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A History of Programs Implemented by the Chicago Police Department within Chicago Public Schools

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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

A HISTORY OF PROGRAMS IMPLEMENTED BY THE CHICAGO POLICE
DEPARTMENT WITHIN CHICAGO PUBLIC SCHOOLS

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

PROGRAM IN CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTION

BY

STACY A. LEWIS

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

MAY 2011

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First I want to thank God for bringing me through this extraordinary experience. When it first began, I knew that acquiring a doctorate would be a challenging journey but I did not understand the type of bumps, and curves that I would encounter along the road. There were so many days that I felt like I couldn't make it but quitting was not an option. I was not only earning this degree for myself but it was for my children, husband, and family. I will become the first generation to earn a Doctoral Degree. What an amazing legacy to leave behind.

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DEDICATION

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ABSTRACT

This study provides a history of programs implemented between the Chicago Police Department within Chicago Public School, while looking at the changes in the relationship between the two between 1945 and 2005.

The research answers the following; the change in the relationship of the Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public Schools during the last half of the twentieth century, the programs that have resulted from the relationship between the Chicago Police department and Chicago Public schools, the original intent of the programs, and how did the programs evolve during this time period.

This paper takes a look at how changes in demographics of Chicago's population, employment, housing, and crime played a role in the relationship between the Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public Schools. It also focuses on the "Officer Friendly," D.A.R.E., and G.R.E.A.T. programs.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

“Build schools then; you will thus abolish ignorance, crime, and misery.”¹

Although both policing and schools were developed under different principles, over time both the police and schools formed a working relationship. Today, policing and educators have evolved into units that work in partnership and respond with collaborative programs to address issues of student safety and conduct.

Throughout the development of a modern police force and system of public education in the United States, social, economic, and political influences played a major role in their evolution. Policing in America in its earliest form – leaving it up to common citizens to keep watch over their communities – is traceable to seventeenth century colonial America. And early records trace a system of popular education back to 1635 where schools were created for the instruction and education of children.²

Policing continued to evolve to meet societal needs and transformed in response to the nature of the problems and disorder created by criminal actions. At the same time schools were also faced with these evolving crime issues. Schools were no longer only institutions of education but had to modify their role to meet societal needs and address social problems that impacted their students. Delinquent and criminal conduct did not

¹ Gabriel Compayré, *Horace Mann and the Public School of the United States*, trans. Mary D. Frost (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. Publishers, 1907), 26.

² P.A. Siljestrom, *The Educational Institutions of the United States*, trans. Frederica Rowan (London: Woodfall & Kinder, 1853), 24.

stop at the school house door. Schools looked into ways to address and curb the disruption that was putting a strain on educators, students, and instruction. By the 1980s one increasingly popular way that they adjusted their role was with the implementation of prevention programs within the schools. These programs were taught by police officers with the assistance of school administrators and staff in order to educate and address the problems among the youth that were occurring within and outside of schools.

Early on it was affirmed that although the ideas of instruction and delinquency existed as separate foundations the roles were inevitably connected. P.A. Siljestrom stated in 1853 that, “as the State has a recognized right to punish criminals, it must be supposed to have a still greater right to promote popular instruction, the best and most powerful means of preventing crime.”³

Purpose of the Study

The focus of this dissertation was to explore the programs and relationship between the Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public Schools. This study took an historical look at how the Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public Schools evolved into its current relationship between 1945 and 2005.

As populations and crime grew so did the functions of police which became more proactive and less reactive. They worked on ways to improve and prevent the continuance and reoccurrence of crime and disorder being faced by the community at large and schools in particular because as gang and drug activities spread, so too did the problem of juvenile delinquency. Schools experienced the effects of these new social

³ Ibid.

issues and they were in need of a solution. Growing juvenile crime in and out of schools led both organizations to look for ways to combat and prevent it. Although policing and schools have been associated during the twentieth century, these new issues led them into a working relationship. Programs designed to address crime, drugs, gangs, and more were put into effect as early as the 1980s. Many of the programs were implemented within police departments nationwide by the nineties. As these issues continued to change, so would the programs and their objectives.

This paper examined how changes in demographics of Chicago's population, employment, housing, and crime played a role in the relationship between the Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public Schools. Both continued to adjust collectively to meet the needs of students and goals of the programs in order to remain successful and effective. This collaboration continues to work to address the issues of today.

Methodology

The challenge of history is to recover the past and introduce it to the present.

- David Thelen, *Memory and American History*

This research used a historical documentary methodology. This method was appropriate in order to gather accurate information on the history of policing in America and establish a background in order to answer the following research questions:

1. How did the relationship of the Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public Schools change during the last half of the twentieth century?
2. What programs have resulted from the relationship between the Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public Schools?
3. What was the original intent of the programs?

4. How did the programs evolve during this time period?

Documentary research was the process used to gather and examine extensive historical data regarding the evolution of policing in Chicago. The data reintroduced events and facts of the past to give a clear image and understanding of the present role of policing. The accounts of the past served as an explanation of how and why policing evolved from different perspectives. It also provided a detailed look into what ways the Chicago Police and Chicago Public Schools evolved and how these changes resulted in a new relationship between the two. An inquiry into documents regarding this relationship revealed programs implemented between the Chicago Police and Chicago Public Schools and the overall need and focus of these programs.

Sources

An extensive number of primary sources which included Committee and Commission reports conducted on policing, schools, and crime as well as federally funded programs to research social disorder, gangs, drugs, and juvenile crimes, were referenced. Other primary and secondary documents such as newspaper articles, government documents, law enforcement and school publications, annual school reports and reports on policing, journal articles, magazines, and books were all explored. They all allowed the researcher to delve into the issues that were occurring during the last half of the twentieth century that led to the change in the relationship between the Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public Schools.

This study discussed the early relationship of the two entities but placed greater focus on the new relationship that developed in the latter half of the twentieth century and

the programs between the Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public Schools. Published documents, reports, and program materials allowed exploration of the background, content, and goals of these collaborative programs.⁴

Much of Chicago's History was from archival information reviewed at the Chicago History Museum while the Chicago Public Schools Archival Department assisted in gathering information about Chicago Public Schools. Chicago Police Department orders were explored for historical information regarding the programs discussed. Literature and pamphlets on those specific programs were used to provide goals, objective, implementation, and any other valuable information needed. The roles and histories of the Chicago Police and Chicago Public Schools were different but societal issues prompted changes in each institution which then created a change in the relationship between the two organizations.

Sir Francis Palgrave (1903) stated, "The history of a county or township, if properly investigated, disinters the most important facts with regard to the general state and condition of society, giving facts instead of theories, figures instead of surmises."⁵ Historical research, if presented accurately, will provide the reader with an overview of the Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public School and the role that society played in the changes of both. It will also provide insight into what role these changes played in their relationship and the programs implemented between them.

⁴ What is Caps? Retrieved from: http://www.cityofchicago.org/city/webportal/portalContentItemAction.do?contentType=COC_EDITO_RIAL&contentOID=10912&topChannelName=HomePage (accessed July 20, 2009).

⁵Alexander Fraser, *First Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario* (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1904), 43.

Internal and External Criticisms

The set timeline of 1945-2005 may have presented a limitation to the study. A broader timeline may have allowed a researcher to go more in depth about the past relationship between the Chicago Police Department and the Chicago Public Schools. In order to complete this work, there must be a start and a finish. The researcher believed that this time period was noteworthy because of significant changes and events in Chicago that altered society and the roles placed on the Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public Schools.

The fact that the research placed its focus on some of the programs implemented between the Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public Schools may have also been a limitation of this study. The researcher is aware that many of the programs in this study have been instituted in cities beyond Chicago which may have been implemented due to changes occurring in these cities. Chicago was the focus of this dissertation because it is a large metropolitan city that had undergone many of the changes and experiences of American big cities between 1945 and 2005. It also has significant primary sources available to examine the topic. This dissertation intended to discuss the change in the relationship that occurred between the Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public Schools during this time and what programs were implemented during this change.

There may also be some criticism from the reader because the researcher is a Chicago Police Officer. The researcher admits that other Chicago Police Officers and Chicago Public School staff's personal experiences and involvement with some of the programs discussed have been expressed to the researcher and provided some insight and

personal opinions regarding these programs and the relationship between the two.

Personal feelings about the relationship between the two and the programs implemented were not the focus of this study. The researcher documented these feelings but will not include them in this research because it may affect the reader's opinion regarding the intention of the study and the integrity of the researcher.

The researcher is also a product of the Chicago Public Schools. While the researcher has had many positive experiences in the Chicago Public School system, the researcher also has had negative experiences and opinions. When and if these feelings and experiences are re-visited during this research the researcher again documented them as personal notes so that those personal feelings play no role in the credibility of this paper.

To ensure that these issues of bias do not sway the researcher's ability to present this topic in a dispassionate manner the research primarily discussed the programs, their original intent, and how they changed in order to reinvent and address changes or new issues encountered by the programs within the timeframe set. The information discovered was reported arbitrarily but in its entirety as needed to provide a complete and accurate story of how the issues of the times led to the change in the role and relationship between the Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public Schools and the programs implemented.

Chapter Overview

This paper contained five chapters. Chapter I provided a brief historical overview of policing and education. It discussed the early roles of policing and schools. Schools concentrated their focus on educating while police were focused on the crime and disorder in the streets. Mandatory student attendance laws drew policing and schools together and police were primarily in schools and assisted with truancy. Thus chapter one presented the framework of this paper and its importance. The societal changes with the growing population, housing and employment issues, social disturbances and politics in Chicago that have occurred over the last half of the twentieth century were significant in establishing how the Chicago Police department and Chicago Public Schools were brought together into a working relationship was a focus. These were all important to understanding what played a role in the types of programs that resulted from the relationship between the Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public Schools. The relationship between the two evolved and new programs continue to be designed in an attempt to keep that relationship and the programs between the two successful and effective.

Between 1966 and 2005 social issues became more pressing and the public escalated its demands on both the Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public Schools. Attempts to address issues of concern to the community that were affecting youth inside and outside of schools led to the implementation of joint Chicago Police and Chicago Public Schools programs. It would be these later efforts to address the crime and violence occurring in and around schools that would signal the development of a new

relationship between the Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public Schools. This is discussed in the third chapter.

The fourth chapter discussed these programs and what they intended to achieve. In an attempt to make students aware of issues of crime the police first worked to create a better relationship between themselves and the youth with programs such as Officer Friendly. As crime issues became worse and the youth became more involved with gangs and drugs, police looked to adopt prevention focused programs that would teach young children alternatives and provide awareness on the harms of both. Due to the seriousness of these issues the Federal government launched a campaign in an attempt to get kids and people to “Just Say No” to drugs during the early 1980s. This ideology played a role in the new relationship between the Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public Schools and brought programs such as D.A.R.E. (Drug Abuse Resistance Education) and G.R.E.A.T. (Gang Resistance Education and Training) into the schools in 1993 and 1994. Although a change in the relationship between the Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public Schools was occurring, new difficulties arose with school crime which presented a new set of issues and programs towards the end of the century.

In concluding this study, Chapter V provides an analysis of recent developments in the relationship and with programs after 2005 was discussed. The approach of the 21st century presented complex issues with a discouraging increase in youth violence forcing the federal government to take action. Government and fiscal funds as well as grants were provided to law enforcement and schools to create and improve school security and interdisciplinary programs. Funds were also allotted towards research and studies to

examine the issues of drug and gang violence in schools in an effort to produce proactive measures to tackle the problems. Legislative acts and laws began to be passed that addressed stricter penalties and reform strategies for school crime. As changes occurred with funding and research, police officers were no longer only symbols of security in schools. They became instructors trained to teach prevention focused programs with the support and assistance of school administrators and staff.

Policing and schools realized that they could not combat these crime issues alone and in a joint effort instituted programs of change to address some of the issues students were facing in schools and in their neighborhoods. The conclusion takes a brief look at the research as a whole, the relationship, programs, and how both evolved. Today, this relationship has expanded and added more shareholders to fight the battle of youth violence and juvenile delinquency with programs designed to address the specific problems.

Brief Overview of Early Policing in America

“The word police came into English from the French in the late seventeenth century and meant governance, control of all activity and dimensions of experience deemed properly subject to public authority.”⁶ Before there was an organization called police the role was performed by citizens in the community.

During the 18th and 19th centuries, several cities such as New York, Philadelphia, and Boston established municipal corporations. In these early cities constables and

⁶ Elaine A. Reynolds, *Before the Bobbies: The Night Watch and Police Reform in Metropolitan London 1720-1830* (Stanford, CA: University Press, 1998), 1.

watchmen held the role of what is known today as “police.”⁷ An ordinance for a High Constable in Philadelphia in 1798 read:

Every year there shall be chosen, a high constable of the city, which officers shall have all said powers and authorities which a constable of the said city can exercise by the common law..., and he shall take rank and precedence among the officers of the city, next before the constables thereof, and shall carry in his hand a short staff or mace to distinguish himself in the execution of his office; It shall be his duty to take rounds through the streets, examine all idle and disorderly persons; give notice of all street obstructions, and give information of all offences committed against the laws and ordinances.⁸

In 1844, New York legislation, drawing from the Metropolitan Police Act of London, approved the hiring of a force of officers that would be assigned during the day and night. “This act became the basis of modern police organization in America and abolished the watch system.”⁹ An act for the regulation of the police of the city of New York, passed in 1846 established the role of the police as follows:

Policeman shall watch and guard the district day and night, and protect the polls at elections...shall carry a suitable emblem or device, by which the may, when necessary, make themselves known. It shall be the duty...of policemen...to be diligent in preserving order and protecting property. In case of any riot or any sudden emergency requiring the services of the Police...they shall proceed to the scene of the riot...and be vigilant in suppressing. It shall be the duty of ...Policemen to obey such orders as they may, from time to time, receive...respecting their duty; and to report...all violations of the Corporation Ordinances... and it shall also be their duty to direct strangers and others to the nearest and safest way to

⁷ John A. Fairlie, *Municipal Administration* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1901), 72; Raymond B. Fosdick, *American Police Systems* (New York: The Century CO., 1921), 62.

⁸ John C. Lowber and C.S. Miller, *A Digest of the Ordinances of the Corporation of the City of Philadelphia and of the Acts of Assembly Relating Thereto* (Philadelphia, PA: Robert DeSilver, 1822), 101.

⁹ Fosdick, *American Police Systems*, 66; Elmer D. Graper, *American Police Administration: A Handbook on Police Organization and Methods of Administration in American Cities* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1921), 3.

their places of destination, and when necessary, to cause them to be accompanied to their destination.¹⁰

The police during this time were under city government control with strong local political influence. But the system of policing and the forms of leadership and police control would continue to transform and be re-implemented as populations, crime, and social disorder grew. Leadership of police departments would go back and forth between municipal and local, state government, and single leadership control over the years.¹¹

The late nineteenth century leading into the early twentieth century saw many changes in the functions of the police. The role of policing would change from a style where police handled mostly nuisance problems to maintain public order to one that placed greater concentration on fighting and controlling crime.¹² Many cities became overwhelmed with race riots, gangs, and corruption. Alcohol prohibition laws also produced a big business for illegal alcohol and organized crime syndicates.¹³ The public began to look at police officers as crime fighters and not civil servants.¹⁴ In his recollections as a Boston officer during this time, Edward H. Savage defined the role of the police this way: “A well-regulated police is the strong right arm of all local civil

¹⁰ D. T. Valentine, *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York, for the Year of 1847* (New York: Casper C. Childs Printer, 1847), 56-57.

¹¹ Graper, 5; Fosdick, 82, 108.

¹² Eric H. Monkkenon, *Police in Urban America* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 31.

¹³ George W. Wickersham, *The Problem of Law Enforcement. The National Commission on Law Enforcement* (April 1931. Retrieved from: <http://jrank.org/pages/12346/Wickersham-George-W.html> (accessed August 23, 2009); Willam J. Bopp and Donald O. Schultz, *A Short History of American Law Enforcement* (Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas 1972), 93.

¹⁴ Samuel Walker, *A Critical History of Police Reform: The Emergence of Professionalism* (Lexington, KY: Lexington books, 1977), 139-140.

governments; its presence is ever a guarantee of peace and the supremacy of law, and a safeguard to life and property.”¹⁵

Criminal investigation and identification, evidence processing, technology, transportation, traffic, and communication would become more advanced during the end of the nineteenth century. The ability to gather and view information on offenders and crime statistics among police agencies nationwide was introduced. “In 1884, Chicago introduced the first bureau of criminal investigation and in 1891 New York was the first state to use Electrocution.”¹⁶ As more concentration was placed on improving policing reformers began to focus on the misconduct occurring in departments.

Political control and corruption was a continual issue within police departments. This prompted the Lexow Committee Report (1894-95), one of several police corruption investigations. By the end of the century this investigation of the New York Police Department was completed and it put in place a book of rules that were to be followed by the New York police department. This book set forth rules of behavior deeming what was appropriate police action down to report writing. This committee was also in favor of police reform.¹⁷

During the first half of the twentieth century, reformers worked towards developing a more professional police by removing politics and corruption from policing and changing the organization and administration. This led to the creation of the National

¹⁵ Savage, *A Chronological History of the Boston Watch and Police: From 1831 to 1865*, 7.

¹⁶ Bopp and Schultz, 66.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 60; James F. Richardson, *Urban Police in the United States* (Port Washington: National University Publication, 1974), 58; Walker, 131.

Chiefs of Police Union (1893) which was later named the International Association of Chiefs of Police. The IACP was focused on removing politics from policing and ways to store information for record keeping.¹⁸ These reformers pushed for more police training and the raising of educational standards.

As employment dropped and crime rose in the 1930s, the idea of policing as a career began to change. The benefits of being a police officer became more enticing and many departments increased police wages. During this period, many out of work college graduates began to look into a career in policing. Jobs in the field of policing became more recognized and degrees in policing were offered at colleges and universities. Not only was professional police important, the quality of policing and police work was in the forefront.¹⁹ Although this new system of reform brought about professional schooling for police officers, reformers began to look into ways to evaluate the effectiveness of the training and performance of officers.²⁰

With all the fuss about the role and quality of policing from reformers, the growing responsibilities, extra work hours and low wages, police officers worked to create unions and organizations. Officers went on strike to fight that departments created unions for their own police organizations. The Fraternal Order of Police originated in Pittsburg in 1915 and by 1955 was nationwide. It is the largest unionization of police

¹⁸ Bopp and Schultz, 60; Walker, 131.

¹⁹ Ibid., 80-81; Harold K. Becker and Jack E. Whitehouse. *Police of America: A Personal View, Introductory, and Commentary* (Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas, 1979), 50-51; Walker, 72; Donald Schultz and Erik Beckman, *Principles of American Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice* (California: Custom Publishing Company, 1987), 109-113.

²⁰ Walker, 74.

officers.²¹ The advancements in policing, technology and criminal investigation during the early twentieth century were believed by police departments and reformers alike to have allowed officers to do a better job in crime fighting. But this increase of professional policing and the decrease of foot patrols was soon felt to have removed the police from the community. Reformers then pushed to re-involve officers with the community.²²

Brief Overview of Early Schooling in America

Education in the early American colonies was focused mostly on literacy so that children would understand the laws and principles of religion.²³ Cotton Mather provided the following definition of education: “Let the children have such an education as Timothy had; educated in the way of truth and in the knowledge of Holy Scriptures.”²⁴ Most educating occurred within religious or private settings. Many private settings were available for a fee and mostly available to the well-off. Education was not available to all and was left to the will of individual towns.

Compulsory education was first introduced in the state of Massachusetts in 1647 by a law requiring that every town of fifty households appoint one person in the town to teach the children of the town to read and write. Towns with one hundred households or more were required to open a grammar school “to instruct youth so far as they may be

²¹ Bopp and Schultz, 72, 77, 81.

²² Fosdick, 310-312.

²³ Horace Mann, *Life and Works of Horace Mann*, edited by Mrs. Mary Mann, Vol. III (Boston, MA: Horace B. Fuller, 1868), 524, 525; Shurtleff, 6-9.

²⁴ Andrew Milson and others, eds. *Readings in American Educational Thought: From Puritanism to Progressivism* (NC: Information Age Publishing, 2004), 13, 14.

fitted for the university.”²⁵ If these laws were not complied with, penalties would be imposed. These laws and codes were revisited and revamped throughout the eighteenth century to include girls, orphans, poor children, mulatto, and illegitimate children as economic and social conditions changed. Even though these laws required the maintenance of schools and imposed penalties for non-compliance, attendance in school was not regulated and the role and responsibility of education was still left mostly under the control of master and parents.²⁶

After declaring independence from Great Britain, Thomas Jefferson proposed public schooling for children. It was mostly the wealthy that had been educated under the British rule, and Jefferson’s education reform was for free schooling for “all” with the exception of women, Native Americans, and slaves. He proposed that “schools should teach reading, writing, and common arithmetic, and the books should acquaint students with Grecian, Roman, English and American History.”²⁷ Jefferson had strong beliefs on how Americans could become better by providing a better education to its citizens.

Jefferson stated:

I look to the diffusion of light and education as the resources most to be relied on for ameliorating the condition, promoting the virtue, and advancing the happiness of man. And I do hope, in the present spirit of extending to the great mass of mankind the blessings of instruction, I see a prospect of great advancement in the happiness of the human race, and this may proceed to an indefinite, although not infinite degree. A system of general instruction, which shall reach every description of our citizens, from the richest to the poorest, as it was the earliest, so it shall be the latest

²⁵ Shurtleff, 203.

²⁶ Ibid. 526, 527.

²⁷ Milson and others, eds. 63; John P. Foley, ed., *The Jeffersonian Cyclopedia: A Comprehensive Collection of the Views of Thomas Jefferson* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1967), 791.

of all public concerns in which I shall permit myself to take an interest. Give it to us, in any shape, and receive...the thanks of the young, and the blessings of the old.²⁸

The early modern American schooling movement of common schools began in the early nineteenth century. This followed the ideas of Horace Mann, a reformer of Education and the first secretary of the Massachusetts board of Education. He shared similar beliefs of Thomas Jefferson and his push for common schools that would teach common knowledge to all children and would prepare students for the world. Common schools proposed the use of property taxes to support public school funding.²⁹ The idea of common schools also left schools under the control of the state.³⁰ Mann stated that,

Education, then, beyond all other devices of human origin, is a great equalizer of the conditions of men- the balance- wheel of the social machinery...It gives each man the independence and the means by which he can resist the selfishness of other men. It does better than to disarm the poor of their hostility toward the rich: it prevents being poor...The spread of education...will open a wider area over which the social feelings will expand; and if this education should be universal and complete, it would do more than all things else to obliterate factitious distinctions in society.³¹

State funded public schools began to appear and by the end of the nineteenth century, compulsory schools attendance laws were instituted. These laws were introduced in part to force immigrants and poor parents to send their children to school. These laws did not dictate how this education should be gained or that it must be done in a school

²⁸ Henry Bernard, ed., *The American Journal of Education edited by Henry Bernard*, vol. V (Hartford, CT: Henry Bernard, 1865), 12.

²⁹ Sarah Mondale and Sarah B. Patton, ed., *School: The Story of American Public Education* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2001), 15-16.

³⁰ Joel Spring, *The American School 1642-1985* (New York: Longman Inc., 1986), 70-71

³¹ Mann, 669.

setting, so many children still lacked adequate means of education. This soon became evident and subsequent amendments and laws were enacted. The control of educating was removed from parents and placed in the hands of government. Parents were to send children between the ages of eight and fourteen to public school for a mandated period of time during the year and if parents did not comply, fines were imposed.³² Truancy laws were passed and towns and schools were to provide space for the confinement and instruction and also appoint truancy officers to make sure that parents as well as employers were following compulsory schooling laws.³³

By 1860, many states established state superintendents for schools with “responsibilities to publicize educational causes and exemplary practices, collect and summarize statistics on education, and administer the new education laws of the state.”³⁴

In 1867, the National Bureau of Education in Washington was established. An act to establish a Department of Education was presented by President Garfield but was not passed,

for the purpose of collecting such statistics and facts as shall show the condition and progress of education in the several States and Territories, and of diffusing such information respecting the organization and management of school systems, and methods of teaching, as shall aid the people of the United States in the establishment and maintenance of efficient schools systems and otherwise promote the cause of education throughout the county.³⁵

³² The United States Bureau of Education, *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1888-1889*, Vol. I (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1891), 472-474.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Mondale and Patton, 15.

³⁵ B.A. Hinsdale, A.M. *President Garfield: And Education* (Boston, MA: James R. Osgood and Company, 1882), 67.

There was considerable resistance to a Federal Department of Education.

Immigration, migration, and industrialization during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century caused a spurt in school enrollment. Overcrowded neighborhoods, immigrants' inability to speak English, and the demand for industrial workers began to change the role that schools played as social agents. Schools began to provide classes that taught students about hygiene and health and experts began to look at the curriculum and how appropriate it was for educating immigrant and southern migrant students. This led to I.Q. testing which was believed to allow proper placement of students into classes as well as future occupations. Scientists and reformers belief was that if students, according to IQ testing, were not capable of succeeding in a higher education environment then they should be prepared with skills to function in life and careers in trade and industry. Vocational programs such as agriculture, industry and commercial, and home economics were taught in secondary schools. This idea gained Congressional support and funding in 1917 with the Smith-Hughes National Vocational Act.³⁶

This idea of providing various educational programs and curricula tracks was tested in some schools. Those schools that were not as accepting of these programs were considered part of the "progressive" school movement inspired by the views of John Dewey.

The great thing to keep in mind, then, regarding the introduction into the school of various forms of active occupation, is that through them the entire spirit of the school is renewed. It has a chance to affiliate itself with life, to become the child's habit, where he learns through directed living,

³⁶ Mondale and Patton, 63, 66.

instead of being only a place where he learns through directed living, instead of being only a place to learn lessons having an abstract and remote reference to some possible living to be done in the future. It gets a chance to be a miniature community, an embryonic society. This is the fundamental fact, and from this arise continuous and orderly streams of instruction.³⁷

By the 1920s elementary and secondary education was offered and considered available to all. The passing of child labor and mandatory schooling laws was an attempt to ensure that all children received some level of education and was instrumental in the growing attendance in schools. The types of education received varied among schools and enrollment levels and high school students took placement tests which tracked them throughout their education. Schools also began offering several extracurricular activities and had school social clubs.

