

IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE ELEVENTH JUDICIAL CIRCUIT
OF FLORIDA IN AND FOR THE COUNTY OF DADE

FALL TERM A.D. 1984

FINAL REPORT OF THE GRAND JURY

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DADE YOUTH GANGS

I. INTRODUCTION: THE ELUSIVE NATURE OF THE "GANG PROBLEM."

If media accounts are in fact indicative of the extent of the problem, headlines relating to youth gang activities in Dade County over the course of the past two years reflect, first, a problem perceived as being a very real one yet, second, a problem the magnitude of which is the subject of disagreement among those purporting to be youth gang experts.

Item: On October 3, 1983, the Miami Herald reported "Five are Injured as Gangs Battle on Key Biscayne Bend." The story which followed described a Sunday afternoon battle between two rival Hispanic Gangs, the Omegas and the Bayfront Boys, involving the use of baseball bats, machetes and guns. Although two teenagers were shot and three received knife wounds, no one was seriously injured, according to the report. In August of 1984, the Herald headline read "Twenty Agencies Join to Fight Gang Crime." The first paragraph of that account read "State and municipal law enforcers from at least 20 agencies met in a mass strategy session Tuesday to begin forming a unified battle plan against wide-spread gang-related violence in Dade."

Item: In another area of Dade, West Little River, two killings prompted another gang-related report in June of 1983. Headlined "After Two Murders, Fear has Lock on Neighborhood," the news report stated that "Detectives say the 22nd Avenue Players - a street gang with about 40 members that operates in the neighborhood - were definitely involved." Seven months later the 22nd Avenue Players were the subject of another article, "Gang Reign Nearing End, Officials Say," which reported that "The 22nd Avenue Players are dying out."

Yet one year later events indicated that the obituary may have been premature: in a story titled "Two Arrested in Grove Shootings," the two youths arrested were identified as Players and a police representative was quoted as stating 'They (the Players) have already flexed their muscles as far as Richmond Heights, and this is another attempt to expand their operation.'

Item: A Herald newspaper headline dated Sunday, July 29, 1984, read "Gang Fight at Cutler Ridge Mall." The first paragraph of the story related that "Name-calling escalated into a fight among about 100 members of two South Dade teenage street gangs Saturday afternoon in a parking lot at the Burdine's Department Store at the Cutler Ridge Mall, Metro-Dade Police said."

The following day, Monday, carried a follow-up story headlined "Rumble at Mall Spotlights Gang Problem."

Yet two weeks later the story assumed a different twist. Headlined "Report of Gang War at Mall Stirs Controversy," the new account described the episode as "not a gang fight at all...It was a shoving match between two teenagers that had been blown out of proportion through a misinterpretation of some unrelated facts."

The headlines reflect the issues which characterize Dade County's purported "gang problem": What is a "gang problem"? Does Dade County have a significant gang problem or are reports of its magnitude exaggerated? Assuming we do have gangs, how many are there and how dangerous? Is the problem increasing or decreasing? And, finally, if we do have a significant gang problem, what can we as a community do to begin to address that problem?

In this Report we set forth some tentative answers to these questions. And we emphasize the word 'tentative'. The picture which emerges of Dade's gangs is at best a very fluid one. Particular gangs expand and contract over relatively short periods of time, and their memberships and leaderships change as well. Gangs disappear and other groups replace them. Other groups, due in part perhaps to a sinister name, are identified as gangs which are not gangs at all. All of these factors render it virtually impossible to produce a definitive roster of gangs or their memberships, and any such definitive roster should, in fact, be viewed with skepticism.

Yet to discuss the scope and extent of Dade's gang problem requires at least some understanding of the numbers and natures of our youth gangs as well as of their activities. In this Report we will attempt to present at least an outline of Dade's gangs. For the information in that portion of our Report, as well as for many of the insights we feel we have gained during our investigation, we are extremely grateful to the Dade Community Relations Board, to its Director Ari Sosa, and to Roger Hamrick who was assigned by the Community Relations Board to work with us in a community outreach capacity over the past three months.

Of the numerous policy and political considerations associated with a discussion of gangs, we note at the outset, a threshold issue involves the question of whether gangs should be discussed publicly at all. There are many who feel that to discuss gangs is to glorify them, and that to glorify them is to promote their expansion. There may in fact be some truth to this. Yet we find greater merit in the position that to ignore gangs is to invite government apathy and to insure that few positive steps are taken to address the problems associated with youth gangs. Only by fostering an informed public discussion of the causes and effects of youth gangs will we encourage measures designed to alleviate those causes and effects. We hope that our Report will represent a step in that direction.

II. THE YOUTH GANG IN PERSPECTIVE.

"The beginnings of the gang can best be studied in the slums of the city where an inordinately large number of children are crowded into a limited area... In this ubiquitous crowd of children, spontaneous play-groups are forming every where -- gangs in embryo."

- F. M. Thrasher, The Gang, 1927

Youth gangs, we have learned, are anything but a new phenomenon. In fact the activities of urban youth gangs have been relatively constant since the mid-nineteenth century and most of the leading studies of the problem were published prior to the Second World War. Youth gangs have consistently and inevitably emerged as a by-product of family and social disorganization which has left youths to their own devices in the quest for economic and emotional security. During the second half of the Nineteenth Century, and the first quarter of the Twentieth, the catalyst for the formation of gangs were large numbers of youths whose ties to home and family had been severed or disrupted by the chaos which so often characterized immigration, urban overcrowding and poverty.

Then, as now, minority youths constituted the great majority of gang members. While Irish and Italian youths formed gangs during and after the immigration waves, subsequent to World War II Blacks and Hispanics, the new minorities who replaced the Europeans as most recent urban arrivals, found similar conditions of overcrowding and unemployment. They, too, banded together in youth gangs. Yet while youth gang ethnicity has evolved over the decades, the reason why gangs form has remained constant. Simply put, society provides for most of its members acceptable and attainable avenues to status and most of us are content to pursue those avenues. In any society, however, there

are those who, correctly or incorrectly, perceive those avenues as inaccessible or futile. Those groups or individuals will then choose alternative avenues to achieve status, and often the routes they choose will be delinquency and criminality. It should come as no surprise that, once alienated, these youths will come together in groups to achieve their objectives.

It would follow that if individuals or groups continue to seek alternative, and socially unacceptable, routes to status achievement that youth gangs will remain with us, just as they have in the past. We must not allow our justifiable revulsion at the delinquent acts of youth gangs to obscure the need for measures which will at least lessen the propensity for their formation or expansion. The solutions are by no means beyond our control. To substitute socially acceptable avenues to the achievement of status for unacceptable avenues is not beyond our capabilities. This is so whether the answer is to be found in the creation of more creative educational and vocational opportunities, or simply in increased recreational facilities, or in a combination of both.

What is a gang? That question must be addressed before we proceed further. The lack of a definition of a gang will result in widely disparate estimates of the numbers of gangs in a given community. The estimates of the numbers of active youth gangs in Dade County, for example, vary from a high of seventy to a low of less than ten.

A gang is said to be characterized by four elements:

(1) A shared group identity, (2) A recognized leadership which may constitute one or several individuals, (3) Activities which are either criminal or somehow threatening to the larger society,

and (4) Shared symbols of group unity such as common clothing or shared "language" of verbal signals.

This definition of a gang is an enduring one and one which is equally applicable to an immigrant gang a century ago as to an urban delinquent gang today. We have, however, learned that, for all that is constant, there are factors which characterize gangs today which are unique to the present and which differentiate today's youth gang from its counterpart twenty years ago. The first such factor is the accessibility of more sophisticated, and more lethal, weapons. The brass knuckles and baseball bats of the "West Side Story" era have yielded to the automatic weapon. Consequently, the potential for serious injury in a youth gang altercation is greatly enhanced, as is the incidence of crime and delinquency by gang members who finance their arsenals by unlawful means.

