Programs That Serve African American Male Youth

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Evidence is growing that interventions and social support that target high-risk youth can make the difference between wasted and productive lives.

As part of its long-standing interest in and commitment to seeking ways to help and empower African American men and boys, the W. K. Kellogg Foundation funded the Urban Institute to gather information on programs that provide such help.

The goal of the study is to begin to build an inventory of knowledge about the kinds of community-based programs that are serving African American male youth, and to add to our knowledge about the characteristics, approaches, and best practices of these programs.

The study is based on two independent databases. The first is case study information based on 51 programs in 10 cities around the country: Los Angeles, Oakland, and San Francisco, CA; Madison and Milwaukee, WI; Minneapolis and St. Paul, MN; Newark, NJ; Philadelphia, PA; and Washington, DC. In selecting programs, heavy reliance was placed on community informants' views about programs that were "effective" or "promising". Budget constraints also made it necessary to concentrate on areas where the program resources available to young black males were well known to program staff.

In our quest for effective and promising programs for African American young males, our informants rarely suggested affiliates of the traditional youth organizations (such as Boys and Girls Clubs of America), although most do serve young black males. Instead, they led us to a group of programs most of which (64 percent) served both male and female participants.
The second database consists of responses to a mail survey sent to 282 programs. Of the 282 questionnaires sent out, we received 91 responses. We identified two groups of non-respondents--programs that had disappeared or changed focus, name, or address; and programs that promised to respond and did not do so. Relatively new programs or programs not known by the mainstream are almost certainly under-represented. Programs for the mail survey were identified through a variety of sources, including professional and personal networks, youth directories, United Way agencies, affiliates of national black organizations, churches, schools, and telephone books. As such, this sample of programs is almost certainly weighted toward programs that have received foundation grant money or have become relatively well known through other channels.

BASIC PROGRAM DIMENSIONS

Although the programs that responded to our mail survey covered a wide range of sizes and types, certain generalizations emerged. Most of the programs served over 50 but less than 200 participants per program cycle. Of the 110,000 participants under age 25 that were served by these programs during 1994, three-quarters were under age 19. Program lengths or cycles varied greatly, but only 13 percent restricted their services to an "as needed" basis. Most of the programs offered education, guidance counseling, and mentoring services. About one third offered recreation and sports and another one third, health services. The programs serving males only offered a more limited set of services than the programs that served both males and females. The majority (60 percent) of programs worked with other organizations, including schools, courts, and churches. Most used both paid and volunteer staff. Those that used only paid staff
tended to be very small (one to five employees). Over half had 90 percent or more African American participants, with 21 percent serving only that group.

PROGRAM CLASSIFICATION

Our case-study experience suggests a classification scheme that groups programs along two major dimensions: target group and program approach. Programs lie on a continuum with the universe of youth at one end, followed progressively by at-risk youth, high-risk youth, and youth in crisis. The second dimension, program approach, also follows a continuum going from (1) a general developmental approach through (2) prevention services, aimed at preventing conditions that typically lead to destructive life outcomes (such as being held back a grade, or having unprotected sex), (3) intervention programs, aimed at stopping those behaviors before the destructive outcomes occur (such as dropping out of school or becoming a teenage parent), and (4) crisis interventions (such as substance abuse programs and rehabilitation).

In the real world, these two dimensions intersect at different points along these continuums, combining target groups and approach in different ways. Many of the "promising" or "effective" programs we visited, for example, targeted at-risk or high-risk youth but deliberately used a universal development approach--helping youth develop self-confidence, exposing them to new options, and teaching them the skills they need to achieve them.

PROGRAM LESSONS

The information gleaned in our site visits confirms what the literature has concluded about the requirements of effective programs for African American male children and youth.
The approach common to most effective programs is to build on the fundamental drives and needs that motivate human behavior--achievement, a sense of belonging, influence, security, avoidance of discomfort, and self-esteem. The actions to which these drives and needs give rise to are learned from personal experience and from watching role models (destructive or constructive, standard or nonstandard) in the family or neighborhood.

The challenge programs face is to channel participants' drives and needs and shape their behaviors in ways that lead to healthy activities and choices, in both the short and longer run. Although the programs we visited spanned a wide range of specific activities, there was remarkable consensus among our respondents about what children need from these programs. We also discovered a wealth of promising program components that can provide examples and lessons for program staff in new and existing programs.

WHAT KIDS NEED

The vast majority of the site visit respondents agreed on the following list of participants' fundamental needs.

Secure Love. If anything of lasting value is to be accomplished, adults who work with youth must care about them, be comfortable with them, want to spend time with them, and most of all, show them love.

High Expectations. Coupled with the need for practitioners and staff to show love and caring is the need to hold high expectations for these youth. High expectations give youth the message that "they can do it, they can contribute." High expectations are critical to any learning environment.
Time to Listen and to Trust. Building trust between adult service providers and youth participants is vital to success. But developing trust with the African American youth these programs target is not quick or simple. Part of building mutual trust is to give youth a chance to express themselves, to share their feelings or side of the story, and to have their own answers taken seriously. These youth will often test the adults to determine their commitment and will. And these same youth often express anger in the communication/expression process of working with adults.

Relevance. In addition to giving youth opportunities to provide input, programs must be relevant to youth. Older participants particularly can vote with their feet, and participants will leave if programs do not address the issues youth deal with in their daily lives and their interests.

Alternatives for Choice. Since many people model behavior on what they are exposed to, and make decisions based on what they know from that exposure, many programs worked to widen this experience. Specific experiences included going on a college tour, living on a college campus, restaurant etiquette, roller blading, and camping.

Time and Commitment over the Long Run. Researchers have shown, and our respondents verified, that programs need to be long-term and services need to be intensive. But many programs have agreements or contracts with funding agencies that limit program time to a fixed period, often three to six-month contracts--far too short a period, according to program directors, to accomplish much. The programs that build long-term, intensive services anticipate serving their youth for as many years as they can keep them coming. Ideally, every child would be guided through the entire process of growing up by either a single program or a graduated series of programs.
PROMISING PROGRAM COMPONENTS

Service providers felt the following areas were critical in developing African American male youth for the future:

**Entrepreneurship.** Entrepreneurial skills development includes many of the elements vital to success of a youth program: building confidence, offering new options, allowing youth to experience ownership.

**Financial Management.** Financial management includes learning how to save, how to keep a checking account, and how to invest in financial markets. Many inner city youth have very little knowledge about financial matters.

**Computer Technology.** A number of programs we visited have computer labs and hold daily computer learning sessions to complement their traditional tutoring and recreation activities. Even organizations that had only one computer felt it critical to build in user time for all the participants to develop their computer skills.

**Interpersonal Skills and "Negotiating the System."** Learning interpersonal skills is critical to the development of youth. In many programs, participants learned anti-violence techniques, how to make the right choices in school, and how to make effective transactions with authority figures (this often extends to helping parents as well). African American male role models are particularly in high demand to help with these activities.

**Teen Father Sessions.** Organizations that target their services to African American males are innovators in involving young male teen fathers and potential fathers in pregnancy prevention programs. The best programs cover a wide range of subjects, including sexual attitudes, self-
esteem, masculinity, youth definition of manhood, peer pressure, decision-making, male responsibility, and leadership development.

WIDER PERSPECTIVES ON PROGRAM DESIGN

In addition to particular program components, our site visits yielded considerable insight into the range of perspectives that underlie different programs for African American male youth: Afrocentrism, spirituality, the role of the black church, apprenticeship, comprehensive family services, and surrogate parenting.

Afrocentric Approaches. Most of the organizations we visited said they delivered services with an Afrocentric focus, but there is no agreed-upon definition of this term among our respondents. Afrocentric approaches were used to cover anything from a whole program philosophy and service delivery approach to programs that included bringing in African American speakers. Many program directors shared the view that programs need to help youth cope with the cultural experience of being African American. Our case study suggests that this is an area that needs better standards, guidelines and replication of different approaches to yield evidence on success.

Spirituality and the Black Church. Many service providers we interviewed believed spirituality in programming was crucial for success with youth. This includes religion but extends to a philosophy of life aimed at helping children make the proper life choices. Historically, the black church has played a major role in the delivery of services in the African American community. Many churches have developed their own youth programs and sponsor regular activities for both member and non-member youth. Churches also provide critical support
services, office and meeting space, volunteer staff, materials and supplies, transportation services, and advertising.

An Apprenticeship Approach. Another approach which is gaining notice puts youth into a job-and-learning environment, somewhat akin to apprenticeship in the traditional trades. This approach seems to work well with gang members, many of whom thrive when given a real chance at social stability.

The Surrogate Model. Are programs successful because of the services they provide or because of the individuals who provide the services? A particular type of program leader was highlighted by our site visits: the surrogate father or mother. They are literally available at all hours (as family members should be). As such, they cross the boundaries between home and work, between family and participant. They typically make their home available to the program, and sometimes provide activities to the participants in their home. One of the surrogates we encountered has adopted a whole housing complex.

BARRIERS TO SUCCESS

Many program directors discussed barriers to operating effective youth services programs. Some of these barriers come from the program environment, some from the effects of environmental barriers on the youth themselves.

Funding and Staffing. Every organization we visited felt their funding was insufficient, and spoke of difficulties they faced in raising money and their fear that government and foundation funding would continue to shrink. Lack of funding prevented them, they said, from
providing the staff-intensive, long-term help and program continuity their youth participants needed.

Many also admitted that they lacked both knowledge about potential funding sources and the time to prepare good proposals for funding. Directors of programs placing heavy emphasis on Afrocentric approaches also felt they could not describe their programs honestly in funding applications because of prejudice and skepticism against Afrocentric approaches on the part of the funding community.

A few expressed concern that competition among programs was hurting funding prospects and that cooperation and coordination between programs should be increased. But most said they did not spend time learning about or cooperating with other youth programs.

A final pervasive comment was that current funding patterns differentially hurt new organizations (and potentially promising innovations). The funding system for social service organizations has traditionally given preference to programs with longevity, name recognition, and credibility. Many of the innovative and promising programs we found that were serving African American young men and boys began operating in the last 10 or even 5 years and are not affiliated with national organizations. Further exacerbating the problem is that all recent congressional legislation in this area has required recipients to be long standing programs and to prove they can match public funding with other financial resources. These requirements stack the deck against new programs, many of which simply do not survive (as evidenced by our mail survey non-responses).

**Institutional Racism and Discrimination.** Program directors and staff frequently cited institutional racism and discrimination—in the school system, the labor market, the housing
market, and the criminal justice system--as limiting the potential of their programs to be effective. School policies on suspensions, dropping out, and their tendency to mislabel and misdiagnose were cited with particular passion as detrimental to development efforts with black male youth.

**Neighborhood Environment and Lack of Parental Involvement.** Program directors expressed the concern that children face environments isolated from mainstream possibilities both on a daily basis and after participation in programs. They frequently cited lack of parental involvement, not only in program activities, but in the youths' lives more generally.

"**Kids Coming with their Own Baggage.**" Program staff expressed concern that the negative "baggage" many inner city children and youth carry with them--broken homes, economic barriers, social instability, perceptions of racism--is increasing. Program directors who work with a wide range of ages typically argued that younger children are still open to new ideas and experiences and still trust adults. But even by fourth grade, children are showing the ravages of negative experiences. Program directors described the higher risk of dealing with older children in terms of the resources involved. But higher risk bring a higher return. They also pointed out that older youth are often the leaders among their peers and success with them can have an effect on the wider youth community.
I. INTRODUCTION

By virtually every index, African American men and boys suffer disproportionately from poverty, father absence, academic failure, violence, alienation, depression, substance and alcohol abuse, mortality, morbidity, lack of role models and community support, negative peer influence, and unemployment. As a result, African American men and boys have emerged as one of the most troubled segments of American society. While most African American male adolescents complete high school and avoid crime, substance abuse, and other problems, coming of age in neighborhoods surrounded by poverty and violence stacks the deck against a child's chances of achieving a happy and productive adulthood (Majors and Billson 1992; Majors and Gordon 1994). These environmental problems can be compounded by educators with predetermined negative views about African American male youth and their learning potential. In addition, the rise in female-headed households means that many of these adolescents may go through the process of identity formation with little or no positive adult male role modeling.

By the age of 15 or 16 or even younger, the cumulative effects of these risks factors can often be seen in negative and self-destructive values, attitudes, and behaviors. It is not unusual for African American boys to reach adolescence confused and distrustful towards others, doubting their abilities, and frustrated about their place in the world.

Evidence is growing that interventions and social support that target high-risk youth can make the difference between wasted and productive lives. But by the time serious crises occur, it is often too late.
Unfortunately, only a modest amount of the $14 billion spend by the federal government on programs for youth in 1990 goes toward nurturing and development of minority youth (Wiener 1994). Instead, most government dollars spent on youth support rehabilitation, criminal justice and other approaches that try to fix problem behavior, rather than prevent it.

It is also the case that lower-income communities have far fewer non-school organizations and activities for youth than do middle- and upper-income communities (Littell and Wynn, 1989; Ianni, 1990). In the latter communities, such activities typically include after-school classes, sports, clubs, social and civic activities, and organized art events. In low-income communities non-school activities are usually restricted to tutoring, counseling, and personal support. African American male youth in particular are short-changed. The U. S. Department of Education (1988) reported, for example, that almost half of poor African American male youth were not involved in activities outside school, compared to 18 percent of youth from higher-income families (Carnegie Corporation of New York 1992). This gap is especially unfortunate since non-school hours are a crucial time for development (Clark 1988).

In recent years, an array of community-based programs has emerged to begin to fill the need for non-school programs to guide African American male youth through the difficult transition to adulthood. They provide youth opportunities to have alternative experiences—activities, options, and constructive life choices—to those available "on the street."

The W. K. Kellogg Foundation has a long-standing interest in the plight and status of African American men and boys. Given this interest, the Kellogg Foundation has committed substantial resources to seeking ways to help and empower African American men and boys. On March 27, 1991 the Kellogg Foundation convened a two-day working meeting in Battle Creek,
Michigan, for the purpose of developing ways to solve the problems facing African American men and boys, to consider funding strategies for leadership development, and to recommend programs and models that might be replicated (Austin 1992). This meeting was instrumental in developing an $8.5 million national initiative to study, create, and develop programs for African American men and boys. This financial commitment is the largest contribution ever made by a foundation for this cause. The W. K. Kellogg Foundation's search to find creative solutions to the crisis facing communities where African American men and boys are in turmoil is consistent with its long-standing interest in empowerment and leadership.

As part of this initiative, the W. K. Kellogg Foundation funded the Urban Institute to gather information on programs that provide services to African American male youth. The Foundation's goal in commissioning this study was to begin to build an inventory of knowledge about the kinds of community-based programs that work best to serve African American male youth, and to add to our knowledge of developmental services for African American male youth (e.g., the characteristics, approaches, and best practices of these programs). Such a knowledge base can help guide philanthropic and government actions in the continuing effort to increase the developmental support available to this particularly vulnerable group of Americans.
II. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

The Urban Institute study is based on two independent databases.

Case Studies. Detailed case study information was collected on 51 programs in 10 cities around the country. The cities include all regions of the country except the South. Budget constraints made it necessary to select areas for which the project staff already had program knowledge.