As the century progressed, the schools' role in transforming its curricula and programs due to immigration, migration, and industrialization was apparent. The greater numbers of black migrants from the south who settled in the North and West raised concerns of fair and equal education. This was also an issue in the South. Several law suits were brought into court houses to remove Jim Crow laws from education and to establish equal education for all. Curriculum was changing to allow schools and Americans to contend and remain effective in a progressive and changing society.

Throughout its history, schools have undergone several changes in policies and control. These attempts to reform schools were made in order to repair and improve

³⁷ John Dewey, *The School and Society* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1900), 15, 16.

failing procedures and practices and to keep schools ability to educate in order to compete with the issues of modern times.

CHAPTER II

1945-1965

United States Overall

After World War II ended in 1945, America was trying to recover and readjust to life after the war. Industry was booming with growing business and production plants. Technology was on the rise with the development and advancement of the automobile, airplane, radio, and television. Research and scientific study also remained on the forefront in an effort for scientific breakthroughs and leadership over foreign governments.¹ The demand for housing was growing after the return of soldiers and due to immigration and migration.

As the decade progressed, it was said to be a time of prosperity for Americans and that most families were living the American dream. Veterans benefits with the GI Bill assisted in education, business ownership, and housing for war veterans. Many women who had been to work in war plants and factories during the war and those who were married to soldiers were able to trade in their jobs to now become housewives and mothers. More Americans would marry and have families and the number of babies born

¹ William H. Chafe, *The Unfinished Journey: America Since World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 2003), 108-109.

during the 1950s was at its highest from past years. Employment rates remained high and large numbers of Americans owned a home, car, and television.²

The workforce would also change with more Americans being employed in white-collar positions. This was due to the technological advancements in industries and factories and growing businesses, corporations, and consumer needs.³

While men were at war, women and girls who had taken the role of laborers and breadwinners had now become more independent and playing a greater role in the restructuring of the workforce. New employment positions in sales provided more job opportunities for women.

Developers, home loans, and cheaper land allowed for the construction of new homes. More economic opportunities, growing populations, and the rising middle class led people to move to new housing beyond city limits called the suburbs.⁴ By the end of the decade over half of Americans were considered Middle Class.⁵ Although the economy was providing more opportunities, there were other issues occurring.

The end of the war brought the hope of greater job opportunities for Americans and a great migration of immigrants and minorities to the North. But the increasing populations caused growing racial tensions.⁶ Many big cities were primarily populated

² Ibid., 106; Douglas T. Miller and Marion Nowak, *The Fifties: The Way We Really Were* (New York: Double Day, 1977), 8, 15.

³ Chafe, 109, 110, 114.

⁴ Ibid., 112.

⁵ Ibid., 106.

⁶ Robert G. Spinney, *City of Big Shoulders: A History of Chicago* (Chicago, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2000), 198, 199, 200. Census facts, retrieved from

by the poor while the middle class fled to the suburbs. Blacks were often limited to areas considered the ghetto or slums and very few were welcome in suburban communities.⁷

Civil rights acts and desegregation laws in areas such as the military, schooling, and voting were passed in the late forties and early fifties but were often ignored.

Although it was often downplayed, Americans were suffering from issues of prejudice against race and sex, and the harsh effects of poverty.⁸ It was against this backdrop that the civil rights movement emerged in the mid 1950s.

Another pressing problem in America during the first two decades after the end of World War II was the constant increase of crimes and gangs among juveniles. FBI director, J. Edgar Hoover stated that, “statistics showed an increase in crime every year since the end of World War II with a rising frequency in homicides, rapes, assaults, burglaries, and car thefts. Crime had reached an all-time high in 1959 and the increase of crime could no longer be blamed on the increasing population since crime was growing four times faster than the population rates.”⁹ Hoover also felt that the United States faced a crime problem of “emergency proportions” unless the upward trend of the nation’s crime rate was reversed.¹⁰

http://www.census.gov/history/www/through_the_decades/fast_facts/1960_2.html (accessed February 05, 2010).

⁷ Miller and Nowak, 139, 140.

⁸ Ibid., 8, 15.

⁹ Carl W. Larsen, “Our Stake in the Crime Fight,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 20 November 1960, 36; Robert Wallace, Crime in the U.S. *Life Magazine*, September 9, 1957, 48.

¹⁰ Larsen, “Our Stake in the Crime Fight,” 36.

Crime during the sixties continued to rise with each year. The types of crime would change with more juvenile involvement. Juvenile Crime was becoming a “National Scandal” according to Hoover.¹¹ The Senate Juvenile Delinquency Committee reported in 1961, that the illicit smuggling of heroin and other drugs to America were found to be reaching a growing number of juveniles and Gangs for distribution and personal use.¹²

Chicago: 1945-1965

During the two decades after the war’s end, Chicago was experiencing the highs and lows of many other American cities and was seen as a major city filled with disorder. According to the census, Chicago was the second largest urban populated city during this time.¹³ In the years before the war’s end, Chicago was the second largest producer of war supplies and this drew large migrant populations to the city.¹⁴ Chicago was known as a top transportation hub during and after the war and Midway Airport was considered the busiest airport in the world for more than a decade after the end of World War II.¹⁵

The employment opportunities in Chicago grew with the abundance of factory work available. Chicagoans held jobs in stockyards, and industrial plants. Because Chicago was known as a big city with opportunities, many immigrants from other

¹¹ “Cites Chicago Boy’s Groups,” *Chicago Daily Defender*, 18 April 1961, 8.

¹² “Dope and Delinquency,” *Chicago Daily Defender*, September 7, 1961, 11.

¹³ Census facts, retrieved from: http://www.census.gov/history/www/through_the_decades/fast_facts/1960_2.html (accessed February 05, 2010).

¹⁴ Perry R. Duis and Scott LaFrance. *We’ve Got a Job To Do: Chicagoans and World War II* (Chicago, IL: Seawall Co, 1992), 40-42.

¹⁵ John A. Casey, *Chicago Aviation and Airports: The First Forty Years, 1926-1966* (Chicago, IL: Department of Aviation, 1966), 32.

countries chose to make Chicago home. Migrants from surrounding cities and areas also set up residency. Blacks also fled to the city in hopes of a better life with the greatest influx from Southern states.¹⁶

In the years after the war, Chicago reached its highest in population. Many neighborhoods were affected by the war's end and growing populations. Neighborhoods would see economic, demographic and cultural changes with new housing and road expansions.¹⁷ Many Chicagoans moved to surrounding suburban cities because of the growth and relocation of industries and railroad transportation. The ability for companies to expand was very rough in Chicago because of the lack of land. Overcrowding populations in the city also led to the suburban flight.¹⁸

As populations grew so did racial tensions in the workforce and housing. The number of crimes grew due to hostility and the increased reluctance of integration. Segregation conditions in employment and housing became worse over the years and led to greater social disorder. The big city would be known for its battles with integration and disparities among living conditions, education, and employment. Political patronage, unsatisfactory and sometimes brutal treatment by the police and rising crime would also plague the residents of the city.

¹⁶ James R. Grossman, Ann Durkin Keating, and Janice L. Reiff, *The Encyclopedia of Chicago* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), 237.

¹⁷ Dominic A. Pacyga, *Chicago: A Biography* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 299, 300.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 313.

Chicago Employment

Chicago was a major city that was thriving in employment during the forties and fifties. During the war, it held many war supply contracts with the federal government that brought billions of dollars to the city. After the end of the war many locations were turned into factories while others remained for the use of the military. Chicagoans worked in stockyards, steel mills, and industrial plants. The city maintained its leadership in Iron and steel and produced over fifty percent of America's steel.¹⁹ Its role in commercial shipping remained very active after moving regional port facilities to surrounding areas outside the city.

Although fewer people were unemployed after the war's end, blacks still held the highest unemployment rates.²⁰ Black and Irish workers were predominantly given the less desirable jobs during the early 1940s. Many immigrants would soon become accepted as part of the white race and employment opportunities would improve for them.²¹ Discrimination in the workforce was going strong which pushed Chicago to pass an ordinance forbidding discrimination in employment but despite these rules unfair treatment continued.²² The establishment of unions during this time provided better protection, wages, benefits, and insurance for employees in industries. There had even

¹⁹ The Encyclopedia of Chicago, "Iron and Steel," retrieved from: <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/653.html> (accessed April 12, 2010).

²⁰ James R. Grossman, Ann Durkin Keating, and Janice L. Reiff, *The Encyclopedia of Chicago* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), 841.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 670.

²² Robert D. Leiter, "Discrimination in Employment," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 8 (1949): 337-350.

become more employment and opportunities for women in the work force but black women experienced greater discrimination and chauvinism in the workforce.²³

Employment in industry and manufacturing continued throughout the fifties and sixties but would slowly begin to decline and level off as the years passed. Chicago still held a dominate spot in industries during the fifties. But because the space for industrial growth and expansion was becoming limited due to overcrowding, many companies closed and relocated. During this time many companies began to relocate to suburban areas of the city. Employees often followed but many suburban neighborhoods were not welcoming of blacks. Many companies also used foreign factories overseas to manufacture products to avoid unionization and tax policies. These changes were said to have impacted blacks the most with a shift into greater unemployment and poverty.²⁴

Throughout the years, Chicago was a leader in the stockyards. By the 1960s, business for the stockyards and meat packing was weakening and by 1964 many of the meat packing companies had left Chicago.²⁵ The iron and steel industry in Chicago maintained its leadership in the industry but by later years it began to suffer from the overseas competition and declining consumer need.²⁶ The closing of many of the meatpacking and iron and steel companies left many Chicagoans unemployed. Chicago's

²³ Robert D. Leiter, "Discrimination in Employment," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 8 (1949): 337-350.

²⁴ Grossman, Keating, and Reiff, 891.

²⁵ The Encyclopedia of Chicago, "Meatpacking," retrieved from: <http://encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/804.html> (accessed April 12, 2010).

²⁶ The Encyclopedia of Chicago, "Iron and Steel," retrieved from: <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/653.html> (accessed April 12, 2010).

status as transportation hub was still steady.²⁷ Railroad transportation was used less now that many Chicagoans and suburbanites could travel by expressways and toll ways.

Black businesses during the forties and fifties would become common and prosperous in black communities. Because blacks often earned less in employment and white businesses refused to embrace blacks, black communities began to open and support businesses of their own. Many black neighborhoods of Chicago owned and operated grocery and clothing stores, churches, restaurants, and entertainment and recreational facilities.²⁸ Most of these neighborhoods were still considered to be impoverished but blacks kept their money in the neighborhood to show their disapproval of unfair treatment in white establishments.

Employment in manufacturing and industry in Chicago would soon be replaced by service and retail. The city was becoming more globalized but employment and higher wages were beginning to be based on the level of education and left employees with very little job security. Ample employment opportunities for the average worker in Chicago were becoming a thing of the past. Many major businesses based in Chicago were now owned by companies outside of the city.²⁹

Housing Issues

The return of soldiers and influx of immigrants and migrants to Chicago caused an overcrowding in housing in Chicago. The Veterans administration and FHA provided mortgage insurance to service men for housing but many builders and owners refused to

²⁷ Grossman, Keating, and Reiff, 773; Pacyga, 340.

²⁸ Spinney, 208.

²⁹ The Encyclopedia of Chicago, "Work."

rent or sell to blacks or black veterans.³⁰ The city had many immigrant districts and neighborhoods that had been divided by ethnicity with very little problems but the large migration of blacks began to transform areas. The areas populated by blacks in Chicago were overcrowded and considered the Ghetto.

As overcrowding persisted more Chicago residents would make suburban communities home. After the war the number of homes built in suburbs almost doubled that of those built in Chicago.³¹ Although suburban communities had existed prior to 1945, most were industrial locations. Suburban communities such as Park Forest, Hometown, Evergreen Park, Oak Lawn, Skokie, Downers Grove, and Arlington Heights were expanding fast in development and population.³²

The new residents moved closer to companies that had relocated. Suburban communities like Park Forest were primarily populated by war veterans with the assistance of the GI Bill. Black Veterans were not as welcomed, leaving many suburban areas white with very few well to do blacks. Most blacks that did have jobs in the suburbs commuted to work from the racially segregated neighborhoods of Chicago.³³

The Chicago Housing Authority was given the job of developing housing for returning Veterans and all but one was located in white neighborhoods. This posed a big

³⁰ August Meier and John Bracey, ed., *Papers of the NAACP: Part 5. The Campaign Against Residential Segregation, 1914-1955* (MD: University Publications of America, Inc.), xv, xviii.

³¹ Pacyga, 316; Roger Biles, *Big City Boss in Depression and War: Mayor Edward J. Kelly of Chicago* (Chicago, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1984), 134.

³² Pacyga, 310.

³³ Ibid.

problem because 20% of Veterans that needed to be housed were black.³⁴ “In these Ten Cities,” a study conducted by the New York State Committee on Discrimination in Housing noted that Chicago held one of the largest Ghettos, its housing shortage and housing conditions were some of the worse and that “no large city was doing more than Chicago to keep the Negro in Segregated Neighborhoods.”³⁵

Eventually conflicts over overcrowded housing and schools forced blacks to integrate into areas of Chicago that had only been occupied by whites and caused reoccurring violence against them and their homes. The anger brought on by blacks moving into white neighborhoods left many blacks subject to constant acts of terrorism.³⁶ Bombings and fires were set, properties were physically damaged and whites who entertained blacks in their homes were often harassed. In 1946, the Chicago Defender reported 27 bombings of properties owned and occupied by blacks.³⁷

The outlaw of “restrictive covenants” by the Supreme Court in 1948 opened the door for blacks to move into neighborhoods from which they were previously restricted. The transition into white neighborhoods would not be easy and lenders often found their way around this law.³⁸ The immigrants of Chicago were often allowed to live and accepted into communities populated by whites although they were not always

³⁴ Biles. 135.

³⁵ “North, As Well as South, Guilty of Housing Bias, Survey Reveals,” *The Chicago Defender*, 28 April 28, 1951, 3.

³⁶ Meier and Bracey, xviii.

³⁷ “27 Bombings hit Chicago Negro Homes,” *The Chicago Defender*, 06 July 1946, 1.

³⁸ “Outlawing Restrictive Covenants Saves Negroes Millions of Dollars,” *The Chicago Defender*, 03 Feb 1951; Spinney, 215.

considered as equal. These same conditions and feelings did not exist towards blacks. Racism led to the continued resistance of segregation in housing as many whites continued to leave the city for the suburban life.

Although blacks were fighting for civil rights in all areas, Chicago's housing remained a pressing problem during the fifties. The demographics of neighborhoods were changing quickly. Housing riots and mob action against blacks integrating were occurring in the Englewood neighborhood, newly built public housing developments around the city, and even in the suburb of Cicero where the National Guards and Police were called to restore peace.³⁹ Public housing projects which were supposed to accommodate the poor and relieve overcrowding eventually were seen as racially discriminatory and proved to further segregate blacks. Later, the entire idea of public housing projects would prove to be disastrous.⁴⁰ The public housing buildings were overcrowded and the ones that were occupied by blacks showed distinct disparities from those occupied by whites. By the seventies, funding and building of public housing stopped.⁴¹

By the early 1960s, most Chicago neighborhoods were segregated by race. Overcrowding in neighborhoods, the unappealing public housing and the increase in crime in black neighborhoods led many in the growing black middle class to relocate to areas that were less impoverished. In 1963 the Chicago City council passed the fair housing act which prohibited discrimination against "race, color, religion, national origin,

³⁹ Spinney, 204, 205; Arnold Richard Hirsch, *Making The Second Ghetto: race and housing in Chicago, 1940-1960* (Chicago, IL: University Press, 1998), 60.

⁴⁰ Spinney, 228.

⁴¹ The Encyclopedia of Chicago, "Housing Reform."

or ancestry” in housing. It would later be revised to include, “sex, age, marital and parental status, sexual orientation, disability, source of income, and military discharge.”⁴²

Chicago Politics

Chicago’s reputation was that of a city run under machine politics. Politicians had taken complete reign and control over every aspect of city government, jobs, and services. After the end of World War II, Chicago was under the control of Mayor Edward J. Kelly who was in office from 1933 until 1947. Supporters’ and his support of desegregated schools and housing cost Kelly. Kelly had over 50% of the Black vote due to his relationship and support of William Dawson, a black politician.⁴³ Kelly placed a few blacks on the Chicago Housing Authority and Chicago Public Schools board as well as in supervisory positions on the police department and appointed blacks as Judges hoping to appease the black community.⁴⁴ This would not change the problems of racism that blacks were experiencing. Kelly supported the idea of integrated neighborhoods citywide and police officers were assigned to provide protection.⁴⁵

Kelly’s beliefs angered and dissatisfied his followers as did the growing incidence of crime in the city and the continued government corruption under his control. Because

⁴² Grossman, Keating, and Reiff, 589.

⁴³ Spinney, 194.

⁴⁴ Biles, 155.

⁴⁵ Spinney, 203, 204; Hirsch, 56.

of fear that he would lose re-election and the loss of support from his once political allies, Kelly did not seek reelection in 1947.⁴⁶

Martin Kennelly won the election and was considered incorruptible. Kennelly was focused on stopping gambling rings. He lost the support of many politicians and businessmen who benefitted from gambling profits.⁴⁷ The loss in support rendered him unable to implement many ideas and programs to improve the city and race relations. Kennelly's actions opened the door for a new leader. Richard J. Daley won the Mayoral election in 1955 and under his control segregation in schools, housing, and employment continued. Though Daley appointed black politicians who were in support of his ideas those black politicians had very little control.

During his leadership several landscaping changes would occur in the Chicago business area known as Chicago's Loop. Public housing projects were erected, and major highways and roads were constructed in the city. Including, the Dan Ryan Expressway which was said to be strategically located in order to separate black and white neighborhoods.⁴⁸

The civil rights movement was active in Chicago and continued disparities in housing and schooling led black leaders to believe that the Mayor's support of equal rights was not authentic.⁴⁹ Although Daley's support from black leaders shifted, his

⁴⁶ Biles, 147, 155.

⁴⁷ Pacyga, 324.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 337.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 350.

overall political power would allow him to remain Mayor of Chicago for twenty-one years, winning six elections until his death in 1976.

Social Disturbances in Chicago

The years after the end of World War Two, Chicago was believed to be less volatile by the citizens of the city and viewed this way throughout the country. The reasoning behind this was due to the recommendations of the Chicago Human Relations Committee. The CHR was put in place by Mayor Edward J. Kelly in 1945 out of fear of pending race riots in Chicago. Their role was to identify sources of possible racial tension and address them. The CHR recommended that newspapers and reporters reduce coverage of the events occurring in Chicago and characterize them as non-violent in order to downplay racial tensions in Chicago. But riots and disturbances were still occurring and becoming more alarming.⁵⁰ Segregation and racial violence often occurred in housing, recreational locations, and schools, including trade schools.⁵¹

Chicago's issues with overcrowding and the desire for many middle class blacks to move into areas and neighborhoods that they were considered to be restricted from caused several disturbances and acts of violence against blacks. The suburban city of Cicero also received attention during the 1950s and 1960s because of their strong resistance to segregated living.⁵² After the passing of acts outlawing restrictive covenants

⁵⁰ Hirsch, 60, 61.

⁵¹ Alan B. Anderson and George W. Pickering, *Confronting the Color Line: The Broken Promise of the Civil Right Movement in Chicago* (Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1986), 58, 59.

⁵² The Encyclopedia of Chicago, "Cicero, IL," "Race Riots."

and discrimination, many blacks began to integrate into white neighborhoods and this further intensified racial disharmony.

Park districts and beaches would experience continued and extreme acts of racial violence. Many whites refused to share these facilities and blacks who used park districts such as Calumet Park, Bessemer Park, and Rainbow Beach were often attacked and injured by mobs. Hate strikes were occurring in schools, and businesses. These strikes were led by whites who were against the practices of desegregated living, schooling, and employment. Many of the businesses and recreational facilities continued to carry out discriminatory practices although the neighborhood had become home for blacks and in some cases primarily populated by blacks.⁵³

By the early sixties the racial disturbances continued. Wade-in's were being staged at many beaches by supporters and members of the NAACP (National Advancement Colored People), and CORE (Congress of Racial Equality), but mobs would arrive to disrupt, name-call, and throw stones.⁵⁴

The civil rights movement during the early sixties also grew; blacks and whites were boycotting by staging sit-ins, freedom marches and freedom rides. Deepening dissatisfaction with the inequalities in the Chicago public schools led leaders to organize boycotts. Two major boycotts occurred in 1963 and in 1964 nearly 400,000 students skipped school.⁵⁵

⁵³ "Fight to Crack White City Jim Crow Rink," *The Chicago Defender*, 16 September 1944, 1.

⁵⁴ Spinney, 198, 199, 200.

⁵⁵ Encyclopedia of Chicago, "Civil Rights Movement," retrieved from: <http://encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/293.html> (accessed May 26, 2010).

One major incident which was said to be the start of social turmoil in America was the assassination of President John F. Kennedy in 1963. Kennedy was gaining growing support in the Black community due to his steps towards civil rights legislation. Although he would not put them into play, his successor, President Lyndon Johnson passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

This Act would lead to the passing of several other acts that would make discrimination illegal in areas in such as healthcare, voting, education, and employment.⁵⁶ The Sixties would hold a plethora of significant social events that would force changes in policing and government. Refusal and resistance would continue causing growing frustrations, protests, and violence during the last half of the sixties.

Civil rights activists were not the only ones coming together to advocate for change during the sixties. War and Peace activists, who were against the Vietnam War and the draft, were advocating peace at home and abroad. Women's rights and liberal groups felt that women's voices were not heard and they were receiving unfair treatment in areas such as the workplace, politics, and education. The Student movement groups crossed lines with many groups and protested against the war, politics, free speech, and equal treatment. Youth groups expressed that they wanted their opinions to be heard.⁵⁷ City leaders and the police department were overwhelmed with trying to control the constant demonstrations occurring.

⁵⁶ "Let's Start the Sit-Ins in Chicago," *Chicago Daily Defender*, 03 July 1961, 1.

⁵⁷ Robert Cohen and Reginald Zelnik, eds., *The Free Speech Movement: Reflections on Berkeley in the 1960s* (California: University of California Press, 2002), 129.

Juvenile Delinquency in Chicago

Juvenile Delinquency and crime rates were a pressing problem in the 1940's. President Hoover referred to a neighborhood in Chicago as being "an armed camp, torn by bloody juvenile gang wars."⁵⁸ In 1946, a Juvenile Bureau was created within the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations to investigate and discover the role and causes of youth group's role in crimes against blacks.⁵⁹

White gangs rivaled for territory among ethnic white groups with mainly Polish gangs against Italian gangs. But due to the great number of blacks migrating, these gangs became more involved racial crimes and violence. Italian gangs were said to be most involved in syndicate crimes. Black and Latino gangs would also begin to grow in numbers and membership during the 1950s.⁶⁰

In 1946 a national conference was held in Washington on Juvenile Delinquency to discover the causes and solutions to the delinquency problem. Committee members felt that the housing shortage was a big factor and recommended a five point program for slum clearance.⁶¹

A citywide drive was led by the Chicago Defender Bud Billiken Club in 1948 to curb the crimes of "robberies with guns, brutal attacks of women, and the menacing of men and women returning home from work late," that were growing among Juveniles in

⁵⁸ "Cites Chicago Boy's Groups," *Chicago Daily Defender*, 18 April 1961, 8.

⁵⁹ The Encyclopedia of Chicago, "Gangs."

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ "Blames Poor Housing: Poor Housing Blamed for Teen-Age Delinquency," *The Chicago Defender*, 07 December 1946, 18.

Chicago. The Bud Billiken Club and Chicago Police Commissioner Prendergast met to implement a staff and come up with a plan and program to stop the growing crime.⁶²

Several organizations in Chicago were looking for solutions to the social ills that caused Juvenile Delinquency. Many of the problems associated with juvenile delinquency were felt to be a lack in rearing, a shortage in housing and overcrowded living, poverty, and segregation. Blame was also placed on the complacent attitude of the police.⁶³

Euseni Perkins recalls that gangs of earlier times were “not dominated by black, white or yellow but by teenagers...the gangs in the forties and fifties did not have the weaponry that these gangs have today, they had brass knuckles and bats and leaders would negotiate how the confrontation would take place.”⁶⁴ During this time he believed that gangs were not violent and involved in very little crime, but turf conscious with the feeling that they could have a say in who came in the area.⁶⁵

In 1951, the Chicago Crime Prevention Bureau established the nation’s first program that created a dual relationship between the Chicago Police Department and Citizenry functions. The citizenry functions consisted of three agencies; the Crime Prevention Council, Crime Prevention Bureau, and Crime Prevention Incorporated. Officials of the Crime Prevention Council consisted of the State and U.S. District

⁶² “Launch Campaign to Curb Delinquency,” *The Chicago Defender*, 21 February 1948, 18.

⁶³ “Parents Must Help End Our National Scandal,” *The Chicago Defender*, 26 February 1949, 7.

⁶⁴ Euseni Perkins, “Chicago’s Black Gangs from the 1940’s to the 1960’s: Transcript of talk to the Chicago Gang History Project” (Chicago, 2002), retrieved from: <https://www.uic.edu/orgs/kbc/Archives/user/user.html> (accessed April 2010.)

⁶⁵ Ibid.

attorney's office, Illinois Department of Public Safety, Board of County Commissioners, Board of Education, Park District, Chief Justice's Office, Municipal Court, and Sheriffs Office of Cook County.⁶⁶ The Police Department and Public Schools were already currently involved in working partnerships. Within this program the police worked in cooperation with other law enforcement agencies while schools were to provide programs and literature that informed people of crime prevention.⁶⁷ This was an early attempt at different agencies working together to combat crime.