The second and third factors unique to youth gangs in the nineteen eighties are the prevalence of narcotics as a component of the gang culture (again an incentive to crime and delinquency) and an increased absence of respect for symbols of authority. With respect to the latter, twenty years ago an individual police officer or social worker could often diffuse a volatile gang confrontation nearly single-handedly. Such a scenario is virtually unimaginable today.

All three of these recent factors are reflections of the larger society, rather than products of the youth gang phenomenon. Be that as it may, however, the interplay of these factors adds a new degree of danger to gang activities about which we express grave concern.

III. YOUTH GANGS IN DADE COUNTY

Contemporary youth gangs are apparently characterized by identifiable evolutionary stages. Initially, the gang forms as a vehicle to status not otherwise attainable. Fame, fortune and recognition are objectives to which all of us aspire. The gang provides a way of attaining those objectives.

The gang then asserts itself, and achieves status, by fighting outsiders. The rationale for these conflicts is the "protection" of what are perceived as the gang's belongings: generally territory ("Turf") and members of the opposite sex. The gang is composed of adolescents with the adolescent's high energy levels. For lack of positive means for expending this energy, such as athletics, the expenditure takes place in negative ways, specifically gang violence. And a gang cannot exist in a vacuum: if only as a means of self-defense other gangs form and conflicts escalate, in much the same way as arms races escalate on an international level. Delinquency and crime occur as gang members attempt to enhance their individual and collective fortunes.

Dade County's gangs appear to have advanced to the point described above, but no further. We have learned that there is an additional evolutionary step which brings the gang from fighting and relatively disorganized criminality to the level of organized criminal activity with adult participation. In other cities, such as New York, Philadelphia and Los Angeles, adults have recognized that the existing gangs provide a street level workforce ("soldiers") with organization and skills which, appropriately compensated, might be utilized to accomplish tasks, such as narcotics distribution, extortion and retribution which

adults would much prefer to delegate than to assume responsibility for themselves.

It is to the obvious advantage of adults in organized criminal activity to relegate these functions to youth gangs, just as it is to the advantage of any organized for-profit enterprise to subcontract the more menial, and dangerous, tasks to those willing to perform such functions. The transition from "protecting" a street corner, or a series of street corners, to the utilization of that power base to control narcotics flow on those same street corners should not be an unexpected one.

Given the high levels of narcotics trafficking in Dade County the recruitment of Dade youth gangs into adult criminal activity may well be imminent.

Dade Youth Gangs Today

Our investigation reveals the existence of between twenty and thirty active youth gangs in Dade County today. These gangs are composed nearly exclusively of Black and Hispanic youths, and they are quite closely associated with the junior and senior high school feeder patterns in their areas. Yet, although these gangs form in and around the junior and senior high schools they attend, there is little evidence that gang activities cause problems within the schools themselves. In fact, the educators we have heard from indicate that youth gang activity occurs off the school campus and not during school hours.

We have previously alluded to the transient nature of youth gangs, and our descriptions of contemporary gangs should be viewed with that reservation in mind. Today's youth gangs, predominantly located in the North Dade and Hialeah areas, include the following:

The Twenty-Second Avenue Players: Without question Dade's dominant gang, and the recipient of virtually all media publicity dealing with youth gangs over the past several years, the Players number approximately 120 members with eight identifiable leaders and seven so-called "near-leaders." The Players, typical of youth gangs generally, exhibit a hierarchy of leaders and "near-leaders" with the latter group available to assume leadership roles in the event of the incapacitation or incarceration of the actual leaders. While we in no way wish to discourage police efforts at incapacitating gangs by the incarceration of their leaders, we have learned that the history of responses to gang activity which depend solely upon arrest and incarceration has not been successful. New leaders exist to replace the old, and gangs themselves have the ability to enter periods of remission, only to surface again at a later point in time.

The Twenty-Second Avenue Players appear to be a rather loose knit organization, with the different members of the hierarchy seeming to command different followings in the gang. The Players' ages range from sixteen to twenty-three. The gang, while primarily located in the North Dade area and concentrated in the area between 79th to 95th Street and 17th to 27th Avenue, has influence throughout the County. The members are likely to appear at teenage house parties or sporting events from Carol City to Richmond Heights. While their "colors" have changed over time, the appeal of the gang is evidenced by the fact that at a Halloween dance at a large high school, large numbers of those attending came attired in raincoats and lumberjack boots, the current wardrobe of the Players. That non-members would choose to come garbed as Players is indicative of the appeal of the gang to youths who might be potential members.

The Players are a fighting gang. Most of their activities involve altercations arising in the context of sporting events,

dances ("discos"), houseparties or any other events attended by large crowds of youths. The fact that most Players are armed or have weapons within reach, transforms the potential of such conflicts to a lethal level.

Interestingly, the majority of Player members are enrolled in school and most are employed. Fast-food restaurants provide the principal place of employment and fast-food restaurants, it should be noted, provide a very popular gathering site for today's teenagers and youth gangs. In a very real sense, the corner candy store of the "West Side Story" era has been replaced by today's fast-food restaurant.

The Baby Players, a younger group of approximately fifteen members, serves as a youth auxiliary to the Players. This gang frequents the shopping center located at Northwest 87th Street and 32nd Avenue. These youths, aged thirteen to seventeen, attend Madison and Jan Mann Junior Highs, as well as McArthur North and Central High Schools.

Carol City Bahas: A number of gangs have apparently come into existence merely as defensive reactions to the threat of the Players. The Bahas illustrate this phenomenon. The gang is much more geographically based, in the Carol City area, than the much more mobile Players, and also is characterized by a much more identifiable and monolithic leadership. Also known as the Guilyards, the gang's leadership is composed of three brothers from a family of that name. Lately the Bahas are alleged to have gained considerable strength relative to the Players and the two gangs may now be equally violent and equally dangerous.

With a membership of approximately forty, this gang appears to be quite involved in criminal activities such as drug trafficking and burglaries. Since the Players and the Bahas attend the

same sporting and social events, which was the reason for the Bahas' creation to begin with, fights between these two groups are both inevitable and frequent.

Other North Dade Gangs: Like the Players and the Bahas, the remaining North Dade gangs are composed of Black youth and, like the Bahas, their apparent reason for existence is to provide a protective measure against the Players. These gangs are smaller, less organized and apparently less dangerous than the Players or the Bahas. They include The Crestview Boys, The Brothers, The Boys, The 27th Avenue Players, The District Funk, The Youth and The Wall Gang (named for a wall in Opa Locka on Twenty-second Avenue which is known as a focus of drug sales activity). Approximately two months ago a member of the Players who had strayed into rival gang territory was shot several times by a member of the Crestview Boys.

There are, additionally, three female gangs in the North area with the names The Heartbreakers, The Beboppers and The War Girls.

South Dade-Hialeah Gangs: In the Hialeah area the ethnicity of youth gangs becomes predominantly Hispanic. The three principal gangs in the Hialeah area are The Carol City Gang, the New York Ricans and the Black Power (which emerged from a dance group). Hialeah youth gangs are concentrated along West 49th Street between West 10th Avenue and the Tropical Skating Center. These gangs are territorial with activities concentrated upon inter-gang fighting. Members generally range in age from fifteen to seventeen. While Hispanic gangs in the Hialeah area generally receive less attention than the Players or the Bahas, their lethal nature is illustrated by an incident in which a non-gang member was shot to death by several members

of the Carol City Gang. The shooting arose from an act of retaliation by the Carol City group against the Black Power gang in which the shooters, currently charged with murder, apparently believed their victim to be a member of the rival group.

The Carol City gang is noteworthy for the fact that it is apparently the only gang in Dade with the parents of the youth members involved as participants. While the youth members are involved in fighting, both the youths and the adults are said to participate in drug trafficking. This model, we note, represents an evolutionally step characteristic of gangs in New York City and elsewhere.

Both the New York Ricans, who span from Carol City to Hialeah, and the Carol City Gang are said to engage in more planned and sophisticated criminal activity than either the Players or the Bahas. While the latter groups engage in sporadic burglaries and robberies, the Ricans and Carol City Gang are said to plan narcotics transactions with considerable expertise.

