

**VOLUME I: GANGS IN HAWAII:
PAST AND PRESENT FINDINGS**

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Hawaii's Youth Gang Response System (YGRS) was created by the Hawaii State Legislature in 1990. Since that time, the organization has supported many gang prevention/intervention activities. This report is funded by the State of Hawaii's Office of Youth Services (OYS); however, its conclusions are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the funding agency.

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Although it would be impossible to identify all of the individuals who frequently support the University of Hawaii Youth Gang Project, a handful need to be recognized. We would first like to acknowledge the continued and excellent support the Office of Youth Services staff, in particular Todd Motoyama, Jessica Kim, Carl Imakyure, Keith Yamamoto, and Sharon Agnew. Without their backing, ambition, and cooperation, YGP's research could not have been completed. Many thanks also to the Department of the Attorney General for their assistance with the arrest trends and Juvenile Justice and Information Services data. Without the support and kindness of the Family Court and its employees, it would have been impossible to tell the stories of youth involved in our juvenile justice system. In particular, we would like to thank the Honorable Judge Frances Wong, Parents and Children Together (PACT), Palama Settlement, Coalition for a Drug Free Hawaii, Housing Services at Mayor Wright Housing and other individuals who shared invaluable information for our research. Gratitude must also be given to John Gartrell at the Social Science Research Institute and the University of Hawaii's Center on the Family for their support with the Hawaii Student Alcohol, Tobacco, and Drug Use survey data. Although for anonymity purposes, their names cannot be listed, our great appreciation to the many fine professionals in the fields of youth services and prevention who gave us interviews and provided great insights into the lives of young people and our communities.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The volume assesses the various dimensions of the gang problem locally and nationally. It also examines Hawaii's response to that profound social challenge, and it places these efforts in the broader national context.

With specific reference to the number of gang members locally and nationally, better numbers exist at the national level than in Hawaii. Federal agencies put the number of gang members, nationally, at 731,500 gang members and 21,500 active gangs in the U.S. in 2002. This was lower than the estimates two years prior. In spite of these lower estimates, other gang observers note a resurgence of gang activity in part because of a redirected focus on terrorism among law enforcement officials. In addition, they faulted a weakened economy and the abolishment of gang-intervention units. The job market also tightened, providing fewer opportunities for teenagers. The latest research from the National Youth Gang Center states that 93 percent of cities with 100,000 or more people have active gangs. Locally, the gang trends are more difficult to track, due to shifts in gang monitoring technology, pointing to an urgent need to consider adoption of readily available federal law enforcement software. However, media accounts of gang membership show a dramatic decline in news articles covering "gang" related incidents. However, in the course of doing this research, the YGP noted that the media were no longer covering gang stories, even those clearly related to gang activity, in the same intense way that characterized earlier periods. While some of the media coverage in past years can clearly be characterized as problematic in *overstating* the gang problem, Hawaii could in fact be entering a period of denial of gang problems, complete with an absence of media attention (perhaps due to the island's tourist economy).

Dissatisfied with the available official data, YGP reviewed other measures available on Hawaii's gang problem. Perhaps the best data, though still somewhat limited, are self-report delinquency and gang membership data drawn from the The Hawaii Student Alcohol, Tobacco, and Other Drug Use Study. The surveys are administered to 6th, 8th, 10th, and 12th graders every other year.

Of particular interest to YGP is the variable "gang involvement," which is a summated scale of three items on the 2000 Hawaii Student Alcohol, Tobacco, and Drug Use Survey. These items include (1) have you ever belonged to a gang; (2) did the gang

have a name, and (3) are you currently in a gang? Over-all these data indicate that roughly one youth in five is gang involved, with a range of 0-37.5 percent.

Reviewing these data by school complex (and reviewing other reported risk factors) showed that schools with high levels of gang involvement in rural areas—Ka'u, Leilehua, Lanai, Hana, Kohala, and Keaau—also showed problems with family and academic risk factors (e.g. poor family supervision, suspensions, etc) are consistently higher. In more urban areas—Campbell, Waipahu, and Farrington—it appears that personal risk-taking behaviors (such as selling drugs) and delinquent peer groups yield comparatively higher reports. One exception is Lanai that reported myriad risk factors at higher levels.

Overall, these data suggest that the gang problem is clearly not simply an urban, Oahu problem. Indeed, many neighbor island communities report as high or higher levels of gang involvement than the stereotypical gang neighborhoods of Waipahu and Kalihi. More significantly, the data establish that for one in five youths in Hawaii, gang involvement is a significant part of their lives.

Dissatisfied with the quality of the quantitative data available, the YGP also conducted key informant interviews. Throughout 2004, YGP conducted interviews of people who work in the juvenile justice system and/or are familiar with delinquent, gang-involved and at-risk youth. In order to gather respondents' most subjective feelings about juveniles and their experiences working with youth, unstructured, open-ended interviews were used.

Taken together these interviews suggest that Hawaii, like other states, faces a gang problem uniquely shaped by our own geography, ethnicities, economy, and history. At the same time, gang influences from the mainland are undeniably present. Dynamics that have played out over the decades are also found. One example is the emergence of gang like behavior among new immigrant youth as a way to negotiate a new, and unknown culture. Likewise, the gangs are gendered in ways that call for specific concern, and there are also inter-generational patterns that suggest that older, adult criminals see at least some gangs as a resource in drug distribution and prostitution activities.

Throughout 2004, the Hawaii Youth Gang Response System conducted a literature review concerning gang mediation models in general while researching Hawaii's gang problems specifically in the hope of enacting programs to counteract them. This overview reveals that that all gang mediation programs need to be shaped by the following understandings:

1. The nature of the gang problem (gleaned from both local AND national studies)
2. The characteristics of the community including both assets and challenges
3. The ability of the community, including key players, to acknowledge the problem
4. An awareness of the array of programs that have worked in different communities AND have some confirmation of effectiveness.

Essentially, one size (or "mediation model") does not fit all in tackling the gang problem; moreover, any one sort of approach that claims that it, alone, can solve the problem, fails to understand the need to have a balanced, multifaceted approach that has elements of prevention, intervention, and suppression.

How does Hawaii's Youth Gang Response System measure up, given this national context? The Youth Gang Response System, as it enters its 15th year of existence, faces some of the same issues as it has over the years, yet its maturity has led to better understanding of what is needed to strengthen and improve the system. The following are a few recommendations for the YGRS, and OYS, in the coming years:

- ⌘ **Intelligence and the need for better and more reliable gang data:** Law enforcement and all other involved agencies would greatly benefit from having better estimates of the extent of the gang problem. Statewide and county-level statistics that describe the level and type of gang activity would tell decision-makers where to focus programs, funding and other resources, and help define the strategies most likely to reduce gangs and gang involvement.
- ⌘ **Prevention:** Support should continue for "best practices" prevention efforts as the OYS has been doing in recent years. Those programs and activities that are determined to work well in Hawaii should continue and those from

elsewhere which are deemed effective to curb gang involvement should be considered for possible replication and adaptation for Hawaii. Study and documentation of fidelity (is the program implemented so that it follows the “best practice” model?) and adaptation continue to be needed and are beyond the scope of this level of system evaluation.

- ⌘ **Continue geographically focused interventions:** Program planning should use results from police and street worker intelligence, to locate effective programs where they are most needed. These should also draw on the community strengths and resources wherever possible. One size does not fit all, in effective programming. The OYS monitoring and evaluation findings determine if programs are worthy of continuation and replication. This assessment includes identifying the communities where increased gang involvement warrants new or more prevention programming and enforcement.
- ⌘ **Build Partnerships:** YGRS should continue to identify partners in other youth delinquency and violence prevention efforts statewide and within specific communities and develop effective methods to work together. This requires strong leadership and a willingness to lessen turf issues, but increasingly the state and the nation are moving to these sorts of approaches, as can be seen in several gang challenged communities that YGRS has worked with in the last two years (e.g. Waipahu and Mayor Wright).
- ⌘ **YGRS as a model for future OYS Programming.** Strong and capable statewide leadership on this issue and professionals who provide technical assistance will be critical to ensure that the YGRS is a model for other emerging youth challenges such as gender responsive programming and substance abuse issues. The OYS would do well to build on the success of the YGRS model as it moves to challenge other emerging youth issues, perhaps by broadening the group’s mandate to include some of these issues as well.

CHAPTER I

HISTORY AND FUTURE OF THE YOUTH GANG RESPONSE SYSTEM

By Nancy Marker and Meda Chesney-Lind

A History of the Youth Gang Response System

The Youth Gang Response System (YGRS) is a collaboration of representatives from law enforcement, a variety of youth services providers, and researchers to address the gang problem in Hawaii. These organizations have collaborated since 1990, following the Hawaii State Legislature's passage of Act 189 "Relating to Youth Gangs." The legislation states that the system "incorporates the critical elements of law enforcement, training and community awareness, community intervention, information and evaluation" (Act 189 H.B. No.2308, Sect. 8). The system includes a Working Committee with the mission to maintain and oversee a coordinated statewide youth gang response system that includes the following elements: 1) effective gang intelligence and law enforcement; 2) sharing of information; 3) training and community awareness; 4) school and community-based prevention and intervention programs; and, 5) research and evaluation (State of Hawaii, Office of Youth Services, 1999).

YGRS in the early nineties, administered first by the Attorney General, consisted of city and state agencies and non-profit youth service providers working together for prevention and intervention services to youth in the state (Chesney-Lind, et.al, 1992; 1995). The earliest documentation of the YGRS is a 1992 two-volume U.H. Youth Gang Project (YGP) report that detailed its initial contracted services and presented research on the nature and extent of Hawaii's gang problem and an evaluation of various components of the YGRS (Chesney-Lind, et al, 1992).¹ From the mid to late nineties YGRS research

¹ Since 1990 the University of Hawaii has been funded to create a Youth Gang Project (YGP) to conduct research assessing the dimension of the gang problem and to evaluate the system. The project has published over 20 reports and articles since its creation. See the Social Science Research Institute web site <http://www.ssri.hawaii.edu> for a listing of publications. Some recent publications are available through Dr. Chesney-Lind's web site: <http://www.chesneylind.com/>

initiatives involved surveying youth participants in non-profit agencies and school-based programs (PAGE and GREAT) funded by the YGRS (Chesney-Lind, et al, 1999).

The responsibility for administration of the YGRS was transferred in 1993 from the Attorney General to the Office of Youth Services and has remained there. During that first contract period, OYS worked through difficulties with initiating contracts and developing of a quarterly report database which was never fully operational (Chesney-Lind, et al, 1995b). In spite of staff member turnover, the management of the YGRS has progressed through the past decade with reviews of its mission and reassessments of its priorities and initiatives every few years. After two reports based on youth surveys and interviews about delinquency and gangs (Rockhill et al, 1993; Joe, et al, 1994), the next system evaluation report indicated that for the contract period 1993-95, 18 agencies received funding in the YGRS. Ten were community-based gang prevention services: the Boys and Girls Club of Honolulu, Catholic Immigration Center, Kokua Kalihi Valley, Maui Youth and Family Services, Parents and Children Together, Salvation Army Hilo Interim Home, Salvation Army Kona Interim Home, Susannah Wesley Community Center, YMCA of Honolulu, and YMCA Honolulu Outreach Services. Six of these on Oahu offered programs at multiple sites—a total of 22 sites with services. The eight state and county programs in 1993-1995 included: Oahu Teen Councils by Parks and Recreation, a Statewide Law Enforcement Task Force for intelligence gathering and sharing (coordinated by the Attorney General), and a DOE and police collaboration for school-based gang prevention curriculum (Positive Alternatives Gang Education-PAGE) in 27 intermediate schools statewide. The Student Attendance Program (SAP) was operated by the Department of Education and Honolulu Police Department in four districts on Oahu. All county police departments received funds to conduct gang monitoring, prevention and intervention services, and public gang awareness. HPD continued to receive funding for the Gang Reporting Evaluation and Tracking System, known as GREAT (Chesney-Lind, et al, 1995b).

The GREAT statewide reporting system was replaced by the Honolulu-only Hawaii Gang Member Tracking System (HGMTS) reporting system in 2000. The HGMTS was believed to be more user-friendly and accepted among Honolulu police officers than its earlier counterpart (Chesney-Lind, et.al. 2001). However, it is no longer

funded by the YGRS and HPD reports that it may only be used by some units. Because the HGMST is not fully operational, it cannot be relied upon for accurate statistics on the extent of the gang problem (Ebesugawa, 2005). Police officers in the YGRS have expressed an interest in using the narcotics intelligence computer system WSIN (Western States Information Network) for tracking gang activity. WSIN has been in operation statewide for more than a decade and gang components could be added. Another change is that the PAGE curriculum taught to 7th graders by police officers on Oahu, Maui, and Kauai, with classroom teacher support, was replaced on three islands by a curriculum developed by the federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms and mainland police departments called Gang Resistance Education and Training (GREAT).² This change also meant that the various county police departments could successfully access federal funds to support this aspect of the work. Beyond that, the GREAT program has been the subject of a positive external evaluation funded by the National Institute of Justice (Esbensen, 1987). That is a distinct plus. The downside is that the program's curriculum reflects national, not local, issues and concerns.

Through YGRS funding, Hawaii County police continues to teach PAGE. In 2001, the YGP evaluated GREAT, comparing it to PAGE, and made recommendations for its future implementation. Specific suggestions were for greater depth and discussions in the lessons and adaptation of the lessons and exercises to be more appropriate for Hawaii's students (Chesney-Lind, et.al, 2001).

From the beginning, YGRS focused on the problem of truancy, i.e., reducing unexcused school absences. The Student Attendance Program (SAP), developed and conducted by HPD and the Department of Education, is based on the premise that chronic truancy can promote other delinquent behaviors and that students and their parents should be accountable for unexcused time away from school. The program in 1990-1992 operated first with school sanctions and then with two levels involving the police: 1) Saturday morning counseling sessions at intermediate schools led by HPD and DOE personnel and 2) arrest and referral to Family Court for those who failed to attend the Saturday sessions. Eventually, SAP added another level in between these--evening counseling at the main police station with the intent to address chronic truancy problems

² G.R.E.A.T. description Available Online: <http://www.great-online.org>

before referring the youth to Family Court. This was called Level II SAP but it was never funded by the YGRS. This counseling by HPD Juvenile Services Division involved more personal conversations with students and their parents as to causes, repercussions, and solutions. Level II SAP (evening counseling) ended with the 2002-2003 school year as HPD remained concerned about the intervention's effectiveness. Essentially, chronic truancy, while a minimal offense from a legal standpoint, is actually difficult to address without a robust array of fairly costly services and programs (ideally school based and sensitive to the particular challenges found in that community). Current efforts underway in the Department of Education suggest that more is being done in that arena to address the truancy issue, including chronic truancy, on school campuses (Chesney-Lind, et al, 2004). Level I Saturday morning sessions for students and parents are now held in two locations on Oahu and has remained as the one level funded by the YGRS throughout the years. Level III SAP is arrest and referral to Family Court, likely to result in further interventions and sanctions arranged by the court and the DOE (Chesney-Lind, et al, 1992; 1995; 1997). Numerous YGP reports studied the impact of SAP (data on truancy recidivism), the program's implementation and its assessment by participants. In 2003, the YGP report presented results of surveys conducted of students and parents attending Level II SAP on their perceptions relating to truancy, in particular, why students were truant (Chesney-Lind, et al, 2003). Currently, the funding from YGRS supports both the DOE and the Juvenile Services Division of HPD for operating Level I SAP.

The last overview of the YGRS included a discussion on the movement to outcomes-based evaluation and greater accountability for funding and programming (Chesney-Lind, et al, 2001). Currently, OYS requires quarterly reporting of progress toward outcome achievement in the form of GANTT charts and conducts regular site monitoring visits.

The information sharing, planning, and coordination functions of the YGRS are handled by the OYS staff members. A Working Committee, consisting of representatives from the funded agencies, continues to meet quarterly. In earlier years, there were also County Teams, meeting on four islands to address specific issues on gangs developing on

their islands.³ Originally YGRS included participation by the Prosecuting Attorney. The Department of Public Safety participates in the Statewide Law Enforcement Gang Task Force (SLEGTF) and the Bureau of Prisons' Honolulu staff members have been resources on the connection of prison gangs to street and youth gangs. Recently, juvenile probation of the Family Court has contributed information to assist with surveillance and monitoring of the gang problem.

The Working Committee has discussed reviving the County Teams. YGRS members report participation in various groups dealing with youth issues, delinquency, and substance abuse. This appears to be even more frequent for the police on neighbor islands who attend meetings of different community groups and coalitions. Several groups exist for this purpose including Community Action Teams, coalitions formed for the State Incentive Grants (substance use prevention federally funded from 2000-2004), Weed and Seed, the Anti-Bullying Coalition on the island of Hawaii, and others. On Oahu, one of the strongest community-based efforts has been in Waipahu where agencies, police and community members have met regularly in recent years to share information and plan for responses to gangs, delinquency and other concerns. Any effort to build new YGRS County Teams should be done with an eye towards these, so as to complement rather than duplicate those initiatives. If new teams can complement and enhance program services and information sharing, and strengthen the YGRS overall, then it may be worthwhile. Teams would more likely succeed if they have some level of staffing. This was most likely one of the reasons County Teams ceased to function in the nineties. Necessary staffing, with the intention of realigning so as to be more responsive to the specific challenges presented in each community, is more probable. Methods for information- sharing across organizations, most likely by participation of YGRS members in other groups and then reporting back to the YGRS during quarterly meetings or electronic mail, should be encouraged.

In June, 2004, the Office of Youth Service's sponsored the first conference on the topic of gangs in over a decade with a turnout of 150 participants, featuring topics on research findings, current initiatives, the nature and extent of the problem, and how to do prevention planning. This training for practitioners in the field of youth service, law

³ County teams are described in the 1992 and 1995 reports on the evaluation of the system.

enforcement, education, and program evaluation resulted in positive support for more information sharing and the use of a community level gang response model (State of Hawaii, Office of Youth Services, 2004). Some YGRS members have participated in such community level response groups, most notably the one formed in Waipahu in recent years. The UH Youth Gang Project has researched and presented various community-based models for gang response, with recommendations for local adaptation, in this report (see Chapter V). OYS and the Working Committee will disseminate these to community members who are seeking assistance and direction for how to respond to gang presence in their communities and will provide these groups with technical assistance.

Hawaii's approach to the gang problem in the earliest years was a national standout in two respects. First, it was statewide; most other efforts were focused on a smaller jurisdiction such as a city or community. Second, the initiative was balanced in its perspective, seeking to integrate prevention, intervention, and enforcement into one coherent strategy. Too often, gang responses tended to stress both prevention and community education to the exclusion of enforcement or alternatively, stress only enforcement. National experts on gang prevention have since established that either of these extremes could fail; current models stress a coordinated approach much like Hawaii's (Howell, 2000).

Funding for YGRS and Youth Service Centers

In the first two years of the Youth Gang Response System, the state government funds were administered by the State Attorney General's Department and a portion of the youth prevention services came from federal funds called "Youth Directions" under the State's Office of Children and Youth, a planning arm of the Governor's Office which no longer exists. In October, 1991, all funding was shifted to the Office of Youth Services (OYS) for administration. The OYS funded youth prevention services under the YGRS funding for many years but then shifted this to separate appropriations for Youth Service Centers in 2000. Most of these non-profit agencies (currently ten agencies spread out over the islands) operating Youth Service Centers (see list on page 9) are considered to be the prevention providers and active participants in the Working Committee of the

YGRS. The background and history of Youth Service Centers are given in Annual Reports from the Office of Youth Services beginning in 1998. The Youth Service Centers offer positive alternative activities during non-school hours, weekends, and school intercessions particularly for those youth at-risk for involvement in the juvenile justice system, to develop the competencies necessary to foster resiliency and to help them effectively transition to adulthood. In 2002, the YGP evaluated one YSC (Hui Malama Ohana) and the Power Hour program at Boys and Girls Club Waianae Clubhouse and the Kaimuki-Waialae YMCA's Palolo Project. The same year, OYS contracted with UH-SSRI for an evaluation to gain knowledge on components for model youth service centers from YSC staff members, according to what they believed to be working well and what needed improvement (Irwin, 2003).

Since the first years of the YGRS (1990-92), the total budget for youth gang prevention and intervention services has increased 49.5 percent with less funding for state and county government agencies and more for private non-profit contracts for youth services. The first years of government funding included components no longer in the system such as a computer database system for the police to track gang membership and development and training for school campus disturbance plans. Purchase of computers and software systems were initially a large expense. In the first years, a federal grant, "Youth Directions," supplemented a fairly small budget for contracts with private, non-profit agencies but when it ended, the OYS, in spite of years of economic downturn and government budget cuts, continued to fund the youth services, growing gradually and then rather substantially for the 2004-05 year, partially due to federal Title XX funds granted to one non-profit agency, the YMCA of Honolulu. Funds for police, the Honolulu Department of Parks and Recreation, the Department of Education, and the University of Hawaii have stabilized at slightly under \$1 million for the two years. The Office of Youth Services now manages the Statewide Law Enforcement Gang Task Force, (SLEGTF) previously contracted to the Department of the Attorney General, and it ceased funding for the Hawaii Gang Member Tracking System (HGMTS).

A review of funding for the Youth Gang Response System was compiled from three previous reports written by the Youth Gang Project (Chesney-Lind et al, 1992; 1995; 1996). Table 1 shows the Youth Gang Response System funded agencies--all

government agencies and Table 2 shows funding for prevention services offered by private, non-profit youth service agencies.

Table 1: Youth Gang Response System, Fiscal Years 2004-2005

City and County of Honolulu – Parks and Recreation Department	\$100,600
City and County of Honolulu - Honolulu Police Department	\$132,000
County of Hawaii -- Hawaii Police Department – East Hawaii	\$170,000
County of Hawaii – Hawaii Police Department – West Hawaii	\$170,000
County of Maui- Maui Police Department	\$90,000
County of Ka’uai – Ka’uai Police Department	\$80,000
Department of Education	\$100,000
University of Hawaii- Youth Gang Project	\$134,000

Total Funding: \$976,600 entirely from State’s General Fund (does not include administrative budget for YGRS at the Office of Youth Services which comes from state general funds). Source: April, 2004 OYS Contracts Data Base document.

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Table 2: Youth Service Centers for Hawaii, Fiscal Years 2004-2005.

Youth Service Center	FY '04	FY '05
Boys and Girls Club of Hawaii (areas served Hilo, Waimea and Kapaa, Kauai, Waianae, Ewa Beach, and Honolulu)	\$665,186	\$665,186
Family Support Services of West Hawaii (areas served N. Kona, S. Kona, Waikaloa, Waimea, Ocean View, Kohala, and Kau)	\$440,400	\$440,400
Hui Malama Learning Center- Maui	\$175,000	\$175,000
Hui Malama Ohana Youth Services (Parents and Children Together, Susannah Wesley Community Center and KEY PROJECT) – Oahu (areas served Kalihi, Central Oahu, Kaneohe/Kahaluu).	\$350,000	\$350,000
Paia Youth and Cultural Center – Maui	\$175,000	\$175,000
The Salvation Army – Hawaii (areas served Hilo, Kona, Keeau, Kohala)	\$525,000	\$525,000
YMCA of Honolulu (areas served Waipahu, Palolo, Kaimuki, Central Oahu, Kalihi, Ewa Beach, Ewa, Aiea)	\$513,750 (Title XX)	\$513,750 (Title XX)
Molokai Community Services Council	\$100,000 (Formula Grant)	\$100,000 (Formula Grant)
Goodwill Industries	\$60,000 (Title IV-E Reimbursement)	\$60,000 (Title IV-E Reimbursement)

Total funding: \$6,008,672 of which \$1,347,500 is federal funds (Title XX of the Social Security Act, Block Grants to States for Social Services, Title IV-E of the Federal Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act of 1996 (PL 104-193) and Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Formula Grant). The remainder is allocated by the Hawaii State Legislature Source: April, 2004 OYS Contracts Data Base document and information provided by OYS staff members.

The following table (Table 3) shows a comparison of funding over a period of years for both government and non-profit agencies. Funding for government is less than in earlier years, probably due to termination of funding for a computer gang tracking system and because the State Law Enforcement Task Force is facilitated by OYS, not contracted to the Attorney General. Funding for non-profit youth services has grown

steadily, showing a substantial increase in the late 90's. Some federal funds supplemented the state monies for youth services during the first two years and in this current contract period. The staffing and other administrative functions of the YGRS are funded from the OYS general funds appropriation.

Table 3: Funding for Gang Prevention and Intervention – Sampling of Years.

Recipients	1990-1992	1994-1995	1996-1997	1998-1999	2004-2005
State and County Government*	\$1,256,743	\$1,250,000	\$938,600	\$1,000,200	\$976,600
Private, Non-Profit, Community Based-Gang Prevention Services *	\$702,000	\$2,451,166	\$2,738,245	\$4,020,930	\$6,008,672**
Federal “Youth Directions” Community - based prevention funds	\$1,405,579 Subtotal for non-profit community programs \$2,107,579	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
TOTAL	\$3,364,322	\$3,701,166	\$3,676,845	\$5,021,130	\$6,985,272

Administrative costs for the Office of Youth Services are not included

*This includes funds for Honolulu Parks and Recreation that is used for direct services for youth from 1994 to the present.

**This includes federal funds of \$1,347,500. Without the federal monies, the total for '04-'05 is \$4,661,172.

Current Status

The history of YGRS clearly points to an evolving system, changing over the past 14 years for reasons such as program modification and adaptation, identification of needs and community resources, and infusion of new programs and funds. Agencies such as the police have made decisions to carry out activities they feel respond most effectively to current situations and the most pressing youth issues. For instance, police on the Big Island and Maui have determined that rave parties, set up illegally on rural lands, result in risky behaviors such as substance abuse (particularly alcohol and “ecstasy”), and may

lead to violent behavior, e.g., sexual assaults. They have worked with other officials, e.g., the Department of Land and Natural Resources, conducting their own surveillance and enforcement to limit or end such parties. Recently, Maui Police Department met with some business promoters of the RAVE parties held on that island to discourage such events. In addition, police on Oahu, Maui, Ka'uai and the Big Isle conduct "sweeps" which means they "target" or go to an area on weekends and/or evenings where they suspect gang activity such as beaches, parks, or by popular establishments. The police will also do gang awareness presentations to interested groups. They pay close attention to changes in the amount and type of graffiti and in fights reported in schools, as indicators of increased gang activity.

Currently, the funding for the School Attendance Program (SAP) is used to operate early intervention truancy services at two sites on Oahu--the Honolulu Police Department's Juvenile Services Division (JSD) and the Police Academy in Waipahu for only the secondary schools on Oahu. Part-time teachers are hired as instructors to conduct the Saturday sessions during the school year. A portion of the funds is used for the clerk position for the program who helps with the referral process of the program, processing for the payroll, and matters relevant to the program.

HPD conducts Crime Reduction Unit sweeps (curfew, truancy, gang intelligence sweeps, underage drinking, etc.) in targeted areas on Oahu. Also, all county police departments are doing gang awareness public presentations in their communities.

The Statewide Law Enforcement Gang Task Force (SLEGTF), which shares intelligence and surveillance information, has participation by four county police departments, four county prosecutor's office, Department of Public Safety (prisons), the Probation Division of the First Circuit Court, the Hawaii Paroling Authority, the U.S. Attorney's Office, the F.B.I., U. S. Federal Probation, and the Military/Department of Defense. Beginning in this contract period, the Task Force is managed by the Office of Youth Services instead of the Department of the Attorney General.

Maui Police Department conducts "Second Chance," a three-hour class that targets first time offenders, minor offenders, and even youth whose parents think they

will benefit. It is offered throughout the island of Maui but not on Molokai or Lanai.⁴ It is a classroom session at the police station, currently on Wednesday nights, twice a month. A police officer and juvenile services counselor from MPD teach the class using videos, visual presentations and discussions on the message of why youth should stay out of trouble, crime, and drug use. Maui County schools have School Resource Officers paid for by general police department funds, not YGRS funds. Lanai has the federally-funded GREAT curriculum in its school. In order to cover all three islands with YGRS programs, more funding would be needed for travel, per diem, and overtime.

Hawaii County Police Department –West Hawaii (Kona) implements a program called Incorporated Measures to Prevent Alcohol Consumption in Teens (IMPACT) program for youth who have been arrested for underage drinking or referred by the courts. IMPACT is a one-day education class about laws, consequences, and effects on communities; YGRS provides funding for supplies for IMPACT.

Honolulu Department of Parks and Recreation now uses YGRS support for a junior lifeguard certification program for Leeward youth and Ho`omana/Violence Education Gang Alternatives Program at Waipahu Intermediate School.

Over time, the Working Committee has chosen different initiatives and priorities based on what it views as the current needs in gang prevention and youth services. For instance, in 1999, it adopted priorities on over-representation of Hawaiian, Samoan, and Filipino youth in the juvenile justice system; 2) family involvement; 3) enforcement of large drinking parties in the rural areas; 4) rebuilding County Teams; 5) Outcome Development Training for public YGRS agencies; and 6) addressing the challenges of reaching newly immigrant youth (State of Hawaii, Office of Youth Services. 1999). The Working Committee goals and priorities for 2004-2005 (adopted in Oct. 2003) are: 1) positive role models for gang-involved youth; 2) educational opportunities for gang involved youth and youth at-risk for gang involvement; 3) support and guidance for immigrant youth and their families; 4) cultural awareness and sensitivity when working with youth gangs; 5) proactive response plan to intervene and prevent gang-related issues; and, 6) involvement of youth in planning programs and strategies. Tasks areas and action plans include information sharing, training to help communities learn how to

⁴ One Second Chance Molokai session was held in the past year, with no more planned.

organize and respond to gang issues, and public awareness (State of Hawaii, Office of Youth Services, 2004).

Evaluation of the YGRS' Impact on the Community

Assessing the direct impact of the YGRS on the community is challenging. Direct measures of serious gang problems (e.g. arrests data and self-reported gang membership) show a largely positive trend (see Chapter I in Volume 2 and Chapter III here). These measures, though, all have shortcomings. The implementation of a state-wide system of directly tracking gang numbers is clearly indicated. However, having already used two systems since the beginning of the YGRS, the perpetuation of a stand-alone system may not be the answer. The Western States Information Network (WSIN) computer tracking system, already used for narcotics' intelligence, would possibly add a vital and missing data source if law enforcement completed gang variables and generated reports. Clearly, though, there remains a continued need for a statewide youth gang response system, particularly in light of several gang related murders, and anecdotal evidence that other assaults, including assaults on tourists by gang or former gang members.

Fortunately, members of various police departments participating in the YGRS have discussed the need for such a resource. Since computer software that is both user friendly and supported by federal law enforcement agencies exists (and, in fact, is being used by other elements within the Honolulu Police Department), the state could participate in such a program with minimal cost.

One would expect that the infusion of law enforcement, research, evaluation and prevention education and interventions for youth would enhance the community, making it safer and improving the quality of life, especially for its youth. It is never easy to say if one specific program or a whole initiative made up of many components such as the YGRS is partially or wholly responsible for improvements such as less violent crime or more positive perceptions of the safety of communities. However, the OYS focus on outcomes suggests that by most but not all those measures the YGRS is having the desired impact. Again, all existing prevention and intervention programs should be routinely scrutinized to be sure that they meet the current understanding of best practices

in delinquency prevention (most notable here would be that they do not function in such a way to increase gang cohesion). For example, in 1967, the Ladino Hills Project in East Los Angeles created more gang cohesion in the community after individual gang interventions had been completed (Klein, 1968).

More likely, when multiple prevention efforts exist, they converge on the community to decrease juvenile delinquency, youth substance abuse, and other crime. Even then, such factors as economic shifts, environmental issues, changes to educational or law enforcement policies or systems, or demographic transitions come into play. That is why community crime prevention experts recommend a wide array of services and increased coordination and communication, much like Hawaii's YGRS.

It may be easier to track changes over time in delinquent behaviors and community change within communities where prevention funding is introduced and where program services are lacking. Longitudinal studies within school/community areas would be needed, requiring excellent and consistent data collection and program implementation. Consideration for variables like those mentioned above would be required in order to know if a program or a system of programs such as the YGRS had made a difference in reducing gang behavior. It would be extremely difficult to assess the effectiveness of a program or system even with a research design that attempts to control for the fact that youth are participating in a variety of programs in and out of school and are being affected by community, family, and peer factors. What can be done is a collection and an in-depth analysis of any existing demographic data, arrest data, police tracking data and results from surveys administered regularly that use the same methods and questions. Compiling these various indicators of youth well-being, while adding qualitative assessments from individuals like school officials, law enforcement, and youth agency personnel would provide a rich assessment of the impact of the YGRS. This type of evaluation and research is intensive and costly.

While not being able to conduct an outcomes evaluation of the YGRS, one approach is to look at which communities and schools report higher incidences of gang involvement and whether or not YGRS services are provided in those communities. For this year's report, YGP relies on self-reported gang involvement by youth surveyed in the Hawaii Student Alcohol, Drug, and Tobacco Use Student Use Study in 2002 (Pearson,

2003). Caution is advised (see Chapter III) on the interpretation of the findings, particularly in schools where small numbers of students' surveys were completed and analyzed.

The Office of Youth Services was asked to provide information on what youth services are being provided in communities where youth self-reported gang involvement were higher than other communities and how these communities are supported by the YGRS. This cannot tell if programs are necessarily effective in reducing gang activity, but at least indicates where and what program opportunities for youth exist. The following is a list of YGRS-sponsored youth service activities by school/community (School Complex Areas, or SCAs) where 2002 student substance abuse survey findings reported the most gang involvement⁵. Note that program services for areas that did not indicate high gang involvement in survey findings, such as Ka'uai schools, are not reported here.

OAHU

Leilehua

None reported

Campbell

-Leeward YMCA Youth Service Center

-YGRS - Parks & Recreation Lifeguard Certification Program at Makakilo Pool

Waipahu

-Leeward YMCA Youth Service Center

-YGRS - Parks & Rec Ho`omana/Violence Education Gang Alternatives Program at Waipahu Inter.

Farrington

-Kokua Kalihi Valley/PACT/Susannah Wesley YSC Teen Pregnancy Prevention Program

HAWAII

Ka`u

-Family Support Services of West Hawaii Youth Service Center

⁵ In some cases, police departments indicated that they have offered their awareness presentations and prevention programs to schools but have not been "invited" there because school personnel do not believe it is needed or worry that it would create greater interest in gangs.

-YGRS – Hawaii County Police Department (Kona-West Hawaii) offered PAGE (Positive Alternative Gang Education) at Ka`u Middle School and Project IMPACT (Incorporated Measures Preventing Alcohol Consumption by Teens) but the school has not accepted the program.

-YGRS – Hawaii County Police Department (Kona-West Hawaii) Crime Reduction Unit Sweeps (truancy, underage drinking, RAVE party dispersals, curfew, gang sweeps)

Kohala

-Salvation Army Youth Service Center.

-YGRS - Hawaii County Police Department (Kona-West Hawaii) - PAGE (Positive Alternative Gang Education) at Kohala High

Kea`au

-Salvation Army Youth Service Center

-YGRS - Hawaii County Police Department (Hilo-East Hawaii) PAGE (Positive Alternative Gang Education) at Kea`au Middle School

Pahoa

-YGRS - Hawaii County Police Department (Hilo- East Hawaii). Awareness presentations in certain geographic areas (not always Pahoa) once a quarter.