Reverend Archibald Carey testified before a subcommittee of the US senate that "to do a thoroughly effective job of eliminating juvenile delinquency...those conditions of segregation and discrimination must be banished. A breakdown in respect for authority and the stance for self-expression and freedom ...has removed discipline and ... wrong is wrong and those should be held accountable."⁶⁸ In an effort to curb juvenile delinquency in Chicago, switchblades were outlawed by the Illinois House in 1957.⁶⁹

The early emergence of street gangs of the 1960s was kids looking for recognition and earning the respect of other kids in the neighborhood. Soon more gangs would form in an attempt to protect themselves from continued racial violence and to compete with

⁶⁶ "Chicago's Crime Prevention Bureau Sets Pace for Nation," *The Chicago Defender*, 20 January 1951, 7.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ "Causes of Delinquency, Bias are the Same; Carey," *The Chicago Defender*, 23 July 1955, 1.

⁶⁹ "Switchblades Outlawed by Illinois House," *Daily Defender*, 06 March 1957, 4.

other gangs. By the late sixties gangs were more involved in violence and crime and they existed throughout the city.⁷⁰

By 1960, Chicago had more than 225 youth gangs who were in the business of robbery, burglary, fighting, rape, and murder. Gang violence was occurring internally and against rival gangs and across races. Some black and Latino gangs of the sixties tried to improve public opinion and their neighborhoods by joining forces with political allies in an era of the “black power” movement.⁷¹

Throughout the sixties there was increase in overall crime and Juvenile crimes. In an attempt to attack this rise of the Juvenile criminal, Chicago implemented an intelligence unit within their youth division to gather information on youth gangs. During this time the youth accounted for seventy-five percent of the crime occurring.⁷² The unit also began to use a better system of record keeping for youth offenders.⁷³ This would better assist officers and the court system in identifying major players when the rise of gang involvement in the drug trade emerged during the seventies.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ The Encyclopedia of Chicago, “Gangs.”

⁷¹ Adolph J Slaughter, “Courts Lead In Crackdown on Teen Gangs,” *Daily Defender*, 24 August 1960, 2; *The Encyclopedia of Chicago* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), 325 (Andrew Diamond).

⁷² “Wilson Tells Plan to Boost Youth Bureau,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 13 July 1961, C2.

⁷³ “Symbol of Protection,” *Chicago Tribune*, 07 April 1963, 2. *The Encyclopedia of Chicago*, 2004, “Gangs.”

⁷⁴ The Encyclopedia of Chicago, “Gangs.”

Chicago Police Department

The Chicago Police Department became more advanced as technology advanced. Police patrolled on bicycles, motorcycles and in automobiles. The public could communicate with the police by the telephone and the police department could communicate among themselves by two-way radio. This was major in dispatching calls for service to officers on the street but most patrol officers were still assigned to patrol neighborhoods on foot during the late forties and early fifties.⁷⁵

More minorities were hired and Chicago had more blacks on the department than other cities but they were not given the range of power that white officers were given and could not arrest whites or patrol white neighborhoods. Police women were also a part of the department and even wore uniforms. The uniforms were not the same as those the male officers wore and female officers were not assigned to patrol or given the same duties.⁷⁶

Changes within the Chicago Police Department would come after a strong push for reform during the forties. Social reformers wanted police who were more professional and better trained. Technological advancements and more training and schooling improved officers' ability in criminal identification and investigation.⁷⁷

The types of criminals and crimes were becoming more complex and advancements in criminal identification were improving. The department also felt the

⁷⁵ The Encyclopedia of Chicago, "Police," 2004.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Walker, 143, 156; Bopp and Schultz, 110, 156.

need to implement and improve the quality of specialized units and assignments in the department.

Reformers continued to look into ways to improve policing and felt that the police should not only focus on arresting criminals but on social reform. Police professionalism and standards were high priority for Chicago but reform in Chicago as well as among other departments would prove to be very difficult. At most times it was business as usual. Some leaders were effective and committed to the new role of policing while others were simply political machines.⁷⁸

Although the members of the police department were considered more skilled, educated and trained, the social issues of the 1950s and 1960s would cause new challenges. Civil rights activists were demanding equal rights, desegregation, and the end to lynching and Jim Crow which led to demonstrations, sit-ins, boycotts, and marches.⁷⁹ Although these steps for equality were conducted in a peaceful manner, they were considered unlawful by the police and often met with violence and civil disobedience by those who did not agree.⁸⁰

Many blacks expressed their distrust in the police and felt unsafe. In 1956, the first director of Public Relations in the Chicago Police department was appointed, whose

⁷⁸ Walker, 68- 69.

⁷⁹ Anderson and Pickering, "Confronting the Color Line," *Ebony Magazine*, February 1969, 1, 36.

⁸⁰ Otto Kerner, *The Kerner Report: The 1968 Report of the National Advisory Committee on Civil Disorders* (New York: Bantam Books, 1968), 10.

role was to provide community and citizen awareness.⁸¹ This was important to address issues with police and community problems as well as race relations.

Civil rights, crime, gangs, and drugs placed more pressure and greater responsibility on the police department during the sixties. During this period the police remained the subject of scrutiny with pressing issues of corruption, and misconduct. They were overwhelmed with disturbances in employment, housing, recreational, and with schooling issues, where whites refused to accept desegregation and integration which led to riots and disorder.

White's opposition to the civil rights movement was growing and so was the anger and frustration of blacks.⁸² In an attempt to curb violence, officers were often called or even stationed at marches or demonstrations, schools, recreational facilities, and homes to neutralize and prevent acts of violence. Instead of working on the issues of interracial relations the city addressed these problems of disorder by the addition of policeman as security.⁸³

Police were ineffective in preventing crime and were often felt to be part of the problem. Some officers had personal sentiments about desegregation and were in agreement with those involved with acts of violence. These officers were felt to be part of the problem while others officers were often attacked with violence when assigned to

⁸¹ Chicago Police Department, *Chicago Police Department Facts and Historical Data* (Chicago, IL: Chicago Police Department, 1956), 20.

⁸² Samuel Walker, 170; Anderson and Pickering, "Confronting the Color Line," *Ebony Magazine*, February 1969, 1, 37.

⁸³ The Crisis: Intolerance on the Juvenile Level, 353, *New York* 52, No. 12 (December 1945). Chicago's Report to the People 1933-1946, City of Chicago, March 1947.

these disturbances if they did not side with the aggressor. Although officers were assigned to these situations to protect, many blacks felt that the police were unfair and brutal in their actions and viewed them as “symbols of white power, white racism, and white repression.”⁸⁴

After continued riots, reformers strongly looked into improving relations between the police and blacks. The Human Relations Department of the Chicago Police worked to review ways to mediate and improve race relations between the police and the black community. Because of the continued riots and mob disruption Mayor Richard Daley Sr. issued a statement “The rights of all citizens will be protected by city authority and police department.”⁸⁵ As more whites moved to suburban cities of Chicago more communities became primarily black and the number of riots were said to be decreasing.

The civil rights movement pushed even harder during the late sixties. The police were now dealing with blacks who went from asking for freedom now to asserting it was a time for “black power.” Anti-war protests, liberal rights, and civil rights demonstrations and marches often left officers in altercations with protestors. They were viewed by the public as incapable of preventing disorder and crime that was growing at an alarming rate.⁸⁶

Involvement in scandals of corruption and wrong doing was also tarnishing their view in the public. In 1960, O.W. Wilson was appointed as Superintendent of the

⁸⁴ Kerner, 15, 16.

⁸⁵ “Daley Comments on Riot in 24 Word Statement,” *Daily Defender*, 30 July 1957, 3.

⁸⁶ The Encyclopedia of Chicago, “Police,” 2004.

Chicago Police Department to make improvements. He was said to have removed politics from the department. He also reorganized it by lowering the number of police precincts and creating different boundaries. Officers were assigned more patrol duties in cars and removed from foot patrol assignments. This allowed the availability of more officers and faster response times.⁸⁷

Wilson hoped to enhance the quality of policing by improving hiring standards, discipline, updating computers, communication, and technology. In an attempt to create a better relationship with the black community he pushed to hire and promote more blacks. Training was also required to teach officers to better exercise ways to resolve conflict between the police and the black community. The public was more satisfied with police service, and the black community's feelings towards the police improved.⁸⁸

With the steady rise in juvenile crime the citizens felt that the police were ill-equipped against juvenile crime and gangs and lacked ideals and ideas for improving the situation.⁸⁹ The Chicago Police Department would create units and programs to help police officers and the public address growing juvenile crime issues. This would cause several new issues for the police and the role they played in attacking crime.

Towards the middle of the 1960s the problems of juvenile delinquency had begun to become a problem within schools. Police had very little involvement in schools'

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 627, 628.

⁸⁹ Slaughter, 1.

affairs. Officers were usually called when schools needed assistance or when returning truants to school if truancy officers were overloaded or unavailable.⁹⁰

The sixties called for a growing need for police and schools to work together. Some schools chose to hire police officers as truancy officers. Although this position could be and was often handled by school staff, some schools used funds from their school budget to hire policemen as part-time truancy officers. The late sixties would also change the relationship between the Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public Schools with more police involvement with schools.

Chicago Public Schools

Chicago Mayor Edward J. Kelly established The Mayor's Committee on Race Relations in 1943 and later named it the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations in 1945. The committee's first report stated there was "mounting gross inadequacy of facilities," in elementary schools attended by blacks. This was greatly attributed to the racial tension occurring. There was also a lack health programs for pre-school aged children.⁹¹ Schools needed much help with their physical appearance and educational improvement. During this time the Chicago Schools Board of Education, run under Mayor Edward J. Kelly, was under scrutiny for mismanagement of funds. Several school publications bragged of accomplishments and progress that schools had made in improvements and budgeting. Many parents and staff believed these claims to be

⁹⁰ "A Dad's Truancy Excuse: My son is bigger n'me!," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 26 September 26, 1945, 30.

⁹¹ "City Must Face Negro Problem, Report Warns," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 19 January 1945, 11.

untrue.⁹² These school publications used tax money and often criticized those non-supporters of the mayor or board instead of discussing issues of Chicago Public Schools. These publications assisted Mayor Kelly politically.⁹³

The National Education Association with the support of several organizations conducted an investigation of the Chicago Board of Education and its Superintendent William H. Johnson.⁹⁴ The N.E.A.'s investigation published changes that should be made to improve the leadership and control of schools and also recommended that Superintendent Johnson be expelled from his position.⁹⁵ After a city council hearing, the findings of the N.E.A. were ignored and considered unfounded. The North Central Association on Schools and Colleges then released a report that cautioned the Chicago Board of Education and the Superintendent that if the suggestion of instituting a board that is not politically connected was not put into place, that Chicago High Schools would not be accredited.⁹⁶

Mayor Kelly quickly selected a new school advisory committee to look into the issue. This committee suggested that the Superintendent and the members of the Board of Education submit resignations.⁹⁷ The Superintendent would resign with several board members following. In 1947, Herold Hunt replaced Johnson and took on the newly

⁹² Mary J. Herrick, *The Chicago Schools: A Social and Political History* (California: Sage Publications, 1971), 270.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 271.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 272.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 273.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 274.

created position of General Superintendent of Schools.⁹⁸ Kelly would hire new members in their place but would soon find that he was losing support for the upcoming Mayoral elections. Months before the election he would be attacked by groups, organizations, and the media. Kelly would not run for a new term as Chicago's Mayor.⁹⁹

The War and growing populations left schools overcrowded and short of teachers. Students weren't succeeding in many of the college preparatory courses so educators suggested the idea of vocational education. This form of education would not apply to all students but to those that educators felt to be fit for blue collar employment after graduating.¹⁰⁰ For those students who were not succeeding in either area "life adjustment education" was a considered plan to teach students about everyday living.¹⁰¹

After the NEA's threat to take serious action against Chicago Public Schools for its poorly run school system and conditions, Superintendent Hunt brought reform. He appointed school personnel, parents, and citizens of the city on to the board. Teachers salaries increased, school enrollment grew, and overcrowded classrooms decreased in size. Schools improved their instruction, teachers, materials, and programs. They also provided a greater variety subjects and more services were offered to students. Although

⁹⁸ Ibid., 275.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 276, 277.

¹⁰⁰ Mondale and Patton, 68-69.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 114.

these improvements occurred educational inequality continued to exist in black schools.¹⁰²

During 1954, issues of school segregation in the *Brown vs. Board of Education* case reversed the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case of “separate but equal.” The *Brown vs. Board of Education* concluded that “separate but equal” had no place in public education. This case would be the start or at least was the opening to desegregated schooling. At this time students in Chicago were primarily assigned to neighborhood schools.¹⁰³ During the *Brown vs. Board of Education* court proceedings, Justice Earl Warren stated:

Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.¹⁰⁴

Even after this ruling, blacks were still unwelcome and were met with aggression and essentially denied entrance in many of Chicago Schools attended by whites. Many schools still remained segregated by state laws due to the lack of enforcement by the

¹⁰² Louis Foley and Edward E. Keener, “Big-Time Superintendent,” *The Phi Delta Kappan* 35, No. 5 (Phi Delta Kappa International, February, 1954) 207-210; Grossman, Keating, and Reiff, 741 (John L. Rury).

¹⁰³ Mondale and Patton, 228.

¹⁰⁴ Supreme Court of the United States, *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483, December 9, 1952. Retrieved from: <http://laws.findlaw.com/us/347/483.html> (accessed August 19, 2010).

Supreme Court. In some schools that adhered to the ruling in *Brown vs. Board of Education*, black and white students still received separate and unequal treatment.¹⁰⁵

After the launch of Sputnik in 1957, the United States feared it was falling behind the Soviet Union in the area of technology. The government began to look at the quality of education being provided within the school system and felt that changes needed to be made in instruction in order to maintain its leadership in technological advancement. Education programs began to be revamped and implemented. Congress passed legislation to improve the curricula in Math and Science with the National Defense Education Act of 1958. The National Defense Education Act placed more funding towards educators, math, science, and foreign language programs.¹⁰⁶

During the late fifties and early sixties because of large, overpopulated schools and overcrowded classrooms, teachers felt overworked, underpaid and began to organize unions. The Chicago Teachers Union would be in place by 1966. Many schools provided classroom instruction in half-day sessions with the larger percentage in black neighborhoods because they were so overpopulated. Superintendent Willis supplemented overcrowded schools by supplying portable classrooms. These mobile classrooms came

¹⁰⁵ Mondale and Patton, 133-135.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 69.

to be called “Willis Wagons.”¹⁰⁷ Supplies were low, books were torn, and desks were worn and in disrepair.¹⁰⁸ These wagons led to a stronger outcry for desegregated schools.

President Lyndon B. Johnson passed the Civil Rights Act in 1964 which banned discrimination in many areas. He also provided federal programs from early education up into college to assist the underprivileged and promised to strip schools of funding that did not comply with laws and stipulations of funding. The first year of the law, the White House reported that “significant advances had been made in public accommodations, voting, and public schools.”¹⁰⁹ President Johnson also signed the Voting Rights Act in 1965 which made all preconditions in place to deny black the right to vote, illegal.

As the sixties came to an end it led for more improvements in the seventies. Significant advancements were made within civil rights as well as in economic opportunity. Reform was improving and new policies were implemented in immigration, housing, education and crime. Changes in the seventies continued to work to improve the condition of the U.S.

¹⁰⁷ “50 Picket Chicago’s Mobile Classrooms,” *Jet Magazine*, Vol. XXII, NO. 7, 07, June 1962, 52; Grossman, Keating, and Reiff. 741 (John L. Rury); The Encyclopedia of Chicago, “Willis Wagons,” retrieved from: <http://encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/1357.html> (accessed May 23, 2010).

¹⁰⁸ Grossman, Keating, and Reiff, 741 (John L. Rury).

¹⁰⁹ Robert Johnson, “Johnson Hails Civil Rights Act Response,” *Chicago Tribune*, 12 July 1965, 21.

CHAPTER III

A NEW RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CHICAGO POLICE DEPARTMENT AND CHICAGO PUBLIC SCHOOLS: WHAT WAS HAPPENING

Chicago: 1966-2005

An entry written by Robin Einhorn stated that, “In Chicago... the key racial issues involved conflicts between whites and blacks, and revolved around the provision of three types of services: housing, education, and the police.”¹

Throughout the second half of the 20th century, racial discrimination continued to affect Chicagoans. During the late sixties and early seventies, dissatisfaction with the politicians and leaders, Chicago police, and Chicago Public Schools led to continued racial tensions. The late sixties held an explosion of significant social events in Chicago. The showing of discontent from the public was expressed in the form of demonstrations, riots, and law suits. Those against discrimination joined together to fight politics and policies of government, policing methods, and school strategies that condoned discriminatory actions and policies. Cases were brought to court against the Chicago Schools’ Board of Education to oppose school segregation and against the Chicago Police Department for misconduct by police officers.

Housing in Chicago remained mostly segregated by race during the second half of the century. The white population in Chicago continued to decline because many whites

¹Grossman, Keating, and Reiff, 634.

relocated to suburban cities. Fifty Chicago Housing Authority Projects (CHA projects) were built in black neighborhoods in another effort to relieve crowding.² This was also a way to keep blacks segregated to certain areas of the city. Employment in the city was shifting from industry based to manufacturing and retail. Chicago politics also changed as the years went on. Although its reputation has continued to be that of a city of corrupt politicians, some changes in the mayoral leadership led to the temporary notion that the cycle of corruption had ended.

By the late seventies and eighties Chicago was facing more complex problems that dealt with gangs, drugs, and juvenile delinquency. The forms of social services provided within the Chicago Public Schools and by the Chicago Police Department could not address these new problems. Juveniles were no longer simply involved in misbehavior and disruption; they were committing crimes in which adults were traditionally the perpetrators. The programs in place during that time were geared towards improving social conditions of students and creating better relationships between the youth and police. They were ineffective in addressing these new issues.

Chicago Employment

Stockyard and meatpacking plants and steel mills in Chicago were seeing a slow down in the sixties. By 1970, business in the Chicago stockyards was dwindling. Companies such as Morris and Hammond closed completely or relocated. Armour, the nation's largest stockyard, and Swift both closed its Chicago plants in 1959 and in 1970

² Spinney, 237.

Armour sold its plant.³ The ability to freeze and transport meat in refrigerated trucks instead of by rail allowed smaller companies to emerge.

During this time into the late eighties the Steel industry was also suffering. Over time the outdated, unproductive plants would lose business to more international plants that were updated, better equipped, and could produce greater numbers in shorter times. This would cause many iron and steel companies to close which left many workers out of jobs. Mills remained in the Chicago land area but were not as strong as they had been from the civil war through the late 1970s.⁴ Several industrial companies relocated out of the city and into the suburbs because of lower taxes and land price but also because of greater land space.⁵

The move of industries out of the city changed the type of employment available in Chicago neighborhoods. More white-collar jobs were available. The move of businesses also effected the economic growth in neighborhoods.⁶ Industry in Chicago did not completely collapse but it was no longer in its prime of the past, instead small companies called mini-mills emerged.⁷ Chicago Port shipping also declined as other locations like Indiana became more utilized. These locations were newer, better located,

³ The Encyclopedia of Chicago, "Armour & Company," retrieved from: <http://encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/2554.html> (accessed May 23, 2010); J'Neil L. Pate, *America's Historic Stockyards: Livestock Hotels* (Canada: TCU Press, 2005), 80, 81.

⁴ The Encyclopedia of Chicago, "Iron and Steel," retrieved from: <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/653.html> (accessed May 23, 2010).

⁵ Irving Cutler, *Chicago: Metropolis of the Mid-Continent* (Iowa: Kendall/Hunt, 1982), 170.

⁶ Joel Rest, *Remaking Chicago: The Political Origins of Urban Industrial Change* (Chicago, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1999), 4, 5.

⁷ Ibid.

and able to handle large quantities with a greater variety of facilities.⁸ Illinois remains a leader in export but very little movement was made from the Chicago Port. Exporting business for Chicago was and still is conducted in the port around the Chicago Metropolitan area.⁹ Chicago's role in transportation still continued to thrive. Each of the six largest railroad companies still continued to operate out of Chicago.¹⁰ Although Midway no longer held the spot as busiest airport, O'Hare airport continued to compete with other major airports and maintains the spot as busiest airport in the world only falling to second during a few years.

During the 1970s unemployment rates in Chicago were higher than the national average, although service and retail positions were in abundance.¹¹ Blacks were affected the worst. During the late seventies into the eighties, Chicago's retail trade grew with companies such as Sears and Spiegel's. Chicago's Merchandise Mart and Chicago's Apparel Center each housed almost 4,000 manufacturers.¹² The downtown area was a leader in retail but several strip malls were located around the city generating big business. Chicago also contained many recreational facilities, schools, sport arenas, and parks. By the eighties Chicago was a top runner in manufacturing. The jobs in manufacturing varied. During this time white-collar employed jobs grew the most.¹³

⁸ Cutler, 305.

⁹ Ibid., 207.

¹⁰ Ibid., 311.

¹¹The Encyclopedia of Chicago, "Work."

¹² Cutler, 171.

¹³ Ibid., 165.

As the nineties approached many large department stores left for smaller strip malls.¹⁴ The large amounts of trade allowed Chicago to continue to remain a top convention center over the years, bringing several trade shows each year.¹⁵ Chicago's hotel and restaurant industry also became more elaborate and grew to accommodate growing visitors. Chicago's Sears Tower in the downtown area holds the title of the tallest building in the United States. The Magnificent Mile located on North Michigan Avenue is home to several high end retail companies, businesses, and hotels.¹⁶ During the nineties, Chicago's economy was changing to technology and services based industries.

Housing Issues

Chicago's housing conditions still remained overcrowded during the late sixties. The solution of public housing left residents living in overcrowded, unsanitary, non-maintained conditions and in disrepair.¹⁷ By the seventies neighborhoods comprised of communities segregated by race. Few communities were integrated. Chicago was considered the most segregated city in the country.

By the eighties there were a greater number of Polish, Italian, Hispanic, and black communities that had self-owned businesses and were considered to be middle-class. The idea of mixed-income housing in a public housing setting surfaced. The ability to draw renters of moderate incomes deemed the project a success for the Chicago Housing

¹⁴ Ibid., 173.

¹⁵ Ibid., 171.

¹⁶ Ibid., 189.

¹⁷ Spinney, 260.

Authority. Hope VI (Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere) was passed in 1992 and later became the greatest government funded plan focused on the restructuring of public housing that had been seen in 20 years.¹⁸

Chicago Politics

Politics in the sixties and seventies under the leadership of Mayor Richard J. Daley and Michael Bilandic, who succeeded Daley after his untimely death in 1976, was considered a time of Machine Politics.¹⁹ Daley was accused of giving preferential treatment to the businesses and dealings of his sons. Daley didn't deny the fact but felt that it was his duty as a father.

Daley was credited with many services and improvements in the city earning Chicago the title "the city that works."²⁰ Daley would also be remembered for announcing that the police were to "shoot to kill" during the chaos occurring on Chicago streets after the murder of Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968.²¹

Mayor Bilandic would not hold the political power that Daley did and he would not prove himself able to handle the city and its services as efficiently.²² Several labor disputes and strikes occurred. One of the worst blizzards to ever hit Chicago occurred in January, 1979 during Bilandic's term in office. The city was brought to a halt, streets were piled with snow and transportation services in and out of Chicago were nearly

¹⁸ Ibid., 394.

¹⁹ Paul M. Green and Melvin G. Holli, eds., *The Mayors: the Chicago Political Tradition* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1995), 145, 160.

²⁰ Grossman, Keating, and Reiff, 634.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Spinney, 242.

impossible. Citizens expressed their dissatisfaction with Bilandic's inexperience and inaction. This was considered to be a major reason to Bilandic losing re-election.²³

In 1979, Jane Byrne won the vote over Bilandic becoming the first female Mayor of Chicago. She was considered to be the end of the political machine. During Byrne's term, city service workers held strikes, municipal jobs were lost, and taxes were raised. Byrne found that she did not have the amount of backing and support that she needed which left her ineffective. She tried to develop alliances with the same machine politics that Chicago was familiar with but was unsuccessful.²⁴

In 1981, Mayor Byrne moved into the crime ridden Cabrini-Green housing projects as a pledge to stop the constant murders and improve living conditions for residents but many felt it was only a show in order to gain black supporters.²⁵ Her efforts would not win her re-election in 1983.

Harold Washington took the Mayoral seat in 1983. He was the first black Mayor of Chicago. Washington also won re-election four years later and controlled the black and Hispanic vote. He held over a fifty percent approval rating and appointed several blacks to top-level city jobs.²⁶ Many whites on the city council objected to Washington's election and were determined to block all of his proposals.

²³ Grossman, Keating, and Reiff; *The Encyclopedia of Chicago*, "Machine Politics," retrieved from: <http://encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/774.html> (accessed November 05, 2010).

²⁴ Spinney, 243.

²⁵ Jane Byrne foreword Paul Simon, *Jane Byrne: My Chicago* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2004), 315-324; Spinney, 243.

²⁶ Spinney, 252.

Washington was in support of funding projects and development in neighborhoods. McCormick Place and White Sox Park received developmental funds during his tenure.²⁷ Washington was elected to a second term in 1987 but died suddenly seven months later. Eugene Sawyer succeeded Mayor Washington but made very little impact and changes to the city.

In 1989, Richard M. Daley won the Mayoral election and still presides as Mayor of Chicago. Daley made the greatest number of new appointments to the city council, giving aldermanic seats to those who were devoted supporters. One of Daley's greatest concerns was giving Chicago a makeover to draw more businesses and boost Chicago's economy. Many changes would be in the making by 1996. Daley worked to revitalize and improve neighborhoods, business communities, the city's landscaping, recreational facilities and Chicago's Downtown area.²⁸

Social Disturbances in Chicago

The sixties held a plethora of significant social events. Issues of race and inequality in housing, employment, and education remained a pressing problem in Chicago. People also wanted their voices to be heard on politics and by government. Dissatisfaction with all these and growing racial tension led to demonstrations, riots, and several government commissioned reports such as The McCone Commission Report and the National Advisory Commission on the causes. The sixties also continued to bring increasing crime rates.