Other Hispanic gangs in the Hialeah-South West area are smaller and less well organized: the Junior Aztecs, the Miller Square Rockers, the West Ends, the Midway Boys and the Westchester Boys. These gangs are less organized and somewhat seasonal in that their fighting generally occurs during the summer months.

As one approaches the southern portion of the County, gangs again become predominately Black: the Wine Glass gang operates in the Goulds-Perrine area, the Grave Diggers in Richmond Heights-Perrine and the Browns in Goulds.

IV. GANGS IN THE COMMUNITY: SCHOOLS AND RECREATION.

"The...negative factor which contributes to a situation favorable to ganging is the lack of proper guidance for spare-time activities. The recreation of boys who become 'whole-some citizens' is guided by parents, friends, teachers, and recreational leaders, but this guidance is largely absent in gangland areas. The point is not that children do not play in gangland. They do."

- F. M. Thrasher, The Gang, 1927

Today, just as six decades ago, we are concerned with the way in which they play. Male adolescents, then as now, will act out their energy in a variety of ways including sports, dancing, fighting and crime. It is part of the role of the adult to channel adolescent energy into the more acceptable of these alternatives and to divert the same energy away from the less acceptable alternatives. How effectively we achieve that channeling will, in the last analysis, determine how effectively we deal with our "gang problem." In the pages which follow we will explore what we perceive as less a police or law enforcement problem than a community problem touching our schools and after-school recreational options for teenagers.

As we mentioned earlier, gangs appear to operate on the periphery of schools, rather than within them. But while gang activity appears to have lessened within schools, schools provide the recruitment grounds as well as the social focus for gang activity.

Junior high schools, we have learned, are the primary locations in which gangs form. A principal reason for this is the fact that entry into junior high corresponds with departure from one's neighborhood and a transition into a larger school populated by many strangers. These conditions produce incentive

for adolescents to form groups for emotional and physical security. The same conditions, of course, lead to the formation of fighting gangs.

It is significant that in Dade County surprisingly large numbers of gang members are enrolled in school. There are a number of different ways, we have learned, to interpret this information. The more pessimistic approach would be that gang members use the school affiliation as a sort of alibi or subterfuge used to conceal gang activities. The more optimistic view, however, would contend that the school connection is evidence that these youths have not totally divorced themselves from acceptable social values and that the connection should be viewed as an opportunity to divert the student-gang members away from gang activities.

But to divert gang members from negative to positive activities presupposes the existence of such activities. In fact we have found, to our chagrin, that activities for teenagers, particularly in the inner-city, are either sadly lacking or nonexistent. We are extremely grateful to four inner-city high school principals, George Koonce of Northwestern, Craig Sturgeon of Miami Edison, Matthew Lawrence of Miami Central and Fred Bertani of American, who described for us the lack of recreational facilities in those areas of the County in which gang activity is most prevalent. We have learned, for example, that a "disco" known as Studio 183 has become a focal point for Black youth gang interaction and violence. At Studio 183 several thousand teenagers will gather on weekends and, although the crowds inside the Disco are orderly, those in the crowded parking lot outside are often not. We also learned that Studio 183 is the only disco in all of Dade County available to Black youths,

accounting for the large crowds descending on the club, which in turn accounts for law enforcement problems outside the facility.

The lack of entertainment for teenagers is paralleled by the absence of athletic alternatives for potential gang members in the inner-city. A tour of public recreational facilities in the more affluent areas of the County will reveal organized athletics in the evenings and on weekends such as Little League and Optimist teams. The same visits to playing fields in the inner-city will, quite likely, find an absence of organized activities. The fault, we have found, does not lie with the County Parks and Recreation Department, which expends equal amounts of monies on staff for parks throughout the County.

In fact, over the past several years the County Parks and Recreation Department has had to face significant staff reductions, to the detriment of parks and recreation programming. Parks and Recreation are too often regarded as a "frill" by taxpayers who shortsightedly fail to perceive the relationship between use of leisure time and crime and delinquency. This shortsightedness all too often is translated into budget cuts which lessen the already meager amount of recreational activity for all youth, but particularly for inner-city youth.

Yet subtle inequities do appear to exist: staffed tennis courts exist in the more affluent areas in relative abundance, but are virtually nonexistent in the inner-city without any substitute activities such as basketball, which may well be more popular than tennis. The rationale for the disparity is that staffed tennis courts in the more affluent areas are economically self-sufficient due to user fees. That explanation should not be permitted to obscure a disparity in the allocation of recreational activity for our community's youth.

Budget cuts, however, appear to have had a particularly negative effect on recreational activities in the inner-city, and this is particularly true of after-school activities. The County's after-school program, which formerly hired school teacher assistants to staff parks adjoining public schools, has been severely curtailed. The elimination of these programs of after-school activities will not have the same effect, we must observe, upon youths in a community with high levels of adult volunteers and the organized sports and leagues that adult volunteers ensure, as it will in an inner-city area where the pressing needs of life rarely permit active adult volunteers. In those latter areas the absence of public programs assures empty parks and unused facilities. The sad reality is that equal cutbacks may result in unequal distributions of recreational facilities due to the absence of volunteers and private organizations able and willing to fill gaps in the less affluent parts of our community. Inner-city schools, by way of example, have no Little League programs. The first opportunity these youths will have to play organized baseball will come in the ninth and tenth grades. In contrast, at least one southwest section high school has a year-round soccer league financed by the community.

The lack of recreational facilities for inner-city gang prone youth, as important as it is, is really symbolic of what has been described as the bleakness of coming of age in the inner-city. The absence of role models, the lack of an economic base in the inner-city, the absence of positive community and peer pressure, and the lack of success stories with which to identify are all facets of this dismal landscape. As one inner-city principal put it:

"There is nothing in Liberty City. There is nothing but a videotape place here, a little store there...nothing constructive for youngsters to go and do in the afternoons...you have got to capture their minds...

Gang organizations may be a replacement for some of the things that are missing in youngsters, the whole idea of feeling worth, a sense of dignity about themselves. Gangs may provide that for youngsters...

I think we are pretty much blessed that we have not had a larger growth of gang activities...because we definitely have the conditions from which they can grow..."

V. DADE YOUTH GANGS: THE DEVELOPMENT OF A COMMUNITY RESPONSE.

Gang membership, as we have seen and as the studies of gangs have maintained for decades, represents a negative response to a situation and an environment which offers few positive alternatives. A viable community response must be a comprehensive response dealing simultaneously with such widely disparate issues as the absence of positive role models, neighborhood economic development and use of leisure time.

This type of response is obviously complex and long-range. In emphasizing the need for a comprehensive approach we by no means wish to belittle the importance of a law enforcement response to the gang problem. Gang members commit crimes and when they do it becomes the role of police and prosecutor to assure arrest and conviction. In this regard we acknowledge and encourage the formation of specialized units in the Metro-Dade and City of Miami Police Departments, as well as in the State Attorney's Office, which gather and distill information regarding youth gangs and their activities.

Yet, as we have previously mentioned, a community must go well beyond a police-prosecution response to gangs if the effort is to be ultimately successful. To develop a comprehensive

community response to the youth gang problem is also, we emphasize, to develop a response to the delinquency and school drop-out issues. The three problems are inseparable and the measures we will propose in this final section of our Report will, we feel, go far in solving each of them.

To develop a coordinated community response to the gang problem is to, first of all, develop a community awareness and a community commitment. We discovered a surprising lack of consensus as to the magnitude of our gang problem among those who we would have expected to be in basic agreement. These widely disparate assessments range from extreme exaggeration to serious underestimation.