Institute staff visited sites in Los Angeles, Oakland, and San Francisco, CA; Madison and Milwaukee, WI; Minneapolis and St. Paul, MN; Newark, NJ; and Washington, DC. Although Oakland and San Francisco are in the same metropolitan area, as are Minneapolis and St. Paul, in each case the two cities in question are different enough economically and demographically to make them independent areas for examining services to youth.

In making our selection we used a combination of resources: professional and personal networks, youth directories, United Way agencies, affiliates of national black organizations, school system administrators (principals and superintendents), church leaders, telephone books, youth service agencies in local governments, and community informants. The latter included program directors, community organizers, researchers, community foundation officers, school administrators, and professionals who provide technical assistance to community-based organizations.

We placed heavy reliance on community informants to guide us to programs viewed as "effective" or "promising." In cases where informants had already conducted a local analysis to identify programs in their cities that served African American young men and boys, we used their recommendations about the most promising programs. Visiting programs in Los Angeles gave us
the opportunity to focus on gang prevention and intervention programs because of the strong community response to gang problems. Oakland was an obvious choice because the black power movement originated in Oakland has organized its own African American Male Network and it is home to the mentoring center which provides technical assistance to programs citywide. We chose Milwaukee because of its two African American immersion schools and Madison to balance our large city selection with a smaller, less urban site. The familiarity of Institute staff with Minneapolis, St. Paul, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Washington, DC enabled us to include programs that we knew from first-hand knowledge to be particularly promising. We chose Newark because of its leadership in developing a consortium for pre-college education programs for students in the public school system.

Youth programs are often affiliated with larger institutions. These include national multi-service organizations (such as National Urban League, NAACP, and fraternities), national youth organizations (such as Boys and Girls Clubs of America, Big Brothers/Big Sisters of America, and Boy Scouts), and religious organizations (such as churches, Catholic Charities, and Lutheran Services).

Our focus on programs that targeted young black males and our preference for programs cited as promising or effective influenced our selection of program types. Using these criteria, we occasionally selected national multi-service organizations. Rarely did these criteria lead us to affiliates of the traditional youth organizations (such as Boy Scouts or Boys and Girls Clubs of America), although these programs do serve black males. For example, although Boys and Girls Clubs of America served 1.6 million youth in 1990, of which an estimated 200,000 were young black males (Quinn 1994), none of their programs are included in the case study part of the
report. We also did not actively pursue nationally affiliated programs because much more is known about them (see Quinn 1994, Carnegie Corporation of New York 1992). Our quest for effective programs that targeted African American boys sometimes led us to all-boy programs (16 percent of the case study programs), but most often to programs that served girls as well.

Mail Survey. The second data source was a mail survey, designed to collect basic information on program size, staffing, funding, and participation. It also asked about program goals, parental involvement, and program needs. (The survey instrument appears in Appendix A.)

The survey went to 282 programs identified through a wide range of sources including directories of youth programs. Unlike the programs included in the case study, these programs do not necessarily focus primarily on African American youth, although to be eligible for the survey they had to include that group as one of their target constituencies. Obviously such a group is not likely to be representative of the universe of programs around the country. In fact, it is almost certainly weighted toward programs that have received foundation grant money or have become relatively well known through other channels. The distribution of programs to which questionnaires were sent, by state, is shown in Figure 1.

Of the 282 questionnaires sent out, we received only 91 completed responses, making the group for which we have information even less representative than the original group. The distribution of programs responding, by state, is shown in Figure 2. In following up the non-responses on a random basis, we identified two groups: (1) programs that had either disappeared or changed focus, name, or address; and (2) programs that promised to respond at a later date but almost universally failed to do so.
programs are almost certainly underrepresented.

evaluation efforts to fill in and return a questionnaire. New programs or non-mainstream
groups of relatively small programs that are favorably disposed to traditional research and
serve but are not necessarily restricted to primarily interested in black make youth. It is also a
Our mail survey sample, therefore, has two characteristics. It is a group of programs that

This section III of the report presents descriptive statistics that plausibly describe the

Foundation, public funding agencies, and service providers,

experiences, developed models, and learned lessons that can provide valuable guidance for
community information as being superior programs, and therefore are likely to have had
study analyses—programs that focus primarily on African American youth, have been identified by
Subsequent sections synthesize descriptive qualitative data on the programs we selected for our case
more viable and established programs currently serving African American make youth.

Thus, section III of the report presents descriptive statistics that plausibly describe the
III. BASIC PROGRAM DIMENSIONS

Our mail survey shows a wide range of sizes, characteristics, and approaches. This section describes the major dimensions of variation among programs.

Program Size. The number of participants served during a program cycle ranged from a low of 10 to a high of 800 (Figure 3). Two-thirds of the programs averaged over 50 participants during a program cycle. Slightly over one-quarter served more than 200 participants at a time.

Figure 3:

Program Sizes
Number of Participants Served During One Program Cycle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Programs</th>
<th>Number of Programs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>200+</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100-200</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-100</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-50</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-25</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: The Urban Institute, Mail Survey, 1995.

Participation. The 91 programs together served over 110,000 participants under the age of 25 over the course of 1994. About three-quarters of these were under the age of 19.
Program Length. Program lengths, or cycles, varied greatly. About a quarter (27 percent) of the programs offered services on a year-round basis. One-fifth (19 percent) provided services in tandem with, or as an extension of, the academic school year. Thirteen percent provided services on an “as needed” basis for individual participants (see Figure 4). These programs tended to provide services aimed at solving problem behaviors or situations such as drug or alcohol abuse, and legal or housing needs. The remaining 41 percent of programs had various program lengths, ranging from less than one month to more than one year.

Figure 4:

Length of Program Cycle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period of Time</th>
<th>Number of Programs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 - 5 Months</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 11 Months</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One Year Limit</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year Round</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic School Year</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over One Year</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As Needed</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

n=87

Source: The Urban Institute, Mail Survey, 1995.

Services Provided. Education services were the most common, followed by counseling and mentoring. As shown in Figure 5, 80 percent of programs offered education services, which
included basic tutoring, and education about the environment, outdoors, and computers. For older participants, education services included preparation for the General Equivalency Diploma (GED) test, college preparation, business, and economics.

Three quarters (74 percent) of programs offered counseling services. However, counseling services were not necessarily formal counseling by a licensed therapist. Often the term was used to describe guidance in academic, social, or emotional needs. Nearly as frequently offered (71 percent of the programs) were mentoring services. Mentors consisted of regular program staff and volunteers from the community. Almost half of the programs offered sport and recreation services, and a third offered health services. Health services included providing youth with information on sexually transmitted diseases, pregnancy prevention, and proper diet.

**Figure 5:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program Services Offered</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Type of Service</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counseling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mentoring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sport &amp; Recreation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advocacy/Legal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Awareness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership Training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parenting Classes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal/Self-Esteem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residential</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** 'Other' includes services offered by no more than four programs.

*Source: The Urban Institute, Mail Survey, 1995.*
The group of about half (52 percent, not shown), the programs which labeled themselves "Afrocentric," overlapped heavily with the programs serving predominantly or only African American participants. Afrocentrism meant different things to different people. For example, to some respondents Afrocentric simply means serving African American youth, to others, it meant using materials that focus on African American history, and to others, it meant the program is structured on an African American model (such as manhood training or rites of passage).

**Gender-Service Link.** The 17 programs that served only male participants focused heavily on five services: mentoring services (15), education services (15), counseling services (14), sports and recreation services (8), and health information/services (7). Most programs that served both boys and girls offered these five services, but added job/career preparation, advocacy/legal services, leadership training, and others as well.

**Program Auspices.** The majority of programs (60 percent) worked with other organizations. Forty-six percent worked in connection with schools, 25 percent with courts, 22 percent with neighborhood churches, and 20 percent with various other organizations. These groups overlap, because many programs worked with more than one other agency or community organization. Interaction with these organizations includes getting referrals for youth participants, referring out their participants, using the physical space of these community organizations, or advocating for youth in these systems. Also, many programs seek the attention of African American businessmen and successful professionals with some influence in the community to serve as counselors, mentors and to interact with youth more generally, even if only for program special events.
Interaction with Non-participants. About one-quarter (22 percent) of programs served only participating children or youth, reporting that they had no interaction with their participants' family, guardians, or primary care givers. All the rest reported having family or guardian participation. Program interaction with family members and care givers was sometimes limited to giving permission for the child to attend the program. When families were involved with program activities, they typically participated in parenting classes aimed at improving the interactions between parents and youth. Often parents were asked to act as volunteers for special events or outings; to be counselors, mentors, or tutors; and also to report on the changes in the home environment and the child's behavior as a result of program attendance. In some cases, family members received services from the program itself—including counseling, life management assistance (such as financial advice), residential services, advocacy, and drug and alcohol prevention services.

Paid vs. Volunteer Staff. Most programs (74 percent) used both paid and volunteer staff. Twenty percent used paid staff only, and 6 percent used volunteer staff only. Programs which used large numbers of volunteers tended to have the smaller budgets and higher community and family involvement. The majority of programs had less than 10 paid and volunteer staff members. On average, programs had fewer full-time than part-time staff, and more volunteer staff than either of the two paid-staff categories.

Programs using only volunteer staff were larger, with a median staff of 15 per week. Programs using only paid employees tended to have a very small number of staff, usually between one and five employees.
Participant Profile. The great majority of programs in the mail survey (81 percent) served both boys and girls. Of all the participants served by the programs, 72 percent were African American, 8 percent Caucasian, 17 percent Hispanic/Latino, and 1 percent Asian/Pacific Islander, Native American and Other (see Figure 6). Over half (52 percent) of all programs had 90 percent or more African American participants and 21 percent of the programs served only African Americans.

Figure 6:

Distribution of Total Program Participants by Ethnicity

![Pie chart showing distribution of total program participants by ethnicity]

n=88

Source: The Urban Institute, Mail Survey, 1995.

Participant Age. Most programs served a wide age range, as can be seen from Table 1. The majority (51 of 90 programs) restricted their target group of participants to children and youth under 21. (This does not exclude parent, family, or community member involvement of
particular youth participants.) Most (67 programs) focused on children aged 6 and up, with an average age band (number of years between youngest and oldest participant served) of seven years. Of the programs serving all ages, the average age band was over ten years. (In cases of parenting classes, a particular program's age group included both parents [teenagers or not] and babies). Of the 23 programs serving very young children, 14 were primarily family service programs, 8 were direct child service programs, and provided adoption services (the remaining programs did not provide this level of detail).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program Age Range</th>
<th>0-2</th>
<th>3-4</th>
<th>5-6</th>
<th>7-8</th>
<th>9-10</th>
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Table One
Age Range Targeted by Programs

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<th>Youngest Age Served</th>
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<th>3-4</th>
<th>5-6</th>
<th>7-8</th>
<th>9-10</th>
<th>11-12</th>
<th>13-14</th>
<th>15-16</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-12</td>
<td>14-16</td>
<td>15-17</td>
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<td>18-25</td>
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<tr>
<td>0-30</td>
<td>14-18</td>
<td>15-18</td>
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<td>17-23</td>
<td>18-25</td>
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<tr>
<td>0-45</td>
<td>14-21</td>
<td>15-22</td>
<td>16-25</td>
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Note: Each entry represents one program, youngest age served is listed first. Ten programs offered services to all ages.
Source: The Urban Institute, Mail Survey, 1995.

Budget and Funding Sources. Some program respondents were reluctant to divulge budget information, with ten percent failed to answer the budget related survey questions. This question had the highest non-response rate of the survey. In addition, some respondents limited their answer to the specific program, while others gave the budget of the entire organization with which they were affiliated. Most of the programs with larger budgets were affiliates of national organizations, such as the National Urban League, or received a large portion of their funding from government sources.
Seventy programs responding to the survey's budget question identified a primary funding source (i.e., one contributing more than 50 percent of funds). Table 2 shows how these funding sources were distributed. The vast majority of programs with more than two-thirds of their funding from a single source named private organizations or state/local government as their primary funding source, in relatively equal proportions. For the programs with more than half but

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Percent of Funding from One Source</th>
<th>Source of Funding</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Private Orgs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100%</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more than 66%</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more than 50%</td>
<td>7</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

n = 70

Source: The Urban Institute, Mail Survey, 1995.

Figure 7 shows the difference in overall sources of funding received by programs affiliated with national youth or multi-service agencies versus independent community-based programs. Affiliated programs relied heavily upon funding from private sources, such as foundations and corporations (47.5 percent), while independent programs drew heavily from state and local government sources (39.0 percent). Both program types relied upon federal government sources for approximately 17 percent of their funding. The second most important source of funding were dues and individual donations for affiliated programs, and private foundations and corporations for independent programs.
Source: The Urban Institute, Mail Survey, 1992.

$14,111.229 respectively.

The total annual spending for Independent and Affiliated Programs was $14,620.374 and

n = 80

Affiliated Programs

| Percent | 13.8% | 1.3% | 47.5% | 18.5% | 17.2% |

Independent Programs

| Percent | 9.8% | 15.1% | 18.4% | 39.0% | 17.7% | 1.4% |

Distribution Categories

[Diagram of funding sources with categories]
IV. INSIGHTS FROM SITE VISITS

Our site visits to 51 programs (focusing primarily or exclusively on African American male youth and to which we were guided to as effective or promising) yielded rich insights into the goals of these programs, elements vital to success, successful program components, and commonly encountered barriers to success.

This section presents a synthesis of the detailed information collected during the Institute's site visits. The primary objectives of this part of the study were to (1) identify and develop a classification of programs that serve young black males, (2) distill lessons from program experience for possible replication, and (3) identify barriers to program success. The next three subsections focus on these objectives, respectively.

PROGRAM CLASSIFICATION

Our case study experience leads us to use a program classification scheme that groups programs along two major dimensions: the types of children and youth the program tries to reach (the target group) and the program's approach. Each dimension can be thought of as a continuum.

Target Group. Different programs target participants in four major groups. The first is the universe of children and youth. The aim of these programs is to increase the general potential of their participants to become independent and productive adults.

The second is children and youth who are at risk. Risk can be defined by environmental characteristics, such as dysfunctional families or dangerous neighborhoods (Resnick et al. 1992). It can also be defined by behavior signs that increase the chances of negative outcomes. Being held back a grade in school, for example, raises the risk of dropping out. The aim of these programs is to prevent youth already at risk from engaging in negative or activities that will limit their potential or physically endanger them. Such activities include dropping out of school, becoming a teen parent, engaging in unsafe sex, being abused by someone physically or sexually, using drugs or alcohol, joining a gang, and participating in crime or violence.
The third target group is children and youth who have experienced negative outcomes of the kind noted above. The goal of these programs is to help children and youth avoid further negative behaviors and negative life outcomes.

The fourth and final target group is children and youth in crisis. They have come to the attention of authorities through suicide attempts, substance abuse, vagrancy, arrest, and conviction. The goal of these programs is crisis intervention.