²⁷ Pacyga, 376, 377.

²⁸ Ibid., 383.

Throughout the sixties race riots occurred in cities throughout the country with the most serious in Watts (1965), Newark (1967) and Detroit (1967).²⁹ Police were unable to control the riots in many cities, calling for the National Guards and even the use of Federal Troops in the Detroit Riot. In response to several riots, 164 recorded, the federal government wanted to look into underlying reasons for why the riots and disorder occurred.³⁰ The Governor's Commission on the Los Angeles Riots also known as the McCone Report (1965), Governors Select Commission on civil Disorder in New Jersey (1967) and The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders also known as the Kerner Commission report (1968) were among several studies conducted in response to these riots. The later reports such as Kerner and the Chicago Study Riot committee also known as the Austin Report were also in response to the growing tensions and civil disorder after the assassination of Martin Luther King and Robert F. Kennedy and the dissatisfaction of the Vietnam War.

1968 became a year that Chicagoans would never forget. Streets exploded in mayhem and destruction after the news of the assassination of Martin Luther King.³¹ Robert F. Kennedy was shot and killed by a sniper and later that year, the frustrations of students groups, protestors, and radicals erupted into violence at the Democratic National Convention in 1968. This event would be remembered across the world for uncontrolled rioting and civil unrest. It would also present a negative view of the Chicago Police. While their actions were believed to be the only resolve by some people, many others

²⁹ Anderson and Pickering, "Confronting the Color Line," *Ebony Magazine*, February 1969, 1, 36.

³⁰ Walker, 163.

³¹ David Faber, *Chicago '68* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), 142, 143.

critics felt that their policing tactics were unjustified and viewed as a complete abuse of power.

The Convention was held in Chicago for five days, from August 25th thru August 30th. The events that occurred during this convention were considered proof that officers were not sufficiently trained to control the riots. The police were once again considered unequipped and unprofessional. In an attempt to control riots and regain control, helmeted officers used tear gas, night sticks and handled protestors with force and brutality.³² Protestors overpowered police and made their way into the convention which was held in the amphitheatre. Over 10,000 protestors filled the streets.³³

In the aftermath of the riots 161 Chicago police officers were injured and an unknown number of National Guard personnel, 60 citizens, and 22 newsmen.³⁴ The total number of individuals arrested was 641.³⁵ Of the 641 persons arrested, Chicago Superintendent James Conlisk, reported that 362 were under the age of 21 and 208 were students.³⁶ This riot as others changed the view of the police response to emergency situations.

Almost every report conducted on the race riots shared three similar goals, (1) to take a look into events and problems that occurred leading to the riots, (2) to conduct an

³² *Chicago Tribune*, '68 Convention, 2.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ "Convention was Dissidents D-Day," *Chicago Tribune*, 3.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 4-5.

in-depth study as to deep rooted causes for the riots, and (3) to provide recommendations into improvements and prevention.³⁷

Dr. Kenneth B. Clarke, spoke before the Kerner Commission and felt that the 1968 report shared so many of the same issues as previous reports that it was as if he was reading those same reports. They shared the same problems, solutions, and inaction.³⁸

Each report concluded with several recommendations in different areas but the actions of the police were listed very high in priority to events leading to the riots. It was also considered the underlying causes for the riots and in strong need of improvement for prevention. These studies and reviews of policing practices, led the committees to several suggestions for improvement and prevention. Overall these studies suggested that:

- Enforcement and improvement of police policies was needed.
- A better standard of policing in the black community should be set,
- More training in critical decision making and cultural awareness should be required.
- Complaints of misconduct needed to be heard, investigated fairly, and proper disciplinary action taken even if it that meant procedural changes or the institution of an independent review board.
- Community relations programs needed to be expanded and implemented
- There should be an increase in community policing staff needed to be required.

³⁷ Violence in the City: An End or A Beginning, The Governors Charge to the Commission., Report for Action, New Jersey, (n.d.), 4-5.

³⁸ Kerner, Kerner Report.

- The addition of more police in black neighborhoods should be made.
- The hiring and promotion of more minority police is essential.

As the Chicago Freedom Movement was ending in 1967, the Black Power era was beginning in 1968. They also formed the “Rainbow Coalition” to provide programs for the poor. The coalition was comprised of blacks, whites, and Latino’s who shared the groups’ beliefs. Groups such as the Black Panthers were emerging as a voice for the black community.³⁹

The feminist movement in Chicago grew greater during the sixties and through the eighties. Women were fed up with the oppression placed on them by males and the racism and sexism experienced in the economics, employment and education. Women also wanted the sexual freedoms of choice.⁴⁰

Movements throughout the seventies continued to occur for equal treatment. The improvements that were seemingly occurring with court victories would not provide the change that blacks hoped. Progresses were achieved by business ownership and appointments to political positions but the advancements would begin to take a back seat to the growing problems as the decade went on.

Changes in the economy and workforce led to greater poverty, single-family households, and the more families dependent on government aid to assist the poor. Worker discrimination was a problem and because positions became available for women, and immigrants, the number of employed blacks dropped.

³⁹ The Encyclopedia of Chicago, “Black Panther Party,” retrieved from: <http://encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org> (accessed November 05, 2010).

⁴⁰ Grossman, Keating, and Reiff, 289.

Neighborhoods during the seventies quickly transformed from predominantly white to black. Most of the areas considered living in poverty were populated by blacks. The living conditions in Chicago's housing projects primarily occupied by blacks were so horrible that the study, "Nation's Poorest Citizens Living in Chicago Housing Developments," revealed nine of Chicago's housing projects as the poorest areas in the United States.⁴¹

The 1980 Census showed that ten out of the sixteen poorest neighborhoods were in Chicago.⁴² The number of unemployed blacks continued rise in great numbers. By 1990, the number of blacks and Hispanics unemployed was nearly fifty percent. This further incited black's frustrations.

During the years to come neighborhood organization, recreation facilities, and services continued to decline due to lack of funding which left many youth without activities to keep them busy. These social conditions strongly contributed to growing crime, gangs, drugs, and juvenile delinquency. School drop-out rates were growing, and juvenile involvement in crime was distressing. The movements to improve the social conditions of blacks continued but would begin to take a back seat to the increasing crime in Chicago.

⁴¹ Spinney, 260, 26; *Jet Magazine*, Nation's Poorest Citizens Living in Chicago Housing Developments: Study, February 13, 1995, 19.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 397; Gregory D. Spires, Larry Bennett, Kathleen McCourt, and Phillip Nyden, *Chicago: Race, Class, and the Response to Urban Decline* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1987), 24.

Juvenile Delinquency in Chicago

The first juvenile court was opened in Chicago in 1899. By 1925 almost every state had a juvenile court system in place.⁴³ The focus of the juvenile court was to separate court proceedings of juveniles and adult offenders and to focus on rehabilitating juveniles.⁴⁴ During the sixties, the states inability to rehabilitate youths led to the addition of clauses in Juvenile Court laws. Congress passed The Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1968 which proposed that juveniles who committed non-criminal offenses be adjudicated outside of the court system. The act hoped to treat and produce corrective behavior in offenders instead of institutionalizing them. The Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974 required the “deinstitutionalization of status offenders and non-offenders as well as the separation of juvenile delinquents from adult offenders.”⁴⁵

Crime during the sixties continued to rise with each year. The early sixties also showed an increase in overall crime and Juvenile crimes.⁴⁶ A 1967 report from the United States Department of Justice found that crime had increased by 88% and violent crime rose by 72% since 1960. Chicago’ numbers rose in virtually every category of violent crimes.⁴⁷

⁴³ Snyder and Sickmund, *Juvenile Justice: A Century of Change*, Office of the Juvenile Justice Department (Washington DC: U.S. Department of Justice, December 1999), 1.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 4.

⁴⁶ “Symbol of Protection,” *Chicago Tribune*, April 7, 1963, 2.

⁴⁷ “Crime up 88% as Populations Increase 10%,” *Chicago Tribune*, December 12, 1967.

By 1968, J. Edgar Hoover stated that every American citizen's risk of being a victim of a serious crime had doubled. U.S. crime rates had risen by 122% while the population had grown by only eleven percent. Chicago's crime rate was fourth worst in the nation.⁴⁸ "Crime was up 17 percent in the suburbs, 18 percent in large cities, and 11 percent in rural areas."⁴⁹ Hoover credited the high crime and violence of the sixties to the assassination of Kennedy, riots and campus unrest, organized crime, and youths' growing use of drugs.⁵⁰

According to The Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) the American drug problem exploded during the sixties and seventies due to middle class youths use and trafficking. This was considered the beginning of the modern drug culture. Use of drugs like marijuana, amphetamines and psychedelics was commonly accepted as normal behavior.⁵¹ And this period, particularly 1966-1970, was considered the bloodiest due to gang violence.⁵²

The seventies saw a re-emergence of cocaine which had made its first appearance in the 19th century. It was considered a drug used by those who were well-off. By the end of the seventies use of this drug was at its highest. By the 1980s cocaine had found its way into a less expensive and highly addictive form called crack. This easily available

⁴⁸ "Crime Threat Doubled Since 1960 says FBI," *Chicago Tribune*, August 14, 1969, W8.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ The Drug Enforcement Administration Museum, retrieved from: <http://www.deamuseum.org/> (accessed February 01, 2010).

⁵² Gangs: Public Enemy Number One, The Chicago Crime Commission, 1995, 9.

and inexpensive drug infiltrated poor communities causing rampant violence and the worst drug epidemic in America. Its use also started a national fight against drugs.⁵³

At the same time the country experienced a major wave in crime committed by juveniles.⁵⁴ By the 1980s, the issues of juvenile protection and rehabilitation began to be overshadowed by the need for stricter laws and punishment. The amount and types of crimes being committed by juveniles continued to increase and some states began to move certain crimes committed by juveniles back into criminal court.⁵⁵ Murder, aggravated assault, rape, and armed robbery were crimes that were increasingly being committed.⁵⁶ The arrest rate for juveniles committing crimes was steady during the seventies and eighties but increased by nearly 43% during the early nineties reaching a peak in 1993. Juvenile courts and detention facilities were overwhelmed with the vast numbers of juveniles charged and convicted of weapons charges. A Report of the Surgeon General (2001) reported that the outbreak of violence between 1983 and 1993 was because of gangs, drugs, and guns.⁵⁷ Young people were also increasingly becoming

⁵³ The Drug Enforcement Administration Museum, retrieved from: <http://www.deamuseum.org/> (accessed on February 01, 2010).

⁵⁴ Carolyn Block, Richard Block, *Street Gang Crime in Chicago*, 4. U.S. Department of Justice, December 1993.

⁵⁵ Snyder and Sickmund, 4.

⁵⁶ United States Congress. Senate. Committee on the Judiciary. Subcommittee on Juvenile Justice. *Violent Juvenile Crime: Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Juvenile Justice of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Ninety-seventh Congress, First Session, on the problem of juvenile crime, July 9, 1981, Volume 4* (U.S.G.P.O., 1981), 7.

⁵⁷ Youth Violence: A Report of the Surgeon General, retrieved from: <http://www.surgeongeneral.gov/library/youthviolence/> (accessed December 12, 2010).

victims of violent crime. The number homicides committed on children in Chicago reached historic levels in the late 80s and 90s.⁵⁸

Crimes committed by Juveniles during the 1990s continued to become more unsettling which pushed all but three states to change in one or all of the three following areas between 1992 and 1997: (1) Transfer provisions which transferred Juveniles from juvenile court into criminal court; (2) Sentencing Authority which created laws to allow court more sentencing options; and (3) Confidentiality which also implemented laws to allow court records and cases more open.”⁵⁹ Illinois enacted laws in all three areas.⁶⁰ These changes were also in hopes of deterring crime among juveniles, providing more protection for citizens, and implementing punishment that fit the crime and making juveniles responsible for their behavior.

Between 1976 and 1991, 65% of juveniles who committed homicides used firearms. During 1976, 6 of 10 juveniles murdered were killed by firearms and by 1991 the number rose to 8 out of 10.⁶¹ From 1983 through 1991, the number of gun use by juvenile homicide offenders increased from 55% to 78%.⁶² The early nineties held records for gang related violence and murders in Chicago and the choice of weapon was

⁵⁸.Skogan and Harnett, 21. Block and Block, 7.

⁵⁹ Snyder and Sickmund, 5.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ H. Snyder, and M. Sickmund, *Juvenile Offenders and Victims: A National Report* (Washington, DC: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention), U.S. Department of Justice. August 1995.

⁶² Ibid.

usually guns.⁶³ August 1991 recorded the most homicides in Chicago's history.⁶⁴ Violent crimes committed by juveniles did not drop again until 1995.⁶⁵

During the 1960s, Chicago experienced a short break in gang crimes. Black gangs turned their attention towards the Civil Rights movements and became involved in politics. Gangs joined with political leaders and community organizations to push for programs that provided job training and other outlets for personal improvement. Although these programs were supposed to make an improvement in the community, ulterior motives, such as financial fraud, led to its end. After the end of the programs, the issues of gangs became more serious as gang members began to play a greater role in the distribution of drugs.⁶⁶

During the seventies, gangs focused a lot on turf. Turf would later be central in drug sales and crime to maintain an income for the gang.⁶⁷ The risk of being killed during gang violence was five times greater by 1970 than in the 1960s.⁶⁸ The numbers of gang related crimes dropped by the end of the seventies only to rise by the early eighties.⁶⁹ Gang membership early on was mainly voluntarily but as the gang's role in crime and

⁶³ Block and Block, 9.

⁶⁴ Skogan and Harnett, 22.

⁶⁵ Melissa Sickmund, Howard N. Snyder, and Eileen Poe-Yamagata. *Juvenile Offenders and Victims: 1997 Update on Violence* (National Center for Juvenile Justice: Pittsburgh, August 1997).

⁶⁶ Grossman, Keating, and Reiff, 325.

⁶⁷ Euseni Perkins, *Explosion of Chicago's Black Street Gangs 1900 to Present* (Chicago, IL: Third World Press, 1987), 32.

⁶⁸ Perkins, 2002.

⁶⁹ Block and Block, 4, 6.

drugs grew; they started compelling youth to join by threat of force. Adult leaders began to recruit youth as members.⁷⁰

Because many gangs were in control of their turf in the neighborhoods, they would approach children in the neighborhood and on their way to school. Kids who declined membership were threatened harm and harassed if they did not join.⁷¹ This led to the membership of youth who joined for fear of safety while others joined to earn money or simply for the recognition and status of gang membership.⁷² The violence of gangs was rising and several programs were implemented to attempt to change this, but many early programs such with the Chicago Boys Club, Chicago Youth Centers, and Hull House lost ground with gangs.⁷³

Street gang crime continued to remain strong but let-up during the seventies due to the arrest and incarceration of several Chicago gang members including those top-ranking members after convictions of fraud and enormous murders committed during gang wars.⁷⁴ Behind prison walls recruitment continued and gangs grew. After members were released early from prisons during the 1980s, street gangs in Chicago reemerged.⁷⁵ These new street gangs formed from state prisons. They became so powerful that they established membership in other states. Two gangs of Chicago, “the Folks” and “the

⁷⁰ Gangs: Public Enemy Number One, The Chicago Crime Commission, 1995, 5.

⁷¹ Perkins, 1987, 32.

⁷² Ibid., 33.

⁷³ Ibid., 31.

⁷⁴ Perkins, 2002.

⁷⁵ Perkins, 1987, 16.

People” formed alliances and emerged from Chicago prisons in the late seventies, learning the skills from organized crime members. They became more organized and sophisticated gangs and dominated the crime world with older and younger members.⁷⁶ They were restructured and more advanced and less able to be controlled by law-enforcement.⁷⁷ Gang recruitment in prison has also led to the large number of mixed race gangs of today.⁷⁸

The eighties saw a growing epidemic of drug use and gang involvement in the distribution of drugs.⁷⁹ Both of these resulted in the increase of youth’s role in violent crimes. By the end of the eighties crack cocaine and the problems that came with it was the most important social issue in America.⁸⁰ Drug sales, crimes, and murders grew largely during the eighties. Drug trafficking became and would remain the major source of funds for street gangs.⁸¹ The Chicago Police Department reported 197 gang-related murders between 1972 and 1978 while there were 365 reported between 1979 and 1983.⁸²

⁷⁶ J. Howell and S. Decker, The Youth Gangs, Drugs and Violence Connection, *Juvenile Justice Bulletin* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, January 1999). Retrieved from: <http://www.dc.state.fl.us/pub/gangs/chicago.html> (accessed on November 06, 2010); Perkins, 1987.

⁷⁷ Perkins, 1987, 17.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 38.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*; Block and Block.

⁸⁰ Drug Enforcement Administration, “Crack Cocaine Availability and Trafficking in the United States” (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Drug Enforcement Administration, 1988).

⁸¹ Perkins, 1987, 65.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 38.

Gang truces during the late eighties gave the city a brief break in gang related crime.⁸³

But the truces would not stop gang crime for long and crime would rise significantly in the early nineties.⁸⁴

By the nineties gang related crimes and murders jumped again.⁸⁵ The 1990s drew grave numbers of youth membership into the gang. This was appealing to the gangs since juveniles would not be prosecuted as quickly or as severely as the adult members. Youths would begin to hold the primary membership in gangs. Eventually they would evolve into adult criminals. Gangs were primarily comprised of minorities.⁸⁶ Chicago statistics showed that blacks under the age of twenty-one were the large majority of victims of gang violence.⁸⁷ And although gangs held a large part of its membership with juveniles, many gang members were as old as thirty. There were also a growing number of female gang members.⁸⁸

Gang related crime was occurring in record highs on the cities transportation services as rival gangs waged war against each other over turf and drug distribution. Drive-by shootings and carjacking were becoming common place. Gang members were

⁸³ <http://www.deamuseum.org/> (accessed on February 01, 2010).

⁸⁴ United States Congress. Senate. Committee on the Judiciary. Subcommittee on Juvenile Justice. *Violent Juvenile Crime: Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Juvenile Justice of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Ninety-seventh Congress, first session, on the problem of juvenile crime, July 9, 1981, Volume 4* (U.S.G.P.O., 1981), 7. Retrieved from: <http://deamuseum.org> (accessed on February 01, 2010).

⁸⁵ Spinney, 256.

⁸⁶ Walter B. Miller, "Why the United States Has Failed to Solve Its Youth Gang Problem," in *Gangs in America*, ed. C. Ronald Huff (California: Sage Publication, 1990), 72; Carl S. Taylor, "Gang Imperialism," in *Gangs in America*, ed. C. Ronald Huff (California: Sage Publication, 1990), 281.

⁸⁷ Spinney, 256.

⁸⁸ Grossman, Keating, and Reiff, 325.

terrorizing the streets and were using military style weapons to commit murders and other acts of violence. There was an explosion of gang wars and gangs murders. Chicago's crime rate steadily grew with its murder rate reaching a peak in 1991. Most of these homicides were gang related.⁸⁹ In 1995, it was reported that over 125 gangs existed in the Chicago area and over 100,000 members.⁹⁰

Euseni Perkins cited factors that contributed to the historical development of Chicago's Black Street Gangs during the 1950 - until present:

(1950-1970)

1. Increasing signs of erosion in the Chicago Public Schools that resulted in the following (1950-1970)

- a. high drop-out rate among Black students
- b. low academic achievement among many Black students
- c. increased violence in the schools
- d. poor supervision of students
- e. breakdown in school discipline
- f. lack of an effective truancy program

2. The failure of social service outreach programs to provide Black gang members with sufficient alternatives and resources to deter them from wanting to remain in gangs.

3. Early signs of drug trafficking by some Black street gangs.

4. High unemployment among Black youth.

⁸⁹ Gangs: Public Enemy Number One, The Chicago Crime Commission, 1995, 9.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 7, 17.

(1970-present)

1. The lack of viable gang prevention programs to take advantage of the lull in violent gang activity.
2. The early release program of the department of Corrections that sent older gang members back to the Black community without forewarning or preparing the black community.
3. The restructuring of street gangs in prison by gang leader to be more sophisticated, organized, and violent.
4. The proliferation of drugs in the Black community resulting in gangs becoming more violent in their quest to control the drug traffic.
5. Increased high unemployment among teenagers and young adults.⁹¹

Perkins also felt that Chicago Public Schools' issues of the sixties were settings for youth crime and gang recruitment. "Schools in the sixties became incubators for the breeding of street gangs, even if they were not directly responsible for this development."⁹²

Gang recruitment was strong in schools. Students who did not want to be involved in gangs were often the target of gang violence. Students felt unsafe and gang activity was interfering with instruction and safety in schools. Although reports state that school violence is more serious now than it was in the past it is not as bad as public perceptions but administrators, parents, and students still point out their concerns.

⁹¹ Perkins, 1987, 42.

⁹² Ibid., 34.

Bullying was once considered normal child's play but began to be a big problem and seen as behavior that would continue through adulthood and lead to more serious acts of crime. Bullying was a matter of concern during the seventies and eighties but bullies of today are said to be more likely to bring guns to school than bullies of the past.⁹³

Other crimes that were occurring in schools were violence, drugs, gangs, and guns, but not limited to only these.⁹⁴ Many schools addressed issues of gangs in the eighties by changing school policy and dress codes. Students could not wear jewelry or clothing that recognized them as gang members and later on students were required to wear standard uniforms.⁹⁵ Drug use and sales in and around schools led to the Safe Schools Act of 1986. As part of the Crime Control Act, it provided tougher sentences against anyone convicted of selling drugs or in possession of drugs inside and within one-thousand feet of a school.

During the 1990s schools experienced another big problem with guns in schools. Students reported bringing guns to school either for protection or as a weapon against other students. This led to the Gun Free School Act of 1994. All schools receiving federal funds were required to implement policies to punish students who were caught with a gun in school by expulsion for no less than a year. The National Crime Victimization Survey

⁹³ June L. Arnette and Marjorie C. Walsleben. "Combating Fear and Restoring Safety in Schools," *Juvenile Justice Bulletin* (Washington, DC: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 1998), 4.

⁹⁴ K.A. Chandler, C.D. Chapman, M.R. Rand, and B.M. Taylor, *Students' Reports of School Crime 1989 and 1995* (Washington D.C: U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, National Center for Educational Statistics, and U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1998), 8.

⁹⁵ William Recktenwald and Nathaniel Sheppard, Jr., *Gangs* (Chicago, IL: Chicago Tribune, 1984), 27.

of 1995 reported that almost 13% of students knew another student that had brought a gun onto school grounds.⁹⁶ Another study evaluated violent deaths that were related to schools between 1992-1994 and found that 77% of deaths were gun related. As the 1990s progressed gang crime showed no up signs of letting up either in schools or in routine areas of everyday life or on the street.⁹⁷ The issue of violent crime among youth was not only society's problem but it had become a big problem for schools and police.

Education in the eighties faced issues of "equal opportunity and quality education, low academics, drug use and violence, large drop-out rates, increasing college tuition, lack of skill and technological insight in the workplace. The nineties held the same issues but growing concern over school academics and finances."⁹⁸ Perkins felt that a reality of schools and the police is that "schools need to be mandated to ensure every student receives a quality education to reduce drop-out rates and youth involvement with gangs, and the police should work more closely with social agencies, schools, and churches to develop better relations with troubled youth in order to reduce tensions which lead to misunderstandings and premature confrontations."⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Chandler and others, 8.

⁹⁷ Block and Block, 1993, 9.

⁹⁸ U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, *The Condition of Education* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education. 1995), 2.

⁹⁹ Perkins, 1987, 66.

Chicago Police Department

During the early sixties with Superintendent Orlando W. Wilson in control, the Chicago Police Department's image was improving. They were reorganized, technically advanced, more professional and becoming more diverse due to Wilson's hiring and promoting of blacks in the department. The changes helped improve the department but Wilson's improvements would not continue to be pushed after his retirement in 1967.¹⁰⁰

The growing racial tensions of the late sixties led to citizen dissatisfaction of the Chicago Police Department once again but the events of the 1968 Democratic Convention shined a negative light on the Chicago Police Department across the country. Several incidents of police brutality and the killings of two Black Panther leaders in 1969 also put the Chicago's black communities in an uproar.¹⁰¹

Groups like The Red Squad, a division of the Chicago Police Department, used pervasive and scare tactics in order to target, gain information and access into groups that they felt were committing anarchy. Their acts and violations of laws were considered to be another form of police abuse and misconduct by the public and they were finally disbanded after 11 years of court proceedings.¹⁰²

By the seventies issues of police brutality and racism were the topic. William Geller and Kevin Karales conducted a study on shootings by the Chicago Police and

¹⁰⁰ Grossman, Keating, and Reiff, 628.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid., 683.

found that Blacks were being shot almost four times more than whites while Hispanics were being shot twice as much. White officers were responsible for these shootings.¹⁰³

In an attempt to address racial issues felt by the public and the lack of Black officers on the Chicago Police Department, a quota imposed by a Federal Court judge set the number of black officers that Chicago must hire.¹⁰⁴ They were also required to promote several blacks on the Chicago Police Department.¹⁰⁵ In order to comply with Affirmative action rulings, women were finally placed on patrol duties and in the same uniforms as male officers in 1974.

In 1983, Chicago hired Fred Rice, its first African American police Superintendent. More promotion of minorities would soon follow.¹⁰⁶ By 1995, Black and Hispanic women comprised almost 30% of the women on the police department.¹⁰⁷ Another attempt to contain officers' actions was set in several court proceedings which limited the discretion that police could exercise in certain situations.¹⁰⁸

Gang activity during the eighties left police departments overwhelmed, concentrating specialized units, officers, and efforts to combat it. The city's housing projects were a big problem with gangs and drugs. It was hard to control drug and gang

¹⁰³ Wesley G. Skogan, *Police and Community in Chicago: A Tale of Three Cities* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 273.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid; Grossman, Keating, and Reiff, 628.