At the outset of our Report we posed the question "Does Dade County have a significant gang problem?" The answer is clearly in the affirmative. Yet that fact should be cause for concern and not cause for alarm. Our gang problem is not of the magnitude of a New York City, a Chicago or a Los Angeles where gang related violence and gang ties to adult organized crime are commonplace and entrenched. Dade's youth gangs, at this stage of their evolution, are relatively disorganized and hopefully relatively malleable. While some gangs, such as the Carol City Gang, appear to have evolved into sophisticated criminality with links to adult criminals, most gangs, although they do commit crimes either as individuals or in small groups, are preoccupied with ego considerations such as turf, machismo or image. Many gang members are probably irreversibly committed to violence and crime and, for these, incarceration or the aging process (few members remain actively involved in gang activities beyond their mid-twenties) must be looked to as solutions. But many other youths who are involved in gang activities, or

perhaps even more importantly who are on the verge of committing themselves to participation in gangs, can be redirected into positive channels.

But, again, that redirection assumes the existence of such positive channels. Unless a community possesses effective positive alternatives to youth gangs and delinquency, in the areas of educational, recreational and vocational programming, gangs will continue to attract adolescents who are seeking nothing more than what we all seek: acceptance, approval and success. We as a community must come to recognize that, for all of their negative and antisocial symptoms, gangs provide their members with peer acceptance, peer approval and success for those who perform well. To create alternatives to gangs, then, is to create alternative routes to acceptance, approval and success.

Below, we present our findings and our recommendations in the separate, but clearly related, areas of education, recreation and vocational programming.

Education

The schools, as we certainly expected, are focal points for gang evolution and gang activity. While school administrators agree that gangs are not major problems within the schools themselves, the schools represent one of the primary, if not the primary, social institutions in which the student interacts with others and in which the student's goals and attitudes are formed.

Gangs generally form at the junior high school level and then follow the school feeder patterns into the high schools. Gangs form as vehicles for emotional and physical security as

the former elementary school student gropes with the adjustment to the junior high. The junior highs, it follows, should become the acknowledged arenas for our attempts to offer alternatives to gangs. We recommend the creation of in-service training for teachers and school administrators at the junior high school level. This training module would emphasize explanation of why youth gangs form and how to identify youths who might be on the verge of gang affiliation. Also emphasized in the training would be the need for positive alternatives to youth gangs.

We were particularly interested in an experiment which is occurring at Coral Gables High School. Several former members of a now apparently defunct fighting gang, the Omegas (the subject of the first "Item" on the first page of this Report), abandoned their former activities and created a social club named the Pikes. This organization engages in fund raising activities and athletic competition. Understandably not wholeheartedly embraced by all former Omegas, the Pikes provide a tangible example of how the energies of a fighting gang can be redirected in positive ways. A teacher at Coral Gables High, Joann Salem, and an administrator, Norman Anderson, are to be congratulated for their efforts in assisting the development of the Pikes. The Pikes have also become involved in recruiting members in the principal junior high school which feeds Gables High. This model for the creation of social clubs which in turn would compete for the allegiances of vulnerable junior high students should be studied and emulated. And enlightened educators such as Ms. Salem and Mr. Anderson should be identified so that they may participate in the creation of the in-service training that we are recommending.

We also find, as we have previously mentioned, that the causes of gang affiliation are inseparable from the causes of delinquency and failure to complete high school. And just as the causes are intertwined, so too are the solutions. The Dade School Board, we are very pleased to point out, has recently put in place an ambitious and comprehensive program to address the school dropout problem. We are confident that these measures, which respond to the ten recommendations of the Fall Term 1984 Grand Jury, will have an impact not only upon dropout rates, but upon delinquency and youth gangs as well.

We have spoken of the adolescent's need for acceptance, approval and success. Ideally the vehicle for these objectives should be the classroom. For those who succeed there, little need exists for the creation of alternative antisocial models. While we recognize that not all students will ever find their needs met in the classroom, we emphasize that delinquents and gang members are generally those who have failed in school, whether they have left school or not. Each step that our school system takes to increase the numbers of students who succeed in school will decrease the numbers of those whose alienation is transformed into a gang fight or a theft.

Recreation

Youths are in school for only about one-third of their waking hours. The educational system can achieve only so much. We were astounded to learn how little there is to do with one's leisure time when one is young and living in relative poverty. We have previously alluded to empty parks, funding cutbacks which have curtailed after-school and summer

programs and the lack of volunteers and organized recreational activities in the inner-city. One witness, ironically, suggested that the main reason for our dropout rate not being higher, and one reason why a surprisingly large number of gang members are still in school, is because there is so little to do outside the school.

Parks should not be empty and facilities should not go unused. While we commend the City of Miami and Dade County Parks and Recreation Departments for their attempts to provide service despite severe funding cutbacks, we urge that both departments evaluate their existing resources with recreational after-school and summer activities for inner-city youths as an essential priority. We are concerned that too high a prioritization might be given to such enterprises as theme parks or large landscaping projects. An organized flag football game after school or a lighted and attended basketball court in the evening are of far greater concern to us as we explore the solutions to youth gang violence and delinquency.

We recommend that, in addition to a reexamination of priorities, every effort be made to fund the now defunct after-school and summer programs which provided for the employment of teachers outside of school hours by the Parks and Recreation Department to conduct organized sports and recreational activities. And we also urge that a concerted effort be made by the City of Miami and Dade County to involve such private organizations as Little League, Khoury League, and Optimists in an effort to expand their role in the inner-city as well as to identify private sponsors for organized teams.

Vocational Programs

Finally, we find a pressing need for the implementation of creative programs to refocus the energies of delinquents and gang members. Funding cutbacks have all but eliminated most federal training and employment programs. A new emphasis is being placed, in some cities, upon the creation of self-sufficient economic enterprises as the objectives of vocational programming for delinquents and gang members. In New York City, for example, a gang noted for generating graffiti on City subways has been redirected into an economic enterprise which manufactures T-shirts adorned with the same graffiti. The shirts are reportedly selling well and the gang members have redirected their energy from antisocial to positive and profitable activity. As the recipients of publicity related to their enterprise, as well as of the income derived from sales, the gang members now receive acceptance, approval and success in a socially acceptable manner. The director of the enterprise is a former member of Chicago's notorious Blackstone Rangers youth gang.

During our study of youth gangs we had the opportunity to meet Maximo Blake of New York City's Court Employment Program. Mr. Blake, who has nearly twenty years of experience in working with youth gangs and delinquents in the New York metropolitan area, administers an agency which includes a self-sufficient construction company manned by ex-offenders and former gang members. The company's construction contracts, most of them with the City of New York, exceed one million dollars in amount.

The type of creative, and economically viable, enterprise which can be initiated as an alternative to antisocial behavior, is further illustrated by another of Mr. Blake's

programs. Having observed that his program participants included large numbers of delinquents who had been referred to him for stripping cars, and aware of the fact that abandoned vehicles on New York City streets are a constant, and expensive, problem for the New York Sanitation Department, Mr. Blake is creating an automobile parts business as a joint venture with an established auto parts enterprise. Mr. Blake's participants, by virtue of an agreement with the police and sanitation departments, will tow abandoned cars to their warehouse where they will utilize their auto-stripping skills in removing saleable parts from the cars, thereupon marketing the reusable parts.

The motivation for the creation of programs such as these is in part derived from the reality that government funds are increasingly unavailable for vocational programs. As a result, self-sufficiency becomes a necessity. Yet more significantly their philosophical premise is that we must create viable and effective substitutes for crime and gang violence. These economic enterprises, run by the participants, provide acceptable avenues to approval and success. And these programs are also premised upon the proposition that economic considerations cannot be overlooked in dealing with issues related to delinquency and gangs in the inner-city. Without some sort of economic base the inner-city will continue to resemble the wasteland described by the high school principal earlier in this Report. And until delinquents and gang members can identify with a socially acceptable avenue to approval and success, the alternatives will continue to include crime and violence.

We were obviously impressed with the initiatives taken by Maximo Blake and the New York Court Employment Program. It is our desire that our own agency heads who deal with delinquents,

gangs and educational and vocational programs explore with Mr. Blake how the initiatives underway in New York and elsewhere might be introduced in Dade County.

