commit violent crimes, but many are still affected to the extent that the prominence of violence in news and entertainment programs brings an intensified fear of crime, greater callousness toward suffering, and a greater craving for ever more realistic entertainment violence.

In examining studies of the four types of effects, I shall therefore first take up those having to do with fear, desensitization, and appetite, before considering what we know about any links to aggression, and ask under what conditions each may inhibit the development of four basic moral characteristics—resilience, empathy, self-control, and respect for self and others—indispensable for human thriving.

THE
NEW YORKER

20 WEST 43RD STREET
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July, 1998

William Finnegan has been a staff writer at *The New Yorker* since 1987. He has filed stories for the magazine from Bosnia, Somalia, South Africa, Mozambique, Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Spain. His reporting on youth, race, and poverty in the United States has twice won the John Bartlow Martin Award for Public Interest Magazine Journalism. He was a National Magazine Award finalist in both 1990 and 1995. He is the author of *A Complicated War: The Harrowing of Mozambique*; *Dateline Soweto: Travels with Black South African Reporters*; and *Crossing the Line: A Year in the Land of Apartheid*, about a year he spent teaching in a black high school in South Africa, which was named one of the ten best nonfiction books of 1986 by *The New York Times Book Review*. Mr. Finnegan lives in New York City with his wife, Caroline Rule, who is a lawyer.

THE NEW YORKER

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July 31, 1998

To: Hillary Clinton
From: Bill Finnegan
BY FAX

Discussion Suggestions - Violence and At-Risk Youth

***Gangs:** the vicious cycle in which unsupervised kids (working parents, distracted parents, no after-school programs) basically raise themselves, making peer groups inordinately important and often predatory (gangs), which in turn makes collective self-protection (gangs, again) essential--a cycle that generates much youth violence

***Guns:** everyday conflicts among kids become lethally dangerous with the easy availability of firearms

***Alcohol and methamphetamine:** key ingredients in many assaults

***Jail:** increasingly, even for juveniles, as rehabilitation goes out of penal fashion, a finishing school for the anti-social; a place where kids from tough neighborhoods gain some juice, some experience, for dealing with the constant threat of violence on the outside; for some, a holiday from the chaos, deprivations, and uncertainties of life on the streets

***Poverty:** Why does the wealthiest nation in history have the highest child poverty rate in the developed world? How can the American class structure be opened up to keep the income gap from continuing to grow? Can the blows of poverty at least be softened for families, so that fewer kids have to come to the devastating realization that they are being prepared for second-class citizenship and will always be unable to compete in the mainstream? This realization seems to me the psycho-social basis for a great deal of crime and violence.

***Pop culture:** the glamorization of violence--by adults, for kids

C O L D

Growing Up

W I L L I A M F I N N E G A N

N E W

in a Harder Country

W O R L D



Random House • New York

When I first started going to New Haven, I was taken on a tour of the city's neighborhoods by two black residents. Their conversation reminded me of others I've heard—in countries suffering from chronic guerrilla war.

"Who was that waved hello to you?"

"He was the guy that was with that girl who got shot in the eye."

"The fourteen-year-old?"

"That's right."

"How's she doing?"

"She gettin' better."

"Who did the shooting?"

"The Ville got blamed for it, because some of their boys was following that guy around, because he's KSI, so it's another beef now. But the Ville say they didn't do it."

"That don't make no difference."

Virtually every black person in New Haven knew someone who had been shot. One of my guides, a college student home on vacation, told me about a friend of hers, a twenty-two-year-old man, who had just been shot to death on the street by a sixteen-year-old dealer. On Newhall Street, not far from his grandmother's house, Terry Jackson heard shots one afternoon, ran out, and found a seventeen-year-old friend lying on the sidewalk. "It was my boy Gary," he told me, with even more than his usual dissociation. "He wasn't moving, but he was still alive. If I had a car, I would've throwed him in it and drove him to the hospital. The ambulance came and took him, but he died anyway. He was shot right here." Terry indicated a spot just below his left eye and he kept his finger there, drilling abstractedly into his cheek, for a full minute.

An inordinate number of the people getting shot in New Haven were teenagers—a fact clearly connected to the number of teenagers selling drugs. This connection could be overdrawn, however. It was the booming underground economy—primarily cocaine money—that financed the proliferation of guns, but once guns are in circulation they take on a life of their own. Among teenage boys, especially, they become status items. They get endlessly traded around. They signify power, safety, glamour, excitement, manhood. And they end up settling petty disputes that previously were settled with fists. In several visits to New Haven public high schools, I heard little talk about drug abuse (the drug of choice among students remained, overwhelmingly, alcohol; cocaine abuse had, if anything, declined in recent years) but a great deal of talk about who was "packing," and who might have a "death wish," issued by some enemy, hanging over his head. In such an atmosphere, as a school counselor put it to me, "every young man is mainly concerned with survival, with being the biggest beast on his block, which means being down with the baddest posse."

I caught a glimpse of this type of natural selection at work one December afternoon at Wilbur Cross High in New Haven. I was sitting in a second-floor classroom talking to a social studies teacher. School was just letting out. A series of sharp pops erupted outside and we looked out and saw two cars parked

at odd angles in the street. The boys inside the cars—at least three of them turned out to be Wilbur Cross students—were firing pistols at each other. Students were running, diving behind hedges and snowbanks. One of the cars started backing up very fast, then roared off up a side street. The other car squealed away in another direction. The scene had a heavy, panic-edged quality as people began to pick themselves up and look around to see who, if anyone, had been hit. Nobody seemed to be hurt. But then the car that had left by the side street—a large, muddy, dark blue Buick—came barreling back out and slid to a halt in front of the school. People began to run again as the Buick lurched around, bumped over the curb, and then sped off in the direction the other car had taken. That was the end of the excitement. A white motorist who had been forced to a stop by the shoot-out sat banging on his steering wheel and shouting. The principal of Wilbur Cross High later reported that the motorist was yelling, "Drugs are killing this city!"

But the shoot-out was not about drugs. It seemed that a girl at Wilbur Cross had made fun of a disabled boy, calling him a cripple. He "illed" her in return. She telephoned her boyfriend, who was a member of the Ghetto, a small posse based in a housing project in east New Haven. He came to the school with some of his friends. The handicapped boy was a member of the Island Brothers, who were, along with the Ville, one of the dominant posses at Wilbur Cross, so this promised to be a serious confrontation. Many students knew it was coming. One even walked into a classroom, pointed to a girl whose boyfriend was down with the Island, and announced, "Your baby's father goin' be killed." I heard this from a self-possessed twelfth-grade girl who went on to explain, "This school's affiliated with the Island. The Ghetto, only their little piss boys go here. Also, the Island is cute. You know, the Ghetto, they're ugly, they're from the projects, they stink. So they want to show everybody they're on top." The Ghetto had put on a great performance on the street after school, she said. "They was profilin'." She imitated them: boys walking around with arms akimbo, a little like gunfighters ready to quick-draw, but with exaggerated side-to-side steps that suggested extremely fat men waddling. I had seen the walk before; it was both frightening and very funny. The Island, she said, had matched this display and things had quickly escalated to gunfire.

The social studies teacher with whom I watched the shoot-out had her own theory. She thought that it might be the beginning of a race war. She said that a white boy at the school (Wilbur Cross was less than one third white; Hillhouse High, New Haven's other comprehensive public high school, was 94 percent black) had been threatened recently by one of the posses. This was a first, she said, and very ominous, particularly since a white man had been murdered in the projects the same week. (The white man in question—he was twenty years old and well known locally as a champion swimmer—had been, according to witnesses, trying to steal drugs. He had gone to Rockview Cir-

cle—possibly the most dangerous housing project in town—to score, and had there been accused of having fled, a few days earlier, without paying for the drugs he took. The dealer's "beatmaster," whose job it was to make sure such things didn't happen, shot the accused thief in the head as he and a companion drove their pickup truck out of Rockview Circle.)

While the social studies teacher was telling me her theory—this was immediately after the shoot-out—three boys ran into her classroom. It seemed that they all lived in the projects where the Ghetto was based, and they were afraid they might be the Island's next targets. We shut the door and made them sit on the floor while we watched the corridor and the street. We tried to find out more from the boys. Each wore a ski cap. All denied being involved with the posses. Other than that, we learned nothing. The boys were obviously not pleased to find themselves being interrogated by a couple of white adults. The word "niggers" occurred in every sentence fragment they muttered. Afterward, I tried to imagine what the world felt like to those boys, and what I would do if I were in their place—if I felt myself in mortal danger, with no help coming from adults—and had to go home to the projects that night. And I knew: I would get down with a posse; I would get myself a gun.

THREE

"We believe in Hitler's ways," Tim Malone, of the Nazi Low Riders, explained. "But that don't mean we worship him. He was smart, but he was a homosexual. I think what he did with the Jews was right, mainly. They was coming into Germany, buying up the businesses, treating the Germans like slaves. I think he killed more than six million. That was just all they could find."

Chris Runge, another NLR, told me that Hitler had actually been working for the Vatican. "That's why the Jews were put in the concentration camps. The Pope went to Hitler and said, 'These people aren't giving in. We'll give you weapons, we'll give you ammunition.'"

It took me some time to get past the NLRs' mistrust of strangers bearing notebooks, but once I did I found them garrulous, even fascinating, expounders of misinformation and sulfurous opinion. Chris Runge seemed to be the theorist of the Lancaster clique. He was nineteen, hairless, blue-eyed, pale-skinned, with an athlete's physique and an odd manner that, at least with me, alternated between an exaggerated serenity and a worried seriousness—an alternation occasionally interrupted by big, goofy smiles. "I'm basically what you call a political Nazi," he said. "A lot of these Nazis out here are unorganized. They're mostly street skins, like Storm Troopers, doing the dirty work. I want to start getting them organized. I'm not down for the government, but I'm interested in military service, because that's really getting inside the political system. I want to know how to use weapons, and get inside the government, so I can help bring it down and start my own. You saw what happened in North Carolina? We're already in there."

Chris was referring to the discovery, in late 1995, of a group of violent white-supremacist paratroopers at Fort Bragg.

"People don't really understand what Nazism is about," he went on. "They think it's all just Adolf Hitler. But Nazism is about a society with no upper class, no lower class. We'd have equality. We wouldn't have homelessness—because we keep the factories going and everybody has a place. It's like a ma-

chine, a robot. Democracy doesn't work. As you can see right now, it's falling apart. With a Nazi government, we'd just take out all the unwanted and start over again—even whites, if they're doing the same thing as the niggers are. . . . I'm here for the future. I'm for a lot of restrictions. You can't let too much freedom in." Chris gave me one of his big, blue-eyed smiles.

He grew serious again. "White supremacy just comes from growing up and seeing what's happening in society," he said. "We're going down. I mean, what's up with all this United Negro College Fund? Why is there no United White College Fund? We're just all sitting out here on the corner while they're getting all the scholarships." He frowned. "I haven't seen any of them yet show me they really deserve to be in this society. They deserve to be taken out—any way possible."

Chris was trying to change his own ways, he said. "Before, I was just like a street thug. 'Fuck you, nigger!' I see 'em in an alley, say, 'Hey, you're in the wrong neighborhood,' and beat 'em down. But our superiority is a superiority of the mind. You can't kill 'em all. You gotta be smarter. Whites are more civilized, so you should act more civilized—present yourself in a good manner, so people respect you."

Chris credited a recent eight-month stint in jail for his new insight. He had been convicted for participating in the same drive-by shooting that sent Jaxon Stines, who was his best friend, to jail. And he had "found the Lord" in his cell, he said, an experience that seemed to be the source of his beatific grins. It may have also softened some of his judgments. Of Mindy, for instance, Chris merely said, "She's confused. She's young." This was notably gentler than the pronouncements of other NLRs on the subject. Chris even showed some self-awareness when he talked about his life. He told me that his mother's ex-husband used to beat her so badly when he was drunk that she would come lie in bed with Chris in the hope that it would make him stop. It didn't. "And that's a lot of the hate I got inside me now," Chris said quietly.

Chris's mother was, by all accounts, a serious tweaker. (His grandfather was an executive with the Xerox Corporation. Chris said—a point of reference, perhaps, for his bitter assessment. "We're going down.") She and he had moved to the Antelope Valley when he was thirteen. He had dropped out of school in the ninth grade, and had largely been on his own since. For a while, he was a Deadhead, following the band around California, and he had lived for a patch in Oakland. When we met, he was working at a Burger King and living with the Malones.

The Malones' house was still the NLR hangout. Though I stopped by many times, day and night, I never saw Mrs. Malone there. She worked in a plastics factory in Pasadena, more than an hour's drive away, and, according to Tim, she left the house at dawn and got home only late in the evening. When I first met Tim, who was seventeen, he had just spent two months in jail; he had

been locked up as a suspect in the Todd Jordan stabbing, but had been released for lack of evidence. He was wiry and well built, with close-cropped dark hair and, tattooed on the back of his neck, an Iron Cross. He described himself as "more of the Gestapo Storm Trooper type than a political Nazi—the type that's ready to go to war over things. There's gonna be a race war around the year 2000."

I asked Tim how he had become a Nazi. He said that his father had been a Hell's Angel, "so it was kind of inherited." His dad drank, did speed, and abused his mother—that was why his parents broke up. The family had lived in a black neighborhood in Montclair, east of Los Angeles, where Tim, at the age of ten, joined a local Crips set for self-protection. He was the middle brother of three, and his joining a black gang did not please his brothers. "Both my brothers was punk rockers, into speed metal, and they used to beat me up, trying to teach me a lesson," he said. "I thank them for it now. I was on the wrong road. You gotta stick with your own race. Now ain't nothing I hate more than a wigger." (This charming term means "white nigger.") The news that Tim was an ex-Crip helped explain why he often sounded like a white thug doing a flawless imitation of a black thug. He even had a set of elaborate hand and arm gestures that I had never before seen a white kid use—the same moves gangsta rappers use in performance.

Tim and his brothers, Jeff and Steve, became skinheads after moving to the Antelope Valley, in 1992, and meeting the local neo-Nazis. They were, however, no longer calling themselves Nazi Low Riders, he said. I was surprised; that was what everyone, including the police and the press, called them. But it seemed that Willie Fisher, the leader of the Lancaster NLRs, had been beaten up when he arrived in prison claiming NLR. "It's a prison gang," Tim explained to me. This had obviously been news to the Lancaster set. "You gotta be in prison to be a member. That's why they jumped Willie, because he never been in prison before. See, NLRs are a clique off of Aryan Brotherhood, and Aryan Brotherhood ain't recruiting no more. Now it's just everybody white in prison. But Willie's been talking to the older homeboys, so now it's cool. But we're under his wing, so if we mess up, the older homeboys will take it out on him. So we gotta jump up and take the blame for any brothers in trouble, jump up if anybody disses NLR, back it up a hundred percent. See, you can be down for NLR but not claim it yet, because you're not eligible."

Stints in juvenile detention—Tim had twice done time for methamphetamine possession—evidently didn't count toward NLR eligibility. "But the real NLRs can always just call on us if they need something taken care of," Tim said. "They just say, 'Hey, brother,' and we take care of it." The once and future NLRs of Lancaster were, in any case, eagerly awaiting, as Mindy said, the release of their leader, Willie. "When he gets out, he might take us all to Idaho," Tim said wistfully. "That's a white-power state."

In the meantime, they were a warm little nest of vipers. "We're all family," Tim said. "Even the little kids. Trouble's son, who's only, like, nine months old, already knows how to Sieg Heil." Tim imitated an infant giving a Nazi salute, and laughed. (Trouble was the street name of Robert Jones, one of the three NLRs, as I shall continue to call them, charged with firing into a parked car full of black people, including a baby, in Lancaster in 1995. Jones was convicted and sentenced to twelve years. One of his companions, Chris Parker, fondly known around the Malones' house as Evil, was the shooter; he got twenty-two years.)

There were certain limits that even Tim acknowledged, though. "Like my little sister, we don't want to get her into it too bad yet," he said. His sister, who was always parked in front of a TV playing video games when I came by the house, was, Tim estimated, approximately ten. (He really had no idea.) "She knows how to salute, and throw up a W"—that's a white-power gang sign, done with crossed fingers—"but one day she got down to it with some black kid at school, called him a nigger, and the school called my mom, and she got mad at us, because she knew where my sister picked it up."

The ranks of the boneheads were swelling, Tim said. Everywhere he went in the Antelope Valley, guys were throwing Nazi salutes at him. "Some of them I don't even know," he said. "We get hooked up that way." Standing in the Malones' front yard, talking with Tim and his friends, I did notice a startling number of passing cars honking in greeting, with white arms often jutting out the windows. The NLRs would respond with quick, stiff-armed salutes and the occasional deep shout, "White power!" Then they would grin. This, I thought, was why the local Sharps called their hometown Klancaster.

"When we first come up here, there was hardly any blacks," Tim told me. "So there wasn't much trouble. But then they started hearing about this place, wanting to come up here, starting stuff, thinking they're hard. So we're just trying to push 'em back."

The NLRs' main enemies, however, were the Sharps. "Most all Sharps are straight pussies," Tim said vehemently. "They're just a bunch of preppy white boys who want to run with the blacks because they're afraid to fight them."

The one Sharp who most infuriated Tim and his friends was, of course, Darius Houston. "There's no such thing as a black skinhead," Tim fumed. "Skinheads are white. Everybody knows that. Darius is bullshit."

I asked Tim if he knew where skinhead originated.

"Germany," he said. He wasn't sure when.

I asked if he had ever read anything about skinheads.

"There really ain't no book about skinheads," he said. (There are many.) He had heard about a magazine, though, a neo-Nazi "skinzine" called *Blood and Honor*, published in Long Beach, California. He asked if I could help him find some copies. "They'll hold some concerts out here for us, we heard."

On the whole, the neo-Nazi skinheads I met in the Antelope Valley seemed to have only vague, subpolitical connections to the white-supremacist world beyond their turf—through the methamphetamine trade, through prison gangs and outlaw motorcycle gangs, through racist music (white-power punk bands like Skrewdriver and Rahowa—for "Racial Holy War"—and country-and-western lynch-mob nostalgists like the Coon Hunters). They knew and admired groups like the Ku Klux Klan and White Aryan Resistance but, as far as I could tell, had little or no contact with such organizations.

I did meet one young man at the Malones' who was clearly not from the valley. He said his name was Scott Larson (I doubted that), that he was nineteen (he seemed older), and that he came from Ventura, a town on the coast north of Los Angeles, where he belonged to a gang called the Ventura Avenue Skinhead Dogs. Scott was wound extremely tight; he could not sit still while we talked. He was barechested and prison-yard fit, with a swastika tattooed on his chest and SWP (for Supreme White Power) on one shoulder. He told me that all his older male relatives were Klansmen, and that he had just served eight months in jail, "for stabbing a nigger." Before that, he said, "My girlfriend got killed by four niggers. They knew my truck—it had a big swazi on the back—and we were coming home from a movie, just sitting at a light, and they just started capping. They were aiming at me, but they got her, twice. Now all them niggers is six feet under. But I'll be with her soon!"

Scott didn't think too much of the Antelope Valley. "This is all petty here," he said. "But I'm trying to get these guys organized. That's why I'm here."

Scott reckoned the American race war would be with us "in about ten years. And after that it'll be all segregated. Each city will be, like—Lancaster will be white, L.A. will be Mexican, New York and San Francisco will be niggers." In the meantime, he said, "We're against everything about blacks. We're against black gangs, black kids, everything. Fuck niggers!"

There were always kids at the Malones' house, and I noticed a number of them gathered around now, listening to Scott. "We're just like the Nazis," he went on, grinning intently. "We're the Storm Troopers, trying to get everybody out."

Trying to get who out of where? I asked.

"Trying to get all the niggers and Mexicans out of existence."

Among the kids who were usually around the Malones' were some who could not have been more than ten. I wondered if their parents had any notion what kinds of things their children were seeing and hearing there. Not all the older kids were skinheads—one regular, Tom Forney, who was perhaps seventeen, and who always seemed to be fiddling with an electric guitar, had a long red ponytail—and not all the NLR skinheads were willing to talk to me. Tim's older half-brother, Jeff, whose gang name was Demon, was polite to me but kept his distance. Angela Jackson, one of Mindy's tormentors, was often

around but elusive. I sometimes heard her mention Mindy—loudly refusing to use a stick of lip balm, say, that she thought Mindy might have touched. She once sat in the kitchen and told me a few things about herself—that she lived with her grandmother, that her father had died of a heroin overdose, that the Antelope Valley had used to be all white people but was now full of "loads"—but mostly she stayed in front of the TV with the Malones' little sister.

Angela, who was seventeen, struck me as intelligent but eerily immature. She was chunky, wore boys' clothes, and, whenever I was around, seemed to be wearing a strange, sweet, dissociated smile. The NLRs called her La La, and Tim Malone told me that even he had to defer to her passion for taking revenge on the defector Mindy. "I'd really just like to work with Mindy, and get her back this way," he said. "But my brothers and sisters think she should be punished, so I keep quiet."

The attractions of the Malones' house as a hangout were not mysterious. The illicit atmosphere was exciting—all the in-your-face racism, the edge of violence, the skinhead outrageousness, the sex-and-drugs-and-rock-and-roll. The house was like a child's idea of a pirate's den: scruffy and run by tattooed brigands. I even got the feeling sometimes that a rough, retrograde, neo-communal sort of social experiment was being conducted. A boy would be opening a can of beans to heat up on the stove. Someone would bellow, "Only bitches cook in this house!" The boy would drop the can, while onlookers guffawed. Angela would tear herself away from the TV and finish opening the can, declaring herself "a skin bitch, a Featherwood." Someone at the window would shout, "Check out this Fender!" And the others would rush to the window to study two young Latinos walking past the house carrying a guitar. The questions in the air were charged and clear: Can they be robbed? Right here and now? In front of this reporter guy from New York? What can we not get away with?

Antelope Valley officials tended to say that white-supremacist skinheads were less of a problem than they seemed. Deputy Chris Haymond, head of the sheriff's gang detail in the Antelope Valley, told me that, while there were perhaps a hundred neo-Nazi skinheads in the valley, they were dwarfed in number by the thousands of black and Latino gang members who had moved up from Los Angeles in recent years. Whites accounted for less than 10 percent of the valley's gang membership, Haymond said, and white-power gangs for far less than 10 percent of the gang-related felony crimes. A local anticrime panel, ordered by the county's Commission on Human Relations to report on racist skinhead activity after a series of violent incidents, agreed that the problem was insignificant, and blamed the press for "over-reporting certain events."

Latino and African American activists disputed this view. George Salas, a retired civil engineer and president of a coalition called Latinos for Social Justice,

told me story after story of racist harassment and assaults in the valley that had led to arrests not of the perpetrators but of the Latino complainants. "The white racist problem has been growing tremendously here," Salas said. "The police are simply in denial about it." Linda Thompson Taylor, president of the local chapter of the NAACP and a nine-year valley resident, told me, "This has become a frightening community." Pete MacEachern, a juvenile probation officer for the county, said, "I see lots of white-power kids, and the problem has been steadily growing for the last five to seven years." When he first got to the valley, MacEachern said, "I thought the Palmdale Peckerwoods were ornithologists, kids with monocles looking at birds." He knew better now.

The Sharps thought they knew why the police played down the racist skin-head problem—"because the cops are haters themselves." And the NLRs, while quick to complain of police harassment, also loved to tell stories about sympathetic officers. Tim Malone told me, "One deputy who arrested me for speed possession apologized to me later on. He said, 'I'm white-power, too, but there's a time to be racist and a time not to be racist. I need a job to support my family, and if I'm all racial I'll lose my job.'" Chris Runge said, "I've had police officers tell me they believe whites are superior. They say, 'I share your views, so stop running around out here on the street like these other people. I'm white and I'm doing my job: getting the unwanted off the streets.'" These tales may have been fantasies, of course, but the record of both active and passive sympathy for white supremacism in American law enforcement is long, and Southern California has contributed more than its share to this tradition.

Certainly some of the descriptions I heard of local white-power gangs from Antelope Valley officers were odd. One gang expert told me that the Peckerwoods were "kind of hippies revisited: free love and dope." Another sergeant at the sheriff's office told me that Sharps had been responsible for the stabbing of Todd Jordan, and when I asked about the NLRs—six of whom his office was then holding as suspects in the Jordan stabbing—he said, "I would say they have very strong beliefs as far as race is concerned." They also had strong screwdrivers. This sergeant, for what it was worth, more than doubled Deputy Haymond's estimate and said there were two hundred active Peckerwoods in the valley.

Billy Pricer, a former deputy and a preacher at a valley fundamentalist church, ran the only local gang prevention center. His clients were sent to him by the juvenile courts, and roughly half of them, he said, were white. "Our white-power counselees often have involvement with the occult," he told me. "They're the most frightening group we see. Virtually all were abused, sexually and otherwise, as kids, and they hate the world. They talk about 'the power.' They like the ability to intimidate, to control."

Beverly Louw, then the principal of Lancaster High School, reported similar experiences. "The most serious problems I ever have with kids are with

white supremacists. I'd take any black gang or Hispanic gang or Asian gang over white supremacists. They appear to have absolutely no conscience. Our strategies for working with gang kids just don't work with white-supremacist kids. They won't be part of a discussion group or counseling. It's almost like a religion. They're reading Nazi stuff. They have more material with which to pattern their hostility, their opinions, more references. They're into power. Some are very socialistic. They're not into possessions; they just want to control people's minds."

Whatever the felony crime figures for gangs of different hue, the white-supremacist aroma filled the valley with a special pungency. I found, and not only among kids. Christian Identity—an apocalyptic, racist, and virulently anti-Semitic doctrine that enjoys great sway among far-right militias today—was extensively promulgated in the Antelope Valley by a Klansman named Wesley Swift, who founded a still-influential sect called the Church of Jesus Christ Christian in Lancaster in the late 1940s. Crackpot populism and paranoia were still flourishing locally. At the time I started visiting, a group associated with the Freemen—the racist cult that came under FBI siege in Montana in 1996—was holding bimonthly seminars at the best hotel in Lancaster. The object of the seminars was, essentially, to teach people how to secede financially from the United States, and they were reportedly hugely popular, despite being quite expensive. Larry Grooms, the editor of the *Antelope Valley Press*, told me he thought the same desperation that drove adults to such seminars drove their children into white-power gangs.

The police might have been right—the Bloods and Crips might have been feuding, quietly, somewhere in the valley—but the gang tension you could not miss was between the Sharps and the boneheads. If you went to Brunswick Sands Bowl, a bowling alley on the Sierra Highway in Lancaster, the jacket that caught your eye, worn by a spike-haired teenage punk, was the one with a huge patch on the back snarling NAZI PUNKS FUCK OFF. Watching the boy in the jacket bowl with his friends, your major concern would be whether the boneheads might dare to attack him right there on Family Night. If you went to the only real teen hangout in Lancaster, a coffee shop called Hang 'n Java, which had a pool table, music, and an Internet connection, the tense conference taking place at the counter would be between the owner and a group of Sharps. When I went, I found her throwing them out. She supported them, she maintained, but she could not risk their business, because if the boneheads saw them in there, they'd come back at night and shoot out her windows. "And I can't pay the insurance," she said tightly.

Larry Grooms told me about a white boy who, in 1993, as a sophomore at Antelope Valley High, began hearing from racist skinheads that he had to break off his friendships with black and Latino kids. When he refused, they threatened him. Finally, a death threat was followed by a drive-by shooting

that missed. The boy's terrified parents went to the police about the shooting. The police did nothing. The parents reluctantly sent the boy to Texas to stay with an uncle. The boy finished the last two years of high school there, while his parents back in California cried themselves to sleep at night.

I seemed to run across variations of this grim tale wherever I went. Some of them made even less sense. After interviewing one school administrator, I asked in passing about his plans. He said that he was thinking of moving his family out of the Antelope Valley, that he was no longer comfortable there. I asked why, and he told me about a fearsome beating that one of his sons, a high school senior, had recently received as he was leaving a party. The attack had been totally unprovoked, he said. Then the administrator mentioned that his son had been a successful child actor on television, and that his assailants had been white supremacists. The attack suddenly didn't seem so inexplicable. The victim, I thought, had simply been too bright and shiny for the boneheads to let pass. But the part that had most disturbed his father was the police response. His son could identify several of his assailants, but the police were not interested. They didn't even want the names for future reference. I asked for the names. The administrator declined to give them to me. They had decided just to let the incident go. His son was graduating in a few weeks and would then go off to college. I mentioned the names of some of the white-power kids I knew. When I got to Jaxon Stines, the man's face colored. "That's one of them," he said quietly.

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Interests: Black critical thought; cultural criticism; social theory; modern and post-modern philosophy and literature, and the future of American youth.

Professor West's philosophy is not an abstract discipline, but rather a "polemical weapon that attempts to transform linguistic, social, cultural and political tradition to increase the scope of individual development and democratic actions." His work--influenced by traditions as diverse as the Baptist Church, American transcendentalism and literature, the Black Panthers, and European philosophy--seeks to revive the best of liberalism, populism and democratic socialism.

Professor West is the author of thirteen books including the two-volume *Beyond Eurocentrism and Multiculturalism* (Common Courage Press, 1993); *Breaking Bread* (South End Press, 1991); *Race Matters* (Beacon Press, 1993); *Keeping Faith* (Routledge, 1993), *Jews and Blacks: Let the Healing Begin* (Putnam Books, 1995), co-authored with Michael Lerner; and *Restoring Hope: Conversations on the Future of Black America* (Beacon Press, 1997). Besides his numerous publications, Professor West is a well-respected and highly popular lecturer; his speaking style, formed by his roots in the Baptist Church, provides a blend of drama, knowledge, and inspiration.

Professor West earned his M.A. and Ph.D. from Princeton University and his B.A. *magna cum laude* from Harvard University. He served as Professor of Religion and Director of the Afro-American Studies Department at Princeton before joining the Harvard faculty in 1994.

Sylvia Ann Hewlett

Biography

Sylvia Ann Hewlett was born in Pyle, a mining village in South Wales. She is the second of six daughters. Her father was a teacher, and her mother a homemaker. She remembers her childhood as rich in parental attention but threadbare in other respects. In her family home there were musical instruments and sheet music, but no telephone, television or refrigerator, and the children tripled-up, three to a bedroom. Despite straightened circumstances, she and her sisters were encouraged to think big, and, above all else, get themselves an education. Before it was fashionable, Hewlett's father had feminist instincts. As Nessa Rapoport described in a profile for *Publishers Weekly*, at age 13 he took Hewlett to visit Cambridge University—her first trip outside of Wales—and told her "You can go someplace like this if you work hard." For a teenager with the wrong accent from the wrong side of the tracks, this was heady—and inspiring—stuff.

Hewlett did indeed attend Cambridge University, setting a record: she was the first student from her secondary school ever to gain admission to that institution. After graduating from Cambridge, she won a Kennedy Scholarship to Harvard University and went on to complete her Ph.D. in Economics in 1973. Between 1974 and 1981 Hewlett was Assistant Professor of Economics at Barnard College, Columbia University, and for six years in the 1980s she was Executive Director of the Economic Policy Council, a New York based labor-management think tank chaired by Robert O. Anderson (CEO, Atlantic Richfield), and Doug Fraser (President, United Auto Workers).

Since 1987 Hewlett has devoted her time to writing and political advocacy. Her 1986 book, *A Lesser Life* (William Morrow/Warner Books), was reviewed and written about in 60-odd newspapers and journals including the *New York Times*, the *New York Review of Books*, *Family Circle* and *People* magazine. It was an alternate selection of the Book-of-the-Month Club, was translated into several languages, and film rights were bought by CBS. Her 1991 book, *When the Bough Breaks* (Basic Books/HarperCollins), was equally well-received, winning three national awards including a Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Book Prize. Her forthcoming book, *The War Against Parents*, co-written with Cornel West, is to be the lead title of Houghton Mifflin in the spring of 1998.

Hewlett has written or edited seven books and numerous articles including: "Inflation and Inequality," *Journal of Economic Issues*, (June 1977), "Coping with Illegal Immigrants," *Foreign Affairs*, (Winter 1981/82), "Next Challenge: Support for Motherhood?" (*New York Times*, Op-Ed, June 17, 1986), "Making Allowances," (*New Republic*, October 6, 1986), "How Our Laws Hurt Working Mothers and their Families," (*Family Circle*, October 21, 1986), "Family Support Policy? Consult the Bottom Line," (*Management Review*, January 1989), "Running Hard Just to Keep Up" (*Time*, October 29, 1990), "The Boundaries of Business" (*Harvard Business Review*, July-August 1991), "Price of Motherhood," (*Financial Times*, October 26, 1991), "How to Invest in Our Children," (*Parenting*, March 1992) and "It's Time We Put Children First," (*Parade*, July 17, 1994).

Over the last seven years, Hewlett has lectured in 42 states to groups as diverse as the National Governors Association, Corning Glass, the Unitarian Universalist Association and the Teamsters Union. She has appeared on numerous T.V. and radio shows including *Oprah Winfrey*, *Donohue*, *Face the Nation*, *the Today Show*, *Good Morning America* and *All Things Considered*. She has served as a consultant to several corporations and to UNICEF. Hewlett is a member of PEN, the Council on Foreign Relations and the Century Association.

In 1993 Hewlett founded the National Parenting Association, a non-profit membership organization dedicated to building a nationwide parents' movement across race and class, that will put the needs of America's 62 million mothers and fathers at the top of the national agenda. She is co-chair, along with Cornel West, of the NPA's Task Force on Parent Empowerment.

Sylvia Ann Hewlett is married to Richard Weinert and together they have five children: Shira (25), Lisa (19), David (17) and Adam (13) and Emma (6 months). She lives in New York City with her family and in her own life strives to put into practice the values that underlie her professional endeavors.



The War Against Parents



What We Can Do for America's Beleaguered Moms and Dads

Sylvia Ann Hewlett
and Cornel West

me on. The young man listened closely and then, in obvious pain, said, "Here's the score—I'm in this world by myself. My mother's strung out and tuned out. I have brothers, but I don't know them, and as for my father, where he is nobody knows. I sure have never seen him."

I remember feeling totally helpless. I had no recipe to heal these open wounds. The only thing I could think of doing was to bow before the enormity of his misery, kiss the young brother's hand, and mumble some words of empathy. "My God, I can't imagine—it's beyond my experience. You've got things you can teach me—you've been somewhere I've never been. I've read a ton of books on alienation, but I cannot grasp what you are living . . . I cannot understand what it must be like to have never been loved." I then simply told him to stay strong and don't forget to pray. ✽

This bleak and bitter encounter in Newark reflects the agony of a child who was born without a skin, without the tender love of an attentive parent. For this young man, the parent-child bond—the relationship that transmits self-love and the capacity to love others—had never developed, and the consequences were quite deadly.

A World Upside Down

This young man is not alone. In modern America, across race, gender, and class, millions of children are in terrible trouble. Consider the following facts:

- The homicide rate for children aged fourteen to seventeen has risen 172 percent since 1985.
- One fifth (20.5 percent) of all children are growing up in poverty—a 36 percent increase since 1970.
- The number of homeless children has tripled since the late 1980s.
- The use of illicit drugs among high school seniors is up 44 percent since 1992.
- SAT scores have slipped 27 points since the early 1970s.
- The rate of suicide among black teenagers has more than tripled since 1980.
- Obesity among children aged twelve to seventeen has doubled since 1970.²⁶

Some of these statistics (poverty, homelessness) describe the pain of disadvantaged kids; others (obesity, SAT scores) describe the anguish of middle-class kids. Problems triggered by divorce, teen pregnancy, school failure, and substance abuse are no longer confined to the ghetto. They reach deep into the middle class; they belong to "us" as well as to "them." Out-of-control children aren't always other people's kids. They come in all sizes, shapes, and colors, and from affluent neighborhoods as well as down-at-the-heel city 'hoods. Kids who do bad things have highly educated parents as well as barely literate ones. A recent Carnegie Corporation report describes the depth and reach of our child-related problems: "Nearly half of American adolescents are at high or moderate risk of seriously damaging their life chances. The damage may be near term and vivid, or it may be delayed, like a time bomb set in youth."²⁷

The enormous surge in youth violence is perhaps the most cruel—and most costly—manifestation of our inability to nurture our young. Children are now responsible for a staggering 20 million crimes a year. Between 1985 and 1994, among those aged fourteen to seventeen, arrests for murder increased by 172 percent, and for other violent crimes (rape, robbery, and aggravated assault) by 46 percent. And while violent crime among teenagers has been escalating, comparable crime rates for adults have been falling quite rapidly: between 1990 and 1994, homicide rates among adults aged twenty-five and older declined 18 percent.²⁸ There are now two crime trends in America, one for adults and one for children, and they are moving in opposite directions. One poorly understood fact is the hefty price tag attached to juvenile crime, as society ends up paying for a lifetime spent in and out of jail. A recent study estimates the cost to taxpayers of one violent young person at \$1.5 million.²⁹

In a day and age when we associate crime with young black men, it is important to stress that increases in juvenile crime apply across the board, in "all races, social classes, and lifestyles." Although young black males are four to five times more likely to be arrested for violent crime than white youths of the same age, the increase in the rate of arrests is far higher for white youths than for black: a 44 percent increase compared to a 19 percent increase between 1988 and 1993.³⁰

Daphne Abdela, age fifteen, moved in a private school underworld in New York City where belonging means playing thug, getting wasted, and committing crimes. In her case, these crimes might well have included murder. In June 1997, she and her buddy Chris Vasquez, also fifteen, were arraigned in connection with the stabbing death of a forty-four-year-old real estate agent named Michael McMorrow. The killing occurred in the vicinity of the stately apartment building on Central Park West where Daphne lived. Daphne reportedly told the police that after the murder she and Chris mutilated the body, cutting off the dead man's nose and almost severing a hand in an attempt to hide his identity. Then they tried to sink McMorrow's 220-pound frame in the park's lake, gutting it first, Daphne told police, "because he was a fatty."

Daphne cannot claim to be black, brown, or disadvantaged. She is a highly privileged youngster, even by the standards of Manhattan. Before her arrest she lived in a \$3 million home and was driven to school by the family chauffeur.³¹

When we look into the future, the picture becomes bleaker still. Demographic trends indicate that when it comes to juvenile crime, the worst may be yet to come. A "baby boomlet" in the late 1980s and early 1990s means that there are now 40 million children under age ten in the United States. We can therefore expect the adolescent population to swell by a quarter over the next decade. Since so many of these children are growing up below the poverty line in fragmented families, there is every reason to expect a new surge in juvenile crime.