¹⁰⁵ The Encyclopedia of Chicago, "Police: Policing in the Nineteenth Century," retrieved from: <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org> (accessed on August 12, 2010).

¹⁰⁶ Grossman, Keating, and Reiff, 628.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid; ChicagoPolice.org.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

activity due to police inability to conduct surveillance in these high-rise buildings without being detected. Many attempts to make arrests were also dangerous for police.

Between 1987 and 1991, Chicago Police categorized 288 out of 3,872 murders as gang related. During the same time Chicago Street gangs committed 22,292 crimes.¹⁰⁹ In order to address growing gang crimes, Chicago implemented a gang task force in 1992.¹¹⁰ Chicago gang problems also pushed legislators to pass a Chicago Gang Congregation Ordinance in 1992.¹¹¹

The new technology, reforms, practices, and organization of the Chicago Police Department seemed to allow for better techniques but drew the police away from the community which put a strain on their relationship and left them unaware of neighborhood crime trends and offenders. There were growing calls for service as well as a growing number of crimes committed and number of offenders. The police department recognized that they needed to do more than just respond to citizen calls. They could not solve crime alone and needed to reach out to the community for assistance.¹¹²

Crime was growing and the public felt that the police were ineffective. In 1991 the Chicago Police launched the idea of the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy program. CAPS was implemented in 1993 in Chicago and developed to create a better

¹⁰⁹ Block and Block, 2, 3; Trends, Risks, and Interventions in Lethal Violence: Proceedings of the Third Annual Spring Symposium of the Homicide Research Working Group (U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, National Institute of Justice, July 1995), 95.

¹¹⁰ Louis Kontos and David C. Brotherton, eds., *Encyclopedia of Gangs* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2008), 191.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Grossman, Keating, and Reiff, 628, 629.

relationship between the citizens and the Chicago Police Department. Their motto was “Together We Can.”

The strategy was to join the police and public in crime fighting. The public could contact CAPS offices located in police districts with community issues. Both would also come together at monthly meetings to address issues affecting the neighborhood and create strategies of problem-solving. CAPS also worked to help the community improve their neighborhoods and quality of life by providing information and assistance with city services, programs, and activities.

Drug selling and Gang violence was at the top of the list of problems in Chicago. Crime rates were the highest they had been in almost 20 years.¹¹³ The more juveniles became involved in crime and drugs the more the interaction between the police and juveniles grew. Police officers roles as social agents to youths became more evident and the function of police work in relation to juveniles was changing. Between 1991 and 1995, gangs accounted for the most number of murders in Chicago.¹¹⁴

Congress passed the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 which was the largest federal government crime bill in history. It provided major provisions in the fight against crime. Among those provisions, it provided funding for 100,000 new police officers and 6.1 billion dollars for prevention programs. Stiffer laws and penalties for crimes committed by gang members and Juveniles over the age of 13 were instituted.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ Skogan, 274.

¹¹⁴ “Youth Gang Murders are falling in Chicago,” *Crime Control Digest*, September 16, 2005.

During 1995 the Chicago Police Department and the Chicago Housing Authority Police Department were joined together by a program funded by the Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA) called BITE. The Building Interdiction Team Effort (BITE) team joined to fight against gangs and crime occurring in the CHA public housing. Sweeps of CHA buildings occurred to catch gangs conducting drug activity and acts of crime and to restore a sense of safety for residents who had become prisoners in their own homes.¹¹⁶

A National Drug Control Strategy was also put into place in 1995. It promoted programs and initiatives to assist the community in addressing and attacking drugs and crime problems in their neighborhood. Safe and Drug-Free Schools and Community policing were two of the Communities Program initiatives. The strategy also provided for drug treatment and prevention programs and sanctions against drug organizations.¹¹⁷

Chicago Public Schools

The civil rights movement during the sixties was alive and kicking. Activists continued to fight for reform in public schools. Students boycotted against several demands such as better teachers, black celebrated school holidays, better gym facilities, sand more cafeteria lunches geared to their liking. There was also interest put on providing better course on instruction in English for Spanish students. During Lyndon

¹¹⁵ 103rd Congress (1993-1994) H.R.3355.ENR, Library of Congress, retrieved from: <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/bdquery/z?d103:H.R.3355>: (accessed on November 5, 2010).

¹¹⁶ *Delinquency Prevention Works*, 1995 (May). Washington, DC: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice.

¹¹⁷ Office of National Drug Control Policy, 1995 (February). *National Drug Control Strategy 1995: Strengthening Communities' Response to Drugs and Crime*. Washington, DC: Office of the President.

Johnson's presidency, federal funds were put into programs and towards multicultural education.¹¹⁸

After years of investigations and lawsuits regarding Chicago Schools and its disregard to issues of segregated schools, Superintendent Benjamin Willis resigned in 1966. James Redmond succeeded Willis and was appointed to the position of Superintendent of the Chicago Public Schools. Redmond worked to address the issues of segregated schools by sending blacks to schools predominately populated by whites and assigning an equal number of "experienced and inexperienced" teachers within Chicago schools.¹¹⁹

This was part of the reform detailed in the "Redmond Report" of 1967. This plan sparked uproar from white parents. Many white parents transferred their children to suburban schools or private schools within the city to keep them from attending desegregated schools. Complaints from black parents were being forwarded to the Attorney General's office that expressed that black children in the Chicago Public School system were being "deprived of the equal protection of the laws on account of race in operation of the public schools in the city."¹²⁰

The black community initially fought to attend schools with whites because they provided better resources, teachers, and supplies but the fight against school segregation would take a turn. Blacks began to be more concerned with improving the quality of

¹¹⁸ Mary J. Herrick, *The Chicago Schools: A Social and Political History* (California: Sage Publications Inc., 1971), 363, 366.

¹¹⁹ Official Report of the Proceedings of the Board of Education of the City of Chicago, October 22, 1969 (69-866).

¹²⁰ Ibid (69-588-1).

education in their neighborhood schools instead of having to be bused to predominantly, racially charged, white schools just to receive a better education.¹²¹

They instead wanted their neighborhood schools to provide all of the same amenities as the schools attended by whites but also wanted the schools to teach about the role that blacks played in American history and the right to receive an equal opportunity at education. Activists also wanted to see more black educators and administrators in black schools believing that this would provide black children with a greater ability to learn and gain self pride.¹²² Redmond did make several appointments of blacks to administrative positions. By 1968 some schools were teaching African American history.¹²³ The population of white students in the Chicago Public schools between 1970 and 1980 dropped, by almost 60%. By 1990 the numbers were almost half of that.¹²⁴

Suburban schools were funded by their communities of middle and upper class residents which provided the school districts with greater funding. These schools were cleaner, newer, had better supplies, and provided salaries which often drew better teachers.¹²⁵ Year after year suburban, private, and parochial schools beat city schools in state standardized testing.¹²⁶

¹²¹ Herrick, 362.

¹²² Ibid., 340, 345-348; Official Report of the Proceedings of the Board of Education of the City of Chicago, October 22, 1969 (69-866).

¹²³ Herrick, 343.

¹²⁴ Grossman, Keating, and Reiff, 742.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

During the seventies Chicago schools were suffering financially. In 1979 the state became more involved in CPS finances imposing state-directed accountability. The mismanagement of funds led the state to order the implementation of the Chicago School Finance Authority (SFA) in 1980, to supervise and authorize the school district's budget.¹²⁷

The issues of the sixties in schools would roll over into the seventies. Racial inequality in education and school resources remained an issue of concern. Chicago schools continued to disregard integration and disparities within schools remained. Conflicts for and against integration constantly occurred. The blatant disregard of desegregated schools threatened continued state and federal funding.¹²⁸

The failure to comply with desegregation laws and violation of the fourteenth amendment and Civil Rights Act of 1964 brought Chicago schools in front of the United States Department of Justice for violation of civil rights in 1980.¹²⁹ The lawsuit filed stated, "The United States has filed a complaint alleging that the Board of Education of the City of Chicago (the "Board") has engaged in acts of discrimination in the assignment of students and otherwise, in violation of federal law. The United States alleges further

¹²⁷ Ibid., 735, 742.

¹²⁸ Paul Kleppner, *Chicago Divided: The Making of a Black Mayor* (Chicago, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1985), 54-55.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 60-62; *United States of America v. Board of Education of the City of Chicago*, United States District Court, Northern District of Illinois, 80 C5124 1980.

that such acts have had a continuing system-wide effect of segregating students on a racial and ethnic basis in the Chicago public school system.”¹³⁰

As a result of the lawsuit between the Chicago Public Schools Board of Education and United States Department of Justice the Chicago Public Schools agreed, as a way to resolve these issues of desegregation, to a Consent Decree which put forth specific objectives and methods to achieve these listed objectives.¹³¹ In 1981 the courts intervened to attempt to desegregate schools in Chicago. Schools were ordered to comply with the consent decree and school desegregation plan but many schools remain segregated especially since many whites had moved to suburban areas or removed their children from the Chicago Public school system.¹³²

In 2001, the Decree was restructured after review of the original Consent determined that the goals were not met. The goals of the original Decree remained but new requirements were added with the belief that the objectives of this agreement would and could be met on a set timetable. The Decree would be revisited again in 2005.¹³³

In 1988, the Chicago School Reform Act authorized a Local School Council for each school due to the dissatisfaction with school administration and constant teacher strikes. The LSC joined parents, teachers, and the community together to help revamp and reform schools. LSC members made decisions from principal selection and firing to

¹³⁰ United States of America v. Board of Education of the City of Chicago, United States District Court, Northern District of Illinois, 80 C5124, 1980.

¹³¹ United States of America v. Board of Education of the City of Chicago, United States District Court, Northern District of Illinois, 80 C5124, 2006.

¹³² Grossman, Keating, and Reiff, 734.

¹³³ United States of America v. Board of Education of the City of Chicago, United States District Court, Northern District of Illinois, 80 C5124, 2006.

strategies to developing schools budgets, curriculum, and strategies.¹³⁴ This sparked a new interest in improving Chicago Schools. Some schools improved internally and their test scores rose while other schools did not.¹³⁵ The changes in school policies in 1988 were considered to provide programs that gave parent empowerment.¹³⁶

By 1990, 79% of Chicago Public School students were considered low-income with minorities holding the larger population.¹³⁷ By 1995, whites only held eleven percent of enrollment while blacks held 55% and Latino's 31.¹³⁸ During 1995, a bill for School Reform maintained the Local School Council but removed the School Finance Authority giving control to the Chicago Public Schools Board of Education. The new bill also replaced the school Superintendent with a chief executive officer (CEO).¹³⁹ This new CPS administration was comprised of a "chief education officer, chief operating officer, chief fiscal officer, and chief purchasing officer."¹⁴⁰ One strategy of the new bill was to identify which schools were failing and which were thriving.¹⁴¹ Paul Vallas became the first CEO in Chicago's School system and there were new hopes for school

¹³⁴ Grossman, Keating, and Reiff, 735, 742.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 743.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 735.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 743.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 745.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 743.

improvements.¹⁴² Growing disapproval of the LSC's actions and student's lack of progress and improvement pushed for change. Reform acts led to new legislation that placed complete control of the CPS in the hands of the Mayor.¹⁴³ Mayor Daley was placed in leadership to make changes and improvements as he did with other areas of government in the city.¹⁴⁴

Although issues of violence, destruction and vandalism of school property, and students acting out had taken place in American school systems throughout history, it had been at a very minimum. In 1964, teachers reported only 3% of their students as discipline troubled and 70-80% well-behaved students.¹⁴⁵ But by the time of the report in 1975, it was a different outlook in schools with crime issues and incidents growing. From this nationwide survey it was found that students were afraid for their well-being, several school systems were failing, and class disruption was growing to serious magnitudes. The report stated "Schools were experiencing crimes of a felonious nature including brutal assaults on teachers and students, a well as rapes, extortions, burglaries, thefts, and an unprecedented wave of wanton destruction and vandalism. Moreover ... this level of violence and vandalism is reaching crisis proportions which seriously threaten the ability

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ *The New York Times*. Schools in Chicago are called the Worst by Education Chief, November 8, 1987, retrieved from: <http://www.nytimes.com/1987/11/08/us/schools-in-chicago-are-called-the-worst-by-education-chief.html> (accessed on June 14, 2010); The Chicago Board of Education, retrieved from: http://www.cps.edu/About_CPS/The_Board_of_Education/Pages/TheChicagoBoardofEducation.aspx (accessed on June 14, 2010).

¹⁴⁴ Grossman, Keating, and Reiff , 743.

¹⁴⁵ Birch, Bayh, "Our Nation's Schools-A Report Card: "A" in School Violence and Vandalism" (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975), 7.

of our educational system to carry out its primary function.”¹⁴⁶ The lack of discipline was a major problem. With so many issues facing students, schools were becoming social institutions not only providing educational growth but playing an integral role in the personal, social, and economical values and development of students.

This three year school study reported an increase between 1970 and 1973, on homicides by 18.5% with more than 100 murders committed each year, 40.1% increase in rapes and attempted rapes, 36.7 robberies, 85.3% student assaults, 77.4% teacher assaults, 11.8% burglaries, 37.5 % drug and alcohol offenses on school property, and 11.7% rise in drop-outs.¹⁴⁷ There was also a 54.4% increase in weapons confiscated which included knives, clubs, pistols, and sawed-off shot guns.¹⁴⁸ Vandalism was reported to be costing a whopping \$500 million dollars per year.¹⁴⁹ “Over \$3 million was spent in 1973 to repair or replace damaged or stolen property.”¹⁵⁰

Chicago reported to the committee a total of 2,217 assaults on teachers, and two incidents of gun violence where a student shot the principal and wounded the school officer and in the other a student killed another student for refusing to pay a 5-cent card game bet. They reported that after the incident, Security personnel were authorized to carry firearms for protection.¹⁵¹ They also attributed these acts to gangs. Chicago had

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, 3, 7.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, 4, 8.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid, 8.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, 10.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, 25.

¹⁵¹ Ibid, 25.

estimated as much as 700 gangs in the school system with several in place in elementary schools.¹⁵²

Based on the National Crime Victimization Survey, 15% of students in 1989 reported some type of gang activity in their school compared to 35% by 1993. In the 1989 survey, students were asked whether they brought “something” to school for protection from gangs but during the 1993 survey students were questioned as to whether “a gun” was brought for protection. Both results showed that over 3% of student brought protection to school from gangs.¹⁵³ Parental involvement and poverty and students’ attitudes and behaviors were considered serious problems in schools during 1990 in two different surveys conducted for the 1987-88 and 1990-91 The Schools and Staffing Survey, National Center for Education Statistics.¹⁵⁴

Seventy-nine cities with a population of more than 200,000 reported having issues of gang violence in schools and other safe havens.¹⁵⁵ In the Chicago metropolitan area, all schools reported gang activity.¹⁵⁶ In an attempt to keep schools safe, police and security officers, metal detectors and wands were stationed in many schools. Schools wanted to dig deeper to create safer schools in the long term instead of simply having

¹⁵² Ibid, 25.

¹⁵³ Gangs and Victimization at School, National Center for Education Statistics, July 1995.

¹⁵⁴ What are the most serious problems in schools, National Center for Education Statistics, January 1993.

¹⁵⁵ Irving Spergel, *The Youth Gang Problem: A Community Approach* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

these methods of prevention. Federal, state, and local funds were allocated to implement programs towards intervention and prevention.

In 1990, National Education Goals were adopted by the President and U.S. Governors. The plan set six national goals to be reached in Education by the year 2000. One goal was Safe, Disciplined, and Alcohol- Drug-Free Schools.¹⁵⁷ Schools were to use allocated funds to implement policies towards ridding schools of drugs, alcohol, violence, crime, and guns. The money was also to be placed toward community based teams and prevention programs.¹⁵⁸

Government officials felt the anti-gang programs could encourage student's attitudes, opinions, and decision-making prior to gang influence. It can also be helpful in transforming a student who is already involved with gangs.¹⁵⁹

A New Relationship

Growing government involvement and support of funds and programs towards the fight of crime, cities like Chicago needed to work on its plans to allocate these and decide which areas needed them most. Crime needed to be curbed on Chicago's city streets and in Chicago Schools. Youth's growing involvement in crime, gangs, and drugs was discouraging and parents, community members, police and schools wanted to put an end to it. Crime rates and reports continued to show youths growing trend in crime in the

¹⁵⁷ Executive Office of the President (1990), National Goals for Education (Washington, DC: ED 319 143.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Gang Suppression and Intervention: Problem and Response Research Summary (October 1994) (Office of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention: U.S. Department of Justice), 14; Office of National Drug Control Policy, 1995 (February); National Drug Control Strategy, 1995: *Strengthening Communities' Response to Drugs and Crime* (Washington, DC: Office of the President).

streets and on school grounds. It became evident that programs needed to be geared toward the youth of Chicago to address the troubles of gangs and drugs.

Chicago schools were greatly affected by the gang and drug problem of the nineties in schools. Schools began to have to continually implement discipline procedures and rules to address these occurrences in schools. More time was taken away from the learning process with more students becoming discipline problems and greater security measures being implement in schools.

The Chicago Police were often being called to schools to arrest students who were violent against teachers and other students, vandalizing the school, and caught selling or doing drugs on school grounds. Police had to respond to schools and areas around schools where students were being approached and attacked by gangs trying to solicit membership. Some students were joining gangs just to keep from being attacked. As a security measure some officers were stationed at schools. Growing school problems led the police to have a greater role and presence in schools.

The discipline problems that schools were experiencing in the 1940s were issues of talking and making noise, chewing gum, running in the hall, and cutting in line. The issues of the nineties were assaults, robbery, drug and alcohol use, rape and suicide.¹⁶⁰

The youth problem of gangs, crime, and drugs made the job of the police and schools more difficult and challenging. Both entities had to direct a greater focus on prevention and intervention. The idea of intervention and prevention programs is the

¹⁶⁰ Thomas Toch, Ted Gest and Monika Guttman, "Violence in Schools," *U.S. News & World Report* 115, No. 18 (November 8, 1993), 30, citing data from Congressional Quarterly Researcher.

hope to reduce specific activity or eliminate it completely. The police also had an even greater job of gaining and maintaining the trust and respect of the youth. A collaborative effort would be made between the Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public Schools to provide programs to improve officer trust and increase knowledge while decreasing involvement with gangs and drugs.

CHAPTER IV

PROGRAMS

The massive social events of the 1960s led to the appointment of various committees, task forces, and Commissions which resulted in recommendations to solve a wide spectrum of social problems. But many of these ideas and programs were not implemented due to lack of resources and funds within local, state and federal law enforcement departments.

The Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act was passed in 1968 to provide national assistance to state and local governments for the improvement and strengthening of law enforcement agencies.¹ In 1968, the Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice established the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA). LEAA was created under the Safe Streets Act and provided departments with grants to appoint committees that would develop and propose programs for grant approval.² LEAA distributed money towards the improvement of law enforcement and criminal justice which included police education.³

Prior funded programs under LEAA were to also be reviewed for continuation under this act. In Part “C” “Grants for law enforcement purposes” section 301 (b) (3), the

¹ Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act, 1, retrieved from: http://www.fcc.gov/Bureaus/OSEC/library/legislative_histories/1615.pdf (accessed August 23, 2010).

² Bopp, 149.

³ Becker and Whitehouse, 51.

act promoted plans “for public education relating to crime prevention and encouraging respect for law and order, including educational programs in schools and programs to improve public understanding of and cooperation with law enforcement agencies.”⁴

Police departments would create special units for organized crime, racketeering, special training, and more.⁵ Community-relations programs would also be created within police departments but many were funded and conducted by local sponsors.⁶

During its existence LEAA was criticized for several things which included its lack of placing standards and time limits on its actions in regards to programs and funding. As the years passed it was also seen as losing touch with politics and becoming more bureaucratic with LEAA functioning primarily from block grants.⁷ LEAA’s funding was eliminated by Congress in 1982 and The Comprehensive Crime Control Act of 1984 included Chapter IV which also included the Juvenile Justice Act of 1984 (P. L. 98-473) assumed many roles of LEAA through separate agencies.⁸

The Crime Control Act of 1990 granted \$900 million for improving police and criminal justice agencies, crime and drug enforcement, prisons, and prevention

⁴ Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act, 1

⁵ Bopp, 150.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ LEAA/OJP Retrospective: 30 Years of Federal Support to State and Local Criminal Justice. Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice, July, 11, 1996 (Washington, DC), 7.

⁸ Comprehensive Crime Control Act of 1984, Pub.L. No. 98-473, Title II (1984), retrieved from: <http://www.house.gov/house/Contract/safetyd.txt> (accessed November, 12, 2010).

programs.⁹ The Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act was signed into legislation in 1994. This crime bill provided nearly \$30 billion towards state, local, and federal law enforcement, prisons and crime prevention. It also included several grants towards crime prevention programs.¹⁰ This Act also included a stipulation for "three strikes" and the charging of juvenile offenders, thirteen and older, as adults when arrested for federal crimes and possession of a firearm when committing a federal crime.¹¹

During the sixties the vision of the police in neighborhoods and on television were often unpleasant and led to negative opinions from the public, including children. Many were afraid of the police instead of trusting them. Community leaders, the police department, and schools wanted to improve these perceptions and provide children with a better understanding of the role of the police in society. They also wanted children to recognize the difference between right and wrong and what they needed to do to become productive, law-abiding citizens. Crime was flourishing and it was important to teach children awareness. Chicago schools and the Chicago Police Department implemented Officer Friendly as the Police Department's spokesperson to children.

As new issues of gangs and drugs began to grab the attention of the youth during the eighties, Officer Friendly took a back seat. But since the Chicago Police Department felt that it was still important to teach children core values at an early age, the Chicago

⁹ Crime Control Act of 1990, retrieved from: <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/bdquery/z?d101:SN03266:@@L&summ2=m&> (accessed November 12, 2010).

¹⁰ The Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, Pub. L. No. 103-322 (1994), retrieved from: http://clerk.house.gov/art_history/highlights.html?action=view&intID=38 (accessed November 12, 2010).

¹¹ Ibid.

Police Department continued to make visits to schools, groups, and other organizations when requested.¹²

Throughout the sixties, seventies, and eighties several community-based programs were implemented and many of these programs continued to be fashioned to the issues facing youth. These programs made significant advancements towards better relationships with the community but it seemed that the police officers ability to link these programs to crime control was dwindling.

The new gang violence and drug problem was unresponsive to many of these early community-based programs. The 1980s saw gang crimes and problems on the rise and the public's concern for safety was heightened.

In 1986, growing drug use in the nation pushed first lady Mrs. Reagan, joined by her husband President Reagan, to run the "Just Say No" campaign stressing the dangers of drug and alcohol use, urging kids to avoid them, and imploring the nation to help in the fight. During the campaign, President Reagan signed The Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986. This act allowed for more state and local funding towards drug education.¹³

By 1990 the gang and drug epidemic had reached record levels. The "War" on drugs stance and the sparking rise in crime and types of crimes being committed by Juveniles led the federal government to explore the issue in depth. A desire for new alternatives to combat crime led to new legislation during the nineties. The social issues occurring in the city and within the communities continued. Growing problems of gangs,

¹² School Programs, "Officer Friendly Program," retrieved from: <https://portal.chicagopolice.org> (accessed on November 14, 2010).

¹³ The Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986, H.R.5484, 99-570, retrieved from: <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/bdquery/z?d099:HR05484:@@L&summ2=m&> (accessed on November, 12, 2010).

gang membership, drug use, and crime among juveniles led policing and schools in a new direction.

With new government allocated funding, police departments began to initiate and implement juvenile programs in response to increased juvenile crime. They searched to implement or create programs to assist the youth early on to make them aware of the negativities of drugs and gangs and to prevent participation in either. By the early 1990s, the Chicago Police Department adopted the D.A.R.E. and G.R.E.A.T. programs and the Chicago Public Schools joined in a partnership to provide instruction to students. Schools and policing continue work internally and jointly to find strategies to minimize the rising rates of delinquency among juveniles.

Officer Friendly

The officer friendly program was initially introduced in February 1966 on a trial basis between the Chicago Public Schools and Chicago Police Department with the use of funds from Sears-Roebuck Foundation. “The program was designed to establish a better working rapport between the primary grade child and the uniformed officer within the school, neighborhood, and city.”¹⁴ It was originally piloted in the 24th school district and only one police officer was assigned. The program was considered successful and was expanded to cover six more school districts by October of that year. A police officer was assigned to each of these districts.¹⁵ By April 1967, the General Superintendent of Schools reported that “during a three-phase program of Officer Friendly which stressed

¹⁴ Official Report of the Proceedings of the Board of Education of the City of Chicago, June 16, 1967 (67-620-7).

¹⁵ Ibid.

the understanding of law enforcement, respect, and order, the children were engaged in experiences and activities which fostered cooperation among all people. From those experiences students should develop many intangible character-building qualities.”¹⁶

The program was soon offered during summer school and later offered to all Chicago Public Schools. The program was expanded to Lutheran, Catholic, Greek, and Hebrew schools in Chicago in an effort to explain safety procedures to all children.¹⁷ The role of “Officer Friendly” quickly became a full time job for more than forty Chicago Police Officers.¹⁸ The program quickly spread to suburban police departments and many police departments across the nation.¹⁹

“Officer Friendly” was directed at students in kindergarten thru the third grade and officers visited schools daily to teach students how to be aware and protect themselves. Program sponsoring was received from the board of education and the Sears Foundation. The program sought officers who could make friends with the children but still be respected. The program wanted to encourage confidence and trust in children towards the police and help them gain more respect for and recognize the value of police

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ The Officers Friendly Program, Department of Justice, *Technical Assistance Bulletin 9* (Washington, DC: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 1979).

¹⁸ Official Report of the Proceedings of the Board of Education of the City of Chicago, August 23, 1967 (67-810-7), May 8, 1968 (68-388).