In conclusion, it is clearly our feelings that to deal with the gang problem is to deal with the related problems of school dropouts and delinquency. To fail to address any of the three is to fail to address all of the three. And to address these problems effectively requires a coordinated and comprehensive approach which will have impact in the school, the home and the neighborhood.

Our study of youth gangs indicates, indeed, that there is very little new under the sun. Once again we quote from Frederic M. Thrasher's work which was written three generations ago:

"The growing seriousness of the crime problems in the United States has focused the attention of the educated public from time to time upon the possibility of a more fundamental and more systematic attack upon the underlying causes of crime...

(We have learned) that the origins of criminal careers are to be found largely in the social reactions of childhood and adolescence; and... that the gang is clearly a symptom of community disorganization... The solution of the gang problem is intimately and inextricably bound up with the whole question of crime prevention as applied to all factors contributing to delinquency in such an area... Economy demands that the emphasis be shifted to the process of prevention, which attacks the roots of crime in those areas of community which are known to be crime-breeding centers."

OPERATION TURNAROUND

I. INTRODUCTION: OPERATION TURNAROUND AND THE 1984 DADE GRAND JURY REPORT.

The Fall Term 1983 Dade County Grand Jury, in July of last year, issued a significant Final Report entitled The High School Drop Out and the Inner City School. That Report documented disparities in test scores between inner-city schools and non-inner-city schools. The Report is summarized in the six Findings it made:

(1) We find, first, that we do have a critical dropout problem: four of every ten children who enter the ninth grade in Dade County public schools will not stay to graduate. Looked at in terms of total numbers, as many as eight thousand youths drop out each year.

(2) Minority youths, in particular inner-city Black youths, constitute a disproportionately large number of the dropout population. And all too often, dropping out is followed by unemployment and a self-perpetuating cycle of alienation and failure.

(3) The reasons why children leave can be traced primarily to the three institutions upon which we rely to bring about assimilation into the larger culture: the school, the neighborhood and the home. Where this assimilation does not take place, the result is alienation and failure which operate in a vicious and widening circle which may never be broken. The cycle begins, for far too many, in kindergarten or even earlier. What is called for is nothing less than greatly increased resources made available at the earliest point in time, specifically in the inner-city elementary school.

We must keep in mind the fact that the schools do not function in a vacuum. Unless we take steps to bolster the neighborhood and the home, efforts directed at the school alone will probably not be successful.

(4) We are approaching a crisis in our inner-city schools which will be readily apparent to anyone who takes the time to

read the test score data presented in our Report. Unless we acknowledge this crisis, and deal with it directly, we will pay a heavy price. The alienation and failure which characterize the school dropout are not dissipated by the act of dropping out. They will remain with us in the form of soaring unemployment and delinquency and crime rates.

(5) The two inseparable and critical problems, the school dropout and the crisis in our inner-city schools, are not peculiar to Miami. The problems are being experienced by all large cities. We find that our school administration is both capable and committed to dealing with the issues we raise. The candor and cooperation exhibited by Dr. Britton and his staff during the course of our study are to be highly commended.

(6) And we find, most importantly, that the problem can be addressed successfully. Inner-city schools can teach and inner-city students can and will achieve. The ultimate definition of equal educational opportunity is not just equal access, but equal outcomes. We must be willing to commit whatever resources may be necessary to achieve that objective.

Within days of the publication of the Report, Dr. Leonard Britton, Superintendent of Schools, took steps to implement the Recommendations made in that Report and the Dade County School Board approved Dr. Britton's proposed measures. Among these steps were the creation of an Advisory Committee on Dropouts and Inner-City Schools, the establishment of a position of Director of Basic Skills Education and Reading Services, a proposal to the State Legislature for the funding of pre-kindergarten programs, the inception of an Early Intervention-Social Workers Program, as well as a heightened commitment to a program known as Operation Turnaround. Operation Turnaround had been initiated in 1980 as an attempt to raise test scores in inner-city elementary schools. Three schools with the lowest test scores were chosen, these being Orchard Villa, Holmes and Little River Elementary Schools, all of which are located in

Liberty City. The premise underlying Operation Turnaround was articulated in the program description prepared by the school system:

The educational problems presented by children from disadvantaged backgrounds must be solved if public education itself is to be saved. For educators, it is a challenge of the first magnitude. The mere concentration of special support to troubled inner-city schools is not sufficient. The task at hand as undertaken by Operation Turnaround is to discover effective ways of eliminating systemic and personnel deficiencies as a way of improving the quality of education for disadvantaged children. Most importantly, the ameliorative strategies must be transferable to similarly situated schools.

The project goals were described as:

1. To raise significantly the achievement levels of students at Orchard Villa, Holmes, and Little River Elementary Schools.
2. To develop positive staff perceptions at the three schools with respect to the children they teach and the children's potential for growth.
3. To build at each school a cohesive, committed, and competent staff which would operate as a team.
4. To significantly increase parent involvement at the three schools and to develop an improved sense of community pride in each of these schools.
5. To instill in each child at the three schools a love for learning and a belief in self-determination and achievement of goals.

A thorough assessment of the teaching staff in the three schools was conducted and a total of forty teachers were voluntarily or involuntarily transferred to other schools. An extensive teacher training program was implemented during the summer of 1980, in anticipation of the commencement of the school

year. Lists of needed physical repairs and improvements were prepared and assigned new priorities and the school buildings have since been improved considerably.

The Grand Jury Report identified a pressing need to reinvigorate the school system's commitment to Operation Turnaround. The Report stated:

Operation Turnaround now appears to have stalled. An evaluation report of its progress was negative and the effort, not yet officially abandoned, is in atrophy. It appears that the reasons for its failure to thrive include the following:

1. No one individual was given overall responsibility for the total program and responsibility was diffused among several individuals and departments. Operation Turnaround should have one Project Manager with the leadership qualities necessary to make the program succeed. This individual should report not to or through the principals, but to the Director of Basic Skills.

2. A thorough reassessment of administrators and teachers should be undertaken this summer to assure the retention of only the most dedicated and qualified personnel. The 1980 review recommended no changes in administrators. An assessment may not have taken place. An assessment, or perhaps a reassessment, should probably take place.

3. The level of interest in Turnaround was at its peak at the start of school but began to wane as soon as those involved assumed other responsibilities and new priorities. Here again the presence of a full-time Project Manager might have maintained the necessary levels of enthusiasm and commitment.

4. Too much emphasis may have been placed too quickly on "the test scores going up." Emphasis on "the test scores going up," as we have mentioned, may be detracting from the opportunity to experiment with new or innovative teaching methods. We have learned for example that the most recent education literature suggests strongly that different children learn in different ways: some are auditory learners, some visual and

other tactile. Learning how best an individual child learns and adopting teaching methods to suit different needs may in the short run not be reflected in rising Stanford Test scores. In the long run, however, it may have an infinitely more lasting benefit.

5. It is critical that resource teachers be retained in each Turn-around school. It is equally important that some sort of parent-community liaison persons be placed in each school. Positions such as these will have the objective of bridging the sizeable gap which separates the school from inner-city families.

That Grand Jury Report, speaking of all the Recommendations it contained, urged that "the Fall Term 1984 Grand Jury carefully monitor progress made toward the implementation of the recommendations we have made." Early in our Term, we decided that it would be premature for us to attempt to assess the success of the various programs instituted by the school system last fall. We leave that assessment to future Grand Juries, confident that future Grand Juries will share our concern regarding the performance of inner-city schools.

We did, however, examine the one program which the Fall Term 1984 Grand Jury found particularly important, this being Operation Turnaround. Our examination of that program was not intended as an assessment of its effectiveness, which would be much too premature, but rather as an examination of its status and of its potential for success. To assist us in this endeavor we are thankful for the assistance of Dr. Daniel Levine of the University of Missouri-Kansas City, who served as consultant to the Fall Term 1984 Grand Jury and who we engaged for the purpose of conducting an on-site visit to Turn-around, and Dr. Robert Simpson of the University of Miami School of Educational and Psychological Studies, who also participated in the preparation of the 1984 Final Report.