If thousands of American youngsters are being killed or injured at the hands of their peers, thousands more are lost in their own nightmares. These are the children who self-destruct, seeing suicide as their only way out. Their numbers too are soaring. Between 1960 and 1994, the suicide rate among teens nearly tripled, making suicide the third leading cause of death for young people. Black children and very young children seem to be at risk in new and dreadful ways: the suicide rate among black males aged ten to fourteen went up a staggering 240 percent between 1980 and 1995.³²

A particularly shameful fact is that the United States has the highest percentage of children living in poverty of any rich nation: 20.5 percent, a figure that represents a 36 percent increase since

1970 and compares with 9 percent in Canada, 4 percent in Germany, and 2 percent in Japan.³³ Children quite simply have not shared in America's prosperity in recent years. Very young children are particularly badly off: for those under six years of age, the poverty rate is 23 percent, which means that over 5 million preschoolers now live below the poverty line.³⁴ Bad as these figures are, they are expected to get considerably worse as the effects of welfare reform kick in. The Urban Institute predicts that an additional 1.1 million children will have slithered into poverty in 1997 alone. Black and Hispanic children are disproportionately represented in the poor population—47 percent of black children and 34 percent of Latino children are poor—but in recent years the poverty rate has grown twice as fast among whites as among blacks. Significantly, in 1996, 69 percent of poor children lived in families where at least one adult was at work—up from 61 percent in 1993.³⁵ In the late 1990s, getting a job does not necessarily pull a family out of poverty.

Substance abuse is also on the increase among teens. The use of illegal drugs by adolescents increased significantly between 1992 and 1995. This represents a reversal of earlier downward trends. In 1996 the government reported troubling increases in drug use in all age groups. For example, between 1992 and 1995 the use of marijuana by high school seniors increased by 63 percent, while the use of inhalants such as glues, aerosols, and solvents by eighth-graders increased 28 percent.³⁶

On the educational front the news is equally grim, since underachievement and failure continue to dog the steps of American youngsters. Across the nation, combined average Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores have fallen significantly since 1972, despite a recent recentering exercise, which had the effect of raising nominal scores. Data collected by the National Assessment of Educational Progress, which has been testing national samples of students aged nine, thirteen, and seventeen each year since 1969, show "few indications of positive trends" in reading and writing.³⁷ American children are also at or near the bottom in most international surveys measuring educational achievement, coming in seventh out of ten countries in physics and tenth—dead last—in average mathematics proficiency.

Another disturbing fact is that only 69.7 percent of American

students who enter ninth grade earn a high school diploma four years later, a figure that has slipped seven percentage points since 1970.³⁸ Most policymakers see this as a national disgrace in an age where other advanced nations have near universal secondary school education. In Japan, for example, 90 percent of seventeen-year-olds graduate from high school.

Not only is a large proportion of American youth growing up badly educated and ill prepared for the world of work, but a significant number are further handicapped by increasingly serious emotional problems. According to the Carnegie Corporation, today's youngsters are having trouble coping with stresses in their lives: "Many are depressed, and about a third of adolescents report they have contemplated suicide."³⁹ Since 1971, the number of adolescents admitted to private psychiatric hospitals has increased fifteenfold. Experts in the field explain this alarming trend by pointing to a constellation of pressures ranging from long workdays to divorce to absent fathers, which have left many parents too thinly stretched to provide consistent support for their children. The pressures on single mothers are particularly severe. Indeed, in many instances the stress is so great that parenting breaks down and becomes inconsistent and erratically punitive.

One thing seems clear enough from this brief survey: not only are American children failing to thrive; in several critical respects, their condition and life circumstances are steadily deteriorating. Overall, they lead more dangerous and more poverty-stricken lives than children did thirty, twenty, or even five years ago. They are also less likely to succeed in school and more likely to experiment with drugs, and many are depressed and seriously self-destructive. It is particularly distressing to realize that children in America are at much greater risk than children elsewhere in the advanced industrial world. Although the United States ranks second worldwide in per capita income, this country does not even make it into the top ten on any significant indicator of child welfare.

Link to Parents

Parental love and parental attention are enormously powerful in determining what happens to a child. Genetic endowment may

determine eye color and a third to a half of raw intelligence, but whether a child acquires discipline and self-esteem and becomes a well-adjusted, productive person is largely a function of parental input and how well both parent and child are supported by the wider community.⁴⁰

Unfortunately, there is much less of this precious parenting energy than there used to be. The last three decades have seen a sharp decline in the amount of time parents spend caring for their children. Stanford University economist Victor Fuchs has shown that the amount of parental time available to children fell considerably in the 1970s and 1980s; white children lost ten hours a week of parental time, while black children lost twelve hours.⁴¹ Using a more recent data set, economist Edward Wolff demonstrated that over a thirty-year time span, parental time has declined 13 percent.⁴² The time parents have available for their children has been squeezed by the rapid shift of mothers into the paid labor force, by escalating divorce rates and the subsequent abandonment of children by their fathers, and by an increase in the number of hours required on the job. The average worker is now at work 163 hours a year more than in 1969, which adds up to an extra month of work annually.⁴³

The increasing inability of adults to devote significant time to children has left millions of youngsters fending for themselves, coping more or less badly with the difficult business of growing up in the nineties. True, some children continue to be raised in supportive communities by thoughtful, attentive parents, but this is not the overall drift of society. Contemporary America is populated by overworked, stressed-out parents who are increasingly unable to be there for their children. There is now a ton of literature telling parents how to parent. Walk into any bookstore and you will encounter shelf upon shelf of advice manuals detailing the skills and techniques of parenting. However, despite the claims of the experts, there is no one recipe for raising children, no magic bullet that guarantees a well-developed child. In the wise words of the Harvard psychologist Jerome Kagan, precisely how a parent feeds an infant or disciplines a teenager is less important than "the melody those actions comprise."⁴⁴ The feelings that parents bring to the role—their pleasure in parenting, their respect for the child—are extremely important. But most important is ensuring adequate time for the role. Melodies cannot work their magic unless they are

given time and space. If a divorced father hasn't seen his son in six weeks or if a mother is working a sixteen-hour day, it's almost impossible to conjure up the sustained, steadfast attention that is the stuff of good parenting. Child-raising is not some mysterious process; adults have been engaged in it since the beginning of time, long before we had experts or manuals. At the heart of the matter is time, huge amounts of it, freely given. Whatever the child-raising technique, a child simply does better with loving, committed, long-term attention from both mom and dad.

A weight of evidence now demonstrates ominous links between absentee parents and an entire range of behavioral and emotional problems in children. A study that surveyed 5,000 eighth-grade students in the San Diego and Los Angeles areas found that the more hours children were left by themselves after school, the greater the risk of substance abuse was. In fact, home-alone children as a group were twice as likely to drink alcohol and take drugs as children who were supervised by a parent or another adult family member after school. The study found that this increased risk of substance abuse held true regardless of the child's sex, race, or economic status.⁴⁵

In a similar vein, a recent survey of 90,000 teenagers—the largest and most comprehensive study ever conducted on adolescent behavior—found that youngsters are less likely to engage in suicidal behavior, become violent, or use drugs if they are closely connected to their parents.⁴⁶ This study found that the mere physical presence of a parent in the home after school, at dinner, and at bedtime significantly reduces the incidence of risky behavior among teenagers, a finding reinforced by recent research at the Harvard School of Public Health. Jody Heymann and Alison Earle show that parental evening work has extremely negative effects on the home environment and on children's cognitive and emotional development.

A 1997 report prepared for the Department of Justice demonstrates the scope of these negative effects. According to FBI data, the peak hours for violent juvenile crime are now 3 P.M. to 8 P.M.⁴⁷ This can be attributed to a huge drop-off in the number of parents available to supervise their children after school. In 1970, 57 percent of school-age children had at least one parent at home on a full-time basis; by 1995, this figure had fallen to 29 percent.⁴⁸ Experts estimate that somewhere between 5 and 7 million latchkey children go home to an empty house after school and that fully a

third of all twelve-year-olds are regularly left to fend for themselves while their parents are at work.⁴⁹ These children are at significantly greater risk of truancy, school failure, substance abuse, and violent behavior than children who have a parent at home. Children, especially adolescents, crave excitement, and if they are not supervised by parents or involved in some organized activity, they are likely to become involved in something dangerous to themselves or others.

Besides insulating a child from risk and warding off potential harm, parents make a large contribution to a child's success in school. Twenty years ago, Chicago sociologist James S. Coleman demonstrated that parental involvement mattered far more in determining student achievement than any attribute of the formal education system. Across a wide range of subject areas, in literature, science, and reading, Coleman estimated that the parent was almost twice as powerful as the school in determining achievement at age fourteen.⁵⁰ The importance of parent involvement in the educational process has been further confirmed by psychologist Lawrence Steinberg, who recently completed a six-year study of 20,000 teenagers and their families in nine different communities. Steinberg argues convincingly that in the 1990s, underachievement and failure in American schools "owes more to conditions in the home than to what takes place within school walls." One out of every three parents is "seriously disengaged" from his or her adolescent's education, and this is the primary reason why so many American students perform below their potential—and below students in other rich countries.⁵¹

In his research, Coleman revealed that good parenting not only improves academic performance, but is also essential to the development of human capital—that combination of attributes (skills, knowledge, work habits, and motivation) that make for a competent young person. For at least a generation economists and business leaders have wrung their hands over the sorry state of America's human capital, and they have good reason to be concerned. More than a quarter of all eighteen-year-olds fail to complete high school, and many of these youngsters lack the basic skills and discipline necessary to hold down the simplest job. According to one survey, fewer than half of all American youngsters can determine the correct change after purchasing a hamburger and a Coke at McDonald's. This distressing fact tells us something about the

inadequacy of our educational system, but it tells us even more about the inability of many parents to come through for their children.

In addition, a great deal of recent scholarly attention has been given to the depletion of our social capital—that store of trust, connectedness, and engagement in community life. Robert Putnam, Francis Fukuyama, Jean Bethke Elshtain, and Michael Sandel, among others, have expressed great concern that “the moral fabric of community is unraveling around us. From families and neighborhoods to schools, congregations, and trade unions, the institutions that traditionally provided people with moral anchors and a sense of belonging are under siege.”⁵² These scholars have advanced a variety of reasons to explain why so many Americans are newly isolated, distrustful, and depoliticized, newly “bowling alone” rather than in leagues.⁵³ All kinds of culprits have been put forward, including television-watching and political scandal. But despite a noisy, high-profile debate, no one has gone upstream to the source of the problem—the huge erosion of the parental role. When parenting breaks down, the mechanism that transmits self-love is shattered, and this seriously compromises society’s ability to pass from one generation to the next the values of compassion and commitment to others, which are the essential raw material of community-building and citizenship.

Therefore, the erosion of the parental function has immense implications in both the public and the private sphere: it jeopardizes our society as well as our souls. When parenting breaks down, it is an unmitigated disaster for the individual child. But it is much more than that, for the altruistic energy of moms and dads contributes enormously to our store of human and social capital and thus conditions the strength of our economy and the vitality of our democracy.

So how do we turn this thing around? How do we somehow give new and self-conscious value to the art and practice of parenting? It is not a simple matter, this task of creating a public morality and a political culture that will support the heroic work of mothers and fathers. The obstacles are enormous.

On the left, we rub up against a fierce attachment to untrammelled lives. Over the last thirty years we grownups have gotten used to being extraordinarily free. We have cut ourselves loose

from most moral and religious constraints and acquired a new set of emotional and sexual liberties. Many of us revel in an unprecedented range of choice. In the spirit of Tom Wolfe's *Bonfire of the Vanities*, we have tasted our new freedoms and find them "quite glorious."⁵⁴

On the right, we rub up against a blind faith in markets and a deep distrust of state intervention. In recent years conservatives have badmouthed government so thoroughly that it has become extraordinarily difficult for anyone on the right to acknowledge that government is capable of doing any good—that it can be instrumental in providing indispensable social support and in creating a public morality that supports the sacrificial energy of parents. Conservatives seem light-years away from acknowledging that contemporary parents need enormous amounts of help—not grudging help, not marginal help, but big-time heavy lifting—if they are to conjure up the altruistic energies that allow children to thrive. In the manner of the fifties, this help should be directed to strengthening rather than displacing moms and dads.

We must also remember that the nuances of this project are critical. No progressive person wants family if "family" translates into oppressive husbands and abused wives. And no progressive person wants community if "community" translates into "black jelly beans" sticking "to the bottom of the bag."⁵⁵ Texaco, after all, developed an extremely strong and vital corporate culture, but this culture was also irredeemably ugly, contaminated by systematic discrimination against people of color. However, rejecting racism, patriarchy, and homophobia need not mean retreating to a version of the liberal project in which freedom is boiled down to the ability to function as a lone individual within a heavily competitive market society. Most grownups fail to flourish in such a thin universe, and children are seriously damaged. Unless a child is protected and cherished by the selfless energies of at least one loving adult who is uniquely committed to him or her, that young person will grow up without a skin, buffeted, bleeding, and seared.

This daunting and complex set of challenges boils down to one pivotal question: can we find the political will? Can we find the key that will unlock a new and potent source of activist energy? We are, after all, talking about radical change.

We think we have found the answer. As we explain in the final

section of this book, our solution involves putting mothers and fathers front and center on the national stage. By tapping into the latent strength of our democratic processes, we craft a parents' movement that will send America's 62 million parents to the polls. This will have the magical effect of tilting our entire political culture in a direction that supports and values adults raising children. By mobilizing behind a single agenda, which we call "A Parents' Bill of Rights," and by speaking with a single voice, moms and dads can transform both our public morality and our political culture to give new and massive support to the work they do. It is important to stress that parent power can be a powerful healing force in American society. The deep and desperate concerns of parents cross the usual divides of gender, race, and class and thus feed a common vision and seed a common ground in ways that are rare and precious in our centrifugal society.

As we embark on this extraordinary journey, let us appreciate the enormous weight of the task at hand. The project of giving new status and support to mothers and fathers has extraordinary potential because of the ways in which the parent-child bond is the most fundamental building block in human society. When this is hollowed out, the wellspring of care and commitment dries up, and this has a huge impact beyond the home: community life shrivels up, and so does our democracy. America's stock of social and human capital becomes dangerously depleted. If we can produce this magical parent power, we can go to the very heart of our darkness and make the center hold.

JAMES ALAN FOX

Biographical Sketch

James Alan Fox is Dean of the College of Criminal Justice at Northeastern University in Boston. He has published twelve books, including *Mass Murder*, *Overkill*, and *Killer on Campus*. He has also published dozens of journal and magazine articles, and newspaper columns, primarily in the areas of juvenile crime, multiple murder, workplace violence, and capital punishment. As an authority on homicide, he appears regularly on television and radio programs around the country, and is frequently interviewed by the national press. He was also profiled in a two-part cover story in *USA Today*, entitled "The Dean of Death," and the June 1996 issue of *Scientific American*. Fox often gives lectures and expert testimony, including nine appearances before the United States Congress, White House meetings with President Clinton and Vice President Gore on youth violence, briefings to Attorney General Reno on trends in juvenile violence, and a presentation before Princess Anne of Great Britain on teen crime. He recently served on a Presidential advisory committee on school violence, and is currently a member of a U.S. Department of Education Panel on Safe, Disciplined, and Drug-Free Schools.

**Averting the Next Youth Crime Wave:
A Briefing Paper for the Boys and Girls Clubs of America**

James Alan Fox
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July 18, 1997

Based on countless media reports in newspapers from coast to coast, it would surely seem that we finally have a handle on the nation's crime problem. Just last month, the FBI released its preliminary crime statistics for 1996, revealing a continued five-year downturn in violent crime, including a double digit drop--fully 11 percent--in the number of homicides. Though recent trends are encouraging, at least superficially, there is little time to celebrate these successes. It is questionable that today's improving crime picture will persist. Rather, this may be the eye of the crime storm.

While many police officials can legitimately feel gratified about the arrested crime rate--which is partially a result of increased penetration of the community policing paradigm, there is more to the "Great Nineties Crime Drop" story. Hidden beneath the reduction drop in homicide and other violent crimes is a surging rate of mayhem among teenagers.

When releasing its annual tabulations of crime statistics last fall, the FBI noted that the U.S. homicide rate for 1995--slightly more than 8 murders per 100,000 population--was virtually identical to that for 1985. This hardly means, however, that nothing changed over the years between the mid-1980s and mid-1990s.

There are actually two crime trends ongoing in America--one for the young and one for the mature, which have been moving in opposite directions and balancing off in the aggregate. From 1985 to 1995, the rate of killing committed by adults, ages 25 and over, plummeted 22 percent, as the babyboomers matured into their middle-aged years. At the same time, however, the homicide rate by young adults, ages 18-24, jumped 71 percent. Even more tragic is that, like never before, murder and other serious crimes are reaching down to much younger groups. Between 1985 and 1995, the rate of bloodshed at the hands of teens, ages 14-17, increased a tragic 141 percent.

Over the past few years, of course, there has been considerable attention from journalists and criminologists alike given to the problem of alienated minority youth, especially black males. Indeed, black males, ages 14-24, constitute just 1.2

percent of the U.S. population, but represent 18 percent of the victims of homicide and just over 30 percent of the perpetrators. Although race and racism may be part of the problem, the concern is far more expansive. While the rate of murder by young black males has increased 164 percent over the past ten years, it has also risen 115 percent among their white counterparts.

Therefore, while the overall U.S. homicide rate has fallen in recent years, the rate of youth homicide continues to surge. In the overall crime mix, the sharp decline in crime among the large adult population has eclipsed the soaring crime rate among the relatively small population of teens. In addition, trends in age-specific violent arrest rates for homicide, rape, robbery and aggravated assault combined support the patterns found in homicide statistics. Teenagers now exceed young adults in their absolute rate of arrest for violent crime overall.

The causes of the rise in youth violence since the mid-1980s reach, of course, well-beyond demographics. There have been tremendous changes in the social context of crime over the past decade, which explain why this generation of youth is more violent than others before it. Our youngsters have more dangerous drugs in their bodies, more deadly weapons in their hands and a seemingly more casual attitude about violence.

The introduction of crack cocaine to the streets of American cities in the mid-1980s had a doubly deadly impact on the problem of youth crime. Not only has the pharmacological effects of crack cocaine wasted the lives of many of nation's youth, but the emerging crack market recruited large numbers of willing, money-hungry youngsters into this particularly competitive and violent drug trade.

A close examination of the most recent crime statistics does, of course, indicate an improved situation, even in terms of youth crime. The rate of violent crime arrests among teenagers actually dropped 4 percent in 1995 over 1994, and final 1996 statistics to be released in the fall may reflect continued improvement. Despite the encouraging turnaround, the recent dip in teen violence, which follows years of precipitous growth, is hardly reason to suggest the problem is resolved. If anything, it appears that the rate of youth violence has plateaued, but at a level that is much higher than a decade ago.

It remains clear that too many teenagers in this country, particularly those in urban areas, are plagued with idleness and even hopelessness. A growing number of teens and preteens see few feasible or attractive alternatives to violence, drug use and gang membership. For them, the American Dream is a nightmare: There may be little to live for and to strive for, but plenty to die for and even to kill for.

The problem of kids with guns cannot be overstated in view of recent trends in gun-related killings among youth. Since the mid-1980s, the number of gun-homicides--particularly with handguns--perpetrated by juveniles has quadrupled, while the number of juvenile homicides involving all other weapons combined--knives, clubs, fists, and so forth--has remained virtually constant. It has long been true that teenagers are impulsive, impatient, and imprudent. Adding guns to the mix--partly brought about by the crack wars of the 1980s, has created the volatile situation that we find today. Although teenagers may be untrained in using firearms, they are more willing to pull the trigger over seemingly trivial matters--a leather jacket, a pair of sneakers, a challenging glance, or no reason at all.

While the negative socializing forces of drugs, guns, gangs and even the media have become more threatening, the positive socializing forces of family, school, religion and neighborhood have grown relatively weak and ineffective. Increasingly, children are being raised in homes disrupted by divorce or economic stress; too many children emerge undersocialized and undersupervised.

At this juncture, as many as 57% of children in America do not have full-time parental supervision, either living with a single parent who works full-time or in a two-parent household with both parents working full-time. Among particularly young children, boys and girls under the age of seven, the lack of full-time parental supervision stands as high as 49 percent. While some children do enjoy suitable, substitute supervision provided by friends and relatives or in day-care, far too many do not.

It would be unfair to blame parents, and single mothers in particular, for the increased problem of unruly and unsupervised youth. While some parents are terribly ill-prepared for the task of raising children, most parents are well-meaning and would like to have a greater role in their children's lives. However, many families lack the support to control and guide their children. Indeed, the recent spread of parental responsibility laws will do little, if anything, to solve the problem. We should assist parents, not assail them.

The problem of unsupervised youth does not end with the breakdown of the traditional family. Because of deep funding cuts in support programs for youth--from after-school care to summertime recreation, from mentoring to education--as a society, we are missing the fleeting opportunity to compensate for the diminished role of the family. As a consequence, children spend too little time engaged in structured activity with positive role models, and too much time "hanging out" or watching a few savage killings on television. Bored and idle, our children have just

too much time on their hands, too much time to kill—perhaps literally. This concern is clearly reflected in the time-of-day patterns of juvenile violence. The prime-time for juvenile crime is during the after-school hours, from 3 PM to 7 PM, and not after midnight when curfew laws might be contemplated.

As if the situation with youth violence was not bad enough already, future demographics are expected to make matters worse. As a result of the so-called "baby boomerang," there are now 39 million children in this country under the age of ten, more young children than at any time since the 1950s when the original baby-boomers were in grade school. This newest group of youngsters will soon reach their adolescence.

By the year 2005, the number of teens, ages 14-17, will swell by over 15%, with an even larger increase among Blacks and Latinos. Given the difficult conditions in which many of these youngsters grow up—with inferior schools and violence-torn neighborhoods, many more teenagers will be at-risk in the years ahead. Sadly, the number of teenage offenders has grown in recent years, even as the population of teenagers has contracted. But the teen population has bottomed out and is now on the upswing.

Much about the future remains in doubt. No one can exactly say just how many police officers will be patrolling our streets in the year 2005. No one can say how many new prison beds we'll have eight years from now. We don't even know which political party will control Congress then. But we do know very well how many 15- and 16-year-olds we'll have in 2005—just about the same number of seven- and eight-year olds we have today. Even if current rates of offending remain unchanged or even drop a bit more, the number of teens who commit murder and other violent crimes will increase because of the demographic turnaround in the population at-risk.

Responding to the worrisome projections on future levels of youth crime, Attorney General Janet Reno remarked last December that, "Demographics do not have to be destiny," and she is absolutely correct. It is far from certain that the level of youth violence will once again rise. What is certain, however, is that we will have far more kids at-risk. Whether the next generation of teenagers is any more or less violent their predecessors largely rests on our shoulders and depends on our willingness to invest in kids.

The hopeful news is that there is still time to stem the tide—to prevent the next wave of youth crime. But we must act now—by reinvesting in schools, recreation, job training, support for families, and mentoring. We must act now while

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this baby-boomerang generation is still young and impressionable, and will be impressed with what a teacher, a preacher, or some other authority figure has to say. If we wait until these children reach their teenage years and the next crime wave is upon us, it may be too late to do much about it. Without a doubt, it is far easier and considerably less expensive to build the child than to rebuild the teen. It is better to "prehabilitate," than to need to rehabilitate.

The good news is that our leaders in Congress have responded aggressively to the growing crisis, holding special hearings in both the House and the Senate concerning the problem of youth violence and fashioning legislation in the form of new and expansive juvenile crime bills. The sad news is that Congress is responding in predictable but ineffective ways, overwhelmingly favoring punishment over prevention. The latest drafts of both the House and the Senate juvenile crime bills feature adult prosecutions for juvenile violent offenders.

No one can debate, of course, the need to punish juvenile offenders adequately. Youth crime must carry appropriate sanctions. Yet the need to prevent juvenile crime and to invest in kids is equally real. Does it take a whole village or just a set of parents to raise a child? Who can say for sure? But if no one takes responsibility, then we all suffer.

The irony of the pending legislation is that it anticipates, but does not prevent, the juvenile crime storm that may lie ahead. Given the expected growth in the population of teenagers, given the worsening conditions in which children are being raised, given the breakdown of all of our institutions as well as of our cultural norms, given our wholesale disinvestment in youth, we face the prospect of a future wave of juvenile violence that could make the 1990s look like the good old days. Despite Congress's good intentions, adult penalties for juvenile offenders will fail to deter increasing numbers of young predators who don't think twice, or even once, about the consequences of their acts, for themselves, much less for their victims.

In the 1989 film *Batman*, the Joker, played by Jack Nicholson, repeatedly warned his rivals, "Think about the future." Well, if we don't think about the future and aggressively prepare for it now, then the joke will be on us.

Lessons from the Schoolyard
James Alan Fox, Northeastern University

This past week, astonishingly, it happened twice. On Tuesday, a Fayetteville, Tennessee high school senior shot and killed a classmate over a romantic rivalry. Then on Thursday, a 15-year-old freshman from Springfield, Oregon, armed with a .22 caliber semiautomatic rifle, turned his high school cafeteria into a battlefield, after having been suspended a day earlier for bringing a gun to school.

The timing of this year's contagion of schoolyard homicide, which has claimed the lives of fourteen students and two teachers, may seem ironic, at least on the surface. Serious violence among teenagers has actually dropped nationally since 1993. Many American cities have boasted of significant declines in their murder rates—including juvenile killings, yet concern over armed and alienated adolescents understandably remains high. The rate of killings by teenagers in 1996, for example, was twice as high as in 1985 before the spread of crack and guns, particularly in major U.S. cities, created rampant disorder in the streets.

The lesson to recent events, therefore, is that we have a very long way to go before we can claim victory over youth violence. Two young boys from Jonesboro may have come out of the woods to ambush their middle school classmates, but as a society, we are hardly out of the woods in resolving the problem of murder and mayhem among children.

A closer examination of crime trends reveals that recent declines are predominantly among minority youth in large urban centers—cities such as New York, Boston and Chicago which have directed intensive enforcement efforts against street gangs and illegal guns. Even while rates of urban youth violence are on a downward trend, suburban and rural areas are seeing signs of increasing gang affiliation and identification in their communities.

The acute conditions associated with the fiercely competitive crack market of the late 1980s have proven to be short-term. Yet the more long-term and chronic problems associated with poorly supervised and alienated youth having access to deadly weapons and violent entertainment are still with us. The shootings in Jonesboro and Edinboro, among other places, may be unusual and extreme, but they are the tip of a much larger iceberg of anti-social behavior increasingly exhibited by children.

The latest outbreak of schoolyard violence has heightened concern over kids with firearms. In fact, the entire growth in teen murder has been with guns, rather than knives, clubs or fists. It has long been true that teenagers are often impulsive, impatient, and imprudent, but now they are better armed. A greater emphasis on firearm restrictions for juveniles, gun tracing and confiscation, as well as firearms safety should help to reduce youth access to deadly weapons.

Part of the seemingly casual attitude toward violence exhibited by many youngsters can be linked to a popular culture saturated with violent messages in which revenge is a dominant theme. While the issue of television and film violence has been widely discussed, these passive forms of entertainment are tame compared with the more active participation provided by video and computer games. Rather than just sit on the livingroom couch and witness a bloodbath on the tube, a child can cybernetically kill on demand--and learn to enjoy it--with a variety of killing games on the market. It is make believe, of course, but with multimedia and advanced graphics, the line between virtual reality and stark reality can become rather thin.

The fundamental problem, however, is not so much what our kids are watching, but who is watching our kids. Guns, gangs, and glorified violence have filled the void left by the withdrawal of adults from the lives and activities of children. Negative social and cultural forces have become more threatening precisely because the positive socializing forces of family, school, religion and neighborhood have grown weaker.

It would, of course, be terribly unfair to place full blame on parents for the increased problem of unruly and unsupervised youth. While some parents are terribly ill-prepared or unmotivated for the important task of raising children, most parents are well-meaning and would like to have a greater role in their children's lives. Many families lack the support to control and guide their children. In some neighborhoods, peer and gang influences can overpower the best efforts of dedicated parents. We should assist parents, not assail them.

Children spend too little time engaged in structured activities with positive role models, and too much time "hanging out" or watching a few savage killings on television. Bored and idle, they have just too much time on their hands--too much time to kill. This concern is clearly reflected in the time-of-day patterns of juvenile violence. The prime-time for juvenile crime begins after the school bell rings, from 2 PM to 8 PM, when nearly half of juvenile violent crime occurs. The push to restore after-school programs, expand or restructure the school day, and other strategies for engaging children in a positive way should reduce the problem of excessive idle time.

It is not an incidental fact that the recent shootings occurred at schools, rather than at some other location. Notwithstanding research findings suggesting that most schools do not experience serious forms of violence, schooltime itself can present certain issues and risks. Not only do children congregate in large numbers while at school, thereby creating occasions for conflict, but the school setting can sometimes breed feelings of inadequacy, anxiety, fear, hostility, rejection, and boredom. For some vengeful or alienated children, school can represent an ideal place, logistically and symbolically, for getting even or settling a score. School personnel, in turn, are in an ideal position to observe and respond to troubled children in ways far more creative than suspension.

Recent school shootings have also rekindled public debate over juvenile justice. Citizens everywhere are particularly outraged over the prospect that the alleged shooters in Jonesboro could be released from custody as early as their 18th birthdays.

No one can debate, of course, the need to punish juvenile offenders adequately. At the same time, we must fully consider the special nature of youthful offending--even murder. Teenagers may look like adults, dress like adults, act like adults, even shoot like adults, but they reason like children. Making the juvenile justice system more just is one thing, but diminishing it is quite another. Expanding juvenile penalties and blending juvenile and adult sanctions for the most serious offenders will go a long way to assuage public concern without entirely sacrificing young lives that could be salvaged.

It is also critical that legislative responses to juvenile crime maintain a balance between punishment and prevention. Without sufficient attention to prevention, future demographics--specifically, the projected increase in the teenage population--could make matters worse. But we must act now--by reinvesting in schools, recreation, and other programs for youth. It is far easier and considerably less expensive to build the child than to rebuild the teen. It is better to "prehabilitate," than to need to rehabilitate.

Even with our desire to "do something" programmatically or legislatively in response to recent schoolyard tragedies, some perspective on the level of risk is sorely needed. More children are killed or maimed each year in automobile and bicycle accidents while traveling between home and school than are murdered or shot by an armed classmate. Parents concerned about their youngsters' safety would be

most advised, therefore, to focus on seat belts and bicycle helmets than on metal detectors at the school door.

At the same time, we can learn much about more ordinary forms of juvenile violence by focusing on extraordinary cases such as those in Edinboro, Jonesboro, West Paducah and Pearl. We should use these rare though devastating episodes to inform and motivate public and private-sector responses to the needs of children. By doing so, we might not necessarily prevent another Jonesboro, but we would certainly improve the lives and well-being of lots of children in the process.

James Alan Fox is dean of the College of Criminal Justice at Northeastern University and member of a Presidential advisory committee on school violence.

STEVEN E. HYMAN, M.D.

Steven E. Hyman, M.D., is Director of the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH), part of the National Institutes of Health. The NIMH conducts and supports research in diverse scientific disciplines and at multiple levels of analysis in pursuit of its mission: To generate knowledge needed to understand, treat, and prevent mental disorders and promote mental health.

Under Dr. Hyman's leadership, the NIMH assigns high priority to research in molecular biology and genetics of brain function; in cellular, behavioral, and cognitive neuroscience; and in behavioral research. Dr. Hyman has reorganized NIMH to reorient basic science research around the Institute's clinical and public health mission. Thus, an emphasis on translational research encourages scientific collaborations and the effective use of technologies, such as neuroimaging, to move new knowledge quickly into clinical applications. Research on childhood mental disorders has assumed new prominence, and NIMH is aggressively promoting large clinical trials focused, for example, on new treatments for bipolar disorder and on the most appropriate uses of new antipsychotic medications in treating schizophrenia. Also receiving heightened attention are research on the outcomes of mental health treatments in actual practice settings and mental health service system needs in a changing health care environment.

Dr. Hyman continues to direct an active research program located on the NIH campus in Bethesda, Maryland. His laboratory focuses on how the neurotransmitters dopamine and glutamate produce long-term changes in brain function by altering the expression of genes in the striatum and nucleus accumbens, brain regions that are involved in the control of motivated behavior and implicated in the action of both antipsychotic medications and drugs of abuse.

Dr. Hyman received his BA from Yale in 1974 (summa cum laude); his MA from the University of Cambridge in 1976, where, as a Mellon Fellow, he studied the history and philosophy of science; and his MD from Harvard Medical School (cum laude) in 1980. He was a medical intern at Massachusetts General Hospital (MGH), a psychiatric resident at McLean Hospital, and a clinical fellow in neurology at MGH. His postdoctoral training in molecular biology was in the Laboratory of Howard M. Goodman, also at MGH. At Harvard Medical School, Dr. Hyman was Professor of Psychiatry and was also Director of Psychiatry Research at MGH. He served as first Director of Harvard University's Interfaculty Initiative in Mind, Brain, and Behavior, a program that brought together faculty from Harvard's diverse schools to focus on clinical and policy issues in the light of modern brain research. In addition to his scientific writings, Dr. Hyman has authored and edited several basic and clinical textbooks.

/ School Violence Discussion
August 3, 1998

Steven E. Hyman, M.D.
Director
National Institute of Mental Health

Introduction

Violence in our schools is not a simple problem with a single cause. There are many influences or events that can set a child onto a negative trajectory that for some children, ends tragically. Over the last year, with the leadership of the First Lady, Hillary Rodham Clinton, we have been able to highlight research on early childhood and brain development for the nation. An understanding of the timing of brain development, and the types of environments in which it can proceed on a healthy trajectory have important policy implications. This awareness is a very important beginning on which we should build. For example, we know that brain development continues throughout childhood and adolescence, but for success in school and in life, we need to pay attention not only to cognitive development, but also to emotional development. The negative effects of neglect and abuse, poor adult supervision, the influence of deviant peers and of exposure to violence, are important, but have been well documented, less well understood are the emotional disorders of childhood that may lead to the violence that seems to "come out of nowhere." The causes of this violence; indeed the reasons for the frequency of depression and other emotional disturbances in our society are complex and not fully understood.

So today, I would like to focus on brain development in the context of the emotional development of children. Hopefully, this broader view of emotion can inform a discussion of violence. It is striking that as I read the popular press and the education literature, the fundamental emphasis with regard to brain development is on the cognitive aspects. This is important to be sure, but the emotional side of development often goes unattended. Surely, however, a child with difficulties in the arenas of emotion and motivation cannot benefit cognitively to the fullest degree from even the best educational programs. Indeed, when we worry about emotional development, it is most often for the subset of children with disruptive behavior, not the "quiet child" who may be suffering.

Over the course of recent history there have been many approaches recommended to the "moral education" of children. I would argue, and many might agree, that these approaches have represented more a succession of schools of thought, often on the subject of discipline, than a cumulative scientific enterprise. Perhaps it comes as a surprise, however, that we have a dearth of really good science in the identification and treatment even of conditions of childhood that deserve to be called mental disorders. We still have an inadequate ability to distinguish the early symptoms of disorders that portend serious life-long difficulties from still serious, but transient dysfunction. The problems of appropriate recognition and intervention are particularly acute in pediatric primary care settings, where for example perhaps only 25% of children with clinical depression are recognized. Even when such conditions are recognized there is often insufficient information available about treatment. We have few well validated psychosocial approaches to children with depression or anxiety disorders, for example. We know more about diagnosis and treatment of attention deficit disorder, but not enough. As in other areas of child health, we have little specific knowledge about the safety and efficacy of psychotherapeutic drugs in childhood, a lack that denies rational treatment to our children. Thus

some children disabled by disorders of mood or anxiety are left untreated; at the same time we continue to have deep concerns for those who are treated, about the long-term effects of psychotropic drugs on the developing brain. The point has been made many times, but remains critical: children are not simply small adults. In the case of both psychotherapeutic drugs and psychotherapies different stages of brain development and changing handling of drugs by the body means that specific developmentally appropriate information is needed about infants, toddlers, school age children, and both early and late adolescents. Fortunately, the research community is beginning to establish pediatric testing of drugs.

What does this mean? Children with unrecognized or untreated emotional disorders, even those that might be transitory, are put at high risk for being unable to live up to their potential in both family life and work life. Children with these disorders, regardless of their intellectual ability, cannot learn adequately at school or readily form the kinds of healthy peer and family relationships that undergird the emergence into adulthood of healthy and productive citizens. Children thus derailed from a healthy emotional trajectory are at heightened risk for school failure and dropout, drug use, risky behaviors, including the risk of HIV transmission, and violence.

Brain development

The process of brain development borders on the miraculous. More than 100 billion cells must migrate to the right position in the developing brain and must, in aggregate, make a quadrillion connections with each other, some over remarkably long distances. These nerve cells must also establish the right biochemical identity in order to produce the right repertoire of the hundred or more chemicals that nerve cells in the brain release in order to signal to each other and the many hundreds of receptors that permit them to respond to the chemical messages sent by other cells.

While it is true that a single defective gene may cause certain devastating brain disorders such as Huntington's disease or in some cases, Parkinson's disease, normal emotional and cognitive development and vulnerability to emotional disorders is the work of a large number of genes, most likely acting in different parts of the brain at different stages of development. Perhaps two thirds of the genes in the human genome are involved either in building the brain or in its adult functioning.

A profound truth that we have learned about brain development and vulnerability to mental disorders is that as complex as the gene-gene interactions are proving to be, they do not explain everything: equally complex gene-environment interactions are also involved. The interaction of genes and environment permit the limited information in the genome to be read out in such a way as to produce the human brain. Our brains have been described as the most complex structure in the known universe, and complex they must be to confer on humanity its wonderful richness and diversity, and above all, to permit us to adapt to the many different environments and conditions in which human beings live. How might the environment cause our brains to develop in one possible way rather than another? Insofar as we experience it or interact with it, the environment produces biochemical changes in the nerve cells within our brains. When such biochemical changes are of large enough magnitude, they turn genes on and off inside those cells as part of normal processes that go by the name of brain plasticity. These physical changes caused by experience within the brain are the basis of all long-term memory. During development, as these little tweaks

add up, our brains get wired up one way or another. This has sometimes been described as "sculpting" the brain. This sculpting occurs, of course, by the regulation of genes by the environment, which not only builds new connections but also may eliminate connections that go unused.

The area in which we know most about plasticity in development is the visual system. Genes are largely responsible for the initial wiring up of the brain. Nerve fibers from the retina, the membrane at the back of the eye which is the receiving surface for the visual world, make the long journey to a way station in the middle of the brain, and from there another set of fibers make the journey to the very back of the brain, the primary visual cortex. There preliminary connections are set up, but the fine tuning is dependent not simply on genes, but on use. As light excites nerve cells in the retina and they signal to the brain, those connections or synapses that are used effectively are strengthened and maintained. Those that are not used are pruned away. Now a condition that occasionally arises in children is a congenital cataract, an opacity that blocks light from entering the eye. It has been found that if such a cataract is removed, an optically perfect eye can be restored-- but if the surgery does not occur early enough in childhood, before age four, the child will not regain vision in that now normal eye. In the case of the developing visual system, there is a critical period during which the appropriate parts of the brain remain plastic. When that period comes to an end, the visual system is essentially fixed: incoming visual stimulation can no longer act to alter synaptic connections.