¹⁹ Ibid.

officers and their work. Children would also learn a set of laws and values and their roles in becoming productive citizens.²⁰

“The general objectives of the program were to humanize children’s image of police and improve rapport between them, encourage awareness of traffic and general safety precautions, and help to prevent crime by developing the children’s regard for their own welfare and civic responsibility.”²¹ Changes could be made in the objectives between schools and officers according to the needs of students.

Activities included book materials, games and puzzles, role-playing, story writing, and classroom instruction and discussion. Once the objectives were determined according to the needs of the school and students it was the role of the police officer to educate students and reinforce the instructions. Both schools and the police department needed to work closely to set-up visits, monitor student learning and continued needs, and allocate resources appropriately.²² Teachers were to reinforce and revisit topics after officers’ visits.

The program began to dwindle over time during the eighties and officers only went to schools when requests were sent. Eventually by the late nineties many of those requests were unable to be filled. The Chicago Police department blamed the change on lack of manpower. This was due to growing crime and officers were more overwhelmed with calls for service. Officers were also assigned to specialized units and assignments to

²⁰ The Officers Friendly Program, Department of Justice, *Technical Assistance Bulletin 9* (Washington, DC: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 1979).

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

address gang and drugs. Newer programs such as D.A.R.E. and G.R.E.A.T. became in greater demand in schools which reallocated officers.

Drug Abuse Resistance Education (D.A.R.E.)

D.A.R.E. is an acronym for Drug Abuse Resistance Education, a program that was established in 1983 between members of the Los Angeles School District and Los Angeles Police Department. The D.A.R.E. program was first presented in Illinois schools in 1987 and by 2010 had reached an estimated 824,575 Illinois students. The D.A.R.E. program is a drug abuse prevention program designed to equip elementary, middle and high school children with knowledge about drug abuse, the consequences of abuse, and skills for resisting peer pressure to experiment with drugs, alcohol and tobacco. It is also unique in that it also works to prevent youth from becoming involved in gangs and violence.²³

“D.A.R.E. is a collaborative program in which local law enforcement and local schools join together to educate students about the personal and social consequences of substance abuse and violence.”²⁴ The Chicago Police Department officially implemented D.A.R.E. in 1993 even though it had been implemented in Illinois schools since 1987. Principals could request D.A.R.E. curriculum in their schools but the final decision was left up to each District Commander as to which schools would receive D.A.R.E. The Chicago Police Department’s objective was to “help fifth and sixth grade students recognize and resist the many direct and subtle pressures that may influence young

²³ About D.A.R.E., retrieved from: <http://www.dare.com> (accessed on November 14, 2010).

²⁴ D.A.R.E. At-a-glance, description, retrieved from: <http://www.dare.com> (accessed on November 14, 2010).

people to experiment with alcohol, tobacco, marijuana, inhalants, or other drugs or engage in acts of violence.”²⁵ D.A.R.E. was viewed as a means to address the issue of drug abuse before children reached adolescence. The Chicago Police originally taught the program in 16 weekly lessons but when the D.A.R.E. curriculum changed the lessons dropped to ten. Presently curriculum has increased to 17 weeks. Each lesson is presented in forty to fifty minutes by a Chicago Police officer who has been trained and certified as a D.A.R.E. instructor. There is also a Chicago Public School teacher present during each lesson.

Students who complete the training are given a certificate signed by the officer and principal of the school. The police department and the school continue to evaluate the curriculum so that it is effective in each setting. According to the Chicago Police Department, the long term goals of the D.A.R.E. program are to:

- A. Reduce the supply of controlled substances on the street as a result of reduced demand.
- B. Make available instructors who can act as mentors and provide mentoring as need for the students.
- C. Develop a positive relationship between the police and youth.
- D. Develop the long term skills required for positive decision making and reinforcing alternatives to illegal drug use, and falling in with gangs or committing acts of violence.

²⁵ Drug Abuse Resistance Education (D.A.R.E.), Chicago Police Department Special Notice 07-03, 2003.

E. Reduce criminal activity at all age levels.²⁶

The Chicago Police and Chicago Public Schools have also continued to adjust their curriculum with the continued revamping of D.A.R.E.

The D.A.R.E. program overall is usually introduced to children in the fifth or sixth grade and uses uniformed officers to teach the D.A.R.E. curriculum to over 75% of the nation's school districts in all 50 states and 53 countries.²⁷ A revised core curriculum was introduced during the 1994 fall school semester as a result of past research and evaluations of the program. These findings identified shortcomings in the curriculum regarding the shifting philosophy in education. With the refocusing of the education philosophy from a lecture-oriented approach to a cooperative learning and a more hands on approach, the D.A.R.E. program adapted the same principles into its curriculum.

As of 2001 the D.A.R.E program began reinventing itself due to ever-evolving federal prevention program requirements and the thorny issues of school violence, budget cuts and terrorism. New D.A.R.E. officers are trained as “coaches” to support kids who are using researched based refusal strategies in high-stakes peer-pressure environments, performing mock courtroom exercises, and being trained as certified School Resource Officers.²⁸ The website for D.A.R.E. states that its lesson plan focuses on:

1. Providing accurate information about drugs, alcohol, and tobacco.
2. Teaching students good decision-making skills.
3. Showing students how to recognize and resist peer pressure.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ <http://www.dare.com/home/default.asp> (accessed November 14, 2010).

²⁸ Ibid.

4. Giving students ideas for positive alternatives to drug use.

In 2003, D.A.R.E. used its acronym to define steps of decision making to help student access their life choices²⁹:

D Define problems and challenges

A Assess available choices

R Respond by making a choice

E Evaluate their decisions

Students are assigned to work in groups and are directed to use the D.A.R.E. model to make the best life choices according to the assignment. The curriculum can also be modified to meet the needs of the schools and students.

According to the United States Department of Education, the Department of Justice's Bureau of Justice Assistance provides the primary budget of D.A.R.E. Funds are provided to school districts from the Safe and Drug Free Schools and Communities Act (SDFSCA) and a percentage of the state grants are used to support programs such as D.A.R.E. Programs that are specifically designed to prevent school violence and youth drug use, and to help schools and communities create safe, disciplined, and drug free environments that support academic achievement.³⁰ States such as Ohio have also established a D.A.R.E. grants Program through the Office of Attorney General.

With respect to the D.A.R.E. program, there are various stakeholders involved but the most important are children. Parents, the Chicago Police Department and the Chicago

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Drug Abuse Resistance Education, retrieved from: <http://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles/darefs.pdf> (accessed November 13, 2010).

Public Schools play an important role in helping students achieve the principles set forth in the program. Some stakeholders stand to lose while others stand to gain if the program is not fulfilling its goals. In the fight against drugs, private, governmental, and public entities continue to fund the D.A.R.E. program to minimize youth drug abuse.

Gang Resistance Education and Training (G.R.E.A.T.)

The Gang Resistance Education and Training Program (G.R.E.A.T.) was originally a joint program between the Phoenix Police Department (PPD) and the United States Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and explosives (ATF) developed in 1991 when the PPD was looking for ways to address gang violence in their schools. According to the G.R.E.A.T. organization, the program was first administered in middle schools and taught in the following eight-lesson curriculum:

1. Introduction - Acquaint students with the GREAT program and presenting officer.
2. Crime/Victims and your rights - Students learn about crime, victims, and the impact on school and neighborhood.
3. Cultural sensitivity/prejudice - students learn how cultural differences impact their neighborhood.
4. Conflict resolution - students learn how to create an atmosphere of understanding that would enable all parties to better address problems and work on solutions better.
5. Meeting basic needs - Students learn how to meet their basic needs without joining a gang.

6. Drugs/Neighborhoods - Students learn how drugs affect their schools and neighborhoods.

7. Responsibility - Students learn about the diverse responsibilities of people in their schools and neighborhoods.

8. Goal Setting - Students learn the need for goal setting and how to establish short and long term goals.³¹

G.R.E.A.T. focuses on using classroom instruction by a police officer to guide and teach students life skills to avoid gangs, drugs, and crime.

By 1992, the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center (FLETC) joined in to open the program nationwide.³² The program vision of G.R.E.A.T. is “Building Safer Communities One Child at a Time” while its overall program mission is to “Prevent youth crime, violence, and gang involvement.”³³ The G.R.E.A.T. program stresses that in order to gain success the “mutual commitment of law enforcement and educational agencies must be united in a common goal to provide children with (1) skills necessary to combat the stresses that set the stage for gang involvement, (2) accurate knowledge about gang involvement, (3) skills necessary to resolve conflicts peacefully, and (4) help children understand the need to set realistic goals.”³⁴

³¹ <http://www.great-online.org/> (accessed November 14, 2010).

³² Organization, retrieved from: <http://www.great-online.org> (accessed November 14, 2010).

³³ History of the G.R.E.A.T. program, retrieved from: <http://www.great-online.org> (accessed November 14, 2010).

³⁴ Establishing a G.R.E.A.T., retrieved from: <http://www.great-online.org> (accessed November 14, 2010).

In 1994, the Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public Schools adopted the program to address growing gang violence in public schools. The program is taught by a Chicago Police officer who administers the program's curriculum according to the instructional needs identified by the school staff.³⁵ In order to utilize the program in schools, the school Principal was to make a request to the District Commander who assigned G.R.E.A.T. officers per request.

The Program focused on teaching the youth how to “become responsible members of their communities by teaching and reinforcing how to set realistic goals, resist pressures, positively resolve conflicts, and truly understand how gangs impact the quality of life in any community.”³⁶ The Chicago Police teach the program to third, fourth, seventh and eighth grade Chicago Public Schools students. Third and fourth graders receive six weeks of curriculum while the seventh and eighth graders receive thirteen weeks. The classroom teacher is present to assist and help provide the police officer with information regarding classroom needs so that curriculum can be altered if needed. At the end of training students also receive certificates of completion that are signed by the officer, classroom teacher, and principal.

Chicago's long term goals of G.R.E.A.T. were to:³⁷

A. reduce violence and the unlawful use of all weapons

³⁵ School Programs, “Officer Friendly Program,” retrieved from: <https://portal.chicagopolice.org> (accessed on November 14, 2010).

³⁶ Gang Resistance Education and Training (G.R.E.A.T.), Chicago Police Department Special Notice 06-08, 2008.

³⁷ Ibid.

- B. make available instructors who can act as mentors and provide mentoring as needed for the students
- C. develop a positive relationship between the police and youth
- D. develop the long-term skills needed to make positive decisions to avoid gangs and violence
- E. reduce criminal activity at all age levels

Since 1992, several schools, law enforcement agencies, and over 500 neighborhoods in the United States were collaborating on G.R.E.A.T.'s implementation in schools. More than 12,000 officers were trained and certified and nearly six million students graduated.³⁸ In 2000, the curriculum and program was revised to include thirteen lessons, more involvement of teachers, and active learning. The G.R.E.A.T. program later included summer school and training geared towards families.³⁹

Congress placed the control of the G.R.E.A.T. program with the Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs who assigned the Bureau of Justice to manage the program.⁴⁰ Funding for GREAT was provided by the Bureau of Justice Assistance to state and local law enforcement agencies and tribal jurisdictions.⁴¹ The introduction of programs such as D.A.R.E. and G.R.E.A.T during the eighties and nineties was in response to the growing abuses and crimes associated with drugs and gang membership. These programs were seen as innovating ways to attack the issues of crime and criminals

³⁸ Organization, retrieved from: <http://www.great-online.org>

³⁹ History of the G.R.E.A.T. Program, retrieved from: <http://www.great-online.org>

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Funding, retrieved from: <http://www.great-online.org>

by way of prevention at a time when the focus was on stricter penalties. The D.A.R.E. program was and continues to be the most used drug resistance program in schools in the nation although there is continual debate and research that disputes its effectiveness in keeping youth from using drugs and even maintaining negative perceptions regarding drug use. Despite this the program was being taught to over 25 million grade school students by 1995.⁴²

Although drug use had declined during the eighties, the incline during the nineties brought greater attention to the effectiveness of the D.A.R.E. program.⁴³ Several studies and evaluations of the D.A.R.E. program were favorable while just as many, if not more, studies concluded that the program was ineffective. Fewer studies found that the program had short-term effects in areas such as knowledge, but had greater effect on self-esteem, social skills and attitudes related to drugs and towards the police.⁴⁴ Students surveyed shortly after going through the program reported having strong negative attitudes and greater resistance towards drugs but when questioned years later the feelings were not as strong.⁴⁵

⁴² Drug Abuse Resistance Education (D.A.R.E.), U.S. Department of Justice: Office of Justice Programs (Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Assistance, September, 1995).

⁴³ Lloyd D. Johnston, Patrick M. O'Malley, and Jerald G. Bachman, *Monitoring the Future: National Survey Results on Drug Use, 1975-2000*, Vol. I (Maryland: National Institute on Drug Abuse, 2001), 11.

⁴⁴ Rosenbaum and Hanson, 1998; Ringwalt et al., 1994.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

Critics complained about the use of police officers as instructors and suggest that their inability to deliver curriculum like teachers helps to limit the program's success.⁴⁶ Other critics discredit research evaluations that guided by the organization itself that report success.⁴⁷ Some researchers admit that with these studies one has to always keep in mind that they are self-reported answers although many researchers believe this type of reporting to be most valid.⁴⁸

Other issues discovered while researching the D.A.R.E. program was the difficulty of evaluation and discovery of the reasons that some research deems the program ineffective.⁴⁹ The original core curriculum of D.A.R.E. was considered problematic in initiating prevention due to limited interactive approaches.⁵⁰ In an attempt to address complaints of effectiveness, D.A.R.E. added to and updated its curricula.⁵¹ It was believed that changes in the curriculum may produce greater positive effects in the program.⁵² Researchers also believed that there was a possibility for the program to be more effective if students participated in the program twice during their formative years

⁴⁶ Susan T. Ennett, Nancy S. Tobler, Christopher L. Ringwalt, and Robert L. Flewelling, "How Effective is Drug Abuse Resistance Education? A Meta-Analysis of Project DARE Outcome Evaluations," *American Journal of Public Health* 84, No. 9 (September, 1994): 5.

⁴⁷ Joseph F. Donnermeyer, "Educators Perceptions of the D.A.R.E. Officer," *Journal of Alcohol and Drug Education* 44, No. 1 (1998): 1-17.

⁴⁸ Joseph F. Donnermeyer and Russell R. Davis, "Cumulative Effects of Prevention Education on Substance Use Among 11th Grade Students in Ohio," *Journal of School Health*. 68, No. 4 (April 1998).

⁴⁹ Lisa Lisnov, Carol Gibb Harding, L Arthur Safer, and Jack Kavanagh., "Adolescents' Perceptions of Substance Abuse Prevention Strategies," *Criminal Justice Periodicals* 33, No. 130 (1998): 2.

⁵⁰ Ennett et al., 1994.

⁵¹ Donnermeyer and Davis, 1998; Ennett et al., 1994.

⁵² Rosenbaum and Hanson, 1998.

in elementary and middle school.⁵³ Some studies also found that the program had a stronger impact on students in schools in urban areas than those in suburban schools.⁵⁴

When principals and teachers were surveyed about the program, they believed that the D.A.R.E. program overall was effective and intended on continuing it in their schools. They also felt that it had also significantly improved student attitudes towards police officers.⁵⁵ Some areas where principals and teachers rated the program as excellent were “the graduation ceremony, the content of the curriculum, teacher/officer interaction, the student workbook, the role-playing exercises, and the officer’s ability to communicate with students.”⁵⁶ Police Officers, parents, and students that were surveyed also showed strong support of the program.⁵⁷ Both parents and students felt that the police officers were effective instructors.⁵⁸ A main issue touched upon during D.A.R.E. research was the strong possibility of a positive relationship developing between students, the community, and police during the program.⁵⁹

Contributing factors for growing drug use during the early nineties were fewer anti-drug campaigns and advertisements, the growing admiration of drugs and drug use in

⁵³ Ennett et al., 6.

⁵⁴ Rosenbaum and Hanson, 1998

⁵⁵ Joseph F. Donnermeyer and G. Howard Phillips, “Ohio Teachers’ and Principals’ Perceptions of the D.A.R.E. Program,” *Journal of Education* 30, No. 3 (2000).

⁵⁶ Joseph F. Donnermeyer, “Educator Perceptions of the D.A.R.E. Officer,” *Journal of Alcohol and Drug Education* 44, No. 1 (1998).

⁵⁷ Ringwalt et al., 1994.

⁵⁸ Joseph F. Donnermeyer, “Parents Perceptions of a School-Based Prevention Education Program,” *Tennessee Journal of Drug Education* (2000): 325-342.

⁵⁹ Ringwalt et al., 1994 ; Ennett et al., 1994, 6.

the lyrics of music, and parent's apprehension to discuss drug use with their children because of fear of revealing their own experiences with drugs.⁶⁰ The Federal government, music groups, the media, and parents began to change their actions and started to respond to statistics of growing drug use by the mid 1990s. There was an increase in federal funding and drug prevention programs in schools as well as the removal of the celebration of drug use from several artists' music lyrics.⁶¹

Similar to D.A.R.E., concerns as to the effectiveness of the G.R.E.A.T. program surfaced yet the G.R.E.A.T. program is used in schools in all fifty states in over 500 communities and in several other countries.⁶² An early issue of criticism was the short nine-week curriculum.

Unlike D.A.R.E. there has been less research conducted on the effectiveness of G.R.E.A.T. Early research conducted indicated program effectiveness.⁶³ In three different studies that used three different research designs each concluded positive results of the program.⁶⁴ They concluded that the G.R.E.A.T. program had made a difference in gang

⁶⁰ Johnston et al., 271.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² <http://www.great-online.org> (accessed December 07, 2010).

⁶³ D. J. Palumbo and J. L. Ferguson, "Evaluating Gang Resistance Education and Training (GREAT): Is the Impact the Same as That of Drug Abuse Resistance Education (DARE)?," *Evaluation Review* 19, No. 6 (1995): 591-619.; Finn-Aage Esbensen and D. Wayne Osgood, "Gang Resistance Education and Training (G.R.E.A.T.): Results from the National Evaluation," *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 36, No. 2 (1999): 194-225.

⁶⁴ Esbensen and Osgood, 1999; Finn-Aage Esbensen, D. Wayne Osgood, Terrance J. Taylor, Dana Peterson, and Adrienne Freng, "How Great is G.R.E.A.T.? Results from a Longitudinal Quasi-Experimental Design," *Criminology and Public Policy* 1, No. 1 (November 2001): 108.

resistance by increasing student's knowledge on tactics that would avoid delinquency, negative behavior, and peer pressure.⁶⁵

Two of these studies were conducted as part of the National Evaluation of the Gang Resistance Education and Training program.⁶⁶ One was a cross-sectional study conducted between 1994 and 1995 and the other was a longitudinal study in six states conducted from 1995-1999. Although the two studies had different designs and analysis approaches, the results were similar and⁶⁷ concluded that G.R.E.A.T. students negative views of gangs and positive views of police both increased, thus achieving two stated goals of the G.R.E.A.T. program.⁶⁸ Students also had greater self esteem and were more interested in school. The four year longitudinal study deemed the program effective in producing more pro-social attitude changes in students.⁶⁹

Two differences of the studies were the programs ability to reduce gang membership and self-reported delinquency. The cross-sectional study showed low rates after one year of completion of the program while the longitudinal showed no results between the control and treatment group until its third and fourth year.⁷⁰ Researchers also found that much of the G.R.E.A.T. lessons did not focus on gang knowledge but on social

⁶⁵ Scott H. Decker, "A Decade of Gang Research: Findings of the National Institute of Justice Gang Portfolio," ed. Winifred L. Reed and Scott H. Decker, *Responding to Gangs: Evaluation and Research* (Washington: National Institute of Justice, 2002), 18.

⁶⁶ Esbensen et al., 108.

⁶⁷ Decker, 2002; Esbensen et al., 2001.

⁶⁸ Esbensen et al., 108.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid, 109

knowledge. Both studies reported that student's maintained positive changes over time but these changes were small with little difference between the results from the study and control group.⁷¹

Palumbo and Ferguson also reported increased levels of gang resistance and delinquency but pointed out that since they did not conduct the research using a control group the research led to internal assessments. They also could not be sure whether the low results pointed to the error of the program or other factors.⁷² Researchers also looked at whether a student's level of risk for delinquency played a role in the impact that G.R.E.A.T. had.⁷³

The findings also pointed out that although the program did not have strong effects on gang membership the fact that students did walk away with a level of negative perceptions of gangs was important even if it did not stop all students from joining gangs. It also placed focus on the importance of looking at how effective the program was in improving youth and police relationships.⁷⁴ Although police officers received negative reviews from critics, the study indicated that they were considered capable of presenting the curriculum and even were effective in crime prevention at the schools.⁷⁵ The program was seen as genuine in insuring effective officer training and instruction ability.⁷⁶

⁷¹ Decker, 18.

⁷² Palumbo and Ferguson, 591-619.

⁷³ Esbensen et al., 103.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 110.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid

Importantly these researchers felt that they received a positive response when negative results were reported to the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms who were eager to work in conjunction with researchers and G.R.E.A.T. members to seek out ways to improve the program.⁷⁷

Other studies of the G.R.E.A.T. program focused on administrators, teachers, and parents perceptions. The studies found that all were very satisfied with the program in the schools and perceived the program to be influential on student's problem solving ability, attitudes towards police, and effective in steering students away from gangs.⁷⁸ Although there was an issue of the program producing moderate results in students joining gangs, many critics believe that the G.R.E.A.T. program should be commended for its role in lower victimization, providing negative perceptions of gangs, better family, group, and friend association, and better attitudes towards police.⁷⁹

One researcher believed that no completed evidence gives support to the program's effectiveness and that research may not be able to measure satisfaction but can measure the impact that the program (officers in general) has on student's attitudes and behaviors.⁸⁰ Regardless of the negative research results of the D.A.R.E. and G.R.E.A.T.

⁷⁷ Decker, 18.

⁷⁸ Finn-Aage Esbensen and D. Wayne Osgood, "What Educators say About School-Based Prevention and the Gang Resistance and Education (G.R.E.A.T.) program," *Evaluation Review* 28, No. 3 (2004). Adrienne Freng, "Parents Speak Out: Parent Questionnaires from the Gang Resistance Education and Training (G.R.E.A.T.) Evaluation," paper presented at the annual meeting at the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences (Washington, DC, April, 2001).

⁷⁹ James C. Howell, *Preventing and Reducing Juvenile Delinquency* (California: Sage Publications, Inc., 2009), 161; Esbensen et al., 2001, 89.

⁸⁰ Esbensen et al., 2001, 111.

programs, they both remain the most frequent Drug and Gang Resistance programs used in schools.

Researchers have continually questioned and made inferences as to why D.A.R.E. is still being used when repeated studies show it to be ineffective and at times even increasing participant's drug use. Studies addressed issues that D.A.R.E. is not taking into account the differences in population or making curriculum adjustments to address differences in economic status, race and cultural backgrounds, and social problems. As researchers continue to consider the program a failure, D.A.R.E. advocates continue to refute the unsatisfactory results considering them false and even accusing those who proclaim the program to be a failure as doing so for personal financial interests. The public display of negative findings regarding the program has drawn public attention and has made many people wonder "why."⁸¹

The reports have drawn so much attention that D.A.R.E. is no longer considered an "Exemplary or Promising" disciplined and drug-free schools program by the federal government.⁸² While some communities discontinued D.A.R.E., the refusal of others to do so indicated the complexity of removal of well established programs. Supporters felt that the program was positive but it also needed the support of the community to maintain drug resistance during and after the program was complete. Administrators felt that there

⁸¹ Greg Berman and Aubrey Fox, *Lessons From the Battle Over D.A.R.E.: The Complicated Relationship between Research and Practice* (Washington, DC: Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice, 2009), 1; Rosenbaum and Hanson, 381-412.

⁸² *Lead and Manage My School: Safe, Disciplined, and Drug-Free Expert Panel*, U.S. Department of Education, retrieved from: <http://www2.ed.gov/admins/lead/safety/exemplary01/panel.html> (accessed March 01, 2011); *Exemplary and Promising Safe, Disciplined and Drug-Free Schools Programs* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, 2001). <http://www2.ed.gov/admins/lead/safety/exemplary01/exemplary01.pdf>

were more positive aspects of the program that led them to continue its use such as the positive relationships that occurred between students, parents, school staff, and police officers. Many school officials and police officers felt that there was a “feel good” aspect of the program.⁸³ Detractors of the program concluded that the underlying reason for continuation of the program was connected to the funding. Discontinuing the program would also discontinue a funding source for the agencies involved.

The Research Triangle Institute study found that funding for D.A.R.E. was generated from multiple sources, which included the U.S. Department of Justice, local school districts, local police department city budgets, Bureau of Justice Assistance Grants, Governor's Office, State Department of Education, legislative funds, various agencies, corporate and individual donations, civic or community groups, asset seizures, fund raisers, and D.A.R.E. America.⁸⁴ Several schools that were included in the study could not provide an exact figure of how much money was received for the program, nor could the U.S. Department of Education provide the exact amount allocated towards the program.⁸⁵

In 1998 the D.A.R.E. program was no longer considered to meet the criteria of “effective” by the U.S. Department of Education, and as a result, received minimal funding from the Department of Education. D.A.R.E. costs between \$1 billion and \$1.3

⁸³ Berman and Fox, 6, 7, 14.

⁸⁴ Ringwalt et al., 2004.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

billion per year, which translates into between \$175 to \$270 per student each year.⁸⁶

Researchers conclude that the overall the benefits of D.A.R.E. do not outweigh the costs and that there are other drug resistance and education programs available which studies have shown to be more beneficial and cost effective.

Early studies for the G.R.E.A.T. program had more reserved results. Studies show that students who participated in the G.R.E.A.T. training met two of the programs goals. Participants developed more negative attitudes regarding gangs and positive attitudes about police than those who did not receive the training, yet it did not affect them joining or being involved with gangs. The G.R.E.A.T. program is not directed at gang members but classrooms as a whole. A more recent multi-site evaluation reported that the new revised G.R.E.A.T. curriculum met the third goal of the program – to lower rates of gang membership.⁸⁷ The new training included a goal of teaching students life skills to help them resist drugs.