We also wish to express our gratitude to Dr. Richard White, the school system's Executive Director of the Division of Instruction, Dr. Charles Sherwood, its Director of Basic Skills, and Mr. Michael Conte, the Coordinator of Operation Turnaround. We were extremely impressed with the expertise and the commitment of each of these individuals. The fact that such competent administrators are involved in the Turn-around effort gives us reason to be optimistic.

II. THE TURNAROUND SCHOOLS AND THE TEST SCORES.

The 1984 Grand Jury Report at several points expressed frustration with the fact that too much emphasis placed upon "the test scores going up" might in fact have negative results in that large amounts of time appear to be spent, particularly in inner-city schools, in preparing students for the State-mandated minimum competence tests (SSAT). This time, we have learned, might be better spent teaching basic reading and mathematics. As Dr. Levine put it in his report following his on-site visit:

As regards curriculum and instruction, my most general conclusion was that despite promising changes taking place, still more needs to be done to focus instruction more clearly on the most important reading and math skills. Despite dedicated efforts of school and central office personnel, there still may be too much relative emphasis on skills in the State test, and too little growth in language and problem-solving skills. Effective change in this pattern depends on solution of many very difficult problems, as well as review of many competing demands on teachers' and students' time. I left Dade County with the impression that the instructional and other demands on Turnaround faculty have become quite complex, and that it may be desirable almost to start over by asking how much time and support students require to master the most important reading and math skills. Only after that should one decide how much time and effort to give to the State test, the demands of other subject areas, and other worthwhile goals.

A second troubling aspect of the SSAT scores is the possibility that, while they have risen in the Turnaround schools and in inner-city schools generally, the rise in scores does not necessarily indicate an increase in overall learning. The fact that SSAT scores have risen is counterbalanced, in the Turnaround schools, by the fact that the Stanford Test scores, frustratingly, have not. The table below presents the Stanford reading test scores for grades one, three and five for the school years 1981-82, 1983-84 and 1984-85:

	<u>1981-1982</u>			<u>1983-1984</u>			<u>1984-1985</u>		
	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>
Holmes	26	27	10	41	18	24	29	25	10
Orchard Villa	23	27	22	23	33	12	27	15	16
Little River	<u>39</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>39</u>
	29	33	21	32	27	23	24	21	22
Dade County	41	43	39	44	40	37	46	43	40
Overall									

It should be pointed out that the Stanford Tests presented in the table were administered prior to the issuance of the 1984 Grand Jury Report and the new commitment to Turnaround. The scores are significant, however, in that they indicate the extent of the problem with which we must deal.

We will not belabor the disparity between the inner-city test scores and the County overall scores (which include the inner-city scores and thus obscure a much greater disparity between Black inner-city school scores and Hispanic and White non-Hispanic scores). The 1984 Final Report dealt at length with this problem. Suffice it to say that we agree with that Grand Jury that the disparity is the single most critical problem facing our educational system today. And that is why the success of Operation Turnaround is so crucially important.

One school administrator put the problem as follows:

"The greatest single problem in achieving high levels of academic performance in inner-city schools is the fact that the child comes to school, whether kindergarten or first grade, with a level of language learning, a lack of knowledge of standard English that is such that he rarely ever catches up with his middle-class counterparts in school...

There's no question that the five-year-old coming to school from an impoverished home is two, three years behind his middle-class counterparts and more.

This makes it almost impossible for him to catch up without massive, massive compensating things in the educational program."

We have learned that pre-kindergarten learning programs for three and four year olds actually offer the greatest hope for closing the gap described above. During our Term we became acquainted with an impressive study conducted in Ypsilanti, Michigan. Known as the Perry Preschool Project, the study tracked an experimental group of inner-city youths who had participated in a pre-kindergarten learning program as well as a control group who had not participated. The two groups were tracked until age nineteen. The rates of employment and participation in college or vocational training were nearly double for those with preschool as compared with those without preschool. For those who attended preschool, the rate of teenage pregnancy and the percent of years spent in special education classes were slightly over half of what they were for those who did not attend preschool. Preschool attendance led to a reduction of twenty percentage points in the detention and arrest rate and nearly that much in the high school drop out rate. The Ypsilanti Report concludes:

These benefits considered in terms of their economic value make the preschool program a worthwhile investment for society. Over the lifetimes of the participants, preschool is estimated to yield economic benefits with an estimated present value that is over seven times the cost of one year of the program. The positive implications of these findings for improved quality of life for participating individuals, their families, and the community at large are of enormous importance.

In the last analysis, preschool programs may well represent the essential prerequisite to eliminating the disparity in test scores. The School Board is supporting legislation now before the State Legislature which would permit the use of State monies for these programs. In the absence of state funds, however, we should implement the program nonetheless using Chapter I funds if at all possible.

We find that the one factor which would do most to insure the success of Operation Turnaround would be the introduction, or an experimental basis, of such preschool programs in the three Turnaround schools. The 1984 Grand Jury Report called for expansion of Turnaround into eight to ten elementary schools. Having been exposed to the pros and cons of expansion, we agree with those who advocate an "expansion downward" into the pre-kindergarten children in the neighborhoods of the three Turnaround schools. While we are completely in favor of increasing the numbers of Turnaround schools, we also think it essential that the most comprehensive and intensive programs be put in place with the best chance for success when expansion does take place.

III. THE FUTURE OF TURNAROUND: PROSPECTS AND PITFALLS

While the ultimate prospect for the success of Operation Turnaround may well depend upon the creation of preschool programs, let us examine other areas in which Operation Turnaround is attempting to have an impact.

(1) Quality of Teachers. A staff of dedicated teachers with a low teacher turnover rate are obvious prerequisites to a quality educational program. Unfortunately inner-city schools all too often are characterized by unmotivated or unhappy teachers with high turnover rates. In an attempt to remove or transfer unsatisfactory teachers, the United Teachers of Dade and the school system worked cooperatively to obtain the voluntary or involuntary transfers of some forty teachers in 1980-81.

Unfortunately the four year period since that effort, coupled with continued high turnover, has made it absolutely essential that a new examination of the existing teaching staff in the three Turnaround schools be undertaken this summer. We realize that this is a sensitive undertaking and that the undertaking requires the cooperation and assistance of the union. We are impressed with the commitment of the United Teachers of Dade to improving the quality of inner-city schools. We are confident that the United Teachers of Dade will continue to exhibit the same degree of cooperation in the effort to improve the quality of the Turnaround faculties.

Assuring dedicated faculties is essential to the success of Turnaround. Failure to achieve that objective is the program's main potential pitfall. The time frame in which this must be done is extremely short if we are to impact upon the 1985-86 school year in the manner in which we should.

(2) Teacher Training. A second area vital to the success of Operation Turnaround is that of teacher training. During the summer of 1980 a four week in-service for twenty Turnaround teachers was held. This in-service is regarded as having been quite successful and apparently raised teachers' morale significantly. Unfortunately, a lack of follow-up in-service during the school year appears to have dissipated most of the gains made.

In any event, that training also occurred over four years ago and we urge that a new in-service training program be instituted this summer, for as many of the Turnaround teachers as possible, and that the summer in-service be reinforced by periodic in-service training during the coming academic year.

(3) Staffing and Curriculum. The one most evident shortcoming which characterized the early Operation Turnaround was the absence of a Program Coordinator. As we mentioned earlier, this has been rectified by the designation of Mr. Michael Conte as Coordinator. Mr. Conte, we are pleased to point out, reports directly to Dr. Charles Sherwood, who is Director of Basic Skills for the school system, giving Mr. Conte direct access to the administration.

Dr. Levine, in his report on Operation Turnaround prepared for this Grand Jury, suggested at least one full-time instructional-support coordinator located in Dr. Sherwood's office who would provide instructional coordination comparable to Mr. Conte's administrative coordination. While this might not be feasible until a larger number of schools are added to Turnaround, we endorse this suggestion.