**Approach.** Running parallel to this continuum of target groups is a continuum of program approaches. At one end of the continuum are programs offering a general developmental approach designed to benefit all youth. Schools are a prime example. They provide general developmental services because all children need, have a legal right to, and can benefit from a basic education. Another example of such programs is sports and recreation programs, usually available during after-school hours. Sports and recreation programs are often provided as an extension of the school system, through city parks and recreation departments, and by many well-known national youth-serving and multi-service organizations, such as the YMCA and YWCA of America. In addition to sports and recreation programs, arts and music programs provide universal benefits for youth.

A great number of social and development skills can be learned through athletic, cultural, and educational activities that are important for all youth—such as self-discipline, practicing until one develops a skill or achieves a goal, learning how to get past a disappointment, and learning how to be an effective team member.

A number of organizations provide services that are in principle general development but, with a few exceptions, do not reach all types of youth because they only appeal to a subset of youth or are only available in certain types of communities. These include the 4-H, Boy Scouts of America, Campfire Girls, and similar programs. The 4-H, for example, as an extension of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, traditionally built programs centered around agricultural and environmental activities, without much appeal for or applicability to the typical youth in large urban areas. These programs teach citizenship, responsibility, self-confidence, how to get along
with others, how important it is to help others, and how to develop new skills. Recently many of these programs have begun to expand their reach beyond their traditional constituencies, adapting their programs to meet the needs and interests of children and youth from more diverse backgrounds and environments.

Next on the continuum, matching the at-risk target group, are programs that specialize in prevention services. Pregnancy prevention, substance abuse prevention, and violence prevention programs target specific behaviors or activities that if unchecked are likely to lead to destructive outcomes.

Further along the spectrum, matching the high-risk target group, are intervention programs. These include parenting classes to prevent repeat pregnancies and to help teen parents mature and provide for their children; school reentry and GED classes for dropouts; and job experience and role modeling for gang members to provide youth with constructive alternatives to gang activity.

At the far end of the spectrum, corresponding to the target group of youth in crisis, are suicide prevention, substance abuse treatment, and rehabilitation programs.

Mixed Models. This two-way categorization is a useful way to conceptualize program types, but many programs do not match target group with approach in a way that this idealized discussion has laid out. In the real world, programs combine target group and approach in different ways. For example, dropout prevention programs may help youth raise grades and test scores by doing much more than tutoring in English and math. They may use a universal development approach—exposing youth to new options, helping them develop self-confidence, and teaching them the skills they will need to achieve them.

In addition, sports and recreation awards and music programs can be effectively used by programs with a very specific primary focus, as ways to attract youth and provide incentives for participation in other program aspects. Although many of the particularly promising programs for which we collected site-visit evidence target youth who are at risk, high risk, or even in crisis, they typically pursue a general development approach.
To provide the context for discussion of our site-visit evidence, the next section presents brief descriptions of four programs, one representing each classification of program type by target group. The Malcolm X African American Immersion School is an example of programs providing services to a universal target group, serving any Milwaukee public school students between the sixth and eighth grades who choose to register. The Eunice Project's Mother and Son Initiative is an example of a program working with at-risk youth, in this case, the program targets middle school aged boys with academic problems to help them resolve the cause of their academic and behavior problems and stay in school. A Common Ground Foundation serves high risk youth, particularly gang members, residing in several public housing complexes in South Central Los Angeles, to help them avoid gang activity and stay in school. The After School Kids Program is an example of programs serving youth who are in crisis by helping youth successfully complete probation. Descriptions of the remaining 47 programs are listed in Appendix B.

PROFILES OF FOUR SAMPLE PROGRAMS

Malcolm X Academy
African American Immersion Middle School, Milwaukee
Mr. Kenneth Holt, Principal

Malcolm X Academy, formerly known as Robert Fulton Middle School, was established by the Milwaukee Board of School Directors as the designated African American Immersion Middle School out of recognition that schools operating within the traditional structure were not meeting the educational needs of African American males. The school seeks to immerse students and staff in learning about African American culture and heritage in a caring, safe, and positive environment. The curriculum is tailored to the cultural and social needs of the students. The academy's focus is to promote self-esteem, self-awareness, academic success, and responsible, adult decision making of African-American males. The themes chosen for infusing African American materials are knowledge of self and one's culture, values, entrepreneurship, and community, social, and political responsibility.
Eunice Project: Mother and Son Initiative, Madison, WI
Ms. Andrea Smith-Mensah, Coordinator

Project Eunice is designed to reach out to African-American, female-headed families with at least one male child in middle school who have demonstrated that they are at risk for academic and/or social problems. The project seeks to empower these families and develop strategies that will address school or social problems that impact the family. The project also provides support/education groups for both the mother and her son(s). Middle school males targeted by Project Eunice include those who have received disciplinary suspensions from school, or those who have been identified as at risk for activities such as gang involvement, bullying, or minor vandalism. Services offered by Project Eunice include in-home counseling sessions, group therapy, and multi-family group sessions.

A Common Ground Foundation, Los Angeles
Mr. Fred Williams, Founder and Director

A Common Ground Foundation works to support and maintain the Los Angeles gang truce by intervening in and diffusing conflicts. The Foundation offices also serve as a community center, where basic needs (such as food and clothing) are provided to community residents living in the Jordan Downs public housing units. The Foundation is staffed by residents of those units and aided by volunteers. In addition to basic needs provisions, the Foundation administers a summer youth employment program, boys’ and girls’ rap clubs for teens, and a stay-in-school program. The stay-in-school program is run by “street sweepers” who find kids not attending school, identify the cause, and help find solutions.
The After School Kids (ASK) Program, Washington, D. C.
Mr. Ted Enoch, Director

The ASK program was developed as an alternative to incarceration for juvenile offenders in the District of Columbia. The program's main objective is to assist the youths in successfully completing their probation while helping them to build self-esteem through the development of life skills and constructive patterns of behavior. ASK participants, referred to the program by their probation officer or judge, meet twice weekly in groups of 10 to 12 at four different sites in the District. The youths are matched with Georgetown University and community volunteers for one-to-one tutoring sessions and group activities on topics ranging from conflict mediation, interviewing and job-search skills, African American history, and artistic expression to current events. Youths also participate in cultural and recreational activities such as trips to the theater and museums, as well as camping expeditions and community service projects. Staff members maintain contact with each youth's family, teachers, and probation officers and submit written reports to the Court every six weeks.

PROGRAM LESSONS

The information gleaned in our site visits provides strong confirmation of what the literature has concluded about the requirements of effective programs for African American male children and youth. The following summary of this literature is based on Ferguson (1994), who builds his conceptual base on work by Skinner, Wellborn, and Connell (1990), McLelland (1987), Maslow (1970), Bowman (1989), and Brice-Heath and McLaughlin (1991).

The approach common to most effective programs is to build on the fundamental drives or needs that motivate human behavior—achievement, a sense of belonging, influence, security, avoidance of discomfort, and self-esteem. "In trying to understand why a young black male (or anyone else) seems more attracted to one activity than to another, it is often useful to ask what payoffs the two activities provide in terms of these drives or needs" (Ferguson 1994). The actions
to which these needs give rise are learned from personal experience and from watching role models (constructive or destructive, standard or nonstandard) in the family or neighborhood.

The challenge of effective programs is to channel these drives and needs in ways that lead to healthy activities and choices. According to the literature, and confirmed by our site visits, the first step is to convince the youth in question that he is loved, trusted, and valued. With this as a foundation, the programs work to provide the youth with a set of opportunities and options; convince him that he has the power to choose among them; teach him about strategies that, if followed, will enable him to succeed at what he chooses to do; and impart the skills and confidence necessary to pursue the strategies and ends he has chosen. All this requires a clear structure of expectations and rewards.

Although the programs we visited spanned a wide range of specific activities, there was remarkable consensus about what children need from these programs and what programs need to be successful, and a rich store of individually promising program components that can provide examples and lessons for other programs and for those who would start new programs.

WHAT KIDS NEED

Secure Love. If anything of lasting value is to be accomplished, adults who work with youth must care about them, be comfortable with them, want to spend time with them, and most of all, show them love. "You have to transmit to a young man that he is loved." (Jeannetta Robinson, Founder and Director of Career Youth Development, Inc.) Many African American males grow up in poor or distressed neighborhoods that demonstrate to them that society does not care. They are frequently harassed by authority figures, such as teachers in school and policemen on the street. And they know these adults hold low expectations for them. Many do not know who their father is, or do not interact with their fathers on a regular basis. Missing from their lives is knowing and understanding they are loved. As one program director described a participant: "Now here is a tough dude, I want you to understand 'Jim' is tough but he responds
to love. He finds a group of people that are going to see the best in him in spite of his issues. So many of our adults just want to put him in line and they wonder why he's violent."

The programs that work begin with a premise that the boys have something to offer and recognize that they, like most of us, need to know that someone loves and cares about them. Roland Gilbert, director of SIMBA, summed up the need and the difficulty of the task. "All my children need is love, support, discipline and direction, but how you do that is the key, that's the difficulty. That's why all the training [of staff] is necessary. It's the 'how do you do that', and it's the modeling." Mr. Gilbert has developed a rigorous 66-hour training program for staff. The first 40 hours of training are provided in the first week (during non-work hours). The rest of the training is covered in 13 two-hour follow-up meetings delivered at the pace of the individual trainee. In Gilbert's experience, "I have consistently found that when you make demands of the staff, they rise to the occasion."

High Expectations. Coupled with the need for practitioners and staff to show youth love and caring is the need to hold high expectations for these youth. High expectations give youth the message that "they can do it, they can contribute." High expectations are critical to any learning environment. Alan Young, a school superintendent in the Oakland school district, instills this message in his teachers.

I was trying to get our folks to realize where the power really lies and what their responsibility is, in a whole different light. So instead of saying: you're Johnny bad, [you're] Johnny medium, Johnny etc., all they should see is a wealth of potential walking through the door.

There's no one coming through the door that wants to fail. No one's born wanting to be a failure, no one's born wanting to be feeling sad, no one's born wanting to hurt.

If they get in touch with that, they begin to feel that way. They begin to feel healthy. If you get that happening, the rest will take care of itself. Success breeds success, positive brings about positive, negative doesn't do anything except create more negative.
**Time to Listen and to Trust.** According to our respondents, one of the basic frustrations kids feel is that no one will listen. Thus, building trust between the adult service providers and the youth participants is vital to the success of any program. Developing trust with the African American young men and boys that these programs target is not a quick or simple process. It requires the time to give a youth attention and listen to what he is saying. The youth will often test adults to determine their commitment. But once that most rigorous test has been passed the youth will give back and do much for the truly committed adult who has proven himself. Listen to the Reverend Murray, First Pastor of the First African Methodist Episcopal (FAME) Church:

But who takes the time to listen to these kids? Who is willing to put in the hours? They’ll call in the middle of the night at 2:00 in the morning and you have to go out and pick them up, because somebody got a bullet to their head, or is getting ready to commit suicide. Before you even get to them, you have to find enough adults that are willing to say, “I’m going to deal with it.” Because most of those kids are going to challenge you initially. Most of them are going to see if you are going to really stick with them. And that’s at the point where they’re ready to say, “Okay, I’ll give in. I’ll do whatever you tell me to do.” Once you get past that breaking point, they will go wherever you tell them to go. They’ll take a job at McDonald’s, you know, to straighten their life out.

Trust is a two-way street. It is equally important that the adult demonstrate trust and belief in the youth. Children, regardless of who they are, want to be put in a position of trust. When the youth knows that the adult trusts him, he will demonstrate that he is worthy of that trust. For example, Rev. Murray discussed the importance of trust in dealing with gang members. "Those gang students that we talked about, those are the most motivated kids we’ve got here in this community because they want out. They want to do something constructive. All they want you to do is believe in them."

Part of building mutual trust is to give youth a chance to express themselves, share their feelings or their side of the story, and having their contributions validated. Many programs do this by allowing youth to have input into the program, and using that input to give youth a sense
of ownership. Many programs foster such feelings by having their youth participants educate the community about the program; some have even testified before legislatures.

Richard Bell, a juvenile advocate, explains:

First of all they always comment on the attention that they get. That you treat me as a person. That they can look at someone that looks like them, that can understand their issues. When you take the time to ask them how their day was, or what is their side of this story, just being sensitive and not just assuming that what you have on paper from the legal authorities is what is actually factual. The fact that you’re willing to work with them, talk with them on their level, things of that nature. The whole non-threatening approach.

Anger is frequent in the communication/expression process of working with African American male youth in the experience of our case-study programs. When an adult is confronted by an angry child, the approach used in these programs is listening to the child about what’s bothering him.

Like ‘Kevin’ came in one day and he was just punching everybody, pissed off, totally pissed, and usually we work in group formats but he was too far out of it. So Mike took him on a time out, which is a one-on-one where they just pull him out of the group. So Mike started asking him who are you angry with, “so and so did this to me, etc..” he started going through the list of who in the group was messing with him, and he says okay, now who are you angry with? ‘Nobody’. Well what are you angry about? ‘Nothing’. So Mike then begins to process him, which is something we teach them how to do. It’s a way of asking questions to get to the underlying issue. What came out of it was that ‘Kevin’ was angry because his father was supposed to visit him two weeks earlier but didn’t show up and didn’t call. Then ‘Kevin’ began to cry. Once the crying stopped and the hurt came up Mike was able to validate that, ‘you have the right to feel hurt, you have a right to feel anger, that’s okay. Now the next time you feel hurt and anger what can you do to get you more of what you want?’ We let the child begin to come up with his own answers. It’s crucial to do that. (The City, Inc. staff)

Another staff member emphasized that value judgments have no role in the listening/validation process if it is going to work. "What the child says or feels is valid: If he says something really off the wall, the way we handle that is that we say things like, okay, we don’t get a value judgment on it. Okay, what else could you do? First he’s learning that he can provide answers himself, they are his answers and they are valid."
This process of relating to youth is important for developing a trusting and respectful relationship, but it also critical in the opinion of our respondents to gain information on which to Build responsive programs that attract and retain youth. Some programs do this by surveying the youth and the communities to determine their needs before beginning the program development work. Others allow youth to provide input as part of the developmental process.

Relevance. In addition to giving youth opportunities to provide input, programs must be relevant to youth. Professionals who have been working with youth for many years point out that teenagers and older youth are harder to serve, because they can "vote with their feet." Participants will leave if programs do not address the issues youth deal with in their daily lives and their interests. Many of the programs we visited, for example, held rap sessions with their teenage and young adult participants.

The HAWK Federation, a program in Oakland, derived its name and developed its program focus by emphasizing what was relevant to the youth participants.

We developed a program, a total developmental program, around education for young males. Not education in a traditional school setting. But we began to teach young males about, first of all what it is to be a male, what it is to be an African Male—everything from hygiene, interpersonal relations, world of work, everything you could possibly think of that was important to develop males.

So, we asked some of these males what was their favorite TV program. At this particular time, it was 'Spencer for Hire', and we talked about the character Hawk, and began to analyze what they liked about Hawk, you know Hawk was conscientious, competent and confident in what he did. This is what the young brothers were attracted to. (Bill Cavil III, Director, Community Development)

Exposure to New Experiences. Many of the youth served by the programs we visited simply do not have access to experiences and ideas different from their own. Some had never been outside their own communities. Since people model behavior after what they are exposed to and make decisions on what they know, programs work to expose youth to new experiences and model alternatives for them. For example, Angela Carter, Director of the Phyllis Wheatley
Community Center, developed a project tailored to expose children to the ideas of responsible citizenship.