While D.A.R.E. did not meet the qualification of being an Exemplary of Promising program, G.R.E.A.T holds a spot on the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention’s “Promising and Effective” programs list. G.R.E.A.T. falls into the Level 2 classification:

...programs that have been scientifically proven to prevent delinquency, reduce risk factors, or enhance protective factors for delinquency and other juvenile problems. These programs employ an experimental or quasi-experimental research design with a comparison group. Evidence

⁸⁶ Edward M. Shepard III, *The Economic Costs of D.A.R.E.* (Syracuse, NY: Lemoyne College, 2001), 16.

⁸⁷ Finn-Aage Esbensen, Dana Peterson, Terrance J. Taylor, and D. Wayne Osgood, *Results from a Multi-site Evaluation of the G.R.E.A.T. Program* (Washington, DC: U.S. Office of Justice Programs, Department of Justice, 2010), 2.

from program evaluations suggests these programs are effective or potentially effective, but this evidence is not as strong as for level 1 programs.⁸⁸

Most programs related to gangs hold a Level 2 spot due to the limited research and programs are not required to yield remarkable results in order to be included. Programs only need to be practical and advantageous against dealing with the harms of gangs. G.R.E.A.T. is considered a primary prevention program.⁸⁹ One prominent finding researchers had regarding D.A.R.E. was that it addressed students too early which did not adequately equip them with defense resistance skills that would be effective by the time they reached pre-teen and teenage years when the pressures of drugs and gangs would be more prevalent. The G.R.E.A.T. program is administered to children as early as fourth grade and up into teenage years it has undergone a few studies but not to the level of the examination of the D.A.R.E. program.

Grant money to implement G.R.E.A.T. is provided by the Bureau of Justice Assistance, and is awarded annually through a grant application process. In 2004, 215 grants for G.R.E.A.T. were awarded. Agencies receiving the grant funding must reapply for funding in subsequent years. There has not been much discussion about the misappropriation of G.R.E.A.T. funds by implementing agencies but it does raise a concern as to why programs that are unable to produce dramatic results continue to receive funding. Early funding for G.R.E.A.T. was provided by the Safe and Drug-Free Schools Act, the Office of Juvenile Justice Delinquency Prevention, as well as other

⁸⁸ James C. Howell, "Gang Prevention: An Overview of Research and Programs, 2010," retrieved from: <http://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/ojjdp/231116.pdf> (accessed April 01, 2011), 13.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

community service programs. The dissatisfactory results of the D.A.R.E. program have gained national attention while the focus on G.R.E.A.T. has not reached the same magnitude. Additional research will provide a clearer picture of the effectiveness of both D.A.R.E. and G.R.E.A.T.

CHAPTER V

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

The McCone commission stated in 1965, that programs can and must be developed to encourage youth support. “Visitation programs to elementary schools...and frequent contact between the police and the students in junior and senior high schools... are a basic responsibility of the Police Department. These programs serve to prevent crime, and... crime prevention is a responsibility of the Police Department, equal in importance to law enforcement.”¹

At the end of the 20th century, the Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public Schools continued to work collaboratively through programs and initiatives to address issues of school violence and violence against school students, one of the Nations National Education Goals implemented by Congress in 1990. These Goals were intended to be achieved by the year 2000.

An important section of the National Education Goals declared that “every school in the United States would be free of drugs, violence, and the unauthorized presence of firearms and alcohol and would offer a disciplined environment conducive to learning.” Schools worked to meet these goals by some set objectives:

1. Every school will implement a firm and fair policy on use, possession, and distribution of drugs and alcohol.

¹ John McCone and Warren Christopher, Violence in the City- An End or a Beginning? A Report by the Governor’s Commission on the Los Angeles Riots, The McCone Commission Report, 1968.

2. Parents, businesses, governmental and community organizations will work together to ensure the rights of students to study in a safe and secure environment that is free of drugs and crime, and that schools provide a healthy environment and are a safe haven for all children.

3. Every local educational agency will develop and implement a policy to ensure that all schools are free of violence and the unauthorized presence of weapons.

4. Every local educational agency will develop a sequential, comprehensive kindergarten through twelfth grade drug and alcohol prevention education program.

5. Drug and alcohol curriculum should be taught as an integral part of sequential, comprehensive health education.²

In order to address and meet many of these goals the Chicago Public Schools had to work closely with the Chicago Police Department as well as other agencies in order to put into action initiatives that would create this type of school environment.

As the Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public Schools worked towards these goals, School Crime and Safety reports showed that overall the percentage of U.S. students who reported being victims of crime had decreased from 10% to 6% between 1995 and 2001 while those who were victims of violent crime decreased by one percent.³ Patterns of violence where guns, knives, and clubs were used showed no increase or decrease. There were also no real changes in suicide patterns. One area that did show an

²The National Education Goals Report (Washington, 1995).

³Indicators of School Crime and Safety: 2003 (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, U.S. Department of Education, Office of Justice Programs, October 2003).

increase by 2001 was the number of students being bullied.⁴ Overall, 8% of children reported being bullied and or harassed in school, an increase from 5%. Students reported that they were teased, isolated, intimidated and physically abused daily.⁵ Bullying takes many forms, such as via cell phone texting, in email and over the internet. The number of kids being bullied who commit harm to themselves is also growing and this has become a big concern for parents and schools and the policy makers.⁶

The *Journal of the American Medical Association* reports that bullying is “(1) behavior that is intended to harm or disturb, (2) behavior that occurs repeatedly over time, and (3) an imbalance of power, with a more powerful person or group attacking a less powerful one.”⁷ It can be exhibited verbally, physically, or psychologically.⁸ Students who are bullied are often excluded and talked about by their peers. It has been reported that the harsh effects of bullying during childhood filters over into adulthood. Childhood bullies have also become adult criminals.⁹

⁴ Indicators of School Crime and Safety: 2003 (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, U.S. Department of Education, Office of Justice Programs, October 2003).

⁵ Steps to Respect Program Guide, Review of Research, Committee for Children, 2001. Retrieved from: <http://www.cfchildren.org> (accessed 08 December 08, 2010).

⁶ Paige Bowers, “Bullying: Suicides Highlight a Schoolyard Problem,” U.S. Time in Partnership with CNN (May 20, 2009). Retrieved from: <http://www.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,1899930,00.html> (accessed December 10, 2010).

⁷ Tonya R. Nansel, Mary Overpeck, Ramani S. Pilla, W. June Ruan, Bruce Simmons-Morton, and Peter Scheidt, “Bullying Behaviors Among US Youth: Prevalence and Association with Psychosocial Adjustment,” *Journal of the American Medical Association* 285, No. 2094-2100 (April 25, 2001): 1.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Susan P. Limber and Mark A. Small, “State Laws and Policies to Address Bullying in Schools,” *School Psychology Review* 32, No. 3 (2003): 445-455).

As the 20th century progressed not only was bullying a rising problem in the occurrence of violence but students were becoming involved in cults, hate crimes, and other forms of extremists groups.¹⁰ They were committing mass attacks of violence and murders.¹¹ Even though reports showed that that the number of crimes occurring in schools were very rare, several publicized school shootings gave a different perception to the outside world. The constant media attention of schools shootings alarmed the world.

In February 1997, a 14-year-old boy in Washington shot and killed two students and a teacher in his Algebra class. In October 1997, a 16-year-old student in Mississippi murdered his mother and two students in his school because he was an outcast. In the middle of a prayer circle in December 1997, a 14-year-old boy began to shoot killing three and wounding five. In Arkansas, March 1998, an 11 and 13-year old student pulled the school fire alarm. As the students exited the building they began to fire from a nearby wooded area, killing a teacher, four female students and wounding 10 other students.

A shooting in April 1999 that will never be forgotten and that awakened the nation to the seriousness of school violence and shootings was the Columbine Shooting in Littleton, Colorado. Two teenage students, 17 and 18-years old, entered Columbine High School and went on a shooting spree, killing one teacher, 12 students, and injuring 23 others before killing themselves. These shootings as well as others made everyone – administrators, teachers, parents, police, and government – take a second look at schools as safe havens. In response, in June 1999, as part of the Safe and Drug-Free Schools

¹⁰ George W. Knox, *Findings from the K-12 Survey Project: A Special Report of the NGCRC* (National Gang Crime Research Center, 2008).

¹¹ Ibid.

program, the Safe School Initiative was introduced in a joint effort between the Secret Service and Department of Education to examine and explore patterns, thought processes, and behaviors of offenders of school attacks.¹² Although this was the Government's goals for schools, in the 1999-2000 school year, the National Center for Statistics reported that seventy-one percent of schools reported at least one violent crime occurring.¹³

After these and several other shootings in schools, and alarming numbers of suicides, laws in response to bullying were addressed. Illinois passed a law on bullying and harassment which required that school boards in the States implement and/or revise discipline policies that address bullying, stalking, and harassment.¹⁴ This law also applied to cyber bullying acts. In the Safe Schools Initiative Final Report, one of its 10 key findings in regards to the occurrence of school attacks was that "many attackers felt bullied, persecuted or injured by others prior to the attack."¹⁵ In several cases, individual attackers had experienced bullying and harassment that was long-standing and severe. In the meantime schools were still also dealing with issues of gangs and drugs. During the fourth year of Community Policing in Chicago (1997), Thirty-six percent of residents that were interviewed were disturbed by the Gangs and their involvement in violence, drug sales, and gang wars as well as the growth of gangs in schools and their intimidation of

¹² Bryan Vossekuil, Robert A. Fein, Marisa Reddy, Randy Brown, and William Modzeleski, *The Final Report and Findings of the Safe Schools Initiative: Implications for the Prevention of School Attacks in the United States* (Washington, DC, Department of Education: Office of Elementary and Secondary Education, Safe and Drug-Free Schools Program and U.S. Secret Service, National Threat Assessment Center, May 2002), 3.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Limber and Small, 5.

¹⁵ Vossekuil et al., 21.

area residents.¹⁶ Twenty-three percent were concerned with street drug sales, drugs houses, and the problems of drugs in schools.

In order to address these issues that were taking focus away from instruction, schools took action by changing their dress codes, implementing uniforms, and creating stricter discipline policies. Because gangs identify themselves by gang colors and symbols, school policies set forth school dress codes or uniforms to reduce the ability of gang representation or even misrepresentation by non-gang members.¹⁷ The uniform change was also to reduce the incident of gang crime. Ninety percent of the schools installed security surveillance cameras. Metal detectors were placed in schools and security officers were equipped with wand detectors. Schools updated search and seizure policies that included desk and locker searches. Many schools also ended recess for students due to safety issues, although it was not the main reason or only reason.¹⁸

To address these issues Zero-Tolerance policies were re-visited by government to address school safety in response to crime and violence, drugs, and gangs. The Chicago Public School District updated its discipline policies over the years, as needed, to address school crime and a growing number of transgressions by punishments of suspension and expulsion. Chicago public schools suspended 57 students in the 1995-1996 school-year and during the 1997-1998 school-year the number grew to 318 due to the newly

¹⁶ CAPS year four, 98.

¹⁷ C. Bell, S. Gamm, P. Vallas, and P. Jackson, "Strategies for the Prevention of Youth Violence in Chicago Public Schools," eds. Mohammad Shafii and Sharon Lee Sahfii, *School Violence: Contributing Factors, Management, and Prevention* (Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Press, 2001), 251-272.

¹⁸Ibid.

implemented Zero Tolerance policies.¹⁹ Illinois Public Schools records show the number of expulsions for the following years:

Table 1

Illinois Public Schools

School Year	Number of Expulsions
1998	2,744
1999	2,779
2000	2058
2001	2,304
2002	2,543
2003	2,530
2004	2,793
2005	3,322

From: Illinois Regional Safe Schools Program, Data Analysis and Progress Reporting Division Illinois State Board of Education, March 2006.²⁰

Between, 1992-1993 up until the 1998-1999 school years, Chicago expulsions grew from 14 to 737.²¹ During the 1999-2000 school year expulsions grew to 1500.

In 1998, The Chicago Public Schools started a program called the Saturday Morning Alternative Reach-out and Teach (SMART). This program set out to reduce the number of students being expelled and to be an alternative to expulsion. CPS felt that students who were expelled stood a greater chance of falling behind and failing to

¹⁹ Natalie Pardo, ed., "Chicago Public Schools: Expulsions Rise, but Safety Issues Persist," *The Chicago Reporter* (September 1998).

²⁰ Illinois Regional Safe Schools Program, Data Analysis and Progress Reporting Division Illinois State Board of Education, March 2006. Retrieved from: http://www.isbe.state.il.us/research/pdfs/05_RSSP_summary.pdf (accessed January 03, 2010).

²¹ "Opportunities Suspended: The Devastating Consequences of Zero Tolerance and School Discipline Policies," Civil Rights Project, Harvard University, Advancement Project (June 2000), 3.

graduate.²² Hearing officers refer students who continue to attend their home school during the program but also attend eight Saturday classes and 20 hours of community service. Parents must attend two of the Saturday classes.

During the 1999-2000 school year 528, students were referred to SMART. The number of students being expelled began to reduce with the program in place. In the 2000-2001 school year, 691 students were expelled while 730 were referred to SMART.²³ By the 2005-2006 school year, 881 students were expelled and 952 were referred to SMART.²⁴ Over 43,000 students were suspended from Chicago Public schools in 2008-2009, 614 expelled, and 1176 referred to SMART.²⁵ CPS included drugs, alcohol, and disruptive behavior, the carrying of knives, guns, and other dangerous weapons as well as some nonviolent offenses among the Zero Tolerance infractions.

As crime and murders in and near schools grounds began to occur more often, Chicago Police Officers were pressed to focus greater concentration on schools. These issues gave schools and the police even more reason to work as a team so schools began requesting officers for assignment to schools. A 1999 Grant from the U.S. Department of Justice provided funding for police officers in schools. Since then police officers have been stationed at nearly 50% of schools across the U.S. Different law enforcement

²² Saturday Morning Alternative Reach-Out and Teach (SMART) Program. Retrieved from: http://www.cps.edu/Programs/Pathways_to_success/Alternative_education_and_transition/Pages/SMARTProgram.aspx (accessed January 03, 2010).

²³ Agenda of Action, 01-0822-ED1. Report on Student Expulsions for July 2001. Retrieved from: http://www.cps.edu/About_CPS/The_Board_of_Education/Documents/BoardActions/2001_08/01-0822-ED1.pdf (accessed January 3, 2011.)

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

agencies addressed these assigned officers by different titles but in a number of agencies they became known as School Resource Officers (SRO's).²⁶ The Department of Justice pointed out that the role of these officers assigned to schools could vary but the most common three roles were, "safety expert and law enforcer, problem solver and liaison to community resources, and educator."²⁷

The Chicago Police Department implemented a School Patrol Unit to focus directly on school crimes and disorder, and drug and gang resistance education. Officers were moved from regular patrol duties and placed into the School Patrol Unit. The Chicago Police and Chicago Public schools worked in partnership to have "school officers" assigned to high schools that were experiencing greater issues of crime. On average, two officers were assigned as partners into Chicago high schools according to the Chicago Public School needs and request. These officers reported to the same high schools that they were assigned on a daily basis during school hours and assisted schools with a variety of issues.

Off-duty officers were also hired part-time as security officers by the Chicago Public schools.²⁸ For years, Chicago Police Officers were stationed in the Chicago Public Schools but when budget constraints arose officers were removed and the Chicago Police School Patrol Unit was disbanded. The Chicago Police continued to place Officers from within police districts at schools during school hours when manpower permitted. When it

²⁶ Barbara Raymond, "Assigning Police Officers to Schools," Problem-Oriented Guides for Police Response Guides Series No. 10. Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, U.S. Department of Justice (Washington, DC, April 2010).

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Bell et al., 2001.

was not feasible officers were assigned to schools during dismissal times when more fight and disorder broke out. Parent and police patrols were also placed outside of Chicago grammar schools.

During the early years of the 21st century, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention reported that most violent injury and death disproportionately affected youth and was mostly connected with guns. According to the CDC:

“Homicide was the second leading cause of death for all 15–24 year olds, most killed with guns, the leading cause of death for African-Americans and the second leading cause of death for Hispanic youths. More than 400,000 youth ages 10-19 were injured as a result of violence in 2000. 833,000 youth between the ages of 12 and 17 reportedly carried handguns with males being six times more likely.”²⁹

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention also reported that drug and alcohol abuse was seriously impacting youth. Half of car accidents where youth were involved and 30% of suicides of youth were associated with the use alcohol and drugs. Youth involved with drugs and alcohol were also more likely to become involved in negative behaviors.³⁰

A 2006 National Report for Juvenile Offenders and Victims reported that between 1993 and 2003, juveniles age 12-17 had a greater likelihood of being victims of crime 2.5 times greater than adults. Weapons (e.g., firearm, knife, or club) were used in 23% of the violent crimes committed against juveniles.³¹ After 1995, the number of murders with

²⁹ Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, retrieved from: <http://www.cdc.gov> (accessed January 08, 2011).

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Howard N. Snyder and Melissa Sickmund, “Juvenile Offenders and Victims: 2006 National Report” (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency and Prevention), 28.

juvenile offenders began to decrease, but by 2002 it had fallen 65%.³² The number of students who carried a weapon to school dropped by half from 12% in 1993 to 6% in 2003 (Illinois was not a reporting state).³³ Violence against youth were most common at schools but by 2001 the rate of violent crime dropped by nearly 40%.³⁴ Suicide was the fourth leading cause of death among youth between 1981 and 2001. Guns were used in 60% of all suicides.³⁵

With respect to drug use among youth, the National Report stated that almost half of 10th graders admitted using illicit drugs, marijuana the most used among all, while more than half of 8th and 12th graders admitted using drug in 2003.³⁶ A study conducted by “Monitoring the Future” reported that during the early part of the 21st century there was a decrease in illicit drug use among 8th, 10th, and 12th graders but it began to rise again in 2008.³⁷ In a ten year span from 1999 until 2009 the use of crack among 8th, 10th, and 12th graders declined from 2.7% to between 0.3% and 1.3%.³⁸ The use of cocaine among all groups dropped in 2008. In the 2009 survey, 88% of young adults admitted trying alcohol while one-fifth are smokers.³⁹ After 2003 the perceived risks associated

³² Ibid., 65.

³³ Monitoring the Future, 2003; Snyder and Sickmund, 2006, 74.

³⁴ Snyder and Sickmund, 2006, 25, 28, 29.

³⁵ Ibid., 25.

³⁶ Monitoring the Future, 2003; Snyder and Sickmund, 2006, 75.

³⁷ Monitoring the Future, 2009, 10.

³⁸ Ibid., 18.

³⁹ Ibid., 27-29.

with marijuana use among 8th and 10th graders increased significantly until 2008. The negative perception of cocaine and crack use declined after 1999 but had pretty much remained stagnant after 2000.⁴⁰ The relationship between the Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public Schools to prevent drug use remained strong. They continue to address youth's alcohol, cigarette, and drug use with drug resistance programs taught in schools.

Chicago's crime rates were high and the police felt the need for more eyes and ears on the streets. The Chicago Police Department revealed its "Police Observation Devices" POD camera's in 2003. There were originally 30 POD Cameras placed on city streets. The POD Cameras were introduced as a pilot program to address and reduce city crime and drug and gang activity. The POD Camera is remote-controlled and serves somewhat as a security camera. It can view and record, zoom and rotate 360 degrees with visibility for several blocks. POD cameras are placed on street light poles in highly visible areas to disrupt and observe criminal activity. Officers are able to view camera footage on computers in their vehicle, police station, and at the Office of Emergency Management and Communication (OEMC).⁴¹

During the 2005-2006 school year, 81% of schools reported at least one act of violent crime occurring.⁴² Gang wars during the 2006-2007 school year led to the killings

⁴⁰ Ibid., 350.

⁴¹ Chicago Police Department, retrieved from: <https://portal.chicagopolice.org/portal/page/portal/ClearPath/About%20CPD/POD%20Program> (accessed December 10, 2010).

⁴² Rachel Dinkes, Emily Forrest Cataldi, Wendy Lin-Kelly, and Thomas D. Synder, *Indicators of School Crime and Safety: 2007* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, U.S. Department of Education, Office of Justice Programs, December 2007).

of 32 public school students in the city.⁴³ In response, the Chicago Public Schools Board of Education appropriated funds towards police patrols and POD Cameras for the “Students First Safe Passage Pilot Program. During 2006-2007 and 2007-2008 school year, the Chicago Police Department implemented the “Students First Safe Passage Pilot Program.” Four million dollars in State funding through the Board of Education was to place more police patrols around Chicago high schools during dismissal. These locations were designated as “safe zones” which were areas where crimes involving students were likely to occur.⁴⁴

The program funded 20 off-duty Police officers and two sergeants to work overtime in these safe zones between the North and South side schools during the hours of 1 p.m.- 5 p.m.⁴⁵ On-duty officers on foot and vehicle patrol were beefed up during school dismissals in and around schools and in zones designated as “safe zones.”⁴⁶

The Chicago Police Department also installed 20 Micro-Pod cameras near schools during January 2007 and by June 2007 there were 105 cameras installed. These cameras were placed in location near and around schools. These cameras were able to transmit video wirelessly allowing officers to view them on their Portable Data Terminals (PDT’s) in their cars or in the police station or on computers provided to School Officers assigned

⁴³ Mayor Daley, CPS Accept CHASE Security Camera Donation for 40 High Schools, retrieved from: http://www.cps.edu/News/Press_releases/2009/Pages/12_18_2009_PR1.aspx

⁴⁴ Chicago Police Department, Students First Safe Passage Pilot Program, retrieved from: [chicagopolice.org, https://portal.chicagopolice.org/portal/page/portal/ClearPath/News/Statistical%20Reports/Other%20Reports/StudentsFirst.pdf](https://portal.chicagopolice.org/portal/page/portal/ClearPath/News/Statistical%20Reports/Other%20Reports/StudentsFirst.pdf)

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Chicago Police Department, retrieved from: <https://portal.chicagopolice.org/portal/page/portal/ClearPath/About%20CPD/POD%20Program> (accessed December 10, 2010).

to schools. They could also be viewed at the Office of the Emergency Management and Communication.⁴⁷

The murder of Chicago honor student Blair Holt in May, 2007 served as a service announcement for a city-wide anti-violence campaign in 2008. Holt was shot and killed when a gang member entered a Chicago bus and began firing aimlessly at a rival gang member. Four other students were also shot.⁴⁸ A study conducted by Dr. George Knox found that gang disturbances were more common in public school than in state prisons and almost eighty percent of schools jurisdictions wanted to implement gang prevention programs.⁴⁹

The Chicago Public Schools district was given three federal grants in 2008 in the amount of \$14.2 million to implement more “gang prevention, safety, emotional health and anti-drug programs in the schools, sustainable safety programs, additional G.R.E.A.T. (Gang Resistance Education and Awareness Training) training in targeted communities through a partnership with the CPD. High school students were to participate in Reconnecting Youth to reach those at risk for dropping out because of gang involvement in order to support high school dropout prevention efforts and keep students engaged in school-based activities, particularly those transitioning from 8th to 9th grade.

⁴⁷ Chicago Police Department, Students First Safe Passage Pilot Program, retrieved from: [chicagopolice.org, https://portal.chicagopolice.org/portal/page/portal/ClearPath/News/Statistical%20Reports/Other%20Reports/StudentsFirst.pdf](https://portal.chicagopolice.org/portal/page/portal/ClearPath/News/Statistical%20Reports/Other%20Reports/StudentsFirst.pdf) (accessed December 10, 2010).

⁴⁸ Mayor Daley, CPS and City Officials Announce Anti-Violence Campaign, Chicago Public Schools, 2008, retrieved from: http://www.cps.edu/News/Press_releases/2008/Pages/09_13_2008_PR1.aspx (accessed December 08, 2010) and <http://www.blairholtmemorialfoundation.org/home> (accessed December 10, 2010).

⁴⁹ George W. Knox, Findings from the K-12 Survey Project: A Special Report of the NGCRC (National Gang Crime Research Center, 2008).

One program will focus on at-risk students who have low attendance, have been expelled or are returning from juvenile detention centers. Students will receive work-force training and anger management training. And lastly, an emergency management plan for schools during crisis events and staff training in the area of emergency management.”⁵⁰

During the 2007-2008 school year, 24 public school students were murdered.⁵¹ In the 2008-2009 school year there were 143 students shot.⁵² Very few of the shootings that have taken place over the years have are not on school grounds.⁵³ Mayor Daley pointed out that homicides and violent crime was down overall in 2008 but the senseless murders of youth were continuing.⁵⁴ The constant acts of violence led parents to keep their kids out of school. When questioned as to the numbers of students injured in acts of violence Arne Duncan replied, “It would be staggering.”⁵⁵ According to the CPS Chief Executive Officer, Michael Shields, during the 2008-2009 school year, CPS reported 116,000 incidents and of this number 17,000 were of a “serious misconduct” nature.

⁵⁰ Mayor Daley, CPS and City Officials Announce Anti-Violence Campaign, Chicago Public Schools, 2008, retrieved from: http://www.cps.edu/News/Press_releases/2008/Pages/09_13_2008_PR1.aspx (accessed December 08, 2010).

⁵¹ Mayor Daley, CPS Accept CHASE Security Camera Donation for 40 High Schools, retrieved from: http://www.cps.edu/News/Press_releases/2009/Pages/12_18_2009_PR1.aspx

⁵² “Chicago Public School Focus on Security,” *Chicago Defender*, January 28, 2010, retrieved from: <http://www.chicagodefender.com/article-7029-chicago-public-school.html> (accessed December 10, 2010).

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Susan Saulny, “After Killings, Escorts for Chicago Students,” *The New York Times*, April 27, 2008, retrieved from: <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/04/27/us/27chicago.html>

⁵⁵ Ibid.