MAUI

Hana

-YGRS - Maui County Police Department's Second Chance Program and "sweeps" (surveillance and investigations), as needed.

Paia

Paia Youth Service Center

-YGRS - Maui County Police Department's "sweeps," as needed.

LANAI

Lana`i

-No YGRS-funded programs.

MOLOKAI

Molokai

-YGRS-Maui County Police Department taught Second Chance Program there once in the past year.

These data suggest that YGRS is doing a relatively good job in attempting to address the gang problem in urban and suburban areas. The emerging rural gang problem, particularly in Windward Oahu and certain neighbor island communities,

requires continued attention. Here, the YGRS efforts on the Big Island of Hawaii could well serve as models of the direction in which OYS should pursue.

Future Role and Functions of the Youth Gang Response System

Looking to the future for the YGRS, the Office of Youth Services is proposing a re-structuring that would create county and community-based initiatives. This is a positive step as long as state coordination and information-sharing goals are maintained. The role of community and geographical differences in the gang problem is one for continued examination. Specifically, rural gangs and urban gangs, while having some similar features, differ in important ways (discussed later in Chapter IV) and responding to these problems requires approaches that take those differences into account. Community mobilization, an important crime fighting resource, is also far easier to develop at the local, community or county level. Still, it is necessary (particularly in a state as small as Hawaii), that such efforts be coordinated and that training on best practices be continued. These are all functions requiring state-level involvement and advocacy, particularly in a state as centralized governmentally as Hawaii. For this reason, OYS should seek some method of marrying the existing YGRS, which is unique and productive initiative, into its new plans to de-centralize youth services. One possible model would be a re-visiting of the County Teams to discuss local gang issues and prevention and intervention efforts.⁶ These County Teams, in turn, would have statewide meetings to discuss their situations. However, before taking such a step, OYS should inventory existing groups on each island that currently convene for prevention planning and determine if the issue of gangs could be melded into these groups' agendas. For instance, many communities have coalitions that have formed around the State Incentive Grants obtained for substance abuse prevention. A total of six communities now have the federal drug crime prevention and enforcement program, Weed and Seed, which has organized groups in those communities to address the broader issues for drug and crime prevention (Gartrell, et al, 2002). This collaboration is pertinent since one of the concerns for police working in gang detail is drugs and alcohol at raves in rural

⁶ The County Teams met from approximately 1991-1995, although not all counties had active, effective teams, according to YGP interviews conducted in 1994.

communities. Other examples of community-based prevention groups are the Community Action Seminar teams formed from annual conferences and trainings conducted by the Attorney General. Another more specific example of a violence prevention effort is the Anti-Bullying Coalition on the Big Island. In other words, before YGRS members are asked to create new county level groups, they should be asked which groups or coalitions they now participate in and does their scope include (or could it be expanded to include) community responses to gangs and delinquency.

A new report by the Social Science Research Institute (SSRI) on violence prevention in Hawaii⁷ looks at trends in violent behavior and reviews policies and programs in place to address violence. It recognizes the many efforts directed at prevention on various topics and on youth violence prevention, in particular. The federally funded Asian/Pacific Islander Youth Violence Prevention Center, conducting risk factor research and supporting pilot projects in the community, is one example. However, the report recommends much stronger collaboration and communication between groups to alleviate overlapping roles and duplication of efforts and warns against burn out by agency staff members who are asked to serve on similar topic committees and coalitions. This is important for the YGRS, in particular, because the agencies represented are called on to participate in many similar prevention activities such as Weed and Seed-initiated community coalitions and the Attorney General's Community Action Seminar teams.

The system needs to strengthen its information sharing so more participants can have a better understanding of the dynamics of the gang problem in Hawaii. Although specific intelligence information cannot be shared widely outside law enforcement and justice agencies, all YGRS members can improve how they respond to the problem if they know basic information such as the projected numbers of gangs, types of gangs and types of criminal behaviors, geographical locations, and ethnic and cultural ties. The YGRS should include an assessment of the extent of the problem in its information sharing and put it to use for program planning. Routine meetings of those involved in prevention, intervention, and suppression efforts need to be held regularly. Some of this

⁷ *Ending Violence: A 2004 Status Report on Violence Prevention in Hawaii* (2004). Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii at Manoa, Social Science Research Institute.

can be done in a decentralized manner, consistent with emerging the OYS strategy, but some meetings need to transcend geographic boundaries so that common problems of particular sorts can be addressed. This is true of the gang problem, as it likely is in other emerging youth problem areas (such as gender specific or responsive programming).

The enthusiastic response to the June conference suggests the need for a continued, statewide focus on the problem, with recognition of county and community differences (Motoyama, 2004). Communities that seek out help on how to respond to their gang problem must be given technical assistance, e.g., organization and planning tools and gang service mediation models, adapted to their specific needs.

Following the June, 2004 YGRS Conference sponsored by the OYS, community members requested assistance with developing a community response model. Mayor Wright Housing formed a team and held meetings starting in October. They identified gang-related problems of which the top three were: outsiders coming within community boundaries; race discrimination between the majority of residents and the Micronesian newer immigrants and lack of parental supervision. For their next meeting in November, Dr. Karen Umemoto, UH professor in Urban and Regional Planning, was invited to discuss the planning process to eliminate racial violence that she used in the Venice and Azusa communities in California. Dr. Umemoto authored a workbook, *Planning for Peace: Developing a Strategic Response to Racial Violence*. This community response model uses a grass roots approach for communities to address their gang problems. She offered to provide technical assistance in helping the Mayor Wright team plan and implement a 1-2 planning retreat. She also will train the planning team members and enable them to take other schools/communities through the process. The planning will be facilitated by Dr. Umemoto and the OYS-YGRS staff members but the ideas, issues, leadership, and priorities will be by residents. The initial training will be for the Mayor Wright Housing community but then should be spread to other communities by those trained (State of Hawaii, Office of Youth Services, Mayor Wright Community Meeting Minutes, December 1, 2004.)

A general consensus from those attending the June conference was that schools, parents, and the broader community need to become more aware and involved. The Working Committee should continue to pursue the activities and tasks it has identified—

information sharing, training, gang awareness—attracting a wider participation at the community level.

Conclusion

The Youth Gang Response System, as it enters its 15th year of existence, faces some of the same issues as it has over the years, yet its maturity has led to a better understanding of what is needed to strengthen and improve the system. The following are a few recommendations for the YGRS, and OYS:

- ⌘ **Intelligence and the need for better and more reliable gang data.** Law enforcement and all other involved agencies would greatly benefit from having better estimates of the extent of the gang problem. Statewide and county-level statistics that describe the level and type of gang activity would tell decision-makers where to focus programs, funding and other resources, and help define the strategies most likely to reduce gangs and gang involvement.
- ⌘ **Prevention.** Support should emphasize “best practices” prevention efforts as the OYS has been doing in recent years. Those programs and activities that are determined to work well in Hawaii should continue and those from elsewhere which are deemed effective to curb gang involvement should be considered for possible replication and adaptation for Hawaii. Study and documentation of fidelity (is the program implemented so that it follows the “best practice” model?) and adaptation continue to be needed and are beyond the scope of this level of system evaluation.
- ⌘ **Continue geographically focused interventions.** Program planning should use results from police and street worker intelligence, to locate effective programs where they are most needed. These should also draw on the community strengths and resources wherever possible. One size does not fit all, in effective programming. OYS monitoring and evaluation

findings to determine if programs are worthy of continuation and replication. This assessment includes identifying the communities where increased gang involvement warrants new or more prevention programming and enforcement.

- ⌘ **Build Partnerships.** YGRS should continue to identify partners in other youth delinquency and violence prevention efforts statewide and within specific communities and develop effective methods to work together. This requires strong leadership and a willingness to lessen turf issues, but increasingly the state and the nation are moving to these sorts of approaches, such as can be seen in several gang challenged communities that YGRS has worked with in the last two years (e.g. Waipahu and Mayor Wright).

- ⌘ **YGRS as a model for future OYS Programming.** Strong and capable statewide leadership on this issue and professionals who provide technical assistance will be critical to ensure that the YGRS is a model for other emerging youth challenges such as gender responsive programming and substance abuse issues. The OYS would do well to build on the success of the YGRS model as it moves to challenge other emerging youth issues, and indeed, perhaps by broaden the group's mandate to include some of these issues as well.

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CHAPTER II

SCOPE OF NATIONAL AND LOCAL GANG PROBLEM

By Shayna Freeman, Amy Joy Matsen, and Nancy Marker

National Trends in Gang Membership

There have been several fluctuations in national gang-related activity over the last 10 years. Between 1996 and 2000, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) administered the National Youth Gang Survey to assess gang-related crimes and activity in the United States, including demographic reports, numbers of gangs, and gang members. This survey sampled law enforcement agencies from large and small cities, and suburban and rural counties. Depending on location, policies, and presence of gang control units, levels of gang activity varied across the nation. These surveys, along with recent news highlights and government statistics, reveal nation-wide trends of gang activity over the last decade.

Between 1996 and 1998, the rates of gang-related crime, including property crimes, homicide and other gang-related activities, decreased. This pattern is related to a larger change in the U.S. crime picture. In fact, although the U.S. had experienced relatively stable crime rates from the early 1980s to the mid 1990s, violent crime rates for juveniles soared during this period. By the mid-nineties, the grim statistics regarding adolescent violence gained national attention. Among the more sobering statistics was an approximately 70 percent increase in youth arrest rates for violent offenses and a nearly 300 percent growth in youth homicide arrest rates from 1983 to 1994 (Snyder and Sickmund, 1999). Soon the attention of the media was drawn to what some were calling an “epidemic of youth violence” (Cook and Laub, 1998).

Criminologists largely explained the epidemic as a product of three unique trends (mostly relevant to boy’s violence): introduction of new crack markets to inner-cities, increased distribution of guns to juveniles, and the involvement of gangs in the crack and underground gun markets (Blumstein, 1995; Blumstein and Cork, 1996; Blumstein and Wallman, 2000). The theory went as follows: young gang members used guns to solve the disputes arising within new and unstable crack markets. Gang members’ reliance on

guns to solve these disputes eventually spread to their non-drug dealing friends and set off a pattern where guns became the solution to a wide range of conflicts that youths confronted in their everyday lives (see Chesney-Lind and Irwin, 2004). As the crack epidemic waned, however, so did the sorts of predatory crimes associated with it, meaning that the “crime drop” that the nation began to see in the mid-nineties is largely a product of a set of changes in drug markets and related social ills. One possibility is that gang involvement, and particularly drug related gang activity, also waned as a result of these larger social forces. Of course, one would hope that in addition to suppression and incarceration, some of the other programmatic initiatives of the nineties, particularly those around gang prevention and early intervention were also working. Certainly, this violence epidemic, combined with the school shootings of the late nineties, focused considerable national attention (and resources) on the prevention and intervention of youth violence (Chesney-Lind and Irwin, 2004).

According to an OJJDP study that collected statistics from numerous sources, there were a total of 1,293 gang-related homicides in the U.S. In 1997, that number decreased to 1,260. In 1998, it was down to 1,061 (Curry, 2001). Again, this pattern is likely a result of a combination of this increased police pressure, a stronger economy, and the deteriorating trade of crack cocaine (Associated Press, 2002). Soon after, however, reports of gang problems began to resurface, suggesting that the phenomenon, like the drug epidemics, do not entirely track larger arrest trends in total, but are more likely the products of a more complex set of trends (including drug epidemics, a weakened economy, and inattention to the topic because of a focus on terrorism after September 11th). In the OJJDP fact sheet by Arlen Egley, *National Youth Gang Survey Trends from 1996 to 2000*, results indicated the youth gang problem was an on-going issue, particularly in the largest cities. Eighty-six percent of cities with a population of 100,000 to 250,000, and all those with a population over 250,000, reported persistent gang activity and repeated occurrences in gang-related homicides. Although these surveys displayed an overall decline of gangs and gang members, the estimated number of gangs and members in large cities remained virtually unchanged (Egley, 2002).

According to this OJJDP fact sheet, in 2000, it was estimated that there were 24,500 active gangs and 772,500 gang members (an 8 percent decline from 1999).

Between 1999 and 2000, almost 50 percent of large cities with persistent gang activity reported an increase in gang homicides. In 2000, respondents reported that 94 percent of gang members were male and 6 percent were female. Respondents also indicated that 39 percent of all youth gangs had female members. Thirty-seven percent (37 percent) of gang members were juveniles (younger than 18) and 63 percent were adults (18 and over). 47 percent of gang members were Hispanic, 31 percent African-American, 13 percent white, 7 percent Asian, and 2 percent “other,” (Egley, 2002).

The OJJDP fact sheet states there were approximately 731,500 gang members and 21,500 active gangs in the U.S. in 2002. This was lower than the estimates two years prior. In spite of these lower estimates, several journalists blamed what they perceived as a resurgence of gang activity on a redirected focus of terrorism among law enforcement officials. In addition, they faulted a weakened economy and the abolishment of gang-intervention units (Associated Press, 2002). The job market also tightened, providing fewer opportunities for teenagers. The latest research from the National Youth Gang Center states that 93 percent of cities with 100,000 or more people have active gangs (Reuters, 2002).

Regardless of statistical claims of nationwide increases or decreases in gang activity, each city is susceptible to its own trends. These statistics prove that gang activity continues in most cities across the nation, particularly large ones. CBS News noted that gangs were transforming and expanding by becoming exceedingly more “business-oriented” by collaborating with other ethnic groups and crossing geographic and racial boundaries. These are what CBS News called “hybrid” gangs (Reuters, 2002).

The persistence of gangs is evident—reporters, law officials, and civilians are fearful of another L.A. riot or the likely spread of gang activity to their suburban towns. Neighborhoods in major cities such as South Los Angeles, receive little attention and economic investment and many fear their susceptibility to gang activity and violence (KLAS, 2002). Over the last 10 years, youth gangs have spread to almost every city and continue to spread into Canada and Central America, suggesting the impact of gangs and globalization (Hayden, 2004). They are also spreading overseas as gang members are deported to their country of origin upon completion of their prison term in the U.S. (Reuters, 2002). The persistence of gang activity and the violence associated with it calls

for continued efforts to prevent and reduce gang involvement, especially here at home, in Hawaii.

Trends in Gang Membership in Hawaii

Since early 1990, concern about youth gangs in Hawaii has increased. The University of Hawaii Youth Gang Project (YGP) continues to study patterns of gang activity throughout the islands. Through the years, reports on gang involvement show a steady rise in the number of suspected gang members here in Hawaii. However, because of the tracking database change in 2000, comparing previous and current numbers from the Honolulu Police Department's tracking system has been difficult (Chesney-Lind, et al, 2001). Therefore, it is useful to view a combination of tracking tools to gain a comprehensive understanding of gang involvement in Hawaii.

This chapter will summarize the scope of the gang problem in Hawaii from two sources. First, it will cover media accounts of gang activity by reviewing all gang-related articles from the *Honolulu Advertiser* and the *Honolulu Star Bulletin*. Second, it will serve to summarize findings from Honolulu Police Department (HPD) tracking systems from 1991-2002⁸. These two sources provide a general picture of gangs and gang activity through the HPD record keeping, as well as through media reports and community reactions.

Media Accounts of Gang Activity: Late Eighties to Early Nineties

The Oahu murder of a teenage gang member in 1986 sparked a statewide awareness of gangs. Gangs had a prior presence in Hawaii, but with this incident the severity of the problem came into question. It was not until 1986 that gang activity was defined as such in the media (Enriquez, 1990). With this public awareness, knowledge of gangs increased and led Hawaii to its current views on gang activity. The interest of gangs in the media proposes a pattern, and media coverage can be linked to the community's knowledge about youth gangs (Chesney-Lind, et.al, 1996).

⁸ More recent numbers and characteristics of gangs from the HGMST have not been generated for use by the YGRS.

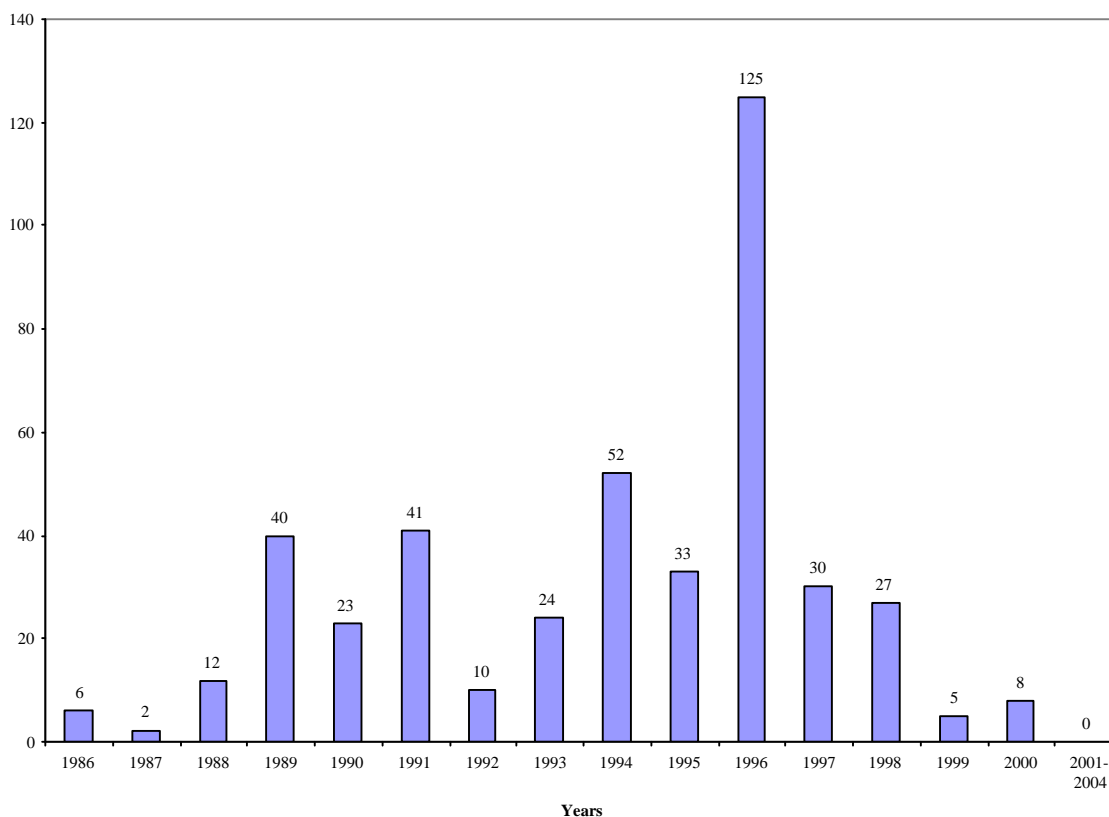
Beginning in 1987, the Honolulu community became alarmed by an increase in property crimes and crimes against persons so the HPD formed a task force and held a conference to learn more about youth gangs (State of Hawaii, 1989). Eventually, a Youth Gang Committee convened after passage of a resolution in the State Legislature and its work resulted in Act 189, “Relating to Gangs,” the initial framework and funding for the YGRS.⁹ The community also began to ask for more serious sanctions for gang-related crimes, in the hope of deterring gang crime. Hawaii was also experiencing a shift in people’s perceptions of the definition of a gang member. Prior to this, the view was that the majority of gang members were from the mainland and that youth groups weren’t a serious threat to the community. The paradigm shifted toward a realization that many gang members were actually “local bad boys, punks and peddlers,” (Perrone, 1996).

Another shift in the view of gangs came through media coverage, which in turn led to community awareness. The community forms most of its awareness and knowledge on media coverage through television or newspapers. An increase in a particular subject will lead to an increase in community knowledge, reactions, and involvement on that subject. In the case of gang coverage, the harsh view of gangs from 1984–1991 contrasted to a milder view in 1992–1993 due to minimal media coverage (Perrone, 1996). Next, media coverage and community response heightened in 1994. During that year, McKinley High School announced the cancellation of its annual carnival due to gang concerns (*Honolulu Star Bulletin*, 10/18/94: A1). Newspaper headlines influenced readers with stories such as: “*Outbreak of gang violence feared in Kalihi*” (*Honolulu Star Bulletin*, 10/28/94: A1).

By observing the consistent number of media sources showing articles related to gangs from 1994-1996, it is apparent that the involvement of youth gangs in Hawaii seems to continue as an area of deep concern.

⁹ The committee was formed due to Senate Concurrent Resolution 148, HD 1 of the 1988 State Legislature. The committee was five individuals from HPD, UH, the Hawaii Youth Services Network, and the Juvenile Justice Interagency Board with support from others at UH and HPD, the Department of Education, the State Legislature, Family Court and the Judiciary.

Chart 1: Trends on Hawaii News Articles on “Gangs,” 1986-2004



Source: Chesney-Lind, M., Brown, M., Mayeda, D., Kwack, D.G., Perrone, P., Kato, D., Marker, N., and Hookano, S. (1997). *Risk, Delinquency, and Gangs in Hawaii. Vol. I. Gender, Race, and Youthful Criminality*. Report No. 386. Center for Youth Research, Social Science Research Institute. University of Hawaii at Manoa. Honolulu, HI. 1997 and UH Youth Gang Project search of Hawaii Newspaper Index, 2004.

Media Accounts of Gang Activity: 1996-2004

Local newspaper articles related to gangs were drawn from the *Honolulu Star Bulletin* and the *Honolulu Advertiser* in the Hawaii Newspaper Index from 1996-2004. The Youth Gang Project performed searches using the Hawaii State Public Library database, using the keyword “gangs” to collect all newspaper references for articles relating to gang activity from 1996-2003. When researchers grew concerned about what seemed to be underreporting of gang activity or changes in indexing, keywords such as “assaults,” “youth crime,” and “gunfights” were used for the 2004 only searches in order to identify any stories that might be gang-related news. The references were taken to

Hamilton Library at the University of Hawaii and a search was done to find the articles on microfilm. The articles were separated into three categories: gang violence, gang activity (non-violent), and gang prevention/education.

Of the 202 articles found, 121 were related to gang violence, including violent crime stories as well as various court trial articles for violent crimes.¹⁰ Thirty-one were related to non-violent gang activity, such as graffiti and gang presence, and 50 of the articles found were related to gang prevention/education. The remainder of the articles pertained to community responses and activities to educate neighborhoods or prevent gang activity.

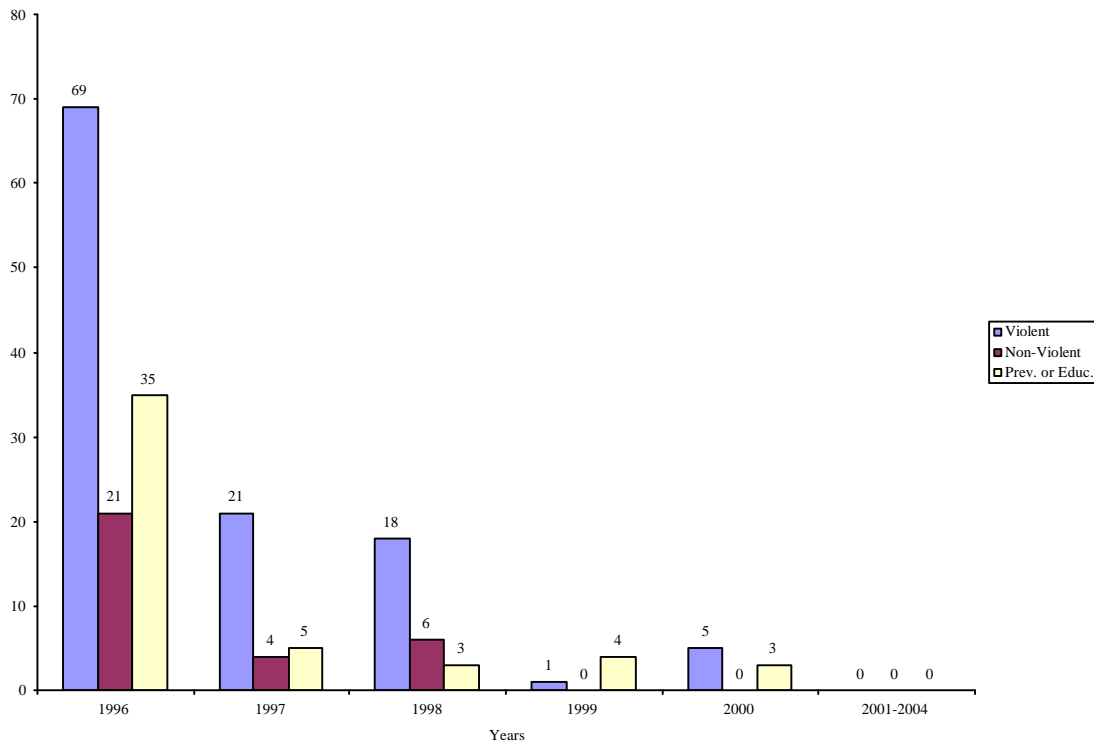
The largest number of gang-related articles from the two Honolulu newspapers was found in 1996 with a drastic decline in 1997 and 1998, and an even greater decline in articles in the years following. Less gang activity has been reported when compared to the early nineties. The media accounts of gang-related news in Hawaii declined between 1996-2004 to the point where none were found using the keyword “gangs” for the past four years.

The recent search began where the last Youth Gang Project’s newspaper content analysis on gangs ended in 1995. The following chart summarizes the searches using the keyword “gangs” for the years 1996-2004.

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¹⁰ These articles include those from the “Police Beat” which is most likely taken by the newspaper directly from police reports, using the HPD’s description. Therefore, with “Police Beat” articles, the media does not make the decision on what incidents are identified as “gang-related.”

Chart 2: Number of Hawaii Newspaper Articles Found Using the Keyword “Gangs,” 1996-2004



Source: Hawaii Newspaper Index Search by UH Youth Gang Project, 2004

Gang-Related Articles in 1996

In 1996 there were a total of 125 articles from both the *Honolulu Star Bulletin* and the *Honolulu Advertiser* relating to gangs. Sixty-nine articles (55 percent) were connected to possible gang activity. Many of the articles were court trial commentaries for the same major violent cases. There were four major violent gang crimes reported in the media in 1996. This year was the peak in gang violence and non-violent gang-related articles.

In June 1996, the media tracked the Oahu court trials of three suspected gang members who were accused of killing a fellow gang member in 1995 during a gang ritual of “jumping out.” The victim died of severe brain swelling after his friends punched, stomped, and kicked him because he had wanted to join another gang. The gang ritual of “jumping out” requires being beaten before you are officially let “out” of the gang.

A gang knifing in August 1996 caused a 19-year-old man to be hospitalized in critical condition. The crime scene was on North King Street where five alleged gang members confronted another group. During the fight the suspect threw a knife at the victim causing a wound to his chest.

In October 1996, a rivalry between two Kalihi gangs resulted in two deaths within two weeks. It was suspected that both deaths were related since both victims belonged to a Kuhio Park Terrace gang. The fights were between a Kuhio Park Terrace gang and their rival gang from Mayor Wright Housing.

Also in October, a 17-year-old male was fatally beaten and bashed with a rock. The victim lived at Kuhio Park Terrace and died at Queen's Hospital of head injuries. There were at least six males involved in the beating.

Twenty-one of the 125 gang-articles in 1996 were categorized as non-violent gang activities. These included graffiti, vandalism, and gang presence in various neighborhoods such as Kalihi and Waipahu. Thirty-five articles pertained to gang prevention and education. Other news accounts included a meeting that Mayor Jeremy Harris held with gang members in July 1996 and residents patrolling Mayor Wright Housing for crime prevention in October. October 1996 was also the month that Aiea neighborhood residents met to discuss ways to curb gangs in their area.

Gang-Related Articles in 1997

In 1997, there were a total of 30 articles relating to gangs, 70 percent of them about violent gang incidents. Many of the articles included trial proceedings for the beating death in October 1996. The other major incident in 1997 was a Campbell High School stabbing by a freshman student that resulted in the death of a 20-year old man.

There were four articles describing non-violent episodes in 1997, mostly about property damage or gang presence in neighborhoods. The five articles related to gang prevention were based around a forum in Ewa Beach to explore youth gang problems and editorials responding to the Campbell High incident.

Gang-Related Articles in 1998

In 1998 there were 28 articles pertaining to gang issues. Of the 28 articles, 18 related to gang violence, six to non-violent gang activity, and three to gang prevention/education.

Most violent-related gang articles in 1998 described trials regarding previous years' gang-related murders, including a murder trial. There was also one gang-related stabbing in September of 1998. The six non-violent crimes discussed gang presence—one article told of gangs in Kahuku and Waianae. Three gang prevention articles were found. One pertained to how certain former gang members have become responsible citizens.

Gang-Related Articles in 1999

A total of five articles related to gangs in Hawaii were found for 1999. This continued the substantial decline in articles since 1996. One of the five articles was about a trial for a previous violent gang incident. There were no reported non-violent incidents, and the other four articles were about gang prevention and education. One article in 1999 described a report which showed gang programs succeeding in Hawaii. There were a few other articles that pertained to gang programs provided for teens across the state. The year 1999 had the lowest number of reported gang-related articles with a slight increase in 2000. Significantly, despite this media silence, there was a gang related homicide involving an Ewa Beach youth who fired a gun from a car at another “fleeing” car, killing a 21-year old youth (The Courts, *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, 2000). The media coverage, sparse as it was, mentioned that the shooter was an “alleged leader and founder of KGB, or Kids Gone Bad, and his friends believed the car’s occupants were members of a rival gang. Considering the media frenzy that accompanied similar earlier incidents, the fact that this case received such limited coverage is notable.

Gang Related Articles in 2000

In 2000, there were eight gang-related articles in the newspapers. One of the five articles related to violent gang incidents involved the use of firearms. A 17-year old boy

fatally shot an 18-year old male in May 2000. There were three articles on gang prevention and education and no articles related to non-violent gang activity.

Gang-Related Articles from 2001-2003

From the year 2001 to 2004, no gang related articles were found when using the keyword “gangs.” Different keywords were used in the searches for articles in the year 2004. The trend in community concerns has instead seemed to shift toward young drivers and speed related accidents as well as teen drug users. Focus groups conducted by the YGP in Waipahu found assertions among school security staff that there are correlations suggested between car racing clubs and gang membership (Chesney-Lind, 2000).

Gang-Related Articles in 2004

In 2004, seven articles were found in the *Honolulu Star Bulletin* regarding possible violent gang activity, and one found in the BYU-HAWAII Campus Security Crime Log. It is significant to note that no articles were found in 2004 under the keyword “gangs” so other keywords were included in the search, such as: “assaults,” “youth crime,” and “gunfights.” In addition, no articles were found that related to gang prevention and education. All articles involved assaults on the Big Island and Oahu. It is interesting to note that one of the articles was about the arrest of an 8-year-old boy from a Waianae elementary school (his third arrest) for attempting to stab two employees and threatening to kill another employee (*Honolulu Star Bulletin*, 3/6/04).

On April 14, 2004, there was a drive-by stabbing of a Waianae teenage boy in Aiea (*Honolulu Star Bulletin*, 4/22/04). The victim told the police that the suspect drove up in a white Ford sedan, got out of the vehicle, approached the victim and stabbed him with a knife. The suspect had braided hair and was wearing a red T-shirt, red shorts, and red shoes. This suggests that the suspect was wearing gang attire. On April 20, 2004, there was a potential gang fight at Farrington High school, which was quelled by the presence of police officers who were called to the campus (*Honolulu Star Bulletin*, 4/22/04). Also in April of 2004, it was reported in the BYU-HAWAII Campus Security Crime Log that on Sunday, April 4, there were three separate assault incidents that occurred off campus. One incident took place at a home on Kamehameha Highway

across from Laie Elementary School and two incidents on Iosepa Street. Each of the incidents involved different suspects who were non-students. The victims were students who were badly injured.

For June 2004, two were articles found on a shooting at Mayor Wright Housing (*Honolulu Star Bulletin*, 6/19/04). One man was killed and another man injured during a police shoot-out on June 17. The housing tenants blamed outsiders and the continuing drug and gang problem in their community. Several males were spotted chasing the victim to a neighboring house where they continued to taunt the occupants before the police arrived on the scene. On August 29, 2004, 12-15 men were involved in a gang fight on Kapiolani Blvd (*Honolulu Star Bulletin*, 10/19/04). All suspects were reported to have weapons. A 25-year-old man was struck with a bat several times in his head and was left unconscious. Finally, the year ended with a stabbing death in October of a male teen living in Kalihi that has yet to appear in the newspaper index. The incident involved the fatal stabbing of a youth in front of a liquor store on North King Street; it was mentioned only fleetingly in a very sketchy article. There was, however, evidence in television coverage of a gang dimension to the article, which was confirmed by subsequent discussions with outreach workers at a recent YGRS meeting (Chesney-Lind, 2004, 2). In fact, the YGRS is moving to implement a community mobilization strategy to address the tensions between various ethnic groups (notably Polynesian youth and youth from the Marshall Islands and Micronesia). Agency staff members report that this incident did not occur because of gang violence but because of the youth's death, intense gang activity resulted in the affected neighborhood.

Summary

Media accounts of gang activity have shown a substantial decrease from the late 1980's to the present, especially since the mid-nineties. This does not necessarily mean that there were no gang incidents during that time frame; it could also mean that community interest in gangs has declined. Media tend to both reflect the community's concerns, while also shaping them. In the early years of the gang problem, the Hawaii media were, if anything, over-reacting to the problem of gangs (see Perrone and

Chesney-Lind, 1997). The YGRS chose at that time to discourage media from causing undue community fear and misperceptions about youth crime. More recently, it appears that the media has deliberated underplayed the possible danger of youth gangs. In Hawaii, this media silence could be caused by any number of factors, including the time-honored silence about the possibility of violent victimization in a community heavily dependent on tourism (see Chesney-Lind and Lind, 1986). Without reliable gang-tracking data from police, it's difficult to know if the police are not reporting incidents as gang-related, if the media is truly under-reporting gang-related incidents, or if there's actually fewer gang incidents and gangs. Furthermore, how much of this is intentional or unintentional, driven by policies and procedures, or simply non-specific reporting on the part of police, media or both are not known at this time.

Increasingly, though, criminologists are focusing on the media's role in shaping both the crime problem and the criminal justice solution as more than simply a reflection of reality (Ferrell and Websdale, 1999). For purposes of this assessment, the authors suggest that the media are increasingly unreliable as a source of tracking what may well be a serious problem confronted by the State of Hawaii. More fundamentally, these data, while fragmentary, suggest that Hawaii, like certain parts of the U.S. mainland, may be returning to a more serious phase in the youth gang problem.

Measuring the Extent of the Gang Problem – Police Gang Tracking Systems

Gang Reporting Evaluation and Tracking System (GREAT)

From 1990-1999, HPD utilized a database system called the Gang Reporting Evaluation and Tracking System (GREAT), modeled after one used in Los Angeles. This system served as an intelligence system on gang activity in Hawaii, but also provided statistics to the YGRS (Chesney-Lind, et al, 1992; 1995). The GREAT system allowed law enforcement personnel to collect and share detailed information on individuals identified as gang members, such as name, age, ethnicity, gang affiliation and even tattoos and parent information (Chesney-Lind, et.al, 1997). To be entered into GREAT, a youth had to meet one or more of the following criteria: (1) an individual must admit membership, (2) presence of tattoos or colors, (3) arrested in the company of other gang

members, (4) hanging out with other gang members, and (5) identified by a reliable informant (Chesney-Lind, et.al 1996).