The information we have on brain development is no longer limited to sensory systems or cognition. In a series of experiments in a variety of labs it has been shown that if a rat pup is gently handled by an investigator, the mother licks the pup repeatedly when it is returned to her. Those handled pups have been found to have a less reactive stress hormone system throughout life than their littermates. Based on those results, rat mothers were observed for spontaneous licking of their pups. The pups from the dams that licked them most also proved to have less reactive stress hormone systems throughout life, even without the intervention of the investigator. This is evidence of the importance of nurturing on the development of physiological systems as the brain matures.

As we move to the somewhat more speculative arena, we can ask how abuse or neglect might alter emotional development by changing the brain. A structure in the brain called the amygdala, which is about the size of an almond, found deep within the temporal lobes, is required for the processing of fear and for laying down emotional aspects of memory. It appears that the amygdala matures earlier than the hippocampus, a structure required for explicit conscious memories. Thus the emotional, physiologic, aspects of abuse, neglect, or even less dramatic, but nonetheless, negative situations, may be recorded indelibly in a child's brain before the child has any narrative memories of life.

We must also recognize that some emotional conditions may occur without any apparently negative experiences. When, for example, there is strong genetic loading, a child may begin to exhibit depressive symptoms even without salient negative experiences. These cases are more subtle than those in which we can identify environment factors such as abuse. They are also more problematic. Parents may feel inappropriately ashamed when their children have emotional symptoms. They may find themselves blamed by other family members or by their pediatrician. However, untreated depression or attention deficit disorder creates its own malign plasticity. A congenital cataract that is neglected and leaves a child blind is now an avoidable tragedy. Less well understood than

cataracts, but far more common, are the unrecognized or still untreated or untreatable mental disorders of childhood, or situations of abuse and neglect. These situations also impact the developing brains of our children with devastating consequences.

We need more research certainly, for as I stated at the beginning, we are far from possessing satisfactory knowledge about how to proceed, but we already have enough knowledge to do a far better job than we are doing. We could do more to educate parents, teachers, guidance counselors, pediatricians and school psychologists to take notice of the early warning signs. We could teach them to look for the quiet child as well as the one who is more obviously in trouble. We must correct the sense of stigma and shame that inappropriately causes so many families to suffer in silence with potentially devastating consequences. When we think of the developing brain we should think not only of cognitive, but also of emotional development.

America needs to have a discussion about the needs of children. We should take the opportunities that arise from these tragedies to make a difference. We need to test proposed interventions, whether psychosocial or pharmacologic, for efficacy and lack of side effects--for anything that is powerful enough to make a difference is powerful enough to cause untoward effects. We must work arm-in-arm with research and put together a group of the best scientists to help pediatricians, families, communities and schools to recognize emotional disturbance and to evaluate treatment strategies. We need to acknowledge the special rapidly changing nature of childhood and learn to time psychosocial and medication therapies in line with the perspective that these are critical periods in brain development.



THE PARENTING INSTITUTE



Robin is the co-author of a new book, Ghosts from the Nursery: Tracing the Roots of Violence (Atlantic Monthly Press, January, 1998) which links the growth in juvenile violence in our culture with maltreatment of the developing brain in earliest childhood. She is a family therapist in private practice and is a speaker with the Brazelton Seminar series. Robin was formerly the creator of Oregon's statewide parent training system for child welfare clients and was the first executive director of Oregon's Children's Trust Fund. She has been a consultant to the Oregon legislature on children and family issues and is an outspoken advocate for creating social and educational policies that support the adequate nurturing and stimulation of children in the first 33 months of life.

Ghosts from the Nursery



"This is an
eye-opening
book."

MARIAN WRIGHT EDELMAN

Tracing the Roots of Violence

Robin Karr-Morse and Meredith S. Wiley

Introduction by Dr. T. Berry Brazelton

In the middle of the night, on May 11, 1993, in the rural Northwest, an eighty-four-year-old man was bludgeoned to death. Three teenagers, high on drugs, had been on a joyride, which by morning included stealing a car, robbing a convenience store, and murder. The youths first knocked on the old man's door and then broke inside to use the bathroom. Jeffrey later confessed to striking the victim on the head with a flashlight that the man had given them to find their way in the dark. The man was then kicked by the youths as he lay on the floor. He was found unconscious the next afternoon by a neighbor, lying near the front door of the farmhouse where he had lived all of his life and where he had seen the raising of his children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. He died several months after the attack without ever regaining consciousness.

The youths were identified by several witnesses as Jeffrey, age sixteen; Roger, age seventeen; and Roger's girlfriend Crystal, age fourteen. Both Jeffrey and Roger had juvenile records. Crystal did not. Crystal was granted immunity and was not prosecuted. Roger was convicted of robbery and sentenced to twenty years. After the victim died, Roger was charged with murder and is now awaiting trial on that charge. Jeffrey pleaded guilty to the robbery and was sentenced to life imprisonment. After the victim's death, Jeffrey was charged with murder, tried by a jury, found guilty, and sentenced to death. His case is currently being appealed.

He looks like the kid next door. Unassuming, he greets you through the prison visitors' window with a shy but ready smile. He is nervous, speaks thoughtfully, and clearly appreciates your attention. His body and his mind move quickly. Anxious for approval, he pours out complete explanations of what he anticipates you came to ask, far more than you would comfortably request. You are a stranger to

this boy, but you recognize your own kids' mannerisms, language, interests. He is just days past his eighteenth birthday. He likes to sing and write poetry, which he shares somewhat hesitantly, glancing up often to gauge your reaction. His light brown hair is clean and well kept. His eyes are hazel and clear. Insights unusual for one so young permeate his stories. He chooses to stand apart from his present peer group, hanging out mostly with his cellmate, with whom he shares an interest in self-education and social reform, particularly of the criminal justice system.

Three years ago Jeffrey seemed like just another kid living in the backwash of an unremarkable rural community. A casual observer might have easily overlooked the predictably explosive mixture of life circumstances that heralded disaster for Jeffrey—to say nothing of his victim. Jeffrey's story is one told hundreds of times daily in courtrooms across our nation. It is a story told by events, psychiatric reports, interviews with victims, witnesses, friends, and family. The quest for explanations in the aftermath of violence often delves into adolescence, into grade school and childhood. But the beginning of stories like Jeffrey's goes untold. One chapter is nearly always missing—the first chapter, encompassing gestation, birth, and infancy. And because it goes unseen and unacknowledged, it repeats itself over and over at a rate now growing in geometric proportions.

We overlook this period in our search for the causes of violence because we believe that it is irrelevant, not only to this particular crime, but to later experience generally. The popular belief in the United States is that the baby, let alone the fetus, is exempt from thought and the capacity to record enduring experiences. Nothing could be further from the truth. This overlooked chapter of early growth sees the building of the capacities for focused thinking and for empathy—or the lack of these. From the time of late gestation and birth, we begin to develop a template of expectations about ourselves and other people, anticipating responsiveness or indifference, success or failure. This is when the foundation of who we become and how we relate to others and to the world around us is built.

So Jeffrey's story and others like his become ghost stories. Accompanying this convicted murderer to death row is the ghost of the baby he once was and the echoes of the forces that transformed that baby. As is true of most ghosts, these aspects remain invisible, at least to the naked eye. And in that invisibility lies the power of these forces to continue to haunt us.

Though he was just sixteen at the time of his crime, many would argue that Jeffrey was an accountable adult. When faces like his appear in the news, we see the adult or adolescent criminal and place responsibility with the individual, holding him culpable for his actions. We can readily dismiss the Jeffreys as criminals who now deserve to pay their debt to society. There are procedures and facilities in place to contain and punish adults. That these people are costly to taxpayers, that their contributions are lost to society, and that their numbers are growing at an alarming rate are all issues that concern us.

But the truly terrifying and more complicated addition to this conversation is the wave of new young criminal faces in the news, such as the eighty-pound twelve-year-old whose chin barely rises above the table in a hearing room of the Wenatchee, Washington, courthouse. His thin wrists are cuffed and his ankles are bound with chains. As he sits listening to the prosecutor tell the story of his premeditated murder of a migrant farm worker, his legs barely touch the floor. Using handguns stolen earlier in the afternoon, this boy and several friends had strolled along the Columbia River firing at bottles and logs. When fifty-year-old Emilio Pruneda called from a nearby thicket to "chill out," the boys circled the thicket and fired. Pruneda threw a rock, hitting one boy in the face. The boys fired more shots and then ran to a bank and reloaded the guns. When they found Pruneda lying where he had been hit earlier, one boy emptied the rounds from a .22 caliber semiautomatic pistol and a .22 caliber revolver into Pruneda. There were eighteen bullet holes in his body.

In May of 1995, headline news introduced the country to Robert Sandifer, nicknamed Yummy. Yummy was an eleven-year-old gang member who, having shot a fourteen-year-old girl, brought so much

negative attention to his gang that he was executed by them. Yummy was found dead in a highway underpass, shot in the back of the head. His executioners were fourteen and sixteen years old. Yummy captured the nation's attention when he appeared on the cover of *Time* magazine in June 1995. Later that month in an interview with Patrick Murphy, the Cook County public defender, Oprah Winfrey asked whether Yummy and others like him had "slipped through the cracks." Murphy responded emphatically:

There was no crack here. We knew—we should have known exactly what was going on. . . . What you saw in Sandifer wasn't a kid who fell between the cracks. You saw a kid that was born to a mom who had her first child when she was fifteen, who was welfare-dependent, who came from a family who is welfare dependent. . . . The grandmother was in her younger thirties when Mom had the kid at fifteen. Robert's father . . . was in and out of the picture at best. When he [Robert] came into the system at two years and ten months, he had cigarette burns on his arm, his neck, his butt. . . . The sister was brought into the system when she was ten months old, about three months before Robert. . . . She had second-degree burns in her vagina, and the mother said that she dropped her on the radiator.¹

Very young and generally undetected victims of trauma or chronic maltreatment who become very young perpetrators of violence are no longer rare news stories. And the growing percentage of the crimes being committed by these children are shocking in their cruelty and aggression: a ten year old who killed a nine-month-old baby by kicking and hitting her with shoes and a basketball until she stopped crying; a four year old who climbed into a crib in his grandmother's day care center and stomped an eight-week-old baby to death; a ten year old who killed an eighty-four-year-old neighbor by beating her with her cane and then slashing her throat with a knife from her kitchen; four second-grade boys who pinned a seven-year-old girl to the ground during recess and tried to kill her for "breaking up" with their eight-year-old gang leader.

As in Jeffrey's case, we don't see the ghosts from the nursery in these stories. Because of the tender age of these criminals, however, as we look for explanations, we may look more in depth at the childhoods they have not yet left behind. It is this group of offenders, children twelve and under with a history of chronic aggression, who are forcing us to look earlier. For the majority of these early offenders, the records are clear: By age four they show consistent patterns of aggression, bullying, tantrums, and coercive interactions with others.²

The headline of a *New York Times* article on November 19, 1995, which reported a decline in the rate of adult crime also warned of "coming storms of juvenile crime." Professor John DiIulio of Princeton University said that we are experiencing "a lull before the crime storm." He cited the "40 million kids 10 years old and younger" who are about to become teenagers, the largest group of adolescents in a generation. He believes that there are more children now than ever before who are growing up without guidance, responsibility, or internalized social values.

The Uniform Crime Report issued by the FBI in October 1997 shows that for the last two years there has been a decrease in violent crimes by juveniles. The report also shows that given this decrease, the juvenile arrest rate for violent crime far exceeds the adult rate (464.7 per thousand compared to 318.3 per thousand among adults.) James Alan Fox, Dean of Criminal Justice at Northeastern University responded that the new numbers are "reason to be hopeful, but not reason to be overconfident." In a press conference following the release of the data Fox pointed out that the population of teenagers will grow by fifteen percent by 2005. "If we become complacent and think that all of our problems are over, we will be blind-sided by another crime wave," he responded. In spite of the recent drop, the violent crime rate among juveniles has quadrupled over the last twenty five years and the last decade has seen a doubling of weapons offenses for children 10 to 17. Internalized or self-directed violence has also soared, with the suicide rate for children ten to fourteen years of age tripling in the same period. Aggravated assault by teenagers has jumped by 64 percent in

the last decade. And forty American children have been killed in schools each year for the last five years.

Reported nationwide trends on the magnitude and the projected magnitude of juvenile crime vary depending on the source. Many, if not most, knowledgeable individuals at local, state, and national levels remain concerned about the rates of aggression and violence among young people. School resources for dealing with delinquent children at the junior and senior high school level, particularly in city schools, are increasingly overwhelmed beyond their capacities. The juvenile justice system is similarly besieged. And the building of prisons is a major growth industry in the nation.

On March 9, 1997, the U.S. Department of Justice released the results of a new study that showed that if our present rates of incarceration continue, one out of every twenty babies born in the United States today will spend some part of their adult lives in state or federal prison. An African-American male has a greater than one in four chance of going to prison in his lifetime, while a Hispanic male has a one in six chance of serving time.³ A quarter of all households in the United States are victimized by crime each year. Homicide is a leading cause of death among our young people.⁴ And our prison population has exploded. California, for example, is now spending more on its criminal justice system than on higher education.⁵ Though we have been greatly concerned about government spending on the U.S. health care system, which many deem to be in crisis, we have not noticed that the cost of the criminal justice system is three times the cost of the nation's entire health care budget.

While we have more than doubled our rate of incarceration in the last decade, people still do not feel safe. The inmate population is expected to expand further as politicians of all stripes try to outdo each other in being "tough on crime." If the current rate continues, according to the *New York Times*, the number of people incarcerated will soon overtake the number of people attending colleges and universities in our country. Already one in three African-American men in this country are under the supervision of the criminal justice sys-

tem.⁵ Even community policing—our most effective crime prevention effort to date—has resulted in warnings from the officers that they can already see a wave of children who in numbers and in depth of rage far exceed our current levels of concern.

Media coverage of violence—murder and rape, gang violence, serial killings, the murder of parents, children, and coworkers—treats violent behavior as if it suddenly emerges from a developmental void. It is a rare story that looks for the sources of this behavior even in preadolescence or grade school. And this is far from the real root in most cases. In order to understand the tide of violent behavior in which America is now submerged, we must look before preadolescence, before grade school, before preschool to the cradle of human formation in the first thirty-three months of life. Those months, including nine months of prenatal development and the first two years after birth (33 months), harbor the seeds of violence for a growing percentage of American children. In the violence equation, in the stories of Jeffrey and each of the children described earlier, this is chapter one, the missing chapter.

The ghosts of children lost to rage and despair, overlooked or abused by a community unaware of their existence, do retaliate. These children—like all children—“do unto others.” It may be easy and politically expedient to ignore them or to close our eyes to the appalling circumstances of their lives while they are voiceless and powerless—little bodies tucked away where no one is looking. But these children—grown larger and angrier—are swelling the rising tide of violent young offenders in our communities. Rage-filled adolescents only seem to come out of nowhere. They come, too often, from the nursery.

We yearn for simple answers. When horrific details reel from television or newspaper stories, we grasp for quick explanations. We want to believe that we can separate ourselves from the infection. Poverty and race become easy scapegoats. But neither adequately explains the increase in violence, particularly not among younger and younger children. The answers are complex but no longer unknowable.

Historically, theories have abounded regarding the source of criminal behavior. Much of this discussion has been polarized by a

pervasive and very human effort to reduce this quest to a single factor. The "nature-nurture" argument has raged for hundreds of years and has crossed many fields, including science, religion, and philosophy. The effort to account for criminal behavior—especially violent criminal behavior—is confounded by the complexity of human nature, to say nothing of cultural variables.

But we have made progress. We know, for example, that in spite of a clear role for genetics in explaining some antisocial behavior, there is no "crime gene." Several studies point to the possible role of heritable genes in explaining chronic property crimes such as stealing, but no links have been found for inherited tendencies toward violent crimes.⁶ On the other hand, genetic deficits stemming from environmental causes such as prenatal exposure to alcohol or drugs do play a strong role in setting up violent behavior.⁷ By causing subtle changes in the organization of the genes of the fetus, the baby's brain may be damaged, causing, for example, difficulty with focusing on learning or controlling impulsive behavior. These vulnerabilities in turn render the child even more vulnerable to negative environmental conditions such as child abuse or neglect. Genes may have a role in shaping later violent behavior, but environmentally altered rather than inherited genes are implicated. And in order for even those altered genes to have an adverse role in later behavior, they must interact with negative factors in the child's environment. For example, during the early critical period of maturation of the brain, prolonged periods of intense stress may actually alter DNA, the building material of the genes.⁸

The understanding of the interaction between internal vulnerabilities and external risk factors is essential to understanding the story of Jeffrey and the plethora of young criminals surfacing in the following pages. This interactive process is even more crucial as we seek to understand adult violence. In a hallmark study of the genesis of violent behavior in 1989, noted criminologist Dorothy Lewis found that neither exposure to early violence nor internal factors alone predicts adult violence. She also found that the combination of one vulnerability with an abusive family was not predictive of adult violence. While each of

these factors is a clear warning signal that a child may be on a course toward violence, Lewis found that adult criminal violence resulted from the interaction of two or more internal factors (i.e., cognitive and/or neuropsychiatric deficits) with early negative family circumstances. Lewis's theory amplifies the new emphasis on the interaction between these internal vulnerabilities and negative environmental factors. In reviewing the medical histories of violent juvenile delinquents, Lewis found a significantly higher incidence of neuropsychiatric and cognitive impairments among the most aggressive offenders, including hyperactivity, impulsivity, attention deficits, and learning disabilities. Both prenatal complications and serious accidents or injuries appeared often in their histories. The parts of the brain responsible for judgment, impulse control, and reality testing are disproportionately impaired in this population, along with the capacity for empathy and the ability to accurately interpret the actions and intent of other people.⁹

This analysis of the biological and social variables that go into the making of adult violence places a whole new emphasis on the human brain, where all of the variables meet and where central control is generated for all of our behaviors. Dr. Bruce Perry of Baylor University succinctly summarizes this concept by saying: "It's not the finger that pulls the trigger, it's the brain; it's not the penis that rapes, it's the brain."¹⁰ As the brain and its functions emerge as the mediator of human experience, we begin to appreciate the crucial nature of physical, emotional, and cognitive care during the first thirty-three months of human life. As we begin to discover the previously unimaginable impact of the smallest insult to the brain at crucial times in development, we are beginning to see that much of what we have formerly written off as unknowable in origin and therefore unchangeable, can and must be prevented. The current upswing in violent behavior is a clear sign of systemic distress. If human life is to continue, our entire species needs to attend differently to our young.

Thirty years ago, Rachel Carson penned her classic *Silent Spring*. That book was an urgent warning by a field biologist who was distressed by the plight of eagles, peregrine falcons, and many songbirds

that were quietly disappearing from the American landscape. Carson revealed an unseen and insidious threat to the entire chain of life. Through the use of DDT and other chemicals routinely applied in farming, forestry, and mosquito abatement, our nation was leading the world into destruction of the natural environment. Not only were pesticides poisoning our air, earth, rivers, and seas, they threatened the survival of our own species.

In spite of considerable controversy and an ongoing debate, *Silent Spring* penetrated the national consciousness. A spring without songbirds was a chilling image, and, in contemplating that grim prospect, we finally began to understand the true price of insecticides. Carson confronted us with our own passive participation in the destruction of the natural world. We now understand the intricate linkages that exist and the cumulative devastation that occurs when poisons are introduced at the front of the ecosystem.

More than thirty years after *Silent Spring*, however, we have yet to understand that the same dynamic is at work in the human system. Toxic experiences—family violence, abuse, and chronic neglect, along with toxic substances such as nicotine, alcohol, and illegal drugs—are being physically and emotionally absorbed by our babies in record numbers. As a result of this systemic degradation at the beginning of human life, our nation faces a threat that is potentially as lethal as the effects of DDT.

As in the natural world, there are complex links between the quality of individual human development and the status of the human community. Infancy, a time to which our nation is blindsided, is a crucial developmental stage when an individual forms the core of conscience, develops the ability to trust and relate to others, and lays down the foundation for lifelong learning and thinking. The quality of the human environment is directly tied to each individual's ability to love, to empathize with others, and to engage in complex thinking. By failing to understand the cumulative effects of the poisons assaulting our babies in the form of abuse, neglect, and toxic substances, we are participating in our own destruction. —

Our ignorance of and indifference to the complex nature of infancy has significantly contributed to one sign of systemic distress that we can no longer ignore. Violence is now epidemic in American society. It dominates our media, permeates our play, steals our loved ones, implodes our families, and claims a growing percentage of our young. Our response is to deploy the most rapid rate of incarceration in the world.

While it appears that the overall crime rate has decreased slightly, over the last three years (the last data available are for 1995), crime remains a source of great concern in the United States, particularly as compared to other industrialized nations. In April 1997, *Parade* magazine reported an Interpol census that analyzed America's status in relation to the rest of the world on a number of indicators.¹¹ The census reported that in spite of recent decreases, we have the second highest murder rate of all industrialized nations, after Russia. In addition, compared to all nations in the world, including developing third world nations, we have the second highest rape rate, the eleventh highest rate of serious assault, and the third highest violent rate of theft.

Each year the Children's Defense Fund publishes a yearbook entitled *The State of America's Children*. According to their 1996 and 1997 issues:

- A baby is born every minute to a teen mother.
- The mortality rate for American babies under the age of one is higher than that of any other western industrialized nation; African-American babies are more than twice as likely to die in their first year of life as white babies.
- Twenty-five percent of our preschool children live below the poverty level.
- One in four foster children in five states sampled entered foster care before his or her first birthday. Newborns make up the largest share of those infants.
- One in three victims of physical abuse is a baby less than twelve months old. Every day a baby dies of abuse or neglect at the hands of his or her caregivers.

- Three of every four children murdered in the twenty-six top industrialized nations *combined* were American.
- Only 8.4 percent of infant and toddler care in U.S. child care centers is considered developmentally appropriate care; 51.1 percent was judged mediocre quality care, and 40.4 percent poor quality care.

In reviewing this data, the Carnegie Corporation called this the "quiet crisis."¹² The grim reality is that a growing percentage of our babies are now gestating in and being born into an environment perfectly designed to breed rage and despair. Violence takes many forms—physical, emotional, social, verbal—to name but a few. It has many definitions and is to some degree a concept that varies with time and culture. For example, killing for God or country or ideological affiliations may be considered a noble and highly valued behavior. Killing as random vengeance is generally not. For the purposes of this discussion, violence is defined as behavior not condoned by law, which is intended to inflict harm on others, behavior that actively victimizes another person by an aggressive act. Perpetrators of unlawful violence fall roughly into one of two types: impulsive or premeditated. The great majority of violent crime committed in this country is of the impulsive type. Most of the research in this area is based on the study of "hot-blooded" impulsive violence. While premeditated, or "cold-blooded," violent behavior has some roots in common with impulsive violence, it also develops from some unique causes. Whenever relevant, these two distinct paths of development are distinguished in the following chapters.¹³

While the causes of violence are highly complex and multifaceted, a growing body of scientific knowledge demonstrates that maltreatment during the nine months of fetal growth and the first twenty-four months after birth often leads to violent older children and adults. The poisons accumulating in the human community from widespread maltreatment of babies are only in part the toxins we already recognize—drugs, alcohol, and tobacco. The last three decades have provided us with research that brings to light a range of more subtle

toxins profoundly influencing our children's earliest development: chronic stress or neglect, which affects the development of the fetal or early infant brain; early child abuse and neglect, which undermine focused learning; chronic parental depression; neglect or lack of the stimulation necessary for normal brain development; early loss of primary relationships or breaks in caregiving. These are the precursors of the growing epidemic of violence now coming to light in childhood and adolescence.

We must broaden the scope of our conversation about violence. Infancy and toddlerhood are times of enormous complexity when potentials for favorable adult outcomes can be maximized, diminished, or lost. Through the interplay of the developing brain with the environment during the nine months of gestation and the first two years after birth, the core of an individual's ability to think, feel, and relate to others is formed. Violent behavior often begins to take root during those thirty-three months as the result of chronic stress, such as domestic or child abuse, or through neglect, including the prenatal ingestion of toxins. Even where violent behavior does not occur as a direct result of these stressors, maltreatment of a baby may lead to the permanent loss or impairment of key protective factors—such as intelligence, trust, and empathy—that enable many children to survive and even overcome difficult family circumstances and later traumas.

And so we return to Jeffrey. Through his story we can see that there are many kinds of ghosts from the nursery. Some result from biological factors such as head injuries or learning disabilities. Others emerge from familial experiences such as child abuse, domestic violence, or the impact of maternal depression or rejection. As children grow older, larger societal factors, such as chronic community violence, may compound the damage from earlier experiences. One factor by itself rarely creates antisocial outcomes in human development.¹⁵ As in Jeffrey's case, several factors combine to produce those outcomes. But a majority take root in the nursery, where few people are looking.

David M. Kennedy

David M. Kennedy is a senior researcher at the Program in Criminal Justice Policy and Management, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. His work focuses on strategies for assisting troubled communities. He has written and consulted extensively in the areas of community and problem solving policing; police corruption; and neighborhood revitalization. He has performed field work in police departments and troubled communities in many American cities, London, Sydney, and Puerto Rico. He is the co-author of a seminal work on community policing, *Beyond 911: A New Era for Policing*, and numerous articles on police management, illicit drug markets, and gun control. He is currently focusing on the problem of youth violence, and strategies for preventing youth violence, with a special emphasis on the role of chronic offenders; the nature of the illicit markets supplying guns to youths; and the possibilities for city-specific strategies to deter chronic offenders and disrupt illicit gun markets. He has advised the Justice Department, the Department of the Treasury, and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms on these issues. He is currently directing a National Institute of Justice-funded project in Boston designed to give the first detailed account of the youth gun problem in any American city and, based on that account, implement and evaluate a city-wide intervention to reduce youth violence. Partners in this enterprise include the Boston Police Department; the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms; the Office of the US Attorney; the Office of the Suffolk County District Attorney; the Massachusetts Department of Probation; the office of the Mayor of Boston; the Massachusetts Department of Youth Services; and others. Its chief intervention, Operation Ceasefire, was implemented in mid-1996 and appears to have been principally responsible for a two-thirds reduction in homicide victimization among those 24 and under citywide. Operation Ceasefire was one of 10 programs recognized nationally by a 1997 Ford Foundation Innovations in Government award. It also informed the 27-city Youth Crime Gun Interdiction Initiative launched by the Clinton Administration in July, 1996.

THE NEW YOUTH VIOLENCE

David M. Kennedy

The youth violence epidemic has left the cities and is taking root in the countryside. Such is the nearly universal assessment in the wake of the last year's appalling wave of school spree shootings. It's a natural, almost inevitable, conclusion: kids and guns have been a problem in the cities for more than ten years, kids and guns are apparently now a problem outside the cities. Surely we must be dealing with essentially the same problem in both settings?

Not so fast. There's reason to believe that these are in fact two very different phenomena. The urban youth violence epidemic began in the mid-1980s and progressed at a dizzying pace, with homicide victimization rates tripling among teenagers and doubling among those into their mid-20s. Drive-by shootings, guns in schools, and street violence that would have made Dodge City shudder became emblematic of all too many core urban areas. Politicians, parents, and academics soon constructed a now-familiar list of often overlapping reasons for the historically unprecedented carnage: television, rap, and other cultural influences; access to firearms; community problems like single-parent households and poor schools; gang and drug activity; lack of local job opportunities; and more. Certain verities took root: all kids in tough neighborhoods were at risk; the violence was senseless and unpredictable; schools were particularly dangerous places. Taking action meant sweeping prescriptions, like getting rid of guns and teaching dispute resolution to whole generations of kids. The recent school shootings certainly look like a widening of these basic problems, and to many suggest the same solutions.

In retrospect, though, this initial diagnosis of the urban youth violence problem looks like an unfortunate rush to judgment. As time has allowed a more careful look at what's been going on, a different picture has emerged. It includes the following key features:

- *Drug markets lit the fuse.* The youth violence epidemic did not come from nowhere; it was sparked in most cities by the arrival of crack and the involvement of young minority males in chaotic street drug markets. Kids got guns to protect their business interests, and some of them used them. The influence of television, music, and all the rest pale in comparison. The drug markets also fostered the formation of what might variously be called gangs, crews, and sets: street-active groups of young men with weapons and reasons to carry and use them.
- *The fuse kept burning.* Drug markets started the process, but other dynamics then took over. Groups of armed young men were a fertile setting for disputes over respect, girls, and slights real and imagined. As the streets got more dangerous, guns became an essential part of staying safe for many youth. But more youth with guns and a willingness to use them made the streets more dangerous: and the cycle continued.
- *Not all young people were involved or at risk.* Far from it. Even in the hottest neighborhoods, most kids steered clear. Both victims and perpetrators of youth violence tended to be chronic offenders, engaged in a wide variety of crimes, and caught up in a dynamic in which today's shooter could be tomorrow's victim. In Boston, at some 70% of youth homicide came out of a population of only about 1300 young people; both victims and perpetrators tended to be involved in street crews; and three-quarters of both victims and perpetrators had arrest records, averaging nearly ten apiece.
- *The violence was not "senseless."* From where such highly active youth sat, the violence was in fact understandable, and to some extent predictable. Violations of an increasingly draconian street code, paybacks for violence by others, and the maintenance of

"respect" - itself an asset to survival - could all precipitate violence. From an adult perspective it was madness, but the stories were there to be seen, and from a certain perspective the stories were coherent. When somebody got hurt, youth offenders - and often street cops, probation officers, and many local adults - often knew why.

- *The schools were the safest places of all.* The general public soon got the impression that schools were hot spots for violence, an impression fueled by rising gun seizures in schools, surveys that showed gun carrying in schools was up, and by occasional violent incidents. In fact, the schools represented safe havens for most kids, were much safer than the streets outside, and incidents in schools were vastly outnumbered by incidents outside. The special efforts that went into keeping schools safe were entirely justified; schools should indeed be safe havens. But when things happened in schools, they usually represented the streets coming inside, not the other way round.

So what about the recent school shootings, and don't they mark a widening of this pattern? Probably not, for they fit none of this picture. They are not being caused by suburban and rural crack markets, or any other crime wave disturbing formerly peaceful communities. They are not being committed by kids afraid of other kids, and making preemptive strikes for their own protection. They are not being committed by, or aimed at, chronic offenders whose violent acts or violent victimization is part of a long pattern of overt criminal behavior. They seem altogether senseless, with even the after-the-fact investigations leaving most questions unanswered. And they are, most obviously, happening in schools, with the traditional quiet of the streets outside continuing undisturbed.

In fact, the school shootings resemble other kinds of youth violence much less than they resemble certain kinds of adult violence. They have far more in common with such spree shootings as the Long Island Railroad and the paradigmatic post office massacres than they do with drive-bys in South Central. Those adult shootings are, like the school shootings, essentially inexplicable; committed by people in retrospect disturbed but in prospect generally unremarkable; designed in part for dramatic impact; and basically impossible to predict. Springfield, Jonesboro and the other school shootings have more in common with the famous tower in Texas than with the high-rise housing projects of Chicago.

So why the rash of incidents? If it's not the epidemic most think it is, what is it? In fact, these shootings do very much resemble a different kind of youth violence problem: the suicide cluster. It is very well known that a youth suicide often provokes a rash of follow-up suicides: in the school the first victim attended, in his community, and the like. Such clusters are strikingly akin to the recent cluster of school shootings: they are provoked by a high-profile incident, they occur only among youth, and they draw victims from youth who are very difficult to identify ahead of time but whose vulnerabilities are often evident in retrospect. The school shootings seem likely to be this kind of broadly imitative behavior. The very fact that they are all happening in schools is part of the imitation, and something that sets them apart from the broader youth violence problem.

The key question here, and the factor that will most govern what happens next, is that of the pool of "susceptibles": how many youth are there, nationally, who are prone to being "tipped" into action? Youth suicide clusters are terribly difficult to prevent and terribly difficult to intervene in. Usually, only the fact that the pool of susceptibles is very, very small contains them. We simply do not know whether this is true for potential school shooters. My own guess is that it is true - that there are not very many kids, even given means and opportunity, who wish to do this. If that's right, we will see a natural waning. We will never go all the way back, for a line has been crossed that cannot be uncrossed. But there's reason to hope that this is neither a widening of the old epidemic, nor a new one of its own.

Regardless, there are things we should do. The shootings have rightly reinvigorated basic debates about guns, national and youth culture, the services and opportunities available to youth, and the

like. Those debates will continue, and no doubt some will lead to action. In the meantime, there are some things we can do immediately.

- *Pay attention to the warning signs young people themselves provide.* It's likely to be all but impossible to predict very far ahead of time who might actually do this kind of thing. "Prediction," in this case, is more likely to mean the day before, or the morning of, a potential event. In many of the recent incidents, there were, at least in retrospect, clear indications that something might be going on. When kids take guns to school, threaten their classmates and teachers, and promise to kill their girlfriends, we should listen.
- *Listen to the other kids.* There are, unfortunately, too many instances of kids, even in the quietest communities, carrying weapons and making threats to treat each one as a red alert. Most of these "warnings" will be about nothing. How are we to sort out which really matter? The best path here is likely to be asking other students what they think. Kids fool adults with ease; their own peers, though, will often have a very good sense indeed whether a particular classmate is blustering or genuinely scary. Principals should work out ways to quietly sound out their more trustworthy students in the wake of such warnings, and incorporate their guidance into their response to trouble signs.
- *Do something about the guns particular kids have access to.* When the decision is made that a given youth may represent a real risk, authorities should work with his parents and friends to secure any firearms he might be able to lay his hands on. Guns owned by his immediate family and relatives, or which his close friends and their families have, or which he might otherwise be able to reach, should be made thoroughly inaccessible. Even in areas where guns are prevalent, it's harder than one would think for a kid to get guns that aren't ready to hand. This kind of local, cooperative, voluntary, and probably temporary "gun control" might make a substantial difference.

Are the school shootings an inevitable expansion of urban youth violence, and is the countryside doomed to a bloodbath? Probably not. But they're bad enough as they stand, and we should take them seriously and act intelligently. Part of that is not making the same mistake we made with the original urban problem. This time, let's make sure we know what we're dealing with.

Can We Keep Guns Away From Kids?

David M. Kennedy

The Brady Bill and an assault weapon ban are finally law. Congress may add a few frills like fee hikes for federally licensed gun dealers and tax hikes on ammunition. But the killing in our core cities, especially the killing of young black men by other young black men, will continue almost as if nothing has happened.

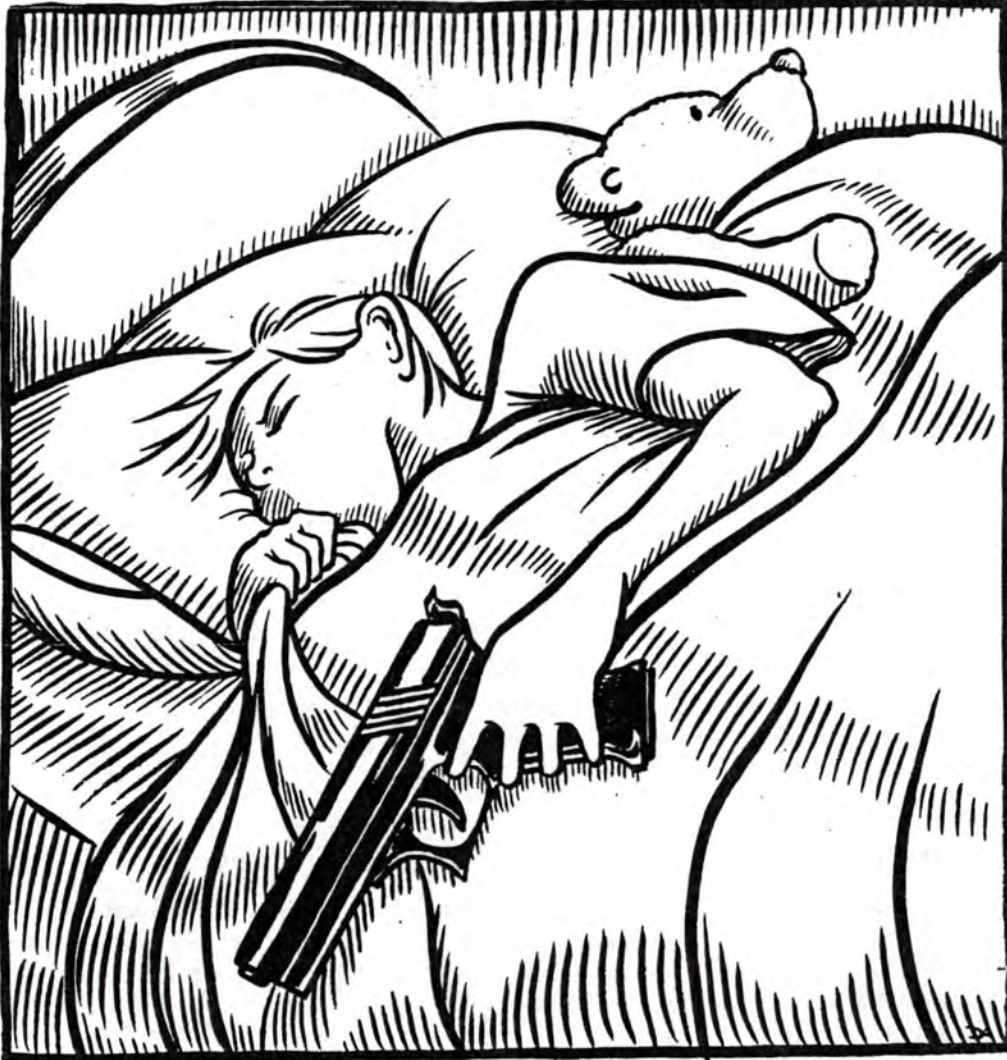
Yet something must surely be done. Youth gun homicide has risen sharply since the mid-1980s. It is now higher for teenagers than for the general population, and far higher for black teenage males: in 1990, roughly 100 killed for every 100,000 between the ages of 15 and 19 (versus 9.7 for every 100,000 white males in the same age group). The gun homicide rate conceals a mass of nonfatal woundings—some 5.7 for every death. And the problem is getting worse, not better.

The reality on the street is even starker. A 1993 national poll by LH Research found that 30 percent of black adults know a child who was wounded or killed by another child with a gun. Drive through Washington, D.C., within rifleshoot of the White House, and look at all the young black men with canes—they weren't maimed playing football. In Cabrini Green, one of Chicago's appalling high-rise housing projects, I have talked with mothers who will not let children out of their apartments except to escort them to and from school. In these communities many children do not talk about "when" they will grow up; they talk about "if." Tulane University researchers Joseph Sheley and James Wright recently surveyed high school students in four troubled minority communities—more than a third carried guns at least occasionally. (One student, asked what caliber gun he owned, pulled it out of his clothes to check.) Research by Carolyn and Richard Block

suggests that nearly all of Chicago's recent increase in gang-related killing is attributable to bigger, better handguns.