Dr. Levine also pointed out that additional instructional resource personnel were needed to assist teachers at the intermediate level. District officials are in fact now considering reassigning project resources to this activity. Whereas each Turnaround school was originally assigned three additional teachers and one additional resource instructor, Chapter I has now reduced class size in the Turnaround schools so as to lessen the need for the additional teachers. This should permit a restructuring which would make available the needed instructional resource personnel.

We have already quoted that portion of Dr. Levine's report which dealt with what he perceived as too much emphasis placed upon SSAT skills relative to basic reading and math skills. He also suggested three specific and interrelated steps designed to help improve achievement in the Turnaround schools, these being (a) the establishment of transition rooms for kindergarten, first, and second grade students, (b) promotions policies based on functional reading skills, and (c) collection of data bearing on instructional coordination and delivery of instruction.

(4) Physical Plant. The one area in which progress has clearly been made in the Turnaround schools is in the physical condition and appearance of the schools. The buildings have been painted and the grounds cared for, inoperative water fountains have been repaired and the physical surroundings in the three schools are reported to be much improved. Yet we are baffled that these schools have not yet been air-conditioned, despite the fact that the money has been allocated for that purpose for some time. We are supposed to find some solace in the fact that the Turnaround schools have been "re-

prioritized" so as to expedite their air-conditioning, now scheduled for 1986. We find it inexcusable that this process is not yet completed.

(5) Parental Involvement. When asked what single problem is most perplexing in attempting to achieve academic success in inner-city schools, most elementary school principals will cite the difficulty in obtaining parental involvement in the school process. This difficult goal has eluded Operation Turnaround just as it has eluded so many other programs. Perhaps preschool programs would provide the opportunity for creative efforts at solving this long-standing problem. It has been suggested, for example, that the child's participation in a free preschool program would be dependent upon the parent's willingness to attend activities at the school on a regular basis. Be that as it may, attempts to solve this dilemma need to be continued until solutions are found.

IV. FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

Our study of issues relating to dropouts and inner-city schools confirms the findings and recommendations made by the Fall Term 1983 Grand Jury in their extensive Final Report. We, too, are appalled by the disparities in the test scores between inner-city and non-inner-city schools. What is particularly discouraging is that the data indicates that the disparities grow greater as time passes. As one witness put it: "An appalling idea. The longer you go to school the worse off you get is what the data says." The problem, which is one facing all major urban areas, is certainly an appalling one.

Operation Turnaround offers the hope of a solution, howsoever limited or imperfect that solution may ultimately be. The experiment is a noble one and one to which we must commit our full support. This Report is our small attempt to lend what support we can to the effort.

In summary, we make the following findings and recommendations:

(1) We find that, too often, undue emphasis is placed upon the "test scores going up" at the expense of real learning. We understand the concerns which prompted the Legislature to mandate minimal competence testing, but we urge continued study and continued concern over the long-term effects of extensive amounts of classroom time being devoted to SSAT preparation.

(2) Preschool programs for three and four year olds are an essential, perhaps the essential, component in the creation of an effective strategy for the improvement of performance levels in inner-city schools. We urge that pending legislation at the State level be enacted. Absent such legislation we urge that the School Board authorize an experimental program in the three Turnaround schools using Chapter I funds.

(3) The quality of the teachers, and the teacher turnover rates, will ultimately determine the success of the Turnaround experiment. The United Teachers of Dade and the school system must act cooperatively to insure that a thorough review of the teachers in the Turnaround schools be implemented this summer.

(4) Teacher in-service training in the Turnaround schools must be revived and, once the 1985-86 school year begins, this summer training module must be supplemented by in-service training during the school year.

(5) The difficulties involved in obtaining parental involvement in inner-city schools have been well documented. Perhaps pre-kindergarten progress will provide a vehicle for the creation of a successful effort of this nature. Yet even without a preschool program, Turnaround staff must continue to experiment with ways in which to bridge the sizeable chasm which separates the school from the home in the inner-city.

(6) We have expressed our feelings with respect to air conditioning. We find the delays inexcusable and we recommend that the school system reexamine its schedule so as to make the air conditioning of the Turnaround schools by September 1, 1985, a priority.

CAPITAL AND OTHER CRIMINAL CASES PRESENTED TO THE GRAND JURY

<u>Defendant</u>	<u>Charge</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
JEFFREY DEAN McCUE	First Degree Murder Aggravated Child Abuse	True Bill
WILLIAM DUBOISE, also known as SCOTCH, JEAN PAUL and RUTH JOHNSON	First Degree Murder Conspiracy to Commit Felony Robbery ("A" Defendant)	True Bill
ROBERTO MARINO CRUZ	First Degree Murder	True Bill
HECTOR VARGAS and ABEL SABORIT	First Degree Murder First Degree Murder Trafficking in Cocaine	True Bill
ROOSEVELT HILL, Jr., also known as JUNIOR	First Degree Murder Unlawful Possession of a Firearm while Engaged in a Criminal Offense	True Bill
NELSON HERNANDEZ	First Degree Murder First Degree Murder Attempted First Degree Murder Attempted First Degree Murder Unlawful Possession of a Firearm while Engaged in a Criminal Offense	True Bill
SALVATORE LASPROGATO	First Degree Murder	True Bill
DOUGLAS TYRONE EDWARDS	First Degree Murder Attempted Armed Robbery Shooting within an Occupied Building Unlawful Possession of Firearm during the Commission of a Criminal Offense	True Bill
HILARIO VERA-BETANCOL	First Degree Murder Burglary Robbery Unlawful Possession of a Firearm while Engaged in a Criminal Offense	True Bill
PEDRO LUIS MIRANDA, also known as EL GORDO	First Degree Murder Possession of Firearm while Engaged in a Criminal Offense Possession of Firearm while Engaged in a Criminal Offense	True Bill

<u>Defendant</u>	<u>Charge</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
CHRISTOPHER A. JOHNSON	First Degree Murder Burglary Grand Theft-Second Degree	True Bill
RUTH ESTHER GALDAMES	First Degree Murder Aggravated Child Abuse Grand Theft	True Bill
LUIS GARCIA BLANCO	First Degree Murder Unlawful Possession of a Firearm while Engaged in a Criminal Act	True Bill
ANTONIO GONZALEZ, GERARDO FRANCO, and ARIEL PEREZ	First Degree Murder Armed Robbery Armed Burglary	True Bill
SHERRY GIBSON WEBSTER	First Degree Murder	NO TRUE BILL
EDILBERTO ZUNIGA	First Degree Murder	True Bill
RUBEN ORTIZ	First Degree Arson First Degree Murder First Degree Murder First Degree Murder	True Bill
EDRIN ANDREW LEE and TANYA Y. LYONS	First Degree Murder Robbery Unlawful Possession of Firearm while Engaged in Criminal Offense	True Bill
GILBERTO BRAVO, also known as ARMANDO DELGADO	First Degree Murder First Degree Murder	True Bill
CHRISTIAN DANIEL MASSARD	First Degree Murder Burglary Unlawful Possession of a Weapon while Engaged in a Criminal Offense	True Bill
VICTOR COLE, HORACE LOVETT, DARRYL MILLER and YOLANDA GASTON	First Degree Murder Armed Robbery Armed Robbery Possession of a Firearm by a Convicted Felon Grand Theft	True Bill
RONICA MARIE STEPHENS	First Degree Murder Attempted First Degree Murder	True Bill