In ten years time there was evidence from HPD's gang tracking databases that there were a growing number of gang members statewide. However, it was assumed that a portion of the increase in individuals named in GREAT was due to new entries and to the lack of purging of those who were no longer believed to be gang members. In any case, the number of suspected youths discovered by police officers to be involved in gang activity was on the rise. However, the demographics of gangs seemed to remain the same. There was relatively consistent data in racial, gender and locational makeup of gangs. Males were more likely to be gang members, though there was an increase of female involvement. Those of Filipino and Samoan decent continued to make up the majority of gangs. Waipahu and Kalihi were still the geographic areas of most gang activity (Chesney-Lind, et.al, 2003).

Hawaii Gang Members Tracking System (HGMTS)

The GREAT statewide tracking system operating since the beginning of YGRS was phased out in 2000 and the data transferred to the newer HGMTS system where old records were purged and HPD units were asked to enter new gang members as they became known (Chesney-Lind, et al, 2001).

HGMTS was created from scratch by the HPD to replace GREAT, a system by then considered to not be user-friendly or fully utilized (Chesney-Lind, et.al, 2001). The data from both the GREAT and HGMTS tracking systems are incomparable and therefore make it difficult to assess trends in gang involvement in Hawaii from the early 90's to the present time. The following table shows official data extracted by the Youth Gang Project from the police gang tracking systems over the years.

Table 4: Hawaii Gangs and Gang Membership documentation since 1989

<u>From YGP Reports</u>	<u>Numbers</u>	<u>Source</u>
1992 Report	In 1989 -22 gangs/450 members	1989 Leg. Rpt.-HPD
1992 Report	In 1991– 45 gangs/1,020 members Honolulu (77 percent were adults)	GREAT
1992 Report	Big Isle in '91--20 gangs/282 members (40 percent adults) Maui in '91--4 gangs/115 members (74 percent adults) Ka'uai in '91--12 gangs/66 members (35 percent adults)	GREAT
1996 Report	192 gangs/1,900 members (GREAT not purged since began record keeping in 1991)	GREAT
2003 Report	In 2002, # of gangs unknown/736 members	HGMTS

Current Status of Quantitative Assessments of the Gang Problem

Despite use of two different computer database gang tracking systems (GREAT and HGMTS), today there is still no credible quantitative measure of the extent of the gang problem. The YGRS no longer funds HGMTS and HPD reports that it's unlikely many units are entering data or keeping files updated. Therefore, police data on gangs can no longer be used by researchers for analysis on the extent of the gang problem. An interest has grown in adding gang variables to the Western States Information Network (WSIN) used by all islands for narcotics intelligence for many years. This possibility is under examination by the YGRS and county police departments. Still, at this time, the YGP cannot report police estimates of gang involvement.

Gang membership estimates can be obtained through interviews or surveys of youth and estimates from interviews with law enforcement and youth service agency staff members. For years, the YGP surveyed youth who participated in the PAGE and GREAT classes and in the programs at the non-profit youth services, with approval from those

agencies or by them administering and collecting the surveys for researchers. Direct interviews of youth ended when it became difficult to get approval from the Human Subjects Review Committee to survey youth. Now, the method used by the YGP is to analyze questions from other approved research that surveys youth on related topics, including questions on gang involvement. For this 2005 report, the best qualitative measure of gang involvement is the results of the Hawaii Student Alcohol, Tobacco, and Other Drug Use Study. Additionally, the YGRS Working Committee meetings provide a forum for agencies to share their perceptions on the seriousness and nature of the gang problem. Other research findings such as the delinquency risk factor study by the Asian/Pacific Islander Youth Violence Prevention Center will provide additional insight.

Gang Involvement in Hawaii's Communities: An Overview of Self-Report Data

As noted above, police data are not the only source of information on the dimensions of Hawaii's gang problem. Self-report data provides a vital, and often overlooked, complement to official data.

The University of Hawaii, funded by the Department of Health's Alcohol and Drug Abuse Division (ADAD), has conducted statewide school surveys—The Hawaii Student Alcohol, Tobacco, and Other Drug Use Study—each Spring every even-numbered year since 1997. The surveys are administered to 6th, 8th, 10th, and 12th graders. These surveys, which rely on adolescent self-reports, provide a variety of information on Hawaii's communities and youth. In addition to questions concerning alcohol and drug use, the surveys also question other risk factors and risk-taking behaviors, such as being involved in a gang, having friends who are in a gang, carrying weapons, stealing motor vehicles, getting arrested, failing academically, and being suspended from school. Throughout 2004, the University of Hawaii YGP analyzed the data in order to understand more fully the extent of gang involvement in Hawaii's 42 school complex areas.

Of particular interest to YGP is the variable "gang involvement," which is a summated scale of three items on the 2000 Hawaii Student Alcohol, Tobacco, and Drug Use Survey. These items include (1) have you ever belonged to a gang; (2) did the gang have a name, and (3) are you currently in a gang? Using the distribution (0-37.5 percent)

and mean (19.0 percent) responses from all the complexes, YGP developed a scale of low to high gang involvement. Below are listed the top ten School Complex Areas (SCA's) with the highest gang involvement overall (reported by grade levels):

Table 5: School Complex Area, Grade Level Reporting Highest Gang Involvement

Area	Percentage Reporting Gang Involvement
Ka'u (10 th and 12 th graders)	37.5 percent
Ka'u (6 th and 8 th graders)	31.8 percent
Leilehua (10 th and 12 th graders)	31.2 percent
Lanai (10 th and 12 th graders)	31.0 percent
Hana (6 th and 8 th graders)	30.8 percent
Kohala (6 th and 8 th graders)	30.6 percent
Campbell (10 th and 12 th graders)	30.2 percent
Waipahu (10 th and 12 th graders)	29.0 percent
Farrington (10 th and 12 th graders)	28.7 percent
Keaau (6 th and 8 th graders)	28.5 percent
Mean percentage for all complexes	19 percent

Other risk variables that can help explain gang involvement were reviewed within each of these neighborhoods. The data show that all of the complexes scored higher or the same as the overall SCA mean (45.2 percent) in depression. Additionally, all of these SCA's placed higher than the mean (15.6 percent) when reporting if they had a friend who was a gang member (range: Hana 6th and 8th at 16.0 percent, Ka'u 10th and 12th at 42.8 percent). With the exception of Hana and Farrington, the top ten SCA's for gang involvement had higher percentages in "ever attacking someone." With the exception of Lanai, these SCA's more often reported having a friend who has carried a handgun.

In examining the key risk variables for the particular neighborhoods further, several notable differences are apparent. Ka'u 10th and 12th reported 21.4 percent (above the mean) higher incidences of ever attacking someone, 20.1 percent (above the mean) higher in having a friend who sold illegal drugs, 10.9 percent (above the mean) higher in having a friend who dropped out of school, and 21.4 percent in having a friend who has

been arrested. Ka'u 6th and 8th also had higher reports of “ever attacking someone” (6.8 percent above the mean). It also had a noticeably larger percentage of poor family supervision (24.1 percent above the mean) and friends who have carried a handgun (11.4 percent). Leilehua scored high in poor family supervision and family conflict as well as in reported suspensions (4.3 percent above mean).

Several variables stand out when examining Lanai. Variables relating to delinquent and violent activities (ever suspended, ever sold drugs, ever arrested, ever attacked someone, ever drunk or high while attending school) are well above average. Of all School Complex Areas listed, Lanai reported the highest percentage above the mean (28.6 percent) of “ever been drunk or high at school.” Additionally, Lanai also had higher reports of delinquent peer groups. Having a friend who has been suspended (32.3 percent above the mean), a friend who sold illegal drugs (22.5 percent above mean), friend arrested (11.6 percent above the mean), and friend who has dropped out of school (11.2 percent above the mean) were also remarkably higher in comparison.

Kohala 6th and 8th saw higher scores in family conflict (12.1 percent higher) and poor family supervision (13.4 percent higher than average). Academic failure and friend suspended were also higher than averages. Waipahu 10th and 12th, Campbell 10th and 12th, and Farrington 10th and 12th all had perceptibly higher scores in the areas of associations with delinquent friends and with personal risk factors, such as experiencing academic failure and/or being drunk or high at school. Farrington scored highest than the other School Complex Areas listed in “ever sold illegal drugs” (26.5 percent above the mean) and in “ever stolen or tried to steal a motor vehicle” (10.8 percent above the mean). Lastly, Keaau 6th and 8th reported higher levels of academic problems: low school commitment, academic failure, and suspensions. Additionally, having a friend who has been suspended was also somewhat above the mean (8.7 percent higher).

Reviewing other risk factors that youth reported in these schools, the data show that in rural areas—Ka'u, Leilehua, Lanai, Hana, Kohala, and Keaau—family and academic risk factors (e.g. poor family supervision, suspensions, etc) are consistently higher. In more urban areas—Campbell, Waipahu, and Farrington—it appears that personal risk-taking behaviors (such as selling drugs) and delinquent peer groups yield

comparatively higher reports. One exception is Lanai that reported myriad risk factors at higher levels.

Overall, these data suggest that the gang problem is clearly not simply an urban, Oahu problem. Indeed, many neighbor island communities report as high or higher levels of gang involvement than the stereotypical gang neighborhoods of Waipahu and Kalihi. More significantly, the data establish that for one in five youths in Hawaii, gang involvement is a significant part of their lives (for a full discussion of these findings, see Chesney-Lind, et al, 2004).

Chapter III of this report presents findings from the 2002 Hawaii Student Alcohol, Tobacco, and Other Drug Use Study.

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CHAPTER III
**UNDERSTANDING GANG INVOLVEMENT IN COMMUNITIES:
RESULTS FROM THE 2002 HAWAII STUDENT ALCOHOL, TOBACCO, AND
DRUG USE STUDY**

By Lisa Pasko

Introduction

Under the guidance of Dr. Renee Storm Pearson, the University of Hawaii, in collaboration with the State of Hawaii Department of Health, Alcohol, and Drug Abuse Division (ADAD), has conducted statewide school surveys each spring in even-numbered years.¹¹ Based on adolescent self-reports, these surveys—the Hawaii Student Alcohol, Tobacco, and Drug Use Surveys— are administered to 6th, 8th, 10th, and 12th graders and provide a variety of information on Hawaii’s communities and youth. In addition to questions concerning alcohol and drug use, the surveys also question other risk factors and risk-taking behaviors, such as being involved in a gang, carrying weapons, stealing motor vehicles, getting arrested, failing academically, and being suspended from school. Throughout 2004, the University of Hawaii Youth Gang Project (YGP) analyzed the 2002 data in order to understand more fully the extent of gang involvement in Hawaii’s school complex areas.

Methodology

The 2002 Hawaii Student Alcohol, Tobacco, and Drug Use Survey represent an ethnically diverse cross section of intermediate and high school students from across the entire state. The surveys were administered anonymously to 24,303 public school students and 4,307 private school students in 215 schools across the state. Student responses were screened for honesty in responses, which resulted in the removal of 25 of the surveys (Klinge, 2004, p. 1). Depending upon where the student resided, responses from students who attended private schools or public charter schools were aggregated into the respective

¹¹ The Hawaii Student Alcohol, Tobacco, and Drug Use Survey is funded by the Hawaii State Department of Health, Alcohol and Drug Abuse (ADAD) Division. See references for full citation of Dr. Klinge’s report.

SCA public school boundary, as defined by the Department of Education (DOE). After aggregation, the data were split in quarters—6th, 8th, 10th, and 12th graders. This style of aggregated SCA data allowed for comparisons among the 42 school complex areas as well as comparison among different grades.

The data contain slightly higher responses from female students and slightly higher response rates from 6th and 8th graders, who were more likely to complete parental consent forms and to attend school. *What is important to note in the following analyses is that several of the smaller school complex areas had low response rates, with only a few students responding.* For example, Hana had only 74 responses, Pahoia only 177, and Ka'u only 190; the representation of these SCAs 10th and 12th graders yield even smaller response rates. The results from these SCAs must be taken with some caution, therefore. While these areas were kept in the following analysis, Kahuku was dropped, with only 26 total responses from 8th, 10th, and 12th graders. Likewise, Laupahoehoe was dropped for similar reasons.

Of particular interest to YGP is the variable “gang involvement,” which is a summated scale of three items on the 2000 Hawaii Student Alcohol, Tobacco, and Drug Use Survey. These items include 1) have you ever belonged to a gang; 2) did the gang have a name, and 3) are you currently in a gang? A “yes” to any of the above questions yields a “yes” toward gang involvement for the complex. The following table, which lists alphabetically the SCAs by 6th, 8th, 10th, and 12th grade levels, shows the average percentage of youth reporting gang involvement for each SCA as well as the difference from the prior 2000 survey.

Table 6: Gang Involvement by School Complex, Grades 6th, 8th, 10th, 12th, Year 2002

Complex	6 th	8 th	10 th	12 th	Average	dif from 2000†
State Mean	10.8 percent	11.8 percent	11.4 percent	10.5 percent	11.3 percent	-7.7
Aiea	9.0	8.6	11.9	9.9	9.85	-10.9
Baldwin	9.2	6.1	5.3	12.2	8.2	-8.63
Campbell	12.6	20.8	12.5	9.5	13.9	-15.0
Castle	9.1	6.1	8.5	5.6	7.33	-6.32
Central Hilo	9.8	4.1	21.1	9.8	11.2	-7.9
Central Ka'uai	14.8	10.3	12.0	2.4	9.88	-7.8
East Ka'uai	14.1	9.9	5.7	11.2	10.23	-5.57
Farrington	13.1	13.8	18.1	18.6	15.9	-11.23
Hana	10.0	10.5	25.0	18.2	15.83	N/A
Hilo	13.2	9.0	3.2	3.6	7.25	-9.2
Honokaa	11.9	12.4	14.2	8.8	11.83	-4.95
Ka'u	12.8	23.1	10.9	10.4	14.3	N/A
Kailua	8.4	10.3	10.3	14.5	10.86	-4.67
Kaimuki	8.0	8.7	11.4	9.0	9.3	-8.3
Kaiser	3.1	8.2	9.9	0.0	5.3	-6.83
Kalaheo	7.0	12.4	12.5	12.6	11.3	N/A
Kalani	9.1	4.5	9.1	0.0	5.68	-6.02
Kapolei	9.4	5.5	12.5	11.5	9.73	-15.47
Keaau	15.9	21.5	9.3	N/A	N/A	N/A
KeKa'ulike	8.8	8.7	7.5	10.5	8.88	-5.0
Kohala	15.0	11.6	11.9	N/A	N/A	N/A
Lahainaluna	12.6	9.8	13.0	11.4	11.7	-9.53
Lanai	14.9	10.0	19.4	8.3	13.15	-6.1
Leilehua	9.0	17.6	12.9	18.7	14.5	-14.2
Maui	24.5	29.6	11.1	8.6	18.45	-1.4
McKinley	12.2	12.3	11.6	8.9	11.25	-11.95
Mililani	3.3	8.9	6.3	8.9	6.9	-9.1
Moanalua	5.1	9.0	8.1	11.6	8.45	-10.7
Molokai	22.1	15.1	14.3	5.3	14.2	-2.55
Nanakuli	15.1	12.0	12.0	9.4	12.13	-9.67
North Kona	12.6	13.5	6.7	N/A	N/A	N/A
Pahoa	16.9	10.9	30.8	36.4	23.75	-2.78
Pearl City	9.6	11.2	7.0	6.6	8.6	-12.9
Radford	9.8	13.7	14.3	3.1	10.23	-9.32
Roosevelt	5.9	7.0	8.7	9.4	7.75	-6.2
South Kona	13.0	10.0	15.4	2.6	10.25	-7.93
Waianae	13.2	18.2	15.3	12.4	14.78	-10.12
Waialua	8.5	16.9	7.5	18.6	12.86	-3.36
Waipahu	13.2	18.2	15.3	12.4	14.78	-10.12
West Ka'uai	10.2	12.6	13.6	13.3	12.43	-4.32

† represents the difference in the average percent of students reporting gang involvement from the previous survey in 2000

For 6th graders, the SCAs that had the highest reported gang involvement are all in rural areas: Maui (24.5 percent), Molokai (22.1 percent), Pahoia (16.9 percent), Keaau (15.9 percent), and Lanai (14.9 percent). For 8th graders, Maui (29.6 percent), Ka'u (23.1 percent), Keaau (21.5 percent), Campbell (20.9 percent), and Waipahu (18.2 percent) reported the highest. For 10th graders, the SCAs with the highest reported gang involvement were also in rural areas on neighbor islands: Pahoia (30.8 percent), Hana (25 percent), Central Hilo (21.1 percent), and Lanai (19.4 percent). The highest reports for 12th graders came from Pahoia (36.4 percent), Leilehua (18.7 percent), Waialua (18.6 percent), Farrington (18.6 percent), and Hana (18.2 percent). Overall, younger grades seem to be reporting higher percentages of gang involvement than upper grades and rural areas more than urban.¹²

On average, all of the SCAs reported lower percentages of gang involvement in the 2002 survey than in the 2000 survey. The complexes with the greatest decreases include Kapolei (-15.9), Campbell (-15), Leilehua (-14.2), McKinley (-11.9), and Farrington (-11.2).

Using the average for all the grades, Table 7 presents the top ten SCAs reporting gang involvement. In addition, Table 8 presents the top ten SCAs by grade level.

Table 7: School Complex Area Reporting Highest Gang Involvement (Average %)

SCA	Percentage Reporting Gang Involvement (average)	Total Responses
Pahoia	23.75 percent	(177)
Maui	18.45	(790)
Hana	15.93	(74)
Farrington	15.9	(1734)
Waianae	15.13	(891)
Waipahu	14.78	(1467)
Leilehua	14.5	(712)
Ka'u	14.3	(190)
Molokai	14.2	(238)
Campbell	13.9	(994)
Mean percentage for all complexes	11.3	Total responses: (28610)

¹² Once again, it is important to note that these are percentages and not real numbers. One reason for higher percentages in rural areas may be due to lower response rates.

Table 8: School Complex Area by Grade Level Reporting Highest Gang Involvement

Area	Percentage Reporting Gang Involvement	Total Responses
Pahoa (12 th graders) (11)	36.4 percent	
Pahoa (10 th graders)	30.8	(13)
Maui (8 th graders)	29.6	(136)
Hana (10 th graders)	25.0	(24)
Ka'u (8 th graders)	23.1	(39)
Maui (6 th graders)	24.5	(257)
Molokai (6 th graders)	22.1	(96)
Keaau (8 th graders)	21.5	(151)
Central Hilo (10 th graders)	21.1	(125)
Campbell (8 th graders)	20.8	(226)
Mean percentage for all complexes	11.3	Total responses: (28610)

Risk Factors and Gang Membership

Risk factors are characteristics of the individual, family, school, peer groups, and community that tend to increase the likelihood for anti-social, delinquent, and/or violent behaviors (Klinge, 2004; Lipsey and Derzin, 1998). Research on risk factors and gangs have shown that gangs tend to form in economically distressed, marginal areas—areas with combined disadvantages of low socioeconomic status, segregation, racial discrimination, and lack of education. The personal attributes of youth who join gangs often reflect growing up in such communities where street socialization and survival rely on a “tough guise.” Youth who join gangs often hold more antisocial beliefs, tend to resolve conflict with threats, and deal with stressful and dangerous situations fairly regularly (Maxson and Whitlock, 2000). Youth at risk for gang involvement often show higher levels of social isolation, higher tolerance for deviance, and higher levels of commitment to delinquent peer groups (Esbensen, Huizinga, and Weiher, 1993). Therefore, it is important to correlate risk factors with gang involvement, in order to underscore challenging areas and issues in the aforementioned SCAs. Tables 9 and 10 highlight chosen risk factors with the top ten gang-involved SCAs in the state.

Table 9: Selected Risk Factors for 1-5 SCA's Reporting Highest Gang Involvement, 2002

Variables (average percent reporting)*	Mean of all complexes in the state	Pahoa (177)	Maui (790)	Hana (74)	Farrington (1734)	Waianae (891)
Gang Involvement	11.3	23.75	18.45	15.93	15.9	15.13
Poor family supervision	43.1	20.5	34.33	N/A	43.0	40.55
Family Conflict	47.0	45.03	46.65	N/A	48.25	53.1
Low school commitment	50.38	50.83	53.05	60.3	37.1	52.0
Academic failure	49.56	52.65	48.83	60.15	55.25	46.18
Depression	43.0	45.03	47.45	37.0	45.23	46.85
Ever suspended	8.23	18.75	9.2	12.73	7.35	10.5
Ever carried a handgun	2.7	3.55	3.6	2.45	2.73	4.48
Ever sold illegal drugs	5.68	13.53	11.3	12.73	3.28	4.7
Ever stolen or tried to steal a motor vehicle	2.75	5.83	3.23	3.48	2.5	3.68
Ever been arrested	4.75	N/A	5.78	4.85	5.95	7.4
Ever attacked someone	10.5	22.48	13.28	6.95	11.8	12.75
Ever been drunk or high at school	12.18	19.75	16.53	10.8	9.5	14.03
Ever taken a handgun to school	0.73	2.28	1.1	0.0	1.08	1.13
Have one or more friend who has been suspended	38.38	47.63	64.2	41.58	34.55	48.15
Have one or more friend who carried a handgun	5.98	9.33	7.33	1.05	6.53	9.15
Have one or more friend who sold illegal drugs	28.68	48.1	53.88	25.1	21.13	30.23
Have one or more friend who has stolen a motor vehicle	12.55	20.78	15.43	7.93	13.2	18.28
Have one or more friend who has dropped out of school	20.55	35.28	23.65	15.33	23.98	29.33
Have one or more friend who has been arrested	25.35	33.7	29.55	14.03	25.4	33.8

* Number in () represents total responses in the survey. Footnote: some responses have fewer responses due to low response rates while others have fewer numbers due to the smaller size of the complex.

Table 10: Selected Risk Factors for 6-10 SCA's Reporting Highest Gang Involvement, 2002

Variables-- average SCA percent reporting*	Mean of all complexes in the state	Waipahu (1467)	Leilehua (712)	Ka'u (190)	Molokai (238)	Campbell (994)
Gang Involvement	11.3	14.75	14.55	14.3	14.2	13.85
Poor family supervision	43.1	41.93	45.48	47.75	35.25	45.1
Family Conflict	47.0	49.8	45.0	44.73	49.88	50.03
Low school commitment	50.38	44.15	47.1	39.7	37.15	51.48
Academic failure	49.56	57.25	48.3	54.9	46.1	53.18
Depression	43.0	48.1	44.1	40.35	47.43	44.38
Ever suspended	8.23	10.38	8.4	14.2	7.83	6.55
Ever carried a handgun	2.7	2.85	3.1	5.45	3.73	2.88
Ever sold illegal drugs	5.68	4.15	5.88	8.73	8.88	6.2
Ever stolen or tried to steal a motor vehicle	2.75	3.4	1.95	1.18	4.43	2.62
Ever been arrested	4.75	4.38	6.7	5.5	3.23	5.5
Ever attacked someone	10.5	12.4	11.08	14.8	10.1	13.83
Ever been drunk or high at school	12.18	9.75	13.75	22.35	15.05	15.95
Ever taken a handgun to school	0.73	0.68	0.83	3.3	0.35	0.68
Have one or more friend who has been suspended	38.38	44.33	42.35	39.98	47.73	41.05
Have one or more friend who carried a handgun	5.98	22.8	10.5	9.95	2.58	6.58
Have one or more friend who sold illegal drugs	28.68	25.53	33.25	29.18	34.33	33.53
Have one or more friend who has stolen a motor vehicle	12.55	11.2	17.33	8.1	15.4	15.5
Have one or more friend who has dropped out of school	20.55	22.8	24.08	17.8	16.15	24.78
Have one or more friend who has been arrested	25.35	24.68	33.65	12.85	22.33	30.05

* Number in () represents total responses in the survey. Footnote: some responses have fewer responses due to low response rates while others have fewer numbers due to the smaller size of the complex. In this analysis, Pahoia and Hana have low response rates after considering the size of the complex.

Summary of Findings

These data show that all but two of the top ten gang-involved complexes scored higher or the same as the overall SCA mean (43.0 percent) in depression, with Waipahu scoring the highest at 48.1 percent. Over half of the SCAs scored higher or the same as the state mean in reporting ever stealing a car and in academic failure, although less than half report low school commitment in comparison to the state average. Most of the top ten gang-involved complexes report higher frequencies of ever being suspended and/or having a friend who has been suspended. Only Hana (6.95 percent) and Molokai (10.1 percent) scored lower than the mean (10.5 percent) when reporting if they ever attacked someone.

In examining the variables that SCAs scored conspicuously higher than the mean, several notable differences occur. Of particular concern is Pahoia, which reported the highest level of gang involvement. Pahoia reported higher in having academic failure (52.65 percent), getting suspended (more than double the state average), attacking others (22.48, compared to state's 10.5 percent), being drunk or high at school (19.75, compared to 12.18 percent), and having peer groups that are involved in carrying handguns, selling illegal drugs, and dropping out of school.

Maui scored noticeably higher in having one or more friends who have been suspended (64.2 percent, compared to state mean of 38.38 percent). Hana also reported higher levels of friends with suspensions but also had higher reports of academic failure (60.15). Waianae had more reports of students being friends with students who have dropped out of school, friends who have been suspended, and friends who have stolen cars. Peer group relations also appeared problematic for Waipahu, along with academic failure and depression. Leilehua's main problematic areas were also peer group dynamics, with "having a friend who has been arrested" particularly higher than the mean (33.65 percent, compared to 25.35 percent for the state). Molokai had markedly more reports of having friends who sell drugs (34.33 percent), while Campbell's areas of concern remained in low school commitment and academic failure. Lastly, Ka'u, which ranked first in the top ten SCAs for gang involvement in the 2000 survey, continued to

have problems with students experiencing poor family supervision (47.75 percent), being drunk or “high” at school (22.35 percent), and academic failure (54.9 percent).

Overall, the data show that rural areas—Ka’u, Leilehua, Molokai, Hana, Maui, Waianae, and Pahoa—are reporting higher percentages of gang involvement than are urban areas. This suggests that the gang problem and its consequent intelligence must incorporate the unique and myriad problems and dynamics occurring in and affecting these rural complex areas. While peer group relations seem to be an influential factor in all the SCA, in rural areas, it appears that family and academic risk factors (e.g. poor family supervision, suspensions, etc) are consistently higher. In more urban areas, it appears that personal risk-taking behaviors (such as selling drugs, attacking others) seem to play a bigger role.

In order to understand why these school area complexes report higher levels of gang involvement and correlate risk factors, an examination of the community dynamics is needed. The next section summarizes information about each community and school complex area.

Understanding the Communities

The following information on each community represents an amalgamation of data collected by the Center on the Family (2003), U. S. Census Bureau (2000), and State of Hawaii Department of Education, Planning and Evaluation Branch (2003). The geographic areas used for this section follow those of the Community Profiles of School Complex Areas.

Pahoa. The Pahoa area in Hawaii is home to over 15,000 people and encompasses Kapoho, Ka’ueleau, Kehena, Kaimu, Puna, and Kalapana. It has the state’s third-highest unemployment rate (14.6 percent), the highest percentage of families who depend on food stamps, and fewer number of children covered by health insurance (84.5 percent), than the state mean of 90.3 percent. The poverty level for children and elderly in Pahoa is the second and third highest in the state, with over 29 percent of all households living in poverty. The Pahoa area has more families with children under 18 and more single-parent households (40.4 percent, compared to the state mean of 25.2 percent). The

percentage of high school seniors who gain acceptance into college is among the lowest in the State of Hawaii. Fewer adults have a high school diploma (83.5 percent) or college degree (17.5 percent) than the state average (84.6 percent, 26.2 percent respectively); note that the difference is particularly pronounced at the level of college educated residents, with the Pahoa community averaging nearly 10 percent fewer college graduates than the state mean.

The student population in Pahoa is 32.9 percent Part-Hawaiian, 19.8 percent White, 14.9 percent Filipino(a), and 8.6 percent Hawaiian. The average daily attendance for students in the Pahoa complex is lower than the state mean, with the average student missing over 19 school days a year (state average is nine). Adolescents report about the same as the state mean when discussing exposure to illicit drugs in their community. However, the number of adolescents in Pahoa who report feeling unsafe in their neighborhood (52.8 percent) is higher than the state average (43.9 percent). What is interesting to note is that adolescents in Pahoa feel closer community ties than the state average.

Waianae. The Waianae School Complex Area has almost 31,000 residents and includes Waianae, Maili, Makaha, Kaena, and Ulu Wehi. This area is ethnically diverse and also has one of the highest concentrations of young people under age 19. Waianae suffers from many of the same social challenges as Pahoa: high unemployment (15.1 percent), more elderly living in poverty, more children living in poverty (32.9 percent, compared to state mean of 15.4 percent), high child abuse rates (33 per 1000 children, compared to state average of 11 per 1000¹³), and school safety problems. Despite this, fewer adolescents report seeing illicit drugs in their community (11.4 percent, compared to the state mean of 14.5 percent), fewer students report lacking an interest in school (42.2 percent, compared to 45.3 percent), and more students report weak neighborhood ties (43.6 percent versus the state mean of 38.6 percent). However, graduation rates are slightly lower in Waianae than compared to the state mean and considerably more students report feeling unsafe in their school (61.8 percent).

¹³ These figures should be taken with caution. Having higher child abuse rates in a community may not necessarily be an indicator of more child abuse. Alternatively, it may be an indicator of more child abuse known to authorities.

Molokai. The School Complex Area and island of Molokai is home to over 1700 families and the majority of the residents are over the age of 19 (72 percent). The percentage of households on public assistance is almost double the state average. The percentage of families with children living in poverty (23.6 percent) is more than double the state's mean (11.2 percent). Molokai also has more households headed by a single parent, and more adults with less than a high school diploma (22 percent). Over 63 percent of students receive free or reduced lunch, and the average daily absences (19.7) for students more than doubles the state's mean (9). Students in the Molokai SCA are more at risk for exposure to family use of alcohol and drugs and child abuse.

Maui. Maui School Complex Area serves Kahului, Kihei, Makena, and Wailea. The area is home to over 9600 families, 21 percent of which are headed by a single parent. The mean household income is slightly lower than the state average, although fewer families have children living in poverty or on public assistance. The educational attainment of adults in the community closely matches or exceeds the state mean, with over 32 percent of adults achieving some college education and 28.9 percent acquiring a high school diploma (compared to state mean of 28.5 percent). Less than a quarter of its students are on free or reduced cost lunch and less than 8 percent have trouble with English proficiency.

Despite these positive economic factors, Maui students report a higher percentage of gang involvement than the state mean. One explanation for this may be in the idleness and truancy of Maui's students. The average number of missed days for Maui SCA is more than double the state mean (20.2, compared to 9 percent). Average daily attendance is only 88 percent and roughly a quarter of students complete graduation on time.

Leilehua. The Leilehua School Area Complex consists of Kunia, Wahiawa, Wheeler Army Airfield, Schofield Barracks, and Whitmore Village and is home to nearly 42,000 residents. Leilehua has a high unemployment rate of 9.3 percent, and the per capita income is \$14,118. This also places Leilehua in the lowest 10 percent per capita income of all communities in Hawaii. Residential stability (living in the same house from 1995-2000) is also low, with nearly half of the residents in the military. The community educational attainment level is slightly above the state mean, with 31.8 percent of residents with some college education and 42.4 percent with a high school diploma. Safe

neighborhoods and close community ties also appear problematic for Leilehua: 56 percent of adolescents report unsafe neighborhoods and 51.3 percent (compared to 38.6 percent for the state) report lacking close neighborhood ties. The ethnic make-up of Leilehua High consists of primarily Filipino/a (24 percent), Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian (18.2 percent), White (17 percent), and African American (9.1 percent). The community itself is also diverse, with 33 percent White, 28 percent Asian (over half of which are Filipino/a), 11.4 percent African American, and 11.8 percent Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian.

Nearly 35 percent of students in Leilehua SCA receive free or reduced cost lunch, and over 9 percent of households in the community receive public assistance (compared to 6.8 percent for the State of Hawaii). Over 9 percent of children in the Leilehua area are at risk (defined by the Department of Education as children age 4-19 who are not high school graduates; living with one parent who is not a high school graduate; is single, divorced, or separated; and is below the poverty level). This is over four times the state's average. For Leilehua, residential instability, unsafe neighborhoods, and poverty appear as key hardships faced by members of the community.

Hana. The Hana area of Maui has 1,855 residents. It has the second highest number of Native Hawaiians (34.5 percent). Niihau has the most, with almost two thirds of its residents claiming Part-Hawaiian ethnic identity. The per capita income is \$16,439, 24 percent below the state average. Over 75 percent of students receive free or reduced cost lunch and nearly 11 percent of households receive public assistance. Over 32 percent of children age 3-19 years live in poverty, which is nearly three times higher than the average for the state. However, the unemployment rate for Hana is the same as the State of Hawaii's, 6.3 percent, and zero percent of students are categorized as at risk. Residential stability (residents who have lived in the same house from 1995-2000) is higher (72.6 percent) than Hawaii's mean (56.8 percent).

Although joblessness may not appear to be a hardship for Hana, the community does experience some educational challenges. The Hana area has more residents without a high school diploma (21.8 percent) and fewer residents with college experience. It also

has the third-highest percentage of “idle”¹⁴ teens and has the state’s highest percentage of third graders who score below average on the SAT.

Campbell. Campbell School Complex Area includes Ewa, Barber’s Point, East Kapolei, Honouliuli, Ocean Pointe, West Loch, and parts of Iroquois Point and Waipahu. It is home to almost 44,000 residents. Half of the residents are Asian, with 37 percent Filipino/a; Hawaiians/Part-Hawaiians constitute 17 percent of the population. The per capita income is \$17,645, 18 percent below the state mean. Although nearly 20 percent of families receive public assistance, unemployment is low (5.7 percent), home ownership is high (68.5 percent), and few young children live in poverty.

However, key challenges for Campbell area include strength of neighborhood ties and safety in the community. With rapid population growth, Campbell area has lower residential stability (51.1 percent) than other communities, meaning that they did not live in the same house from 1995-2000). More adolescents in these neighborhoods report feeling unsafe in their neighborhoods (60.5 percent compared to the State mean of 43.9 percent). Adolescents also more frequently report lacking close neighborhood ties (47.1 percent, compared to 38.6 percent for the state). Fewer 8th graders also feel safe at school (28.9 percent, compared to 37.6 percent state average); fewer teachers report a safe teaching environment; and fewer parents report feeling positive about their children’s safety. Campbell adolescents also report more exposure to illicit drugs in their neighborhood.

Waipahu. With more than 51,000 residents, the Waipahu area includes Waipahu, Waipio, Waikele, Robinson Heights, Royal Kunia, and parts of Village Park. It has one of the highest percentages of Asians, particularly Filipino/as (43.1 percent) and Pacific Islanders (6.2 percent). It has the fourth highest concentration of recent immigrants to the state. The per capita income is \$17,549 and is in the lowest 20 percent of the state. Over 14 percent of households receive public assistance; this is over twice the state’s average. The percentage of children who live below the poverty is about the same as the state. However, the percent of children at risk (age 4-19, living with a single parent who is not a high school graduate, is single, divorced or separated, and is below the poverty level) is four times higher than the state’s average.