Close the Market

Can we do anything to keep guns out of kids' hands? Tighter gun control alone will not work. In most cities with serious juvenile gun problems, the purchase and possession of handguns by juveniles are already illegal. The shootings and deaths have increased just the same. Forty-one percent of Sheley and Wright's students said obtaining guns was "no trouble at all," and they paid well *below* retail prices for the guns they bought on the street. Increasing penalties for violating gun laws won't help much either. The effectiveness of such laws depends on the commitment of police, prosecutors, and the courts, as well as the availability of prison space to back them up. The first is difficult to obtain (police, prosecutors, and courts tend to adjust their



actions to the nuances of each case); the second, prison space, is in increasingly short supply. And many juvenile gun offenders think and care little about even severe punishment.

A better target for our efforts would be the black market in guns, which so far has received little serious attention. Federal gun legislation mainly affects new weapons sold by federally licensed dealers. The laws do not reach many older guns, nor small-scale private dealers, and they do not create the recordkeeping and transfer protocols required to monitor and control the movement of guns. Measures to correct these

deficiencies are from time to time proposed in Congress, where they die. Gun and anti-gun activists conclude, alternatively, that there is no point in attempting to control firearms, or that there is little point to anything short of outright bans. This logjam is unlikely to be broken anytime soon.

At the local level, the illegal gun trade proceeds unhindered by anything approaching a concerted police response. Strategies and tactics routinely deployed against other threats to public safety are strikingly absent from the gun-crime landscape. Given the opportunity, police are willing to make firearms arrests, but such charges tend to be incidental to other enforcement activities.

Departments almost never give the black market in firearms the same priority they do narcotics or prostitution. They rarely take advantage of opportunities to identify and penetrate the gun trade by back-tracing illegal weapons used in crimes, demanding information about weapons sources as a condition of plea bargaining, or mounting stings or undercover operations. And they are rarely sophisticated about working with federal authorities on gun cases. "If we find a kid with a gun, we're happy to settle for a conviction," says Jim Jordan, the Boston Police Department's Director of Policy Development. "We don't even ask where he got it."

This is quite peculiar. The black market in guns, as my colleague Mark Moore has shown, is essentially local. Guns are readily available through local sources: they can be stolen from homes or gun dealers, or purchased from licensed and unlicensed dealers and resold. Even operations to move weapons from states with loose gun laws to states with strict ones typically consist of only a few people with a car (or a gym bag and a bus ticket). Many black-market gun dealers buy guns from thieves and resell them as they would any other hot commodity. As a panel from the National Academy of Sciences noted in a 1993 report, *Understanding and Preventing Violence*, this is the kind of crime local police, whose strength and number dwarf federal enforcement capacity, should make their business.

It is thus encouraging to see, for instance, the New York City Police Department's recent decision to mount undercover operations against illegal gun dealers. But no practicable amount of ordinary police work will shut these markets down. Departments must break the classic enforcement mold.

The Idea Of Market Disruption

Hope lies in a new set of market disruption approaches developed in community policing circles and deployed with great effectiveness against street drug markets. Over the past decade, several cities plagued

by serious street drug problems have successfully interfered with street trafficking so that the markets ceased to function.

For example, police in Tampa, Florida mounted a model operation known as QUAD (Quick Uniform Attack on Drugs) to combat a widespread crack problem on the streets. They made it difficult for buyers to find dealers by intensifying enforcement to keep dealers on the move. They used community allies to locate and report new street dealing sites and drug stashes. Posing as dealers, police pulled "reverse stings" and arrested buyers, making other buyers feel vulnerable. Officers interfered with business by loitering around dealing sites, used local ordinances to clear crowds from known trafficking areas, and cooperated with city authorities to knock down abandoned houses and shut down businesses used for dealing. Six months into QUAD, public dealing was virtually extinct. The disruption strategy had caused, in relatively short order, the near collapse of the street market.

Gun markets are more surreptitious than drug markets. But a disruption strategy for the youth gun market could still succeed.

Since gun transactions among adults are not necessarily crimes, there is no easy way to tell whether a seller, a buyer, or a particular transaction is illegal. But kids caught buying and carrying guns, and people caught selling guns to them, are *prima facie* lawbreakers. Equally important, public feeling on youth and firearms is universally negative. Illegal firearms transactions among adults do not always draw public outrage or official action. If a gun dealer illegally sells a weapon to a middle-class suburbanite, the community tends to show tolerance. Even the deadly use of illegal weapons can win considerable support. But nobody thinks kids should have guns. Measures to prevent kids from getting firearms would be popular with officials and community members. If disruption strategies can be designed, communities will help.

Why Kids Want Guns

To successfully disrupt the youth market we must understand why kids get guns. This means going beyond the three most common theories, which are increasingly inadequate to explain what's happening in the inner city.

The drug trade. Where there is serious drug dealing there will be guns. There is no question that the rise in juvenile black male homicide that began in the mid-1980s coincided with the rise of crack cocaine. In many cities, the crack market is characterized by a young minority work force and open-air trafficking with a high degree of turf-related and other violence.

But the close connection between youth violence and the crack trade sometimes dissolves upon closer examination. The Blocks' research in Chicago suggests that very little of that city's spiralling youth violence rate is drug-related. It seems, rather, to be *turf*-related, with recent increases in killings due to gangs' use of more powerful guns. In Richmond, Virginia, Russell Boxley and his colleagues found that the trafficking issues provoking drug-market killings were not significantly different from other kinds of disputes that often sparked violence among the same groups of people.

While levels of youth violence and drug trafficking increased together during the mid-1980s, more recently the trends have diverged. In Milwaukee and Washington, D.C., youth homicide continued to increase in the early 1990s even as the drug trade diminished. Today, the fact that so many homicides and assaults seem inexplicable is what most disturbs communities. Kids are killing each other over jewelry, sidelong glances, and, at times, for no apparent reason at all.

Gangs. Another popular explanation for the spread of violence centers on youth gangs, some engaged in drug-trafficking and some not, using guns to protect turf and to settle disputes. But what is a gang? Gangs range from sophisticated economic organizations (some of which appear to es-

chew violence except for business purposes), to moderately organized ethnic groups, to ad-hoc bands of friends. Since they tend to come to public attention only when they commit violent crimes, and since officials call any affiliated group that commits violence a gang, "gang violence" is at times a tautology.

A more important problem is causality: do gangs cause violence, or does violence cause gangs? Kids in violent areas band together for support and protection. Having done so, they are obliged to stand up for one another, and they become actors and targets in cyclic exchanges of violence. The ready availability of guns, then, must be a significant contributing factor to the creation of gangs and gang violence. Measures to keep guns out of kids' hands might serve to moderate both.

Culture of violence. Most recently, attention has focused on cultural factors, such as the media and the intergenerational impact of domestic violence and sexual abuse. This would explain the appalling "senseless" acts that seem more and more common, and link them to an adult world that exhibits many of the same features.

Many public health analysts use this frame. Deborah Prothrow-Stith and others have written powerfully of how movies, television, music, and parents encourage youth violence. Their research points to the inability of many adolescents to imagine nonviolent conflict resolutions; it shows how youth culture encourages and rewards violent behavior. But these arguments do not explain how presumably long-standing cultural factors could account for the explosive rise in youth homicide. Nor do they explain causality. Is the youth demand for guns driven by this cultural appetite for violence? Or is youth violence so bad in part because guns are so prevalent and have the effect of polarizing groups and raising the risks of violent behavior?

The Primacy of Fear

Terror is what ties these accounts together. It appears that we have entered

into a distinct second phase of the impact of drug trafficking on communities. In the first phase, trafficking and competition among traffickers caused high levels of violence, in a pattern reminiscent of Prohibition. While appalling, this violence was fundamentally *instrumental*: it generally served or emerged from business interests, albeit illegal ones.

That violence, however, profoundly increased the fear in affected communities, which in turn brought more weaponry. Traffickers, many of them young and not particularly measured, armed themselves. The streets were the marketplace, so business disputes were settled in public. There were no safe havens—nonplayers had nowhere to escape. Many part-time drug dealers became full-time gun owners. The trade was ruled by the same self-regulation that governs all illicit enterprises: those who offend get hurt. But since traffickers were numerous and dispersed throughout the community, that gangland ethos came to govern even more ordinary interactions as well.

In short, many of the newly armed boys (and girls) in the 'hood are not depraved. They are scared—and rightly so. Sheley and Wright found more than 40 percent of their high school students had been shot at or threatened with a gun; nearly half knew schoolmates who had been fired on. Not surprisingly, self-defense was far and away the main reason these kids armed themselves. In the 1993 LH Research poll, 33 percent of black adults reported knowing "a child who was so worried he or she got a gun for self protection."

The more kids arm themselves, the greater the chance of shootings, and the more readily kids arm themselves. Mix in youthful impulsiveness and the result is spur-of-the-moment mayhem. "The scariest thing," a Detroit high school senior told Carl Taylor, "is that you never know when they're going to get into an argument and start shooting."

In such an environment the "senseless" shootings that have become commonplace should come as no surprise. These kids are armed and edgy. They believe they cannot

walk away from a fight without irretrievably losing face. They are surrounded by violence, and feel that they have few alternatives. They cannot get out of Dodge, nor is anybody making them check their guns at the edge of town.

Many of the kids involved in this life do not really want to live it. Less readily available weaponry would ease tensions and diminish the deadliness of incidents. It might lead to clearer divisions between dangerous offenders and other less committed users, and allow responses more appropriately tailored to each class. A weapon-centered approach is certainly not a perfect or complete response to youth violence, but it would facilitate and reinforce other approaches.

Can we design such a program? Yes, but it will take custom-designed strategies, developed and implemented primarily by local authorities. Different local markets require different disruption plans. Patterns of acquisition and distribution are different in Georgia, which has few restrictions on gun sales, and Massachusetts, which is heavily regulated; or in Chicago, where the killing is largely gang-related, and Washington, where it has more to do with drugs. The strategy must be comprehensive, with mutually reinforcing tactics tailored to local circumstances. Stiff penalties for selling and buying, measures to reduce gun movement from the legitimate to the black market, and measures to reduce youths' fear are unlikely to have much impact if they are pursued in piecemeal fashion.

Central to making those strategies work will be detailed, timely information on particular youth gun markets. Among the questions we need to ask: How do kids acquire guns in a particular city? Why do they do it? Do they buy from the same sources as adult offenders? Is there a distinct illicit gun market, or are guns passed along channels also used for drugs and other contraband? Are there many sources of supply, or relatively few? How open is

the trade? Are sellers bold or wary? What makes them willing and unwilling to sell? Are there different supply channels to hardcore and casual consumers? Are particular weapons in vogue? How does information about sources of supply reach consumers, and how widely is it known?

Although police departments already have a great deal of scattered information on gun markets, they seldom put it together. A first step would be to consolidate existing information in a fashion that supports problem solving.

From there, police could tap other sources of information, including:

Kids. If youth gun markets are as vigorous as they appear to be—they often include *rental* markets for busy weekends, parties, and such—their workings will be fairly widely known. Some knowledgeable youth, both players and nonplayers, will be willing to talk if police can ensure their safety. Departments need to develop new relationships with young people to learn what they need to know.

Offenders. Criminals are useful sources of information. In Tampa, interviews with jailed criminals helped convince the department that suppressing street crack markets would reduce crime and disorder. Boston's gang unit has found gang members willing to share information useful for understanding and sometimes preventing gang violence. Black market gun dealers and kids who have acquired weapons illegally are rich sources of information.

Parents and other community sources. Parents in communities troubled by youth gun violence are potentially powerful sources of information. They should be encouraged to help the community set a "zero tolerance" standard. Some are likely to cooperate with police if they think their children will be treated well, and if they can do so safely. Departments should explore ways to build working relationships with such parents. School security authorities, teachers, youth social service workers, and church leaders could also develop information on the youth gun market. Some will be

willing to cooperate with police if their own interests are protected.

Gun dealers and gun regulators. Legitimate gun dealers may have information about how kids obtain guns and which adult intermediaries deal guns to kids. Black market gun dealers may be willing to inform on rivals or bargain with information when facing prosecution. Federal authorities may have information useful to local police, as well as the investigative and enforcement capacity to support local information gathering.

Putting It Together

Although strategies would differ from city to city, one can sketch a hypothetical operation. To block access to gun supplies, police could work with parents and kids to identify owners of gun stockpiles. (Parental authorization would be sufficient to allow police searches of houses and apartments, perhaps during an initial amnesty.) Private and nonprofit partners could offer residents in high-burglary areas trigger locks and advice on storing firearms securely. Federal authorities could trace illegal weapons to licensed vendors, and put them under scrutiny or arrange for their licenses to be revoked. Prosecutors and courts could work to ensure swift and stiff punishments for adult "straws" selling to kids.

To attack the security of sellers, we need state laws making straws who sell guns to kids jointly liable for crimes committed with those guns. Police could work undercover and cultivate confidential informants to buy guns illegally. They could also offer juvenile offenders caught with guns plea bargains based on naming their suppliers. To attack the security of buyers, police could mount stings, offer black market dealers plea bargains based on fingering clients, work with parole and probation officers to intensify supervision of kids who are court-involved for gun offenses, and negotiate protocols for street searches with representatives of troubled communities. (To avoid antagonizing the community, these should be aimed at enlisting local

support for the exercise of existing police powers.)

To deter black marketers from selling to kids, authorities could mount comprehensive enforcement efforts against drug and fencing organizations known to be selling guns to kids (thereby sending a signal that such dealing will trigger attacks on all fronts of one's business). States could legislate asset forfeiture for dealing guns to minors. Related suppression of the street drug trade would take money out of the pockets of kids likely to buy and use guns. Raising the costs and lowering the benefits of the youth gun trade might dissuade new entrants into the business. To the extent that stores, bars, and other businesses were fronting for youth dealers, civil abatement proceedings could shut them down.

Fresh insights and strategies are likely to emerge both from close examination of particular markets and from experience gained as particular disruption strategies evolve. Richer information and operational experience could reveal unexpected opportunities.

In Tampa, for instance, equipping officers with digital beepers that allowed rapid, personal, but clandestine contact between the police and community supporters turned out to be critical to a robust flow of timely operational intelligence about street markets. And new tactics were developed during the operation that nobody could possibly have imagined ahead of time. Street dealers, for instance, generally hide stashes not on their persons but nearby—in a tree or a patch of tall grass—in case they are robbed or arrested. QUAD officers started getting calls from neighborhood sources who observed the dealers closely and could pinpoint the stashes. Police simply seized the drugs, strangling the dealers' cash flow. If we look hard, we are bound to find equivalent weaknesses in youth gun markets.

Other Strategies for Fighting Fear

The more kids' fear can be reduced, the less they will want guns and the more effec-

tive market-disruption strategies will be. Three ideas deserve particular mention. First, street drug markets and gang disputes create high levels of violence, disorder, and fear. Cities should explore QUAD-type operations to shut down drug markets, and work with kids and others close to the street to prevent gang violence. Police units like the Boston antigang violence squad and grass-roots groups like Clementine Barfield's Save Our Sons and Daughters in Detroit have had success preventing individual incidents from growing into vendettas. Second, criminal justice resources should be focused on taking repeat violent juvenile gun offenders off the streets. Third, some community policing departments are developing innovative means to identify and address fear. In one model operation in Baltimore County, officers defused a budding racial conflict by separating bus stops that brought warring groups of black and white kids into regular contact, then worked with both groups to prevent further trouble. More along these lines is possible.

No one of these measures is likely to make much of an impact. The power of market disruption and allied approaches would come from multiple attacks, and the interaction of multiple attacks, to the incentives and free functioning of the market. The mounting of the operation would itself be a deterrent; in many jurisdictions buying and selling in the youth black market is a largely risk-free enterprise, and a clever operation (including a community actively mobilized against guns) could hope to raise participants' sense of vulnerability considerably.

It is too much to hope that any of this would end illegal dealing in guns. But an effective youth market strategy might serve to split the adult market off from the youth market, leaving illicit dealers still in the gun business but unwilling, or substantially less willing, to deal to kids. It might, along with other efforts to fight fear, arrest the spiraling juvenile arms race. Given the juvenile death toll, and the special contribution of armed kids to the disruption of troubled communities, that would be a success. ♦

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The Reverend Eugene F. Rivers, 3d

Ex-gang member, the Reverend Eugene F. Rivers, 3d was born in Boston, Massachusetts, raised in South Chicago and Northwest Philadelphia, and educated at Harvard University. The husband of Jacqueline C. Rivers and father of Kaia, Malcolm, and Sojourner, the Reverend Mr. Rivers is pastor of the Azusa Christian Community in Four Corners, an inner-city section of Boston where he also lives with his family.

He is the author of the The TenPoint Plan for a National Church Mobilization to Combat Black-on-Black Violence and a co-founder of the internationally recognized Boston TenPoint Coalition. As co-chair of the National TenPoint Leadership Foundation he is currently working to cultivate new grassroots church leadership in forty of the most violent inner city neighborhoods in the country by the year 2006, replicating the Boston faith-community, law enforcement partnership success. He is also working with the World Council of Churches Program to Overcome Violence to adapt the U.S. violence prevention model to local conditions in various cities internationally.

Reverend Rivers is a contributing editor to Sojourners magazine and a frequent contributor to a variety of national periodicals. He is also the author of the two forthcoming collection of essays entitled On the Responsibility of Intellectuals in the Age of Crack and Beyond the Nationalism of Fools: A Manifesto for a New Black Movement.

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NATIONAL TEN-POINT LEADERSHIP FOUNDATION
Mobilizing Black Churches to Save At-Risk Inner-City Youth
1,000 Churches,
40 Cities,
Saving Children in America's 50 Worst Ghetto Neighborhoods,
By the Year 2006

The NTLF Mission. The National Ten-Point Leadership Foundation (NTLF) is a non-profit organization based in Boston, Massachusetts. NTLF's primary mission is to help provide African-American Christian churches with the strategic vision, programmatic structure, and financial resources necessary to saving at-risk inner-city youth—saving them from child abuse and neglect, street violence, drug abuse, school failure, teen-age pregnancy, incarceration, chronic joblessness, spiritual depravity, and hopelessness about the future.

NTLF is co-directed by the Reverend Eugene F. Rivers, III and Mrs. Jacqueline Rivers of the Asuza Christian Community, a church located in Boston's most economically distressed Dorchester neighborhood. Inspired by the half-century of work done in Philadelphia by Pastor Benjamin Smith of Deliverance Evangelistic Church, NTLF grew directly out of the Rivers' own decade-plus of nationally-acknowledged, faith-anchored, street-level work with some of America's most severely at-risk inner-city children, including juvenile probationers (Boston Freedom Summer, Operation Christmas, Operation 2006, and much more). In Boston, NTLF acts in partnership with local synagogues and the Catholic Church, and runs programs in cooperation with social service agencies and law enforcement authorities.

While working diligently to attract the full-time staff and raise the money needed to deepen and expand its youth and community outreach ministry in Dorchester and throughout Boston, NTLF has established on-going ties to many national research institutions, think tanks, universities, and seminaries including The Institute for Civil Society, the New York Theological Seminary, Harvard University, Public/Private Ventures, the Brookings Institution, the Manhattan Institute, and others.

In partnership with these and other organizations and individuals, NTLF is committed to promoting the efficacy of faith-based approaches to inner-city problems; probing the Rivers' own experience for clues to what works and what doesn't in the way of building and sustaining local church networks focused on at-risk youth; discovering how best to mobilize churches for the benefit of inner-city children; and fostering systematic, large-scale experiments with kindred faith-based youth and community development efforts in big cities all across the country. By the year 2006, NTLF aspires to mobilize 1,000 churches to do youth outreach ministries in the most economically and socially distressed neighborhoods of 40 major metropolitan areas.

Below we articulate the rationale for and timeliness of NTLF's mission in terms of the following: (1) the urgent needs it addresses; (2) the realities of the inner-city black youth crisis; (3) the special

historical role and contemporary potential of black churches as agents of positive social change and progress, both within the black community and beyond it; (4) recent empirical research on how the churches and the "faith factor" can have a multiplier effect on efforts to solve socioeconomic crises; and (5) the unique capacity of NTLF to work through diverse ten-point partnerships and via special programs (like the budding Operation 2006) to save inner-city children.

1. The Urgent Need: Neither Post-Crack Nor Post-Problem. In recent years, Boston has experienced a significant drop in gun-related youth homicides and several other categories of juvenile crime. As local newspaper reporters and others close to the action have acknowledged, these positive results were borne of several rather extraordinary community-based partnerships involving churches, police units, and probation authorities, among others. NTLF continues to work and pray for a continuation of this success in saving young lives from drugs, crime, and hopelessness.

But make no mistake: neither this recent good news nor the supposed passing of the much publicized inner-city crack-cocaine and crime epidemic of the 1980s and early 1990s is synonymous with the passing of the challenges of youth crime, substance abuse, and related social spiritual crises on the jobless inner-city streets of Boston, New York, Los Angeles, Detroit, and other big cities. Just consider what three recent reports—one by the National Research Council, a second by the International Association of Chiefs of Police, and a third by the Council on Crime in America—have explained and forecast.

As analysts and journalists who have seen the operation up close have been quick to observe...the all-out, help-every-child, "fall asleep in their clothes" character of what Reverend Rivers and his team actually do...goes well beyond what even the most ambitious monitoring and mentoring programs could ever achieve.

—Council on Crime in America,
Preventing Crime, Saving Children (February 1997).

In 1995 the National Research Council's Panel on High-Risk Youth reported that at least seven million young Americans—roughly a quarter of adolescents aged 10 to 17—are at risk of failing to achieve productive adult lives. The United States, the panel warned, is in danger of "losing generations" of low-income children who abuse illegal drugs, engage in unprotected premarital sex, drop out of school, prove unable to get and keep jobs, succumb to the blandishments of illegal drugs, commit serious crimes or become victims of serious crimes. According to the panel, a big reason why so many low-income urban children are highly at risk of getting involved with crime and drugs is that their neighborhoods commonly lack "good role models for adolescents" and are instead home to many "adults who are involved in illegal markets. The poorest neighborhoods seem increasingly unable to restrain criminal or deviant behavior."¹

In 1996, the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) held a major summit on youth violence. Echoing reports issued the same year by the National District Attorneys' Association, the National Association of Attorneys General, and several other top law enforcement bodies, the

¹National Research Council, Panel on High-Risk Youth, Losing Generations (National Academy Press, 1995), p. 5.

IACP noted that the number of juvenile offenders had risen rapidly in recent years, and warned that juvenile crime "will get considerably worse as a big new group of youngsters reach their teenage years." Looking over the horizon of the next few years, the IACP envisioned more kids, more drugs, more guns and more murders.² The IACP emphasized that illegal drug use among juveniles began rising again in 1992. According to the IACP, in 1996 crack cocaine use was down, but crack was hardly invisible on East Coast inner-city streets, heroin was making a roaring comeback (especially on the West Coast), and LSD, amphetamine, stimulant and inhalant use was rising among teenagers nationwide. Thus, in several big cities, the percentage of juveniles in custody who tested positive for illegal drug use has more than tripled since 1990. Solutions to the youth crime and substance abuse problems, the IACP concluded, "must run the gamut from early intervention to swift and sure punishment for chronic/violent offenders. The future and well being of our youth demands nothing less."³

In 1997, the bipartisan Council on Crime in America, co-chaired by former U.S. Attorney General Griffin Bell and former federal "drug czar" William J. Bennett, stated flatly that "America's crime prevention challenge—at core a challenge of at-risk youth in need of adults—must be met, and soon." According to the Council, in 1994 there were over 2.7 million arrests of persons under age 18 (a third of them under age 15), up from 1.7 million juvenile arrests in 1991. Some 150,000 of these 2.7 million arrests were for violent crimes. In all, juveniles were responsible for an estimated 14 percent of all violent crimes and a quarter of all property crimes known to the police. Nationally, juveniles perpetrated 137,000 more violent crimes in 1994 than in 1985, and were responsible for 26 percent of the growth in violent crime over that period, including 50 percent of the increase in robberies, 48 percent of the increase in rapes, and 35 percent of the increase in murders. While welcoming recent drops in juvenile arrest rates, the Council urged all Americans to place them against the backdrop of a decade's worth of steep annual increases in youth crime and violence.

Moreover, the Council warned, America is now home to about 57 million children under age 15, some 20 million of them aged four to eight. The teenage population will top 30 million by the year 2006, the highest number since 1975. Thus, "no one," the Council concluded, "should feel certain that recent declines in crime will continue into the next century," and we must resist any temptation to "ignore or trivialize our nation's present and future youth crime dilemmas."⁴

Indeed we must.

2. The Continuing Crisis of Inner-City Black Youth. In a forthcoming study of crime and at-risk youth, Professor Byron R. Johnson of Lamar University and Dr. David B. Larson, M.D., president of the National Institute for Healthcare Research, merge two national data sets: the sample of inner-city

²Youth Violence in America: Recommendations from the IACP Summit (International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1996), section III, tables 11 and 12. Selected tables on youth crime trends from the IACP Summit are reproduced with permission as Appendix 1 of this paper.

³*Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁴Council on Crime in America, Preventing Crime, Saving Children (Center for Civic Innovation, Manhattan Institute, February 1997), pp. 1-3.

black youth (ICBY) from the National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER), and the national sample of black youth (BY) and white youth (WY) from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY). Among the results of their baseline comparisons among the three groups of youth are the following:⁵

- In custody of both parents: ICBY 43%, BY 58%, WY 84%.
- Adult male regularly in household: ICBY 29%, BY 65%, WY 76%.
- Household adults working: ICBY 26%, BY 57%, WY 78%.
- Live in public housing: ICBY 31%, BY 13%, WY 3%.
- Receive public assistance/AFDC: ICBY 46%, BY N/A, WY N/A.
- Unemployed youth: ICBY 31%, BY 17%, WY 12%.
- Use drugs: ICBY 36%, BY 14%, WY 23%.

Inner-city black youth are especially at risk, and the concentration of crime and delinquency among black youth is especially striking for crimes of violence, including murder. In 1995, a nationwide total of 21,597 murders were reported to police, a total 7 percent lower than the 1994 total, and representing a national murder rate of 8 per 100,000 inhabitants. But 77 percent of murder victims in 1995 were males, 48 percent were black, and 12 percent were under age 18. Moreover, recent studies find that males ages 14 to 24 are roughly 8 percent of the country's total population, but they constitute over a quarter of all homicide victims and nearly half of all murderers. Between 1985 and 1992, for example, black males ages 14-24 remained just above 1 percent of the population but increased from 9 to 17 percent of the murder victims and from 17 to 30 percent of the assailants.⁶

In a forthcoming study, Professors Philip J. Cook and John H. Laub report that between 1984-85 and 1990-91, the number of black male homicide victims aged 10 to 24 more than doubled, from 3,588 to 7,450. In both periods, 11 percent of the victims were New Yorkers, and New York and 11 other big cities accounted for 51 percent of the victims in both periods. But the cities varied in terms of their rates of increase and contributions to the totals. For example, over these two periods, the number of black male homicide victims increased by 800 percent in Milwaukee (from 10 to 90) and by 420 percent in the District of Columbia (from 70 to 364), but by "only" 41 percent in Detroit (from 287 to 406) and 26 percent in Newark (from 46 to 58). It is unclear what accounts for the inter-city and historical differences in black male homicide numbers.⁷

But one thing is tragically clear: "Homicide for young black males is very concentrated geographically," and remained so throughout the epidemic increases of the last decade.⁸ As a 1994 study of youth violence concluded: "The violence now occurring within our cities is a national

⁵Byron R. Johnson, David B. Larson, et al., "Escaping Crime and Poverty: What Helps At-Risk Youth?," draft, 1997. We are grateful to the authors for supplying a copy of this draft document.

⁶Trends in Juvenile Violence (Bureau of Justice Statistics, March 1996), p. 2.

⁷Philip J. Cook and John H. Laub, "The Unprecedented Epidemic in Youth Violence," forthcoming, pp. 29-30.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 30.

scourge. The fact that minority youth are disproportionately its victims makes it a tragedy as well as a disgrace."⁹

We agree.

3. Black Children, Black Churches, Real Answers. As a class, no Americans are more religious, and none believe so strongly in the ameliorative capacity of churches and faith-based approaches in relation to socioeconomic problems, as black Americans.

The consensus of hope is that urban religious institutions—black churches, in particular—will recognize a unique responsibility and opportunity and get involved in the lives of young people in their neighborhoods.

—The Boston Globe, May 19, 1996.

According to data analyses by George H. Gallup, Jr., belief in God or a universal spirit is unusually high in America, with levels of belief ranging from 94 percent to 99 percent over the past five decades. Currently, some 96 percent of Americans say they are believers. Claims of membership in a church, synagogue or similar place of worship have ranged from a high of 75 percent in 1947 to a low of 65 percent in 1988 and 1990. In 1995 membership stood at 69 percent of the adult population—unchanged from the previous two years. And in 1995 about 43 percent of Americans attended a place of worship during a typical week.¹⁰

Some groups of Americans have been consistently more likely than others to consider religion important in their lives. For example, African-Americans "of all faiths are in many ways the most religious people in America": 82 percent are church members, and the same high fraction (versus just 58 percent of the population as a whole) feel that religion is very important in their own everyday lives.¹¹

Opinion on the capacity of religion, spirituality, churches, or faith-based organizations to help solve contemporary socioeconomic and other problems has varied widely over the decades, from a high of 81 percent in 1957 to a low of 56 percent in 1984. In 1995 about 61 percent of all adult Americans, and 86 percent of black Americans, felt religion can help to solve today's problems.¹²

4. The "Faith Factor". The faith that black people have in faith-based approaches to socioeconomic problems is borne out not only by NTLF, but by the kindred church-based efforts that

⁹Violence in America: Mobilizing a Response (National Academy Press, 1994), p. ix.

¹⁰Religion in America, 1996 Report (Princeton Religion Research Center, 1996), pp. 16, 17.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 48.

¹²*Ibid.*, pp. 17, 48.

are underway (and attempting to get underway) in almost every big city, from the "latch-key" ministries of black clergy in the Bronx to the youth outreach efforts of ministers in Louisville, Miami, Camden, and elsewhere. It is borne out as well by the small but growing body of empirical research evidence on religion and socioeconomic problems.

There is a growing body of empirical research evidence which indicates that, other things being equal, at-risk youth, people with mental health disorders, substance abusers, and convicted criminals whose lives are influenced by religion--either directly via church attendance or participation in a faith-based program, or interaction with others who are "churched," or indirectly via the activities of faith-based youth outreach, drug or alcohol treatment, or economic development programs--are less likely to get into trouble with the law, remain jobless, suffer severe depression, abuse alcohol or drugs, or be repeat criminals than otherwise comparable persons whose lives are not so touched by religion. Here are just a few examples:

At-Risk Youth: In a 1985 study, Harvard University economist Richard Freeman examined the relation of church-going and other background factors to the socioeconomic performance of black male youths from inner-city poverty tracks. He found that church-going substantially increased the chances that young black males would escape poverty, crime, drug abuse, and school failure, and that "the church-going effect is the result of an actual impact."¹³ In a forthcoming reanalysis and update of the Freeman study, Dr. Byron Johnson and his colleagues reinforce Freeman's conclusion, finding even stronger evidence that church-going and other religious influences have an independent inverse relation to socioeconomic problems among young black inner-city males.¹⁴ Likewise, a 1995 review of the relevant criminology literature concluded that, while more research was clearly needed, religious influences probably do inhibit crime and delinquency.¹⁵

Mental Health: A 1991 review of the research on "religious commitment" and mental health found that "the preponderance of evidence suggests that religion is associated with mental health benefits."¹⁶

Inmate Recidivism: A forthcoming review of the literature on religion and recidivism among prisoners indicates that many faith-based programs behind bars have promoted rehabilitation, and, in particular, that released "inmates who are most active in Bible studies are significantly less likely to be arrested" in the future than otherwise comparable released inmates who were not.¹⁷

¹³Richard Freeman, "Who Escapes?," Working Paper Series No. 1656, National Bureau of Economic Research, 1985, p. 2.

¹⁴Byron Johnson et. al., "Who Escapes? Revisited," forthcoming, April 1997.

¹⁵T. David Evans et al., "Religion and Crime Reexamined," *Criminology*, May 1995, pp. 195-224.

¹⁶John Gartner et al., "Religious Commitment and Mental Health," *Journal of Psychology and Theology*, 1991, p. 16.

¹⁷David B. Larson et al., "Religious Programs, Institutional Adjustment, and Recidivism," forthcoming *Justice Quarterly*, 1997. Related work is underway by professor Todd Clear of Florida State University.

Substance Abuse: A number of studies dating back to the 1970s suggest that, regardless of whether the religion variable is operationalized in terms of church membership, active participation, religious upbringing, or how meaningful religion or spirituality is in one's life, religious influences prevent or curtail drug abuse.¹⁸

With respect to the potential of black churches, what is especially notable about such findings is that we have yet to make, as it were, a "full-court press" against inner-city ills. To date, only some churches have been active and engaged.¹⁹ NTLF will help build their capacity while strengthening its own.

5. NTLF-Suites and Streets. In many of the places where our nation's most severely at-risk youth are concentrated, churches—in many cases, black churches—are literally the only institutions left. There are no businesses, no banks, no government buildings (save, perhaps, police stations). NTLF is dedicated to the proposition that the churches must therefore be multi-faceted in the youth outreach and other services they provide or leverage, and in the economic development or other efforts they help to launch. Whether assisting single mothers who have been denied public assistance or working with juvenile probationers, whether doing one-on-one work with drug addicts or administering after-school programs, the churches must have a plan, have the necessary human and financial resources, and be prepared.

NTLF believes the ten-point plan summarized on the next page furnishes a useful set of guideposts around which churches can and should be mobilized to save at-risk youth, both today (starting now!) and tomorrow.

We do not, however, seek to have others "replicate" the plan so much as we aim to have them—and ourselves—proliferate the spiritual and strategic vision that lies behind it. Getting clergy and other church adults into the lives of our most severely at-risk youth, for real, here and now. That is the crux of NTLF's mission, and we are grateful that the Institute for Civil Society has taken the lead in helping us to do God's work for America's most truly disadvantaged children. NTLF looks forward to taking its mission to the streets of Boston and other cities, and to the suites of research, corporate, and other civic and religious organizations that share our vision.

But seek the welfare of the city where I have sent you into exile, and pray to the Lord on its behalf, for in its welfare you will find your welfare.

Jeremiah 29:7

¹⁸For an overview, see The Forgotten Factor in Physical and Mental Health (National Institute for Healthcare Research, 1994). Also see "'There is a Balm in Gilead': Religion and Substance Abuse Treatment," in Joyce H. Lowinson et al. eds., Substance Abuse: A Comprehensive Textbook (Williams and Wilkins, 1992), chapter 46.

¹⁹Eric Lincoln and Lawrence Mamiya, The Black Church in the African-American Experience (Duke, 1990).

A 10 Point Plan to Mobilize the Churches

- 1. Establish 4-5 church cluster-collaborations which sponsor "Adopt-a-Gang" programs to organize and evangelize youth in gangs. Inner-city churches would serve as drop-in centers providing sanctuary for troubled youth.**
- 2. Commission missionaries to serve as advocates and ombudsmen for black and Latino juveniles in the courts. Such missionaries would work closely with probation officers, law enforcement officials, and youth streetworkers to assist at-risk youth and their families. They would also convene summit meetings between school superintendents, principals of public middle and high schools, and black and Latino pastors to develop partnerships that will focus on the youth most at-risk. We propose to do pastoral work with the most violent and troubled young people and their families. In our judgement this is a rational alternative to ill-conceived proposals to substitute incarceration for education.**
- 3. Commission youth evangelists to do street-level one-on-one evangelism with youth involved in drug trafficking. These evangelists would also work to prepare these youth for participation in the economic life of the nation. Such work might include preparation for college, the development of legal revenue-generating enterprises, and acquisition of trade skills and union membership.**
- 4. Establish accountable, community-based economic development projects that go beyond "market and state" visions of revenue generation. Such an economic development initiative will include community land trusts, microenterprise projects, worker cooperatives, and democratically run community development corporations.**
- 5. Establish links between suburban and downtown churches and front-line ministries to provide spiritual, human resource, and material support.**
- 6. Initiate and support neighborhood crime-watch programs within local church neighborhoods. If, for example, 200 churches covered the four corners surrounding their sites, 800 blocks would be safer.**
- 7. Establish working relationships between local churches and community-based health centers to provide pastoral counseling for families during times of crisis. We also propose the initiation of drug abuse prevention programs and abstinence-oriented educational programs focusing on the prevention of AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases.**
- 8. Convene a working summit meeting for Christian black and Latino men and women in order to discuss the development of Christian brotherhoods and sisterhoods that would provide rational alternatives to violent gang life. Such groups would also be charged with fostering responsibility to family and protecting houses of worship.**
- 9. Establish rape crisis drop-in centers and services for battered women in churches. Counseling programs must be established for abusive men, particularly teenagers and young adults.**
- 10. Develop an aggressive black and Latino curriculum, with an additional focus on the struggles of women and poor people. Such a curriculum could be taught in churches as a means of helping our youth understand that the God of history has been and remains active in the lives of all people.**

Newswatch

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GOD VS. GANGS

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NON-CIRCULATING

The Hottest Idea
Is It Worth the Fighting?
The Power of Religion

The Rev. Eugene Rivers on the streets of Dorchester, Mass.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

An ex-gang member who went to Harvard, Gene Rivers is an impolitic preacher on the cutting edge of a hot idea: can religion fight crime and save kids?