We wanted kids from these few blocks to know that there are other folks out there, there's a world out there and there are some folks across town, with these same issues, same needs. Their economic status might be a little bit different but they too need to learn these skills and we want them to interact. It also has a component that really focuses on crime and drug prevention so they're learning how to become citizens. We want them to know that you do have a responsibility if you live on this block. This block is yours and you have to build your block.

In addition to exposing youth to alternative experiences, many programs use staff members to model alternative behaviors for the youth. Dunyako Ahmadu, program administrator of the After School Kids Program in Washington, D. C., described how he uses his clothes to model the different roles in his life. He dresses casually when working with the youth at the program sites, or wears jeans when he takes them horseback riding. But when he needs to appear in court as their advocate, he wears a suit.

Programs take advantage of as many opportunities as possible to show youth alternatives, expose them to new experiences, and offer them new options, from teaching them table manners to taking them on college tours. Many activities common to most Americans are unknown to youth from high risk environments or considered out of their reach. The activities and field trips that are first-time experiences for these youth include concerts, museum visits, professional or college sports events, camping, fishing, traveling to other cities, and touring college campuses. Here are examples of activities our case study programs used to expose youth to new experiences:

*Going on a college tour*. Several programs provide college tours for their participants to give them a flavor of the different colleges available to them. By setting college as a goal for the
youth, programs hope to get them more interested in school and the pursuit of academics. By exposing youth to the real life experience of college, programs help to motivate youth to improve their grades, and take the fear of the unknown out of college.

Living on campus. A couple of programs hold classes on college campuses to begin to expose youth and plant the seed of what can be a part of their future. Side by Side holds an intensive summer session of college courses for potential high school dropouts, to motivate them to stay in school while demonstrating to them that they have the ability to perform at the college level. Students actually live on campus and experience college first-hand for a full semester.

Table manners and restaurant etiquette. One program director made arrangements with various restaurants in the area to get free dinners for the participants. The place settings around the table were arranged for a proper dinner and the kids were taught table manners.

Roller blading.

If you go out to Lake Calhoun you’ll see primarily white people doing the roller blading and bike riding and the group type of activity. We’re trying to do that with our kids. We do different barbecues with the kids and invite the families to come and play softball and just interact with their kids. (Richard Bell)

Camping.

I think it’s a fascinating place to be bringing together kids from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds to live together and work together, sleep in the same tents together, eat meals together, it’s quite a bit different than what most people experience in their daily life. (Craig Luedemann, Executive Director, YouthCare)

Alternatives to violence.

That’s why we have to show our young people the alternative. That’s what all the wanna-be’s in the gang situation is. I have kids that get real defensive and ready to fight because somebody is looking at you. If they haven’t touched you, if they haven’t invaded your space, why have a problem with it. But that’s the way they are. They are on their guard as
soon as somebody looks at them much less brushes up against them. To be ready to fight or shoot over something that small is stupid. (Richard Bell)

*Public speaking.*

We have Oral Communications sessions. I think that’s very, very important, because what we see with the children is that they will yack, yack. But as soon as they have to stand up in front of a class and actually speak out, it’s very hard for them. And I think it’s very important for them to learn how to speak out and to be able to express themselves. (Henry McCloud, Upward Bound, NJIT)

Create Order in Youths’ Lives. A number of program directors discussed the importance of building discipline and order into the delivery of services. Directors described lack of order within the families and neighborhoods in which their youth participants lived. Increasingly, even the schools the youth attend are resembling their neighborhoods in disarray and are controlled by youth and peer leaders. Thus, an important role of the program is to teach discipline and create an atmosphere of order.

We are an extended family. We raise them exactly the way our parents raised us. And they like it. Schools don’t see them as people, they see them as behavior disorders. They don’t care about healing. We have restored these kids’ respect for their elders. They want principles, period. They want order. Right now their lives and neighborhoods are in total disarray and disorder. In Omega, we have control of everything—all the variables. In school [where I taught for 25 years] our classrooms were not in disarray, but we didn’t have control of all the variables. There was a circus going on around us. School is supposed to take kids out of their environment, [but] it’s the same thing. (Joe Marshall, Omega Boys Club)

Time and Commitment over the Long Term. According to our program respondents, the boys and young men being served by these African American male youth development programs need long-term sustained commitment. Raising children is a long-term process, and many of the participants in these programs have to make up for lost time in this respect. Roland Gilbert of SIMBA explains:

We are not going to be able to legislate, write policy, or write books, we must raise our children. We’re not going to get away from this one. We’re not going to be able to sneak through it. We’re not
going to be able to substitute raising our children. Policies, procedures and manuals and books are not going to do that. You need people who are going to spend time with them on a regular basis, and model for them alternatives.

Research verifies that programs need to be long-term, and services need to be intensive (Quinn 1994, Clark 1988, and Morrow and Styles 1995). But many programs have agreements or contracts with funding agents, such as local governments, to work with youth for a fixed period of time, often three months or six months. Program directors find it unrealistic to expect to accomplish much in such short periods of time. For example, many of the juvenile advocates for youth involved in the criminal justice system are given three months to work with these youth, while advocates have found that it can take three months just to break the ice.

Program directors let us know that even one year is too short a period to help youth develop into healthy adults. The programs that build long-term, intensive services anticipate serving their youth for as many years as they can keep them coming. Ideally, every child would be guided through the entire process of growing into adulthood by either one program or a graduating series of programs. "We try to have a program that will take you from cradle to college" (Rev. Murray).

Bill Wilson’s organization, 100 African American Men, for example, runs a year-round Saturday academy for African American boys that is complemented by weekday activities. Each year the program starts with boys in the 7th, 8th, and 9th grades and they are all followed through high school.

Another example is the Darrell Green Youth Life Foundation’s Service Learning Center. The center is located inside an apartment complex and contains a computer lab. Participants can enter the program at the age of five and stay right through their high school graduation. The youth who participate in the program go to school in the neighborhood and live in the apartments. This facilitates interaction with parents and enables the center to work with participants for many hours after school, every day. Participants arrive immediately after school and stay until the parents pick them up (sometimes after 8:00 PM). The center sponsors special club activities on
Friday nights, field trips and group activities on Saturdays, and a shuttle bus service to take families and any interested residents to church on Sundays.

A Radio Show Approach. Street Soldiers is a radio program sponsored by the Omega Boys Club in San Francisco. The program is co-hosted by Margaret Norris and Joe Marshall, co-founder of the Omega Boys Club. The purpose of the radio show is to mediate and solve conflict on the air, particularly among rival gangs and people are also provided the opportunity to call in to discuss issues that are important to them, get advice, and respond to the hosts' messages. The radio show has expanded Omega's outreach and influence from 400-500 youth in the Club's immediate circle to 60,000 listeners. (When the radio show is simulcast in Los Angeles, 150,000 listeners are reached.) The radio show runs late at night (from 10 p.m. to 2 a.m.) when trouble in the street intensifies.

Promising Program Components. We already noted the importance of program components that hold the participants' interest, and experiences they view as relevant and useful. Entrepreneurship development, financial management, computer skills training, and developing interpersonal skills have all been found to be particularly promising program components that interest youth and provide them with useful skills.

Entrepreneurship. Many youth organizations are incorporating entrepreneurial skills development in their programs, echoing the traditional American value of self-help to which most of the community leaders who start these programs are deeply committed. Entrepreneurial skills development is effective because it includes many of the elements discussed earlier as vital to the success of a youth program. First, it helps to build confidence and self-esteem as youth learn to build something out of their own ideas and hard work. Second, it offers new options, and ultimately teaches youth that they can create new options for themselves. Third, it allows youth to experience ownership of the final product (whether it is a business plan or actual business), and can even carry with it monetary rewards when and if the business is successful.

A program that has helped develop entrepreneurial skills among African American youth is the Urban Tree Connection program in Philadelphia. Skip Wiener, director of this program, trains
youth in landscaping skills. His program helps youth develop marketable skills and make money while simultaneously improving the community they live in. The participants have written their own grants and are growing tree nurseries in the vacant lots of their neighborhood.

If you have a lot of individuals becoming self-empowered it becomes an empowered community through the children. The specific skill I want them to acquire is problem solving, I want people to become gardeners, I want them to be connected to the land. I want them to be able to design, to look at a design problem and work it out. I want them to be able to manipulate that environment, to go into that vacant lot—I want them to do it in a community sense and a physical sense. Whatever they do has to be done in a quality mode, there has to be an incredibly high work ethic. People can see that and feel that and want that person. (Skip Wiener)

Financial Management. Related to developing entrepreneurship skills is teaching youth personal financial management skills. Financial management includes learning how to save, how to keep a checking account, and investing in the financial markets. Noted experts, such as Stanford University economist B. Douglas Bernheim, suggest that one way to stimulate prudent savings practices among our adult population is to teach children basic financial skills, which they do not typically learn at home or in the schools. One financial institution, Merrill Lynch, has developed a saving lesson booklet for high school and middle school teachers that guides adults on how to help children save.

The READY Foundation is one organization that has developed personal financial management programs for youth. In the READY program every child participant learns how to open a bank account and how to invest in the stock market.

We have a banking curriculum and they go into the bank, learn about it, and know that this is where they can cash checks and save money. Kids in the inner city can tell you where the check cashing place is but don’t know diddley about saving and banks because it’s not part of their community. As a matter of fact, one of the banks takes some of our children over the summer for internships, and summer jobs. Another thing that our benefactor has done is given the kids a share of stock in City National Bank here in Newark. It’s the only minority-owned bank on the east coast. Our participants have a share stock. Actually they have thirty shares. Each
year they get interest, they'll get dividends, and they have their own bank accounts. (Sabarah Sabin, Director, READY Foundation)

Computer Technology. Computer skills have become an increasingly critical requirement for entering the labor market. The Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates that computer and data processing will constitute the leading area for job growth over the next 10 years. While the number of computers being purchased for the home has risen dramatically, the gap between those who have and have not remains. Ownership of a computer was most likely in households with high yearly incomes; less than 5 percent of households with income below $15,000 owned a computer (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1991). A number of youth development programs we visited for this study are trying to fill that gap by providing participants with opportunities to develop their computer skills. They have computer labs and hold daily computer learning sessions to complement their traditional tutoring, recreation, and other activities.

A primary goal of the Horizons Youth Program of the Sabathani Community Center in St. Paul, Minnesota, for example, has been to develop a state-of-the-art computer lab for their participants. Sixteen 486 IBM-computer work stations and one file server provide youth the opportunity to learn computer techniques while enhancing their academic skills. Participants as young as 1st grade are instructed in keyboarding (or typing) skills. Soon the lab will have a phone line to enable students to learn the techniques of computer communication via the Internet. Finally, program participants in the 4th grade and up can receive more intensive instruction in DOS, Windows, Spread Sheets, databases, and word processing (Henderson 1995).

Even organizations that had only one computer felt it was critical to build in user time for all the participants to develop their computer skills. Many programs receive their equipment through in-kind contributions from computer companies or philanthropic individuals.

Interpersonal Skills and "Negotiating the System." Children and youth in the programs we visited took readily to the computer. In fact, many program staff found youth participants could quickly surpass their own skills. But, helping youth develop interpersonal skills, even more
critical, turns out to be much more difficult. Program staff point out that youth are quick to find offense in someone’s words or looks and to allow conflict to escalate.

SAVE in Philadelphia, for example, is a Student Anti-Violence Education program that teaches youth new skills for communicating and reducing conflict. According to Julie Good, Director of SAVE, one of the objectives is:

to provide youth with training so they can acquire specific skills they need to resolve their conflicts in a positive way (two people can both win during a conflict). They have to have positive anger management, emotional literacy, and communication skills. They have to learn how to talk when they are upset, to listen actively (especially when they are upset). They have to learn empathy, relate to what the other person is experiencing, to understand differences and the role they have in conflict. We brainstorm with the kids about what are the differences between people: kids said the kind of jewelry they wear, their clothes, their noses. All these can then lead to conflict. It turned out all these differences, even the silly little ones like hair style and the music they listen to, can lead to conflict. We talk about consequences of their actions, if you did this what would be likely to happen—negotiation strategies, creative problem solving. We use games and exercises, practice and role plays.

With respect to making the right choices and negotiating their way through the system, staff in many programs are helping students get the right academic courses in school and prepare for college. When staff talk to children about what they were taking in school they frequently find they are missing important courses needed for getting into college or the labor market. As one program director put it, "they were taking what I call basket weaving 101. They didn't know anything about what they needed—nobody was taking algebra."

Program directors also stressed the need to teach parents as well as their children how to negotiate the system. They have found that many lack the confidence or knowledge about how to complete transactions with authority figures or representatives of "the system." Some parents are too timid. As one program director described, "They'll go into a school and they'll sit outside in the hallway and wait for somebody to come out and say, Can I help you? Instead of going up and saying, 'Excuse me, I'd like to see the principal.' They don't know that they should do that."
Or they become frustrated and inappropriately shout as a way to get their needs met. As one program director pointed out, "It's just that they don't know how to do it. But if nobody taught you, how could you do it? You absolutely could not. You cannot do what you have not been taught."

A common method our site-visit programs use to help youth and their parents negotiate their needs within the system is advocacy. A majority of the programs provide advocates for their participants in the school, the home, on the job, or in the court system. Advocates help to ensure that youth and their parents are treated appropriately and they model successful ways of negotiating.

The READY Foundation is an example. Sabarah Sabin, the director, described an occasion when one of her mentors helped a parent negotiate for housing.

She was taking a parent to the housing authority and this woman had been on the list for housing for eight years. So she went up to the window and said "you know, I'd like to"—and he said "just a minute." We waited and I clocked it at 22 minutes. He still had not looked up. He was on the phone. So I went over and knocked on the window and said, "Excuse me, what is your name?" He looked at me and I said, "Are you on a personal phone call or a business phone call because I have been waiting for 22 minutes to be helped here. I am an advocate for this woman. What is your name and what is the name of your supervisor?" He hung up the phone and gave me the help we needed. We are trying to tell our parents: You’re in charge of your life. You are the one who determines what happens. You have to find where you want to go and what you want to do.

In yet another example, Charles Hill of the Urban League of Bergen County, organized an African American male role models program because of the high demand for advocates. He describes below why he recruited adult male role models:

We started getting a lot of calls from mothers who had sons from ages 12 to 14 who are acting out in school and acting out at home. And we realized that we needed just a little more than a tutoring component. So what we did was, I started recruiting black professional males to come in and to work from 3:00 to 5:00 on Wednesday to work with some of the black youth who are acting out. Their role is two-fold. Not just to act as tutors but to actually get involved and become advocates for the youth at
school. And if you have that strong male figure there, you put the child in check because he knows that there is someone there who’s supportive—and then the principals know and the teachers know that there is somebody that they have to be held accountable to. A lot of times that mother is working, she’s trying to provide for her family, if she misses a day of work sometimes, it can create a problem for her. But if she knows that there is someone who is an advocate for her son who will sit down with her and relay to her what is going in on school and somebody who will bring her and the teachers and the principal together, then you’ve created something like a support group, kind of like a wraparound support for the child.