¹⁴ “Idle” is defined as not working and not in school.

Similar to the pattern reported by students in the Campbell complex, the data suggest that safety in the community and in the schools are key areas of concerns for Waipahu students and schools. Over half (51.8 percent) of Waipahu adolescents report feeling unsafe in their neighborhoods, and only 27.6 percent of 8th graders report feeling safe at school, compared to the state mean of 37.6 percent. Fewer teachers report a safe working environment in Waipahu than in other communities (58.9 percent, compared to state average of 68.2 percent). However, in Waipahu, fewer adolescents report exposure to illicit drugs (12.4 percent, compared to state mean of 14.5 percent), and the percentage of idle teens is about the same as the state (9.4 percent to 8.6 percent, respectively).

Farrington. With over 46,000 residents, Farrington includes the area most commonly known as Kalihi. It has the highest percentage of Filipino/as (46.7 percent), Asians (65.8 percent) and immigrants. The per capita income is \$14,634, which is 32 percent below the state average. The unemployment rate is high in the area (8.6 percent), and the percentage of adults with less than high school degrees is also higher than the state average (36.0 percent, compared to 18.6 percent). Farrington has more than double the percentage of households receiving public assistance and one and a half times the percentage of children living in poverty. At almost 20 percent, the percent of children at risk far exceeds the state average (2.9 percent).

Compounding these economic and social hardships, Farrington students also report lower levels of safety and weaker family/neighborhood ties. Over 64 percent of adolescents report feeling unsafe in their neighborhood (20 percent above the state average). More adolescents feel they lack close neighborhood ties (45.9 percent) and close family ties (36.1 percent). Additionally, 12.3 percent of Farrington teenagers are idle, compared to the state average of 8.6 percent. Despite this, adolescents report less exposure to illicit drugs (11.5 percent) than in other communities.

Ka`u. Ka`u School Area Complex on the island of Hawaii includes Ninole, Honuapo, and Naalehu, and has a population less than 6000. Geographically isolated, the residents confront a number of challenges. Over 35 percent of Ka`u residents have less than a high school education (compared to the state average of 18.6 percent). The unemployment rate is the highest in the state (16.1 percent) and the per capita income, \$14,118, is 34 percent below the overall average income for Hawaii residents. This places

Ka`u in the lowest 10 percent per capita income of all communities in the state. Over 33 percent of families receive food stamps, and the child abuse rate (18 percent) is 7 percent above the state's average (11 percent).

Ka`u also reports the highest number of idle teens (teens not in school or working) in the state. Compared to the state mean of 43.9 percent, 86.5 percent of Ka`u adolescents report feeling unsafe in their neighborhood, although adolescents reporting exposure to illicit drugs is actually lower than the state mean (10.4 percent, compared to 14.5 percent). Reports of weak neighborhood ties are about the same as the state's average (38.5 percent to 38.6 percent, respectively). Teachers less often report a safe classroom environment (58.9 percent, compared to the state average 68.2 percent). The student ethnicity composition for the complex is 42 percent Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian, 32 percent Filipino/a, and 11.1 percent White (with the remainder divided among various ethnicities). The ethnic makeup of the community is about one-third White, one-third Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian, and less than one quarter Asian. Overall, Ka`u is an ethnically mixed community that faces many economic, social, and educational difficulties.

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CHAPTER IV

SCOPE OF THE GANG PROBLEM IN HAWAII: INTERVIEWS WITH KEY INFORMANTS

By Kristina Lawyer

Introduction

Interviews of people who work with at-risk youth provide great insight into the extent and dynamics of the gang problem. These qualitative interview findings enrich the data found from arrests, Family Court cases, media coverage and youth self reports from school surveys. This chapter presents opinions by professionals who have had direct contact with Hawaii youth in various communities on Oahu and the Big Island. Their responses address factors influencing gang affiliation, sources of gang culture, manifestations of gang identity, the links between drugs and/or violence and gangs, and the role of ethnicity and geography in gangs. In both rural and urban communities, those interviewed reported detailed examples of gang activity; however many interviewees expressed reluctance to recognize the scope of the gang problem in their communities.

Methodology

Throughout 2004, YGP conducted interviews of people who work in the juvenile justice system and/or are familiar with delinquent, gang-involved and at-risk youth. In order to gather respondents' most subjective feelings about juveniles and their experiences working with youth, unstructured, open-ended interviews were used. The interview protocol contained questions regarding the role of gangs, drugs, family stressors, educational problems in the lives of Hawaii youth, and areas for policy and programming improvements (see Appendix A for loosely-structured interview instrument). The subjects for this study included detention workers, probation officers, teachers, counselors, social workers, psychologists and outreach workers who encounter and deal with the youth population under study. This study completed a total of 22 interviews in Oahu and Big Island communities. Almost half of the interviewees worked

in rural areas.¹⁵ Additionally, some comments by professionals who attended the June, 2004 Youth Gang Conference sponsored by OYS were reported when their opinions related to the topics or themes in this chapter which are:

- ? Why youth join gangs (family, community and individual risk factors)
- ? Prevalence of gangs
- ? Adult organization of youth gangs
- ? Increase in rural gang activity
- ? Links between gangs and drugs and gangs and violence
- ? Longstanding urban gang affiliations
- ? Characteristics of gang members (age, ethnicity, females)
- ? Gang affiliation and acculturation
- ? Community denial

Why Youth Join Gangs

Interviewees thought youth were engaging in delinquent activity or entering into gangs because of their family's connection to gangs, need for protection, lack of self-esteem, lack of future in school, and prevalence of poverty. Six interviewees reported that youth were entering into gangs because they had older siblings or family members in gangs. Four interviewees cited "social support" as a motivating factor influencing youth to join gangs. Other language relating to social support was used by the interviewees such as: "a desire for belonging" and "gang becomes family". Other interviewees claimed kids joined gangs to maintain a tough or "macho" image.

Family Risk Factors

Interviewees from both rural and urban communities cited a lack of a solid family foundation as a main youth risk factor for engaging in delinquent activity or for joining a gang. Due to the disintegration of family, youth are turning to other groups to gain a sense of connection. Ten out of eighteen interviewees reported there was a lack of

¹⁵ "Urban" in this study includes the metro Honolulu area from Pearl City to Hawaii Kai. All other areas/islands are considered rural.

“structure” in the home. Some interviews in rural communities cited family ties as an influence for gang membership:

“There is a feeling of disconnection with their parents, a feeling of not belonging, not being paid attention to. . . The boys need acceptance, the girls need belonging. . . I think the basic bottom line is the home, environment in the home, connectedness because if there is not connectedness, there is a lot of anger, rebelliousness, disconnecting and joining another group whatever that may be, it could be very destructive,” (School counselor in rural Oahu).

“There is either no parent involvement and if there is a parent that is existing in the home, it is not a strong enough parent that can provide the structure or the consistency or the nurturing to maintain a safe environment conducive to learning, whether it is social skills or encouraging academic achievement...” (Special education teacher in rural Big Island).

The disintegration of a family foundation was described in interviewees’ stories. Such family problems included parental neglect, lack of parental supervision, single parent homes, parental drug use, and parents working two jobs. Ten interviewees mentioned that youth were abused either physically or emotionally in the home. Eleven interviewees reported that parents had a “loss of control” over their children. One person interviewed declared that youth are turning to delinquent behavior to fill a “vacuum” in their lives their families cannot provide.

“There are a lot of kids, boys and girls, especially the boys who are wannabes, they want to be in a gang. They act that way, they dress that way but they are really not in gangs. You see a lot of that. And then you also see some of the students who say that their brothers or their older siblings are in gangs. In a sense it is ingrained in them that they have to be in a gang because their brothers or their other family members are in gangs. And a lot of times we ask them if they can get out of it and a lot of times they say that, at this point in their life, they can not because their older brothers are in it. [Interviewer:

There is no choice?] There is no choice for some of them,” (Project manager for a youth program in rural Oahu).

Six interviewees reported that the youth of today lack respect for adult authority. One interviewee explained that the youth have a tendency to be “non-compliant to adult authority.”

“The youth today, I find are more aggressive as opposed to assertive. A lot are non-compliant to adult authority and I think one of the contributing factors are parental guidance that I think are not reinforcing appropriate social interactions... I think that is one big problem with the family unit breakdown, with single family homes, foster care...” (Special education teacher in rural Big Island).

“The thing that troubles me more so now than- and I have seen the evolution over several years, is that kids are more apt to associate with a family type of situation and a lot of times they turn to their friends, who are negatively influenced by other negative peers and gang influences. And they turn to gang influences as family, that becomes their family.” (School psychologist in rural Big Island).

Community and Individual Risk Factors

“The family disintegrates locally here, as we have a lack of jobs, and a lack of opportunities for the kids; we have a very significant vacuum and that vacuum is filled by these family type gangs... Ain’t nothing to do. Ain’t nothing to do but use drugs... I think for both our boys and girls, another thing is lack of hope. Especially coming from families that have struggled for generations and they are looking ahead and they do not see employment opportunities, they are not looking ahead to college- they are not looking ahead at all. . . It is an economic part, they see the gang activity, the drugs, the people that are selling the drugs have the money, they have the nice clothes, they have the vehicles, that is the place to be. So in order to be part of the community and to be somebody, the girls gravitate to the gang activity. They do not have any other interests, nothing to look forward to,” (School psychologist in rural Big Island).

Other risks factors which were mentioned included out of home placements, parents in jail, domestic violence, naïve parents, parents who do not teach youth social skills, need for adult role models, and a breakdown of family values. Four interviewees reported that youth in their communities had trouble setting long term goals and three interviewees reported that failure in school is a risk factor for engaging in delinquent activity. Three interviewees said that poverty and community unemployment were other risk factors.

Prevalence of Gangs

Although many interviewees downplayed the severity of the gang activity in their communities, only five interviewees said that there were no gangs in their community. Fourteen interviewees out of a total of the twenty-two gave at least one example of a specific gang rivalry in their community:

“ Obviously there is gang involvement in Waipahu and Ewa... And I cannot address it. But I can address the street youth, they are not called gangs but they definitely hook up in a family kind of hierarchy and take care of each other with the same nurturing needs that the gangs offers, the difference is more survival on the streets versus activity, let’s say gang activity,” (School counselor in urban Oahu/ former outreach worker in urban areas).

“You know most of the gangs that we have had, a lot of them are because they live in certain housing. I guess in order to survive in the housing you have to maintain a certain image... That gang image, you do not want to study, and it is not cool going to class...” (Alternative education project coordinator for adjudicated youth in urban Oahu).

Five rural interviewees cited the media as a negative influence on their youth, with three of them specifying MTV as spreading gang culture. A rural interviewee emphasized the role of the media and gave examples of how Rap and Hip Hop are influencing the youth in his rural community to see gang identity as “empowering” and cool.

“There are a lot of kids, boys and girls, especially boys who are wannabes, they want to be in a gang. They act that way, they dress that way but they are really not in gangs. You see a lot of that. And then you also see some of the students who say that their brothers or their other family members are in gangs. And a lot of times we ask them if they can get out of it and a lot of times they say that, at this point in their life, they can not because their older brothers are in it,” (Project manager for a youth program in rural Oahu).

At the YGRS Conference in June 2004, Mr. Gordon Nakanelua, Operations Manager for the DOE’s School Safety Manager Program (SSM), explained that gang culture in Hawaii was being brought to the islands from people on the mainland. One of the observations he shared was that the people involved in gangs in Hawaii were not really gang members, but rather “wannabes.” The people that were involved with dangerous gang-related activity generally came from the mainland, he said. Mr. Nakanelua then explained that while some people in Hawaii were copying these imports, they should not be considered actual “gang members.” He believes that the juveniles that were involved in the gangs that came from the mainland were generally Polynesian from either Las Vegas or California.

Adult Organization of Youth Gangs

An urban interviewee reported that adults in the community were recruiting middle school aged youth to deal drugs and to prostitute. Three interviewees reported the involvement of adults in organized youth gang activity as being tied to adults in the area.

“I think the saddest thing is that we have adults in the community who have helped to organize these things... Just looking for the next group of boys who will take the drugs on campus and sell them and make money. . .What we see happening, is the adults coming in and processing these kids through the gang culture, bringing the drugs in, and having the young men and women sell the drugs for them” (Special education teacher in rural Big Island).

Rural areas interviewees reported that adults in the community use youth to sell drugs because they know that if the youth are under the age of eighteen they will not face serious criminal consequences. One interviewee added to this sentiment with criticism of the juvenile justice system:

“There is no immediate accountability and that is where we are having a problem... These dealers know that if they give the drugs to the kids to sell, the kids are going to get a slap on the wrist, get taken to the judge, the judge says, ‘do not do that again, you know you are not supposed to do that, stay away from it.’ And that is exactly what they do, they admonish them and then twenty minutes later, outside of the court they are making drug deals again,” (Special education teacher in rural Big Island).

At the June, 2004 Youth Gang Conference, two employees from the Federal Bureau of Prisons, David Dolber and Denise Bowling, held a workshop on the adult/youth gang connection. They believe that there’s a connection between prison gangs and street gangs and then to youth gangs. They believed that 40 percent of the prison population nationally is gang-involved and that once prison inmates return to the streets, especially if they have done their time on the mainland, they bring back the patterns and behaviors from the prison gangs. Mr. Dolber and Ms. Bowling explained that everything seen in mainland prisons can happen in Hawaii eventually. Hawaii prisoners sent to mainland are coming back “smarter” about gang involvement, bringing the gang mentality back and creating greater likelihood for gang related crimes and recruitment of street and youth gang members. They stated that fewer inmates are gang-affiliated in low or medium security facilities but in Hawaii’s federal detention center, about a dozen mainland-affiliated gangs are represented (State of Hawaii, Office of Youth Services, 2004a).

Increase in Rural Gang Activity

A couple of rural interviewees gave detailed examples of an increase in gang activity in their communities. Increases were found in the following categories: gang organization, gang identity, gang structure, gang drug selling, violent initiation practices, and rivalries. One rural interviewee described the growth of illegal activity:

“Involvement in national gangs, over the last couple of years...and the organizing in order to sell drugs is very concerning. Our boys now are throwing that they are Crips affiliated, they got the signs, they got the writing, they got the colors, they got things that were not here a few years ago,” (Special education teacher in rural Big Island).

The language used to describe gangs ranged from “family-based type groups” to “mafia” groups.

“The reason I called it mafia is that it is very organized, they know who is doing what, where, it is territorial. They are involved in drugs, they are involved with girls, they are involved with theft,” (School teacher in rural Oahu).

In a third rural interview, gang organization was described as being strong enough so that if the Original Gangster (OG) leaves the community, their positions are soon filled by other individuals.

“I think that some of the activities that we used to see in the adult gangs, some of the initiations and activities in adult gangs, have filtered down into the adolescent gangs now. Some of the drug running, the pimping, the need for violence,” (School psychologist in rural Big Island).

“I think this gang thing... this is a kind of a recent thing, I would say within the last fifteen, twenty years at the most. Yeah because the old timers, they never had any kind of gang problems. They all got along. Like I said, everybody’s related, you know. But a lot of the younger generations, they don’t know who their family is, you know? So they forget, or they’re not taught who their cousins are. And they next thing you know, they

all wanna emulate the gangs from L.A. and whatever's coming up..." (Project coordinator of a youth drug prevention program in rural Oahu).

One rural interviewee described an increase in violent initiations which are a means to "buy into" a gang. In some initiations the new member must beat up another person, while in other initiations the new member must allow him or her self to get beaten up. One interviewee used the terms, "beat in" or "knock in" as the names for the ritual or initiations into a gang. The interviewee said the majority of boys they are working with have had to go through a "beat in" and they report that it has also happened to some of the girls:

"Suddenly shaved heads, bruises are signs of violent activity because we know that our boys are going through different kinds of initiations. And the girls, as well, and a lot of times, the use of the girls as a sexual object is their initiation," (School psychologist in rural Big Island).

Three interviewees said girls' initiations include sexual exploitation. One of the interviewees made the link between getting through the initiation practices and then getting through the consequent prostitution which is required of the girls who want to stay within the gang. The following quote illustrates how violent the initiations can be:

"Girls initiation into gangs take on a more of a violent, well to be initiated into the gang, you have to beat somebody. Girls, there is a sexual component too for some, where they have to perform sex with multiple boys. . ." (School psychologist in rural Big Island).

Some rural interviewees reported an increase in youth who were outwardly showing affiliation with gangs through wearing colored bandanas, flashing gang signs, shaving their heads, and rolling their pant legs up. Interviewees from a couple rural communities which had an increased gang activity depicted the process in which gang culture is infiltrating their communities from sources outside of their community; people returning from the mainland, people returning from prison, and influences from the media. Many rural interviewees illustrated this "outside" influence:

“Many instances of gangs here in Hawaii these are West Coast sets to the Crips and Bloods gangs... And we have some folks move in from California who have brought this activity to these kids here. And they pick up a lot of it from some of the Honolulu groups, sets that come from the West Coast, when they come from the military,” (School psychologist in rural Big Island).

“What it seems to come down to, is that we had a youth come down from the Bay Area a couple years ago, who has seemed to brought in some gang organizing activity here. And we had a youth come in, as a foster child, into the area, who had been gang involved in previous placements, and seems to have picked up the lead within our area and have organized a couple of groups of boys,” (Special education teacher in rural Big Island).

“They [girls] have their own gangs. And it is just who they are hanging out with. One of the OGs [Original Gangsters] was telling me, they do not consider themselves a gang, you know, like when people look at gangs in the big cities of America. They just consider themselves as guys from the same community hanging out, you know. But when another guy comes from another community and says something or starts something, they are going to want to defend because it becomes ‘us’ against ‘them’. And then everybody is branded with a label that they are a gang. But because of that culture from the mainland, yeah, a lot of our kids have taken that and everybody is labeling them a gang,” (Project coordinator of a youth drug prevention program in rural Oahu.)

One urban interviewee explained that one of the outside influences are those returning to their community from prison:

“I guess it’s all for protection, yeah, so they don’t get hurt. But um, they come out and they’re in the community. And of course they have no job so they start dealing, you know. Uh but I’m sure alliances made in. . . prison, you know they keep those alliances when they get out. Unless they change alliances,” (Project coordinator of a youth drug prevention program in rural Oahu).

Gang Violence

Those familiar with urban communities report violence that has occurred usually near public housing projects. They say that the potential is there for some violent incident due to tensions and “challenges.” The same outreach worker in a housing project in urban Oahu conveyed these experiences.

“If anybody was to come into the housing they would react also. They know exactly who lives here and who doesn’t. And if other kids come into the housing they know right away. And so they’re always on their guard ‘cause we get a lot of kids who walk through this housing to challenge, you know? Just to walk through the housing, it’s really stupid, and it’s a constant challenge,” (Outreach worker in a housing project in urban Oahu).

“My daughter was beat up in the middle of the cross-walk, right outside of the housing. Coming home from volleyball practice one day, from some irate driver who yelled at her ‘cause she wasn’t crossing the street fast enough... When everybody found out, everybody was out there around the block at the same time everyday, looking for the car and the guy, just hoping to see him,” (Outreach worker in a housing project in urban Oahu).

An example of the ongoing rivalry between Kuhio Park Terrace (KPT) and Mayor Wright Housing youth was given. A woman who lived in Mayor Wright was attacked by KPT youth while going to the fabric store with her baby, two younger children, and her teenage son.

“Some KPT boys saw him [the teenage son] and they rushed the car, and _____ was screaming “stop please stop, my baby.” And they hit her, they were trying to hit the boy. She got, they got into the car and they locked the car. People, this was like six o’clock in the evening, the store was crowded but I think one man finally called the police, they blocked themselves but they were still beating on the car, pounding on the car. There were like about seven or eight of them and the Ewa boys know couple of the guys that were there... They [the police] took here statement and that was about it. They kept on saying that they brought it on themselves ‘cause her son is 13 you know, and he, his

father is an ex-gang member so he wears that [a colored rag] for that reason,” (Outreach worker in a housing project in urban Oahu).

This incident helped fuel the ongoing rivalry and fighting continued to be reported in the following months.

“And then a couple more times the KPT boys would come into the housing... And they got jumped a couple times in here. And it was more than they could take. They had gone to KPT, they got attacked. And they were mad about how they attacked the car with the little kids in it. So they were really pissed. And then, here they come into the housing, drinking with their family. But still they were being really, really antagonistic... They’d get drunk and start fighting and so after that it ended up in a big fight actually,” (Outreach worker in a housing project in urban Oahu).

Those interviewed from rural communities have been reporting frequent fights breaking out in schools and in their communities. One rural interviewee declared, “The biggest risk I would say would just be getting beat up.” Some rural interviewees described violent initiations as well as violence as the consequence of youth trying to leave a gang. One rural interviewee declared, “A lot of times remission will not be possible. Something very violent and serious will happen to a person if they try to get out.” Another rural interviewee gave an example of a youth who was told, if you want to get out of the gang then you have to shoot another kid from a rival gang.

The interviewee said, “...He cannot get out, you know, unless he is ordered by the gang leaders to shoot another youngster,” (School counselor in an alternative school in rural Oahu).

“Many of our boys have a glorious picture of fighting. They have a picture of a very macho manhood that tends to get them into trouble,” (Special education teacher in rural Big Island).

One disturbing trend that was reported at the most recent meeting of the YGRS (November, 30 2004) was that youth from KPT were “targeting” tourists and members of

the military, and picking fights with strangers sometimes motivated by robbery (State of Hawaii, Office of Youth Services, 2004b: 6). These anecdotal accounts of assaults are atypical, in that most gang violence to date has been confined to one group of marginalized youth targeting another similarly marginalized group often living in the same geographic area. If confirmed, this development suggests that gang violence in urban Oahu might be spreading to tourist areas, a clear cause for concern.

Link between Drugs and Gangs

Some interviews hypothesized a link between entry into gangs and drug use. There was a mixed response in whether gangs were selling drugs in rural communities. One rural interviewee did describe an increase in organized drug selling.

“And so we have not only an increase in gang activity we have major methamphetamine use here and marijuana use and it is all tied together; The gang, the meth use, and the ice, and the marijuana, it is all fitting together in the same group,” (School psychologist in rural Big Island).

One interviewee reported a decrease in drug selling and drug use due to the Weed and Seed Program.

“These criminals that are arrested are thrown in jail and they cannot enter back into the community. If they are found they are automatically thrown back into jail. So that enforcement is there and I think that the kids are seeing that and I think the community has changed some. It is not as bad as it was before, the drugs and the alcohol is seen right outside of their front door. So attitudes is changing[sic],” (Project manager for a youth program in rural Oahu).

Some rural interviewees concluded that drugs escalate violence and attested to the dangers of using methamphetamines (“ice”).

“When the boys get on drugs they tend to have more bravado, they tend to enjoy violence, even killing somebody and not thinking anything of it when they are on drugs,” (School counselor in rural Oahu).

Some youth were using drugs as a means of escaping from their problems while others were using drugs to be oppositional or defiant. Five out of the ten rural interviewees concluded there was an increase in youth's ice use. In one rural community, the older generations are trying to stop the younger generation's use of ice. The selling of ice and crossing turf can lead to gang fighting.

"They do not allow it to be sold. So if they see it, they try to squash it... And they will do whatever it takes to squash the, the selling of ice... Beat 'em up, take their money, take their drugs," (Project coordinator of a youth drug prevention program in rural Oahu).

Longstanding Urban Gang Affiliations

Although gang activity is reported as decreasing in urban areas, the potential for gang activity is ever present due to long standing gang affiliations. As described in the previous section on gang violence in the urban area, the same outreach worker explained that sometimes pride in one's housing can be very dangerous and rather than creating unity it has created separation. One urban interviewee described the recent rekindling of a rivalry between two specific housing complexes. Gang identity was also described as being due to an "us vs. them" mentality. They said that fighting has been occurring when members are crossing each other's "turf," with a recent increase of Micronesian youth involvement in gang-like activity.

"Something to keep your ear to the ground for are the Micronesian gangs or the copy-cat gangs that are happening, that I am seeing with the young Micronesian boys who will flash a sign," (Outreach worker at a teen center in a housing project in urban Oahu).

"And a lot of them don't come from within the housing but within the Micronesian community. Everybody seems to know everybody whether they live in the housing or out of the housing... But they were coming into the public housing and this is where the problem would be happening. It was the main cause," (Outreach worker in a housing project in urban Oahu).

“Now seems like the Micronesian gangs have been, or that problem has not been as forefront as coming back to the rivalry between KPT and Mayor Wright... So you know it still exists. We always have this, this mentality here. Even with the younger kids. I do not think they realize how bad it is but they are just imitating what’s happened before them. They still wear the ____ (color) rags. We are constantly battling that,” (Outreach worker in a housing project in urban Oahu).

Many of the interviewees from urban communities that reported there was a decrease in gang activities also reported that there was still a lot of gang affiliation in their communities. They attributed the decrease in gang activity to the “aging out” of old gang members who are now in jail, in rehab, or could not return to their community because of the Weed and Seed Program. One urban interviewee described the decrease in gang activity since the early 1990s:

“When it first started, gangs were starting every year, year and a half, you have a new tier forming... they were really the last ones that took hold and they are in their early twenties now, I believe that part of it is the services here and housing got pretty tough. You know the kids would be shipped off to the mainland or shipped off to Samoa and whole families kicked out of housing,” (Outreach worker in a housing project in urban Oahu).

Unlike those in rural communities, interviewees from urban communities did not attribute the youth’s gang culture to external influences. Some urban interviewees explained gang culture has been present in their community for many years and the current gang affiliation is a continuation of the tradition within their family and/or associated with pride in their housing complex. One urban interviewee used the term “fierce loyalty on the street” to describe the connection within gangs, a connection that can last for years before it falls apart.

Characteristics of Gangs

Age of Gang Members

Most interviewees said youth were entering into gangs at an earlier age than youth in the past. Four interviewees reported youth were getting involved in gangs starting at

age 14, one interviewee reported age 12, and one interviewee reported age 13. One urban interviewee said drug dealers are in elementary schools, *“They are undercover, but if you ask the kid[s], [in] elementary [school], ‘Who’s the dealers?’ they would know.”* One rural interviewee described the need for students to affiliate with their neighborhood groups when they enter middle school, when many elementary schools come together, in order to maintain their neighborhood identity. Another rural interviewee described neighborhood differentiation as a dividing factor and gave examples of the rivalries between neighborhood groups of students that attended the same high school.

“In the middle school years when peer affiliation becomes really, really, important. And that is when children are more apt to get involved, they have inadequate structure at home, they will become involved in gangs to get that main net and that is the function that gangs provide for the youth,” (School teacher in rural Oahu).

“We are basically looking at fourteen to maybe eighteen. From what I have seen, some of the older boys in the community, I think they kind of drop it at about twenty, I do not see it continuing much later. It seems to be a very high school-aged thing for them. And the girls about the same thing, we do have a couple girls who are gang involved too,” (Special education teacher in rural Big Island).

“In terms of youth and delinquency, it will begin primarily in the middle school years when peer affiliation becomes really, really important. And that is when children are more apt to get involved, they have inadequate structure and support at home, they will become involved in gangs to get that main net and that is the function that gangs provide for the youth,” (School psychologist in rural Big Island).

Ethnicity of Gang Members

Complexities exist when trying to understand the relationship of ethnicity to gang membership in Hawaii. Gangs can involve youth of a single ethnicity as rivals against another single ethnicity’s gang, youth of the same ethnicity divided by local versus immigrant, local vs. local, and then some more adult Asian gang culture. Furthermore,

defining gangs by their ethnic group can be complicated by housing boundaries as well as neighborhood boundaries. For example, one interviewee explains that within their housing project, Micronesians are fighting with the local Samoans; however when you look at who is really fighting, it is local youth in their housing who are fighting with anyone from outside of their housing.

“Between the housing it’s the local boys who have always lived here between the Micronesians and the local boys that could come from anywhere, it could be from the boys within the housing and a lot of the times it s the Micronesians that live here with the boys who live outside,” (Outreach worker in a housing project in urban Oahu).

Out of the eighteen interviews, ethnic gang rivalries were mentioned in nearly half of the interviews. Some of the rivalries mentioned included: Local Hawaiian versus haole, local Hawaiian versus Micronesian, Hawaiian versus Samoan, and Samoan versus Filipino. In addition, rivalries between gangs of the same ethnicity also exist among the Filipino and Samoan gangs. Many of the interviewees commented that the ethnic boundaries of gangs were strong, and it was rare for some of the ethnic gangs to recruit or admit members of a different ethnicity. An urban interviewee reported Micronesians in her community will never identify with the groups of local boys in her community. A rural interviewee described a rare instance in which a Samoan gang tried to recruit a Marshallese. Officer Gerald Wike of the Hawaii County Police Department commented on the ethnic gang boundaries in his workshop at the Youth Gang Conference. He explained that gangs on the Big Island tended to be ethnically divided “locals, mainland and now Micronesian gangs.” He also said the latest trend was for groups is to call themselves “crew” or “party crews” rather than gangs.

In addition to ethnic gang boundaries, religious affiliation was another dividing factor for a rural community on Oahu.

“The kids, or the youth gang, if you wanna call ‘em, from Hauula are mostly Hawaiian yea and then the ones from Laie are mostly Samoans. And so that’s another thing that divides and then most of the ones coming from Laie, of course are Mormon, you know.

So those guys are tight knit. . . You know, I guess the Laie boys would be the biggest gang out there. I don't know if they're the biggest gang or you wanna call it a gang, you know, but their definitely the hardest to crack because there's all these, they got the church, they belong to the same organization. They're all one, more or less one culture, one ethnic group, you know," (Project coordinator of a youth drug prevention program in rural Oahu).

Both rural and urban communities identified recent immigrants from Micronesia as being at risk for joining a gang. Three respondents reported rivalries between local groups and Marshallese groups. One urban interviewee said there was a decrease in gang activity in general but an increase in Micronesian gang affiliation. In another urban interview, violence between Micronesians and locals was described.

"Last year it got really bad, there was more gang activity going on, and what was happening was it was between Micronesian ethnicity and local boys, mainly Samoan and Hawaiian," (Outreach worker in a housing project in urban Oahu).

"If they're involved with gang activity they're involved with a Micronesian gang that can come from, a lot of it comes from down the road, Kanoa Park. Um, by Kailuani School and that area back there by Kokea. . ." (Outreach worker in a housing project in urban Oahu).

"I think that typically they are more at the high school level. That is where we see more of it- signs: shaving of the head, wearing the colors, the rolling of the legs. We have noticed in Waileihu, with the Marshallese population, that they do it, they will be wearing the colors but they do not really understand what it is all about, it is just kind of, it is a thing that they are experimenting with," (School psychologist in rural Big Island).

Many interviewees said that recent immigrants are sticking together and that they are being targeted by other groups. In one rural community Marshallese were being repeatedly targeted by a local group. The interviewee reported that the local group

affiliated with the Crips was targeting the Marshallese in hopes that they would form a rival group (Bloods).

“It is kind of part of the whole picture, to have the Bloods on the other side right? A couple years ago we have had a lot of violence that seemed to be gang related to us and I think a lot of that was trying to push them into becoming an equivalent gang,” (Special education teacher in rural Big Island).

Two rural interviewees also identified recent Filipino immigrants as being at risk of being targeted by local Filipino gangs. A rural interviewee reported:

“I know that we had a problem between the local Filipino kids and... those who came from the Philippines, they used to call them the PIs,” (School counselor in an alternative school in rural Oahu).

Ethnicity was reported to be a strong gang boundary with the exception of some local groups, which are composed of members from different ethnicities.

“They will go and pick on Filipino kids and make them a target. . .So it depends on whether you are part of the “ohana” or not. It could be that the Filipino group is local, after a number of generations, if you are part of the family than it is overlooked and they still target other Filipinos and if you are part of the family and part-Filipino than you are expected to go with the family and attack other Filipinos.” Boundaries are not always strictly ethnic-based, according to one rural interviewee,” (School psychologist in rural Big Island).

“Most of the time you will see that they are local. But sometimes you will see someone who had lived in the community for so long that they will be accepted as being part of that gang... two generations or three generations that have lived in _____. So maybe they have maintained that identity even if they are not necessarily Hawaiian,” (School counselor in rural Oahu).

Another interviewee from a rural community identified local groups that consisted of Hawaiians, Filipinos, Chinese, and Japanese that are part of the local community for a number of years. In addition to geographic grouping and ethnic grouping, one rural

interviewee described that church affiliation may also be a dividing factor influencing gang affiliation.

One urban interviewee described the influence of Asian gang culture on youth gangs in Hawaii, e.g., Hong Kong actor Chao Young Phat. The interviewee explained that there was a distinction between ethnicity but also a distinction between recent immigrant and American born Hong Kong gangs. The interviewee said that one could distinguish between the two by the music they listened to and their dress. The Asian gang culture is very diverse and involves an interesting mix of different gang cultures:

“In terms of Asian gangs, even here in Hawaii, even the Vietnamese and the Chinese tend to follow the Asian gang style, down to the clothes and the way they talk... while the Cambodians tend to follow the African-American gang lifestyle. They will be supporting Bloods and Crips or bandanas and it’s just very different even though they’re all from Southeast Asia but when they come here they identify differently,” (Outreach worker in a housing project in urban Oahu/ former youth outreach worker).

At the Youth Gang Conference, Mr. Nakanelua, Operations Manager for the DOE’s School Safety Manager Program (SSM), also described ethnic gang boundaries. He said that in Hawaii the gangs are organized by ethnicity, with most of the members being classified as “Asian,” since 52 percent of gang involvement involves Asian males. Furthermore, he explained that most of the Asian males were Japanese (50 percent). This high rate of Japanese male gang involvement was attributed to a Yakuza influence in the Honolulu club scene. His assessment may be more reflective of adult gang involvement rather than youth gangs.

Female Gang Members

Seven interviewees gave examples of gangs that included both female and male members. In both rural and urban communities, interviewees said that females “follow” boys into gangs. Five interviewees reported that girls involved in gangs want to be tough too. Four interviewees reported that recently there has been an increase in the number of assaults by girls. One urban interviewee explained that girls fight in order to prove that

they can be as tough as the boys, and some girls are in search of getting recognition for being “macho”.

“...We see that maybe the girls are in gangs with their boyfriend or they are associated with the boys who are in gangs.” Some interviewees reported that girls have been more aggressive, more vicious in their fighting and that they are openly affiliating with gangs. One interviewee stressed that females were wearing their gang affiliations more than males were, giving the example of slicing their eyebrow to show they are Crips affiliated. An interviewee from a program that operates in the Hawaii Youth Correctional Facility reported that there were a few rural neighborhoods where the number of girls involved in assaults was rising. One urban interviewee reported an increase in female assaults,” (Project manager for a youth program in rural Oahu).

“The girls are, they’re also getting involved in a much smaller percentage... Yeah I think they have their own gangs... I know that girls are getting into fights not just at school, but in the community. A lot of the fights happen at the parties, graduation parties, fights that start during the school day...” (Project coordinator of a youth drug prevention program in rural Oahu).