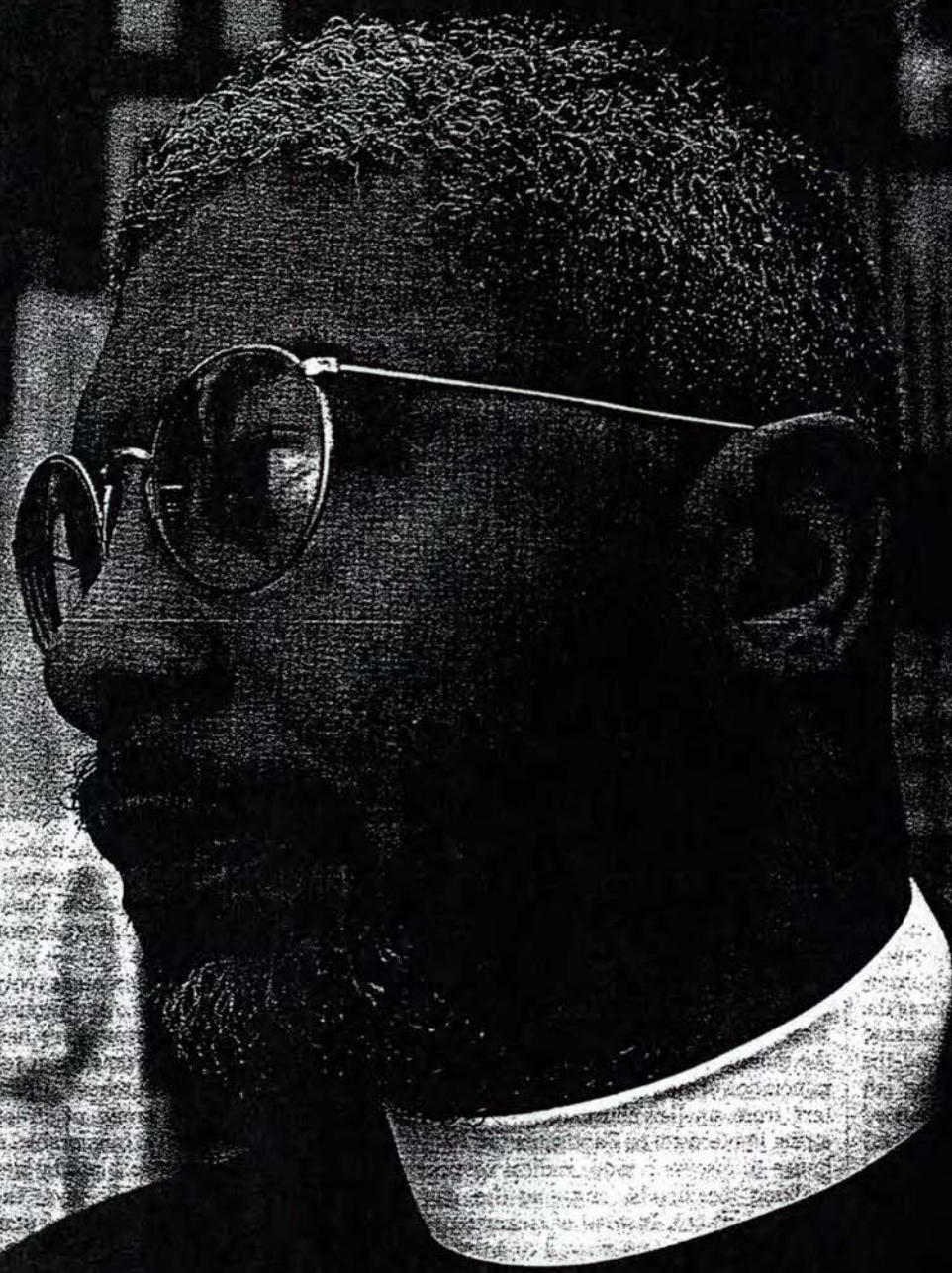
BY JOHN LELAND

PATRIOT'S DAY IS A CITY HOLIDAY IN Boston, but the Rev. Eugene Rivers, a compact, graying black man in a blue dress shirt frayed at the elbows, is working hard. "Yo, wazzup, G money?" he greets a teenager, slapping him five. He wheels on another. "Take your hat off, son. Yes, *what*? No, yes, *sir*, we don't speak no Ebonics here." It is just noon on a spring day, and already the Ella J. Baker House—a grand, bow-front Victorian in Dorchester, one of the poorest neighborhoods in Boston—is full of fires: a man's teenage son has brought home a dangerous pit-bull terrier; a pregnant 16-year-old's parents have kicked her out of the house; the Negroes Latinos, the house baseball team, need uniforms and a gang-neutral field. Rivers, 48, darts from one to the next, a fixer, embattled but engaged.

When he first moved into this neighborhood, as a refugee from Harvard, Rivers sought out a local drug dealer and gangbanger named Selvin Brown—"a sassy, smartass, tough-talking, gunslinging mother shut your mouth," he says, not without some appreciation. Brown took the reverend into crackhouses, introduced him to the neighborhood. And he gave Rivers, a Pentecostal, a lesson in why God was losing to gangs in the battle for the souls of inner-city kids. "Selvin explained to us, 'I'm there when Johnny goes out for a loaf of bread for Mama. I'm there, you're not. I win, you lose. It's all about being there.'"

Ten years later, as the Baker House kids file out into the sunshine, Rivers turns from his full-contact pastoring—a mix of street slang and stern lessons—to tell a group of police officers from Tulsa, Okla., about Selvin Brown. Baker House is Rivers' answer to Selvin: it's run by a dozen people, some of whom have given up professorships, military careers and positions in finance to be there. The Tulsa cops are only the latest in a recent stream of law-enforcement

Savior of the

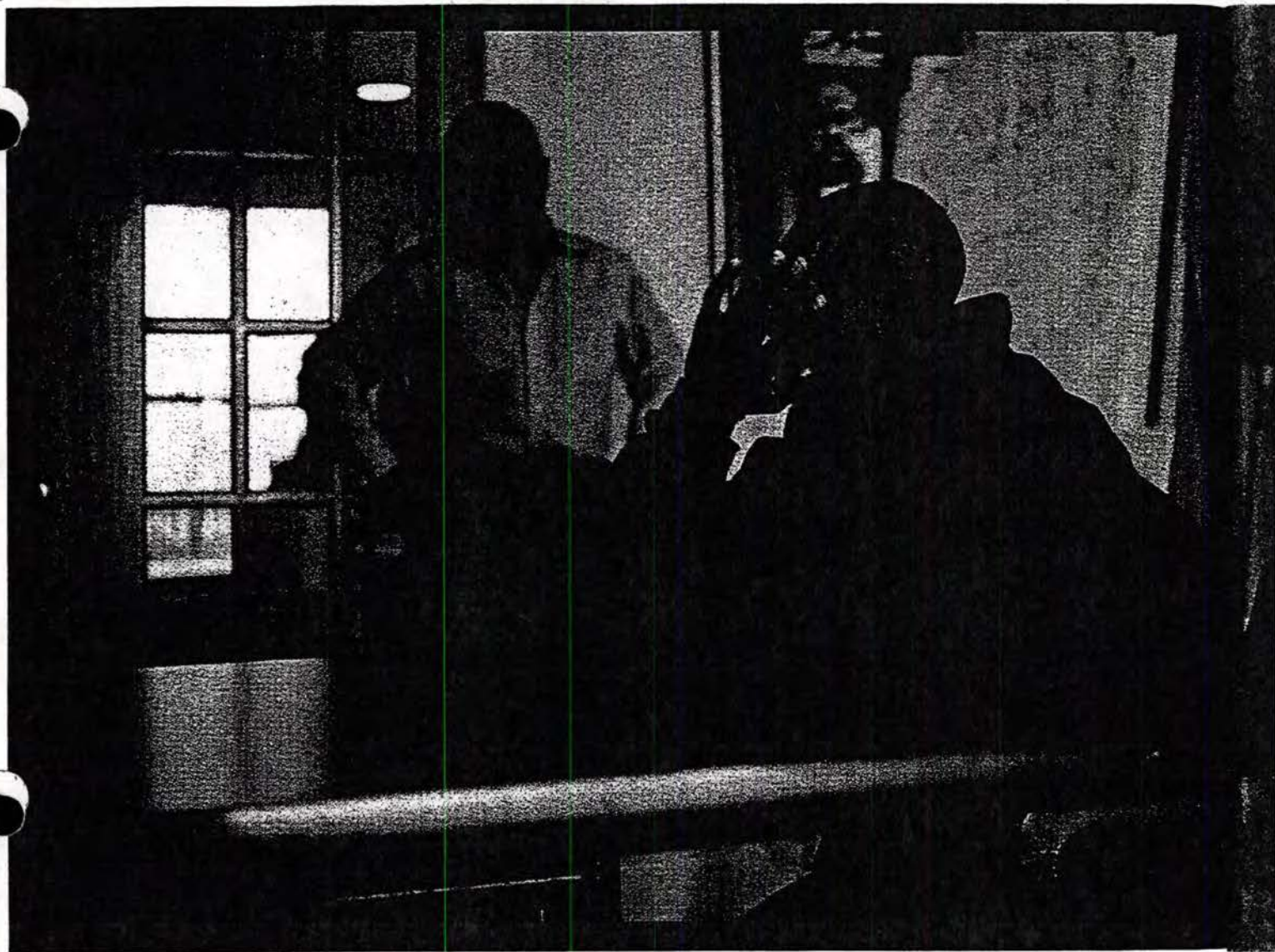


The Man and His Mission

The black church is the last institution left standing,' says Rivers, who runs the Ella J. Baker House in Dorchester, Mass.

the Streets.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY DAVID BURNETT—CONTACT PRESS IMAGES



emissaries who have come to Rivers' domain, a rec center and parish house that Rivers says serves more than 1,300 kids a year, to watch, listen and talk about the hottest new topic in crime fighting: the power of religion. For decades, liberals and conservatives have argued past each other about the crisis in the inner city. The right was obsessed with crime, out-of-wedlock births and the "responsibility" of the underclass; the left only wanted to talk about poverty, the need for government intervention and the "rights" of the poor. Now both sides are beginning to form an unlikely alliance founded on the idea that the only way to rescue kids from the seductions of the drug and gang cultures is with another, more powerful set of values: a substitute family for young people who almost never have two parents, and may not even have one, at home. And the only institution with the spiritual message and a physical presence to offer these traditional values, these strange bedfellows have concluded, is the church.

As the Tulsa cops sit around the Baker House oak table, Rivers tells them about a griev-

ous stabbing inside the nearby Morning Star Baptist Church in 1992. During a funeral service for a young murder victim, a gang chased another kid into the church, beating and stabbing him in front of a crowd of mourners. For the clergy, says Rivers, "this was a wake-up call. We had to be out on the streets," just like Selvin Brown was. While the mainline Boston churches issued a denunciation of the violence, a group of ministers from smaller churches, mostly shoe-string Pentecostal or Baptist, met in Rivers' house to discuss a more radical response: walking the 'hoods, engaging the gangs, pulling kids out. Instead of bickering with police, the ministers vowed to work with them, identifying the hardest cases. "The deal we cut was, 'Take this one off the

streets, we can deal with him in a prison ministry,'" the Rev. Jeffrey Brown, a Rivers ally, tells the Tulsa delegation. The cops, in turn, would rely on the clergy to work with the more winnable kids.

Since the 1992 alliance, and a reorganization of the Boston police and probation departments, juvenile crime here has fallen dramatically. Rivers is now trying to forge a similar coalition of churches nationwide. It won't be easy: his brand of street-smart charisma is not easily transferable, and the work is house by house, block by block. But "at the end of the day," he says, "the black church is the last institution left standing." The noted conservative criminologist John DiIulio Jr., best known for predicting a coming wave of inner-city "superpreda-

When Rivers moved to the neighborhood a drug dealer told him, 'I'm there when Johnny goes out for a loaf of bread for Mama. I win, you lose. It's all about being there.'



Building a Bridge to The Police Force

When he first came to Dorchester, cops say, Rivers (here with members of the anti-gang unit) didn't think there was such a thing as a bad kid. That has changed. Now he and the police are unlikely—but effective—allies.

Providing Family for Kids Who Have None

At Baker House, there is no cursing; the kids say 'yes, sir'—though not always without some prompting

Praying in the Midst Of Constant Battle

Rivers (with fellow clergy) mixes evangelism with street smarts

tors," has become an improbable friend and ally. In apocalyptic tones, Rivers—a forceful speaker who is sometimes accused of grandstanding—warns that as the teenage population swells in the next decade, "there will be virtual apartheid in these cities if the black church doesn't step into the breach."

Washington is starting to take notice, too. The 1996 welfare bill gives states the option to fund church groups in place of welfare agencies. Research on the effectiveness of faith-based programs is so far largely anecdotal. "But there is a lot of interest in this area now, because secular institutions have failed," says Bernardine Watson, a vice president of the nonprofit Public/Private Ventures. "Anybody who wants to fund faith-based programs is looking at the Baker House model. Conservatives like it because of the crime angle; liberals like it because of the youth angle."

When Rivers first came to Dorchester, the cops say, he believed there was no such thing as a bad kid. That has changed. Now, "ministers will come to us about a kid, say he's menacing the community," says Lt. Gary French, who works with Rivers. The Boston police estimate that 150 to 250 kids are responsible for most of the violent crime

in the city. "We can disrupt a gang by incarcerating the most aggressive player," says French. "But we can also disrupt it by getting the fringe players into alternative programs," like those provided by Baker House. The exchange works both ways. "Right now," says Rivers, "any cop in Dorchester can dump a kid off in Baker House, and say, 'Look, I'm gonna crack this kid's skull, take him.' So we have taken the pressure off the police to play heavies."

At 2 a.m. in his cramped row house, Gene Rivers is still keyed up. "The great thing about serving the poor," he says, "is that there is no competition. These young males, ain't no black preacher want to be around these boys. You see [he names several kids at Baker House] coming, you go the other way." He is on the short side, maybe five feet six—by his own description, a "pushy, aggressive, interloper-would-be-usurper, with this kind of guerrilla campaign." In battle mode, he is scandalously impolitic. He refers to the mainline black churches as "the major crime families" and is a critic of Henry Louis Gates Jr., chair of Afro-American studies at Harvard, whom he has called "the emcee at the Cotton Club on the Charles." His own critics—"it's a] long list," he says—

dismiss him as a "black Rasputin" who has duped white people into thinking he has power in the black community. He holds no degrees from college or divinity school; his service on a recent Sunday drew just 19 congregants.

Yet Rivers is becoming a national figure. He has met with the president, been courted by the Christian Coalition and served on the religion panel at Colin Powell's 1997 Volunteerism Summit. Though Rivers comes from what he calls a "radical reform" line, his arguments for black self-help, and his unwillingness to make liberal excuses for urban pathologies, have endeared him to the right. "There's been more litmus-test stuff from the left than from the right," he says. (Rivers' ministry condemns homosexuality and abortion.) "One of the good things about the right is that they're sufficiently indifferent toward the concerns of blacks that they don't bother you." His alliance with DiIulio has given Rivers a boost in policy circles. "Gene and John are very odd soulmates," says Rivers' wife, Jacqueline, who trains inner-city teachers in the Boston Algebra Project. "One is so far left he's right, the other is so far right he's left. They really think alike."



Bullet Holes and Black Panthers

Rivers (here in a Dorchester barber-shop) is an intriguing combination of liberal and conservative. While his critics—and there are many—call him a 'black Rasputin,' he's still becoming a national figure: he's met with Clinton and been courted by the Christian Coalition.

The walls of Rivers' house still bear the bullet holes from two shootings, one a random spray, the second by a drug dealer Rivers had tried to move from a neighborhood park. He roots around for a 1992 essay wrote for the *Boston Review*, entitled "On the Responsibility of Intellectuals in the Age of Crack." It, like his other writings, argues that after the victories of the civil-rights movement, the black middle class, particularly middle-class churches, abandoned the black poor. The signature phrases of these articles—"virtual apartheid," a "crisis of moral and cultural authority"—swim throughout his conversation, crusty set pieces amid his staccato improvisations. "When he talks slang, I don't understand him," says Police Lieutenant French. "And when he talks the Harvard level, I don't understand him, either."

Rivers was born in 1950 in Boston, the eldest of three children. His mother was a nurse, a Pentecostal; his father, who moved out when Gene was 3, was a painter, a Muslim, who later became art director for the Nation of Islam's paper, *Muhammad Speaks*. Both parents were black nationalists and intellectuals. "What my mother instilled was that life is duty," he says. "Life itself is a holy war." Rivers grew up in rugged northwest Philadelphia, where he was forcefully inducted into the Somersville street gang at the age of 12. "There was a side of me of 13, 14 and 15, I remember studying Andrew Wyeth, the Brandywine tradition. [And I'm] in a street gang with a lot of hoodlums. You learn to lead

a double life. I've always had that tension."

Whenever Rivers describes the violent potential of the Dorchester kids, his voice livens with a certain rogue romance. "This ain't Yuppie kids, this ain't Cosby kids," he trumpets at one point. In part this is because he's playing to a public that finds lurid gang violence a sexier topic than, say, urban poverty. But it's also because he savors that street edge. Mark Scott, who runs the day-to-day affairs of Baker House, thinks Rivers would be bored in a straighter life. "He's pastor of the church, but he's also pastored by the people around him, especially Jackie." Scott believes that Baker House has saved Rivers, keeping him on the street but out of trouble, giving him a channel for his anger.

As he describes his own past, Rivers' tone becomes more sober. He's riding in Jackie's Volvo—Rivers doesn't have a license—listening to NPR and heading to pick up their two kids, Malcolm and Sojourner, 10 and 8, near their private school in tony Beacon Hill. It does not strike him as a contradiction to send his kids to private school. "I said, Jackie, I'm not a liberal. I'm not going to have my kid go to school where the kids are so completely antisocial that Malcolm will end up resenting black kids. No no no no no." As Jackie drives, Rivers

continues his own story. When he was 13, his life was forever changed by the Rev. Billy Graham's radio program. Rivers was being menaced by an older, bigger kid from a rival gang called the Lane, and Graham's words struck him. "He asked, was I ready to meet my creator? At that point, that was not a farfetched possibility. I had a fear of death, which my conversion experience transformed. My response to fear is faith."

Eventually the Rev. Benjamin Smith, a legendary Philadelphia inner-city evangelical, pulled Rivers out of the gang and into the Pentecostal community. But he was at odds here, too, a bookish intellectual in a working-class church. He dropped in and out of two art schools; he read Herbert Marcuse and Noam Chomsky, getting deeper into radical political thought. The 1969 deaths of Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark—men his own age, killed in a police raid—shook his moral center, as Graham had years before. The nonviolent movement of the '60s had crashed around him. Rivers was angry and confused, "buck wild," scorched with a case of "survivor's guilt" that has been his motivating force ever since. "I promised the Lord that if he would let me survive, I would never turn my back on these kids,"

Rivers' mother was a Pentecostal; his father, who left when Gene was 3, a Muslim.

'What my mother instilled was that life is duty,' Rivers says. 'Life itself is a holy war.'

Rivers says. He got a woman pregnant and drifted to New Haven, Conn., where he met Kwame Toure, then known as Stokely Carmichael of the Black Panthers. Taking occasional courses at Yale, he carved three identities for himself, collecting welfare checks in Philadelphia, New York and New Haven. Finally, another mentor—Martin Kilson, an iconoclastic black professor at Harvard—discovered Rivers and lured him to Cambridge. Rivers raged against the privileged black students of Harvard—including, at first, a Jamaican woman named Jacqueline Cooke—and left, angry, in 1983. He and Cooke married three years later.

On a school holiday at Baker House, Rivers is showing two boys the documentary "Eyes on the Prize," the installment about Fred Hampton and the Black Panther Party. The boys are 12 and 13; Rivers takes satisfaction in calling the younger boy, who appeared pseudonymously in a 1997 New Yorker article, "America's worst nightmare." The kids are to write reports on the video, for which Rivers gives them a few

bucks. He hugs the boy, pays him, and the kids are off. "Kareem," as The New Yorker called the boy, was Baker House's most critical case a year ago, and he is still. His day with Rivers began when he showed up at the Rev.'s house for breakfast; it will end around 11 at night, when he asks Rivers for a lift to the city bus, bound for wherever. Rivers doesn't worry that Kareem will get home safely. "I'm worried about whether other people will." For Rivers, Kareem is a test. "[Kareem]'s father got murdered," says Rivers. "His mother lives in the street more than he does. If you can get [Kareem], you've got the whole neighborhood."

In the early days, Rivers pushed religion harder on the kids, but found that it intimidated—and turned off—many of them. So now he keeps preaching to a minimum. But the men and women who are giving their lives to Baker House still see faith at the heart of their mission. "Bob Moses and SNCC, Fred Hampton in Chicago, these folk laid their lives down," says Rivers. "My understanding is that those acts of heroism

were very Christian acts, in the tradition of the martyrs. I live in Dorchester and have weathered what we've weathered because that's my understanding of radical discipleship. There is no crown without the cross. Most folk aren't ready to hear that."

At the end of a long day, a half dozen Baker House members gather for a prayer meeting: Ivy League refugees, MIT doctorates. Their testimony is an ecstatic, Pentecostal affair, full of hand-clapping and spontaneous witness. After half an hour, Rivers ducks out momentarily, passing the receptionist, a single mother he'd counseled years before. "Hallelujah, praise Jesus," he says—then, without pause, "Did you page [a city official]?" This is the refracted life of the Rev. Eugene Rivers, drawing upon Harvard and the Philadelphia street gangs, the church and the state. Rivers checks his pager. The Urban Institute is in for a visit; his wife is on the other line. He ducks back into the prayer meeting and gives thanks once more, and once more again.

With CLAUDIA KALB

Cops, Crime and Clergy

Boston's commish on how the new alliance between police and preachers works. BY PAUL F. EVANS

WAS A BEAT COP IN GENE Rivers' Dorchester neighborhood in the early '70s, but back then our paths wouldn't have crossed. At the time, the police force didn't look beyond itself to solve the problem of violence, and we had very little interaction with the clergy. By the early '90s, however, it became clear that our "get tough" policies just weren't working. The 1992 stabbing incident at Morning Star Baptist Church—there was a melee during a funeral—only underscored how bad things had gotten. We finally saw that we couldn't simply arrest our way out of the escalating bloodshed.

It was time for real collaboration. We realized that preachers have tremendous credibility as leaders in the community and that having them working with us out in the streets would have a pow-



The police and the ministers [like Rivers] really do have a common goal, says Evans. 'Keeping kids from getting killed.'

erful impact. For their part, the clergy saw cops doing their best to get inner-city kids into summer camps and to get them mentors. We both knew that what children need is an alternative to crime.

The alliance that resulted works because the police and the ministers really do have a

common goal: keeping kids from getting killed. And it's not as if we don't know who is at risk: of the 155 young people who died from violence between 1990 and 1994, two thirds had prior arrests—an average of 9.4 arrests for every victim. For the first time, we can really concen-

trate on these specific kids and make honest assessments of what has to be done with them. We can put our heads together and say this kid has gotten into trouble, but he's a good kid—let's try extra hard to get him the services he needs. This one, we can't save—and if we don't get him off the streets and into prison, he's not going to make it.

With a clear, structured communication network now in place, we didn't have to wait for three or four homicides before realizing we had a problem with the Boods and Crips gangs. We've got cops and clergy out there, visiting 36 schools and countless homes trying to identify gang wannabes. When there is gang warfare we call members in for an open session with representatives from the D.A.'s office, the probation officers, social-service workers and neighborhood ministers and say, "Look, the community is telling you that the violence has got to stop. If it doesn't, the whole system you see here is going to indict you, sentence you and send you to prison."

EVANS, a 28-year veteran of the Boston Police Department, has been commissioner since 1994.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Robert J. Sampson is Lucy Flower Professor of Sociology at the University of Chicago and Research Fellow at the American Bar Foundation. For the 1997-1998 year he is a Visiting Fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford. Sampson's major research interests include crime, deviance, and social control; community/urban sociology; and the life course. He is Scientific Director of the Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods, with special interest in community social organization and crime. His book, written with John Laub, Crime in the Making: Pathways and Turning Points Through Life (Harvard University Press, 1993), received the outstanding book award from the American Society of Criminology, the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, and the Crime, Law and Deviance Section of the American Sociological Association.

U.S. Department of Justice
Office of Justice Programs
National Institute of Justice



National Institute of Justice

Research Preview

Jeremy Travis, Director

April 1998

Neighborhood Collective Efficacy— Does It Help Reduce Violence?*

By Robert J. Sampson, Stephen W. Raudenbush, and Felton Earls

For most of this century, social scientists have observed marked variations in rates of criminal violence in the neighborhoods of U.S. cities. Violence has been associated with low socioeconomic status and residential instability. Although the geographical concentration of violence and its connection with neighborhood composition are well established, the question remains: Why? What social processes might explain why the concentration of disadvantage is linked to violence?

In a major report of the Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods, published in a recent issue of the journal *Science*, the researchers found that rates of violence are lower in urban neighborhoods characterized by "collective efficacy." Extending the concept of community cohesion, collective efficacy refers to mutual trust among neighbors combined with willingness to intervene on behalf of the common good, specifically to supervise children and maintain public order. The finding is important because it challenges the prevailing wisdom that crime is the direct result of such factors as poverty, unemployment, the predominance of single-parent households, or the concentration of certain minority groups. These factors do play a role, according to the study. But some Chicago neighborhoods that are largely black and poor have low crime rates. In these neighborhoods, the researchers found that collective efficacy is the most powerful influence keeping violent crime low.

The Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods

Part of a major, ongoing research program sponsored in part by the National Institute of Justice, the study has been conducted in all areas of Chicago since 1990. The researchers are investigating how children and adolescents develop in many of the city's neighborhoods, as well as the antecedents of criminality, substance abuse, and violence at the level of the individual. A principal aim is to understand the impact on behavior of such factors as

neighborhood characteristics, changes in social services, and the influence of the family, peer relationships, and individuals' personal characteristics.

For this aspect of the study, the research team divided Chicago into 343 "neighborhood clusters," each home to about 8,000 people, and each defined by specific geographic boundaries and internally homogeneous on a variety of census indicators. To obtain a complete picture of all the city's neighborhoods, 8,782 Chicago residents representing all 343 areas were interviewed.

How to measure "collective efficacy"

The questions asked of residents were intended to elicit their views of how much informal social control, social cohesion and trust, and violence exists in their neighborhood. Thus, in one set of questions they were asked about the likelihood their neighbors would intervene in a number of situations, particularly to discipline neighborhood children (for example, if children were painting graffiti or skipping school). They were also asked how well they thought several statements about social cohesion and trust described their neighborhood. Examples of the statements were: "People around here are willing to help their neighbors," "This is a close-knit neighborhood," and "People in this neighborhood can be trusted."

The level of neighborhood violence was calculated three ways—by asking residents about their perceptions, by asking them about their own victimization, and by reviewing data in police reports of homicide. For each neighborhood, the average homicide rate for the period 1988 to 1990 was included in the calculation to adjust for previous levels of violence. Finally, 1990 census data on several demographic characteristics were combined to create a multidimensional picture of social composition comprising measures of disadvantage, ethnic/immigrant concentra-

*Abstracted with permission from "Neighborhoods and Violent Crime: A Multilevel Study of Collective Efficacy," by Robert J. Sampson, Stephen W. Raudenbush, and Felton Earls, *Science* 277(August 15, 1997):1-7. Copyright 1997 American Association for the Advancement of Science.

and residential stability. Once the concepts of collective efficacy and social composition were defined and measured, they were analyzed to assess their relationship to each other and to the levels of neighborhood violence.

Collective efficacy acts as an intermediary

Past research has consistently reported links between neighborhood social composition and crime. In the current study, the researchers found that in neighborhoods scoring high on collective efficacy, crime rates were 40 percent below those in lower scoring neighborhoods. This difference supported the researchers' basic premise—Crime rates are not solely attributable to individuals' aggregate demographic characteristics. Rather, crime is a function of neighborhood social and organizational characteristics.

The researchers found that various dimensions of social composition influence the level of neighborhood collective efficacy. In neighborhoods where concentrated poverty (or "disadvantage") was high, collective efficacy was low. Ethnicity/immigration was another important dimension, because areas of ethnic and linguistic heterogeneity may have less capacity to realize common values. Where this dimension was high, collective efficacy was low. In contrast, neighborhoods where residential stability was strong also tended to be strong on collective efficacy.

One key finding was that collective efficacy helps to explain the relationship between neighborhood social composition and crime levels. When the researchers analyzed residential stability and concentrated poverty, they found that a substantial portion of the links between these factors and violence could be attributed to neighborhood differences in collective efficacy. In predominantly black neighborhoods, this was also the case. In other words, disadvantage is the driving force, not race. Among other things, disadvantage is likely to mean large numbers of single-parent households, which may mean fewer adults to adequately supervise children.

When this and other factors are taken into account, the effects of race and poverty on crime are much smaller. Collective efficacy, not race or poverty, was the largest single predictor of the overall violent crime rate.

Beyond the understanding of collective efficacy

What happens in neighborhoods is shaped partly by socioeconomic factors linked to the wider political economy. Nevertheless, communities can be encouraged to mobilize against violence through self-help strategies of informal social control. These strategies can perhaps be reinforced by partnerships with agencies of formal social control (for example, community policing). In addition, strategies to address the social and ecological changes that beset many inner-city communities need to be considered. Understanding collective efficacy can shape these efforts, better equipping planners, policymakers, and community service organizations to work with residents in addressing community problems. For this reason the research is of particular interest to members of the law enforcement community involved in community policing. However, recognizing that collective efficacy matters does not imply that inequalities at the neighborhood level can be neglected.

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

FS 000203

U.S. Department of Justice
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Dr. Howard Snyder has been the Director of Systems Research at the National Center for Juvenile Justice since 1981. The Center is the research division of the National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges, the oldest judicial membership and training organization in the United States. Dr. Snyder received his B.S. degree in Physics and Mathematics from Westminster College and his Ph.D. in Social Psychology from the University of Pittsburgh. Prior to entering graduate school, Dr. Snyder taught science and mathematics for five years at an inner-city high school and served as the school's drug counselor.

Dr. Snyder currently directs a project supported by funds from the U.S. Department of Justice designed to improve the quality, utility and availability of information on juvenile crime, victimization, and the justice system. As a part of this effort, he and his colleagues have authored the *Juvenile Offenders and Victims* series of reports. These reports bring together the best information available on juvenile crime and the juvenile justice system, and present the material in a manner that makes the information easily accessible to a wide audience. The inaugural publication in this series was the first to report on original research that documented the fact that juvenile violent crime rates peak in the hours following the end of the school day.

He also directs the National Juvenile Court Data Archive which stores over 15 million automated case records dating back to the mid-1970s from more than 1,400 juvenile courts. Using these data, the Archive documents the activities of the nation's juvenile courts. He is also directing a U.S. Department of Justice research program studying the outcomes of juveniles transferred to criminal courts. In addition, he recently completed research studies on the nature of violent crime against young children and on historical changes in the nature of juvenile delinquent careers. He is on the faculty of the National College of Juvenile and Family Law where he teaches courses in research and court technology, and is also on the faculty of the National District Attorneys Association's juvenile justice training programs.

Dr. Snyder is a researcher and a teacher who has spent much of his career translating the findings of research and statistical programs into useful information that can support the activities of practitioners and decision makers in the juvenile justice system.

Today's juvenile doesn't commit more acts of violence than a generation ago, but more juveniles are violent

New study explores changing nature of juvenile violence

In recent years social commentators have proposed that juveniles have changed, with society facing a new breed of violent predators. Used as evidence for this conclusion is the disturbing growth in juvenile violent crime arrests between the mid-1980's and the mid-1990's. If there is a new breed of violent juvenile offenders, they should be apparent in the official records of the juvenile justice systems, especially in large cities.

To explore this notion, Snyder studied the officially recognized delinquent careers of more than 151,000 juveniles who turned 18 years of age between 1980 and 1995, using the court records from a major urban area in the United States — Maricopa County, Arizona, which contains Phoenix. In this county, policy requires all arrestees under age 18 be referred to juvenile court for processing. Therefore, the court records contain all the officially recognized delinquent behavior of each youth.

If youth are changing, differences should be apparent in the number and types of offenses found in the juvenile court careers of those who graduated (i.e., turned 18) in 1980 and the more recent graduate.

Study finds more juveniles committing violent acts, not juveniles who are more violent

In many ways, the officially recognized law-violating careers were similar across the 16 graduating classes that turned 18 years of age between 1980 and 1995. Across the classes, the average age of first delinquency referral was 15.2 years; 26% of court careers began before age 14. The average age of first violent refer-

ral was 15.8 years and 1% of referred youth had a first violent offense referral before age 14.

On other characteristics, the most recent graduates differed. A greater proportion of the resident youth population was referred to juvenile court for a delinquent offense in the later classes. Compared with the graduating class of 1980, a smaller proportion of court-involved youth who turned 18 in 1995 had only one court referral (56% versus 62%). Youth who turned 18 in the mid-1990's had on average more delinquent referrals in their careers.

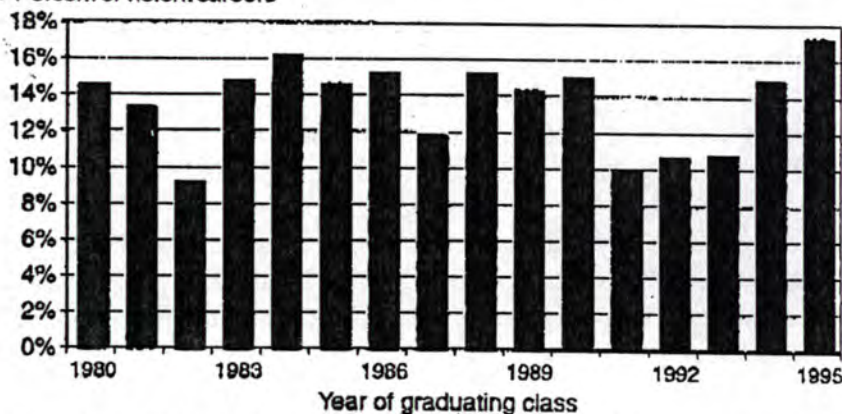
A greater proportion of recent court graduates also had a violent offense referral (i.e., between 6% and 8% in the 1980's and 11% in the mid-1990s). However, the number of violent referrals in each career did not change across the graduating classes. Most youth (83%) charged with a violent crime had only one violent referral in their career. That is, across all gradu-

ating classes, 5 in 6 youth charged with a violent offense were never referred again for another violent charge. If juveniles are changing, if they are more violent, the court records should show an increase in the proportion of violent offenders with multiple violent referrals in their careers. This was not found.

While we know that some acts of juvenile violence have become more lethal, as the doubling of the juvenile arrest rate for murder between 1985 and 1995 and the increase in the use of guns by juvenile offenders clearly demonstrates, this study indicates that the frequency of an individual's acts of violence has not increased. Today's violent youth commits the same number of violent acts as his/her predecessor of 15 years ago. What is different is that a greater proportion of juveniles are committing violent acts. The question for policy makers is "Why are some kids committing violent acts today who would not have done so 15 years ago?"

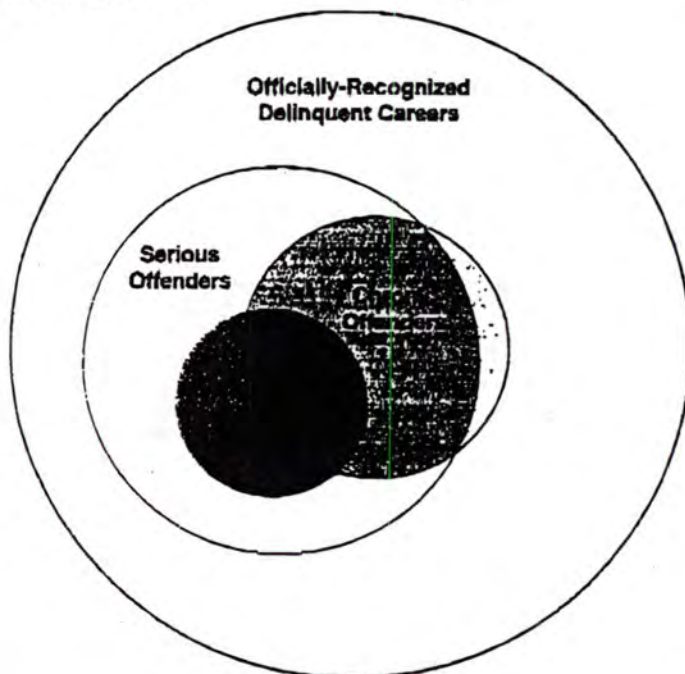
Study finds the proportion of youth in the juvenile justice system whose first referral for a serious or violent act was before age 14 changed little between the graduating classes of 1980 and 1995

Percent of violent careers



Source: Authors' adaptation of H. Snyder's *Serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offenders: An assessment of the extent of and trends in officially-recognized serious criminal behavior in a delinquent population*.

8% of youth in the graduating classes of 1980 through 1995 who had contact with the juvenile justice system for a criminal law violation were charged with a violent offense by the time they reached age 18 — for most (83%) this was the only violent episode in their official career



- The portion of the large circle not covered by the chronic, serious, and violent offenders' circles represents careers with fewer than four referrals and no referrals for a serious offense. Overlaps represent careers with multiple attributes. The circles and their overlaps are drawn proportional to the number of careers with those attributes.
- **Violent offenses** include murder and nonnegligent manslaughter, kidnaping, violent sexual assault, robbery, and aggravated assault.
- **Serious-nonviolent offenses** include burglary, serious larceny, motor vehicle theft, arson, weapons offenses, and drug trafficking.
- **Chronic offenders** are those youth with four or more referrals to the juvenile justice system. Chronic offenders were responsible for 45% of all delinquent referrals, 59% of all serious referrals, and 60% of all violent referrals.
- This study shows that a typical 1,000 youth with officially recognized delinquency behavior prior to age 18 have the following delinquency career characteristics: 597 careers have only one referral, 146 careers contain four or more referrals, 336 careers contain a serious or violent referral, 81 careers contain a violent referral, 13 careers contain more than one violent referral, and 43 careers contain at least four referrals with at least one for violence.

Source: Authors' adaptation of H. Snyder's *Serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offenders: An assessment of the extent of and trends in officially-recognized serious criminal behavior in a delinquent population*.

Today's chronic offenders are similar to those of the 1980's

Juvenile policymakers have been actively concerned since the mid-1970's with the chronic offender, that small portion of system-involved youth who are responsible for the majority of serious crimes committed. Snyder found that 15% of system-involved youth had four or more delinquency referrals before their 18th birthday and were responsible for 59% of the class' serious referrals.

The proportion of each graduating class that was composed of chronic offenders (those with four or more referrals) remained constant throughout the classes of the 1980's, averaging 13% of all graduating class members. The classes of the early 1990's, however, displayed an abrupt increase in their chronic offender proportions, averaging 17% of the careers in the 1992 through 1995 graduating classes. As a result, chronic offenders in the graduating classes of the 1990's were involved in a greater proportion of referrals in all offense categories.

Although the number and proportion of chronic careers grew over the cohorts, it is important to realize that the nature of the individual chronic career remained the same. Over the 16 graduating classes, chronic offenders averaged 6.6 referrals in their juvenile court career, were referred for 4.2 nonserious offenses, 2.0 serious-nonviolent offenses, and 0.4 violent offenses. In all, official records show that the more recent graduating classes contained more chronic offenders (not more active, more serious, or more violent) and that these chronic offenders were generally responsible for a greater proportion of all types of offenses.