Teen Father Sessions and Fatherhood Training Programs. Historically, programs to reduce teenage pregnancy and out-of-wedlock childbearing have focused on young women and girls (Dryfoos 1988, Mincy and Wiener 1990). Most programs focused on sex education, contraceptive education, and building self-esteem and motivation for pursuing life goals other than motherhood (i.e., staying in school, pursuing a career).

More recently, pregnancy prevention programs have begun including boys. Organizations that target their services to African American males are innovators in involving teenage fathers and potential fathers. Many of the programs we visited cited the need to help their youth participants deal with issues of masculinity, responsibility, and fatherhood. The National Urban League developed a national initiative on male responsibility through its Adolescent Male Development Center, which has encouraged Urban League affiliates and non-affiliated to develop local programs for adolescent males (see Fulton and Brown 1992). Planned Parenthood of America is currently developing a national initiative on minority male youth that will build on the programs already being offered by many planned parenthood affiliates. Organizations running rites-of-passage and manhood training have also taken the lead in teaching about sexuality, male responsibility, and fatherhood.

In fact, program providers spoke very highly of manhood training programs. They felt manhood training could make a major difference in the lives of black boys. They saw manhood training programs as a way to help make a smooth, healthy and positive transition from boyhood to manhood. In other words, manhood training is a “rites of passage” or “initiation ritual.”
Manhood historically has not been a birthright for the African American male. Unlike the Jewish "Bar mitzvah," black boys have no official ceremony or rite that officially lets them know they have attained manhood.

Father absence is high among black families. Thus, most black boys never have the opportunity to bond with their biological fathers. When fathers or male role models are not present, youth have the tendency to learn masculine identity roles from their peer group. Unfortunately, peer groups are inadequate for learning about masculine identity roles because peers often define manhood by the cost of one’s car, fine clothes, having a number of different sexual partners, and making babies. Additionally, peers often teach other youth about street life, drugs, alcohol abuse, crime, and other potentially harmful activities.

Thus, manhood training or rites of passage curriculum are necessary to socialize and inculcate positive and health masculine identities. Manhood training is the alternative socializing option to combat and prevent antisocial behavior, delinquency, crime, drug or alcohol abuse, or gang participation.

A select group of organizations have developed services and activities specifically for teen fathers. Programs deal with sexual attitudes, self-esteem, masculinity, youth definition of manhood, peer pressure, dating and relationships, decision making, male responsibility, and leadership development. Teen father activities include support groups, parent education and fatherhood training, bringing fathers and children together, and father drop-in centers.

June Perry, co-founder of the New Concepts Self Development Center, started the Father’s Resource Center to promote co-parenting and the nurturing side of men towards their children. She recognized a need for the center after noticing that there were never any men to be found at family resource centers. The Father's Resource Center is a drop-in place for fathers, where they can browse through materials in the library, talk with staff, or just relax in the stress-free environment of the lounge area. The Father's Resource Center offers father parenting classes that meet for 8 week sessions, which are filled primarily by fathers who want to gain custody of their children, or fathers who have court orders. As Preston Pointer, Project Coordinator,
explains, "these fathers really want to father their children." Many of them are motivated by the experience of growing up in a single-parent family where they lacked a father role model, and were raised only by their mother. They do not want to do the same thing to their own children.

As many of these programs teach fathers about fatherhood and reunite them with their children, they uncover the men’s feelings about their own fathers. Often these men had little or no relationship with their own fathers; some have not been in contact with their fathers from a very young age, and others never knew their own fathers. These personal histories can generate a lot of pain and anger for the young fathers and often are the motivation for these men to get involved with their children. One program we visited is not a fatherhood training program, but a therapy group designed specifically to help men deal with their loss and the lack of a strong father presence in their lives. Healing the Father Wound, founded and directed by Maurice Burrell, meets weekly and sponsors retreats to create a safe environment for men to learn who they are and to deal with the pain passed down from their fathers or lack of fathers’ presence and the pain and isolation resulting from the environment in which they were raised.

One of the major issues that program providers have to deal with is attracting older boys. As Charles Hill describes:

If you don’t have a carrot, so to speak, it’s hard to get males to come in. We try to work through our employment component, where we provide different jobs for different people in the community. But, it is still like pulling teeth to get them to come in.

We know from the success of the young father’s program and the male program in Minnesota that the two greatest gimmicks come through the juvenile detention center and health care. If the fathers are coming in because of health care for their children, if the father is required to be present in order for the baby to receive certain things, or if the family receives comprehensive kind of health plan—these incentives being them in.

Many policy makers and researchers have advocated that an important part of welfare reform should be mandatory child support payments from absent fathers. Many of our program directors disagreed with the use of detention or incarceration as a stick to garner cooperation
from fathers. Teen fathers and unemployed/underemployed African American men are often simply unable to pay. Incarceration makes it even more difficult, both currently and in the future, because they cannot work while detained and because detaining them gives them a criminal record (Mincy and Sorensen 1994; Sorensen 1995).

We learned from our program directors that the fathers they serve do not even conceive male responsibility in the way the wider society does. According to Charles Hill:

They don't buy into this whole thing that 'I'm not being responsible.' They don't even think about the responsibility factor.

They are thinking about getting a job. They are thinking about the fact that I can't take care of myself let alone take care of somebody else. And underneath it all, they are thinking about 'I can't be a good father. I can't take care of myself. All of these problems I'm having.'

When I get them, I plant the seeds of responsibility in their minds and let them know they can start somewhere and that nobody becomes a good father overnight. I wrap my arms around them and let them know that they can be a good father. Self-esteem first. After that you have to follow through. I talk to the employment counselor here to see if we can find some jobs. We have an educational coordinator who tries to put them into some kind of school, training program.

**Underlying Philosophies on Program Design.** In addition to particular program components, our site visits yielded considerable information on underlying program philosophies. In this section we provide brief discussions of what we learned on Afrocentric perspectives, spirituality, the role of the black church, apprenticeship approaches, comprehensive family approaches and surrogate parenting.

**Afrocentric Perspectives.** A large portion of the organizations we visited said their programs had an Afrocentric focus. Many program directors shared the view that Afrocentric curriculum in the classroom is the solution to many of the problems black boys experience in the school. They believed an Afrocentric curriculum would help educate black boys about their history, homeland and culture. For example, Afrocentric philosophy teaches that their African
American forefathers were not just slaves, but were descendants of kings and queens. This was one service providers' example of the value of Afrocentric education. Program staff put stock in the fact that exposing these boys to their African history and culture would enhance racial pride, identity and self-esteem. Such exposure, they believed, would stimulate motivation and interest, and increase academic performance. One reason program directors felt it was necessary to expose youth to African culture and African American history because they did not feel it was being taught anywhere. According to one of them, "You can't figure out where you're going until you know where you've been and that piece of history isn't taught in our high schools."

One of the major issues expressed by service providers concerning afrocentrism was that Afrocentric meant different things to different people. The following are some ways that Afrocentric approaches were applied by the different programs we visited:

- **Using only African American staff to deliver services;**
- **Bringing in African American guest speakers, and mentors, and hiring black scientists and black teachers as educators;**
- **Using black literature, and materials and texts with black faces and images;**
- **Including an African American history program and Hispanic Heritage program, and an annual African History Celebration;**
- **Holding a black mentoring class on how to work with black children;**
- **Providing a 40-hour class on parenting black children;**
- **Holding an African American culture week-long camp, with various African American history sessions, including reenactment of the underground railroad;**
- **Teaching African dance, African drumming and African values.**
The perceived importance of Afrocentric approaches was accompanied, however, by the common feeling among program staff that they cannot be honest about having an Afrocentric focus because funders will not support them if they are. Program directors said funders believe that afrocentrism has an anti-white message and potential funders and foundations were fearful of Afrocentric philosophies and teachings.

The Black Church and Spirituality. Historically, the black church has played a major role in the delivery of services in the black community. Many churches have developed their own youth programs and they sponsor regular activities for both member and non-member youth. Churches have also provided critical support services, office and meeting space, volunteer staff, materials and supplies, transportation services, and advertising. (See Billingsley et al. 1992; Byrd 1990; and Lewis 1993 for the role of the church in the black community.) Many of the service providers to whom we talked felt that spirituality was crucial, not only for the development of black youth but also for delivery of services.

For example, Bishop Benjamin Reid of the First Church of God in Los Angeles runs a youth employment program that began as an informal way to engage local youth gang members in constructive activities. Initially he offered his church as a neutral site for funerals after being approached by gang members mourning the death of one of their members. Rev. Reid was very interested in helping gang members because of the lack of opportunities and prevalence of negative stereotypes about them ("gang members will not work or become involved in mainstream activities"). One of his first projects was to hire gang members to paint the interior and exterior of his house. While gang members were painting, he often left his house unsupervised because of his trust in them. His trust paid off. For example, during the week of unrest after the Rodney King incident in 1992, the gang member employees showed up for work, on time, and stayed all day, every day while nearby neighborhoods were embroiled in rioting and chaos.

Two church-based programs we visited have chosen to develop subsidiary nonprofit organizations to house their youth service programs. The Nehemiah Community Development Corporation is a community and church-based coalition of churches, businesses, and community
representatives. The agency was founded by Rev. Alex Gee, pastor of the Union Tabernacle Church of God in Christ in Madison, Wisconsin. The Nehemiah Corporation aims to rebuild the lives of African American young people through tutoring, mentoring, and education programs. Rev. Gee describes the three critical elements that differentiate his approach from the traditional school system. First, it is Christianity-based and incorporates spiritual values, such as using biblical learning, teaching right from wrong, and teaching that success is not just the acquisition of material goods. Second, it uses an Afrocentric curriculum, such as teaching about black mathematicians, poets, and scientists, and allowing youth to witness African American leadership. Third, it shows children genuine love with a personal touch, which means hugging them, holding sleep overs, and running a gentleman's club that helps young men build healthy images of women.

The largest church-based program in our case study was developed by Reverend Cecil Murray of the First African Methodist Episcopal Church (FAME) of Los Angeles. The FAME Youth Department, one of the church’s three subsidiary organizations for delivering services to the community, offers youth and children’s choirs; a Christian fraternity and sorority to 14- to 24-year-olds; a teen rap session (peer counseling, conflict resolution, decision-making); rites-of-passage programs for male and female youth called Manchild and Womanchild; self-esteem classes; etiquette classes; a college prep and college scholarship program; and a black college tour.

Rev. Murray provided an example of how FAME’s programs can work in concert to create a success story. ‘George,’ fresh out of prison, formerly a gang member, wanted to turn his life around. The FAME staff began by helping him change the way he presented himself to people. They then gave him a job, first through the youth summer employment program, and then through other auspices, including a position with the Water Conservation program. While working this job, ‘George’ developed an interest in computers and gradually took over the data entry portion of the project. "To sum up, [he] was promoted to Assistant Manager of the Project and now we have expanded to three offices. He manages one of the offices himself" (Rev.
Murray). Over a 18-month period, the young man progressed from jail to the equivalent of retail store manager.

**An Apprenticeship Approach.** John Hagedorn directs the Gang Research Project at the Urban Research Center of the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee. His research addresses issues such as gang member involvement in drugs and violence, and their life choices. After interviewing gang members for his study, he realized many of them had a lot of potential but lacked positive role models and guidance. As a result of these observations, he developed an apprenticeship program. This program helps gang members get into college and hires them as full-time staff members to assist him in his research. Thus, his apprenticeship model provides gang members with hands-on training and learning experience while exposing them to new opportunities and life choices.

**A Comprehensive Family Services Approach.** The READY Foundation in Newark, NJ runs a three-pronged program that served 700 public school children in 1994. Not only do they work with the children, through leaders and mentors, but they also work with the families. The same leaders who work with the children also help the children’s families "toward independence." The READY program essentially becomes a resource agency to serve the family in any area that it may need help. And these services are extended to the parents as well as other children in the family. "We will help them get a GED or get into a program for a GED if they don’t have it. If the parents want to go on to a higher education, we help them with that: financial aid forms, finding a place where they want to go. We just do whatever has to be done. We’ll help them find housing, get job training, or get medical care. We found out who the agencies are and find out the people in the agencies who can help us" (Sabarah Sabin). The leaders assigned to the family will physically take parents to activities or services if that is what is needed. The leaders will also negotiate for them and model these skills so parents can learn to negotiate for themselves.

**The Surrogate Model.** Are programs successful because of the services they provide or because of the individual people who deliver the services? Many of the individuals we
encountered in our site visits were people who had the kind of magnetism, charisma, energy, passion, and love that could make a positive difference for almost any child.

Within this group of program leaders, a particular type emerged: the surrogate father or mother. These individuals cross the boundaries between home and work, between family and participant. While the majority of programs have created a family style setting to help youth feel at home and comfortable, some program leaders have gone beyond establishing a home environment and developed programs that were an extension of their own home and selves. They became surrogate fathers and mothers to the youth that they served. A surrogate father or mother goes beyond the traditional program model where staff work nine to five. The surrogate is available around the clock to help nurture the development of the youth.

Bennie Davenport of the Blazers-Safe Haven in Los Angeles is an example of the surrogate father model. He has contributed his own home to the program. He lives upstairs, and the community center activities take place on the first floor, in the garage, the driveway, and the yard. As co-founder Gwen Bolden put it, "Every child should be able to have some place...they can walk into, feel safe, and feel like they can ask all these questions and play with all these things and leave feeling they discovered something new."

Fred Williams, former gang member and founder of the Common Ground Foundation has taken on as his family the entire public housing complex of Jordan Downs. His program provides many services including basic needs such as food, clothing, shelter, helping youth stay in school, and a summer employment program. When he walks through his neighborhood at Jordan Downs, people come up to hug him, youth ask him for jobs, and little children trail him as he walks around. The love and respect flowing between Williams and his "family" radiates.

Career Youth Development, Inc. (CYD), an after school care project, was started by Jeannetta Robinson and her mother in their home in the city of Milwaukee. Jeannetta Robinson is another example of a surrogate parent. The CYD program advocates for youth and provides literacy, education, counseling, tutoring and job training. Today, CYD operates 40 programs in 3 program sites. All services are based on Robinson's "Love In Action" philosophy. "Ms.
Robinson's philosophy is that we do not have the right to give up on anyone. She strongly believes that all children and youth can learn how to love through demonstrated love, in turn teaching them to be self-responsible, creative and productive citizens" (Allen Alston, CYD).

BARRIERS TO SUCCESS

During site visit interviews, program directors discussed barriers they are often confronted in trying to run effective youth service programs. Some barriers affect the ability of organizations to provide services that youth need or impede program efforts to have a lasting impact in youths' lives. These barriers include inadequate funding and staffing; lack of parental involvement; institutional racism, negative attitudes and stereotypes about black males, and discrimination (e.g., in the schools, labor market, housing market, and criminal justice system); and the high-risk environments that many youth live in. Other barriers are social and behavioral problems affecting individual young people. Youth-specific barriers include violence, drugs and alcohol, AIDS, gang membership, and the youths' own attitudes and emotional states including anger, fear, depression, and lack of trust in adults.