Transgressions that either led to suspension or expulsion.⁵⁶ In an attempt to keep students safe parents had been volunteering as part of Operation Safe Passage, by walking students to and from schools, and busses. The Chicago Police were also involved, joining in the escort on foot and in cars in a collaborative effort with schools.⁵⁷

In 2008, the Chicago Public Schools and Chicago Police Department planned to use new safety program initiatives to address crime. The initiatives focused on greater curfew enforcement, more after school programs, more police at and near targeted schools, and better security cameras and schools. The peer-jury program will also have a larger scope to broaden and allow students more duties towards their school environment.⁵⁸ In 2008, 44 CPS high schools had peer juries, and six elementary schools through an approved grant, this grant also included a CPS staff-training component and added sixth and eighth graders to the program.⁵⁹

“Chicago became the first city in the nation in 2008 to have a comprehensive school security camera network when the Chicago Public School system, the Chicago Police department, and the Office of Emergency Management and Communications developed a partnership that made it possible to respond more quickly and effectively to

⁵⁶ “Chicago Public School Focus on Security,” *Chicago Defender*, January 28, 2010, retrieved from: <http://www.chicagodefender.com/article-7029-chicago-public-schoo.html> (accessed December 10, 2010).

⁵⁷ Susan Saulny, “After Killings, Escorts for Chicago Students,” *The New York Times*, April 27, 2008, retrieved from: <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/04/27/us/27chicago.html>

⁵⁸ CPS, Police Department Boost Student-Safety Efforts, Chicago Public Schools, 2008, retrieved from: http://www.cps.edu/News/Press_releases/2008/Pages/09_08_2008_PR2.aspx accessed on December 08, 2010.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

any emergency at a school, stated Daley.”⁶⁰ Chicago Public schools had installed more than 4,500 security cameras in and around nearly 200 public grammar and high schools and schools administration locations. This new joint effort provided the Chicago Police Department and Office of Emergency Management and Communications remote access to view camera video in real-time.⁶¹ In 2009, Mayor Richard M. Daley announced that Chase bank was donating \$2.25 million towards 90 security cameras to be placed at forty Chicago public high schools. Chicago Police, schools, and Chase all worked together to determine which schools needed them most.⁶²

“Operation Protect Children” was also introduced as a program to add to youth safety. The Chicago Police Department deployed officers based on gathered intelligence. They also assigned them to areas with high incidents of crime and violence. Extra manpower was designated as well to assist with safe passage of students to and from school. Police Officers were also to be visible during after-school programs. Assigned officers were available to assist school personnel while school and extra-curricular activities were being conducted.⁶³

⁶⁰ Mayor Daley, CPS Accept CHASE Security Camera Donation for 40 High Schools, retrieved from: http://www.cps.edu/News/Press_releases/2009/Pages/12_18_2009_PR1.aspx

⁶¹ Chicago Public Schools, Technical Collaboration with Responding Agencies: A New Generation with Emergency Management (Chicago, IL: Chicago Public Schools, 2009).

⁶² Mayor Daley, CPS Accept CHASE Security Camera Donation for 40 High Schools, retrieved from: http://www.cps.edu/News/Press_releases/2009/Pages/12_18_2009_PR1.aspx (accessed on December 08, 2010).

⁶³ Chicago Public Schools, CPS, Police Department Boost Student-Safety Efforts: New Student Safety Programs Announced, 2008, retrieved from: http://www.cps.edu/News/Press_releases/2008/Pages/09_08_2008_PR2.aspx (accessed on December 08, 2010).

More Chicago Police officers were assigned to CTA buses and train stations during the morning and evening hours when students are going to and from schools to deter crime and conflicts. They also initiated the new TEXT2TIP program that allows CPS students to send text tips to the CPD from a cell phone. All text tips remain anonymous and are received by the Chicago Police Departments Crime Prevention and Information Center. The police are then able to share these texts with local, state, and federal law-enforcement partners.⁶⁴

“Technology is at the fingertips of young people everyday, and if law enforcement can encourage students to report a crime or a tip that could solve a crime, we are adding another layer of crime fighting capability to reduce the violence,” said Superintendent Weis. “A simple, anonymous text tip can potentially save a life.”⁶⁵

The Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public Schools joined together with other schools districts around the world to observe the National Day of Concern about People and Gun Violence in 2008. The students were engaged in discussions about the harms associated with gun violence and encouraged to sign a pledge against gun violence.⁶⁶ Chicago Public Schools’ then CEO Arnie Duncan stated that “Guns and

⁶⁴ CPS, Police Department Boost Student-Safety Efforts, Chicago Public Schools, 2008, retrieved from: http://www.cps.edu/News/Press_releases/2008/Pages/09_08_2008_PR2.aspx (accessed on December 08, 2010).

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Students Take Anti-gun Pledge, Chicago Public Schools, October 21, 2008, retrieved from: <http://www.cps.edu/Spotlight/Pages/Spotlight20.aspx> (accessed December 08, 2010).

gangs are too prevalent in our children's lives; we need to draw attention to this crisis and get everyone focused on valuing and protecting our children more."⁶⁷

During the 2009-2010 school year, 245 school students were shot.⁶⁸ A notable incident of violence in Chicago was the shooting of 16-year-old honor student Derrion Albert in September 2009. Albert was an innocent victim who got caught in a fight between kids from different neighborhoods.⁶⁹ After the murder of Albert, officials of the Chicago Police and Chicago Public Schools both worked jointly to attack violence near schools. The police department "launched a computer database that tracks daily incidents, from curfew violations to violent crimes around high schools, as an early warning system."⁷⁰ The Chicago Public Schools moved its safety and security center to its headquarters and provided more access to the camera system to the Chicago Police Department and the Office of Emergency Management and Communications.⁷¹

⁶⁷Ibid.

⁶⁸ Annie Murphy Paul, Fighting School Violence by Pinpointing Its Victims, U.S. Time in Partnership with CNN, October 17, 2010, retrieved from: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,2022709,00.html>.

⁶⁹ "Chicago Public School Focus on Security," *Chicago Defender*, January 28, 2010, retrieved from: <http://www.chicagodefender.com/article-7029-chicago-public-school.html> (accessed December 10, 2010)

⁷⁰ Chicago Schools, "Police Work Together to Fight School Crimes," *Chicago Tribune*, April 18, 2010. http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2010-04-18/news/ct-met-safe-passages-20100416_1_chicago-schools-chicago-police-high-schools (accessed on December 10, 2010).

⁷¹ Chicago Public Schools, School Safety and Security, retrieved from: http://www.cps.edu/About_CPS/Departments/Pages/OfficeOfSchoolSafetyAndSecurity.aspx (accessed December 10, 2010); "Chicago Schools, Police Work Together to Fight School Crimes," *Chicago Tribune*, April 18, 2010, retrieved from: http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2010-04-18/news/ct-met-safe-passages-20100416_1_chicago-schools-chicago-police-high-schools (accessed on December 10, 2010).

“Chicago Public Schools realize that unless their students are safe, they won’t learn.”⁷²

Chicago Public Schools director of the Office of School Safety and Security Michael Shield stated, “My job is to make sure our students are safe and I am prepared to do whatever it takes to make that happen. We don’t want kids to be fearful while in school because it can take away from their productivity in class.”⁷³

As attention remained focused on school crimes and murders of Chicago Public School students, schools allocated more money towards security. In 2010, Chicago Public Schools increased their security budget by 1.5 million from the previous school year. The grant again placed more officers in Chicago Public Schools on-duty and off-duty.⁷⁴ At least two Chicago Police Officers were assigned to each Chicago high school and 2000 security officers assigned throughout. Most grade schools have at least one security guard with very few hand held metal detectors.⁷⁵ Currently Chicago Public Schools have 6,200 cameras installed.⁷⁶

The Chicago Public Schools and Chicago Police Department continued place a greater number of police in and around schools during dismissal to address acts of violence, gang crime, drugs, and gun violence which is a major problem for school and

⁷² “Chicago Public Schools Focus on Security,” ed. Wendell Hutson, *Chicago Defender*, January 28, 2010, retrieved from: <http://chicagodefender.com/article-7020-chicago-public-school.html> (accessed on December 10, 2010).

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ http://www.cps.edu/About_CPS/Departments/Pages/OfficeOfSchoolSafetyAndSecurity.aspx

⁷⁵ “Chicago Public School Focus on Security,” *Chicago Defender*, January 28, 2010, retrieved from: <http://www.chicagodefender.com/article-7029-chicago-public-school.html>

⁷⁶ Ibid.

school children.⁷⁷ The Chicago Public Schools Student Code of Conduct, Section 705.5, was also updated for the 2010-2011 school year. It forbids any form of bullying and inappropriate behavior such as disruption, gambling, fighting, offensive and profane language and gestures, disobedience and misconduct, forgery, cheating, display of gang affiliation, unauthorized use of pagers, cell phones or any electronic devices, and unauthorized use of CPS network and technology.⁷⁸

Chicago Police implemented another program geared towards gang violence prevention in high schools in 2010. The program addresses gang members after gang violence occurs and tries to prevent retaliation and other acts of gang violence. The Chicago Police Gang School Safety team also works with students who are admitted gang members in order to identify who the other gang members are and they also try and sway members to leave the gang. When gang members make the decision to leave the gang, officers assist them in getting their gang tattoos removed and relocate them to new schools if needed. Three hundred seventy-five interventions have been conducted thus

⁷⁷ George W. Knox, Findings from the K-12 Survey Project: A Special Report of the NGCRC (National Gang Crime Research Center, 2008).

⁷⁸ Chicago Public Schools Policy Manual, Student Code of Conduct for the Chicago Public Schools for the 2010-2011 School Year, Section: 705.5, retrieved from: <http://policy.cps.k12.il.us/documents/705.5.pdf> (accessed on December 11, 2010).

far.⁷⁹ In addition, “they have trained 1,400 Chicago Public School security officers and 400 safe passage volunteers to recognize gang memberships and identifiers.”⁸⁰

Throughout the years as discipline, crime, and gangs became of greater concern in schools, the relationship, programs, and intervention methods between the Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public Schools grew. D.A.R.E., G.R.E.A.T., and “Officer Friendly” continued to be conducted in schools and still are. The Chicago Police Department and the Chicago Public Schools have also put forth a joint effort in other programs to help students become successful in schools and productive citizens in adulthood. Programs like “WE CARE” Role Model teach students to apply themselves through information and insight from motivational speakers. Students are involved in activities and discussion with positive role models to whom students can relate.

The Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public Schools also played a strong role in promoting corrective behavior and restorative justice by intervention. Prior to being referred to criminal courts, school students under seventeen who have committed transgressions have the option of having their case heard in front of a jury of their peers in the “Peer Jury” program. They are given this option prior to being referred to criminal courts. There is no guilty or innocent verdict rendered like in criminal courts but the members of the Peer Jury determine a suitable disposition for the crime. The disposition must be in accordance with the “Balanced and Restorative Justice” principles of the

⁷⁹ Sandra Guy, “Cops Expand Outreach to Schools to Curb Violence,” *Chicago Sun-Times*, November 04, 2010, retrieved from: <http://www.suntimes.com/news/metro/2811114,CST-NWS-gangs18.article> (accessed December 11, 2010).

⁸⁰ Anti-gang Program in Schools to Expand, Chicago Breaking News Center, October 18, 2010, retrieved from: <http://www.chicagobreakingnews.com/2010/10/gang-violence-prevention-program-to-expand-to-more-schools.html> (accessed December 08, 2010).

program and must hold juvenile offenders responsible. Cases are only handled in the “Peer Jury” setting if they fall into the criteria of the program which include: “the juvenile admits to having committed the offense; the offense is a non-violent misdemeanor; the parent/guardian agrees to attend Peer Jury and abide by the findings of the Peer Jury. This is in accordance with the Illinois Juvenile Court Act 705 ILCS 405/5-301 (2).”

“WE CARE” Role Model

“WE CARE” is an acronym for When Enough People Care Affirmative Results Emerge. WE CARE is a “youth motivational program instituted by the Chicago Police Department, Youth Investigations in conjunction with the Chicago Public Schools.”⁸¹ The program uses life experience-based curriculum but all presentations are subject and age-appropriate. The programs objectives are to “(1) help young people gain greater self esteem and social skills; (2) to motivate students to stay in school, and improve academics; and (3) to emphasize the importance and need for safety procedures while obtaining their education.”⁸²

The program was implemented in 1985 but is much more widely used throughout the city and even in other state schools districts. The program refers selected role models to mentor and speak with students whose issues or interests correspond or students who will most benefit from the knowledge of the role model by request of schools. Students

⁸¹ “WE CARE” Role Model Program, retrieved from: <http://www.wecarerolemodel.com> (accessed December 08, 2010).

⁸² Ibid.

are also allowed to select mentors.⁸³ Mentors work to inspire and introduce students to positive alternatives to crime, bad grades, unemployment and truancy and all the things that ensue from those forms of behavior.⁸⁴ Some topics that are discussed are “academics, health/human services, arts/culture, public safety, child welfare, education/technical support, community, trades and careers.”⁸⁵

Once a year students can visit universities and government sites and other locations. Students are assisted in obtaining employment and training and parents are offered educational seminars to be better able to offer continued support to their children. Students often walk away with better attitudes and better outlook on school, themselves, and their futures. Mentors of the program are professionals and have received some form of degree in higher education. “WE CARE” receives referrals from schools, other mentors, and citizens. Students who took part in the program have also given back by volunteering.⁸⁶

Peer Jury

The Peer Jury program was initially developed by Alternatives, Inc. a Chicago non-profit agency established in 1971. The program was developed with a mission to assist students’ personal development, strengthen family relationships, and enhance community well-being. The program was originally called peer mediation and was started

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid., “WE CARE” Role Model Program, Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy, CLEARpath, retrieved from: <https://portal.chicagopolice.org/portal/page/portal/ClearPath/Communities/Youth%20Services/Role%20Model> (accessed December 08, 2010).

⁸⁶ “WE CARE” Role Model Program, retrieved from: <http://www.wecarerolemodel.com> accessed on December 08, 2010.

in 1995 at Nicholas Senn High School in collaboration with the school's disciplinary office to help students resolve conflict and improve communication. Peer mediation services were established when school administrators, teachers, counselors, and Alternatives' staff identified a growing problem that many youth had poor communication and problem solving skills often using conflict as a solution.

Youth led the effort to establish the Peer Jury program by identifying a model that provided alternatives to student violations of the school discipline code. Prior to the program, students who had disciplinary problems were often further isolated from the school culture. The Peer Jury program operates under the philosophy of Restorative Justice, which focuses on conflict resolution services, training, peer leadership opportunities, and alternatives to school disciplinary action. It is the belief that justice is best served when those who have experienced harm, the youth who have committed the violation, and the community, each receive equitable attention.

Three main goals of Restorative Justice are competency building, accountability, and community safety. The overall goal of the program is to build the capacity and accountability of youth as leaders and creative problem solvers and to build the capacity of institutions to incorporate discipline practices which enhance community safety, accountability, a competency development. Youths must realize the harm that was caused by his or her actions and find a way to repair that harm.

The Peer Jury model uses a jury of trained peers to analyze the facts of the case, ask questions, and decide on appropriate consequences according to the Sections 1-3 of the Chicago Public Schools Discipline code and Alternative High School Discipline

Code. The hope is that by allowing students to take leadership roles in every level of the process; development, planning, and implementation, the juries redefine the role of youth in addressing student misconduct.

School safety from gangs and drugs remains a problem but the new issues of crime occurring in and around schools will once again force schools, the Chicago Police Department, Chicago Public Schools, government, parents, and all stake holders to reevaluate needed security measures and needed programs for students to address issues. Students are suffering from bullying, suicide and depression which have proven to be more than simply just what all kids do and go through. Every one of these issues remains serious and as time goes on schools may become victims to other forms of crime and disorder. If and when this happens, changes in policy, rules, and regulations and programs implemented between the Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public schools will have to be revisited and even more programs and relationships will develop in the process.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The focus of this dissertation was to explore the programs and relationship between the Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public Schools. The intent was to take an historical look at how the relationship evolved between the years 1945 and 2005. Changes in demographics of Chicago's population, employment, housing, and crime played a role in the how the relationship between the Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public Schools transformed. These changes also affected the way the police and public schools worked together to provide programs to develop stronger relationships with the youth and to teach safety, awareness, and prevention skills against gangs, drugs, and crime.

The study took an historical overview in order to address the following questions:

1. How did the relationship of the Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public schools change during the last half of the twentieth century?
2. What programs have resulted from the relationship between the Chicago Police department and Chicago Public Schools?
3. What was the original intent of the programs?
4. How did the programs evolve during this time period?

1. How did the relationship of the Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public schools change during the last half of the twentieth century?

The Chicago Police Department historically dealt with crime and disorder but over the years came to have a greater dealing with youth and the need to educate and create awareness. The Chicago Public Schools – whose role was primarily instruction began to deal with issues of crime, maintaining order and ensuring that students were safe. During the last half of the 20th century, the most complex problems for both the police and schools were juvenile’s growing involvement in crime, gangs and drugs. The Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public Schools’ roles became more intertwined. Later efforts to address the crime and violence occurring in and around schools signaled the development of a new relationship and joint programs between the two institutions. These growing issues led to stricter laws and punishment aimed at juvenile criminals.¹ It also led to legislative acts and laws to provide funding to schools and law enforcement agencies towards preventive programs to address these issues.² This funding allowed implementation of programs through a new partnership between The Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public Schools.

2. What programs have resulted from the relationship between the Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public Schools?

¹ Howard N. Snyder and Melissa Sickmund, “Juvenile Justice: A Century of Change, Juvenile Justice, Office of the Juvenile Justice Department” (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, December 1999), 4; Executive Office of the President (1990), National Goals for Education (Washington, DC: ED 319 143., 03rd Congress (1993-1994) H.R.3355.ENR, Library of Congress, retrieved from: <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/bdquery/z?d103:H.R.3355> (accessed November 5, 2010).

² The Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986, H.R. 5484, 99-570, retrieved from: <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/bdquery/z?d099:HR05484:@@L&summ2=m&>

The collaborative programs that were implemented between the Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public Schools and discussed in this study were “Officer Friendly,” D.A.R.E. and G.R.E.A.T. “Officer Friendly” was a school-based program conducted in three phases by an assigned police officer who stressed the understanding of law enforcement, respect, and order. It was taught to primary aged students. The students were engaged in experiences and activities that were geared to help them gain qualities for character-building to become good citizens and make them aware of crime and how to protect themselves from being potential victims.³

D.A.R.E. (Drug Abuse Resistance Education) was a collaborative program in which the Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public Schools joined together to educate students about the personal and social consequences of substance abuse and violence.⁴ Created in 1993, the program is taught to by a uniform police officer trained as a D.A.R.E. instructor to equip elementary, middle and high school children with knowledge about drug abuse, the consequences of abuse, and skills for resisting peer pressure to experiment with drugs, alcohol and tobacco. It is unique in that it also works to prevent youth from becoming involved in gangs and violence.⁵

The G.R.E.A.T. program was developed in 1991 between the Phoenix Police Department and the United States Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and explosives. The program was to teach students how to resist gangs, and involvement in delinquency

³ Official Report of the Proceedings of the Board of Education of the City of Chicago, June 16, 1967 (67-620-7).

⁴ D.A.R.E. At-a-Glance, Description, retrieved from: <http://www.dare.com> (accessed November 14, 2010).

⁵ About D.A.R.E., retrieved from: <http://www.dare.com> (accessed November 14, 2010).

and violence.⁶ G.R.E.A.T. focused on using classroom instruction by a police officer to guide and teach middle school students life skills to avoid these. In 1994, the Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public Schools adopted the program to address the growing youth involvement in gang violence in Chicago. A Police Officer administers the programs' curriculum to 3rd, 4th, 7th, and 8th grade students who have been identified as needing such instruction.⁷

3. *What was the original intent of the programs?*

The original intent for the collaborative programs between the Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public schools was to attack any possible influences that crime, gangs and drugs had on the youth. The police department also wanted to use the programs to create an opportunity to reach out to the youth in a more positive setting and to develop a stronger relationship with the youth to assist in being more effective with their efforts of prevention. The alarming rates of juveniles committing crimes, using drugs, and joining gangs motivated police and schools to act.⁸ Government officials felt the anti-gang and drug programs could encourage student's attitudes, opinions, and decision-making prior to influence. It can also be helpful in transforming a student who is already involved.⁹

⁶ Home, retrieved from: <http://www.great-online.org/> (accessed January 24, 2011).

⁷ School Programs, retrieved from: <https://portal.chicagopolice.org> (accessed November 14, 2011).

⁸ Carolyn Block and Richard Block, *Street Gang Crime in Chicago*, U.S. Department of Justice, December 1993, 4.

⁹ Gang Suppression and Intervention: Problem and Response Research Summary, October 1994 (Office of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention: U.S. Department of Justice), 14. Office of National Drug Control Policy, February 1995. National Drug Control Strategy 1995: *Strengthening Communities' Response to Drugs and Crime* (Washington, DC: Office of the President).

4. How did the programs evolve between 1945 and 2005?

Officer Friendly

Although Officer Friendly was originally introduced as a pilot program in only a few schools, its positive effects on students led to its inclusion in all Chicago school districts and later private, religious, suburban, and other schools in cities beyond Chicago.¹⁰ As the program gained recognition in teaching kid's safety, awareness, laws, and the importance of good citizenship while creating a better relationship with law enforcement it became offered to students beyond the third grade with a general objective that it could improve relations and teach safety procedures to children of all ages.¹¹ Nearing the end of the twentieth century the program was still available but mostly upon request. A newer vision for the program allowed for changing objectives based on the specific needs of its student targets. Although the program faded over time, many objectives of Officer Friendly would be represented in later programs such as D.A.R.E. and G.R.E.A.T.

Drug Abuse Resistance Education (D.A.R.E.)

During the last half of the 20th century D.A.R.E. came to be offered in all 50 states and 53 countries.¹² As the issues changed so did the objectives and curriculum of the program. The program was originally offered to elementary school aged children to

¹⁰ The Officers Friendly Program, Department of Justice. *Technical Assistance Bulletin 9* (Washington, DC: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 1979). Official Report of the Proceedings of the Board of Education of the City of Chicago, August 23, 1967. (67-810-7), and May 8, 1968 (68-388).

¹¹ The Officers Friendly Program, Department of Justice. *Technical Assistance Bulletin 9* (Washington, DC: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 1979).

¹² D.A.R.E. Program, retrieved from: <http://www.dare.com> (accessed November 14, 2010).

provide skills to resist drugs and alcohol. But as the needs of students changed the program began to be offered to middle school and high school students to address the issues they were facing. Curriculum was added to address and prevent growing youth involvement in gangs, school violence, and terrorism.¹³ A revised core curriculum was introduced during the 1994 fall school semester to address issues of identified shortcomings in the curriculum regarding the shifting philosophy in education. The philosophy was shifted from lecture-oriented to cooperative learning, hands on approach that included role-playing. The principles were adapted into the curriculum.

When the Chicago Police Department implemented D.A.R.E. in 1993, its objective was to “help fifth and sixth grade students recognize and resist the many direct and subtle pressures that may influence young people to experiment with alcohol, tobacco, marijuana, inhalants, or other drugs or engage in acts of violence.”¹⁴ The Program was originally taught in 16 weekly lessons but when the D.A.R.E. curriculum changed the lessons dropped to ten. Today the curriculum has increased to 17 weeks in 40 to 50 minutes presentations. The program has since reinvented itself to add researched based refusal strategies in high-stakes peer-pressure environments, performing mock courtroom exercises, and a “life choices” aspect to the program.¹⁵ The curriculum can also be modified to meet the needs of the schools and students. The Chicago Police

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Drug Abuse Resistance Education (D.A.R.E.), Chicago Police Department Special Notice 07-03.

¹⁵ D.A.R.E. Program, retrieved from: <http://www.dare.com> (accessed November 14, 2010).

and Chicago Public Schools have also continued to adjust their curriculum with the continued revamping of D.A.R.E.

Gang Resistance Education and Training (G.R.E.A.T.)

The overall goals of the program were to teach students life skills to avoid gangs, drugs, and crime. G.R.E.A.T. was originally administered to middle school aged children which is the core of its curriculum but it grew to include curriculum that addressed components for elementary students, summer school, and family training.¹⁶ The program vision of G.R.E.A.T. is “Building Safer Communities One Child at a Time” while its overall program mission is to “Prevent youth crime, violence, and gang involvement.”¹⁷ The G.R.E.A.T. program’s goal is to provide children with (1) skills necessary to combat the stresses that set the stage for gang involvement, (2) accurate knowledge about gang involvement, (3) skills necessary to resolve conflicts peacefully, and (4) help children understand the need to set realistic goals.”¹⁸ As a result of evaluations, the curriculum and program was revised in 2000 to include 13 lessons, more involvement of teachers, and active learning. The G.R.E.A.T. program later included summer school which worked to provide students social skills and structure during the summer. It also had a family

¹⁶ G.R.E.A.T. Home, retrieved from: <http://www.great-online.org/> (accessed January 25 2011).

¹⁷ History of the G.R.E.A.T. program, retrieved from: <http://www.great-online.org> (accessed November 14, 2010).

¹⁸ Establishing a G.R.E.A.T., retrieved from: <http://www.great-online.org> (accessed November 14, 2010).

training component which was a support unit to Community Policing. The family training worked to foster life skills and positive support towards healthy families.¹⁹

As the end of the century approached growing school crimes led the Chicago Police Department and Chicago Public Schools to work towards developing more programs to address crime issues. Both continued to adjust collectively to meet the needs of students and goals of the programs in order to remain successful and effective. This collaboration continues to work to address the issues of today. Schools and policing continue work internally and jointly to find strategies to minimize the rising rates of delinquency, school violence, and violence against youth, drug abuse, and gang membership among juveniles.

¹⁹ History of the G.R.E.A.T. Program, retrieved from: <http://www.great-online.org>
<http://www.great-online.org/Components/Families.aspx> (accessed January 25, 2011).

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