Juveniles, even juvenile gang members, are most likely to commit violent crimes after school

Juveniles are more likely to commit violent crimes on school days than on nonschool days

About half of the days in a year are school days. The other days fall in summer months, on weekends, and on holidays. Even though school days are half of all days, 57% of violent crimes committed by juveniles occur on school days. In fact, data from the FBI's National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) show that 1 in 5 violent crimes committed by juveniles occur in the four hours following the end of the school day (i.e., between 2 p.m. and 6 p.m.).

On nonschool days the incidence of juvenile violence increases through the afternoon and early evening hours, peaking between 8 p.m. and 10 p.m. Temporal patterns of adult violence do not vary between school and nonschool days. Adult violence increases through the afternoon and evening hours, peaking around 11 p.m.

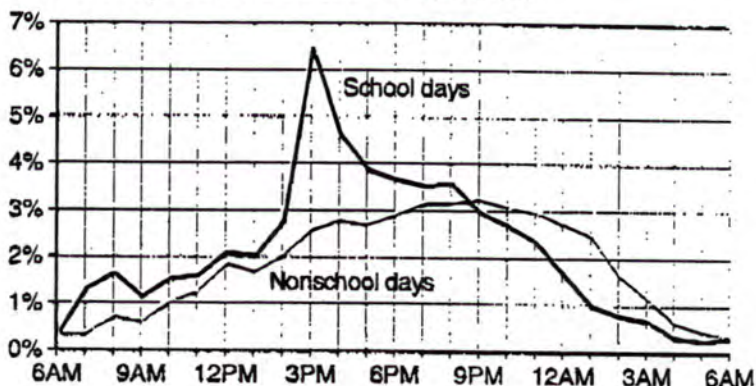
Similar time-of-day trends are found for juvenile gang crime

Intervention programs to reduce juvenile violence often target juveniles in gangs, while after-school programs may be appropriate for the general delinquency population. The temporal patterns of juvenile gang behavior may differ from those of other juvenile offenders.

This notion has been explored by researchers at the University of California-Irvine. In 1994 and 1995 law enforcement agencies across Orange County, California (a county neighboring Los Angeles) reported each incident of gang activity to the University's Focused Research Group on Orange County Street Gangs. A large number of these incidents involve an

Violent Crime Index offending peaks after school for juveniles

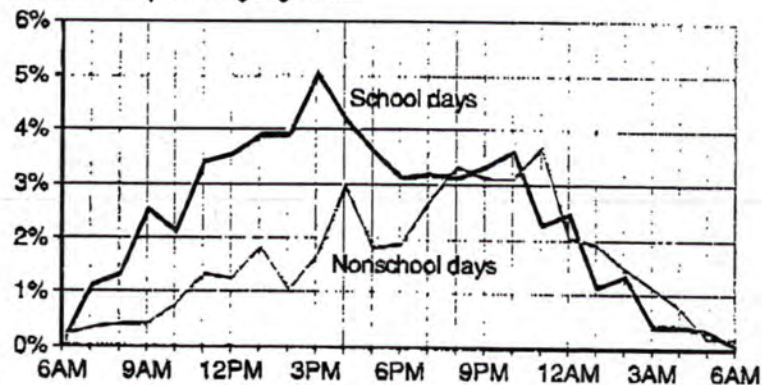
Percent of all juvenile Violent Crime Index offenses



Source: Authors' analysis of the FBI's 1991, 1992, and 1993 National Incident Based Reporting System master file [machine-readable data file] containing data from 8 States (Alabama, Colorado, Iowa, Idaho, Illinois, North Dakota, South Carolina, and Utah).

Gang crimes by juveniles in Orange County, California, are more common on school days, with their incidence peaking at 3 p.m.

Percent of all juvenile gang crimes



Source: Authors' analysis of data reported in Wiebe's *Hourly juvenile and adult arrest incidents in 1994 and 1995*.

arrest and, therefore, can be tagged to a juvenile or an adult.

A study of the gang incidents involving juveniles shows similar temporal patterns to those found in the NIBRS data. In Orange County in 1994 and 1995, gang activity involving juveniles was most prevalent on school

days, with 60% of all juvenile gang incidents occurring on these days. As with the NIBRS data, juvenile gang crime peaked on these days immediately after school. Unlike the general juvenile violence trends found in the NIBRS data, though, the level of juvenile gang violence did not decline as rapidly during evening hours.

1
Ron Suskind is a senior special writer for the Wall Street Journal, based in Washington, and the author of "*A Hope in the Unseen, An American Odyssey from the Inner City to the Ivy League*" (Broadway Books, June, 1998).

Since joining the Journal in 1990, Mr. Suskind has written about issues of race, class and gender, as well as stories ranging from the secret life of investor Warren Buffett to illegal union busting in Louisiana to the mysterious death of Boston Celtic star Reggie Lewis.

A series Mr. Suskind wrote about inner city honor students and their struggles to survive won the Pulitzer Prize for Feature Writing in 1995. Launched by that series, his book follows the three-year path of one top student—the prickly and religious Cedric Jennings—as he attempts to escape from the ghetto and find a home at Brown University. "*A Hope in the Unseen*", called an "extraordinary, formula shattering book" (New York Times) and a "tremendous empathetic leap" (Washington Post), is prompting national discussions on affirmative action, urban blight, the role of faith in American life, advancement through higher education and how we can bridge divides of race and income to become one country.

Mr. Suskind, who is a founding contributing editor of Smart Money magazine, a joint venture between Dow Jones and Hearst Publishing, currently helps edit stories and guide coverage on the Journal's front page. He is also the Journal's writing coach and travels the country instructing and motivating the paper's reporters.

Prior to joining the Journal, Mr. Suskind was on the staff of the New York Times, the St. Petersburg Times and was editor of Boston Business magazine. He has been a commentator of National Public Radio and taught Advanced Journalism at Harvard University. He has also written about various subjects for national magazines—including satire for Harper's and political analysis for the New York Times Magazine—and won numerous national awards for his writing and reporting.

Mr. Suskind graduated from the University of Virginia and Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism. Before becoming a journalist, he spent several years running political campaigns. He currently lives in Chevy Chase, D.C., with his wife and two young sons.

Adrift in the Ivy League, Far From the Inner City

By RON SUSKIND

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

BY THE TIME AUTUMN'S FIRST color burst arrived at Brown University, freshman Cedric Jennings found himself impossibly far from home.

Cedric's journey was first detailed in 1994 in The Wall Street Journal, as he struggled to survive and excel in a blighted Washington, D.C., high school where gang leaders ruled and honor students hid. He was then a high school junior with perfect grades, walking a gantlet of threats from peers whose despair was pricked by his pride and hopefulness.

Eventually, Cedric made it out. He pressed through the chants of "you can't" and "why bother," through doubts about his 960 SAT score, to grab a golden ticket: acceptance by the Ivy League, to Brown University.

It is now late September of 1995. It has been almost a month since Cedric was ushered off by his mother, Barbara, a ferocious church woman who quietly feared that faith, alone, might not be enough to sustain her son as he traveled to a place she could never be a part of. It has been almost a month since Cedric's father, a drug dealer and convicted bank robber, thought about how his son was "handling things, facing life head on," and turned himself into the parole officers seeking him for violations. It has been almost a month since the farewell party at which Cedric's relatives, holding hands in a tattered D.C. rowhouse, said a prayer that God "shield and protect" their pride, their one hope, and "not let him be brought down."

Cedric is impossibly far from home—but not because his syringe-strewn neighborhood in Washington is a world away, part of another country. He is already realizing that he can't go back there; that he simply must find a home, somewhere, in the wider country of many races that this prestigious university represents. It is his mission, after all, that brought him here. "A hope in the unseen" is a line from Scripture he holds tight to. The unseen, Cedric figures, is a place, up ahead, where he will be accepted on his merits, where he can finally be comfortable in his skin, a place he struggles each day to envision.

THE FRECKLED blonde girl sitting to Cedric's right in History of Education—8:30 a.m. to 9:50, M, W—is leading the class.

In sleep. It's a mere ten minutes into this morning's lecture—the last in September—and she's already gone, chin buried in her collar, head bobbing gently.

Public sleeping has a way of spreading across a lecture hall. Someone hears soft, steady breathing from a neighboring desk and soon offers his accompaniment, which is why eyelids are drooping at desks near the blonde in what soon will become an informal sleep study.

Professor Tom James, a wan, soft-spoken man in his early 40s, is no match for the humming ventilation system and lack of natural light in this basement classroom. Still, he pushes forward gamely—there's a lot of ground to cover in this survey course—and, by 8:55, he's tying social

characteristics of late 18th-century American progressives to the emergence of public educational institutions, schools that carried, he asserts, "an evangelical fervor in what they saw as the serious business of educating youngsters, especially the hordes of immigrants."

Cedric looks over at the sleepers and shakes his head. "How can they sleep?" he murmurs,

under his breath. "They must already know this stuff." He turns back to his notebook and scribbles "immigrant."

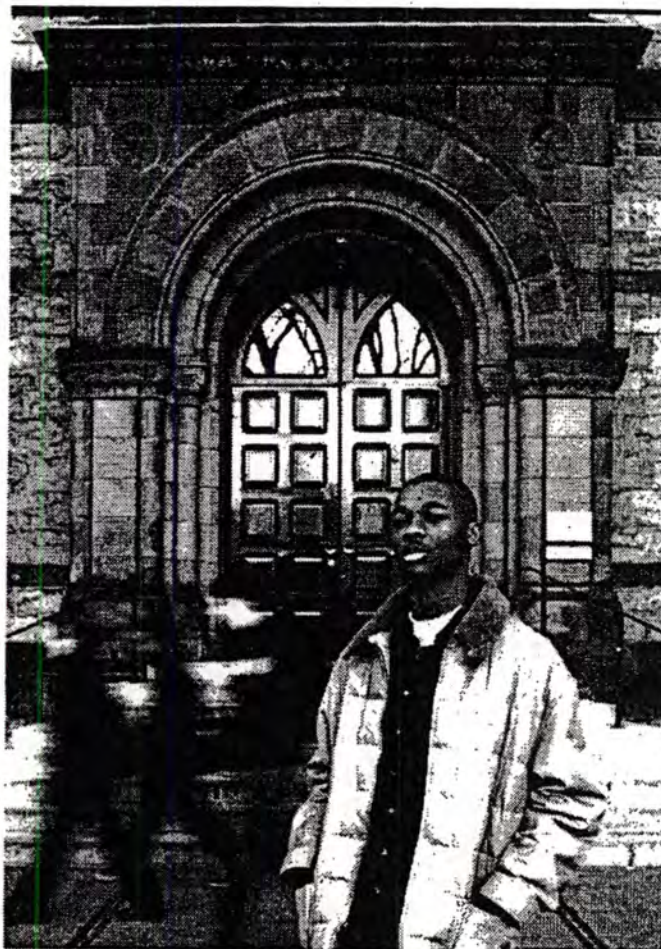
"How many of you have been to Ellis Island?" Prof. James asks, drawing 10 hands out of the 30 attendees, a high ratio among the conscious. Ellis Island is not a core concept in Southeast Washington—it is, in fact, the sort of white peoples' history often passed over in favor of Afrocentric studies—and Cedric has never heard the reference. He jots the word "Ellis" on his pad. It floats on a white sea, without context.

"What happened to that evangelical fervor?" Prof. James asks the class. "Have we lost it along the way?"

On Cedric's left is his hall-mate Maura*, a red-haired, Irish girl bred in the strong Catholic schools of Andover, Mass., daughter of an administrative judge. Already on her third page of precise notes, she listens intently as a talkative student in the first row parries with Prof. James on the "evangelical fervor" question. The religious metaphors, meanwhile, prompt Cedric to put down his pencil on a thin half page of scribbles and daydream of his apostolic Pentecostal church, Scripture Cathedral, back in Washington.

One month into this new world of higher education, Cedric Jennings's chin is barely above the waterline. So many class discussions are full of references he doesn't understand that he often feels like a foreigner. By now, he understands that Maura on his one side knows what to write on her pad and the sleepers on the other will be able to skim the required readings, all of them guided by some mysterious encoded knowledge of history, economics and education, of culture and social events, that they picked up in school or at home or God knows where.

*This article is adapted from the forthcoming book, 'A Hope in the Unseen,' by Ron Suskind, published by Broadway Books. Copyright 1998, Ron Suskind. Printed with permission. Names with * are pseudonyms.*



John Forst/Brown University

Jeered at in his Washington D.C. high school for his perfect grades, Cedric Jennings feels socially confused and academically overmatched at Brown University, where he looks for a way to enter the school's swift current.

Class is dismissed and Cedric nods a farewell to Maura and moves quickly for the door, happy to be alone as he walks across campus to Spanish—a class that offers a brief respite. There, at least, everyone stumbles along on the same uncertain footing of *como esta's* and *bastante bien's* and he doesn't feel as conspicuous or ill-prepared as he does in education class . . . and almost everywhere he goes at Brown.

SINK OR SWIM

The day is sunny and splendid. Blazing yellows and red leaves that draw peepers to this part of New England are crunching under his Nikes. The thing he loves most is walking between classes, he decides—a time he can feel purposeful, like he's on his way somewhere.

After Spanish, he affords himself an indulgence. All it takes to eat well at Cafe Paragon on Thayer Street, where the eavesdropping is superb, is \$10. Every stratum of the Brown society is represented here from godlike tenured dons to midlevel administrators, assistant and associate profs, grad students and lowly undergraduates. The music is Euro-funk, edgy but quiet enough to allow for easy conversation.

The back-to-school topic of the moment is affirmative action. There is news, starting with July's decision by the California Board of Regents to end preferential admissions based on race and this fall's demonstrations by minority students.

At Brown, like most top private institutions, affirmative action is offered to "under-represented" minority students who often score below the university's mean on standardized tests. Yet, like its peer institutions, Brown's bold initiative doesn't go much beyond the offer of admission. Once they arrive, affirmative-action kids are generally left to sink or swim academically. Like many top schools, Brown offers plenty of counseling and tutoring to struggling students. But—as any academic dean will tell you—it is up to the students to seek it out,

something that a drowning minority student will avoid at all costs, fearing it will trumpet a second-class status. Not surprisingly, dropout rates among minorities, particularly those of lower income, tend to be higher than the rest, but Brown says it has no exact figures.

At the cafe, today, there are several exchanges on the subject. Cedric, settling alone at a table inside, orders a ginger ale and trains his ears to a table immediately to his right. Two professors, both white, are leaning in close over a pair of Anchor Steams.

"Are we doing a service to young people to boost them above their academic level and then not offer the services they need?" asks the squat one, with flying gray hair. "Because, who really can? Who can offer that sort of enrichment? You can hardly blame the

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Continued From Page B1

university. It would take years, and money and a whole different educational track to bring some affirmative-action students to a level where they could compete. There's no choice but *laissez faire*, but sink or swim. They should be going to middle-rung universities. There's no right—as far as I see—to go to an Ivy League institution. If they work hard, their kids can come here. Hell, it's what everyone else had to do."

Cedric listens as his burger arrives and he pretends to read the Brown Daily Herald, the student newspaper. The professors, meanwhile, have moved on to the companion controversy about hiring minority faculty members. "It's a mockery," spits the other professor—a tall distinguished-looking guy—ticking off the names of a few minority professors around campus. "A lot of them are good teachers, sure. But they're unpublished, not respected, not scholars. What do they bring? Their passionate, oh-so personal 'perspective.' Nothing special about that. Jesus, everyone's got one of those."

A few minutes later, Cedric emerges from the restaurant's entrance and passes a clutch of wrought-iron tables on the sidewalk. He spots Stephan Wheelock, the instructor of his course on Richard Wright. Twenty-four, black and bursting with passionate personal perspective, Prof. Wheelock is eating a barbecued chicken sandwich with a friend, a 30-something white guy who's visiting Providence. Cedric waves, and offers a cursory hello as he passes.

Prof. Wheelock nods back a greeting and then continues talking excitedly with the friend. "At least, you know, Brown is a socially-conscious place. But, you see, it has been a huge transition for me coming here, being brought here under the guise of equality," says Prof. Wheelock, graduate of Tougaloo College in Mississippi, a black school in Jackson. "I am constantly having to play catch-up with guys who've spent that past five years speaking three languages, visiting Europe and reading all the right books. Here, at Brown, they say, don't worry, you're all equal, starting on the same footing. Ready, set, go! They just don't get it. Where I come from, people don't go to France to study. A trip to France is a big deal. I haven't been reading all the right books since I was 12 and then have some Rhodes Scholar Daddy tell me the rest. I didn't have that kind of access. Access that could empower me."

Throughout the day, the overheard conversations at lunch echo in Cedric's head. At this point, affirmative action is the last thing he wants to hear or think about, though he knows he must be seen as a glaring example. During dinner and studying that evening, he finds himself responding to the professors under his breath: I got in. If I fail, I fail; if I make it, I make it. Why does everyone have to draw conclusions about an entire race from that—or take sides. He wanted a chance; he got one.

HOW 'BIGGER' WAS BORN

The next day, Cedric awakens with renewed ardor; a determination to compete on an even footing, to meet Brown's academic rigors head on. After lunch, he strides into his Richard Wright class. Stephan Wheelock smiles at him—"Helloooo Cedric," he says theatrically—and Cedric offers a grim nod.

He is counting on this class about the familiar novels of Richard Wright—some of the few books he had previously read—to help teach him the thinking and writing skills he so desperately needs.

Up to now, it's not happening. One short paper—an ungraded, one-page autobiographical essay he wrote in class on the first day—came back last week with few comments.

With all 16 students—about half of whom are black or Hispanic—now settled around the seminar table or at desks lining the walls, Prof. Wheelock goes over a few "scheduling changes," cutting assignments off the syllabus, lightening the class's requirements. Then, he starts the discussion with an overview of Richard Wright's signature 1940 novel "Native Son," which the class was to have read by now.

Cedric, sitting against the wall, opens his copy of the book. He knows it cold. He watches Wheelock—light-skinned, with stylishly thin bifocals on the end of a small, thin nose—going through a brief synopsis of the plot. The book's central character, Bigger Thomas, is a laborer whose days of poverty and brutishness and frustration lead to the killing of a white woman. After discussing the basic plot for 15 minutes, Wheelock mentions the novel's oft-noted companion essay—"How 'Bigger' Was Born"—

in which Wright writes at length about the five 'Biggers' he's known since his childhood.

"Why did Wright decide to put this essay at the back of the book?" Wheelock asks, as most of the class begins flipping through its 1993 edition of the book. "Back in 1940, Wright made a literary decision as to where to put it. Clearly, he put it at the end for a reason."

A half an hour of discourse is launched. Cedric looks around the room. There are plenty of black faces. It may not be calculus—his love—but he really knows this book. If he doesn't raise his hand now, then when? His arm shoots up. "All right, yes, Cedric?" Prof. Wheelock says, delighted.

"Umm. I think Wright wanted you to figure things out for yourself, so you wouldn't be thinking about all these larger forces, like racial repression and violence right off," Cedric says. "He had to put the explanatory essay in the back . . . otherwise you'd sort of know the answer before you asked the question."

Prof. Wheelock nods agreement and other students follow up. Cedric exhales. That wasn't so hard. The discussion winds along until Brandon, another black student in the class, raises his hand.

"Prof. Wheelock," he says. "I have an earlier edition of the book and, well, the essay, 'How 'Bigger' Was Born,' is in the front rather than the back. It runs, you know, before you get into the actual novel."

There's silence. Air seems to escape from the room. Everyone sees the mishap, which reduces a half-an-hour of vigorous discussion to a waste of breath.

A dazed Wheelock nods once, wordless.

"Well, okay . . ." he says, finally, trying to recover. "So, the question, then, would be why did the powers that be in the publishing world decide to put the essay in the book's back, you know, in the edition most of you got?"

The frantic rebound gets little response and in a moment he begins shuffling assignment sheets in front of his chair.

"Let's see," he says, forcing a smile. "What do you say we get out a little early today?"

Cedric, sitting at a desk against the wall, puts his head in his hands.

ONE OF THE GUYS

Cedric Jennings stares at his midterm paper in calculus and finishes off a third bowl of Golden Grahams for lunch at the VeeDub, a cafeteria near his dorm. The grade is a 94.

He looks up. Maura and her roommate, Chiniqua Milligan, are sitting across from him. He naturally gravitates to Chiniqua, who was raised just north of Harlem and is the only other black student in Cedric's dorm unit of 33 freshmen. But Cedric shares little with her beyond skin color. She attended Columbia Prep, a Manhattan private school, as part of a special minority enrichment program. Graduated third in her class.

But any good news is worth sharing, so he shows them the paper. They're effusive in their praise.

It does little to cheer him. He's told Chiniqua, at least, that this calculus class is just one level above beginner math, that he's only taking it pass/fail, like the rest of his classes, that he shot low—even in his forte—out of fear.

Still, when she smiles at him, now, he smiles back. The two girls pile plates and glasses on their trays to go and he pours another bowl of Golden Grahams. It's a cereal he ate a lot of at home, sometimes when there wasn't much else to eat. In the last couple of days, since midterms ended, he's been eating a lot of it.

"Cedric, how many bowls you gonna eat?" Chiniqua asks.

"As many as it takes," he says, trying to make her laugh.

"Takes for what?" she says, rising with her tray, and then bends in close to whisper. "You should eat some real food."

A frenzy of studying for mid-October's midterms gave Cedric a

break from a month of strife with Rob*, his roommate. Everyone, Rob included, had other things to worry about. Cedric, nonetheless, did most of his studying in the science-center library to avoid his roommate.

He didn't need to worry about bumping into Rob in their second-floor dorm room in East Andrews Hall. Conflict started from the first day and his roommate, at this point, is all but living on the third floor, dividing evenings between rooms of various friends. It's not so much that Cedric hates Rob—a casual laid-back son of two doctors. It's just that Rob—messy, nonconfrontational and well-liked—drives him a little crazy. Nothing fazes Rob; everything seems to have been taken care of, already. Because Rob's coolness and confidence are subterranean, surface issues—like the room's cleanliness or the loudness of his music—are afterthoughts. For Cedric, meanwhile, surface issues are defining. He's fastidious, and feels like he's always on display. As a church kid, he doesn't smoke, drink or have sex. While Rob compels his hallmates, who visit in droves, to feel warm and comfortable, Cedric knows he makes everyone feel uncomfortable.

Yet, with sound strategic instincts from a lifetime of confrontation, he forces himself not to retreat from the group of white guys on the hall. At least, then, he can't be characterized for everyone by Rob.

He tries to stick with the group and shake off his confusion at their strange habits. For one thing, the white guys are more physical and affectionate toward one another than he's used to seeing. Black kids from his school and neighborhood rarely showed the sort of self-deprecating, jokey vulnerability that is common here. He's not sure how to react. No one, here, is boastful. They all make

fun of themselves—and each other—though their underlying confidence never seems marred. It's the precise opposite of what has passed for normal his whole life.

One weekday night, he wanders toward the room of Zayd Dohrn, the son of two Chicago college professors, and John Frank, the child of a Manhattan psychoanalyst.

Zayd, especially, is a white kid in whom Cedric sees possibility of an actual friendship. He's cool, knows hip-hop, rap and R&B, and seems separate from the other kids, almost aloof. That, Cedric figures, is maybe because he's done so much already: Northwestern Film School at 16, wrote a play, a sexual farce, called "Phallacy," and was a star at the University of Chicago Laboratory School, a progressive high school run by the university on the town's integrated south side. In any event, Zayd seems fascinated with Cedric in a genuine way. They talk hip-hop until all hours, with Zayd happily deferring to Cedric's superior knowledge.

"Yo Cedric," Zayd says, as Cedric stands in the doorway. "Where've you been? We missed you."

Cedric settles on the edge of Zayd's bed, trying to stay loose. He's in. Seven or eight kids are hanging out, including Ira*, a gregarious kid from California, hashing it out. Everything—all issues of what to think and how to act, everything from the O.J. verdict to good places, near the dorm, to put the moves on a girl. In this dry-walled, freshly painted holding pen, with its little mirror and sink, freshmen hashed out things last year and will again next year. It's just that this year, an exotic bird is among them, an authentic ghetto kid, who, for whatever reason, made it through the urban inferno without donning an armor. Once Cedric finally starts talking, he's open and transparent.

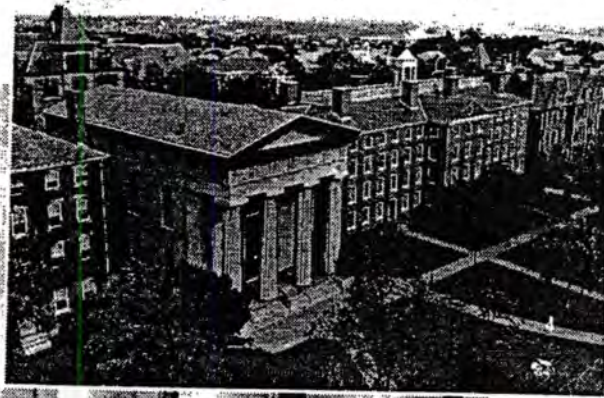
After discussion of a young lady on the hall who is sleeping with an upperclassman, there's a shift. They start teasing each other in a way that Cedric can't abide.

It's homosexual banter. Black guys just don't do it.



Mary Katz

In 1994, Clarence Taylor, a science teacher at Ballou Senior High, exhorted Cedric not to lose faith, not to worry about what the other kids thought of him and to hold tight to the notion of a promised land up ahead. Cedric, then a gangly junior, sometimes thought Mr. Taylor was pushing him too hard. Later as a Brown freshman, he realizes why his mentor was so persistent.



The distance between Cedric's home in Washington (left) and Brown's sylvan campus is vast but no less, Cedric sometimes thinks, than the journey of many immigrants to this country. If they did it, so can he.

As the white boys start in, Cedric feels his gut tighten. "Come on, bend over and let me fill your gas-tank," one says to another, and everyone starts to crack up. "Come on. You know you want it."

Cedric is not laughing. He can't. He becomes noticeably grim. They don't understand.

So they treat him just like he wants—deep down—just like another guy. Under those rules, anyone who shows uneasiness becomes the focal point. Visible discomfort, on an issue like this, brings a "Lord of the Flies" response: Haze it out of him.

"Hey Cedric," says Ira. "Bend over, and I'll fill your gas-tank."

Cedric gets flushed. "Come on, Cedric," says John, a sort of natural class president among the group. "It's okay. I'll bend over and you can fill mine." Guffaws go around. Even Zayd can't resist the rip-tide.

Cedric jumps up from Zayd's bed. "I don't like that kind of talkin'," he says, loud and firm, but still under control. He doesn't know what else to say. He looks down and races back to his empty room.

His door stays locked. Hours pass. At midnight, he ventures out to go to the bathroom, cracking the door first to see if anyone is in the hall. And then he sees it. On his grease pad is a neatly written message.

"Hey Cedric, Meet us later tonight in private and we all can have some real fun. Love, Ira and John."

Cedric blows.

In a second, he's pounding on Ira's door and then they're nose to nose in the doorway. "Don't be leaving that mess on my door, so I have to wipe it off."

"I didn't write anything," Ira counters. "I don't know what you're talking about."

"You're just doing this to annoy me, Ira! To get me going!"

A crowd is gathering in the hallway.

"Look, I do what I want to do. And I'll do what I want to do to you," Ira bellows. "So get out of my room."

Everything's in the open now, a spectator sport, a free feed.

"You can't just accuse Ira of doing it, unless you know he did," says Corry Mascitelli—a blonde girl Cedric calls Marcia Brady—out in the hall from a neighboring room. "You don't know it was Ira."

"I know it's him," Cedric rants. "He's done stuff like that before. Don't tell me. He's always saying stuff like that."

Zayd tries to defuse it. "Everybody's not against you," he says, keeping his voice quiet and even. "You think that, but it's not true."

Cedric halts. He looks across the corridor, now filled with mostly white peers and a few of color. All eyes are on him. They know about his tension with Rob. And now this. All he wants is to get back to his room and never come out.

John, at Zayd's side, ends it. "Jesus, Cedric. You ignore people just to get attention, and then you get the attention and you don't want it."

Cedric looks, dazed, at John. His ringing ears are shutting off everything. How the hell did he end up here? He walks back to his room and closes the door.

BACK FROM EXILE

A few days later, Zayd is sitting on the moist grass of Brown's main green—on an oddly warm October day—talking to a buddy about Cedric.

"Other kids wonder why I'm his friend, what I see in him," he says, his smoothly muscled bare arms wrapped around peaks of bony knees. "And it's strange. We're like opposites. We're so different in so many ways, but I just find him so interesting."

More than any other student in the unit, Zayd embodies what passes for merit on this campus and many elite institutions like it: constant, fearless, experimentation—both social and intellectual. The more daring, the better. His prime directive, as he mentioned nonchalantly to Cedric during the first week of school, is "I'll try anything."

Which is why Zayd Dohrn, among all the broad-thinking kids in this right-minded university, is the only one with the daring to knock on Cedric's door, which has mostly been locked for a week since the much-discussed hallway detonation. Zayd gets no answer and writes a provocative note—"C-Came by, heard music inside. I guess we're not friends anymore or something. Zayd."

He passes by again as October nears an end. It's now two weeks into what seems like Cedric's permanent hibernation—and

Zayd wonders if it may end with a transfer application and a bare mattress. The doorknob clicks open. Zayd walks in, talking casually about some new album by Tupac Shakur, the rapper, talking like nothing ever happened. Cedric, parched with solitude, can't resist.

"You know, Tupac's uncle was this guy, Zayd Shakur, a radical black activist who was killed by the cops in the early 60s," Zayd continues. "That's who I'm named after. My mom and dad knew him, or they knew a lot of Black Panthers who knew him."

"For real?" Cedric asks. He knows that Zayd's mom was some sort of 60's radical. Zayd told Cedric her name is Bernadine and she ran the Weather Underground, which Cedric thought sounded like a singing group.

In a few days, parents will be coming for Parents Weekend, and the two of them talk about that for a while, sitting on Cedric's bed. Cedric says he doesn't know whether his mom will make it. It's a long way and she doesn't have a lot of cash. Zayd nods, knowing not to ask too much.

He pauses. "You know, my mom might want to come by to say 'hi,'" he ventures, "if that's all right."

"That'd be fine, no big deal," Cedric answers easily, relieved to be edging out of exile.

Then they walk down to the corner—to Sam Goody's—to buy a CD, figuring that they might as well share it.

About James Tierney

James E. Tierney, who served as the Attorney General of Maine from 1980 until 1990, currently practices as a consultant for non-profit organizations and private businesses in their understanding of state regulatory structures. He has also served as a consultant to attorneys general and written a number of articles on the powers of the state attorney general. He also coordinates and facilitates retreats for public and private organizations.

During his ten years in office, Tierney played an active role in the National Association of Attorneys General (NAAG) that resulted in many multistate enforcement cases and amicus efforts. He served on NAAG's Executive Board and was the Chair of the Environmental Law Committee and Vice Chair of the Committees on Consumer Law and Civil Rights as well as a member of the Criminal law and Antitrust Committees. Tierney often testified on behalf of NAAG before the Senate and the House of Representatives and federal regulatory agencies on a wide variety of issues. Tierney also keynoted the national conventions of both the National District Attorney Association and the American Corporate Counsel Association.

After each election cycle during the 1980's, Tierney advised newly elected Attorneys General on the powers and duties of the office and visited other states to consult on organizational issues. From 1992 until 1994, he served as a Special Prosecutor in Pennsylvania and has authored an analysis of the operations of state grand jury practice throughout the United States. He has also written organizational analysis for several state attorneys general.

Tierney has been a Wasserstein Fellow and occasional guest lecturer at a number of law schools including Harvard Law School, Columbia Law School, New York University School of Law and Cornell Law School on the powers, duties and ethics of state attorneys general. From 1991 until 1996, he served on the Board of Commentators of the Courtroom Television Network and regularly appeared on Court TV as a guest on major trials.

Tierney has visited Eastern Europe and the countries of the former Soviet Union on seven separate occasions. He has gone to these countries to advise prosecutors in emerging democracies and to supervise national elections. His most recent visit was to Croatia in the spring of 1998.

Tierney, a graduate of the University of Maine and its School of Law, is on the Board of Directors of the American Judicature Society and a past member of the Board of People For the American Way. Before becoming Attorney General of Maine, Tierney served as the Majority Leader of Maine's House of Representatives for two terms. He also served as a member of the Executive Board of the Conference of Insurance Legislators and was active in the National Conference of State Legislators.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Boys and Girls Clubs
America 4/14/98

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

TUESDAY, APRIL 14, 1998

FINAL

WASHINGTON, DC / NEW YORK, NEW YORK / WASHINGTON, DC

LEAD ADVANCE: **ROB ROSEN**
 THE SHERATON NEW YORK **ROOM 4513**
 212/581-1000 **PHONE**
 212/830-8617 **FAX**
 202/395-1839 **CELL PHONE**

PRESS ADVANCE: **EILEEN PARISE** **ROOM 3211**

WLF LUNCH/BROWN EVENT

SITE ADVANCE: **STEFANIE BAKER** **ROOM 1122**

ADL/WHITE RESIDENCE

SITE ADVANCE: **GREG HALE** **ROOM 3838**

SCHEDULER: **EVAN RYAN**
 202/456-6751 **PHONE**
 202/456-5340 **FAX**
 202/483-0383 **HOME**
 WHCA PAGER **#4223**

PREV RON The White House

10:25 am **DEPART** South Portico
 EN ROUTE Andrews Air Force Base
 [drive time: 20 minutes]

10:45 am **ARRIVE** Andrews Air Force Base

10:55 am **WHEELS UP** Andrews Air Force Base
 EN ROUTE New York, New York
 [flight time: 50 minutes]

11:45 am **WHEELS DOWN** New York, New York

11:55 am **DEPART** LaGuardia International Airport
 EN ROUTE The Sheraton New York
 [drive time: 35 minutes]

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
TUESDAY, APRIL 14, 1998
PAGE 2

12:30 pm **ARRIVE** The Sheraton New York

INSIDE GREETERS:

Betsy Cohn, Event Chair
Cynthia Freedman, National Chair
Ronnie Ginnott, Event Chair
Sharon Patrick, Event Chair

12:35 pm-
1:20 pm

WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP FORUM TOWN HALL LUNCHEON

The Imperial Ballroom
The Sheraton New York
FLOTUS Hold: Room 4501
Phone: 212/581-1000
Fax: 212/830-8617
Staff Hold: Room 4507
Phone: 212/581-1000
Fax: 212/830-8617

OPEN PRESS

FORMAT:

- The First Lady and Betsy Cohn, Event Chair, are announced into the room.
- Betsy Cohn makes brief remarks and introduces The First Lady.
- The First Lady makes remarks.
- The First Lady takes questions and answers.
- Upon conclusion of questions and answers, the The First Lady works a ropeline and proceeds to The Versailles Room.

PARTICIPANTS: Approximately 400 guests

CONTACT: Peg Cusack 202/863-7148

1:35 pm-
1:55 pm

PHOTO-RECEIVING LINE

The Versailles Room
The Sheraton New York
CLOSED PRESS/DNC PHOTO

PARTICIPANTS: 60 guests expected.

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
TUESDAY, APRIL 14, 1998
PAGE 3

CONTACT: Peg Cusack 202/863-7148

2:00 pm **DEPART** The Sheraton New York
 EN ROUTE Madison Square Boys and Girls Club
 301 East 29th Street
 [drive time: 20 minutes]

2:20 pm **ARRIVE** Madison Square Boys and Girls Club

GREETERS: Mark Medin, Director of Leadership, ADL

2:25 pm- **MEET & GREET**
2:35 pm The Function Room
 Madison Square Boys and Girls Club
 CLOSED PRESS/WH PHOTO

PARTICIPANTS: 22 guests expected.

CONTACT: Mark Medin 212/885-7713

2:30 pm- **A WORLD OF DIFFERENCE INSTITUTE**
3:30 pm The Game Room
 Madison Square Boys and Girls Club
 301 East 29th Street
 New York, New York 10016
 FLOTUS Hold: Office
 Phone: 212/532-5751
 Fax: 212/779-2169
 Staff Hold: Office 2
 Phone: 212/532-5752
 Fax: 212/779-2169
 OPEN PRESS

FORMAT:

-The First Lady proceeds to Peer Training Session
 (which is in progress).

-The First Lady, Howard Berkowitz, National Chair
 of the Anti-Defamation League, and Roxanne
 Spillet, President, Boys & Girls Clubs of
 America, observe Peer Training Session for
 approximately 5 minutes.

-Max Weisman, Peer Trainer, makes brief welcoming
 remarks.

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
TUESDAY, APRIL 14, 1998
PAGE 4

- Michael Taylor, Peer Trainer, explains the activity that just took place.
- Rachel Weiss, Peer Trainer, leads a brief discussion amongst the students.
- Jonathan Torres, Peer Trainer, introduces Howard Berkowitz.
- Howard Berkowitz makes brief remarks.
- Jonathan Torres, Peer Trainer, introduces James Cox, Vice President of Urban Services, Boys and Girls Club of America.
- James Cox makes brief remarks.
- Jonathan Torres, Peer Trainer, introduces Joel Smillow, Chairman of the Executive Committee, Madison Square Boys and Girls Club.
- Joel Smillow makes brief remarks.
- Jonathan Torres, Peer Trainer, introduces The First Lady.
- The First Lady makes remarks and has the option of asking the students questions.
- Robin Calfani, Program Coordinator of Madison Square Boys and Girls Club, closes the program.
- The First Lady departs.

PARTICIPANTS: 40 high school students
5 Peer Trainers

CONTACT: Mark Medin 212/885-7713

3:35 pm

DEPART Madison Square Boys and Girls Club
EN ROUTE The Sheraton New York
[drive time: 20 minutes]

3:55 pm

ARRIVE The Sheraton New York

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003. schedule	Schedule for Hillary Rodham Clinton (partial) (1 page)	04/14/1998	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 19011

FOLDER TITLE:

Youth Development Afterschool Violence #2 [binder] [3]

2013-0534-S
ry1771

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
TUESDAY, APRIL 14, 1998
PAGE 5

4:00 pm- **INTERVIEW** with Bill Tatum, Amsterdam News
4:25 pm Room 4501
The Sheraton New York
ON THE RECORD/WH PHOTO

PARTICIPANTS:

The First Lady
Bill Tatum, Publisher, Amsterdam News
Elinor Ruth Tatum, Editor-in-Chief, Amsterdam News

4:30 pm- **DOWN TIME**
6:00 pm

6:05 pm **DEPART** The Sheraton New York
EN ROUTE White Residence, (b)(6)
[drive time: 25 minutes]

6:30 pm **ARRIVE** White Residence (b)(6)

GREETERS:

Maureen White

6:30 pm- **WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP FORUM DINNER**
7:50 pm White Residence

(b)(6)

[003]

CLOSED PRESS/DNC PHOTO

FORMAT:

- The First Lady mixes and mingles with guests.
- The First Lady makes informal remarks.
- The First Lady departs.