Funding and Staffing

At every organization we visited, staff felt their funding was insufficient to do all the things they needed to do and spoke of difficulties they faced in raising money. Program directors described the difficulties of surviving in an environment of increasingly scarce resources, government cutbacks, and increasing competition among programs as a result. Many program staff said they were wary about sharing information and networking with other service providers for fear that it will hurt their ability to get funding. Moreover, program directors admitted a lack of knowledge about where to apply for funding, the need for grant writing skills, the difficulty of obtaining support for critical operating expenditures, and an inability to transfer the time from other program activities that is required for effective fund raising and grant writing. Furthermore, as noted above, directors of Afrocentric programs felt inhibited about describing their approaches

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honestly in grant applications because they feared funders are biased against Afrocentric-based programming.

Other issues expressed by service providers included staff turnover and low salaries. Many of the programs we visited have such limited budgets that the staff they do hire work long hours with large numbers of youth. Burnout is an ever-present problem among these staff because children have high energy and these programs tend to work with youth who are very needy of adult attention. Low salaries intensify the burnout problem. An example of burnout is illustrated by the demand placed on African American men in youth programs. It is not uncommon for male staff to be asked to help and spend time with African American boys above and beyond the services included in the program description. For example, one staff member of SAVE routinely works with students in over 10 different schools during a given week, and receives numerous requests from parents to work with their kids outside the classroom—during his lunch hour, after school, or during the weekend.

Funding patterns for youth development organizations have traditionally favored programs with longevity, name recognition, and credibility (Stern 1992, Wiener 1994). But because many of the innovative and promising programs we found that were serving African American young men and boys have only been operating for a short time, they have had difficulty getting funding. Turner and McFate (1994) found that programs serving young black males exclusively tend to be much younger than other programs (such as those affiliated with national youth organizations). In fact, their study showed that 41 percent had existed for only two years or less and an additional 31 percent were between two and four years old. In contrast, 25 percent of national youth organization affiliates were between four and ten years old while and an additional 50 percent were over ten years old. Furthermore, to increase the chances of program stability, all the youth legislation that has been presented to or passed by Congress in the last six years has required funding recipients to be long-standing programs and to prove they can match public funding over a period of several years. The laws further stack the deck against new programs, many of which simply do not survive (as evidenced in part by the low return on our mail survey).
Institutional Racism and Discrimination

Program directors and staff frequently cited institutional racism and discrimination—in the school system, the labor market, the housing market, and the criminal justice—as impeding their efforts to yield long-term results. And research supports the view that teachers often have lower expectations, mislabel and misdiagnose, suspend, expel, or place African American boys in special education classes more often than their white counterparts (Majors and Gordon 1994). Program staff confirmed for example, that teachers were less likely to “push”, challenge, or motivate boys in the classroom because of low expectancy and negative stereotypes towards black boys.

Racism in the criminal justice system—experienced by black males in the form of police brutality and harassment, and forced plea bargaining—also came up repeatedly during interviews with program staff. One program director, who lives in an upper-middle class neighborhood, described how police harassment directed at her own sons was part of her motivation for starting a youth program:

‘Mary’ and I both have sons who are in college. As a matter of fact I have three in college. We felt kind of lucky that we had support systems, we had families, we had resources that could help us with our children. We felt that our young men are at serious risk (African American men). It doesn’t matter whether they are on the street, drop outs or if they are college students. My own sons (each of them) have been harassed, one of them stopped in my own driveway, ‘Where is his identification and what is he doing here?’ In his own community, in his own driveway. So, we know the kinds of problems that are within our community and the attacks on African American males by each other. But then there’s the larger community which seems to be attacking them also.

Isolation and the Neighborhood Environment

Program directors expressed concern about the environment to which children return after participating in program activities. Many of the youth participating in African American male youth development programs come from neighborhoods with high rates of poverty. The children—and their parents—are often isolated from mainstream opportunities such as employment, decent housing, quality schools, and health care. Most programs we visited
primarily serve youth during after school and weekend hours. Thus even the most intensive programs have access to the children for only three to six hours a day. The remainder of a child’s day is spent between school (six to eight hours per day), home, and his neighborhood. For this reason, program directors felt it was critical to not only reform the school systems but also upgrade the neighborhood environment where youth reside.

Newark Fighting Back director Thomas McCloud described the challenge of trying to understand why there was such high drug use among residents of his city and discovered that it was a symptom of living in isolated and deteriorating neighborhoods.

That is, we’ve decided to look at not just the symptoms of addiction but to try to get into some of the root causes. And fundamentally we’ve found that people often become addicted because they don’t have a job, because they don’t have an adequate education, because they live in substandard housing or inadequate housing, because they are in poor health and don’t have access to good health care. They are disenfranchised, or somewhat removed from the mainstream, and therefore don’t get the kind of services that one might expect the taxpayer to get. So we’ve essentially structured ourselves to have what we called partnership communities.

Newark Fighting Back has begun a project to work "block-by-block, neighborhood by neighborhood" to raise awareness about the dangers of alcohol and drug abuse, and then to begin to develop the capacity of local residents to do something about it themselves.

Lack of Parental Involvement

One of the most frequently cited barriers to program effectiveness is the lack of parental involvement in the program, or even in the child’s life. A program staff member of the Interface Institute in Oakland explained that her program cannot single-handedly achieve its goals for the children if parents do not reinforce the program teachings:

Their parents don’t give them the time and they expect us to do it, and make a miracle out of something. One of my students who is no longer in the program because of discipline problems, his mother told me Well I can’t do nothing with him, you do something with him."
understand the parents are tired (many work two and three jobs), but so are we, and that’s not our responsibility.

Some parents think well, what did he do wrong? It’s not a structure type thing. There’s not a lot of structure in the classroom, or in the home. So you get people (youth) who feel like, ‘Well, I don’t do that at school, I don’t do that at home, so how are you going to make me do that here?’ (Program staff member, Interface Institute)

Richard Bell, director of the Juvenile Advocacy Program of the Minneapolis Urban League, also emphasized the importance of the parental role:

We need to do a better job of getting the parents involved. A lot of times when kids are referred to us by the court the parent is of the frame of mind of “you take him, you deal with him. I’m sick of him.” We have to let them know right away, we’re not here to baby-sit, we’re here to help them and advocate for the best interest of the kid.

**Kids Coming to School with Baggage**

Program directors were very concerned about how family instability affects children’s ability to learn and concentrate:

So many of our children they go to school, here they are they’re going to take an English exam, and there’s a strange man who just came home with mom last night, a new boyfriend. This kid is dealing with fear, anger, anxiety, he doesn’t want to hear about an English exam. How does he process that experience? So, the people we bring in, we train. We tell people, we don’t want any perfect people, if you’re perfect good-bye. We want people that are working on their life issues and if you’re working on yours, then we want you to teach the child the process of that. Are you working on fear, on anger, on guilt, on blame on shame, etc., the human issues. (Roland Gilbert)

Finally, program staff expressed concern that the negative baggage many inner-city children and youth carry with them—broken homes, economic barriers, social instability, perceptions of racism—is increasing. Program directors who work with a wide range of ages typically argued that younger children are still open to new ideas and experiences and still trust adults. But even by 4th grade, children are showing the ravages of negative experiences. Program
the leaders among their peers and success with whom can have an effect on the wider youth community. But higher risk bring a higher return. They also pointed out that older youth are often involved. The described the higher risk of dealing with older children in terms of the resources
REFERENCES


Sabathani: Building A Community Based On Self-Reliance. Sabathani Community Center, Minneapolis, MN.


Sample Mail Survey Instrument

APPENDIX A:
Urban Institute Survey of African American Youth Programs

Please complete all of the following questions that apply. If you need more space, please use additional sheets or the back of this survey. Thank you in advance for completing and returning the survey.

1. What is the name of your organization?

2. What is the name of your program?

3. If applicable, what is the name of your host agency?

4. Are you an affiliate of a larger organization (such as YMCA, National Urban League, etc.)?

5. Do you operate in connection with a school, church, hospital, court or other government agency, or independently? (check as many as apply)
   - school
   - church
   - hospital
   - court or other government agency
   - other agency (please specify)
   - independent (no other agency)

6. When were your program and organization founded?
   ______ program _______ organization

7. Do you serve? (please check one)
   ______ males only ______ females only ______ both males and females

8. What geographic area do you serve?

9. What is the general population that you target for services (for example, teen fathers, all middle school students, high school dropouts, etc.)?

10. What types of services do you provide? (check as many as apply)
    - health
    - counseling
    - mentoring
    - cultural awareness
    - conflict resolution
    - sports and recreation
    - education
    - parenting classes
    - job/career preparation
    - advocacy/legal
    - community service
    - residential
    - religious
    - leadership training
    - other (please specify)
11. What are the main objectives or goals of your program?
(For example, what do you hope the participants will get out of the program? Are there any specific skills the participants should acquire by going through the program?)

12. Do you primarily serve children and youth or do you involve other family members?
   _____ children and youth only   _____ grandparents
   _____ parents                   _____ other (please specify)

13. If you involve parents in your program, please describe how:

14. What is the age range of the participants you serve?

15. Approximately how many participants age 0 to 24 did you serve in the last year?
   Total number of 0-18 year olds _____
   Total number of 19-24 year olds _____

16. How many participants aged 0 to 24 are enrolled at any given time in your program? (check one)
   _____ 1-10           _____ 11-25           _____ 26-50
   _____ 51-100         _____ 100-200         _____ over 200

17. Please estimate the race or ethnic profile of your participants:
   _____ % African Americans    _____ % Asians/Pacific Islanders
   _____ % Caucasians           _____ % Native Americans
   _____ % Hispanics/Latinos     _____ % other (please specify)

18. Does your program have an Afrocentric focus?

19. What is the length of time your program runs? (For example, youth participate for 8 weeks, or, youth attend the program at least once a month for the entire school year.)
20. Please estimate your total operating costs for last year:

21. Please indicate the distribution of your funding sources and whether they are public or private organizations.

1. ____ % private foundations/corporations
2. ____ % public - federal government
3. ____ % public - state and local government
4. ____ % dues, memberships, individual donations
5. ____ % other (please specify)

22. Does your program have needs for which you could use assistance (such as assistance on bookkeeping, how to write proposals, or help on developing curriculum)? (please specify)

23. Is your organization for-profit or non-profit? (please check one)
   ____ for profit     ____ non profit

24. Do you use paid staff, volunteers, or both? (please check one)
   ____ paid staff    ____ volunteer staff    ____ both

25. How many staff do you have?
   Total paid full time ____    Total paid part time ____    Total unpaid volunteers ____

26. How many volunteers work in your program in a typical week?

27. Are there other organizations in your community whose services are similar or complementary to your program? Please list a few with names of contact people.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR ASSISTANCE!

Please send any written materials you have of your program, such as a statement of the program, brochure, annual report, article, or anything already prepared.

Please feel free to make any additional comments.
Site Visit Program Descriptions

Appendix B
Multi-Service Organization

Blazers-Safe Haven
The Blazers Youth Service Community Club, Inc.
Mr. Bennie Davenport

The Blazers-Safe Haven provides inner-city South Central Los Angeles a drug-free, violence-free facility where adults and youth can participate in structured programs and activities designed to facilitate personal and professional growth. In addition to offering job training and academic tutoring, the center's programs, focus on helping to instill such basic values as honesty, self-respect, pride and confidence. Programs offered include parent empowerment initiatives, rehabilitation and prevention activities, enhanced tutorial services, employment and entrepreneurial training, public awareness and a civic education program.

Career Youth Development, Inc. (CYD)
Ms. Jeanetta Robinson

CYD offers over 40 programs with the root philosophy of "love-in-action" for youth and families, centered around programming that is holistic and culturally-specific to African Americans. CYD's services are primarily for the disadvantaged, underprivileged members of the Milwaukee community. In serving youth, adults, and families, CYD provides services dealing with the total needs of the client including educational, familial, health, vocational, legal, and psychological/substance abuse (in- and out-patient) treatment. CYD is a community-based organization (CBO) alternative to the Juvenile Justice System; and a partner with the Milwaukee public school system (in providing accredited middle and high school classes), and the Milwaukee
Area Technical College and the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee—both conduct accredited college classes at the agency.

**Circle of Stones**  
**Ms. Helen Baxley Smith**  

Circle of Stones is a non-profit community service organization of African American women who are long-time Oakland residents. The goal of the Circle is to address the needs and interests of adolescent girls in Oakland’s middle schools and junior high schools. The objectives of Circle of Stones are to: (1) encourage respect for self, family, friends, peers, men and women differing in age, social and cultural background; (2) encourage individuality and making choices appropriate for age and development; (3) encourage appreciation of the family, and to enhance awareness of our cultural heritage and history; (4) teach participants to work toward personal goals enabling the achievement of academic, creative and career potential; (5) learn from each other. Services offered include tutoring, personal and academic counseling, college visits, and trips to museums, theater, and other events of cultural enrichment.

**Darrell Green Youth Life Foundation**  
**Mr. Donnell Jones**  

The Darrell Green Foundation provides academic assistance, character building, social skills, recreational emotional support, religious and cultural enrichment services to African American children between the ages of 5 and 14. The goal of the Foundation is to produce children able to function make good decisions and help themselves at all levels. The Foundation program operates after school as well as through special events, and trips on weekends. These services
also include work with computers, journal writing, and Bible study. The underlying philosophy of the Foundation centers on discipline, respect, reverence for God, excellence, love, leadership, gratitude, responsibility, empowerment, confidence, and non-violence. Both the participants and their parents must sign an agreement, making a statement of their dedication to working toward the goal of the Foundation.

Minneapolis Urban League
Juvenile Advocate Program
Ms. Grace Arrington
Mr. Richard Bell

The mission of the Minneapolis Urban League is to provide human services that will enable African Americans and other minority group members residing in the Greater Minneapolis Metropolitan. The League provides assistance in traditional service areas such as employment, housing, education and social welfare. It also provides programs for the specific benefit of youth such as the Early Childhood Family Education Program, which provides services for families with children 3-5 years old; Street Academy, which is an alternative high school program serving students between the ages of 15 and 21 who are former dropouts, or students who had difficulties coping in a traditional school setting; and the Juvenile Advocate Program, which is designed to assist 12 to 18 year old youth who have experienced a variety of behavioral problems. The Health Education department provides health education seminars, targets outreach efforts, mass media health campaigns, support groups and counseling sessions on topics including STD/AIDS, sexuality, smoking, and cancer.
Omega Boys Club
Mr. Joe Marshall

Omega Boys Club is an alternative academic preparation program that provides classes, tutoring, advocacy, counseling, emotional and personal support, and violence prevention workshops. Omega's prevention and intervention strategies target at risk and "hard-core" youth, and gang members. The cornerstone of the program is the academic preparation class geared toward 7th to 10th graders who want to go to college. The class helps youth develop their personal and academic skills by teaching literacy, history, sociology, writing, note-taking, and test taking in a Mary McCloud Bethune style one-room classroom. In addition to the academic class, Omega has a toll-free hotline for gang youth to call in times of crisis. The toll-free 800 number is also used by graduates of the program who have gone on to college whenever they need advice or simply want to check in. A weekly radio show called Street Soldiers provides the staff with another format to get out their message, reaching listeners between 10 p.m. and 2 a.m.