“That gang activity here are mostly with only the boys. The girls are there to back up their boys, and you know, with the gang members it’s never a thing of being shy between the girls. They all just hang out together like everyone is equal, the same...” (Outreach worker in a housing project in urban Oahu).

“There are more boys involved in gangs and I think that is because the level of-Boys are more out-worldly externalizing, they are more aggressive and violent than girls are. Girls that do join the gangs maybe have experienced more violence and have found it an effective way of coping. Girls initiation into gangs takes on more of a violent-well to be initiated into the gang, you have to beat somebody. Girls, there is a sexual component to it too for some, where they will have to perform sex with multiple boys. So I think girls

are a little bit more deterred from it because of the level of violence that they will have to experience themselves,” (School psychologist in rural Big Island).

Gang Affiliation and Acculturation

Three interviewees described recent immigrant youth as “wannabes” who did not really know about the gang culture they were imitating. One interviewee from a rural community cited acculturation as a motivating factor for Micronesians to become gang members.

“We have issues of level of acculturation, meaning how if the family is first generation, second generation, third generation, if their level of acculturation is as such, where maybe in the family system the child’s family is primarily still adhering to the cultural values from the society where they have come from, maybe the youth may be more likely to affiliate with gangs as a means to acculturate themselves. Because the values that the family is adhering to do not match the values of the current society so you’ll see them affiliating with gangs to get that acceptance, to boost their level of acculturation,” (School psychologist in rural Big Island).

Another interviewee articulated the status differential between local residents and recent immigrants.

“A lot of it too probably has to do with status... Micronesians come in and they’re at the bottom of the totem pole right now. What’s the first thing you do? You try and gain some status and some power,” (Teen project coordinator in a housing project in urban Oahu).

Community Denial

Both rural and urban interviewees downplayed the role of gangs in their communities. Most interviewees chose not to use the word “gang” when answering questions that were specifically asked about gang activity in their community. Instead interviewees used the following terms: “family-based type groups,” “neighborhood groups,” and “group of local boys.” Three interviewees said that youth did not

understand what they were imitating, whereas another three interviewees used the term “wannabe” to describe the youth involved in delinquent activity in their neighborhood. One interviewee who did use the term “gang” described very structured gang activity in their community such as drug selling, initiations, and rivalries, yet they said that the gangs were not “problematic.” As illustrated below, one interviewee refused to see the boys in their community as being involved in “serious gang activity.”

“A gang thing is when they are wearing colors and there is some formalized structure to it, and there really isn’t. It is more like a group of local boys and we are going to shave our heads and we are going to do this and it is not really, there is not a lot of concreteness to it. . . Surprisingly, I think that the role of gangs is overly emphasized. In our community out here, we do have some issues with gangs but they are not huge, it is just a real small proportion but we do not have a highly structured gang system. As you move to the more metropolitan areas, you start to see the role of gangs increase. So I think the role of gangs play a moderate role,” (School psychologist in rural Big Island).

“There has not been any formal recognition of gang-related incidences. But I can say that there has been incidences on campus and even within my classroom with certain students that-gangs, I want to say, in Hawaii are built upon ethnicity. They are not coming together as a common means, except for if they need to bond themselves together for protection, or maybe you might have Filipinos in one area, you know Caucasians in another, maybe Samoan or Polynesians in another. But there has not been anything that really stands out right now that would be really directly related to gangs, to gang affiliation. Because there are, in fact, recognizable gangs, you know Crips, Bloods, that wear different colors blues, reds. And yes, I have seen that too. But they are not problematic, they are not organized in a sense that is significant enough to be weary of. But you do see an actual faction of ethnic groups; Polynesians tend to mingle among themselves, and it is a language barrier, as opposed to Filipinos, and we have seen a wave of Micronesians. But not necessarily, we have not seen anything as far as on my campus or in my setting where it is Samoans against Filipinos or Caucasians against

Hawaiians, there has not been anything like that,” (Special education teacher in rural Big Island).

Two other interviewees said that the gangs in their communities were not serious like those on the mainland or those in Los Angeles.

“But they say it’s more like a turf thing. Like everybody you’re from a neighborhood and if anybody talks bad about your neighborhood, you know, you wanna defend... where you’re from. And so, not so much of a kind of gang that is typified by what you see in L.A. or New York,” (Project coordinator of a youth drug prevention program in rural Oahu).

Officer Gerald Wike of Hawaii County Police Department commented on community denial during his workshop at the conference in June. Officer Wike noted that one reason for the rise of gang involvement in Ka’u may be due to recent migration changes, with a current move of Micronesians into the community. He explained that recent Micronesian immigrants in Ka’u were seen wearing the color red and referring to themselves as the bloods. The community and school did not wish to have the Positive Alternative Gang Education (PAGE) program for their youth. He went on to say that communities use denial as a coping mechanism to handle gang problems.

Denial may be so deep within communities that even serious incidents of violence and murder may not be reported in local newspapers. Another interviewee explained that there was an attempted homicide at a high school that was not openly reported. One interviewee gave an example of a gang shooting that was kept underground.

“And I know there’s kids been shot, I’ve heard through the underground that kids have been killed, it’s just everything had been squished. So you know with the church, BYU, and now they’re gonna build a hotel, you know, all of that is, they cannot afford to have a negative story like that, yeah?” (Project coordinator of a youth drug prevention program in rural Oahu).

Conclusion

Taken together these interviews suggest that Hawaii, like other states, faces a gang problem uniquely shaped by our own geography, ethnicities, economy, and history. At the same time, gang influences from the mainland are undeniably present. Dynamics that have played out over the decades are also found. One example is the emergence of gang-like behavior among new immigrant youth as a way to negotiate a new, and unknown culture. Gangs are structured in ways that call for specific concern, and there are also inter-generational patterns that suggest that older, adult criminals see at least some gangs as a resource in drug distribution and prostitution activities.

From these themes came some opinions expressed repeatedly that should be considered by those organizations and individuals who shape responses to Hawaii's gang problem.

- ? Rural interviewees reported gang culture as infiltrating their communities from “outside” sources such as the media and people coming to their community from the mainland, or people reentering their community from prison.
- ? Urban interviewees reported a strong gang culture within certain families and housing projects that promote gang affiliation and pride in their housing through wearing colors.
- ? Although there is a report of a decrease of urban gang activity many interviewees described high incidents of gang affiliation and some reported a recurrence of fighting between longstanding urban gang rivalries.
- ? There may be a targeting of tourists and military by some youth from housing projects on Oahu.
- ? There is an increase in the organization, initiation and prevalence of gangs in rural Big Island.
- ? Both rural and urban interviewees reported an increase in Micronesians creating their own gangs.

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CHAPTER V

GANG MEDIATION SERVICE MODEL

By Erika Johnson and Nancy Marker

Gang Intervention

Since at least the early 20th century, youth gang activity has existed within the United States. Gangs often first form in response to youths' familial, friendship, and networking needs. However, gang involvement traditionally leads to delinquency and criminal activity and this becomes a problem for families, schools, and the broader community (Boys & Girls Clubs of America, 1993). In response to these more harmful acts, gang mediation models aid in tailoring intervention techniques to a variety of specific gang problems.

For more general delinquency prevention, the Office of Youth Services (OYS) contracted with UH Social Science Research Institute (SSRI) in 2001 to identify model programs for prevention for use in the Youth Service Centers across the state. Findings from this research resulted in two reports and binders containing programs, principles of model programs, and their evaluations for use by OYS and its funded non-profit agencies (Irwin, et al, 2002; 2003).

This Youth Gang Project's specific review of gang mediation service models and their components is intended to provide communities with models they can consider for their use and then adapt to their own needs. Because no one model should be prescribed as the "perfect" or "most effective" model without knowledge of the specific community, this chapter offers suggestions on what to include in a community response model or how to pick a gang mediation model best suited to the gang-affected community. It suggests steps to be taken to identify and analyze the problem in specific neighborhoods, prior to selecting prevention and intervention components.

No precise definition of gang mediation service models was found in literature reviews. Although youth prevention services today strongly recommend the popular use of best practices (model and promising programs), the field of prevention science is still

developing and so are its models. Most typically, comprehensive community planning approaches are recommended that will result in the selection and implementation of specific components, e.g., prevention programs, and their evaluations. The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency's (OJJDP) publications and the Bureau of Justice Assistance's (BJA) monographs are excellent guides for what has been deemed effective community approaches to gang prevention and intervention. Locally, another comprehensive community planning model, developed by UH Urban and Regional Planning professor, Karen Umemoto, is under consideration for implementation in an urban Oahu neighborhood. (See examples 1 & 2).

Why is Gang Activity a Problem?

The BJA defines a gang-related problem as “a group of harmful incidents that occur in a community, are similar in one or more ways, and cause concern to the public (1997). By focusing on “harmful behaviors,” gang problems encompass criminal behavior and other actions that are detrimental to the community. For example, gang activity is often concentrated and linked to violence and drug abuse (BJA, 1997, Spergel, 1995, World Health Organization, 2002). According to the BJA, a small percentage of gang members, victims, and dangerous locations account for the majority of harm and criminal behavior perpetrated (1997). For example, 10 percent of criminals account for 55 percent of crimes committed, a small number of gang members perpetrate the majority of harmful gang activities, 10 percent of victims are involved in 40 percent of crimes, and over 60 percent of crimes are committed in a few, dangerous places (BJA, 1997). Desperate living conditions of urban areas with rapid demographic change, wide economic gaps, rampant marginalization, and low levels of supervision often lead to gang formation and crime (Krug, et al 2002).

Gang-related youth differ from adults, both in the context that lures them to join gangs and in their execution of delinquent behavior. In schools, gang violence is ranked as the fourth most important student issue after drug abuse, alcohol abuse, and teen pregnancy. Academic failure has been linked to delinquency and gang formation (Carlie, 2002; Valdez, 1999). Adolescents in their mid teens to mid twenties have repeatedly been reported as the most violent, criminally active gang members (Howell & Lynch, 2000,

Spergel, 1995, Valdez, 1999). Teenagers are reported to engage in violence more for thrill-seeking, while youth in their twenties tend to engage in crime for more utilitarian purposes. Often, opportunity and the presence of co-offenders play a role in violence, giving credence to the link between gangs and violence (Krug, et al 2002).

Understanding gang involvement can be a challenge for communities. The most harmful, gang-related activities appear to be carried out to either exert dominance or earn monetary rewards. Organized, instrumental, corporate, and Asian triad gangs often run highly profitable, illegal businesses and are extremely hierarchical (Boys & Girls Clubs of America, 1993; Kodluboy, 2004). Territorial or “turf” gangs claim and work to maintain control over a physical location. These gangs often utilize “tagging” or graffiti to demark their territory and defend their claim from rival gangs. Many gangs maintain certain clothing styles and colors, hand signs, tattoos, behavior, graffiti, and initiations that have potentially harmful implications for the community (OJJDP, 2000). With the popularity of hip hop culture, gang-like clothing especially near gang “turf,” may target innocent bystanders as rival gang members. Graffiti and the known presence of gang violence may lower the monetary value and comfort of interaction in a location.

Signs of Gang Involvement

For a community to mediate a gang problem, it must first recognize it has one. Realizing gang involvement and activity as harmful is the first step toward interceding the problem (BJA, 1997). In Hawaii, individual gang members are identified by law enforcement when meeting three of the following criteria:

1. Self-admission of gang membership
2. Tattoos depicting gang affiliations
3. Style of dress consistent with gang membership.
4. Possession of gang graffiti on personal property of clothing.
5. Use of hand signs or symbol associated with gangs.
6. Reliable informant identifies a person as a gang member.
7. Associates with known gang members.
8. Prior arrests with known gang members; crimes consistent with usual gang activity.

9. Statements from family members indicating gang membership.
10. Other law enforcement agencies identify the subject as a gang member.
11. Attendance at gang functions of known gang hangouts.
12. Identified by other gang members or rival gang members.

Knowing what warning signs indicate gang activity helps in identification of a gang problem. In addition to those listed above, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (2000), lists the following gang warning signs:

1. “Initiations. Suspicious bruises, wounds, or injuries resulting from a ‘jumping in.’ Gang initiations have taken place in school restrooms, gyms, locker rooms, playgrounds, and even hallways (p. 2).”
2. “Hand signs. Unusual hand signals or handshakes (p. 2).”
3. “Language. Uncommon terms or phrases (p. 2).”
4. “Behavior. Sudden changes in behavior or secret meetings (p. 2).”

Gang Mediation

After identifying a gang problem, the next step is specification. Defining gang motivated acts as acts that benefit a gang, rather than by acts *involving* gang members, best assesses the community scope of a gang problem, withstands court challenges, and avoids excessive labeling and exaggeration of a gang problem (Boys & Girls Clubs of America, 1993). For example, if a gang member bullies someone into giving up his or her lunch, this act benefits the gang member personally, *not* the gang he or she belongs to. Therefore, this incident would not be considered gang motivated. In contrast, spray-painting graffiti to demark gang territory benefits the gang as a whole, *not* the individual, and would be considered gang motivated by this model. Defining what activities comprise gang-motivated acts helps specify the scope and nature of gang-related problems as opposed to those concerning individual delinquents or other unrelated troubles.

The type and extent of a community’s gang problem is best described by interviewing the following necessary, key players: victims of gang violence, school

officials, community members, police, those involved with churches, nonprofit organizations, the Department of Parks and Recreation, and the Department of Health. A location-specific problem statement, utilizing information from these multiple sources throughout the community, should be drawn up for implementing programming and evaluating progress (BJA, 1997). Specifying and analyzing specific gang problems within a community aids in the formation of a problem statement, attainable mediation goals, plan of action, and method of evaluation for intervention (BJA, 1997; Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1997; Kodluboy, 2004; Spergel, 1995; Weisheit & Wells 2002). For example, suppose graffiti has started showing up on walls and under bridges around the downtown district of a city. Multiple sources in the area report being intimidated or harassed by similarly dressed youths that self-identify themselves as part of a gang. The problem statement would include a description of the specific locality, harmful acts perpetrated, and a self-identified gang-member profile. Mediation goals should focus on small, attainable tasks, rather than daunting, vague ones such as eliminating all gang activity. Focus on the problem statement when making goals, deciding on action to take, and on evaluating the mediation program's success (Bureau of Justice Assistance, 1997).

Gang mediation is a multifaceted objective, requiring varied programming to cater to the needs of troubled youth. A multitude of recommended gang prevention, intervention, and suppression methods exist. Because most program evaluations focus on case studies, little valid empirical studies have been conducted to insure effectiveness of mediation methods; however, the following intervention techniques' widespread use and positive case study outcomes suggest some degree of validity. Additional quantifiable studies will have to be conducted to confirm effectiveness (Join Together Online, 2001; Krug, et al 2002; OJJDP, 2000).

I. Gang Prevention Techniques:

The following describe methods of counteracting biological and contextual variables that have been shown to increase the likelihood of later engaging in delinquent behavior (Krug, et al 2002).

1. Add quality prenatal and postnatal care
2. Preschool enrichment programming

3. More readily available, quality childcare
4. Improved healthcare
5. Reduction of environmental toxins
6. Supplementary teen pregnancy education and prevention
7. Additional economic safety nets
8. Strong, national and social protection for youth (Krug et al 2002).

II. Gang Intervention Techniques:

A. Behavioral programs that oppose “gang mentality”

1. Social interventions
2. Counseling
3. Anger and aggression management
4. Therapy

(Boys & Girls Clubs of America, 1993; Carlie, 2002; Howell, 2004; Krug, et al 2002; OJJDP, 2000 & 2004; Valdez, 1999).

B. Outreach or “detached” workers home and “hot spot”

1. Recruiting former clients as outreach personnel

(Boys & Girls Clubs of America, 1993; City of Long Beach, 2004; Howell, 2004; Join Together Online, 2004; Krug, et al 2002; OJJDP, 2000 & 2004; Spergel, 1995; Trulear, 2000). While some researchers argue that this technique perpetuates the tough attitude stereotypical of gang members, others believe it gives outreach personnel an added entry into the lives of at-risk youth (Krug, et al 2002).

C. Educational/economic opportunity provision

(Alliance of Concerned Men, 2000; City of Long Beach, 2004; Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1997; Howell, 2004; Krug, et al 2002; OJJDP, 2000 & 2004; Spergel, 1995; Trulear, 2000). This technique focuses on the opportunity/strain theory explanation for delinquency. According to this theory, people turn to crime when frustrated by the lack of the ability to achieve what are perceived to be legitimate dreams and goals (Boys & Girls Clubs of America, 1993). Gang members often lack the status and training to obtain jobs that pay enough to support themselves and their families. A number of researchers agree that “Gang and at risk youth would give up drug selling for \$15 an hour jobs or less with

decent hours per week (OJJDP 2000, p. 4).” Many gang mediation programs successfully redirect gang-related youth by providing job training and placement (Trulear, 2000).

D. Providing positive role-models and reinforcement

(Boys & Girls Clubs of America 1993, *Honolulu Advertiser*, 2004; Krug, et al 2002, OJJDP, 2000; School Mediation Associates, 2004; Trulear, 2000).

E. Interagency/community collaboration

(BJA, 1997; Boys & Girls Clubs of America, 1993; Spergel, 1995).

F. After school programming

It is cautioned that recreational activities *alone* are an ineffective method of intervention (Boys & Girls Clubs of America, 1993; Branch, 1998; City of Long Beach, 2004; Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1997; Krug, et al 2002). In 1968, Malcolm W. Klein reported that “nongroup interventions reduced gang cohesiveness 40 percent and gang member arrests 35 percent,” adding later in 1995 that “increased group programming leads to increased cohesiveness, and increased cohesiveness leads to increased gang crime (OJJDP, 2000, p. 1).” Additional sources report a cyclical relationship between delinquency and peer bonding and show the majority of crimes as being committed by coperpetrators (Krug, et al 2002).

G. Gender programming

H. Multicultural programming

I. Life and leadership skill training

J. Language instruction

K. Gang awareness training

L. Family-based programming

(BJA, 1997; Boys & Girls Clubs of America, 1993; Carlie, 2002; City of Long Beach, 2004; Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1997; *Honolulu Advertiser*, 2004; Howell, 2000; Join Together Online, 2001; OJJDP, 2000 & 2004; Spergel, 1995; Trulear, 2000).

M. Intensive case management

N. Expanded hours of operation

(Boys & Girls Clubs of America, 1993).

O. Substance abuse treatment

(Cooper, 1991; OJJDP, 2004).

III. Gang Suppression Techniques:

A. Conflict prevention/resolution

(Alliance of Concerned Men, 2002; Krug, et al 2002)

B. Emergency room intervention

C. Location-specific protection from gang intimidation

(Howell, 2000; Krug, et al 2002).

D. Site transformation (i.e. increasing lighting and decreasing possible resources for obtaining alcohol)

(Krug, 2002; Yates, 2003). School resource officers are also utilized to turn youths' negative experiences and associations with law enforcement into positive ones (Carlie, 2002).

E. Legal interventions

While gang prevention and intervention are useful in counteracting gang problems, suppression techniques help teach accountability through effective enforcement and restitution programs (OJJDP, 1999).

1. Neighborhood policing

(Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1997; Howell, 2000; Krug, et al 2002; OJJDP, 2000; Trulear, 2000).

2. Multiple source referral systems

3. Youth advocacy

4. Court diversion programs

(Branch, 1998; City of Long Beach, 2004; OJJDP, 1999 & 2004).

5. Anti-gang recruitment laws

6. Gun control (licensing, storage, "smart" gun marketing) laws

(Cooper, 1991; Krug, et al 2002).

IV. *Ineffective* Techniques:

A. Boot camp-like mediations

B. Prison inmate testimonials

C. Trying youth in adult courts

D. Restitution in psychiatric or correctional wards

(Krug, et al 2002).

Personal Conduct with Gang-Related Youth

Practical guidelines for working with gang-related youth help increase the effectiveness of gang mediation programs. The following list comprises a comprehensive list of basic do's and don'ts when dealing with this cohort.

Do:

1. See youth as people first (not just gang members)
2. Know and exercise disciplinary rules
3. Know current fads
4. Be able to recognize gang members
5. Be able to recognize those under the influence of drugs or alcohol
6. Set clear limits
7. Set high but reasonable expectations
8. Pay attention
9. Keep open conversation
10. Share feelings
11. Choose wording carefully
12. Speak calmly
13. Reduce "loss of face"
14. Know and use youths' names
15. Maintain self-respect
16. Maintain cultural sensitivity
17. Only make promises that can be kept
18. Build trust
19. Be in to help long-term
20. Give youth options
21. Give positive reinforcement
22. Show what kids have to gain with lawfulness

Do Not:

1. Reprimand youth in front of others (attention rewards offenders)
2. Joke with offender (lose credibility)
3. Call gang members by their moniker

4. Mock
5. Belittle

(Source: Alliance of Concerned Men, 2002; Boys & Girls Clubs of America, 1993; Carlie, 2002; Kodluboy, 2004; Krug, et al 2002; OJJDP, 2000; School Mediation Associates, 2004; Trulear, 2000).

Successful Mediation Models and Programs

A brief description of two community organizing models and various effective gang intervention programs is included below to demonstrate how the various reactions to gang activity listed above have been successfully enacted. These programs represent eleven successful and intriguing gang intervention models included in a general gang mediation literature review. When possible, each was researched further for additional information about gang intervention techniques employed and evaluative data.

1. Planning for Peace: Developing a Strategic Response to Racial Violence Planning

This model is a community organizing approach that takes into account the broader community needs and problems and requires participation by all types of organizations and individuals to ensure its success. Dr. Karen Umemoto, professor in the University of Hawaii Department of Urban and Regional Planning, described three different strategies in this report and is also author of the Planning for Peace workbook which has been used, along with her facilitation, by communities in Los Angeles, California. It recommends a comprehensive, grass roots approach to communities addressing their gang problems, including community members and leaders from the different ethnic groups who are affected by gang violence. The Planning for Peace workbook outlines a three-step strategic planning process for groups to follow to respond to violence in their neighborhoods. It requires grass roots involvement, community planning and organizing, and implementing agreed upon activities and evaluation of the actions and their outcomes. First, the group needs to assess the problem, their resources and the affected populations. Then, it needs to form an action plan that identifies the best strategies or approaches and the actions needed, e.g., organizing and activities. The third step is agreeing on an implementation and evaluation plan that assigns responsibilities including oversight, coordination and evaluation. (For *Planning for Peace Workbook*

contact: Karen Umemoto, PhD University of Hawai'i © 2002. For more information, contact author at kumemoto@hawaii.edu)

2. SARA Model (Scanning, Analysis, Response, and Assessment).

This model is part of the Bureau of Justice Assistance Comprehensive Gang Initiative. Similar to Planning for Peace (above), it is a comprehensive problem-solving model “designed to solve a problem by clearly identifying it, using numerous sources of information to investigate the problem with different levels of detail, developing a variety of solutions and conducting an evaluation” (BJA, 1997). The 53-page monograph on the Gang Initiative gives steps for how a community group can use the SARA model and includes a problem-solving worksheet. One of its suggestions is “small wins” which in the case of gang responses, could be eliminating graffiti on a certain street block or holding a community meeting which results in agreements on tasks and responsibilities for action.. This same monograph gives insight into what is known about gangs and what are barriers to addressing gang problems and sources for further information. An additional publication with strategic planning and evaluation worksheets for community groups to develop their “unique responses to local gang problems” is the 229-page companion monograph, *Addressing Community Gang Problems: A Practical Guide*. It also includes both the SARA model and another model, the Gang Problem Triangle, a method for analyzing a community’s gang problem and developing a response.

Addressing Community Gang Problems: A Model for Problem Solving. Bureau of Justice Assistance. P.O. Box 6000 Rockville, MD 20849-6000

<http://www.njrs.org/pdffiles/156059.pdf> and *Addressing Community Gang Problems: A Practical Guide*. <http://www.ncjrs.org/pdffiles/164273.pdf>

3. GRACE

Gang Retirement and Education/Employment (GRACE) Youth Development Program is a faith-based, outreach program in Detroit, Michigan that was established in 1997 by The Detroit Historic Development Corporation (DHDC). The program is headed up by Alex Montaner, youth pastor at St. Anne’s Roman Catholic Church and former gang member who has successfully negotiated the 1996 Devil's Night truce between police and the gangs of southwest Detroit and offered gang members education and good

job training and placement (Bullard, 2000; Trulear, 2000). As of early 1999, there were no cases of recidivism and a better than 90 percent job retention rate in the approximate 250 cases of youth, ages 18-24, that had completed the program. Carmen Munoz, chair of Munoz Specialty Machine Products, was integral to GRACE's initial success, being the one businessperson that agreed to hire ex-gang members after they went through Montaner's program. The success of the program continually hinges on collaborations with additional businesses (Palm, 2004). As of November of 2000, more than 70 employers were placing GRACE graduates in technically intensive jobs (Corrado). GRACE utilizes training manuals that combine principles of faith with research on effective gang intervention techniques, and pastors meet with youth to address life choices, relating how these are addressed within their congregational traditions. GRACE is now utilizing a multiple referral system and expanding to include younger age groups (Trulear, 2000). More information: Trulear, H. *Faith-Based Institutions and High-Risk Youth: First report to the Field*. Public/Private Ventures. Philadelphia, PA, 2000.

4. Wilson Alternative High School

Wilson Alternative High school utilizes small class size, graduating only 20 to 80 students per year, to give students more one-on-one attention. Most of the students have delinquent histories and have dropped out or been kicked out of previous schools. All faculty are familiar with each student. The school maintains a system of high expectations and positive reinforcement to encourage troubled youth. A no tolerance policy toward delinquent behavior is in place to teach accountability, and the school rounds out traditional education subjects with life-skills, job training, substance abuse treatment, and recreational opportunities provision. To assist single parents in achieving their educational goals, the school also houses an in-school, voluntarily operated nursery and childcare center (Carlie, 2002). More information please contact Mike Carlie at: http://courses.smsu.edu/mkc096f/gangbook/what_I_learned_about/schools.htm

5. and 6. **Boys & Girls Clubs of America Gang Prevention through Targeted Outreach and Comin' Up**

The Boys & Girls Clubs of America designed a format for their programs that are implemented nation-wide in addressing the needs of youth at risk *within* the structure of normal Boys & Girls Clubs programming in the following six core areas: cultural enrichment, health and physical education, social recreation, citizenship and leadership development, personal and educational development, and outdoor education. Through interagency networking and referrals, intensive case management, one on one attention, positive reinforcement, positive role-model provision, and extended hours of operation, the programs aims to help detain youth from delinquency without excessively labeling them as “trouble” or “gang” youth (Boys & Girls Clubs of America, 1993). Comin' Up was established within the Boys & Girls Club of Fort Worth, Texas and has worked to cater to the needs of its all-gang member clientele. In addition to normal Boys & Girls Clubs' programming, this intensive program offers life skill development and both educational and economic opportunity provision while additionally negotiating truces among gangs. A high number of clientele go on to work as outreach workers helping other gang members positively change their lives (OJJDP, 2000). More Information: Youth Gang Prevention Specialist Boys & Girls Clubs of America 771 First Avenue New York, NY 10017 or Joe Cordova, Executive Director, Boys and Girls Clubs of Greater Fort Worth 3218 East Belknap Street, Fort Worth, Texas 76111-4739 Phone: 817-834-4711

7. **CUFFS**

CUFFS is a collaborative program involving the schools, law enforcement, non-profit organizations, and businesses of Fullerton, California. Keeping kids in school is the primary goal of the program. Because of networking between schools, parents, and law enforcement, youth are held accountable for truancy. Local businesses provide internships to troubled youth and again emphasize attendance and succession. CUFFS's claim to success is based on collaboration with the schools, a relationship that fosters community solidarity. Police and parent volunteer presence at the schools creates a safer environment for learning and fosters a familial sense of belonging and identity with the

schools. Programs such as the YWCA or YMCA, and Boys & Girls Clubs offer additional opportunities for youth involvement. Valdez (1999) calls this program “one of the most successful programs currently used (p. 295).” More Information: CUFFS Nina J. Winn, Ed.D., Program Director. Safe Schools Project. (714) 966-4164

8. GREAT

Gang Resistance Education and Training was started as a collaborative effort among the U.S. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms, the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center, and the Phoenix Police Department. The program is popular throughout the United States and involves police officers teaching a series of lectures concerning gang awareness, conflict resolution, and alternative option provision within schools. It could be used as one component of a mediation model if a community decides that a school based prevention curriculum is needed. Locally, GREAT is currently being taught in twenty-five intermediate schools on Oahu and various schools throughout Maui and Ka’ua’i (Honolulu Police Department, 2004). In addition to teaching gang awareness, the program aims at creating a positive experience between law enforcement and youth (ATF Online 2000; GREAT, 2004; Valdez, 1999).

More Information: GREAT U.S. Bureau Alcohol Tobacco and Firearms. Phone: (202) 927- 8329

9. Mesa Gang Intervention Project

The Mesa Gang Intervention Project, founded in 1994 in Phoenix, Arizona, utilizes prevention, intervention, and suppression techniques to combat gang activity. The program is aimed at gang members and incorporates language instruction, job training, arts, recreation, and tattoo removal, among other social services. Collaboration among law enforcement, case workers, counselors, and intervention specialists is key to the program’s success. Several of the outreach workers with the Mesa Gang Intervention Project are former gang members, giving them an added point of entry into the lives of troubled youth (Join Together Online 2001). By 2000, the number of clients the project served had grown to more than 1500 from just over 500 at its inception (Desert Peaks, 2000, Maricopa Association of Governments). More Information: Mesa Gang Intervention Project (480)-644-4370

10. and 11. **Homeboy Industries and Jobs for a Future**

Homeboy Industries and Jobs for a Future emerged at a grassroots level in 1988 with support from the Dolores Mission in Boyle Heights, Los Angeles, CA. Both programs utilize job opportunity provision as an intervention against gang activity (OJJDP, 2000). Jobs for a Future has placed 200 to 350 clients in new jobs and removed 600 to 800 tattoos each year. Homeboy Industries emerged as an economic enterprise under Jobs for a Future and has consistently employed around 40 youth at a time in one of six business ventures: silkscreening, baking, merchandising, landscaping, graffiti removal, and drain and sewer specialty work (Choices for Youth 2004; OJJDP, 2000). Proceeds from these programs fund a homeless shelter, alternative school, daycare center, and tattoo removal service (OJJDP, 2000). More Information: Cara Gould, Operations Director Jobs for a Future 1916 E. First St. Los Angeles, CA 90033 Phone: (800) 526-1254 Fax: (323) 526-1257 Website: www.homeboy-industries.org Email: Cara_Gould@hotmail.com

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Appendix A

Interviewee Protocol

Personal experience:

For what type of agency (social service, school, law enforcement, juvenile justice, or other) do you work? _____

What is your current position? What past positions have you had working with delinquent or at-risk youth?

How many years of experience do you have in your current position? In your past ones?

Differences in boys and girls and delinquency:

Describe the differences you notice among the boys and girls you see. Different crimes committed? Different needs? Different risks?

What do you feel are the major reasons girls become delinquent? What are the major reasons for boys? How do boys and girls differ in the types of crimes they commit?

Without giving any names, can you illustrate some of the points you mentioned through your own experiences with the youth you have encountered? Can you give a “typical” story of a girl in the system? Of a boy?

Drugs:

Describe the role of drugs in youth’s pathway to delinquency. How does it differ for boys and girls?

Gangs:

What about the role of gangs? How does gang membership differ for boys and girls? How has gang membership changed over the past few years? Do you believe the number of gangs have increased, decreased, or stayed the same over the past ten years? How have gangs changed: More violent or less? More drug selling or less? Younger in composition? You think they are still ethnically based? If there are changes in gangs, what do you think has promoted such a change?

Changes with youth and needed changes in system:

How do youth compare today with past youth? If you have noticed changes, what do you think promoted such change?

Describe improvements you feel are needed in the system (whether it is with police, schools, Family Court, etc). Describe what you feel currently works in the system. What are your current frustrations?

Any final comments?

AGREEMENT TO PARTICIPATE IN

Youth Gang Project's Gender Differences and Delinquency in Hawaii

Meda Chesney-Lind, Principal Investigator, Youth Gang Project,
2424 Maile Way, Saunders 704, 956-6313

This research project focuses on the different pathways to delinquency in Hawaii's boys' and girls' lives. We are hoping to better understand the lives of youth who end up at Family Court and in Detention. Over the next six months, we are interviewing people—such as outreach workers, judges, police officers, and attorneys—who have experience with troubled youth in Hawaii. Participating in this study can potentially benefit juvenile justice response and programming in Hawaii, but no personal benefit to you can be claimed by this study. This interview will take approximately 30 minutes to one hour. We are asking permission to tape-record the interview session. Therefore, we ask that you refrain from any mention of specific names, including your own, during the interview. The things you say will not be repeated to anyone, except in the final paper, where no names or any identifying information will be used. Your responses will always be kept completely confidential and anonymous. Participation in this research project is entirely voluntary. You are free to say no and end participation in the study at any time. If you feel embarrassed or uncomfortable at any moment, you may stop the interview immediately. At this time, please ask us any concerns or questions about this interview.

I certify that I have read and that I understand the foregoing, that I have been given satisfactory answers to my inquiries concerning project procedures and other matters and that I have been advised that I am free to withdraw my consent and to discontinue participation in the project or activity at any time without prejudice.

I herewith give my consent to participate in this project with the understanding that such consent does not waive any of my legal rights; nor does it release the principal investigator of the institution or any employee or agent thereof from liability for negligence.

Signature of Participant

Date

If you cannot obtain satisfactory answers to your questions or have comments or complaints about your treatment in this study, contact: Committee on Human Studies, University of Hawaii, 2540 Maile Way, Honolulu, HI 96822. Phone (808) 956-5007. You may also reach the researcher by calling (808) 956-6313.

**VOLUME II: GENDER, ETHNICITY, AND
DELINQUENCY IN HAWAII**

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Hawaii's Youth Gang Response System (YGRS) was created by the Hawaii State Legislature in 1990. Since that time, the organization has supported many gang prevention/intervention activities. This report is funded by the State of Hawaii's Office of Youth Services (OYS), however, its conclusions are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the funding agency.

Part of the financial support for the YGRS was distributed to the Social Science Research Institute's (SSRI) Center for Youth Research. Included in SSRI, the University of Hawaii Youth Gang Project (YGP) performs research, completes evaluations, and serves as the technical consultants to the YGRS. The YGP has showcased its research at numerous conferences both locally and nationally, and has also published twenty-two reports including a number of academic journal articles.

Although it would be impossible to identify all of the individuals who frequently support the University of Hawaii Youth Gang Project, a handful needs to be recognized. We would first like to acknowledge the continued and excellent support the Office of Youth Services staff, in particular Todd Motoyama, Jessica Kim, Carl Imakyure, Keith Yamamoto, and Sharon Agnew. Without their backing, ambition, and cooperation, YGP's research could not have been completed. Many thanks also to Department of the Attorney General for their assistance with the arrest trends and Juvenile Justice and Information Services data. Without the support and kindness of the Family Court and its employees, it would have been impossible to tell the stories of youth involved in our juvenile justice system. In particular, we would like to thank the Honorable Judge Frances Wong, Parents and Children Together (PACT), Palama Settlement, Coalition for a Drug Free Hawaii, Housing Services at Mayor Wright Housing and other individuals shared invaluable information for our research. Gratitude must also be given to John Gartrell at the Social Science Research Institute and the University of Hawaii's Center on the Family for their support with the Hawaii Student Alcohol, Tobacco, and Drug Use survey data. Although for anonymity purposes, their names cannot be listed, our great appreciation to the many fine professionals in the fields of youth services and prevention who agreed to be interviewed and provided great insights into the lives of young people and our communities.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This volume examines the various dynamics of gender, race/ethnicity, and delinquency in Hawaii and policies and programs for girl delinquency prevention.