PARTICIPANTS: 42 guests expected.

CONTACT: Peg Cusack 202/863-7148

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
TUESDAY, APRIL 14, 1998
PAGE 6

7:55 pm **DEPART** The White Residence
 EN ROUTE The Sheraton New York
 [drive time: 25 minutes]

8:20 pm **ARRIVE** The Sheraton New York

GREETERS [T]:

Alma Brown
Michael Brown
Tammy Brown
Tracy Brown

NOTE: The program will be in progress.

8:30 pm- **BROWN FOUNDATION DINNER**
9:30 pm The Imperial Ballroom
 The Sheraton New York
 FLOTUS Hold: Room 4501
 Phone: 212/581-1000
 Fax: 212/830-8617
 Staff Hold: Room 4507
 Phone: 212/581-1000
 Fax: 212/830-8617
 CLOSED PRESS/WH PHOTO

FORMAT:

- The First Lady is announced into the room.
- The First Lady proceeds to head table.
- City Kids perform.
- Michael Brown and Tracy Brown introduce Alma Brown.
- Alma Brown introduces The First Lady.
- Alma Brown makes The Bridge Builder award presentation to the First Lady.
- The First Lady makes remarks.
- The First Lady makes a champagne toast to Ron Brown.

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
TUESDAY, APRIL 14, 1998
PAGE 7

-The First Lady proceeds to hotel suite for coffee with small group.

PARTICIPANTS: 280 guests expected.

CONTACT: Michael Duga 1-800-706-3117

9:35 pm-
10:00 pm

COFFEE with Brown Foundation Dinner guests
Hotel Suite
The Sheraton New York
CLOSED PRESS/WH PHOTO

PARTICIPANTS:

The Brown Family
15 guests

10:05 pm

DEPART The Sheraton New York
EN ROUTE LaGuardia International Airport
[drive time: 30 minutes]

10:35 pm

ARRIVE LaGuardia International Airport

10:45 pm

WHEELS UP New York, New York
EN ROUTE Andrews Air Force Base
[flight time: 55 minutes]

11:40 pm

WHEELS DOWN Andrews Air Force Base

11:50 pm

DEPART Andrews Air Force Base
EN ROUTE The White House
[drive time: 20 minutes]

12:20 am

ARRIVE South Portico

HAPPY BIRTHDAY TO NICOLE RABNER!!!

WEATHER FORECAST FOR WASHINGTON, DC: Mostly cloudy with isolated rain showers throughout the day. Winds south at 5 to 12 knots. Low 49. High 65.

WEATHER FORECAST FOR NEW YORK, NEW YORK: Cloudy with showers likely. Low 44. High 67.

April 13, 1998

**Teenagers Fight Back Against Hate
A Joint Program of the ADL's A World of Difference Institute and the
Boys and Girls Clubs of America**

Date:	April 14, 1998
Location:	Madison Square Boys and Girls Club New York, NY
Time:	2:30 pm - 3:30 pm
From:	Jon Jennings

I. PURPOSE

To announce the collaborative effort of the ADL and the Boys and Girls Clubs of America coming together to create community based initiatives against hate. Also to announce the contribution of Joan and Joel Smilow's grant of \$2.4 million dollars to fund the program.

II. BACKGROUND

On Tuesday afternoon, you will be participating in an Anti-Defamation League Peer Training Program at the Madison Square Boys & Girls Club in the Murray Hill area of New York City. This session will serve as a kickoff of the new national program "Teenagers Fight Back Against Hate," designed to help teenagers empower their peers with the skills needed for successful living in a highly diverse society. Participants will include students from this particular Boys & Girls Club facility and four to five Peer Trainers. Additional guests will include national leadership of both ADL and BGCA.

Responding to the President's challenge to create new, community based initiatives against hate, the ADL's A World of Difference Institute and the Boys and Girls Clubs of America (BGCA) will announce they are the joint recipients of a \$2.4 million grant from Joel and Joan Smilow to be used to implement the "Teenagers Fight Back Against Hate" program. The program will consist of preparing Boys and Girls Clubs of America representatives to implement two of the ADL's A World of Difference Institute diversity education initiatives in Boys and Girls Clubs of America across the country. The program is a national initiative which will be piloted in five state -- New York, Minnesota, Georgia, California, and Colorado. Training program materials will also be available to other youth serving organizations.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Meet & Greet

-see attached list

Peer Training Session

The First Lady

Howard Berkowitz, National Chairman, ADL

James D. Cox, Vice President, Urban Services, Boys and Girls Clubs of America

Jonathan Torres, Peer Trainer

Max Weisman, Peer Trainer

Michael Taylor, Peer Trainer

Rachel Weiss, Peer Trainer

Joel Smilow, funder of program

Robin Calfani, Program Coordinator of Madison Square Boys and Girls Club

Approximately 40 students from the Boys and Girls Club

IV. PRESS PLAN

Open Press.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- YOU will greet representatives of the ADL and the Boys and Girls Clubs of America.

- YOU will enter the room where the Peer Training will be underway

- YOU, Howard Berkowitz, ADL National Chair and James D. Cox, Vice President, Urban Services, observe Peer Training Session for approximately 5 minutes

-Max Weisman, Peer Trainer, makes brief welcoming remarks.

-Michael Taylor, Peer Trainer, explains the activity that just took place.

-Rachel Weiss, Peer Trainer, leads a brief discussion amongst the students.

-Jonathan Torres, Peer Trainer, introduces Howard Berkowitz.

- Howard Berkowitz, National Chairman, ADL, will make brief remarks.

-Jonathan Torres, Peer Trainer, introduces James Cox, Vice President of Urban Services, Boys and Girls Club of America.

- James D. Cox, Vice President, Urban Services, Boys and Girls Clubs of America will make brief remarks.

- Jonathan Torres, Peer Trainer, introduces Joel Smilow, Chairman of the Executive Committee, Madison Square Boys and Girls Club.

-Joel Smilow makes brief remarks.

-Jonathan Torres, Peer Trainer, introduces The First Lady.

- YOU will make remarks.

- Robin Calfani, Program Coordinator of Madison Square Boys and Girls Club, closes the program.
- YOU will depart

VI. REMARKS

Talking points will be provided by Laura Schiller.

ATTENDANCE AT APRIL 14 EVENT** Meet + Greet At Beginning***ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE/
NATIONAL**

Judy Berkowitz
Howard Berkowitz
Abraham H. Foxman
Judi Krupp
David Strassler

**BOYS & GIRLS CLUBS OF AMERICA/
NATIONAL**

Jessica Bibliowicz
Arnold Burns
Tony Conza
James Cox
Jerry Milbank
Roxanne Spillett

**ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE/
NEW YORK REGION**

Howard Goldstein
Lucille Kantor
Cynthia Marks
Marge Russell
Pam Schafler
Laurie Tisch Sussman

**BOYS & GIRLS CLUBS OF AMERICA/
NEW YORK REGION**

Anthony F. Bandelato
Robert Galletta
Bruce S. Gelb
Brenda LaGrange Johnson
John E. Grimm III

DONORS

Jane Smilow
Joel Smilow
Kathy Smilow
Richard Smilow
Caryl Stern

Teenagers Fight Back Against Hate

Press Event April 14, 1998

Attendees representing Boys & Girls Clubs of America (B&GCA)

The Hon. Arnold Burns (Arnie) -- Vice Chairman, B&GCA. Has served on B&GCA National Board of Governors for 16 years. Recently led a major strategic planning process involving dozens of town hall meetings with local Boys & Girls Club and community leaders nationwide. **Senior Partner, Proskauer Rose Goetz & Mendelsohn, New York.**

Anthony Conza (Tony) -- Member, National Board of Governors of B&GCA since 1991. Chairman, B&GCA's national marketing committee. Has supported B&GCA's violence prevention initiatives. **Founder and Chairman of Blimpie International, the nationwide sandwich/salad chain.**

Jerry Milbank -- Senior member of the B&GCA National Board of Governors. Has served as president and chairman of B&GCA, as did his father. He was recruited by Herbert Hoover when Hoover was chairman of (then) Boys Clubs of America. **Chairman, JM Foundation, a major supporter of B&GCA.**

Jessica Bibliowicz -- Recently-elected National Trustee of B&GCA. She is President of John Levin & Co., a money management firm with \$7.6 billion in assets. BA from Cornell. Worked for American Express, Shearson Lehman, Prudential, Smith Barney. **She is daughter of Sanford Weill, Chairman of the Travelers Group, which recently announced mega-merger with Citicorp.**

Roxanne Spillett -- Named president of B&GCA in 1996. Has served the organization for 20 years. Expert in youth development programs, having built that area of B&GCA to its strong position today. Currently leading, along with Arnold Burns, B&GCA's strategic planning process that will guide the organization's growth in service expansion and quality through the year 2006 (B&GCA's centennial year.)

James D. Cox (Jim) -- Vice President, Urban Services for B&GCA. Has worked professionally in the Boys & Girls Club field for 16 years. Expert in race relations, conflict management, crisis resolution, violence prevention, youth gang and substance abuse prevention. Key leader who will drive the WORLD OF DIFFERENCE program's implementation throughout Boys & Girls Clubs nationwide.



HOWARD P. BERKOWITZ
National Chairman

Howard P. Berkowitz was elected Chairman of the Anti-Defamation League in September 1997. A longtime ADL leader with a broad range of experience, he served as Chairman of the ADL National Executive Committee and has been actively involved all aspects of the ADL's work.

Mr. Berkowitz has been a central figure in advancing the League's efforts to fight anti-Semitism, racism and prejudice. He is a strong proponent of educational programming to promote tolerance and understanding and is dedicated to advancing civil rights and safeguarding the separation of church and state.

On the international scene, Mr. Berkowitz regularly confers with elected officials and community leaders here and abroad. He has had consultations in Turkey, Latvia, Lithuania, Belarus, Austria, Switzerland, Israel, Egypt and Jordan.

He is the founder and managing partner of HPB Associates, L.P., a private investment fund established in 1979. Prior to that Mr. Berkowitz was a founder and managing partner of Steinhardt, Fine, Berkowitz & Company, and was a research analyst from 1963 to 1967 for A.G. Becker and Company.

He received an M.B.A. with distinction in 1965 from New York University, and is actively involved in community activities. He is a board member and member of the executive committee of the Steadman-Hawkins Sports Medicine foundation; a board member of the undergraduate college of the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School, his alma mater; a director of the Cancer Research Institute; a member of the President's Council of Memorial Sloan Kettering Cancer Center, and a board member of the New York City Ballet. Mr. Berkowitz and his family reside in Westchester County, NY.

11/97

JAMES D. COX
Vice President, Urban Services

As Vice President of Urban Services for Boys & Girls Clubs of America, James D. Cox provides training, technical assistance and consultation to local Boys & Girls Clubs and their communities on urban issues and trends. Publisher of a quarterly newsletter called *The Urban Report*, he is an expert on such topics as intergroup and community relations, urban demographics, conflict management, substance abuse, teen pregnancy, crisis resolution, and violence and gang prevention.

Cox, a former Club member himself, oversees several of B&GCA's program areas including: the GANG PREVENTION through TARGETED OUTREACH program; the Family Support Programs; SMART Moves, a series of programs that address alcohol and other drug use, teen pregnancy prevention, as well as child safety protection; and B&GCA's diversity and anti bias initiative.

His work has attracted the attention of both national and international news media, resulting in interviews with the Associated Press and the Boston Globe, and guest appearances on NBC's, *America's Talking*, London's BBC and the Canadian Broadcasting Company and many others. In addition, Cox has served on national task forces, coalitions and planning groups. A governing board member for the National Fatherhood Initiative, he is also on the board of directors of the National Parenting Association, and the executive committee of public broadcasting's National Campaign to Reduce Youth Violence. Formerly, he served as a member of the steering committee of "By Our Own Hands," a substance abuse prevention media campaign for urban African-American youth.

Before joining the national staff of Boys & Girls Clubs of America in 1989, Cox served as Director of Greater Milwaukee's Hillside Boys & Girls Club, located in the community's public housing development. Prior to his work at the Club, he directed an educational program for migrant and seasonal farm workers at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

Cox has a master of science degree in administrative leadership and a bachelor of science degree in secondary education, both from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. He has completed course work in the doctoral program in urban education at the same institution.

#

Background of Joel E. Smilow:

Mr. Joel E. Smilow retired as Chairman and CEO of Playtex Products, Inc. in July 1995, having been President and/or Chairman of the company for more than 25 years. Mr. Smilow remains active in the business and not-for-profit communities. He is currently Chairman of the executive committee of the Madison Square Boys & Girls Club in New York, which he has served for 27 years. He is also an active leader at the Anti-Defamation League, a director of the New York Philharmonic and a trustee of New York University Hospital – Medical Center. Mr. Smilow earned a bachelor's degree from Yale University and a master's degree from Harvard Business School where he was a George F. Baker Scholar. He and wife Joan reside in Westport, Connecticut, and have three married children.

Basic History of the Anti-Defamation League and ADL's A WORLD OF DIFFERENCE Institute:

The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) is one of the nation's premier civil rights/human relations agencies, founded in 1913 "to stop the defamation of the Jewish people and to secure justice and fair treatment to all citizens alike." Over the past 84 years, ADL has grown into a worldwide network of people committed to defending democratic ideals, safeguarding civil rights, confronting anti-Semitism, and protecting the rights of all religious, racial and ethnic groups. ADL maintains a strong network of 32 Regional and Satellite Offices in major US cities, as well as offices in Jerusalem and Vienna, that respond daily to grass-roots concerns and issues involving intergroup relations and incidents of bias.

In 1985, ADL and WCVB-TV initiated the WORLD OF DIFFERENCE campaign in Boston to combat prejudice, promote democratic ideals, and strengthen pluralism. Its success is now an international Institute with diversity education programs utilized by schools, universities, corporations, and communities and law enforcement agencies throughout the US and abroad. Our programs provide practical, experiential, hands-on training with skills to challenge prejudice and discrimination, to foster intergroup understanding, and to equip participants to live and work successfully and civilly in a diverse environment.

To date, the ADL's A WORLD OF DIFFERENCE Institute has:

- Trained more than 350,000 elementary and secondary school teachers in public, private and parochial school settings in the A CLASSROOM OF DIFFERENCE program, impacting over 12 million students.
- Prepared more than 5,000 students to become Peer Trainers, who, in turn, have engaged in a activities influencing the lives of more than 60,000 students in their respective schools and home communities.
- Fostered a cohesive campus at more than 135 colleges and universities that have hosted the A CAMPUS OF DIFFERENCE program, while 400 more have used ADL anti-bias educational materials for the same purpose.
- Conducted workplace diversity training for over 100,000 adult workers employed in more than 100 corporations, government agencies or small business in the public and private sectors through the A WORKPLACE OF DIFFERENCE program.

Basic History of Boys & Girls Clubs of America:

The **Boys & Girls Clubs of America** is a national non-profit youth organization comprising more than 2,000 Boys & Girls Club facilities that help some 2.8 million young people connect with opportunities for personal growth and achievement. Its primary mission is to provide service to girls and boys from disadvantaged circumstances. There are Clubs in all 50 states, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. The **Boys & Girls Clubs of America** is also America's fastest-growing youth development organization – since 1987 the **Boys & Girls Clubs of America** has experienced an 118% increase in youth served annually as well as an 83% increase in number of Clubs. As a national organization it provides vital services to local Clubs in:

- Program research and development.
- Personnel recruitment and training
- Facility design, construction and safety
- Fundraising, marketing and communications
- Evaluation of Club effectiveness against national standard
- Consultation with community leaders interested in establishing new Clubs
- Addressing legislative and public policy issues affecting young people.

Background of Joel E. Smilow:

Mr. Joel E. Smilow retired as Chairman and CEO of Playtex Products, Inc. in July 1995, having been President and/or Chairman of the company for more than 25 years. Mr. Smilow remains active in the business and not-for-profit communities. He is currently Chairman of the executive committee of the Madison Square Boys & Girls Club in New York, which he has served for 27 years. He is also an active leader at the Anti-Defamation League, a director of the New York Philharmonic and a trustee of New York University Hospital – Medical Center. Mr. Smilow earned a bachelor's degree from Yale University and a master's degree from Harvard Business School where he was a George F. Baker Scholar. He and wife Joan reside in Westport, Connecticut, and have three married children.

STUDENTS' REPORTS OF SCHOOL CRIME: 1989 AND 1995

April 12, 1998

Today, the Attorney General and Secretary of Education forwarded to the President an important, yet troubling, study on school crime. This study --released by the Bureau of Justice Statistics and National Center for Education Statistics --compares school crime in 1989 and 1995, and is based on interviews with a nationally representative sample of approximately 10,000 students ages 12 to 19. Key findings include:

Little or no change in the overall level of school crime. The overall level of victimization in schools in 1995 was similar to that in 1989 (14.6% vs. 14.5%). Violent victimizations increased slightly (from 3.4% to 4.2%), and property crimes decreased slightly (from 12.2% to 11.6%).

Drug availability up slightly. The overall availability of drugs increased slightly (from 63.2% to 65.3%), with marijuana remaining the most readily available drug --and 6% more students reporting that it was easy to obtain (from 30.5% to 36.4%).

Gangs in schools nearly doubled. The number of students reporting gangs in their schools increased dramatically (from 15.3% to 28.4%). Increases were reported in central cities (from 24.8% to 40.7%), suburbs (from 14% to 26.3%) and non-metropolitan areas (from 7.8% to 19.9%).

Few students report guns in schools. In 1995, less than one half of one percent of students reported taking a gun to school. However, 5.3% reported seeing another student with a gun at school, and 12.7% reported knowing another student who brought a gun to school.

Relationship between gangs, guns, drugs and violence confirmed. In 1995, similar to as in 1989, the report found that where students reported the presence of gangs:

- they were about 3 times more likely to be victims of violent crime (7.5% vs. 2.7%);
- they were more likely to indicate drug availability in their schools (79.5% vs. 61%);
- they were 3 times more likely to know a student who brought a gun to school (24.8% vs. 7.7%); and
- they were more than 4 times as likely to see another student with a gun at school (11.9% vs. 2.8%).

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
TALKING POINTS FOR TEENAGERS FIGHT BACK AGAINST HATE
A JOINT PROGRAM OF ADL AND THE BOYS AND GIRLS CLUBS OF AMERICA
APRIL 14, 1998

- Acknowledgments -- Howard Bekowitz and the ADL, especially the A World of Difference Institute; Jim Cox and the Boys and Girls Clubs of America...both of your organizations do so much everyday to ensure that all children live with dignity and opportunity. I want to say a special thanks to Joel and Joan Smilow for the extraordinary vision and generosity that made this partnership possible; and, most important, the peer trainers and Boys and Girls Club members for your leadership in combating the hate and discrimination that too often tear at our communities and country.
- I have been inspired by what I've seen and heard today. This past weekend, people worldwide celebrated Easter and Passover and countless Muslim's finished their Raj Pilgrimage. All over the world, we spoke of the human spirit's ability to ensure that love triumphs over death, and freedom over bondage. We focused on reconciliation and renewal. That was the spirit we saw in Northern Ireland. And, in many ways, it is the spirit we see in this room today.
- You are fulfilling the President's vision of One America -- where private individuals and groups take it upon themselves to ensure that our national house can never be divided by race or religion...that we all move forward together.
- I will never forget the young woman [Chuennee Sampson] who introduced the President at our White House Hate Crimes Conference last November. She, like many of you, is a graduate of the World of Difference Program. In the aftermath of the Crown Heights Riots, she talked about how this program helped her to listen to those who were different and to take action to bring people together. She said, "hatred -- and the pain it causes -- is not only my problem, it is our problem."
- I want to congratulate all of the young people here for making it your problem. You know that whenever anti-Semitism or racism or any other type of intolerance touches one of us, it touches all of us. You know that people are not born hating -- they learn to hate - - and that they can just as easily be taught to love and respect each other.
- More than anything, you understand that we will only change hearts and minds, we will only really change the world, when we educate the future. That means your generation and every generation to follow. And that's exactly what you're doing.
- I look forward to seeing your results as you take this program across the nation. And I look forward to hearing about your experiences and hopes: For those of you who are peer trainers, what difference did the program make in your school? For those of you who are being trained now, how do you think it will help?

**PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION**

Columb School
Shootings 4/8/98

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
WEDNESDAY, APRIL 8, 1998
FINAL

MELLON DINNER

LEAD ADVANCE: **IAN ALBERG**
 202/514-5310 **PHONE**

MELLON DINNER

PRESS ADVANCE: **JASON SCHECTER**

SCHEDULER: **WENDY ARENDS**
 202/456-7007 **PHONE**
 202/456-5340 **FAX**
 202/518-8209 **HOME**
 WHCA PAGER

PREV RON **The White House**

12:00pm- **LUNCH w/Patti Solis Doyle**
1:00pm **Residence**
 CLOSED PRESS/WH PHOTO

PARTICIPANTS:
The First Lady
Patti Solis Doyle
Lee Doyle

1:00pm- **ATTENBOROUGH TAPING**
1:45pm **Diplomatic Reception Room**
 CLOSED PRESS/WH PHOTO

2:00pm- **VIDEOS**
3:00pm **Room 459, OEOP**
 CLOSED PRESS/NO WH PHOTO

- Girls Incorporated National Conference
- Women's Leadership Forum
- Helen Thomas Tribute Video for The White House
- Correspondent's Dinner
- HIPPI, 10th Anniversary Celebration
- Association of Youth Museum's 1998 "Great Friend To Kids" Award to First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
- USIA Copenhagen Symposium on "Women and Information Technology in the Baltic Sea Region"
- American Foundation for Suicide Prevention 1998 Humanitarian Award to Rosalynn Carter
- Children's Defense Fund, 6th Annual "Beat the Odds" Banquet (Minnesota)

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 8, 1998

PAGE 2

3:30pm-

GOING-AWAY PARTY for Debbie Schiff

4:00pm

President's Patio

CLOSED PRESS/WH PHOTO

FORMAT:

- Nancy Hernreich gives remarks and introduces the Vice President.
- The Vice President makes remarks and introduces the First Lady.
- The First Lady makes remarks and introduces the President.
- The President makes remarks.
- The President and the First Lady have the option to mingle with guests or depart.

PARTICIPANTS: 130 guests

4:30pm-

MEETING [w/POTUS]

4:50pm

Oval Office

CLOSED PRESS/WH PHOTO

PARTICIPANTS:

The President
The First Lady
Stephanie Street
Melanne Verveer
Evan Ryan
Aviva Steinberg

4:50pm-

DOWN TIME

7:20pm

7:25pm

DEPART South Portico

VIA Motorcade

EN ROUTE National Gallery of Art

[Drive time: 5 minutes]

7:30pm

ARRIVE National Gallery of Art

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
WEDNESDAY, APRIL 8, 1998
PAGE 3

GREETERS:

Earl A. Powell, Director, National Gallery
Genevera Higginson, Assistant to the Director,
National Gallery of Art
Members of the Board of Directors (12)

7:40pm

PROCEED to the Rotunda

7:55pm-

ANDREW MELLON DINNER [w/POTUS]

9:20pm

National Gallery, West Building

Attire: Black tie

POOL PRESS (REMARKS ONLY)/WH PHOTO

FORMAT:

- Dinner is served.
- Upon conclusion of dinner, Alexander Mellon Laughlin, Chairman, Board of Trustees, National Gallery of Art, makes remarks and introduces the President.
- The President makes brief remarks.
- Robert Smith, President, National Gallery of Art, makes remarks.
- Earl A. Powell III, Director, National Gallery of Art, makes brief remarks.
- The President and the First Lady, escorted by Earl A. Powell III, depart.

9:25pm

DEPART National Gallery of Art

VIA Motorcade

EN ROUTE South Portico

[Drive time: 5 minutes]

9:30pm

ARRIVE South Portico

RON

The White House

TALKING IT OVER

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

April 8, 1998

Shortly after midnight on the morning of March 25, when my husband and I were in Uganda, we were awakened with tragic news. For the fourth time since October, American children had opened fire on classmates at school.

This time, these tragic events happened in a town we knew well, Jonesboro, Ark. Four young girls and a teacher were dead. Bill and I were heartsick at this senseless loss of life.

Across the country and around the world, the questions were the same: "How could this happen?" and "What does it mean?" On talk shows, in newspaper columns and at kitchen tables, people sought explanations for this outbreak of child violence. The President called on the Attorney General and the Secretary of Education to convene national experts to study the tragedy.

But as the shock recedes, we are left with more questions than answers about how to prevent children from harming other children. Despite our inability ever to understand fully, we have to analyze why two young boys turned to violence if we are to find any help for the next child who might choose a gun to deal with his pain and problems.

We must not let ourselves off the hook by talking about "bad children" and "good children." We, the adults, have choices, and we know that the choices we make -- as individuals and as a society -- will affect how our children develop.

Everywhere we look, children are under assault, not just from violence but from neglect, from the breakup of families, from the temptations of alcohol, tobacco, sex and drug abuse, and from greed, materialism and spiritual emptiness. One in five American children lives in poverty. One in four is born to an unmarried mother.

This instability poses great risks to the healthy development and economic security of our children. The disappearance of fathers from children's daily lives has many consequences, including increased rates of violence and aggressiveness among boys. One of the ways to counter the absence of fathers is for adults -- especially men -- to step into the role of mentor and guide.

Clearly, children deserve safety and security at home. Yet, hundreds of thousands of children are victims of abuse and neglect. A recent study shows that children reported abused and neglected are 67 times more likely to be arrested between the ages of 9 and 12 than other children. Buffalo, N.Y.'s Police Commissioner Gil Kerlikowske sums it up this way: "We'll win the war on crime when we invest tax dollars in America's most vulnerable kids, instead of waiting until they become America's most wanted adults."

One of the best ways to combat juvenile crime is to give kids something positive to do after school. We should follow the example of Houston, Texas, where children play golf and soccer after school. Their mentors are coaches and teachers, not gang leaders.

We also have a responsibility to protect our children at home. Guns are the fourth leading cause of accidental deaths among children ages 5 to 14. Almost half of American households have guns, but often, instead of being locked up, they are merely hidden or left in a drawer.

In addition, we must take weapons off the streets. This week, my husband blocked the import of 58 types of military-style assault weapons into this country. As was the case when he signed the Brady bill, the gun lobbyists and manufacturers assailed the move and threatened to sue.

It's a moral outrage that these lobbyists and manufacturers are fighting this measure while at the same time marketing their products to our children -- just as the tobacco industry has for years. Every self-respecting gun owner should condemn this latest cynical move to turn children into targets of gun advertising before they are emotionally able to handle the responsibility.

And let's not overlook the importance of the mass media. Too many television shows, movies and rock lyrics romanticize and trivialize violence. And video games have managed to transform millions of television sets into scenes of violence that children not only watch but also participate in.

As I have suggested many times, it's time to turn the TV off and spend more time with our kids. Time, after all, is what every child wants and needs. We live in a fast world, where slowing down to spend time with our families is hard to do -- unless we make it a priority.

Our children are our greatest gift, our greatest responsibility, our greatest test. Never again do I want to wake in the middle of the night to the news that another child has murdered a friend or classmate. It's time for us to look into our children's eyes and remember what's important.

We owe this to Shannon Wright, the courageous teacher who sacrificed her life for her students. Her 3-year-old son keeps asking, "Where's Mommy?" We owe this to Natalie Brooks, Paige Ann Herring, Stephanie Johnson, Brittheny Varner and all the other children who have died so tragically on our watch.

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Talking it Over

[Read our Privacy Policy](#)

Virtual Y Child Care
1/26/98

**PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION**

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
MONDAY, JANUARY 26, 1998

FINAL

WASHINGTON, DC / NEW YORK, NY

TRAVELLING STAFF:	RALPH ALSWANG	TBD
	MARSHA BERRY	ROOM 3512
(will meet in NYC)	KELLY CRAIGHEAD	ROOM 35J
	MISSY KINCAID	ROOM 35M2
(NYC - DC only)	JULIE MASON	ROOM 35R2
	NICOLE RABNER	ROOM 35F2
	MELANNE VERVEER	ROOM 3508
NEW YORK		
LEAD ADVANCE:	KARA MCGUIRE MINAR	
	WALDORF ASTORIA	ROOM 16R
	212/355-3000	PHONE
	212/935-9234	HOME
	917/821-6392	CELL PHONE
PRESS ADVANCE:	JOI HILTON	ROOM 914
	718/931-4606	HOME
P.S. 154		
SITE ADVANCE:	LUC PETIT	ROOM 1489
	212/316-4638	HOME
	917/632-7966	PAGER
UNICEF GALA		
SITE ADVANCE:	CRAIG MINASIAN	
	212/366-3469	PHONE
	800-953-5042	PAGER
SITE/RON ADVANCE:	ALLISON STEIN	ROOM 1625
SCHEDULER:	EVAN RYAN	
	202/456-6751	PHONE
	202/456-5340	FAX
	202/483-0383	HOME
	WHCA PAGER	#4223

PREV RON **The White House**

10:00 am- **BRIEFING on Child Care Announcement**
10:10 am **TBD**
 CLOSED PRESS/WH PHOTO

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
MONDAY, JANUARY 26, 1998
PAGE 2

PARTICIPANTS:

The President
The First Lady
The Vice President
Bruce Reed
Mike McCurry
Ann Lewis
Ron Klain, The Vice President's Office
Nicole Rabner
Jon Schnur, The Vice President's Office
Melanne Vermeer

CONTACT: Nicole Rabner 202/456-7263

10:10 am-
10:30 am

CHILD CARE ANNOUNCEMENT

Grand Foyer
POOL PRESS/WH PHOTO

FORMAT:

- Secretary Riley makes brief remarks and introduces Rand and Debra Bass, parents.
- Rand and Debra Bass make brief remarks and introduce the First Lady.
- The First Lady makes remarks and introduces the Vice President.
- The Vice President makes remarks and introduces Bill White, President, Mott Foundation.
- Bill White makes brief remarks.
- The Vice President introduces The President.
- The President makes remarks.
- Upon conclusion of the remarks, The President, The First Lady and The Vice President depart.

PARTICIPANTS: 35 people expected.

CONTACT: Nicole Rabner 202/456-7263

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
MONDAY, JANUARY 26, 1998
PAGE 3

10:45 am- **DROP-BY** with Professor Schechter and Wellesley
11:00 am Students

Indian Treaty Room
CLOSED PRESS/WH PHOTO

FORMAT:

-The First Lady joins roundtable discussion with
Wellesley College students.

PARTICIPANTS: 50 students expected.

CONTACT: Katy Button 202/456-7264

11:15 am-
11:45 am

VIDEOS
459 OEOB
CLOSED PRESS/WH PHOTO

TAPING:

Lifetime Television Child Care PSA
Hispanic American Construction Industry
Wellesley College's "Female Activism in the
American Political System" Conference
Boston Community Center's 25th Anniversary
The Council of Fashion Designers of America Dom
Perignon Humanitarian Award to Ralph Lauren

CONTACT: Brenda Anders 202/456-5654

12:00 pm-
12:30 pm

PRIVATE MEETING
Residence
CLOSED PRESS/NO WH PHOTO

PARTICIPANTS:

The First Lady
Marsha Berry
Patti Solis Doyle
Bobbie Greene
Melanne Verveer

CONTACT: Patti Solis Doyle 202/456-2468

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
MONDAY, JANUARY 26, 1998
PAGE 4

1:30 pm **DEPART** The White House
 EN ROUTE Andrews Air Force Base

1:50 pm **ARRIVE** Andrews Air Force Base

2:00 pm **WHEELS UP** Andrews Air Force Base
 EN ROUTE New York, NY
 [flight time: 1 hour]

3:00 pm **WHEELS DOWN** LaGuardia International Airport

3:10 pm **DEPART** LaGuardia International Airport
 EN ROUTE 250 West 127th Street, New York, New York

3:25 pm **ARRIVE** 250 West 127th Street, New York, New York
 OPEN PRESS

GREETERS (Inside):

Beverly Andrews, Vice Principal, P.S. 154
Natyna Arnold, Parent Association, P.S. 154
Matt Brown, Harlem YMCA
Barbara Byrd-Bennett, Superintendent, District 85
Toni Fay, Time Warner
Paula Gavin, President, YMCA of Greater New York
Elizabeth Jarrett, Principal, P.S. 154
Judith Rizzo, Board of Education
Debra Wright, Upper Manhattan Empowerment Zone

STAFF NOTE: Staff should proceed directly to Classroom 309.

3:30 pm- **TOUR OF VIRTUAL Y CHILD CARE PROGRAM**
4:00 pm Classrooms 303, 304 & 306
 P.S. 154 The Harriet Tubman School
 250 West 127th Street
 New York, New York
 FLOTUS Hold: Principal's Office
 Phone: 212/690-5820
 Fax: 212/690-5823
 Staff Hold: Principal's Outer Office
 Phone: 212/690-5820
 Fax: 212/690-5823
 POOL PRESS/WH PHOTO

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
MONDAY, JANUARY 26, 1998
PAGE 5

FORMAT:

- The First Lady proceeds to Third Floor of P.S. 154 with Principal Jarrett.
- The First Lady enters Classroom 303.
- Jennifer Ford, Virtual Y Coordinator, gives the First Lady a tour of Classroom 303: April Mainer, counselor, and children describe the activities available at the Virtual Y afterschool program.
- At the end of the tour of Classroom 303, the children ask the First Lady a question.
- The First Lady and Jennifer Ford proceed to Classroom 304.
- Jennifer Ford gives the First Lady a tour of Classroom 304 with Kelly Nixon, counselor, and children available to describe their activities.
- At the end of the tour of Classroom 304, the children present the First Lady with a card.
- The First Lady, Jennifer Ford, and Principal Jarrett proceed to Classroom 306 where the other Virtual Y afterschool program children are gathered.
- The First Lady briefly says hello to children in Classroom 306.
- The First Lady proceeds to Classroom 309.

PARTICIPANTS: 10 children in Classrooms 303 & 304
20 children in Classroom 306

CONTACT: Gary Wartels 212/630-9690

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

MONDAY, JANUARY 26, 1998

PAGE 6

4:00 pm-

REMARKS ON VIRTUAL Y CHILD CARE

4:30 pm

Classroom 309
P.S. 154, The Harriet Tubman School
250 West 127th Street
FLOTUS Hold: Principal's Office
Phone: 212/690-5820
Fax: 212/690-5823
Staff Hold: Principal's Outer Office
Phone: 212/690-5820
Fax: 212/690-5823
POOL PRESS/WH PHOTO

PROGRAM:

- The First Lady, and other program speakers proceed into the room and to their seats up front.
- Principal Elizabeth Jarrett makes welcoming remarks and introduces Cleveland Moore, Virtual Y parent.
- Cleveland Moore makes remarks and introduces Paula Gavin, President, YMCA of Greater New York.
- Paula Gavin makes remarks and introduces The First Lady.
- The First Lady makes remarks.
- Upon conclusion of remarks, the First Lady departs.

PARTICIPANTS: 40 guests expected.

CONTACT: Gary Wartels 212-630-9690

4:35 pm

DEPART P.S. 154, The Harriet Tubman School
EN ROUTE The Waldorf Astoria

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004. schedule	Schedule for Hillary Rodham Clinton (partial) (1 page)	01/26/1998	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 19011

FOLDER TITLE:

Youth Development Afterschool Violence #2 [binder] [3]

2013-0534-S
ry1771

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
MONDAY, JANUARY 26, 1998
PAGE 7

5:00 pm **ARRIVE** The Waldorf Astoria

GREETERS:

Angela Taylor, Catering Director
Kevin Corrigan, Resident Manager

5:15 pm-
6:15 pm

PRIVATE MEETING
The Waldorf Astoria
CLOSED PRESS/WH PHOTO

PARTICIPANTS:

The First Lady

(b)(6)

7:40 pm **DEPART** The Waldorf Astoria
EN ROUTE The Sheraton Towers

7:50 pm **ARRIVE** The Sheraton Towers

PROCEED to Versailles Room

GREETERS:

Charles Lyons, President, U.S. Cmte., UNICEF
Claire Lyons
Marvin Girouard, President & COO, Pier 1 Imports
Mrs. Felice Girouard
Diane Whitty, Vice President, UNICEF
Jack Whitty
Ingrid Acevedo, Director, Public Relations, UNICEF

8:00 pm-
8:35 pm

UNICEF 50th ANNIVERSARY GALA
Imperial Ballroom
Sheraton Towers
Attire: Black Tie
FLOTUS Hold: Versailles Room
Phone: tbd
Fax: tbd
Staff Hold: Versailles Room
Phone: tbd
Fax: tbd
OPEN PRESS

[004]

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
MONDAY, JANUARY 26, 1998
PAGE 8

PROGRAM:

- Off-stage announcement of Charles Lyons, UNICEF President, and the First Lady, onto the stage.
- The First Lady and Charles Lyons proceed off-stage to head table.
- The First Lady and Charles Lyons are seated at head table.
- UNICEF video is played as dinner is served.
- Charles Lyons makes welcoming remarks and introduces the Brooklyn Youth Chorus.
- Brooklyn Youth Chorus performs "God Bless the Child".
- Charles Lyons returns to the stage and introduces the First Lady.
- The First Lady proceeds to stage escorted by two members of the Brooklyn Youth Chorus.
- The First Lady delivers remarks.
- Following remarks, an assistant proceeds on stage and hands award to the First Lady.
- The First Lady makes award presentation to Hugh Downs.
- The First Lady proceeds offstage as Hugh Downs makes very brief remarks.
- At the conclusion of Hugh Downs' remarks, The First Lady and Charles Lyons come back onto the stage, meet Hugh Downs, and then all exit stage left.

PARTICIPANTS: 500-600 guests expected.

CONTACT: Charles Lyons 212/686-5522
718/788-0889

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
MONDAY, JANUARY 26, 1998
PAGE 9

8:40 pm- **PHOTO** with Chauncey Parker, Assistant U.S. Atty
8:45 pm Versailles Room
 The Sheraton Towers
 CLOSED PRESS/WH PHOTO

8:45 pm **DEPART** The Sheraton Towers
 EN ROUTE The Waldorf Astoria

8:55 pm **ARRIVE** The Waldorf Astoria

RON The Waldorf Astoria
 New York, NY

WEATHER FORECAST FOR WASHINGTON, DC: Partly cloudy. Wind
southeast at 5 to 10 knots. Low 28. High 44.

WEATHER FORECAST FOR NEW YORK, NEW YORK: Mostly cloudy. High 37.
Low 27.

January 23, 1998

VIRTUAL Y CHILD CARE EVENT

DATE: Monday, January 26
TIME: 3:30 pm - 4:30 pm
LOCATION: P.S. 154 Harriet Tubman School
New York, New York
FROM: Brenda Costello

I. PURPOSE

To visit The Virtual Y after-school program, highlighting the after-school component to the President's recent Child Care Initiative, as well as a successful public-private partnership.