READY Foundation (Rigorous Education Assistance for Deserving Youth)
Ms. Sabarah Sabin

READY is a comprehensive intervention program that works with a cross-section of 750 students in the Newark school system. There are three core program elements: academics, mentoring, and services to parents. The goals of READY are to raise student grades, reduce the number of suspensions and dropouts, reduce teen pregnancy, decrease criminal activities, increase the percentage of students attending college and proprietary schools, increase parents education (ESL, GED, college), decrease the percentage of parents on welfare and increase the percentage of employed parents. The mentoring program is designed to provide stable relationships with
caring adults who can offer guidance and support to these urban youth. Services to Children, one of the Foundation’s programs, provides supplemental educational activities to grade school children, including after school tutoring, field trips and other optional events conducted throughout the school year. Additional academic and recreational programs are offered in the summer.

The Urban League of Greater Madison
Mr. Johnny Mickler, Sr.

The mission of the Urban League is to provide and maintain a long-term effort to mobilize the African American community on behalf of black children and families, as a community, through services that will enable African Americans residing in Madison to improve their overall living situation. The League works in conjunction with other community organizations, policy makers and religious organizations. Programs offered by the League include the Pre-Employment Program, which provides career exposure and employability skills to youth in middle schools; School Age Parents Program, which provides intervention, personal counseling and tutoring to single teen parents; Learnfare Program, which works with teens between the ages of 13 and 19 who are failing to meet monthly school attendance requirements; and Project JAMAA, which provides after-school study clubs, tutoring, counseling, and advocacy for African American youth and their families.
YouthCARE
Mr. Craig Luedemann

YouthCARE programs target Twin City area youth ages 14 to 18 who face social and/or economic barriers. Its mission is to help young people develop respect for themselves, others, and the environment through multicultural interactions between youth from diverse backgrounds, leadership development, and outdoor and environmental education. Programs include Camp Sunrise, which is a Summer Youth Employment Program and the Urban Program, which provides support as a follow up to Camp Sunrise. YouthCARE also offers: The Youth Leadership Program, The Youth Employment and Life Skills Program, social events, outreach and counseling.

100 African American Men Saturday Academy
Dr. Bill Wilson

The twofold mission of the Saturday Academy is (1) to help strengthen the preparation of young African American males to be responsible, successful, self-directed, self-assured young men, and (2) to provide the opportunity for African American men to help usher adolescent African American males into adulthood. The Saturday Academy serves middle and junior high school aged boys. The Academy recruits African American mentors who they train to communicate values and a sense of the history and culture underlying the African American tradition. The Academy joined forces with junior achievement, a young entrepreneurs club, divided the boys into groups and helped them set up a business, set up a board, and incorporate. Successful businesses set up by the Academy have sold calculators, first aid kits, and sweatshirts and T-shirts. The
youth also meet with mentors on weekdays for cultural and leisure activities, and attend career exploration field trips.

**Community Centers**

**Inner City Youth League**
Mr. Kwame McDonald  
Mr. George Hakeem Johnson

The Inner City Youth League offers various courses and classes in the areas of communications, fitness, fine arts, and community affairs for African-Americans aged 5 to 25. These courses range from African dance, history, computers, karate, music, photography, inter-personal relationships, self-esteem, and spirituality classes. The goal of the League is to develop entrepreneurship, and facilitate self and community improvement with an Afrocentric focus.

**Phyllis Wheatley Community Center**
Ms. Angela Renee Carter

The goal of the Phyllis Wheatley Community Center is child development, academic and life enrichment of Minneapolis youth. Programs include: (1) First Opportunity, a program for 14- to 15-year-old, income-eligible youth which provides a year-round career mentor and a volunteer work experience; and (2) Career Partnership for 16- to 21-year-olds who are high school dropouts or graduates which provide vocational and educational assessments, on-site GED classes, and job opportunities. The Center’s aim is to provide a career plan, further education, and personal support for its participants.
Sabathani Community Center, Inc.
Mr. James Cook

The Sabathani Community Center houses many different agencies providing a wide range of services. The diverse yet related organizations offer emergency food and housing, pre-employment support, youth enrichment activities, youth support groups, tutoring, information, referral and other services to the residents of South Minneapolis. The goal of the Center is to make a difference in people's lives by supporting them in their effort to become more self-reliant and contributing members of their community. Programs directed toward youth include the Horizons Youth Program, which assists 6- to 17-year-olds in overcoming barriers to social, emotional, and educational development in a safe neighborhood environment, after school and during summer vacation; and Smart Start, an early childhood intervention program providing direct services to African American kindergartners and their families. Smart Start is designed to increase success in the early school experiences of the children by training parents in effective educational methods and techniques, and by offering workshops and support groups for parents to meet individual needs.

Church-based Program

Allen Temple Baptist Church
Interface Institute
Ms. Yolan Patterson

The mission of Interface Institute is to increase the number of East Oakland students who are college bound and able to succeed in higher education. In particular, it seeks to increase the
number pursuing academic and professional careers in math, science and engineering by providing educational, tutoring, and mentoring services to students from grades 4 to 12. The programs work with students, their parents, the schools they attend, the colleges and universities they hope to attend, museums, businesses, and community agencies.

**First African Methodist Episcopal Church**  
**Fame Assistance Corporation**  
Dr. Cecil L. Murray

The FAME Youth Department prepares young people to reach beyond themselves and beyond the walls of the church to minister to others. Programs include the teen rap session, the college preparation and tour program, the Christian fraternity and sorority for ages 14 to 24. Other programs include manchild, womanchild and the mentors program is also used to promote personal growth and development.

**First Church of God**  
Bishop Benjamin F. Reid

Bishop Reid developed a youth employment program for young black male gang members. Gang members are hired to work on the church and church grounds, and on Bishop Reid’s home (painting, repairing, cleaning, and other tasks). The program provides an opportunity for the young men to demonstrate professionalism, willingness to work, punctuality, and trustworthiness.
The Nehemiah Community Development Corporation  
Youth Enrichment Services (YES)  
Reverend Alexander Gee, Jr.

Nehemiah is a community- and church-based agency that promotes community revitalization, economic empowerment, leadership development, creative partnerships, and community reconciliation for individuals, families, and neighborhoods. Nehemiah seeks to foster the spiritual and cultural revival of the community, and a strong multiethnic economy and society. YES offers a variety of mentoring services, including educational, supervisory, recreational and general, designed specifically for troubled youngsters and families. Nehemiah also offers an Academic Center for Excellence (ACE), which focuses on relationships, expectations and an emphasis on both a Christian and Afrocentric curriculum and includes an after-school learning program for children in grades K-5.

School-Based Education Program

Back to School/Stay in School Program: Side by Side  
Mr. Roger L. Clarke

The Back to School/Stay in School Program is a national incentive program for at-risk, truant, and/or disruptive African American students from Minneapolis middle and high schools. The program is for school drop-outs, those with high school absenteeism, behavioral problems and repeat youth offenders. During a six-week summer residential component, each student can obtain five credits toward high school graduation along with 18 hours of conflict resolution and anti-violence training. The program involves parents, tutors, volunteers and certified teachers and
collaborates with the Hennepin County Juvenile Corrections, Minneapolis Public School System, Hennepin County Social Welfare System, and community organizations. The goal of the program is to improve the success of black students attending middle and high schools by: reversing the chronic absenteeism and dropout rates; changing the negative attitude toward the importance of education to one which respects the value of education; increasing basic skills competence; providing career counseling and evaluation; increasing the test-taking ability of participants; and providing leadership opportunities and advanced life success skills for students who are doing well in school.

The City, Inc.
Mr. Clarence Hightower

The City is a culturally oriented, city-wide organization offering programs designed to work with families to address a wide range of problems including substance abuse, employability, family relationships, basic education and literacy, day-to-day survival, and the criminal justice system. Programs include Kupona Ni'Uhuru (Healing is Freedom), which offers African American youth and families services through African traditions, values and self-help; Junior and Senior High School programs, which lead to a diploma from the Minneapolis Public School System; neighborhood services, which provide recreational activities and supervised drop-in service during evenings for 12- to 20-year-olds; and At-Risk Youth Services (ARYS), which reaches out to high-risk and/or gang-involved youths and their families by developing caring adult, relationships with them, and linking them to longer-term education, social and spiritual services.
Consortium for Pre-College Education in Newark
New Jersey Institute of Technology
Mr. Laurence "Tony" Howell

NJIT's Center for Pre-College Programs seeks to reduce the shortage of engineers and other scientists by reaching out to qualified minority young people who traditionally have been underrepresented in the technological fields. The Center attempts to pique young students' interest, fill the math and science gaps in their education, create new learning opportunities and raise their career sights. Programs are provided to K-12 students, emphasizing careers in science and technology for the 21st century by means of access to the sophisticated scientific and technological equipment encountered in college and in business environments. Students are also taught and given counseling by same-race and same-gender role models who are succeeding in scientific fields.

Malcolm X Academy
African American Immersion Middle School
Mr. Kenneth Holt

Malcolm X Academy, formerly known as Robert Fulton Middle School, was established by the Milwaukee Board of School Directors as the designated African American Immersion Middle School out of recognition that schools operating within the traditional structure were not meeting the educational needs of African American males. The school seeks to immerse students and staff in learning about African American culture and heritage in a caring, safe, and positive environment. The curriculum is tailored to the cultural and social needs of the students. The academy's focus is to promote self-esteem, self-awareness, academic success, and responsible, adult decision making of African-American males. The themes chosen for infusing African
American materials are knowledge of self and one's culture, values, entrepreneurship, and community, social, and political responsibility.

**Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Elementary School**  
Ms. Josephine Mosley

The MLK Elementary School, a Milwaukee School District African American Immersion School, offers an alternative educational program to 540 students, 99 percent of whom are African-American. The educational components include a Headstart program, African-American Culture Curriculum focus, home visits by teachers, and teachers moving up to the next grade level with their students. Special programs and classes offered by the school include a mentoring program, self-esteem classes, a peer mediation program, Black Achievers program, and an after-school program.

**Oakland Unified Schools**  
Mr. Alan Young

The primary objectives of the Oakland Unified Schools is to promote character, skill development, self-esteem, and the cultural awareness of its students. The major instruments are Temporary Alternative Placement (TAPs) for students who would otherwise be suspended from their particular high school without another school or program to attend. These students have the option of attending “school away from school.” On average between 50 and 60 percent of suspended students take advantage of this option. These alternative classes are held in a different location from the students’ regular school grounds. For a smaller group of students who, along with their parents, show an interest and a commitment, an educational alternative is offered on a
nearby college campus. There, students take core curriculum classes as well as getting the opportunity to take college courses with college students in areas like physical education, art, and others.

**Social Development Commission**  
**Project Transition**  
Ms. Lana S. Hill

The purpose of SDC Project Transition is to provide the personal and academic support necessary for students graduating from community-based organizations (CBOs) with high school diplomas, or General Equivalency Diplomas (GEDs) to gain access to and graduate from the Milwaukee Area Technical College (MATC). The objectives are to assist students in developing the qualities and drive necessary to continue their education; to distribute information to CBO students pertinent to the school's processes and services; and to provide students with services designed to make the most of the education process and reduce whatever obstacles they may face. The Project is available for all individuals with a desire to pursue an education and offers many services including: GED training, Job Preparation Workshops, follow-up with former students, assistance to students in finding tutoring services and in transferring to four-year colleges and universities in and around the Greater Milwaukee area.

**Upward Bound Math/Science**  
**New Jersey Institute of Technology**  
Mr. Henry McCloud

Upward Bound Math/Science is a 6-week intensive summer education program for 6-8th graders with B and C grade averages. The session focuses on teaching math, science, and communication
skills (oral and written), and draws on the Expertise of NJIT professors and graduate students. Special attention is paid to personalized, individualized instruction and to building self-esteem and confidence. Students are exposed to minority role models through mentoring and special lecture programs. Student development is enhanced through leadership, mediation training, and academic competitions. Another important component of the Upward Bound Math/Science program is parent/guardian involvement. Parent workshop topics include parenting, teen sexuality, computer literacy, helping children with study habits, and achievement motivation. Graduate students also participate in the Elementary Science Outreach Program assisting teachers and training them to teach hands on science to the students. Additional pre-college youth programs at NJIT are the year-round Upward Bound program for high school students, and Talent Search (which offers college oriented activities such as college tours and college admissions workshops).

University of Medicine and Dentistry of New Jersey
The Pre-College Program
Ms. Alaysha Jackson

The Pre-College Program at the Newark campus of UMDNJ, sponsored by the New Jersey Department of Higher Education, is an agreement between the three colleges and universities in Newark and the Newark Board of Education to work together to provide programs and activities for students in the Newark school system. The Consortium for Pre-College Education in Newark exposes students to a college experience at an early age and prepares them for college. Youths in grades 7 to 12 participate in a six-week summer component, and a 30-week Saturday component during the school year. They also take part in weekly after-school mathematics and science
tutorials. Graduates of this program can choose to pursue a college degree at either the New Jersey Institute of Technology, Rutgers University (Newark campus), or the University of Medicine and Dentistry of New Jersey.

**Rites-of-Passage**

The HAWK Federation  
The Institute for the Advanced Study of Black Family, Life and Culture, Inc.  
Mr. Bill Kival

The HAWK program was initiated at Grant Union High School with the primary goal of increasing male responsibility in teenage pregnancy. The program uses a mix of African and African American history and African rituals to develop “competent, confident and conscious African American men.” At Grant Union, students begin the HAWK program in the ninth grade and continue to be enrolled in it through the twelfth grade. The program attempts to develop in each young man: (1) something which he does exceptionally well (competence); (2) a belief that whatever the task, he can be successful at it (confidence); and (3) an awareness of the historical greatness of African and African-American men and their personal responsibility to the future continuation of that greatness (consciousness). There is also a community service component. For example, HAWK participants do projects with senior citizens to increase their “bonding” to the community.
Simba, Inc.
Mr. Roland Gilbert

SIMBA is a nonprofit, privately funded organization providing mentors and counselors to at-risk youth. Mentors and other SIMBA leaders are asked to make long-term commitments to work with the children in the program. Participants range in age from 6 or 7 years old to high school age children. SIMBA provides group discussion and one-on-one counseling with trained volunteer mentors. The goal is to help children deal with life issues such as gang involvement, school, family, drug use, conflict resolution, and the decision-making regarding these problems.