Initially, we address this question by taking a look at arrest trends in Hawaii. As measured by juvenile arrests, Hawaii's juvenile crime problem is no more serious than a decade earlier. This correlates with national trends in juvenile arrests as well. Arrests of youth for serious crimes of violence and index property crimes show decreases (some remarkable) in the past ten years. After an upward trend for arrests of youth for drug offenses during the decade, this past year had a 22 percent decline, resulting in a 14.9 percent decline since 1994. What continue to be problematic for Hawaii are arrests for status offenses. Status offenses are 29.3 percent higher than the national percentage, with girls comprising nearly 60 percent of runaway offenses alone. As consequence, this trend produces challenges to a juvenile justice system used to dealing with male law violators.

Using Juvenile Justice Information System (JJIS) data, we then analyze gender and racial/ethnic differences in referrals to Family Court. Overall, juveniles were most frequently referred to Family Court for status offenses and not for serious law violations. Boys were more often referred to Family Court for law violations, while girls were more often referred for status offenses. Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian girls and boys had the most arrest referrals for every crime group category. Looking at gender and ethnicity combined, Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian and Filipina girls had the most arrests referred to Family Court while Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian and Caucasian boys had the most. Samoans were also over-represented in Family Court referrals, representing 1.6 percent of the general population but making up more than double that (nearly 5 percent) in Family Court referrals.

Interview data from key informants of juvenile justice and at-risk youth in Hawaii provides an important additional perspective on the challenges Hawaii faces with marginalized youth. Looking at juveniles' pathways to delinquency, several gender differences emerged. Overall, girls' histories more frequently include sexual abuse and assault, unhealthy relationships with older boyfriends, oppressive family environments,

and psychological problems, with such problems frequently diagnosed as depression and bipolar disorder. For boys, peer group dynamics that require them to “prove” how brave and tough they can be appear to be a main feature of their delinquency. Academic failure, mental health problems such as Attention Deficit Disorder, and troubled families are also a part of boys’ delinquency.

Finally, we review national examples of gender specific programming and with recommendations for Hawaii’s youth and girls, in particular. It calls attention to the need for a specialized focus on the unique problems of girlhood in Hawaii and suggests that the state must head in this direction.

CHAPTER I
JUVENILE ARREST TRENDS IN HAWAII
By Nancy Marker and Meda Chesney-Lind

Introduction

Juvenile arrest trends are one measure of the juvenile crime problem. When used in combination with other sources of data, they create a picture of the level of delinquency in Hawaii and its comparison to the nation. Using a ten-year period, the Youth Gang Project (YGP) annually reviews and analyzes the Hawaii and national findings. These findings are an asset to those who work in the youth services and are responsible for policy and programming which address delinquency and gangs.

National Trends, 1994-2003

Arrests continue the trend reported in reports in recent years. This 1994-2003 national trend for crime rates, in general, is lower than anytime since 1973. Nationally, juvenile crime, as measured by arrests of youth under 18, decreased 17.5 percent between 1994-2003 (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2004). Violent crime arrests were down 32.5 percent, and property crimes decreased 38 percent, for an overall index crime decrease of 37.2 percent. Arrests for drug abuse violations increased 18.7 percent slightly less than the increase for adults 22.4 percent. The status offense of running away decreased 42 percent. Arrests for carrying and possession of weapons by juveniles decreased 40.8 percent.

Juvenile arrests accounted for 16.6 percent of all arrests nationally in 2003, less than reported in the previous year (18.2 percent).

Some variations appear by gender in the juvenile arrests trends. Boys had 70.6 percent of all arrests for juveniles. The total number of juvenile arrests for females under age 18 had a decrease of merely 3 percent in the ten-year period while arrests of juvenile males dropped by 22.4 percent. With more serious index crimes, both males and females arrests were lower in 2003 than in 1994. Yet males showed a sharper decline in arrests for these types of offenses—down 36.1 percent for violent crime and 43.7 percent for

property crime while female arrests were down 9.9 percent for violent crime and 21.1 percent for property crime. Males and females showed similar declines for the percentage of arrests for runaway—down 44.3 percent for males and 40.2 percent for females. However, the trend for drug abuse violations arrests was upward—13 percent for boys and 56.3 percent for girls. Girls had a greater increase in “other assaults” (physical fights) arrests in the ten years—35.9 percent compared to 1.2 percent for boys.

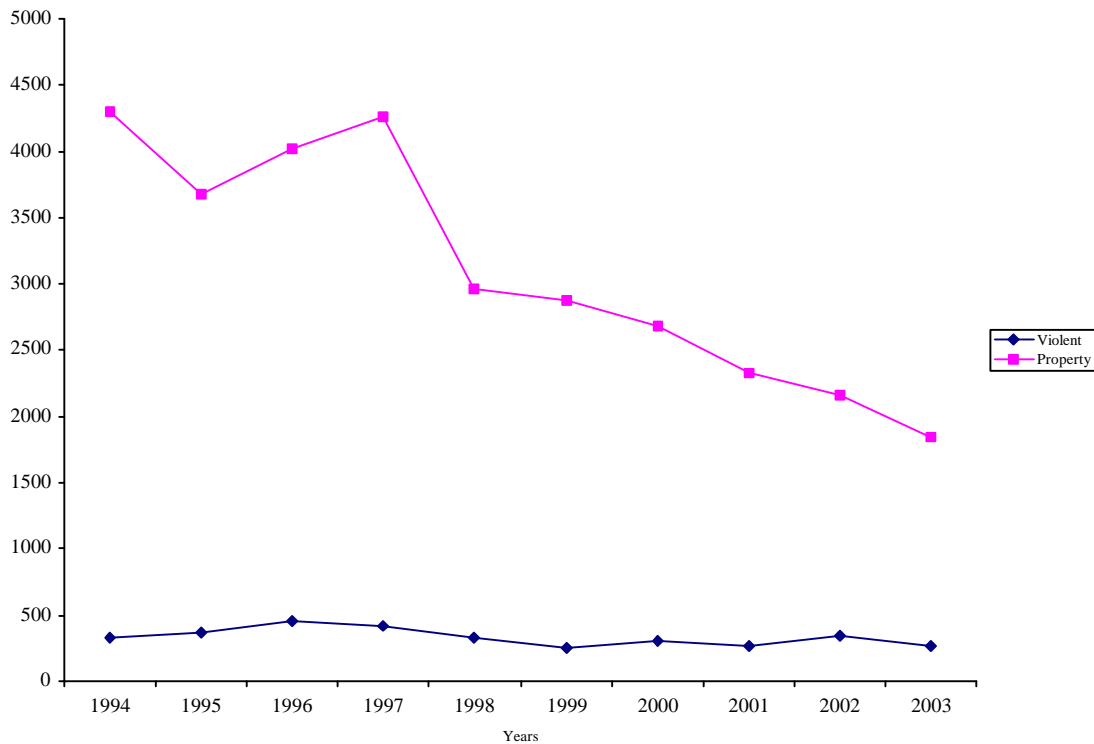
An interesting gender difference is that juvenile males were 15.2 percent of arrests for males of all ages but juvenile females were 20.7 percent of all female arrests. Arrests of girls were 4.9 percent of all arrests in both 1994 and 2003 while boys’ arrests were 14.6 percent in 1994 and 11.7 percent in 2003. A review of these numbers suggests to some observers that the “crime drop” seen in the last decade of the twentieth century was largely a drop in the arrests of boys for serious crimes, particularly crimes of violence fueled by the crack epidemic and the ensuing gun violence associated with this phenomenon, while arrests of youth for less serious offenses, particularly assaults, have increased as a result of a focus on youth violence in and around schools (Chesney-Lind and Irwin, 2004).

Trends in Hawaii, 1994-2003

Overall, juvenile arrests in Hawaii are down 43 percent, at the lowest number of arrests in the decade. Nationally, the comparable figure was only 17.5 percent indicating that, if anything, the juvenile crime drop is more marked in Hawaii. The drop in arrests in the state foreshadows Hawaii’s crime trend generally. Aside from a slight increase in 2002, arrests for juvenile crime have declined every year during the ten-year period (Department of the Attorney General, 2004). For index crimes--the more serious offenses—the 2003 figure declined 54.7 percent over the previous 10 years (Chart 1). This is an even more remarkable decline than the national findings--a 37.2 percent decrease. In the past year, there was a slight decrease (5.2 percent) in the total number of youth arrests (Department of the Attorney General, 2004).

Youths arrested for violent offenses (murder, rape, robbery and aggravated assault) accounted for 2.2 percent of all juvenile arrests in the state. Index property crimes—burglary, larceny theft, motor vehicle theft, and arson—resulted in 16 percent of the arrests. Part II offenses (all others such as “other assaults,” vandalism, drugs possession or sales, weapons violations, offenses against family members and the status offenses of runaway and curfew), were 82 percent of the arrests. Half (51 percent) of the Part II offenses arrests were status offense arrests and they accounted for 42 percent of all juvenile arrests.

Chart 1: Juvenile Arrests for Index Offenses in Hawaii, 1994-2003



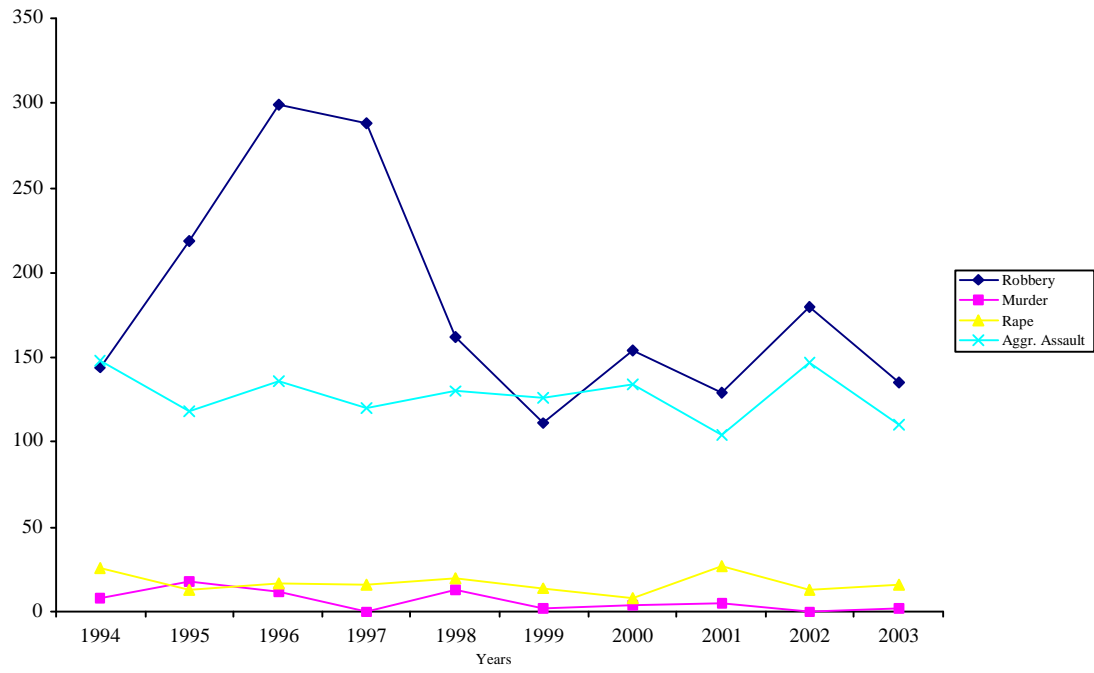
Source: Uniform Crime Reporting System, Federal Bureau of Investigation. Taken from *Crime in Hawaii, 2003*. Department of the Attorney General, Crime Prevention and Justice Assistance Division.

As seen on Chart 1, arrests of youth for violent offenses, robbery arrests decreased 6 percent since 1994 but have declined significantly since a dramatic peak in 1996. This decrease is far less steep, though, than the national trend; the nation as a whole showed a 36.2 percent decrease for the same period (FBI: 2004: 274). Chart 2 shows each of the index violent crimes and reveals that aggravated assault arrests decreased 26 percent in the decade. Arrests for forcible rape and murder fluctuated over

the ten-year period. Violent crimes arrests have declined 19.3 percent since 1994 but remained steady in the past year. Other assaults which are included in Part II offenses declined 21.4 percent since 1994 although slightly higher in 2003 than for four other years in the decade. Nationally, a different picture was seen with these offenses increasing by 10.3 percent (FBI, 2004: 274).

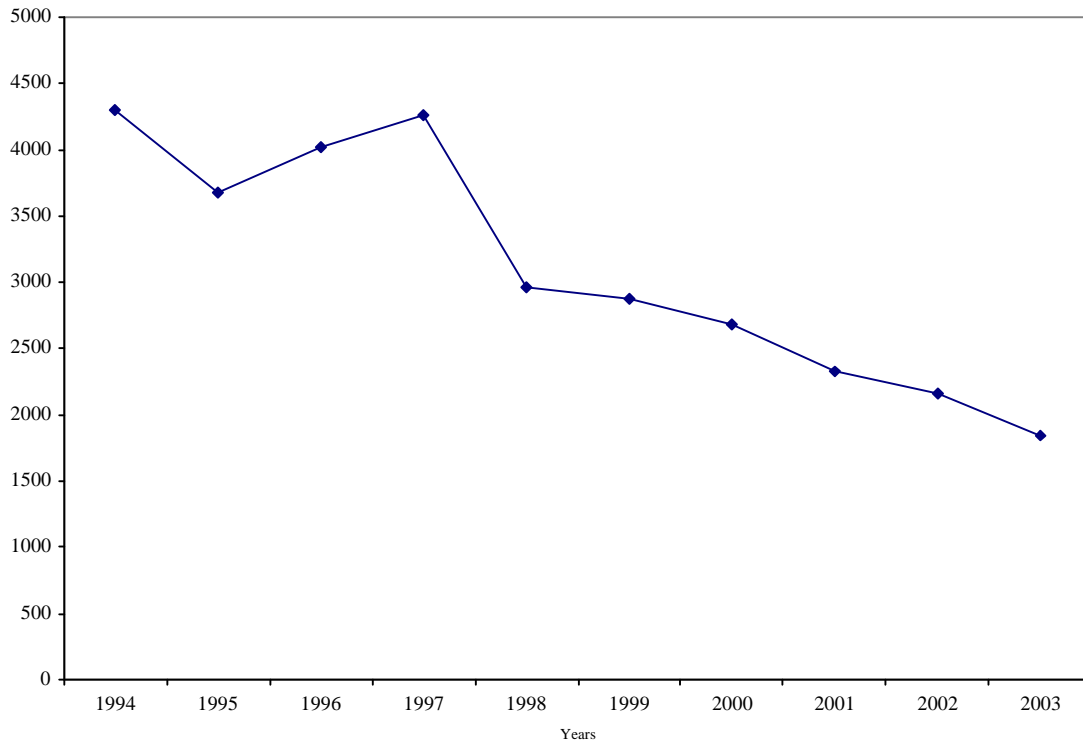
Chart 1 also shows that property index offenses fueled the decrease in index crime offenses (-54.7 percent) by declining 57 percent over the ten-year period, starting with the largest drop between 1997 and 1998 (23 percent). In the past year, the property crime arrests decline was 14 percent (Chart 3). During this time, arrests for violent offenses decreased 19 percent (Chart 2). All serious property crimes declined over the ten-year period with the lowest number of arrests in all four offenses in 2003 (Charts 3 & 4). Burglary arrests are down 62.5 percent since 1994 and motor vehicle thefts arrests are 50.4 percent lower. As with the others, larceny-thefts are the lowest in 10 years, down 57 percent. Nationally, arrests of youth for property crimes also decrease, but by a less dramatic amount (38.0 percent) (FBI: 2004: 274).

Chart 2: Juvenile Arrests for Part I Violent Offenses in Hawaii, 1994-2003



Source: Uniform Crime Reporting System, Federal Bureau of Investigation. Taken from *Crime in Hawaii, 2003*. Department of the Attorney General, Crime Prevention and Justice Assistance Division.

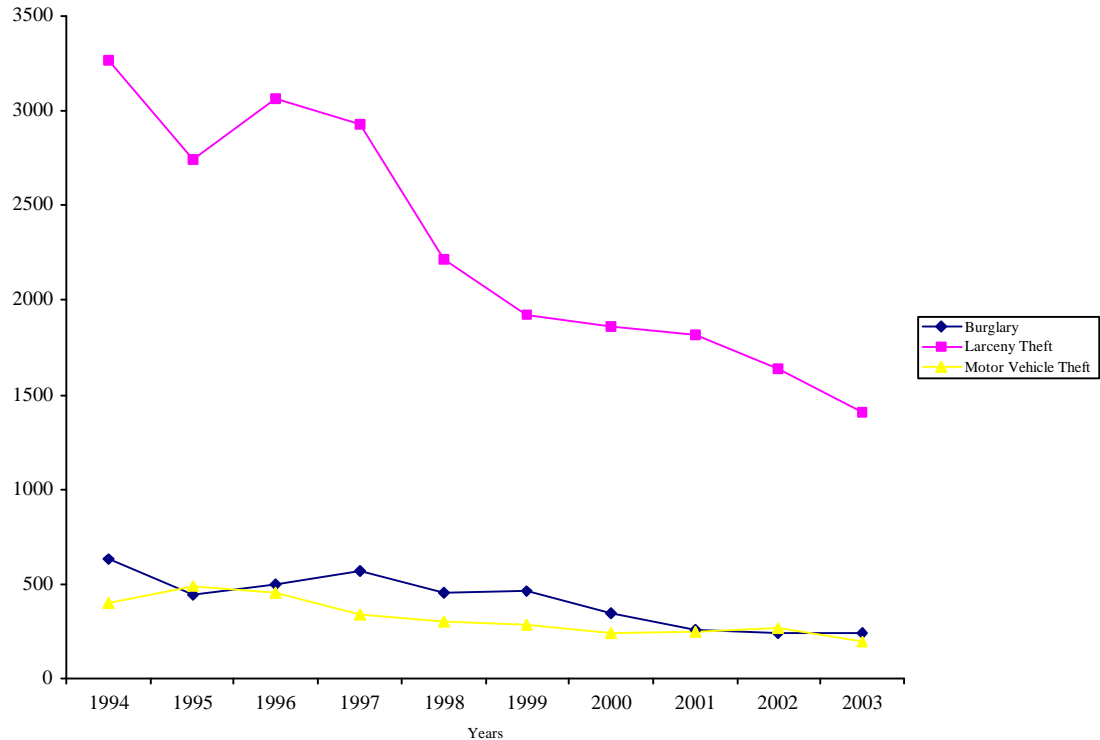
Chart 3: Juvenile Arrests for Part I Property Offenses in Hawaii, 1994-2003



Source: Uniform Crime Reporting System, Federal Bureau of Investigation. Taken from *Crime in Hawaii, 2003*. Department of the Attorney General, Crime Prevention and Justice Assistance Division.

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Chart 4: Juvenile Arrests for Part I Property Offenses in Hawaii, 1994-2003



Source: Uniform Crime Reporting System, Federal Bureau of Investigation. Taken from *Crime in Hawaii, 2003*. Department of the Attorney General, Crime Prevention and Justice Assistance Division.

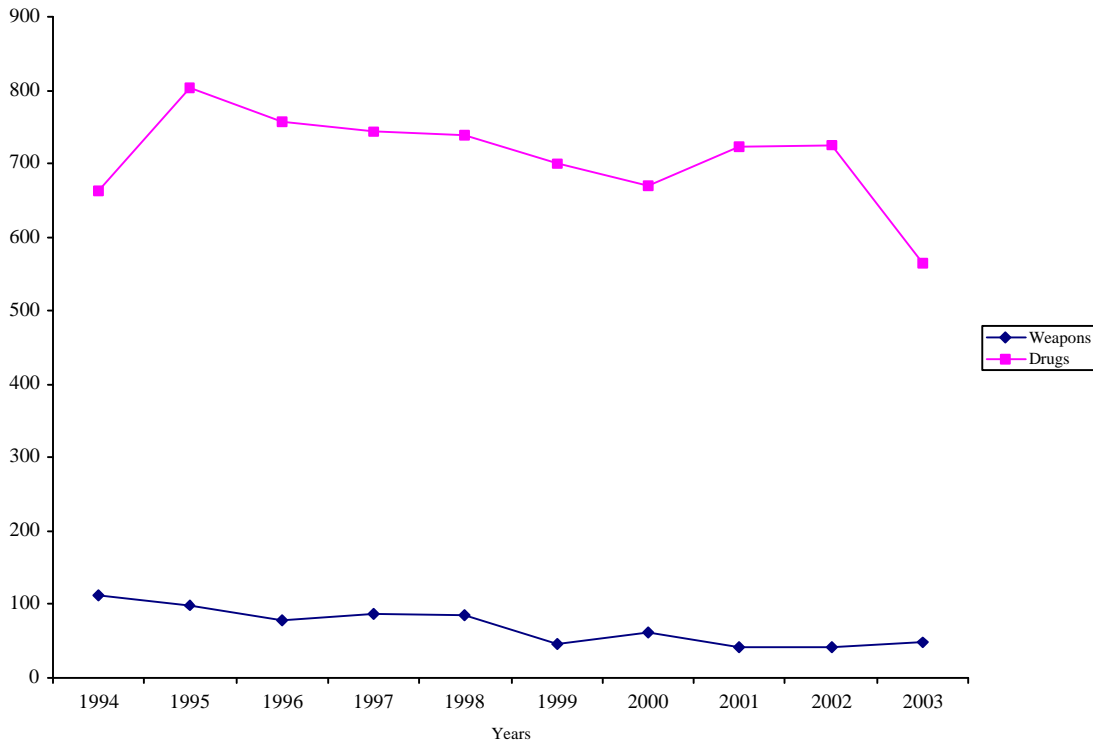
Weapons and Drug Offenses

Arrests for weapons offenses declined 57 percent in the decade. Nationally, a similar, though smaller decrease was seen: 40.8 percent (FBI, 2004: 274).

Drugs arrests (manufacturing/sale and possession combined) decreased 15 percent. This is contrary to the pattern seen nationally, where an increase of 18.7 percent was seen (FBI, 2004: 274). After a drop in drug arrests since 1995, the Hawaii trend edged upwards in 2002 but declined again (22 percent) in 2003 (Chart 5). Nearly 82 percent of drug offense arrests in 2003 were for marijuana possession. Marijuana possession arrests were the lowest in the decade with an 11 percent decline in the past year and 16 percent lower than in 1994.

Weapons offenses arrests remained steady in recent years and are less than half of what they were in 1994.

Chart 5: Juvenile Arrests for Weapons and Drugs in Hawaii, 1994-2003

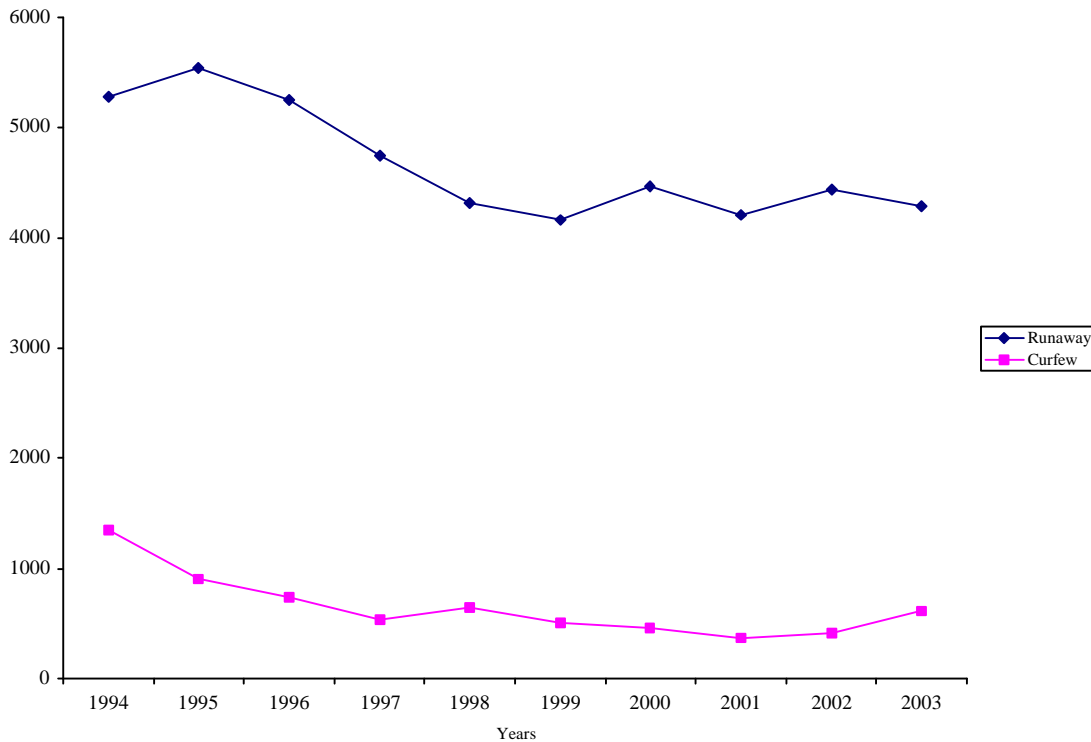


Source: Uniform Crime Reporting System, Federal Bureau of Investigation. Taken from *Crime in Hawaii*, 2003. Department of the Attorney General, Crime Prevention and Justice Assistance Division.

In 2003, there were 4,906 arrests statewide for running away and curfew, accounting for 50.9 percent of juvenile arrests for Part II Offenses, and 41.8 percent of all juvenile arrests. These show no change from the pattern seen in 2002. A combination of these two status offenses shows a decline in arrests of 26 percent since 1994.

The number of arrests for running away has declined since 1994 (down 18.7 percent) but has remained constant (slightly more than 4,000 arrests a year statewide) since last year--a slight decline of 3.2 percent in the past year. Curfew arrests are less than half of what they were in 1994 (down 54.5 percent) but slightly increased between 2002 and 2003. Nationally, even starker declines were seen, however, with arrests of youth for runaway decreasing by 42 percent and curfew by 0.7 percent (FBI, 2004: 274).

Chart 6: Juvenile Arrests for Status Offenses in Hawaii, 1994-2003



Source: Uniform Crime Reporting System, Federal Bureau of Investigation. Taken from *Crime in Hawaii, 2003*. Department of the Attorney General, Crime Prevention and Justice Assistance Division.

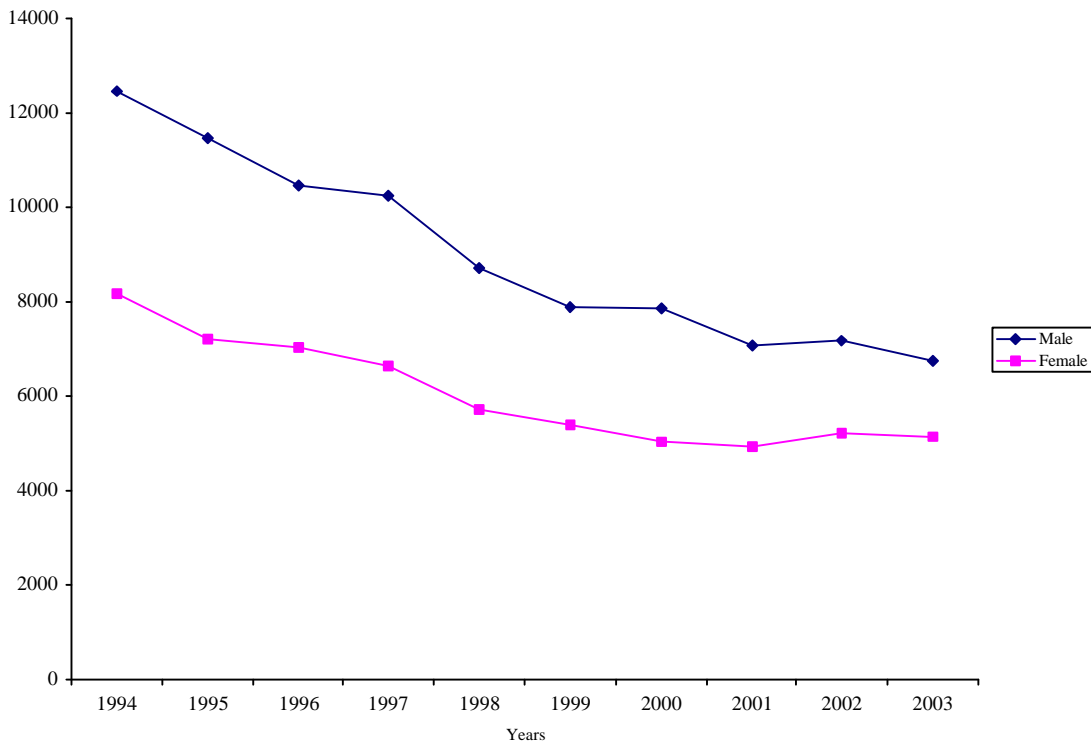
Arrests by Gender

Hawaii has experienced a steady decline of male arrests in the decade; as a result, 2003 reported the lowest number of male arrests in the entire decade after a decrease of 46 percent. Female arrests also declined but more slowly, by only 37 percent. Nationally, much the same pattern can be seen, with arrests of boys decreasing

by 22.4 percent compared to an only 3.0 percent decrease in girls' arrests. Again, as noted earlier, this suggests that as more youth are picked up for less serious offenses (like minor assault), proportionately more girls will be arrested. Moreover, Hawaii has not seen the steep decreases in the arrests of girls for status offenses that were seen nationally. As a result, girls' arrests account for nearly two fifths (42 percent) of overall juvenile arrests compared to only 29 percent nationally.

Juvenile males accounted for 58.9 percent of the arrests for Part 1 Index offenses and 56.3 percent of the arrests for Part II Offenses in 2003. Again, girls account for a large proportion of all those arrested for Part II offenses (43.7 percent) because of the gendered pattern seen in status offense arrests (Charts 8 & 9).

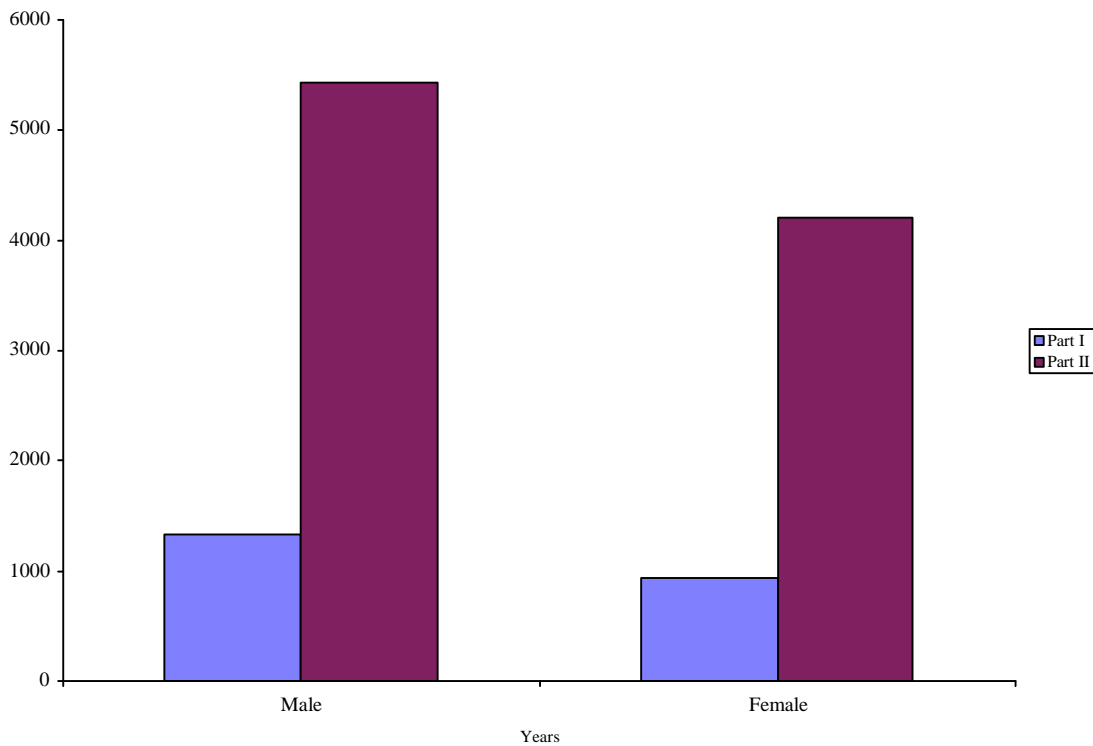
Chart 7: Juvenile Arrests in Hawaii by Gender, 1994-2003



Source: Uniform Crime Reporting System, Federal Bureau of Investigation. Taken from *Crime in Hawaii, 2003*. Department of the Attorney General, Crime Prevention and Justice Assistance Division.

Because of the significance of status offense arrests in Hawaii’s juvenile crime picture, arrests of girls in our state have always been higher than the national average. Arrests for males and females overall indicate that girls make up only a slightly higher percentage of arrests now than 10 years ago—43.2 percent in 2003 compared to 40 percent in 1994.

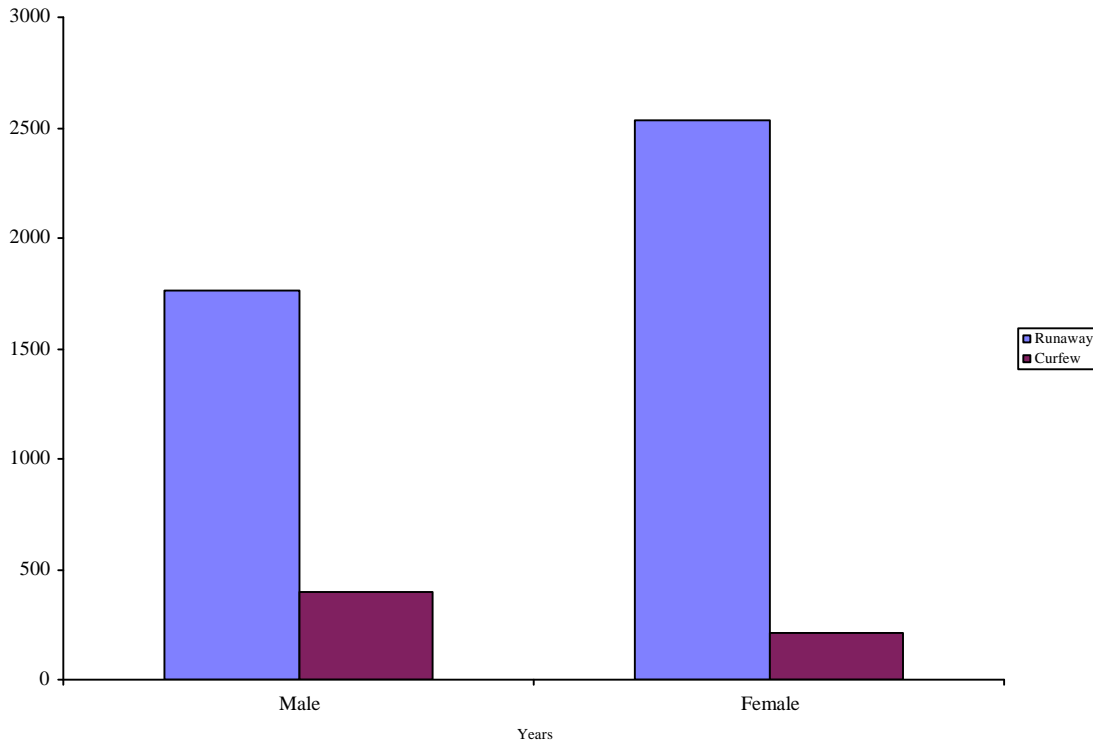
Chart 8: Juvenile Arrests for Part I and II Offenses by Gender, 2003



Source: Uniform Crime Reporting System, Federal Bureau of Investigation. Taken from *Crime in Hawaii, 2003*. Department of the Attorney General, Crime Prevention and Justice Assistance Division.