II. BACKGROUND

On Monday afternoon you will visit *The Virtual Y* after-school program at P.S. 154 Harriet Tubman School in central Harlem. This event will complement your morning event with the Vice President announcing the Mott Foundation funding for after-school programs, underscoring the after-school component to the President's Child Care Initiative.

The Virtual Y

The Virtual Y after-school program is a partnership of the YMCA of Greater New York, the NYC Board of Education and the United Way of NYC, funded by corporate and foundation donations. The Virtual Y provides a safe, educational environment for students after school every day. Secretary Riley visited P.S. 92 in Harlem last October to highlight The Virtual Y program and announce its expansion.

Currently, The Virtual Y serves approximately 3,000 grade school students in 66 public schools throughout the city, with the goal of reaching 10,000 students in 200 schools by September, 1998. Of those schools, 12 are located in the Upper Manhattan Empowerment Zone, and eventually 24 schools in both the Upper Manhattan Empowerment Zone (Harlem) and in the Bronx Empowerment Zone (south Bronx) will have Virtual Y programs.

Purpose

The Virtual Y program is intended to support NYC Schools Chancellor Rudy Crew's mandate to improve the reading scores of all students up to grade level. Chancellor Crew joined forces with the United Federation of Teachers to improve schools ("SURR" schools or School Under Registration Review) that were threatened to be taken over by

the state due to low-performance. The Virtual Y emphasizes early literacy and improving reading scores and also attempts to bring more after-school programs to the schools and students.

The Virtual Y incorporates the YMCA's triangle philosophy of spirit/mind/body -- designed to build strong values, enhance education and promote health lifestyles -- into the curriculum, and combines this with a second triangle of community/family/school. Parental/family involvement is a crucial component of the Virtual Y program, including involvement in the pilot program and continued service as volunteers in the program.

Structure

The Virtual Y focuses on second, third and fourth graders and targets low-performing schools. The Virtual Y provides tutoring and homework help as well as learning enrichment and recreational activities from 3pm - 6pm each school day. The Virtual Y comprises many of the Administration's initiatives, including community service, reading, and corporate responsibility. A total of 72 AmeriCorps volunteers work in Virtual Y programs within the Empowerment Zone. In addition, through the *America Reads* challenge, college work-study students work in the program which is part of the *America Reads* working group. The Virtual Y was a member of the 1997 *America Goes Back to School* steering Committee, the annual initiative of the U.S. Department of Education focusing on the back-to-school months.

Each Virtual Y program is funded for 50 students in grades 2-4, and up to 80 students in programs in the empowerment zones. Enrollment fluctuates and occasionally there is a waiting list at a school. Half of the students are selected by the school based on need, while the other half are first come/first served. Students are separated by grade level into small groups in different classrooms. Once there, students rotate between the various activities, either reading and discussion, artwork, or recreation.

Generally there are one or two counselors per class for every 10-13 students. A Virtual Y Site Coordinator oversees the program and rotates through the school. At some sites, the Site Coordinator is an AmeriCorps volunteer.

A different theme and value is highlighted each month, with all activities structured around that particular theme. The values component addresses Respect, Responsibility, Caring, Fairness, Trustworthiness and Citizenship, focusing on themes ranging from racism to the environment. Students may, for example, help clean up the schoolyard when learning about the environment.

Funding

The Virtual Y is funded primarily through corporate sponsors who donate \$25,000 per school to cover all program costs at each school. Programs within the empowerment

zone are funded an additional \$15,000 for 30 more students beyond the 50 already covered. In addition, individual and foundations help fund the additional administrative costs for training and program evaluation. There is no cost to students in the program.

Nearly 80 private entities had raised \$5.35 million by the end of last year. Time Warner Inc. has been one of the largest supporters, with a commitment to fund 19 schools over 2 years in the Upper Manhattan Empowerment Zone, including P.S. 154 Harriet Tubman School. In kind contributions from Scholastic has provided all the books and for the Virtual Y program.

P.S. 154 Harriet Tubman School

P.S. 154 Harriet Tubman School is an elementary school serving approximately 650 students in grades pre-K through grade 5. Located in central Harlem, approximately 90 percent of the students at PS 154 are African American and 5 percent are Hispanic, and most fall below the poverty level. Ninety-two percent of students are eligible for free lunch. P.S. 154 is located in the Upper Manhattan Empowerment Zone, which increases available funding for the Virtual Y program.

Identified by the New York State Department of Education as a "non-performing" or SURR school two years ago due to low reading scores, P.S. 154 has made a remarkable comeback and has been removed from SURR list after literacy programs were implemented and test scores rose nearly 20 percent.

The school's current Principal, Elizabeth Jarrett, was appointed in July 1996. While not mandatory, uniforms are strongly recommended at PS 154. Approximately 50 percent of the students participate.

The Virtual Y at P.S. 154

Between 60 and 70 students are enrolled in The Virtual Y program at P.S. 154, with a total of five staff - two paid Virtual Y counselors and three volunteer positions. The theme this month is racism, and the value of the month is honesty.

Format

Guided by Jennifer Ford, The Virtual Y Coordinator at P.S. 154, you and Principal Jarrett will visit in two classrooms in the after-school program, where students will be working on various reading or art projects.

Following the tour, you will proceed to another classroom for a short speaking program on the Virtual Y program. Other speakers include Principal Jarrett, Paula Gavin, President, YMCA of Greater New York, and Rosetta Moore, the parent of a student in the after-school program. Approximately 30 guests from the school, YMCA and sponsors will be in the audience.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Program Tour

- The First Lady
- Elizabeth Jarrett, Principal, PS 154
- Jennifer Ford, Virtual Y Program Coordinator

Remarks

- The First Lady
- Elizabeth Jarrett, Principal, PS 154
- Rosetta Moore, Virtual Y parent
- Paula Gavin, President, YMCA of Greater New York

IV. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- The First Lady proceeds to Third Floor of P.S. 154 with Principal Jarrett.
- The First Lady enters Classroom 303.
- Jennifer Ford, Virtual Y Coordinator, gives the First Lady a tour of Classroom 303: counselors and children describe the activities available at the Virtual Y after school program.
- At the end of the tour of Classroom 303, the children ask the First Lady a question.
- The First Lady and Jennifer Ford proceed to Classroom 304.
- Jennifer Ford gives the First Lady a tour of Classroom 304 with counselors and children available to describe their activities.
- At the end of the tour of Classroom 304, the children present the First Lady with a card.
- The First Lady, Jennifer Ford, and Principal Jarrett proceed to Classroom 306 where the other after school program children are gathered.
- The First Lady briefly says hello to children in Classroom 306.
- The First Lady proceeds to Classroom 309.
- Principal Elizabeth Jarrett makes welcoming remarks and introduces Rosetta Moore, Virtual Y parent.
- Rosetta Moore makes remarks and introduces Paula Gavin, President, YMCA of Greater New York.
- Paula Gavin makes remarks and introduces The First Lady.
- The First Lady makes remarks.
- Upon conclusion of remarks, the First Lady departs.

V. PRESS

Tour: Pool Press.

Remarks: Pool press/WH Photo.

VI. REMARKS

Talking points provided by Christy Macy.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
005. bio	Re: Jennifer Ford (partial, POB) (1 page)	01/24/1998	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 19011

FOLDER TITLE:

Youth Development Afterschool Violence #2 [binder] [3]

2013-0534-S
ry1771

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

JENNIFER FORD

Biography

Thirty years ago, Jennifer was born in (b)(6) Ms. Ford is the daughter of a United States Army Nurse and a Power Company worker. Jennifer has two brothers, two sisters, and a five year old son, Kristopher, a Kindergarten student at PS 154, Manhattan, New York. [005]

She spent her formative years as an "Army Brat" in Baumholder, Germany. Jennifer's mom was stationed at Fort Hood in Killeen, Texas.

At the age of sixteen, her parents relocated to New York where she attended St. Jean Baptiste High School and tutored third graders.

Jennifer earned a degree in Marketing and Merchandising from Tobe-Coburne in Manhattan, New York. She plans to further her education in human service studies. She enjoys running, biking and writing poetry and short stories. In addition, she volunteers at the Children's Health Fund, an agency which promotes healthy lifestyles for children.

Most recently, Jennifer worked as a manager at Sports Authority. She came to the Harlem YMCA as a volunteer in the Black Achievers Mentor Program. She is currently a Virtual Y Site Coordinator responsible for implementing an innovative literacy curriculum for 80 students.

As a result of her experience as a single mother raising a small boy, Jennifer has a real appreciation for the Americorps and Virtual Y programs. She values the unique and important service provided by the YMCA staff. She is extremely proud of the impact that her efforts have on students.

Jennifer found gratification at an early age for the opportunity to make a difference in the lives of children and families.

YMCA OF GREATER NEW YORK

(1990-PRESENT)

President & CEO

- Responsible for providing leadership to 19 Branches and 150 program locations in New York City, including three camps and a conference center upstate, which collectively serve 350,000 people a year including 120,000 youth. The YMCA of Greater New York is the single largest youth serving agency in New York City and the largest YMCA in the country.
- Developed and implemented a Strategic Plan of Action whose vision for the year 2000 is to have 500,000 men, women, boys and girls living or working in New York City become active with the YMCA (with an emphasis on serving 1 in 10 New York City youth); to promote positive values; to become a partner with the city and other organizations in improving the quality of life for all New Yorkers; and to be a high quality service organization dedicated to helping people grow in spirit, mind and body with a focus on youth.
- Focused the organization mission on education, recreation and health programs, which serve the needs of communications and youth. The YMCA has set a goal and plans to serve 1 in 10 New York City youth (170,000) by the year 2005 and has grown from serving 55,000 youth in 1990 to 120,000 youth in 1997. Mobilized funding and initiated wide-ranging teen programs throughout the city to improve the opportunities for youth. In 1997, the YMCA launched a model after school program called the Virtual Y which will operate in 200 public schools and serve 10,000 youth. The YMCA has accomplished a strong financials, fund raising, programming during 1990-1997.

AT&T

One of 130 officers within AT&T's executive structure. Recognized for achievements in operations, personnel management, financial performance and customer satisfaction.

- As Vice President of Network Operations led business planning, finance, personnel and training for AT&T's operations unit of 60,000 people (1987-1989). As Vice President of AT&T's largest single line organization of 50,000 overseas operators, managed a budget of \$2 billion and a major customer service unit (1986). From 1967-1985, held increasingly responsible positions in operations, marketing sales and personnel until promotion to Vice President in 1986.

COMMUNITY SERVICE

Partner & Member of the Board of Directors/Executive Committee, New York City Partnership (1993-Present)

Member of New York Stock Exchange Nominating Committee (1997-Present)

Member of the Health Insurance Plan of New York Board of Directors (1995-Present)

Member of the Women's Forum

Adjunct professor at Columbia University (1992-1995) & the New School (1997-Present)

EDUCATION

University of Delaware, B.A. in Spanish and Education, 1967

Harvard Advanced Management Program, 1985

PERSONAL

Married to John J. Gavin, stepmother to two young adults.

Wide range of interests in sports, needlework, reading and family as well as friends.

Excellent health.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006. bio	Re: Elaine Edmonds (partial, POB) (1 page)	01/26/1998	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 19011

FOLDER TITLE:

Youth Development Afterschool Violence #2 [binder] [3]

2013-0534-S
ry1771

RESTRICTION CODES

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**BIO OF
ELAINE EDMONDS**

Elaine Edmonds was appointed Executive Director of the Harlem YMCA in June of 1996. Edmonds had been serving as acting director since January 1996 and has been a staff member of the Harlem YMCA since 1992.

Edmonds spent most of her early career with Blue Cross/Blue Shield having joined the health care organization in 1971 and retired in 1992. Her association with the YMCA dates back to 1984 when she was honored by Empire Blue Cross/Blue Shield of Greater New York as a Harlem YMCA Black Achiever.

In October of 1992, Edmonds joined the staff of the Harlem YMCA as Director of the Harlem YMCA Black Achievers in Industry Program. She served in that position until being named Acting Executive Director in January 1996.

A native of (b)(6) Edmonds was educated at Mary Bethune High School. She obtained her associate degree at Elizabeth Seton College, Yonkers, NY, and her bachelor of science at Marymount College, Tarrytown, NY. [006]

A devoted family person with a longstanding involvement in community activities, Edmonds is a member of the Rockland County Youth Bureau, NAACP, Salvation Army, the BAI Alumni Committee, Big Brothers/Big Sisters and Rockland County Board of Realtors. She resides in Pomona, NY, with her husband Fred, and two daughters, Gina and Tonya.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
007. bio	Re: Matthew L. Brown (partial, POB) (1 page)	01/26/1998	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 19011

FOLDER TITLE:

Youth Development Afterschool Violence #2 [binder] [3]

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Biographical Information

Matthew L. Brown

[007]

Matthew L. Brown is a native of (b)(6) and the president of Big Apple Tire Company, a Goodyear franchise in Brooklyn, New York. Brown established Big Apple Tire as the first Goodyear franchise in New York City. His operation specializes in the sale of Goodyear tires and automotive services.

Brown, one of twelve children, entered Kent State University, after completing high school in Alabama. He graduated with a BA in Bio-Chemistry and joined Goodyear in 1964 as a chemist in Research and Development. After two years, he was transferred to the Chemical Sales Division and continued to climb the corporate ladder from Eastern Field Sales Manager to Marketing Manager in the Goodyear Chemical Division. In 1980, Brown became Manager, Minority Franchise Development at the request of the President of Goodyear. In this newly created position, he established several African American franchisees around the country.

Under Brown's guidance in 1982, Goodyear established a new subsidiary - Rubber City Capital, to financially assist minorities in their desire to enter the tire and automotive service business. Brown was appointed Vice President and Manager of this subsidiary.

In 1984, the Governor of Ohio appointed Brown to a nine year term on the Board of Trustees of Kent State University. He formally served as the Vice Chairman of that Board. He was recently appointed to the Board of Trustees of Bethune Cookman College, Daytona Beach Florida. He is a strong supporter of educational programs for African Americans and active in the objectives of many community organizations such as the National Urban League, YMCA, Caribbean Chamber of Commerce, 100 Black Men. He is also an active member of the Abyssinian Baptist Church and its programs in Harlem.

Brown was featured on the cover of Black Enterprise magazine in September, 1989 as the "Franchisee of the Year." For two consecutive years (1989 & 1990), Brown's Brooklyn Goodyear franchise was number one in tire sales in the country.

Brown's business principals are simple - have quality product and/or service, be honest and fair with your customers, and most of all support your community.

Brown resides in Rockville Centre., New York

Biographical Sketch**Resident:**

Matthew I. Brown
Rockville Centre, New York

Office:

Big Apple Tire of Manhattan
607 West 57th Street
New York, NY 10019
(212) 265-6900

Education:

U.S. Jones High School
Demopolis, Alabama

Kent State University
Kent, Ohio
Bachelor's - Bio Chemistry

Attended City College - Business Law

Position:

President, Big Apple Tire Inc.
New York City

History:

Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company - 21 years
Akron, Ohio

- 1964 - Research and Development & Field Sales
- 1972 - District Manager, New York
- 1977 - Marketing Manager, New York
- 1980 - Manager Dealer Development
- 1984 - Vice President
Rubber City Capital
Subsidiary, Goodyear Tire & Rubber
- Established Big Apple Tire Co. - Brooklyn, New York

Affiliation:

Member, Board of Trustees, Bethune Cookman College
Chairman, Board of Directors, Harlem YMCA
Member, 100 Black Men Inc., New York City
Member, Caribbean-American Chamber of Commerce
Member, Kent State Black Alumni Association
Member, Abyssinian Baptist Church
Member, National Urban League
Member, United Negro College Fund
Member Black Executive Exchange Program
Member, NAACP
Member, Harlem Business Alliance
Past President, Harlem Condo Association
Former Vice Chairman, Board of Trustees, Kent State University

Awards:

"Business Person of Year 1991"
(Urban Banker's Colition)

"Franchisee of the Year 1989"
(Black Enterprise Magazine)

"Building Tomorrow Together 1992"
(General Motor Community Campaign)

Active in many community-based organizations, with serious commitments in education, youth and economic development.

Hillary Clinton Greeters on Arrival

Beverly Andrews, Vice Principal, P.S. 154
Natyna Arnold, Parent Association, P.S. 154
Matt Brown, Harlem YMCA
Barbara Byrd-Bennett, Superintendent, District 85
Toni Fay, Time Warner
Paula Gavin, YMCA of Greater New York
Elizabeth Jarrett, Principal, P.S. 154
Judith Rizzo, Board of Education
Debra Wright, Upper Manhattan Empowerment Zone

Meeting Guests

Beverly Andrews, P.S. 154
Natyna Arnold, P.S. 154
Pam Bayless, YMCA of Greater New York
Matt Brown, Harlem YMCA
Barbara Byrd-Bennett, Superintendent, District 85
Ralph Dickerson, United Way of New York
Elaine Edmonds, Harlem YMCA
Toni Fay, Time Warner
Jennifer Ford, Site Coordinator, *Virtual Y*
Paula Gavin, YMCA of Greater New York
Ben Jacobson, YMCA of Greater New York
Elizabeth Jarrett, P.S. 154
Jill Karp, YMCA of Greater New York
Rosetta Moore, P.S. 154
Julie Morales, AmeriCorps
5 Parents, P.S. 154
Judith Rizzo, Board of Education
Ken Turpin, YMCA of Greater New York
Gerri Warren-Merrick, Time Warner
Gary Wartels, YMCA of Greater New York
Brian Williams, Harlem YMCA
Debra Wright, Upper Manhattan Empowerment Zone

NEWS FLASH NEWS FLASH NEWS FLASH NEWS FLASH

AFTER-SCHOOL

21ST CENTURY COMMUNITY LEARNING CENTERS

AFTER-SCHOOL, WEEKEND AND SUMMER PROGRAMS FOR YOUTH

PARTNERSHIP
for Family
Involvement
in Education

WHAT IS THE 21ST CENTURY COMMUNITY LEARNING CENTER PROGRAM?

The 21st Century Community Learning Center program is authorized under Title X, Part I (21st Century Community Learning Centers) of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The funds can be used to expand the school's capacity to address the educational needs of its community after-school, weekends and summers. The focus of this program will be to provide expanded learning opportunities for participating children in a safe, drug-free and supervised environment. A priority of the program will be to focus on middle school students. Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities will also be a target of the program.

**Deadline for transmittal of application is
 March 9, 1998.
 The announcement of grant awards is
 expected in early May 1998.**

WHY DO WE NEED THIS PROGRAM?

While some communities are already developing after-school programs, they are not widespread, particularly in the public schools. In 1995, there were 23.5 million school-aged children with parents in the workforce. But as recently as the 1993-94 school year, 70 percent of all public elementary and combined schools did not have a before- or after-school program. In rural areas, 82 percent of public schools did not have such programs. In addition, the majority of extended-day programs are

aimed at kindergarten and early elementary school students, and focus on supervised care rather than academic instruction. This program will bring much-needed attention to the provision of supplementary learning activities and on activities addressing the needs of adolescents and the problems of drug use, gang involvement and violence.

A 1994 survey of parents found that 56 percent think that children are left alone too much after school, and a 1989 survey showed that 84 percent of school principals expressed a need for before- and after-school programs. According to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, youth between the ages of 12 and 17 are most at risk of committing violent acts and being victims between 3 p.m. and 6 p.m.--a

time when they are not in school. Many children and youth can benefit from extra learning time after school, summer and weekends. A priority would be given to programs serving early adolescents and middle school-age children. The 21st Century Learning Center program meets this need by providing a safe place for homework centers, intensive mentoring in basic skills, drug and violence prevention counseling, help for middle school students to prepare to take college prep courses in high school, enrichment in the core academic subjects, as well as opportunities

NEWS FLASH NEWS FLASH

to participate in chorus, band and the arts, technology education programs and services for children and youth with disabilities. Before- and after-school and summer programs can help children stay on the right track.

HOW MUCH FUNDING IS AVAILABLE FOR 21ST CENTURY COMMUNITY LEARNING CENTERS?

The President received \$40 million in his FY 1998 budget to expand this program. It is estimated that this amount will fund 200 to 300 new after-school grants that can include more than one local project, as in the case of a local education agency applying to serve several local schools.

WHO IS ELIGIBLE TO RECEIVE FUNDING?

A school or consortia of schools, but they must be in collaboration with other public and non-profit agencies and organizations, local businesses, educational entities (such as vocational and adult education programs, school-to-work programs, community colleges, and universities), and scientific/cultural, and other community institutions. By and large, according to a 1992 Gallup poll, the public favors keeping school buildings open for use by school children (with adult supervision): 87 percent after school; 67 percent on weekends; and 72 percent during vacation. Grants will be funded for a period not to exceed three years.

REGIONAL WORKSHOPS

The U.S. Department of Education, with the National Community Education Association (NCEA) and the National Center for Community Education (NCCE), is offering a series of one-day regional workshops to assist people who may apply for grants

under the 21st Century Community Learning Centers program. The workshops will assist potential applicants to plan and implement high-quality after-school programs, and will feature:

- Technical assistance – tips on how to prepare the grant application
- Research results
- Examples of high-quality after-school programs and activities in the region

The C. S. Mott Foundation is sponsoring the workshops, which are free of charge to applicants. The schedule and location for the workshops are listed below:

- February 2 – Boston, Atlanta
- February 4 – New York, Dallas
- February 6 – Washington DC, St. Louis
- February 9 – Los Angeles, Chicago
- February 11 – Seattle; Flint, Michigan
- February 13 – Denver

The deadline to register is January 26, 1998. For additional information or to obtain a registration form, go to the Web site at www.ed.gov/offices/OERI/21stCCLC or contact the National Community Education Association at 703-359-8973.

HOW DO I APPLY FOR FUNDING?

To request an application packet, please contact: Amanda Clyburn
U.S. Department of Education
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
555 New Jersey Avenue, NW
Washington DC 20208-5644
E-mail: amanda_clyburn@ed.gov
FAX: 202-219-2198

You can also download the application packet from the U.S. Department of Education's Web site at www.ed.gov/offices/OERI.



Y.M.C.A. and School Board Unite on a Reading Program

By SOMINI SENGUPTA

Using private donations to make up for city budget cuts, the Board of Education and the Y.M.C.A. of Greater New York announced a plan yesterday for new after-school programs with a special focus on improving reading skills for 10,000 elementary school students.

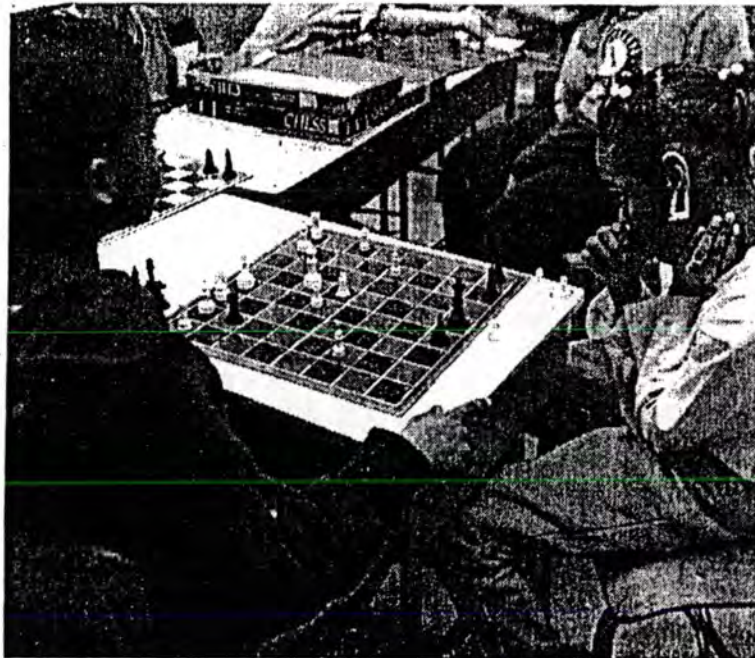
The proposal, for second, third and fourth graders in 200 elementary schools, is the first major effort to extend the school day since budget cuts to the Board of Education and the Department of Youth Services eliminated much of what used to be an array of after-school programs, from basketball to math tutorials.

Drawing on corporate and individual donors as well as grants from the United Way, the Y.M.C.A. will spend about \$25,000 on staff and materials at each school, to be matched by about \$7,500 a year from the Board of Education to keep the schools open from 3 to 6 P.M. The corporate donors will be able to display their company banners at the schools in exchange for their donations.

The Y.M.C.A. has raised \$1 million so far and will require \$5 million each year to sustain the program.

Fifty children will take part at each school, half of them selected by the principal on the basis of academic or social needs. Y.M.C.A. employees and volunteers will offer homework help and athletic and arts activities like chess, dance, and basketball, as well as a curriculum intended to increase reading skills. One of Chancellor Rudy Crew's priorities is to have all third graders reading at grade level.

The Y.M.C.A. currently offers programs in 40 schools, concentrated in the city's poorest neighborhoods. Its new venture, which grew out of conversations between the organization's president and Dr. Crew, an honorary board member, will serve children in a third of all elementary schools. By next fall, the program, called the Virtual Y, will be in about



Michelle V. Agins/The New York Times

Chess is among the activities in a new program offered by the Y.M.C.A. Alejandro Garcia, 10, left, and Shantel Jackson, 8, playing at P.S. 145.

60 schools. The rest will have it by the end of the next school year.

"We will go into the schools of greatest need, with low reading and math performance," said the Y.M.C.A. president, Paula Gavin.

Speaking at a news conference yesterday at Public School 40, at 319 East 19th Street in Manhattan, Richard A. Grasso, chairman and chief executive of the New York Stock Exchange, issued an appeal.

"I'm a product of the public education system in this town, and I believe very deeply that the Virtual Y will make a very important contribution that reminds the private sector and certainly those of us in financial services that there is no greater investment in our future than in our kids," said Mr. Grasso, who is also on the board of the Y.M.C.A. "The returns are incalculable."

Children's advocates said yesterday that while philanthropic efforts could not compensate for severe city budget cuts, programs like the Virtual Y are crucial for students and working parents, and are becoming even more important as new welfare rules require single parents to work.

"It's not going to fill the gap," said Rose Anello, the associate director of the Citizens' Committee for Children. "It's going to help us meet the needs of school-age children and working parents, as well as parents who are required to go to work to keep their welfare benefits."

Board of Education officials said they do not know how many after-school programs exist now. But several school district superintendents, who are in charge of the city's 848 elementary and middle schools, said they have had "to slash almost all of

the after-school programs once supported by city money.

Five years ago, every elementary school in District 15 in Brooklyn offered after-school programs at least three days a week, focusing on academic enrichment, arts and athletics. They were financed by discretionary money from the Board of Education, said the district superintendent, William F. Casey.

The board also paid for after-school sports programs five days a week in each of the middle schools in the district, which stretches from Sunset Park to Park Slope. Money from the city's Department of Youth Services supplemented the school's programs.

Since then, with steep city budget cuts for education and youth services, district superintendents have been forced to channel discretionary spending toward classroom instruction, Mr. Casey said. "Any kind of discretionary money you could find in the budget, you kind of used it to ease the pain of the cuts," he said.

Now Mr. Casey uses Federal and state money for after-school reading classes in three or four schools. Parents in four schools also pay, on a sliding scale, for their own after-school programs.

Some school officials have tried to fill the gap with outside grants. District 3, on the Upper West Side, raises \$400,000 to \$500,000 in state and Federal grants, for after-school programs alone. The district is unusual in that all of its 38 schools have programs after school.

On a recent afternoon at P.S. 185 on West 112th Street, a dozen first and second graders huddled around a teacher as she read aloud "The Snowy Day," by Ezra Jack Keats. The children, many of them immigrants from Latin America and Africa, described winter, wrote stories and drew pictures about the season.

"This is a continuation of school, but more relaxed," the assistant principal, Norma Genao, said.

DAILY
NEWS

Metro

10/2/77

\$1.1M to aid literacy

By LAURA WILLIAMS

Daily News Staff Writer

An after-school literacy program got a \$1.1 million shot in the arm yesterday from Time Warner Cable and the Upper Manhattan Empowerment Zone Development Corp.

The money will help a YMCA program that gives extra instruction to students to expand to 19 schools in Harlem and upper Manhattan.

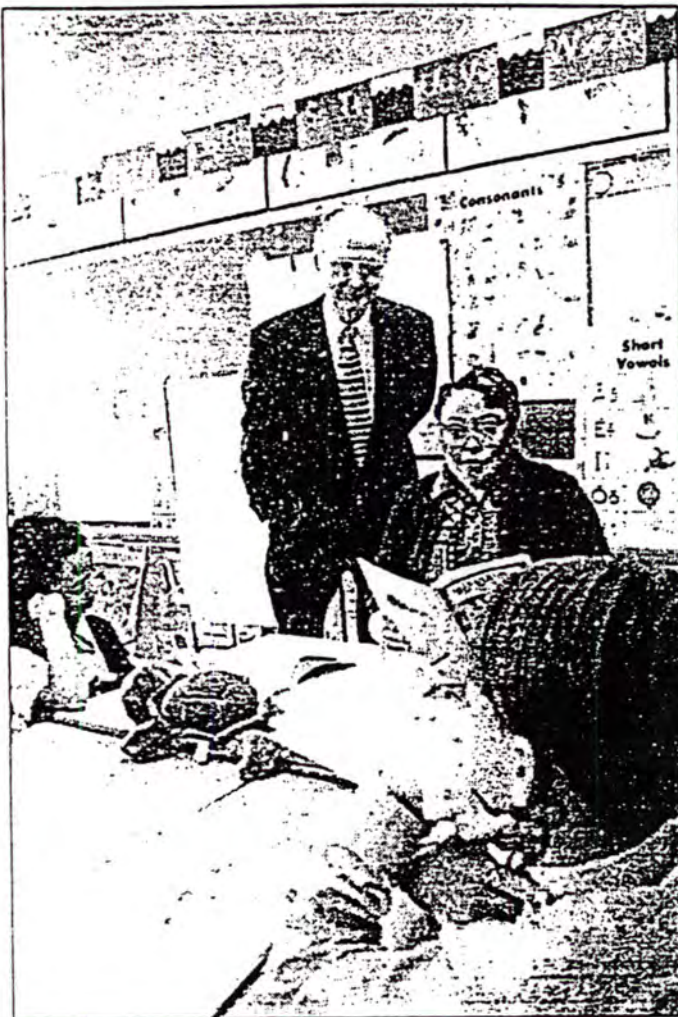
In announcing the donation, Deborah Wright, the head of the development corporation, said all New Yorkers should pitch in however they can to help students learn to read.

"We must put our arms collectively around these kids so they have the support we did," Wright said during a panel discussion on literacy with U.S. Education Secretary Richard Riley, Deputy Chancellor Judith Rizzo and other officials.

Riley said he intends to take the YMCA program, or similar efforts, to school systems across the country.

"This is a national movement," he said. "It's very, very important for this country."

The program, called Virtual Y, gives free literacy in-



BILL TURNBULL/DAILY NEWS

EDUCATION SECRETARY Richard Riley visits classroom at upper Manhattan's Public School 92 yesterday.

struction to students three hours a day, five days a week. In order to give each child a lot of attention, there is one counselor for each 10 students. Virtual Y is funded largely by private companies as well as some nonprofit

community organizations.

There are now 65 Virtual Y centers — with a total of 3,500 children — in all five boroughs. By the year 2000, the YMCA hopes to have 200 New York sites serving up to 12,000 students.

P h i l a n t h r o p y

Time Warner Inc. and the Upper Manhattan Empowerment Zone recently announced a \$1.1 million commitment designed to give more New York City elementary students a safe place to go when the school day ends.

The pledge will enable 19 Harlem-area schools to participate in the "Virtual Y" after-school program, in which trained volunteers, college work-study students, and YMCA staff members work with children in grades 2, 3, and 4 to improve literacy skills.

The Virtual Y program is not related to high-tech computing or Internet surfing, but rather it delivers academic and recreational resources from the YMCA to each of the 66 schools currently being served by the three-hour, extended-day program, said Paula Gavin, the president of the YMCA of Greater New York.

The joint contribution of Time Warner and the Upper Manhattan Empowerment Zone, which is part of a federal initiative that gives tax breaks and financial resources to struggling communities, is the program's largest gift to date.

Virtual Y sponsors, including the New York City board of education and the local United Way affiliate, hope to install the program in 200 underserved public schools in the city by 2000, Ms. Gavin said. When it started as a pilot program last spring, Virtual Y served only 10 sites.



Where We Stand

by Sandy Feldman
President, American Federation of Teachers

*Two years ago,
children in PS 154
were among
the lowest-achieving
students in the city.*

A School is Reborn

A critical question in American education is how to provide poor children in failing and mostly urban schools with a good education. Voucher advocates have given up and argue that we should just rescue a few children by subsidizing their tuition at private schools. But how can we have a *public* policy of saving a few kids and ignoring the rest? If a school is that bad, no one should be stuck there.

Instead, we must--and can--educate all the children by turning around schools that are disorderly and unsafe and where kids are not learning. Close them if necessary; rethink everything about them--and do it fast.

This is not just talk. It's what Chancellor Rudy Crew, with the support and collaboration of the United Federation of Teachers, is doing in New York City. Schools that were performing so poorly the state threatened to take them over are being redesigned. Most are starting to improve, and some have made remarkable progress.

I recently visited PS 154 in central Harlem, where scores in a state-wide reading exam have risen 19.5 percent since the redesigned school opened in September 1996. (This figure is solidly documented, unlike the claims made for some private school voucher programs.)

PS 154 looks the way a good school should. The hallways are bright and clean and filled with the terrific work of children. There are no graffiti, no torn-up bulletin boards. Classroom doors stand open, and you can hear the sounds of children and teachers working together. They look busy and intent on what they're doing.

Most of the students are poor. They come from a public housing project across the street, and nearly 95 percent are eligible for Title I funds. Some have very serious problems, but the majority are average, normal-to-bright, big-city kids--and they are thriving.

A Dirty, Disorderly Place

Two years ago, the children in PS 154 were among the lowest-achieving students in the city. The school they attended, this same school, was dirty and disorderly. It was always short of books and supplies, and the adults--teachers and administrators--were frequently at odds with one another. There was no vision

of what the school should be like--or any hope of making it different and better.

How did all this change? First, PS 154, which had been neglected and starved for support and resources by its local sub-district, was taken over by the chancellor. The chancellor's office, together with the United Federation of Teachers, assisted PS 154's administrators, parents, teachers, and other staff in redesigning the school. The idea was to draw up a plan whose every part would contribute to improving student learning. Ultimately PS 154 chose, as a centerpiece, "Success for All," a reading program that has proven very effective in inner-city schools, and they organized the rest of the education plan around that program.

Teachers who wanted to be part of the new PS 154 were invited to apply; others transferred to schools elsewhere in the district. In all, 50 percent of the teachers stayed on. The rest were mostly new, young teachers who were eager to work in the redesigned school. All of the teachers--both new and experienced--got extra training to prepare them for putting the education plan into action.

Working Together

As for the leadership, the final and all-important piece, the school got an excellent new principal. She and the school's talented union building rep were able to work together and help teachers and parents follow through on every detail of the redesign.

This is a story about one school--and it's only the first chapter. But there are many stories like it, and more to come. In fact, as I was writing this column, the state education department and the Chancellor announced that PS 154, along with 14 other schools, was being removed from the state's list of low-performing schools--a major accomplishment in a relatively short period of time.

But there's another angle--an important one: Vouchers divide a community; they pit the few families who "win" the voucher lottery against the many who do not. They encourage people to give up on neighborhood schools and take scarce resources out of these schools. The rebuilding of PS 154 demonstrates something very different. Many groups made a commitment to fix this school so all the kids in the neighborhood could get a good education. Together, they achieved what none of them could have done alone. And in helping a community get back its neighborhood school, they made the community stronger.

 [Previous "Where We Stand" Columns](#)

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American Federation of Teachers 555 New Jersey Ave, NW Washington, DC 20001

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**TALKING POINTS FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
VIRTUAL Y SCHOOL SITE VISIT
HARLEM, NEW YORK
MONDAY, JANUARY 26, 1998**

Acknowledgments to come from advance.

- I've been so impressed with what I've seen here today. This is a great place for kids, not only because it's fun, and safe, and warm, but because it helps children at Harriet Tubman to do better in school. Today, we see what's possible when we create partnerships and invest in our children.
- This "Virtual Y" is a model program:
 - ** It's a public/private partnership (the YMCA of Greater New York; the New York City Board of Education; United Way of NYC; Time Warner; AmeriCorps);
 - ** helps kids learn (children work in small groups to improve reading and overall academic skills);
 - ** emphasizes the Y's core values -- respect, responsibility, caring and honesty;
 - ** brings child care directly to the people it serves;
 - ** offers an organized program for volunteers to participate in a major literacy effort;
 - ** provides a safe and stimulating environment for kids during the hours of the day when they're most at risk.
- This program is a model for after school care not only here in Harlem and New York City, but around the nation. It's an example of how we're expanding the opportunities and programs that help kids to say no to drugs and alcohol and crime, and yes to reading, and computers, and learning.
- The "Virtual Y" program exemplifies what's possible when everyone -- the government, the schools, the community, non profits, and the private sector -- joins hands around our children, and provides them safe and stimulating places to learn and grow.
- Tomorrow night, in his State of the Union, the President will unveil the single largest investment in child care and after school care in our nation's history. This \$20 billion investment over five years will make child care more affordable for millions of working parents; promote early learning and healthy child development; and ensure child care is safe and of high quality.
- We're making child care more affordable for working families, by investing \$7.5 billion over five years to double the number of children receiving child care subsidies; by investing \$5.2 billion in increased tax credits for child care; by proposing a new tax credit for businesses that provide child care for their employees;

- We're promoting early learning and healthy child development by providing \$3 billion over five years to establish an Early Learning Fund that helps local communities improve the quality and safety of child care.
- We're making sure these child care programs are safe and high quality, by stepping up enforcement of state health and safety standards, facilitating background checks on child care providers;
- But as we all know, and as Rosetta Moore has just reminded us, the need for child care doesn't disappear once our children begin school. That's why the President is making a significant investment in after school programs -- \$1 billion over the next five years. And because of that investment, more parents, and more school aged kids, will have the opportunity to participate in a quality program like this one we've seen today.
- This morning, we saw another example of how the private/non profit sector is supporting this national commitment to improve and expand before and after school care. Along with the Vice President and Secretary Riley, we announced that the C.S. Mott Foundation will invest \$55 million over the next five years in after school programs -- specifically in program quality that includes training and technical assistance.
- There is no more important job than raising a child. And no greater responsibility than to create the conditions and give families and communities the tools to succeed in that critical task. The President's child care and after school initiative will bring us closer to fulfilling this fundamental promise to America's parents and children.
- I want to thank everyone in this coalition for setting such an impressive and inspiring example of what, together, we can accomplish on behalf of our nation's children.