Leadership Development

Hugh O'Brian Youth Foundation (HOBY)
Mr. Douglas H. Barr

The mission of this worldwide foundation is to seek out, recognize and develop leadership potential among high school sophomores. Students are nominated by their schools to take part in one of the 90 three- or four-day HOBY Leadership Seminars held in their states or countries. These young people are chosen for their leadership potential—the potential to be a positive influence on their peers. The format for the HOBY workshops, seminars, tours and travel programs is to provide leadership consisting of panel presentations by leaders in the worlds of business, finance, arts and other professions. The question-and-answer follow-up session is designed to teach participants how to analyze and think critically about important public issues.
Environmental Program

The Urban Tree Connection
Mr. Skip Wiener

The Urban Tree Connection has been working in several Philadelphia communities with at-risk, minority elementary through high school students. The Urban Tree Connection works with community organizations, businesses, teachers, and schools to self-empower youth through the process of community tree inventories and community urban vacant lot tree nurseries. Students are taken into their neighborhoods to learn how to assess community health, how to view their communities positively, and how to become hard working instruments of change. One example of this outdoor classroom is a 1,500 tree seedling nursery to be replicated at several other schools. The program helps youth create a small neighborhood business that delivers for-fee grounds maintenance and landscape architectural projects to local businesses and residents.

Job/Employment Training

Twin Cities RISE!
Mr. Steve M. Rothschild

RISE (Responsible, Independent, Skilled, and Employed) is a non-profit organization which provides job preparation, training and placement for individuals, primarily young men of color. Although the focus is on job training, RISE is a comprehensive program that also deals with participants' housing, legal, family, and income problems in order to support to increase their chances of successfully completing the program by providing participants with a safe environment
and better lifestyle. The program also provides services for participants once they are placed in a job.

**Fatherhood and Male Responsibility**

*Healing The Father Wound*

Mr. Maurice W. Burrell, Jr.

The purpose of Healing the Father Wound is to allow a safe and secure environment for males of African heritage to express themselves freely, honestly, and openly in the presence and with the support of other African males. The "Father Wound" is a metaphor for the treatment experienced as a result of being raised in cultures that are confused, and therefore afraid and prejudiced against males of African heritage. The metaphor is based on the premise that denial, fear and confusion functions to rob men, of access to both their human rights and self-expression. The deeper purpose of the gatherings is to allow participants to engage in a “healing” process within themselves, with each other, with their families, throughout their communities and ultimately all males.

*New Concept Self Development Center, Inc.*

*Father's Resource Center*

Ms. June Martin Perry

The New Concept Self Development Center is a place for fathers to learn and get support from each other. The Center offers many programs for young men age 15 to 23 with a child three years old or younger. One is MELD, which is a once-a-week information, parenting and support
group where young fathers can talk with or merely listen to other fathers. Other programs offered by the Center include parenting classes, family advocacy and a father's "time-out" area. The Center also offers services such as job training and job placement, counseling, legal and health services.

The Urban League for Bergen County, Inc. (ULBC)
Mr. William E. Brown
Mr. Charles D. Hill, II

The Urban League's Educational and Youth Development Department is divided into three sections: Education and Youth Development, Male Responsibility, and Adolescent Parenting and Prevention. The Male Responsibility Program targets males age 10 to 21 and aims to provide support, information, and motivational workshops to encourage and enable males to be responsible through discussions of self-esteem, nutrition, peer pressure, success, decision making, and parenting.

Counseling and Education

Eunice Project: Mother and Son Initiative
Family Service
Ms. Andrea Smith-Mensah

Project Eunice is designed to reach out to African-American, female-headed families with at least one male child in middle school who have demonstrated that they are at risk for academic and/or social problems. The project seeks to empower these families and develop strategies that will address school or social problems that impact the family. The project also provides
support/education groups for both the mother and her son(s). Middle school males targeted by Project Eunice include those who have received disciplinary suspensions from school, or those who have been identified as "at-risk" for activities such as gang involvement, bullying, or minor vandalism. Services offered by Project Eunice include in-home counseling sessions, group therapy, and multi-family group sessions.

Family & Children's Service of the Minneapolis Metro Area
Ms. Brier Miller

Family and Children's Service services anyone who lives or works in the Minneapolis metro area, based on a sliding fee scale according to household income and family size. Services range from: mental health counseling for families, children and individuals; Youth Diversion, an alternative for teens and their parents that helps keep kids from going to juvenile court; financial counseling; Teen Outreach, a program for teen dropout and pregnancy prevention; African-American self-esteem groups for youth; and Children in Change, a group for kids who are experiencing divorce or other significant family change.

Substance Abuse Treatment and Prevention

East Oakland Fighting Back
Mr. Don "Achebe" Hoskins

East Oakland Fighting Back sponsors prevention, intervention, community mobilization, and public awareness activities in the fight against drug and alcohol abuse. One of these activities, the High Impact Program, takes a team of adults from the community into the schools for planned
events 2-3 times a month. The events focus on five subjects: career development, education and motivation, distractions, violence, and unity. East Oakland Fighting Back also has a crisis intervention team which relies on an organization called 50 Black Men to staff specific activities. Each member of the organization has a list of 50 men they can call on to work with young black males in the schools. When the program needs volunteers to come out for an activity, it calls members of the organization. Any member who cannot personally participate in the activity, uses his list of 50 Black Men to find someone who can serve as his replacement.

**Madison Inner City Council on Substance Abuse (MICCSA)**  
**The Breaking Free Program**  
Mr. Cephus Childs, Jr.

MICCSA was established to address the critical gaps and barriers in providing alcohol treatment and drug prevention, counseling, and rehabilitation services to minority populations, particularly African Americans. MICCSA is the only racially- and culturally-sensitive alcohol and drug agency in the city of Madison and Dane County. MICCSA offers support groups such as Azi-Akono, which facilitates life skills for youth; BM (Black Men's World), which offers discussions on pertinent concerns to black males; and Breaking Free, which provides substance abuse prevention services for African American males currently in the criminal justice system.

**Newark Fighting Back Partnership (NFBP)**  
Mr. Thomas McCloud

The NFBP is a community partnership which includes residents, businesses, clergy, service providers, public and law enforcement officials and others committed to "fighting back" against
the negative impacts caused by illegal alcohol and drug activity. The mission of the Partnership is to reduce the demand for alcohol, tobacco and other drugs in Newark's neighborhoods and empower communities by sustaining partnerships as well as "challenging" residents to step forward and responsibility for making neighborhoods safe, clean and drug resistant places. Services in youth development include education programs such as Beating the Odds for grades 3 to 5; year-round programs and a summer math and science camp for 6th graders, which also works to improve self-esteem, conflict resolution and offer recreational field trips; and an Elementary Science Outreach Program.

**Violence Prevention**

Black Health Coalition of Wisconsin, Inc.
UJIMA Men's Education Program
Ms. Antonia A. Drew

The UJIMA Men's Education Program is an abuse (physical, verbal, etc.) treatment program designed specifically for African American men who are experiencing problems with expression of anger and/or conflict resolution. The program helps men identify their problem with expressing anger and resolving conflict, develop a frame of reference and an understanding of when they have crossed over the line of assertiveness and into rage, aggression, and abuse, and promote techniques that will enable them to resolve conflict. The primary goals of Ujima are to end violence against women and children; confront issues and social experiences faced by African American men that negatively influence their behavior; preserve families; and to promote positive
attitudinal and behavioral change. Ujima, meaning collective work and responsibility, focuses on accountability, responsibility, and behavior in a culturally specific and heterogeneous environment.

S.A.V.E. (Student Anti-Violence Education) Program
Ms. Julie Good

S.A.V.E. was developed by Families of Murder Victims (FMV) to provide children with the skills they need to choose nonviolent means to resolving conflicts and the resources they must have to deal with the violence they encounter in their homes, neighborhoods and schools. S.A.V.E. offers children experiential training in nonviolence conflict resolution, while helping them understand the roots and effects of violence. S.A.V.E. provides direct support to schools through classroom sessions, school-wide assemblies and individual sessions. Children explore attitudes about violence, become aware of society’s messages encouraging violence, learn about the cost of violence to individuals and society, and gain insight into their own and others’ feelings. Children may also receive personal assistance for problems caused by crime and violence. Classroom sessions focus on creative problem solving, and developing clear and non-threatening communication, while individual sessions focus on providing secure and confidential environment for discussing personal problems.
**Gang Intervention**

**A Common Ground Foundation**  
Mr. Fred Williams

A Common Ground Foundation works to support and maintain the Los Angeles gang truce by intervening in and diffusing conflicts. The Foundation offices also serve as a community center, where basic needs (such as food and clothing) are provided to community residents living in the Jordan Downs public housing units. The Foundation is staffed by residents of those units and aided by volunteers. In addition to basic needs provisions, the Foundation administers a summer youth employment program, boys and girls rap clubs for teens, and a stay-in-school program. The stay-in-school program is run by “street sweepers” who find kids not attending school, identify the cause, and help find solutions.

**The Amer-I-Can Program, Inc.**  
Mr. Rock Johnson

The Amer-I-Can Program unifies rival gangs in a rehabilitation movement for prisoners and inner-city youth. The program teaches critical life-management skills such as: the art of communication, and the ability to set goals, relate to one's family, solve problems effectively, make proper decisions and develop job-seeking skills. These skills develop a positive attitude, trust, and self-esteem. The program is available to prisoners preparing to re-enter society, gang members ultimately destined for prison, kids from the ghetto who have escaped "the system," and other disenfranchised youth. The staff are themselves graduates of the program.
Economic National Underprivileged Foundation (ENUF)
Mr. John F. Henderson

Founded by a former gang member, ENUF focuses on revitalizing the community, refocusing socio-economic priorities, and instilling entrepreneurship among inner city gangs, "at-risk" youth and young adults. ENUF works with other community organizations that wish to end gang conflict in Los Angeles, and better the life situations of the African American community. At the time of the site visit, ENUF was sponsoring 15 fashion show/concerts at which area gangs were to select three delegates to peace/economic summits in South Central LA and the surrounding area. The purpose of these summits is to create an on-going coordinating council to: (1) discuss the maintenance of truces among them and (2) identify business enterprise opportunities for their gangs.

Program Sidewalk University (S.W.U.)
Mr. T. Rodgers

S.W.U. acts as a liaison between people from the community, church, businesses, schools, law enforcement and human service agencies by recommending strategies and tactics to prepare communities for proper responses to gang violence. Its Survival Education for Life and Family (S.E.L.F.) program focuses on enhancing the individuals knowledge of self-motivation, purpose (increasing self-esteem), responsibility/decision making (problem solving), temperament, relations (appreciation of family members), securities (money management), and acquiring employment. S.E.L.F. has two training components that provide prevention and intervention techniques: information clearinghouse services delivered by police officers, school officials, parents and
community; crisis intervention which places a highly visible "crisis team" focusing on conflict management in selected schools.

University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee, Urban Research Center
Mr. John Hagedorn

Mr. Hagedorn, an academic researcher who studies gangs, has created an apprenticeship-type program which provides gang and former gang members an opportunity to improve themselves and enter "mainstream" society. Gang members are hired as research assistants to participate in studies conducted by Mr. Hagedorn in their communities. In addition to being paid for research duties, these young gang members are provided with tuition scholarships to attend the University as regular full-time students. Student candidates are identified through Mr. Hagedorn's research on gangs in the local community.

Juvenile Advocacy

The After School Kids (ASK) Program
Mr. Ted Enoch

The ASK program was developed as an alternative to incarceration for juvenile offenders in the District of Columbia. The program's main objective is to assist the youths in successfully completing their probation while helping them to build self-esteem through the development of life skills and constructive patterns of behavior. ASK participants, referred to the program by their probation officer or judge, meet twice weekly in groups of 10 to 12 at four different sites in the District. The youths are matched with Georgetown University and community volunteers for
one-to-one tutoring sessions and group activities on topics ranging from conflict mediation, interviewing and job-search skills, African American history, and artistic expression to current events. Youths also participate in cultural and recreational activities such as trips to the theater and museums, as well as camping expeditions and community service projects. Staff members maintain contact with each youth’s family, teachers, and probation officers and submit written reports to the Court every six weeks.

Court Appointed Special Advocates (CASA)
Dr. Arnold Chavez, Ed. D.

The CASA Program in Alameda County serves abused and neglected children under age 18 as well as youth who are in the Juvenile Justice system (including the Social Services Agency and Probation Department). The program is composed of community volunteers--men and women from a wide variety of cultural, ethnic, and professional backgrounds--who serve as independent advocates for these children. Children in the juvenile court system are assigned special advocates who supplement the work of social workers and probation officers. These advocates work with their assigned children; meet with teachers, neighbors, doctors, and family members; and prepare independent reports for the courts.
Step One
Mr. Derrick Watkins

Step One is an intervention program that serves youth who become involved in the New Jersey corrections system because of criminal or drug-related behavior. Step One is located in a Youth House, which is an overnight shelter for youth before they have been placed into a drug treatment program. Step One staff evaluate youth who have been referred by the presiding judge, after it has been determined that they would be better helped by an inpatient approach. Step One makes recommendations to the presiding judge about which residential treatment program would be most suitable, based on assessments of the youth’s drug problem, his support systems, and other personal needs. Step One works with youth for two weeks, counseling, evaluating, and preparing them to go into a program. Thus, as the middleman between the corrections system and the treatment programs, Step One recommends the type of program most suitable to each youth and follows through as the youth’s case manager during his tenure at the drug treatment program.

Community Resource Organization (Not youth programs)

The James Irvine Foundation
Mr. Antonio Manning

The James Irvine Foundation’s mission is to enhance the social, economic, and physical quality of life throughout California, and to enrich the state’s intellectual and cultural environment. Within these broad purposes, the Foundation supports community services, higher education, and provides monetary grants for various youth programs such as the Community Development
Institute in Palo Alto, California, which is a leadership development program for young adult, African American males.

The Urban Coalition
Mr. Yusef Mgeni

The Urban Coalition is a non-profit research and advocacy organization that works to improve the economic, social, and political status of minority and low-income persons in the Minneapolis/St. Paul metropolitan area. The Coalition focuses its efforts on education, employment, health, energy, housing, and food and hunger issues. The Minnesota Food Education and Research Center is a statewide program of the Urban Coalition that works to reduce hunger throughout the state. The Smart Start program, which enables families to become better advocates for the education of their children, was developed by the Coalition as a pilot project and has now been expanded to and adopted by several community agencies. The Urban Coalition’s Census Project provides custom data, maps, and consulting for community groups and nonprofit organizations.

Urban Strategies Council
Ms. Maria Casey
Ms. Brenda Payton

The Urban Strategies Council is an Oakland-based nonprofit resource/policy group. The mission of the Council is to involve key sectors of the Oakland area community in comprehensive focused initiatives aimed at poor women and men heading families to expand their opportunities; improve community health so individual options are not limited; improve educational opportunities for
citizens at risk to provide all with basics to compete and be productive; and ensure that training, employment and other opportunities are made available, especially to the youth, to enable them to approach adulthood with empowerment and direction. To accomplish this, the Urban Strategies Council seeks ways to encourage and facilitate the coordination and expansion of existing resources through the use of data to guide policy and the identification of approaches, models and activities that have proven successful in poverty reduction.

University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee, Sociology Department
Dr. Joan Moore

Dr. Moore is an expert researcher on gangs, community development, and urban issues in Milwaukee. A professor of sociology at the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee, she uses field work methodology to understand the people and culture of gangs. Dr. Moore’s work focuses on Latino barrios, and Chicano male and female gangs. Her publications include Homeboys (1978) and Going Down to the Barrio (1991).
Appendix C: Contact and Address List of Site Visits
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