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Chart 9: Status Offenses in Hawaii by Gender, 2003



Source: Uniform Crime Reporting System, Federal Bureau of Investigation. Taken from *Crime in Hawaii, 2003*. Department of the Attorney General, Crime Prevention and Justice Assistance Division.

Almost three quarters (70.8 percent) of youth arrested for drug offenses were males as were 93.8 percent of those arrested for weapons offenses.

Females accounted for 29.5 percent of “other assaults” and 43.1 percent of “offense against family members/children.”

When turning to the two status offenses for which we have data, females are arrested more for running away and males more for curfew. In 2003, girls were 59 percent of those arrested for runaway, identical to the percentage for girls arrested for runaway nationally. Ten years ago, 62.7 percent of the runaway arrests in Hawaii were arrests of girls, therefore indicating a small downward trend for this arrest discrepancy between boys and girls.

Males are arrested more for Part I and Part II offenses. In 1994, females were 33.6 percent for Part I and 41.4 percent of the Part II Offenses. In 2003, females were arrested for 41.1 percent of the Part I (Index) Offenses 20.6 percent of the Part II Offenses. Chart 8 above shows a shift in the 10-year period with the male-female ratio of these two categories of crime.

Summary

Like the U.S. mainland, Hawaii's juvenile crime problem, as measured by juvenile arrests, is no more serious than a decade earlier. Indeed, arrests of youth for serious crimes of violence as well as index property crimes show decreases (some dramatic) in the last decade.

After an upward trend for arrests of youth for drug offenses during the decade, this past year had a 22 percent decline, resulting in a 14.9 percent decline since 1994. Also, Hawaii's arrest rate for status offenses is 29.3 percent higher than the national percentage for status offenses. These trends produce challenges to a juvenile justice system used to dealing with law violators, mainly boys.

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CHAPTER II
GENDER AND RACIAL PROFILE OF ADOLESCENTS
REFERRED TO FAMILY COURT:
ANALYSIS OF THE JUVENILE JUSTICE INFORMATION SYSTEM DATA
2001

By Lisa Pasko

Introduction

The Juvenile Justice Information System (JJIS), housed in the State of Hawaii Department of the Attorney General, is the branch in the Crime Prevention and Justice Assistance Division for the development, maintenance, and implementation of a statewide database on all juvenile crime and delinquency. JJIS facilitates cooperation among all agencies that work in such juvenile matters. These agencies include county police department, family circuit courts, all county prosecutors' offices, and the Hawaii Youth Correctional Facility (HYCF). Because of the participation and coordination of these agencies, information on every juvenile who enters the justice system is available. JJIS summarizes the information on juvenile offenders in separate datasets: arrests, referrals to Family Court and detention, and incarceration at Hawaii Youth Correctional Facility. JJIS data allow for a global assessment of all juveniles who enter the juvenile justice system. They permit us to see the frequency and series of arrests for each juvenile in the system and gender-racial and rural-urban differences in arrests and in referrals to Family Court.

YGP analyzed the 2001 JJIS data, paying specific attention to those juveniles who were arrested and referred to Family Court. This chapter summarizes our findings.

JJIS Analysis—Family Court Referrals

In 2001, 11,014 arrests were referred to Family Court. The most common arrest offenses referred to Family Court were status offenses (4897, 44.5 percent of all offenses) and petty misdemeanors (2324, 21.1 percent) and the least common were A and B felonies (108, 1 percent of all offenses, and 262, 2.4 percent respectively). The following table shows the distribution of offenses referred to Family Court.

Table 1: Arrests Leading to Family Court Referral, 2001

	Number	percentage
Felony A	108	1 percent
Felony B	262	2.4
Felony C	827	7.5
Misdemeanor	2120	19.2
Petty misdemeanor	2324	21.1
Status Offense	4897	44.5
Probation Violation	476	4.3
Total	11014	100 percent

Race and Gender—Arrests Referred to Family Court

An examination of gender and ethnicity differences in referrals to Family Court yields several interesting findings. Overall, boys were overwhelmingly referred to Family Court for law violations, while girls were more often referred for status offenses. Boys committed 86 percent of all felony offenses, 72 percent of misdemeanors, 71 percent of petty misdemeanors, and 80 percent of probation violations that were referred to Family Court. On the other hand, girls made up 55 percent of status offenders referred.

An examination of gender and ethnicity differences shows that Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian and Filipina girls had the most arrests (1340, 850 respectively) referred to Family Court while Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian (2276) and Caucasian boys (1440) had the most. Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian girls and boys had the most arrest referrals for every crime group category. For status offenses specifically, Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian girls had the most status offenses (852) than any other group, followed by Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian boys (699) (see Table 2).

Filipina (608) girls were also frequently referred for status offenses, while Caucasian girls were more frequently arrested for status offenses (512), misdemeanors (120) and petty misdemeanors (158). This is also true for Caucasian boys as well (479, 324, 362 arrest referrals respectively).

**Table 2: Juvenile Arrests Referred to Family Court:
Crosstabulation of Race, Gender, and Offense Severity, 2001**

Gender	Caucasian	Samoan	Hawaiian /Part	Filipino	Japanese	Other ethnicity
Girls						
	6	0	11	7	1	3
Felony B	33	2	44	27	13	32
Felony C	120	40	211	84	27	115
Misdemeanor	158	39	188	110	40	128
Petty Misdemeanor	512	83	852	608	179	431
Status offense	15	2	34	14	3	27
Probation violation	844	166	1340	850	263	736
Total						
Boys						
	22	13	34	10	2	27
Felony A	26	29	110	23	8	38
Felony B	144	21	203	122	60	126
Felony C	324	90	545	214	78	272
Misdemeanor	362	79	562	234	124	300
Petty misdemeanor	479	76	699	399	134	445
Status offense	83	3	123	69	17	86
Probation violation	1440	311	2276	1071	423	1294
Total						

Ethnicity, Gender, and Circuit Court location

Looking at the ethnic and gender distribution of arrest referrals across the state, we see that the most referrals came from Oahu (5502), followed by Big Island (2447), Maui (1829), and Kauai (1236) (see Table 3). In all circuit courts, Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian boys and girls were most frequently referred (33 percent of all referred juveniles), with some exception on Maui, where Filipina girls' arrests (202) were as frequently referred as Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian girls' arrests (202). On Oahu, Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian boys and girls represent 31 percent of all Family Court arrest referrals for the island. On Big Island, they represent 32 percent, on Maui, 35 percent, and on Kauai, 41 percent.

Overall, Hawaiians/Part-Hawaiians are nearly 40 percent of all juvenile arrests in Hawaii for 2001 (Department of the Attorney General, 2002). It appears, therefore, that most of the courts are not referring all Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian juveniles who are arrested. However, what is important to also note is that Hawaiian/Part Hawaiians comprise only 19 percent of the general population. Therefore, these arrests signify a disproportionate representation in the juvenile population referred to Family Court (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000).

Likewise, Samoans, representing 1.6 percent of the general population, make up more than double that (nearly 5 percent) in Family Court referrals (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). They also comprise 5 percent of all juvenile arrests in Hawaii, suggesting that most Samoan juveniles who are arrested are also subsequently referred to Family Court (Department of the Attorney General, 2002). Additionally, on Oahu, Filipino(a) juveniles (the second most represented group in that circuit court) comprise 17 percent (416) and Caucasians represent 16 percent (370) of Family Court arrest referrals, while on the Big Island, Caucasian juveniles (292) comprise 27 percent of referrals and Filipino(a)s, 12 percent (152). Filipino(a)s comprises 22 percent of the general population and Caucasians comprise 39 percent (Census 2000). For the entire state, Filipino(a)s comprise 15.4 percent of all arrests and Caucasians make up 20.1 percent, signifying that arrests of these two groups ended mostly in Family Court referrals.

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**Table 3: Juvenile Arrests Referred to Family Court
Crosstabulation of Gender and Race by Circuit Court, 2001**

Gender	Oahu	Maui	Big Island	Kauai	Total
Girls					
	153	4	9	0	166 (2 percent)
Samoan	724	202	282	132	1340 (12 percent)
Hawaiian/Part	462	202	86	100	850 (8 percent)
Filipina	383	191	224	46	844 (7 percent)
Caucasian	177	33	37	16	263 (3 percent)
Japanese	468	62	157	49	736 (6 percent)
Other ethnicity					
Boys					
	298	0	13	0	311 (3 percent)
Samoan	981	429	497	369	2276 (21 percent)
Hawaiian/Part	479	192	205	195	185 (18 percent)
Filipino	493	333	429	185	1071 (10 percent)
Caucasian	239	43	120	21	1440 (13 percent)
Japanese	645	138	388	123	423 (4 percent)
Other ethnicity					1294 (11 percent)
Total	5502	1829	2447	1236	11014

Individuals Referred to Family Court

In 2001, the total 11,014 arrests referred to Family Court were committed by 4755 juveniles. Each individual had an average of 2.3 arrests for the year, with 54 percent of the juveniles having only one arrest referral. Oahu referred 2387 juveniles, Maui 811, Big Island 116, and Kauai referred 441 juveniles to Family Court (see Table 4). Of juveniles sent to Family Court, 1502 were Hawaiian/Part Hawaiian, 852 Filipino, 986 Caucasian,

296 Japanese, 223 Samoan, and 896 other ethnicity. Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiian juveniles constituted 32 percent of individuals referred.

Table 4: Juveniles Referred to Family Court Crosstabulation of Ethnicity by Circuit Court Referral, 2001

Ethnicity	Oahu	Maui	Big Island	Kauai	Total
Samoan	213	1	9	0	223 (5 percent)
Hawaiian/ Part	751	252	332	167	1502 (32 percent)
Filipino	416	171	152	113	852 (18 percent)
Caucasian	370	246	292	78	986 (21 percent)
Japanese	176	35	70	15	296 (6 percent)
Other ethnicity	461	106	261	68	896 (18 percent)
Total	2387	811	1116	441	4755 (100 percent)

First Offense Severity and Gender

Looking at referred juveniles' first offenses, Table 5 shows that Oahu and Maui had more felony offenses referred than the other circuits (209 and 83 respectively, compared to Big Island's 69 and Kauai's 41). Big Island and Kauai had more probation violation referrals than the other islands (72 and 47 respectively, compared to Oahu's 6 and Maui's 25 probation violation referrals). Table 5 also shows that, overall, girls committed fewer law violations in their first offense. Only 1 percent of all referred juveniles were female felony offenders, while over 6 percent were male felony juvenile offenders. Male juvenile misdemeanor and petty misdemeanor offenses made up 33 percent of the total first offense severities referred, while female misdemeanor offenders only comprised 14 percent of the referrals.

Status offenses made up the majority of juveniles' first offense referral. On Oahu, 48 percent of juveniles referred to Family Court had a status offense as their first offense.

On Big Island, it was 46 percent, Maui 38 percent, and Kauai 24 percent. On Oahu and Maui, more girls (624 on Oahu, 161 on Maui) than boys (515, 146) had a status offense for their first referral. On Big Island and Kauai, girls (257 on Big Island, 49 on Kauai) and boys (258, 57) were somewhat equally referred for status offenses, with boys having slightly more referrals than girls on Kauai. Despite this, gender is significant (chi square=308.75; p<.00) when predicting who will be referred for status offenses more frequently (see Table 5). Overall, girls had 1091 first offense referrals to Family Court for status offenses, compared to boys' 976 referrals.

Table 5: Juveniles Referred to Family Court: Crosstabulation of Gender, First Offense Severity, and Circuit Court Location, 2001

Gender	Oahu	Maui	Big Island	Kauai	Total
Girls					
	6	2	3	0	11
Felony B	29	9	8	6	52
Felony C	138	46	57	39	280
Misdemeanor	167	94	68	41	370
Petty Misdemeanor	624	161	257	49	1091
Status offense	2	5	15	11	33
Probation violation	966	317	408	146	1837
Total					
Boys					
	20	3	7	1	31
Felony A	43	12	9	5	69
Felony B	111	57	42	29	239
Felony C	342	112	119	93	666
Misdemeanor	386	144	216	74	820
Petty misdemeanor	515	146	258	57	976
Status offense	4	20	57	36	117
Probation violation	1421	494	708	295	2918
Total					

Table 6: Status Offense by Gender for First Arrest Family Court Referral, 2001

Status offense	Girls	Boys
Yes	1091	976

No	746	1942
Total	1837	2918

Pearson's Chi Square 308.75; df 1; p<. 00

Juvenile Case Records

In order to determine what factors have a significant effect on the frequency of Family Court referrals, YGP further analyzed the 2001 JJIS data, using Ordinary Least Squares (OLS), or multiple regression. The model examines the direct effect of offense severity, race, gender, as well as the interaction between gender and circuit court location on the number of cases each juvenile has. Of particular interest to this study is: 1) a 'gender-varying' effect of circuit court location and 2) the effect of race and ethnicity on number of case records for an individual juvenile in the system.

Dependent and Independent Variables. The number of case records (i.e. how often a juvenile was referred to Family Court) was used as the dependent variable in the model. This study utilizes demographic and offense-specific variables as independent variables in the analysis. One limitation of this study is the absence of any variables which are traditionally used to operationalize socioeconomic status, such as parents' occupation, educational level, and income. Therefore, we were unable to analyze that effect.

Summary of Results. The overall explanatory power of the model is .02, which means it explains only 2 percent of variation in the dependent variable, number of cases per individual. Despite this limitation, several interesting findings emerge. The most explanatory variables in the model are found in the offense severity and interaction variables. With status offense as the reference variable, Felony A, misdemeanor, and petty misdemeanor were significant variables. Felony A had more case records (1.19) than status offenses. This is not a surprising result, as we would expect Felony A offenders to appear before Family Court more times than other juvenile criminals and delinquents. Misdemeanor and petty misdemeanor offenders had fewer referrals than status offenders to Family Court, suggesting that with exception of Felony A offenses, status offenses have the most case referrals.

Additionally, the variable “misdemeanor” had the third highest explanatory power (beta= -.068) in the overall model. Felony B and C were not significant variables.

With regards to ethnicity, Filipino was significant. When all other variables are controlled, if a juvenile is Filipino (in comparison to being Hawaiian/Part Hawaiian), that juvenile will have fewer records. Although the other ethnicity variables were not significant, what is interesting to note is that all other ethnic categories had fewer records than Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiians.

Gender was not a significant variable by itself, but interaction variables—gender and circuit court—were. In other words, when controlling for everything else affecting whether a juvenile will have more or fewer case records in Family Court, being a boy or being a girl did not affect the number of case records a juvenile has. Some interactive variables did have explanatory power, however. Boys from Kauai had significantly more cases than boys and girls from other circuit courts (.878) and that variable had the most explanatory power in the entire model (beta=.080). Additionally, girls from the Big Island had significantly fewer case records (-.511), with that interaction variable having the second most explanatory power in the model (beta=-.054).

In summary, the biggest predictors of increase in a juvenile’s records were first offense severity, with status offenses having more records than the other severity categories, with the exception of Felony A cases. Hawaiians/Part-Hawaiians had more cases than other ethnic groups, significantly more than Filipino(a)s. Girls from the Big Island had fewer numbers of cases while boys from Kauai had the most.

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Table 7: OLS Regression, Dependent Variable: Number of Arrests per Individual Referred to Family Court, 2001

Independent Variables	B	Standard Error	beta
Constant	2.538	.105	
First Offense Severity	1.19*	.478	.036
<i>(status offense=0)</i>	.320	.303	.015
Felony A	.235	.168	.021
Felony B	-.451**	.106	-.068
Felony C	-.676**	.098	-.110
Misdemeanor	.158	.230	.010
Petty misdemeanor			
Probation Violation			
<i>Ethnicity</i>	-.204	.193	-.016
<i>(Hawaiian=0)</i>	-.053	.109	-.008
Samoan	-.224*	.114	-.032
Caucasian	-.091	.168	-.008
Filipino (a)	-.130	.112	-.019
Japanese	.188	.112	.034
Other ethnicity			
<i>Gender (M=0)</i>			
	.018	.236	.001
Interaction Variables	-.238	.172	-.022
	-.511**	.157	-.054
<i>(Oahu=0)</i>	.878**	.172	.080
Kauai girls	.066	.140	.008
Maui girls	.138	.124	.019
Big Island girls			
Kauai boys			
Maui boys			
Big Island boys			
Adj R square .02			n=4754

*p<.05, ** p<.01

Summary

An examination of Family Court referrals from the 2001 JJIS data has led to the following main conclusions:

- Juveniles were most frequently referred to Family Court for status offenses and not for serious law violations. Status offenses comprised 44.5 percent of all offenses with serious law violations making up less than 11 percent.
- Boys are more often referred to Family Court for law violations, while girls were more often referred for status offenses.
- Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian girls and boys had the most arrest referrals for every crime group category.
- Looking at gender and ethnicity combined, Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian and Filipina girls had the most arrests referred to Family Court while Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian and Caucasian boys had the most among all groups examined.
- Samoans are also over-represented in Family Court referrals , representing 1.6 percent of the general population but making up more than double that (nearly 5 percent) in Family Court referrals.
- The biggest predictors of which juveniles have the highest number of case records were offense severity and circuit court. With the exception of A felons, though, status offenders had a higher number of case records. Girls from Hawaii County had fewer case records, while boys from Kauai had more.

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CHAPTER III

GENDER AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN HAWAII: AN EXAMINATION OF CASE FILE AND INTERVIEW DATA

By Lisa Pasko

Introduction

Nationally every year, girls account for over one quarter of all arrests of young people in America (Federal Bureau of Investigation 2002, p.239). At the close of the 20th century, disturbing differences arose in arrest trends for boys and girls. Whereas boys' arrests have decreased since 1992, girls' arrests have increased by more than 18 percent, with the largest increases occurring in simple assault, drug abuse, and liquor law violations (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2003, p.239). These offense categories now account for 28 percent of girls' total arrests. In 2001, girls accounted for 18 percent of overall violent crime committed by juveniles and 16 percent of drug abuse violations—a respective 6 percent and 4 percent increase since 1992. Most troubling for girls are arrests for drug abuse offenses—a 200 percent increase since 1992 (compared to boys' 110 percent increase). In addition, overall female Family Court caseloads grew by more than 80 percent between 1988 and 1997, with girls' drug offense cases rising 106 percent (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2002, p.239).

In Hawaii, girls' arrests account for nearly two fifths (42 percent) of overall juvenile arrests (compared to only 29 percent nationally) and represent 40 percent of juvenile cases referred to Family Court (Department of the Attorney General, 2003). While most of these arrests and institutionalization can be attributed to status offenses and dependency and neglect cases, girls also account for nearly one-third of “other assaults” and “offenses against the family,” respectively. Additionally, girls in Hawaii now represent over one-quarter of juveniles arrested for drug law violations (Department of the Attorney General, 2003).

Although girls account for only 16 percent of the Hawaii Youth Correctional Facility (HYCF) population, their experiences and life histories differ dramatically from the boys. Female HYCF wards are more likely to be at risk for suicide (76.9 percent, versus 56.9 percent for males) and more likely to have escaped from home or other

programs (83.3 percent, versus 54.6 percent) (Department of the Attorney General, 2001). In addition, whereas boys are more likely to have used alcohol (83.4 percent, versus 72.7 percent), girls are more likely to have used “ice” (46.2 percent, versus 29.8 percent).

In Hawaii, the lack of information about girls’ lives and delinquency is particularly problematic. The young women who find themselves in the juvenile justice system either by formal arrest or referral may not be adequately noticed. Because girls are no longer invisible in arrestee and detained populations, YGP took a further look at gender differences in delinquency in Hawaii. This chapter presents the primary findings.

Methodology

In cooperation with Family Court, YGP gathered case file information on approximately 100 juveniles (40 percent girls) in detention. Family Court maintains extensive files on every youth the Court encounters. Each file contains four main sections of research: legal/criminal history (outlining the details, circumstances, and explanations given by prosecutors, defense, and youth for each delinquent and criminal act), social history (including psychological assessments, race, socioeconomic status, family history/dynamics, drug use, gang involvement, peer relationships, and juvenile’s personal statements about their lives), educational background (containing report cards, attendance records, teacher assessments, and examples of assignments), and the juvenile justice response (detailing the programs performed, time spent in Detention and youth correctional facility and the behavior record for each youth). Additionally, Detention represents a diverse population of juvenile offenders, in terms of offense history as well as offenders’ residences. On any given day, 20-25 percent of the juveniles at Detention come from the outer islands.

The populations under study were selected by Senior Court Family Judge Frances Wong. Judge Wong chose one weekday population in 2001 and one weekend day population in 2002 for review. YGP gathered the data over 2003 and 2004, in order to track progress and pathways of those youth chosen.

In addition to the case file data, YGP also performed interviews of people who work in the juvenile justice system and/or are familiar with delinquent and at-risk youth.

In order to gather respondents' most subjective feelings about juveniles and their experiences working with youth, unstructured, open-ended interviews were used. The interview protocol contained questions regarding the role of gangs, drugs, family stressors, educational problems in the lives of Hawaii's youth, and areas for policy and programming improvements (see Appendix A for loosely-structured interview instrument). The subjects for this study included Detention workers, probation officers, teachers, counselors, social workers, psychologists and outreach workers who encounter and deal with delinquent and at-risk youth. This study completed a total of 22 interviews in Oahu and Big Island communities. Almost half of the interviewees worked in rural areas.¹⁶

The following sections summarize the major themes discovered in the case files and throughout the interviews. Sample case study stories and interview comments are provided throughout the text. Overall, girls' main risk factors are social (and occasionally geographic) isolation, histories of unhealthy dependent relationships, history of sexually risky behaviors, lack of appropriate male role models, history of abuse and trauma, high representation of dependent older male relationships, high representation of mental health issues, and over-representation of mental health problems. For boys, similar areas include high representation of mental health issues, geographic isolation, family dysfunction, and peer associations that encourage risk-taking behaviors.

Psychological differences and problems

The data reveal several key gender differences in psychological problems and make-up. First, girls were described as internalizing stressors and having higher reports of borderline personalities, identity problems, depression, bipolar disorder, self-injurious behaviors, such as cutting, suicidal ideation and attempts. While nearly all boys and girls in the Detention files (95 percent) have had some history of trauma or neglect, girls' trauma more often takes the form of sexual abuse, which can result in continued risky and unhealthy associations and sexual behavior. A couple interviewees illustrate:

¹⁶ "Urban" in this study includes the metro Honolulu area from Pearl City to Hawaii Kai. All other areas/islands are considered rural.

“When we got the girl, she was placed in a program. She was seventeen years old. She was removed from her family at the age of three, and I think a lot of it was physical and sexual abuse and neglect. Basically, we were her 49th placement. She had been in multiple foster homes, multiple group homes, in and out of detention, almost in every residential program in the State of Hawaii. In her early years, she had been sexually and physically abused in her foster home,” (Intake Coordinator for therapeutic group homes, speaking about one of her cases).

“We have girls that are raped and family chooses not to follow through, press charges or do anything to protect the girl. Nothing happens.....A lot of our girls that become involved in the justice system have interesting and unusual sexual behavior and it is a kind of risk taking that is challenging,” (Special education teacher in a rural community in Hawaii).

A common theme expressed by those who work with girls is that girls’ sense of self is often determined by the perceptions of others. Finding limited accepted avenues to be assertive, girls tend to engage more in group thinking and are swayed by boyfriends and girlfriends. How they gain status and power within their peer group is determined by their peer group associations. This cognizance of relationships can lead to higher verbal and emotional displays as well as more passive and relational aggression and manipulation. As one social worker in urban Hawaii related, one reason for this “manipulation” is that girls may be more mindful of their actions’ consequences to the relationships that are important to them: “What may appear as manipulation is actually protection of family and friends.” Another interviewee also explains,

“Girls seem to need more ongoing social and emotional support, whereas boys seem to need more structure and more cognitive behavioral skills. Girls need to be taught more assertiveness and some skills, but they need more emotional support, in terms of understanding, being known that they are listened to and heard. They are more talkative. Where boys are not, they just need it pretty cut and dry,” (School psychologist in a rural Hawaii community).

For girls, school provides a social support and fabric that gives girls the support they need. One social worker in urban Hawaii said this is the reason why “some runaway girls still attend school.” If this school support breaks down (because of bullying or social isolation at school) or if the girls are persuaded by peers/boyfriends not to attend school, then truancy becomes a problem.

Case file illustration of the aforementioned themes:

Tammy is a Hawaiian/Filipina/Spanish 16-year-old girl with a history of depression, cutting¹⁷, crystal methamphetamine induced mood disorder. Her face is partially paralyzed from a previous accident when she was younger. Tammy ran away off and on during her entire first year of high school. She has had four previous runaway charges as well as admitted drug use (marijuana, “ice”) and states she does drugs more often when she is on the run. The last offense that brought her to DH was abuse of a family member. She threw a shoe at her aunt when the aunt tried to stop her from running away. The police were called as she was trying to run. Aunt pressed charges and Tammy was detained (aunt was watching her while parents were in Vegas). Tammy also has a history of sexual abuse and risk-taking behavior. During one counseling session, Tammy “recognized that drugs are given to her by sellers to get her high and then the sex happens.” Two years prior, she was sexually assaulted while on the run.

For boys, externalizing social and psychological stressors, being more aggressive, and being less willing to discuss problems were cited as problems for boys. As one urban social worker claimed, “boys tend to be more ‘I’ based, more independent thinkers and not as relationally concerned. Boys do a lot of things for themselves and girls do a lot of things to affect their social environment.” In addition, academic failure, attention deficit disorders, and early trauma, especially the death of a parent and physical abuse, are also common themes in male delinquents’ lives.

“Yeah, the majority of them do have some academic issues. For most of them school is the one place they do have some consistency and stability. But again, a lot of our kids bounce around from school to school to school, so that makes it difficult to make friends.

¹⁷ “Cutting” is a form of self-mutilation or self-inflicted injury.

But a lot of these kids, I mean if you are moving ten or twelve times in a year, you're going to go to ten or twelve different schools," (Intake Coordinator for therapeutic group homes).

Another stated reason for boys' delinquency is the need to prove one's "manliness." This in part can explain why boys more often fail out of school and are truant: excelling academically is not considered "manly" while at the same time, doing poorly and suffering the consequent shame, embarrassment, and self-deprecation are also emasculating. A few interviewees explain:

"Girls have a more difficult time getting along with each other, so we frequently had to sit down and do mediation with the girls to talk about issues girls have. For boys, is that when we pull them away from their population, away from their home boys, or whatever they call it, they do not have to maintain that macho, tough guy image. So we have a youth from a gang in Halawa housing and at the same time we may have somebody from KPT or Kam4 where generally they would be rivals. But you take one of them out of their group environment and put them here, they do not have to maintain that image anymore. So they seem to get along better. I was talking to one youth who had come here, and before he came we had heard horror stories about him. And again take him away from his environment, and he admitted that there was not much pressure here to behave in a certain way," (Alternative education project coordinator for adjudicated youth).

"Half of these boys wanna show they're men, that they know what's going on, that they are the 'it' thing. Somehow they don't know how to do it in the manner that.....tells the other person that that's the message that they're sending forth. So instead of doing that thing, they'll sit quietly and then once in awhile they'll say something stupid, or they'll just pick up a pencil or paper and throw it, or they will just punch a wall and walk out. Instead of explaining themselves...the lack of ability to express," (Case manager in a youth program).

“Yeah, they want to be rugged too. Because that is the only way they can get recognition. Because they cannot get recognition in school, [are not] popular in the school,” (Outreach worker in rural Hawaii).

Family environments/Community environments

Virtually all case files (95 percent) and interviews explained that delinquent youth, especially chronic ones, suffer from several generations of poverty, educational failure, inadequate housing, inadequate employment, and drug use. Immediate family may be imprisoned or dead. When the family has myriad problems, the family has limited ability to supervise juveniles.

“There is either no parental involvement and if there is a parent that is existing in the home, it is not a strong enough parent that can provide the structure or consistency or the nurturing to maintain a safe environment conducive to learning, whether it is appropriate social skills or encouraging academic achievement or otherwise. I think the second is accessibility of things out there in your particular community. The community out there, when you are in a depressed location, there are other factors to deal with,” (Current special-ed teacher/former outreach worker in a rural area).

“Because parents are unable to supervise they do not see half of what is going on and when they do hear something after the fact: one, there is not much they can do about it but two, they get overly angry and try to deal with the situation that way. Parents are, I do not want to say naïve, but they think the kids are doing what they are telling them to do and that is really not the case,” (Urban at-risk counselor/teacher).

In addition, family remains very important and can supersede any school or job responsibilities. Even when family is very troubled, youth must show loyalty to them. This impedes youth’s ability to plan or see a future.

“Their sense of self comes very much from the family. So, in some way, for a youth from a family with a troubled history to look for themselves for a different path, is a rejection of the family,” (Rural special education teacher).

Samoa culture and delinquency

When speaking particularly to gender differences in Samoan delinquent youth, interviewees claimed that culture plays a key role. For boys, Samoan pressure to conform may lead the boys on a path away from academic success and one toward delinquency. In comparison, Samoan girls resist traditional gender Samoan culture/values that may lead them to have less freedom than their brothers, more supervision, and more burdensome family caretaking responsibilities. As girls want what their brothers have in terms of freedom, consequent status offense (such as running away and curfew violations), self-injurious behaviors, more risk-taking activities (such as drug use), and simple assaults occur. Several interviewees explicate this theme:

“Another issue....kids outright rejecting their culture... Now there are several girls that I have worked with in school have talked very negatively about being Samoan, they do not want anything to do with being Samoan. I think it is traditional values (that they are resisting), being the mom and taking care of the family and that kind of stuff...Some of the Samoan girls are some of the ones who are getting more aggressive,” (Urban former outreach worker/current school counselor for girls).

“It’s just dealing with their home, because a lot of girls have, they’re, they’re the ones who gotta take, especially older girls, yeah? They gotta take care of the house, they gotta take care of younger siblings, they gotta take care of everybody. It’s their job. The girls have a lot of home responsibility, which a lot of times they get really resentful,” (Teen project coordinator in urban housing project).

“In some situations, the mother will be a single parents and have too high of expectations and will be too hard on the girl and will not give her freedom, will want her to be home all the time.....not having boyfriends, and maybe see a suicide attempt there that will bring her into the system,” (School psychologist, rural).

Other interviewees discuss how this family environment can lead girls to escape by “acting out like boys”:

“I know that girls are getting into fights not just in school, but in the community. They have own gangs and mix kava (like boys),” (Project coordinator in rural Hawaii).

“The girls are very open and bold. What I mean by bold is the way they dress, the way they look, how opinionated they have become in comparison to when I was growing up. They’re very aggressive and assertive. We come from a culture where women are, they don’t come up to the forefront. They don’t assert themselves. They are more in the back. It’s all seems to be in a cultural sense,” (Polynesian case manager in an urban youth offender program).

Speaking specifically about Samoan boys, one interviewee illustrates the need to fit in, sometimes to one’s own detriment:

“The Samoan culture, I’m wondering to some degree whether it plays here, that you don’t want to stick it out, no matter how talented you are, you still want to travel with the pack, you’ll accept recognition here and there and then you do something to make yourself less noticeable, make yourself more mediocre. So, if you’re athletic you stand out and you get this MVP award, you do something stupid and people go, ‘yeah, I knew it’ you know, it’s just you’re part of a crowd, and then you’re not sticking out completely. We talked to some about going to Iolani and they shake it off, “No, I want to go to Farrington,” (Samoan outreach worker, urban housing project).

Case file illustration of aforementioned themes:

Pam is a 14-year-old Polynesian girl who has history of running away, third degree assault, and abuse of family member. She has been in detention three times for running away and curfew violations. She has a history of academic failure, ADHD, and depressive disorders. When she was younger, her dad died, and while her mother contends she was never close to him, Pam cites this event as very traumatic in her life. In an apology letter to her mother, she explains that her running away (the offense that brought her to detention) is in response to having limited freedom and too many family responsibilities.

Delinquency, sexual exploitation, and survival strategies

Girls' delinquent activities reflect their place in the home, school, and community. Girls' delinquency more often includes shoplifting things they feel are needed to maintain appearance, breaking curfew/truancy/running away occasionally due to boyfriends, and simple "assault" on household members when they are not allowed to leave house.

"Girls maybe shoplift but they are not going to break in or they are not going to steal a car as often as boys are. In terms of substance abuse, they maybe are not going to be selling drugs, that has typically not been an issue. Girls get placed in residential placements due to suicidal behavior, running away, emotionally acting out, whereas boys seem to (get placed) because they get busted for doing things like stealing cars and selling drugs," (Psychologist, rural school).

For girls, sex and associations with older men serve as unhealthy escapes and survival strategies. Older boyfriends provide what family cannot, including a "father figure," attention and material belongings. They also provide an escape from crowded and abusive households. The "payment" the girls make is a sexual one, where she leaves one abusive environment in exchange for another. Sexually transmitted diseases and pregnancy become problems. Sexual exploitation by the older boyfriend's friends and consequent drug-addiction also become problems once the girls are in that environment.

"Younger girls are cheaper. They're cheaper dates. The younger girls or young women see the older male as potentially having stuff, having the ability to buy them things they didn't grow up with or that they don't have the ability to buy on their own, you know?" (Urban housing project, youth project worker).

The families do not always frown upon girls' sexual relationships with these men and do not press charges. This may be because the older boyfriend may be a friend of the family or may live in the home and contribute to the household.

“I just heard about.....she’s 15 now and she’s gonna give birth this month by an older 30 year old guy. And she’s this sweet....she is not one of those mature 15 year olds, she’s a little girl 15 year old and it’s oh...he’s living with her family. I mean, it’s like, it’s condoned by the family. I believe this guy is contributing to their household so of course the parents are not gonna, you know.....” (Project coordinator, housing project).

Another outreach worker explained that in some areas, especially the jobless, isolated areas in Hawaii, teenage girls in the family become an economic commodity: An unintended consequence of new welfare limits makes a family addition (teenage girl’s baby) a way to continue receiving much-needed government assistance. Once the girls run away to the streets, sex becomes a way to secure a place to stay as well as to get money, such as with prostituting and fronting goods for the pimp.

“You know the safety, having someone to call your boyfriend. I am sure it is where he takes care of her and she would do what he wanted and it was not a healthy relationship...They are hooking up with the guys that are going to take care of them, where she loses all her power and control because he becomes very dominating and very controlling and it makes me mad. That is the one thing on the streets that makes me rage, you know, I cannot believe that I am watching this, this really bright young lady who is just being totally manipulated and controlled,” (Urban outreach worker, about girls on the street).

Case file example:

Penny is a 16-year-old Part-Hawaiian female with a history of depression with self-injurious behavior. She has a history of running away, truancy, probation revocation, and polysubstance abuse for 2 years. She made a suicide attempt after her boyfriend began seeing a new girl. She lives with her biological dad and step mom, abandoned by mom recently due to mother’s drug problem and physically abusive boyfriend. She reports her father normally disciplines all the children with physical abuse. After her mother abandoned her last year (due to her mother’s ongoing drug problem), she went to live with her father, stepmother, and 3 other siblings in a studio apartment. She sneaks

out of the house to see her older boyfriend, committing probation violations when she does. She is sexually active with her boyfriend (and his friends) and uses “ice” when with him. Because her continuous drug use and status offenses, she was sent to HYCF until she was placed in a therapeutic group home on Kauai.

For boys, gender also matters. Delinquency takes the form of “masculinity” challenges and displays—ways to show bravado—as explained by a couple of interviewees.

“I think boys do more daring types of crimes. I can give you an example of a group [of boys] here at [high school]. At the time there was really high graffiti, and the boys would talk about where they went, they went up to a water tower up the Pali and they would go on this bridge and they would try to outdo each other. The girls were not really into it,” (School counselor in rural Oahu).

“The boys are so much more willing to lash out, I mean, you will see the things in the community that the boys will do, you know, they’ll vandalize, they’ll do graffiti, they’re more willing to try drugs, they’re more, you know, willing to take those risks out there,” (Urban housing project, youth project worker).

Once boys run away, their delinquency is also “gendered.” Boys more often steal backpacks, take wallets from tourists, rob, and sell drugs. Because boys need such resources to trade for places to stay, more boys stay in emergency shelters than do girls, explained one former outreach worker. Girls, on the other hand, use medical services more often. “This is to maintain their appearance as they get older because girls on the street are getting younger and younger,” explained one former outreach worker.

For boys, younger girlfriends that can be easily manipulated and passed around are status symbols. Sex becomes a way to gain status within their peer group. One counselor working with at-risk and adjudicated youth stated that one masculinity challenge for boys is to see how many girls they can get pregnant. Sexual risk-taking behavior also ends up with young fatherhood problems.

“A lot of young fathers because they don’t have any economic resources, they move in with the girl’s family and feel disempowered. Where do they go after that? It’s safe to say that it feels less manly to move in with the girlfriend’s family,” (Project coordinator for at-risk boys program, former Waikiki outreach worker).

While some boys prostitute in Waikiki, this is not as common as with the girls. When boys do, it can be stigmatizing and problematic, once they end up in Detention.

Case file example:

Manny is a 15-year-old Filipino boy who has a history of criminal property damage, abuse of family members, “ice” [crystal methamphetamine] use, running away, and prostitution. Parents are from Philippines, married, with average income and some college background. Manny admits feeling like he has little in common with his parents. He “admittedly is homosexual and appears to have difficulty in dealing with others who do not accept him.” He fights with family members, and this gets him arrested. Manny said he likes to dress up as a woman. While in DH, Manny admits to feeling threatened because he is outwardly gay.

Rural versus urban delinquency

As plantations closed in rural Hawaii communities, consequent informal social control and positive relations also dissolved. Living with desperate living conditions, high unemployment, communities experienced an increase in joblessness, drug and alcohol use, and less friendly relations. One police officer explained that the land that was once used by youth to hunt and hike was replaced by developed gated homes. The land and their activities were taken away. As idleness, the lack of opportunities increased, and geographic isolation became problematic, so did the resulting breakdown in traditional values, crime and delinquency in these areas.

“I have one student who is literally five miles away from where the bus picks her up. There is no lighting, there are no paved roads, dirt road with lots of potholes, and to get to the bus stop, her mother does not have a car, so she has to walk. And I give her a lot of credit when she actually shows up,” (Special education teacher in a rural area).

“The youth today are more aggressive as opposed to assertive. A lot are non-compliant to adult authority.....so I think respect, a Hawaiian value, hui’i, goes a long way and I do not see it evident in the school system today,” (Teacher in a rural community).

Partly out of idleness, partly out of economic desperation, boys steal cars, sell drugs, and commit other types of delinquent and criminal acts.

“One big problem we faced in Wahiawa area was that a lot of these youngsters used to work in the pineapple fields in the summer. Maybe 50 percent did. But Dole went into long term kind of fruit. Now, when they go into year long harvest, they do not need to hire the kids in June, July, and August, so that cut down on the kind of work they kids did,” (Outreach worker in a rural area).

The geographic isolation also becomes problematic once the juveniles are placed on probation. As one juvenile probation officer explained, “you cannot put kids on probation with mandatory intensive drug treatment when those services are not available [in their communities].” It is difficult for juveniles in rural areas to complete their probation when the nearest services can be up to an hour away, and parents have no way of taking them there.

In urban areas, there also exist similar strains of poverty, but instead of geographic isolation, social isolation and overcrowded competitive environments are more problematic. In addition, while some areas in rural Hawaii cannot receive cell phone reception and some homes run on generators, urban communities have to deal with impact of technology. One social worker explained that cell phones lend themselves to more delinquency—a juvenile can say they are in one place but actually be in another. Technology leads to a faster paced culture, a demand for immediate gratification, combined with a socioeconomic status that does not lend itself to legitimate avenues for success.

“Parents work a few jobs and make money to provide kids all this expensive stuff they are not ready for and kids do not have the work ethic. That they did not earn themselves

and therefore it means nothing and then they just want more and more. And they are getting more and more out of control and the parents are trying to control them by giving them more stuff,” (Outreach worker in an urban area).

“I think youth in the past could have more delayed gratification, could set more long term goals and work toward those goals. I think now with everything being at such a fast pace, a lot of our students have a hard time setting long term goals. It is more ‘I want this right now’ so it is harder I think for them because they are so used to getting things so instantaneously so it is harder to think ten years down the line,” (Teacher, rural area).

Case file example:

Kenny was raised by his older uncle who adopted him after natural mother gave him up at 3-weeks old. His uncle admits to giving him everything, except discipline, to compensate for being abandoned. Kenny has a history of criminal property damage, running away, and fourth degree theft. He went to California to live with his aunt (currently divorced from his uncle), but “oppositional defiant” behavior caused his aunt to send him back to Hawaii. His uncle calls the police frequently when Kenny misbehaves. His last offense, punching a wall when he was angry, sent him to detention on a criminal property damage offense.

Conclusion

The pathways to boys’ and girls’ delinquency vary in several ways. Both boys and girls experience challenges in their communities and home lives. Overall, girls’ histories more frequently include sexual abuse and assault, unhealthy relationships with older boyfriends, oppressive family environments, and psychological problems, with such problems frequently diagnosed as depression and bipolar disorder. For boys, peer group dynamics that require them to “prove” how brave and tough they can be appear to be a main feature of their delinquency. Academic failure, mental health problems such as Attention Deficit Disorder, and troubled families are also a part of boys’ delinquency.

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CHAPTER IV
GENDER SPECIFIC PROGRAMMING

By Amy Joy Matsen

“Gender-specific programs let me know that even in a man’s world, a lot can be accomplished by women, and someday it might not be a man’s world.”

--Participant, Harriet Tubman Residential Center

Introduction

This chapter addresses the need for gender-specific programming in youth correctional facilities and residential treatment centers. Girls are almost always invisible when programs for delinquency are created. Currently, treatment for juvenile offenders is primarily developed using information from studies with all male samples (Thompson, 2002). This chapter focuses on six different programs nationwide that are excellent models of what gender-specific programming should look like. The chapter concludes with recommendations and additional resources for girl-focused programming in Hawaii.

Gender-Sensitive Programming

Girls entering the juvenile justice system often find themselves placed in programs that were created for delinquent boys (Marks, 1999; Bloom, 2001). Male delinquents have more privileges, more space, more equipment and better treatment than their female counterparts (Bloom, 2001). Many policy makers have struggled for gender *equality* in juvenile delinquency treatment programs. Because of the stereotype that young female offenders are less dangerous than boys, specific needs go unaddressed. Such specific needs include programs addressing sexual abuse, battering, teenage pregnancy, single parenthood, and disparities in educational, vocational, and employment opportunities (Bloom, 2001).

Kathy E. Fejes and Darcy Miller in, “*Assessing Gender-Specific Programming for Juvenile Female Offenders: Creating Ownership, Voice, and Growth*,” suggests the following 11 components for excellence in programming for juvenile female offenders: 1) provide emotional and physical safety 2) be culturally appropriate 3) be relationship-based 4) provide positive female role models and mentors 5) address the abuse in girls’

lives 6) be strength-based, not deficit-based 7) address sexuality, including pregnancy and parenting 8) provide equitable educational and vocational opportunities 9) address the unique health needs of females, including nutritional concerns and regular physical activity 10) nurture the spiritual lives of participants; and lastly, 11) involve individual members of girls' families. The highest priority of all these components should be in providing emotional and physical safety through strength-based programs, and addressing abuse in girls' lives (Fejes and Miller, 2002).

Programs should work to empower girls and advocate for change that would benefit them (Chesney-Lind, 2001). This not only means building on girls' innate strengths, creativity, and skills to develop their abilities to assert themselves and empower their voices, but also to challenge and identify the barriers that girls—marginalized girls in particular—face (Chesney-Lind, 2001). Gender-specific programs must always be culturally-specific, since a staggering increase of minority girls are being drawn into the juvenile justice system and it is clear that minority girls have different experiences (Chesney-Lind, 2001). In addition, programming must take place in a safe environment that is conducive to a therapeutic change process (Bloom, 2001).

Effective girls' programming should address/include the following: (not in order of importance)

- ? Physical and sexual abuse (from parents/relatives, boyfriends, pimps, and others)
- ? Pregnancy and motherhood
- ? Specific cultural resources
- ? Safe environment for open communication
- ? Anger management
- ? Individual therapy and counseling/ mental health treatment
- ? Sexual health education, including risk of HIV/AIDS
- ? Drug and alcohol dependency
- ? Unemployment and employment training
- ? Structured recreation and organized sports
- ? Mentorship programs

- ? Gang intervention
- ? Self-empowerment skills/life skills training
- ? Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender (GLBT) programs and support groups
- ? Positive ethnic and gender identity programs
- ? Leadership development classes
- ? Women's Studies curriculum
- ? Group therapy
- ? Family and friendship development/intervention

Effective boys' programming should address/include the following: (not in order of importance)

- ? Physical and sexual abuse
- ? Sexual education, pregnancy, risk of STDs/HIV/AIDS
- ? Young fatherhood
- ? Specific cultural resources
- ? Teen parenting
- ? Individual therapy and counseling
- ? Drug and alcohol dependency
- ? Anger management
- ? Gang intervention
- ? Life skills training
- ? Family/friendship development/intervention
- ? Victim awareness/Sex offender treatment
- ? Life/Employability skills
- ? Positive ethnic and gender identity programs

Addressing Sexual Orientation

Sexuality is a significant issue that should also be frequently explored in juvenile justice institutions but unfortunately is not. Vitka Lee Eisen (2002) explores issues surrounding juvenile delinquents in social institutions who are marginalized for sexual non-conformity---gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender youth. For youth-serving programs that are committed to supporting diverse adolescents, a challenge remains to dismantle dominant ideologies that restrict the ability to create safe environments where girls and boys can explore their identities (Eisen, 2002). Many lesbian and gay youth face tremendous prejudice, harassment, and abuse while in the criminal justice system (Eisen, 2002). During Eisen’s research at the Emerson Center Adolescent Program, she found that staff believed that if girls (more so than boys) were to discuss their bisexuality, other youth were more likely to identify as bisexual as well. Unfortunately, staff represented talking about bisexuality as a contagion, capable of spreading (Eisen, 2002). Gay and bisexual boys experience isolation, endure homophobic slurs, and are in danger of victimization because of their non-conformist sexuality. Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender (GLBT) groups and other support services should be made available to boys and girls while in residential treatment. Eisen suggests that the staff must be aware of their own homophobic attitudes and issues around homosexuality. They must learn how to validate, not shame, youth’s feelings of desire in order to help them as they explore identity, subjectivity, sexuality, and gender, while advancing a gay and lesbian friendly agenda into their environment.

Promising Gender-Specific Programs

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention’s article “*Guiding Principles for Promising Female Programming*” highlights the most effective gender-specific programs in the nation. The following programs are prime examples of what gender-specific programming should look like, and hopefully ones that can be replicated and developed here in Hawaii.¹⁸

¹⁸ State and non-profit agencies in Hawaii have worked to provide girls’ programming and continue to seek opportunities for funding to implement programs modeled after those deemed effective, e.g., Florida’s P.A.C.E. The Office of Youth Services has

Alternative Rehab Communities (ARC)
Harrisburg, PA

The Alternative Rehab Communities (ARC) is a staff-secure residential treatment facility that offers care for girls from 15 to 18 years of age. The ARC opened the Zimmerman Home for Girls in 1981 in response to the Department of Probation's indication that girls lacked resources and options within the juvenile justice system. The staff at the Zimmerman home is all-female (approximately 75 percent African-American, 25 percent Caucasian) who undergo intense, formal, gender-specific training sessions eight weeks prior to working with the girls (OJJDP, 1998).

The girls at the Zimmerman home have various juvenile records and have faced serious risk factors such as substance abuse, dysfunctional families, educational difficulties, gang affiliation, physical and sexual abuse, involvement with older males, and repeated running away (OJJDP, 1998). The girls complete an interview prior to entering the home in order to assess their readiness and willingness in the program and are encouraged to develop their own treatment plan (OJJDP, 1998). Issues related to the individual, family, and school are addressed with specific treatment needs assessed first followed by the development of an individualized treatment program (OJJDP, 1998). Parents are invited to treatment planning meetings and are allowed supervised weekly visits (OJJDP, 1998).

There are many life skills that are targeted for the girls' development. Vocational and technical schools provide girls with twice-weekly career training (in fields ranging from auto repair, to the culinary arts, and cosmetology). Academic skills are addressed in onsite education where girls can work at their own pace. Curriculum includes cultural programming and Women's Studies (OJJDP, 1998). Recreational activities include field trips, basketball, and aerobics (OJJDP, 1998). The program also encourages the development of positive interpersonal skills, conflict resolution, parenting skills (for expectant teen mothers), self-esteem and emotional aspects, personal hygiene, assertiveness and values clarification (OJJDP, 1998). Treatment involves individual

provided support and technical assistance to these efforts to advance girls programming and should be contacted for updated information on what is available.

counseling each day (to address victimization, parenting, substance abuse) that include specific aftercare plans for each girl's needs such as foster care and reintegration into the community (OJJDP, 1998). There are specialized treatment programs at the Zimmerman house for rape, sexual and physical abuse survivors. Offender treatment is provided for female abusers and sex offenders and case management is supervised by a staff psychologist (OJJDP, 1998).

Contact information:

Alternative Rehab Communities (The Zimmerman Home for Girls)

2600 Woodlawn St.
Harrisburg, PA
17111

(717) 561-1611

Caritas House for Girls
Pawtucket, Rhode Island

The Caritas House is a long-term residential treatment center with gender-specific services for girls, 13 to 17 years old and is funded by Rhode Island Department of Health (OJJDP, 1998). It is the oldest gender-specific treatment facility in the country and primarily focuses on substance abuse. In addition to the Caritas House, the Corkery House was opened in 1994 to serve young male substance abusers in Richmond, Rhode Island (OJJDP, 1998). Although Caritas House targets girls who are seriously abusing drugs and alcohol, the staff holistically views each girl's experience as part of the dynamic context of total life circumstances, meaning they develop a treatment plan that is based on each girl's specific needs (OJJDP, 1998).

Twenty percent of the girls at Caritas House are African-American and the rest are Caucasian (OJJDP, 1998). Girls are typically referred by the juvenile court and the Department of Children and Youth Services (OJJDP, 1998). Sexual abuse and substance abuse risk factors are specifically targeted. Staff is specifically trained to help girls deal with histories of emotional and psychological abuse and girls that have a lesbian or bisexual orientation (OJJDP, 1998). Girls progress through three stages of treatment: awareness, transition, and community living. They are taught to recognize their strengths, communicate their needs, settle differences, and form healthy relationships that

will help them positively connect to others and the world around them (OJJDP, 1998). Families are encouraged to participate in the recovery process through group therapy and relapse prevention programs (OJJDP, 1998). The Caritas House also provides follow-up support and structured aftercare to help ease the transition into community living (OJJDP, 1998).

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02860

(401) 722-4644
www.caritasri.org

Lynn H. Bertram (Director)

Harriet Tubman Residential Center
Auburn, NY

The Harriet Tubman Residential Center is a “step-down” facility (between secure and group home) for girls who are considered first-time offenders (status offenders, minor assaults) (OJJDP, 1998). This home is funded by the New York State Division for Youth and holds up to 25 girls from 15 to 18 years of age (OJJDP, 1998). The ethnic composition changes, but is approximately 40 percent African-American, 35 percent Caucasian, and 25 percent Hispanic American (OJJDP, 1998). The Tubman Center incorporates education with therapy by teaching girls about the accomplishments of women in history and girls come to understand that they possess the power and self-determination to reach their own goals (OJJDP, 1998). The Women’s Studies curriculum teaches girls to overcome sexist messages and take pride in their gender (OJJDP, 1998). There is a resource center that is stocked with more than 1,000 biographical files, books, and videos that teach girls about inspirational women of diverse cultures who have overcome social resistance and other obstacles throughout history (OJJDP, 1998).

The staff includes three men and nine women, who receive 10 hours of gender-specific training before they begin working and at least 120 hours of additional training during the first year of employment (OJJDP, 1998). When girls arrive at the Tubman Center, they are under close supervision and are granted few privileges (OJJDP, 1998).

Treatment is individualized, but the following issues are almost always addressed: unstable home environments, poor bonding, depression, physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional abuse, domestic violence, family history of criminal involvement and substance abuse, anger, and negative peer relationships (OJJDP, 1998). Additional treatment components include a program called “*Adelante*” (addresses victimization issues, abuse awareness and personal empowerment), anger management, conflict resolution, independent living skills, and stress management (OJJDP, 1998). As the girls move through the highly structured environment, they earn more freedom by reaching their personal goals and receive individual and group counseling, peer support, and case management (OJJDP, 1998).

Contact Information:

Harriet Tubman Residential Center

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Inez Nieves-Evans (Director)

P.A.C.E. Centers for Girls

Jacksonville, FL

The Practical Academic Cultural Education (P.A.C.E.) Center for girls is a day treatment program offering comprehensive prevention, early intervention, and high school education for girls from 12 to 18 years of age who are considered at risk of delinquency (OJJDP, 1998). There are 19 P.A.C.E. center locations throughout Florida and they are funded by the Department of Juvenile Justice (OJJDP, 1998). P.A.C.E. opened in 1985 as an alternative to incarceration or institutionalization of delinquent girls (OJJDP, 1998). Each center offers a fully accredited high school program; the founders believe that education is the key to helping girls envision a positive future for them and overcome family dysfunction and life challenges (OJJDP, 1998).

The majority of staff members are female and during their first year, they must participate in 120 hours of training (OJJDP, 1998). Gender-specific adolescent issues make up 60 percent of staff training and each P.A.C.E. Center employs clinicians, teacher

advisors, and social workers (OJJDP, 1998). A girl can be referred to P.A.C.E. by juvenile court, teachers, family members, or others (OJJDP, 1998). Most girls have been exposed to a number of risk factors for delinquency, such as physical and sexual abuse (70 percent), and drug and alcohol abuse (65 percent) (OJJDP, 1998). Sixty-one percent of girls have committed status offenses and 75 percent of girls live at or below the poverty line (OJJDP, 1998). Each girl is assigned an advisor who is on-call 24 hours a day and home visits are granted at least once a month to encourage family participation in the client's treatment (OJJDP, 1998). Girls attend P.A.C.E. classes for six hours a day for five days each week and also participate in community service projects, group therapy, and individual counseling (OJJDP, 1998). Girls learn to appreciate cultural differences, use correct language, make healthy choices regarding sexual activity, drugs, alcohol, and nutrition, career awareness and planning, and learn to solve problems peacefully (OJJDP, 1998).

Through the P.A.C.E. program, girls develop positive relationships, decision-making skills, and a strong self-esteem. Girls complete the program by becoming ready to return to traditional school or by finishing their high school education at the center (OJJDP, 1998). Transitional support and services continue for up to three years after girls leave the PACE program (OJJDP, 1998).

Contact Information:

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2933 University Blvd. North
Jacksonville, FL
32211

(904) 448-8002

Website: www.pacecenter.org/Jax.htm

Lynn H. Bertram (Director)

Life Givers
Fairbanks, Alaska

Life Givers is a residential treatment program for Native American girls, ages 13 to 18, who are parenting or pregnant and who are recovering from substance abuse (usually alcoholism) (OJJDP, 1998). This program is funded by the Center for Substance Abuse Treatment and the State of Alaska (OJJDP, 1998). Life Givers was founded in

1994 in response to an alarming increase in teen pregnancy rates and Fetal Alcohol Syndrome and Fetal Alcohol Affect in infants (OJJDP, 1998). The holistic treatment program is guided by the theory that *culture is healing*. It encourages girls' resiliency and strength and promotes their spiritual, emotional, mental, and physical health. In addition, it gives them a life philosophy, a support system, and a new lens through which they can view the world (OJJDP, 1998). Fathers are also encouraged to participate in the treatment program.

The all-female staff is required to complete a nine-month self-study course on addictions, gender-specific issues related to female adolescence, substance abuse, parenting, child care, and other topics (OJJDP, 1998). Staff positions include data specialists, teachers, treatment coordinators, nurse educators, child care specialists, night monitors, and mental health specialists (OJJDP, 1998). Most girls that enter the program are pregnant or already parenting, have a history of sexual and/or physical abuse, and are struggling with substance abuse addictions (OJJDP, 1998). Intake begins with an assessment and detoxification and then the girls move through four program phases, each of which is embedded in Native traditions and values (OJJDP, 1998). "New Beginnings" focuses on chemical abuse to recovery, "Balancing" focuses on holistic health, "Family and Community Connections" integrates the father of the child and other family members into the treatment process, and "Sobriety Support" plans for long-term sobriety and relapse prevention (OJJDP, 1998).

Girls focus on cultural history, cultural awareness and cultural diversity by developing intergenerational relationships with Alaskan Native Elders during regular meetings (OJJDP, 1998). Specific issues targeted for development include personal responsibility, parenting skills, goal setting and planning skills, time management, social, life, and vocational skills, health education (including family planning, relationships, and sexuality), and prenatal and postpartum care (OJJDP, 1998). Each participant has individual and group therapy and case management is ongoing (OJJDP, 1998). Infants and toddlers also receive individual development planning, health screenings, well-baby care, and day care (OJJDP, 1998). Follow-up continues for one year and extensive aftercare services are provided for relapse prevention (OJJDP, 1998).

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Life Givers
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(907)452-1274
Toll Free: 1-888-797-1274
Website: www.ptialaska.net/~fnalife/lgweb
Contact: Valerie Naquin

Girls and Boys Town U.S.A.
Staff-Secured Detention Program for Female Juvenile Offenders
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Girls and Boys Town U.S.A. in Philadelphia, created in 1996, is a staff-secure detention home with individualized programs for girls ages 11 to 18 who are waiting for placement by the juvenile court (OJJDP, 1998). Previously known as Boys Town, 80 years ago the program began serving homeless and delinquent boys. In 1979, Boys Town began serving girls and in 1988, gender-specific programming was implemented in order to meet the unique needs of girls (OJJDP, 1998). Here, girls are encouraged to learn about themselves in relation to others, while celebrating their own uniqueness and individuality.

The staff at the Girls and Boys Town U.S.A. is predominately female and male staff members never spend time alone with female clients (OJJDP, 1998). New staff members undergo 120 hours of training before service (OJJDP, 1998). One-third of all training revolves around gender-specific issues such as: attention deficit disorder and hyperactivity in girls, female hygiene and sexual education, pregnancy prevention, eating disorders, sexual acting out, and depression (OJJDP, 1998). More than 90 percent of the girls are members of minority groups and they usually face multiple charges (probation violation and person offenses) (OJJDP, 1998).

Holistic treatment begins at intake, when each girl receives an individual treatment plan that is based on her specific needs, focusing on long and short term goals and life skills (OJJDP, 1998). Group and individual counseling is incorporated which focuses on specific female issues such as self-esteem and victimization (OJJDP, 1998). Reintegration into the community is the key focus of programming and treatment. Sessions with a “family interventionist” focuses on behavioral counseling and problem

solving (OJJDP, 1998). Life skills are also targeted at the home, which include social skills, personal hygiene, communication, anger management, goal setting, independent living, and self care (OJJDP, 1998). Girls also participate in career counseling, academic classes, onsite recreation, and field trips (OJJDP, 1998). Follow-up and aftercare is provided for up to six months after completion of the program (OJJDP, 1998).

Contact Information:

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Salma S. Choudhury (Director)

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The previous programs recognize the risk and protective factors that are most likely to affect girls. They build positive gender identity development and help adolescents avoid future delinquent behavior. In terms of current programs and policies, the juvenile justice system does not tend to identify and address the specific needs of young women (Bloom, 2001). While there is some overlap between the life circumstances of female and male delinquents, gender-based differences should be taken into consideration by researchers, policymakers, and practitioners here in Hawaii. Extensive research has proven that girls and boys travel different pathways to delinquency. These pathways can be articulated through further analysis and research, as well as the development and implementation of model programs incorporating gender-responsive approaches (Bloom, 2001). When treatment programs are created with the important differences between girls and boys in mind, we can create highly effective interventions and reduce juvenile delinquency (Thompson, 2002).

Lessons for Hawaii

There is a pressing need for programs in Hawaii to specifically address girls' needs. Based on the research previously discussed in this report as well as our review of the aforementioned promising initiatives, the following are suggested components for girl-focused programs in Hawaii.

1) **Comprehensive mental health treatment.** In Hawaii, histories of depression, especially suicidal ideation and self-mutilation, and sexual abuse have been reported common among chronic female juvenile offenders. Nationally, female juvenile offenders are almost twice as likely to report clinically significant levels of depressive disorders as well as significant traumatic experiences (Trupin, Stewart, Beach and Boesky, 2002). Therefore, girl-specific programs must address such issues and give girls free and comfortable space to discuss prior victimization, especially sexual victimization. These programs should deal with the consequent dearth of appropriate and healthy life skills and problem solving techniques that follow. Effective mental health treatment should also address addiction, physical abuse, neglect, and family problems and the harmful behaviors that can result from traumatic experiences in their homes (e.g. self-harm and self-destructive substance use).

2) **Healthy relationship building.** Data indicate that female juvenile offenders' networks are almost exclusively comprised of older males acting as "protectors" and sexual partners. Girls in treatment and in the juvenile justice system often emphasize sexuality in their discussions of relationships and this can create difficulty in developing friendships with other girls (Riehman, Bluthenthal, Juvonen, and Morral, 2003). Because our research yields similar findings, a component of programming for female juvenile offenders must address healthy relationships and sexual exploitation. Girls' programming should find creative ways for girls to build upon their inner strength, fortify their self-esteem, encourage independence, and educate girls on the dynamics of maintaining meaningful inter- and intra-gender relationships. Included in relationship-building should be sexual education that includes such topics as safe sex practices, STDs, and young motherhood/pregnancy.

3) **Educational and occupational support.** Academic failure and lack of employment options and opportunities are also factors in girls' delinquency. Adequate educational and occupational training can help girls develop a sense of efficacy and empowerment (Chesney-Lind, 2001). It can also help them tackle other life problems, such as inadequate income and housing. In addition, many at-risk girls may engage in delinquent behavior simply because there is little else to occupy their free time (Chesney-

Lind, 2001). Providing academic and occupational support can address the issue of idleness in these girls' lives.

4) **Cultural sensitivity.** Minority overrepresentation occurs at all stages of the juvenile justice system. Minority youth are treated more severely, and minority drug offenders in particular are at increased risk of formal handling, detention, and custody placement (Belenko, Sprott, and Petersen, 2004). Increased attention is needed to implement effective treatment programs that draw on culturally specific resources within the community.

5) **Alternatives to detention and incarceration.** For some girls in the juvenile justice, home life is characterized by poverty, divorce, parental death, abandonment, alcoholism, and frequent abuse. Delinquency becomes a survival strategy. Returning home may not be an option for these girls, and detention and incarceration leaves them feeling angry, distrustful, and resentful of "being punished" for their troubled families (Chesney-Lind, 2001; Weiler, 1999). Alternatives to "punishment" that allow for girls to address the previously mentioned problems in their lives is therefore encouraged.

Previous Research and Additional Resources

For further research and more detail on gender-specific programming and female delinquency, please refer to reports of the Hawaii Girls Project, Volumes 1 through 6. Meda Chesney-Lind was the Principal Investigator for all six reports, from 1998 to 2000. Volume 1 (1997), *Girls at Risk: An Overview of Female Delinquency in the Fiftieth State* addresses local and national trends in girls' arrests, violence, delinquency, and gang membership, and also looks at girls within Hawaii youth facilities. Volume 2 (1998), *Girls at Risk: An Overview of Gender-Specific Programming Issues and Initiatives* suggests ideas towards building a Hawaii State plan of services for girls and offers profiles of local and national programs for girls. Volume 3 (1998), *Issues of Gender and Ethnicity Among At-Risk Youth in Hawaii: Identity, Ethnic Relations, Aspirations, and Self-Esteem* specifically addresses ethnic relations, conflicts, stereotypes, and self-esteem issues with girls in Hawaii. Volume 4 (1999), *Working With Girls: Exploring Practitioner Issues, Experiences and Feelings* focuses on specific issues among girls and youth workers. Volume 5 (2000), *Programs Matter: Girls' Offenses and Gender Specific*

Programming in Hawaii centers on girls in Hawaii with the most serious problems: those held at the Hawaii Youth Correctional Facility, most of whom are runaways. This volume carefully reviews why running away has specific meanings for girls. It also proposes a culturally appropriate program for Native Hawaiian girls at risk of entry into the juvenile justice system. Volume 6 (2000), *Ho'omohala I Na Pua: A Gender Specific and Culture Based Program for Native Hawaiian Girls* suggests a Native Hawaiian approach to the juvenile justice system, focusing on healing rather than punishment.

Volume 6 proposes a gender-specific *and* culturally based program for Native Hawaiian girls. Girls in Hawaii that are held in detention need programs that are culturally grounded and that empower them to realize their voice within their community and in determining their own future. The *Ho'omohala I Na Pua* program proposal considers how culture drives Native Hawaiian epistemology and how culture functions as a protective factor. The primary goal of the proposed program is to restore female adolescent self-esteem and self-identity. It suggests using conventional programs, such as addiction and abuse counseling and anger management, but complementing them with Native Hawaiian practices, traditions, and customs for Native Hawaiian girls[,] such as Hi'u Wai, a purification ceremony performed at the sea shore. (Refer to Volume 6 of the Hawaii Girls Project for further details.)

Conclusion

Since girls currently account for a high percentage of those we arrest in Hawaii (43.2 percent in 2003), compared to mainland juvenile arrests rates, there is clearly a need to move beyond the needs assessment stage to the program development stage. We have ample evidence that girls in Hawaii face both the same challenges as their counterparts on the mainland, while also negotiating some challenges unique to the islands (such as a tourist economy and its particular crime challenges). Specifically, a tourist related economy creates many “grey” and even legitimate sectors where young women are vulnerable to sexual exploitation. Hawaii’s long standing prostitution problem also involves bar scenes and other sexually oriented businesses that often

produce seemingly lucrative opportunities for young girls, only to expose them to drug use, sexual abuse, and other forms of marginalization (Chesney-Lind and Rodriguez, 1983; Pasko, 2002) All these challenges call for a special and high level focus on the unique problems of girlhood in Hawaii, and it is in this direction that the state must head.

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Appendix A
Interviewee Protocol

Personal experience:

For what type of agency (social service, school, law enforcement, juvenile justice, or other) do you work? _____

What is your current position? What past positions have you had working with delinquent or at-risk youth?

How many years of experience do you have in your current position? In your past ones?

Differences in boys and girls and delinquency:

Describe the differences you notice among the boys and girls you see. Different crimes committed? Different needs? Different risks?

What do you feel are the major reasons girls become delinquent? What are the major reasons for boys? How do boys and girls differ in the types of crimes they commit?

Without giving any names, can you illustrate some of the points you mentioned through your own experiences with the youth you have encountered? Can you give a “typical” story of a girl in the system? Of a boy?

Drugs:

Describe the role of drugs in youth’s pathway to delinquency. How does it differ for boys and girls?

Gangs:

What about the role of gangs? How does gang membership differ for boys and girls? How has gang membership changed over the past few years? Do you believe the number of gangs have increased, decreased, or stayed the same over the past ten years? How have gangs changed: More violent or less? More drug selling or less? Younger in composition? You think they are still ethnically based? If there are changes in gangs, what do you think has promoted such a change?

Changes with youth and needed changes in system:

How do youth compare today with past youth? If you have noticed changes, what do you think promoted such change?

Describe improvements you feel are needed in the system (whether it is with police, schools, Family Court, etc). Describe what you feel currently works in the system. What are your current frustrations?

Any final comments?

AGREEMENT TO PARTICIPATE

Youth Gang Project's Gender Differences and Delinquency in Hawaii

Meda Chesney-Lind, Principal Investigator, Youth Gang Project,
2424 Maile Way, Saunders 704, 956-6313

This research project focuses on the different pathways to delinquency in Hawaii's boys' and girls' lives. We are hoping to better understand the lives of youth who end up at Family Court and in Detention. Over the next six months, we are interviewing people—such as outreach workers, judges, police officers, and attorneys—who have experience with troubled youth in Hawaii. Participating in this study can potentially benefit juvenile justice response and programming in Hawaii, but no personal benefit to you can be claimed by this study. This interview will take approximately 30 minutes to one hour. We are asking permission to tape-record the interview session. Therefore, we ask that you refrain from any mention of specific names, including your own, during the interview. The things you say will not be repeated to anyone, except in the final paper, where no names or any identifying information will be used. Your responses will always be kept completely confidential and anonymous. Participation in this research project is entirely voluntary. You are free to say no and end participation in the study at any time. If you feel embarrassed or uncomfortable at any moment, you may stop the interview immediately. At this time, please ask us any concerns or questions about this interview.

I certify that I have read and that I understand the foregoing, that I have been given satisfactory answers to my inquiries concerning project procedures and other matters and that I have been advised that I am free to withdraw my consent and to discontinue participation in the project or activity at any time without prejudice.

I herewith give my consent to participate in this project with the understanding that such consent does not waive any of my legal rights; nor does it release the principal investigator of the institution or any employee or agent thereof from liability for negligence.

Signature of Participant

Date

If you cannot obtain satisfactory answers to your questions or have comments or complaints about your treatment in this study, contact: Committee on Human Studies, University of Hawaii, 2540 Maile Way, Honolulu, HI 96822. Phone (808) 956-5007. You may also reach the researcher by calling (808) 956-6313.