<u>Defendant</u>	<u>Charge</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
SCOTT DAVID PUTTKAMER and JORGE ZERQUERA	First Degree Murder Armed Robbery Grand Theft-Second Degree Second Degree Arson Tampering with or Fabricating Physical Evidence	True Bill
GILBERTO DEMECIO BACALLAO	First Degree Murder Unlawful Possession of a Firearm while Engaged in a Criminal Offense Possession of a Firearm by a Convicted Felon	True Bill
WILLIENE EDWARDS	First Degree Murder Unlawful Possession of a Firearm while Engaged in a Criminal Offense	True Bill
HENRY MCGILL also known as "POP"	First Degree Murder Possession of a Firearm by a Convicted Felon Aggravated Battery Possession of a Firearm by a Convicted Felon	True Bill
JOSE SANTOS and RICARDO SERRANO	First Degree Murder Attempted Murder - First Degree Robbery Burglary Kidnapping Falsely Personating an Officer Unlawful Possession of a Firearm by a Convicted Felon	True Bill
NARCISO ALEX VELAZQUEZ and LETICIA ALVAREZ VELAZQUEZ	First Degree Murder Attempted Murder - First Degree Attempted Murder - First Degree Burglary of a Structure while Armed/Assault Shooting into an Occupied Dwelling Possession of a Firearm while in a Commission of a Felony Possession of a Firearm by a Convicted Felon	True Bill

<u>Defendant</u>	<u>Charge</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
ANGEL BARREIRO	First Degree Murder First Degree Murder Shooting or Throwing Deadly Missile into Occupied Building or Vehicle Unlawful Possession of Firearm while Engaged in a Criminal Offense	True Bill
JEFFREY WARREN HUNTER, also known as RICK, also known as CHINAMAN	First Degree Murder Attempted Armed Robbery Unlawful Possession of a Firearm while Engaged in a Criminal Offense	True Bill
PABLO MENDEZ, also known as PABLO MENDEZ TRENCHÉ, also known as EL MAKÁ	First Degree Murder Unlawful Possession of a Firearm while Engaged in a Criminal Offense	True Bill
KEITH A. JONES, also known as TOMMY JONES, and DEMETRIUS C. McCUTCHEN, also known as CURTIS McCUTCHEN	First Degree Murder Robbery Unlawful Possession of a Firearm while Engaged in a Criminal Offense Robbery Kidnapping Unlawful Possession of a Firearm while Engaged in a Criminal Offense Aggravated Battery	True Bill
FRANCISCO FELIPE and MARGARITA CANTIN GARCIA	First Degree Murder Attempted Murder - First Degree Burglary	True Bill
OLIVER WENDALL BELCHER	First Degree Murder First Degree Murder Armed Robbery Armed Robbery	True Bill
WILLIAM MARCELLAS BERRY also known as JAMES BERRY	First Degree Murder Armed Burglary with an Assault Attempted Armed Robbery Possession of a Firearm during the Commission of a Felony	True Bill

<u>Defendant</u>	<u>Charge</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
LUIS MARIO RUBALCABA	First Degree Murder Burglary Armed Robbery Armed Robbery Armed Robbery Armed Robbery Unlawful Possession of a Firearm while Engaged in a Criminal Offense Carrying a Concealed Firearm Conspiracy to Traffic in Cocaine	True Bill
WILLIAM MARCELLAS BERRY also known as JAMES BERRY	First Degree Murder Aggravated Child Abuse	True Bill
ROBERT EDWARD THOMPSON	First Degree Murder Robbery Battery on a Law Enforcement Officer Resisting Officer with Violence to his Person	True Bill
DANNY COSTELLO	First Degree Murder Armed Robbery Unlawful Possession of a Weapon in the Com- mission of a Criminal Offense	True Bill
ARLINGTON BROWN, also known as TIMOTHY BROWN, also known as "BUTCH"	First Degree Murder Armed Robbery Armed Burglary Possession of a Firearm while Engaged in Criminal Offense	True Bill
JUAN RAUL MAS	First Degree Murder Attempted First Degree Murder	True Bill
JUAN RAUL MAS and ALBERT SALAZAR	First Degree Murder Attempted First Degree Murder	True Bill
ARTHUR SCAVELLA	First Degree Murder	True Bill
ALBERTO LAZARO MESA	First Degree Murder Unlawful Possession of a Weapon while Engaged in a Criminal Offense	True Bill
CLARENCE WILLIAM CURRY	First Degree Murder	True Bill

<u>Defendant</u>	<u>Charge</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
CARLOS SIMON, RICHARD CARIDE and LUIS FELIPE PEREZ	First Degree Murder First Degree Murder Armed Burglary Armed Robbery	True Bill
JORGE BLANCO and LUIS FELIPE PEREZ	First Degree Murder Armed Robbery Armed Burglary	True Bill
MARCO ANTONIO FERNANDEZ also known as MARCO FERNANDEZ	First Degree Murder Armed Robbery Possession of a Firearm in the Commission of a Felony Arson Tampering with Physical Evidence	True Bill
FELIX LOPEZ SANTANA	First Degree Murder Possession of a Firearm while Engaged in a Criminal Offense	True Bill
JOHN PATRICK MASTERSON, also known as JACK MASTERSON, also known as JACK ARTH	First Degree Murder First Degree Murder Armed Burglary	True Bill
JESUS ALONSO	First Degree Murder First Degree Murder Armed Robbery Armed Robbery	No True Bill
JOHN THOMAS TUKES	First Degree Murder First Degree Murder Armed Burglary Possession of a Firearm during Commission of a Felony	True Bill
SYDNEY DOWDING	First Degree Murder Attempted First Degree Murder Unlawful Possession of Firearm while Engaged in a Criminal Offense	True Bill
JOHNNY BELL PERRY	First Degree Murder Armed Robbery Burglary	True Bill
WILLIAM WRIGHT and DANILO GOODRICH	First Degree Murder Robbery	True Bill

<u>Defendant</u>	<u>Charge</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
EDWIN DEAN	First Degree Murder Attempted Armed Robbery Armed Burglary with an Assault Possession of a Firearm During a Felony	True Bill
MARIO SOLANO, also known as CARLOS ALVAREZ, also known as "CHARLIE"	First Degree Murder Unlawful Possession of a Firearm while Engaged in a Criminal Offense	True Bill
ERDOGAN DONGEL	First Degree Murder Burglary	True Bill
ROBERT JOHN DOYLE	First Degree Murder First Degree Arson Unlawful Possession of a Firearm by a Convicted Felon Unlawful Possession of a Firearm while Engaged in a Criminal Offense	True Bill
RICARDO ENRIQUE REDONDO, also known as "ARGENTINO", JOSE LUIS OCAZA, JOEL ESTREMER, and GUSTAVO ADOLFO BENEDIT	Aggravated Assault Aggravated Assault Aggravated Assault Kidnapping Attempted First Degree Murder Shooting or Throwing Deadly Missile into Occupied Building or Vehicle First Degree Murder Attempted First Degree Murder Attempted First Degree Murder	True Bill
LEVY NORWOOD	First Degree Murder	True Bill
IQBAL ZABRANI	First Degree Murder	True Bill

<u>Defendant</u>	<u>Charge</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
JUAN RAUL MAS, ALBERT SALAZAR, and NATIVIDAD PABON also known as "JR"	First Degree Murder Attempted First Degree Murder Armed Robbery Shooting within a Vehicle Unlawful Possession of a Firearm during a Criminal Offense	True Bill
FELIX LOPEZ SANTANA, and GARFIELD F. CHIN-QUEE	First Degree Murder Possession of a Firearm Robbery Possession of a Firearm	True Bill
JULIO CESAR RODRIGUEZ	First Degree Murder Aggravated Battery	True Bill

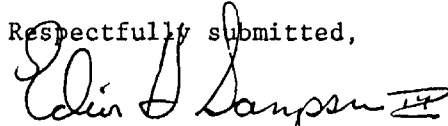
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

On the morning of November 13, 1984, we were chosen to serve as Dade County Grand Jurors for the 1984 Fall Term. We would like to thank the many dedicated individuals who helped us carry out this awesome responsibility. Madeline Camp, our Administrative Assistant, for her efficient and professional handling of an enormous volume of work, our Bailiff Rob Koeppel for always looking after our needs, Tom Petersen, Chief Assistant State Attorney, whose dedication greatly simplified our work, Kathy Rundle, Deputy Chief Assistant State Attorney, whose capable assistance is greatly appreciated, and Chief Judge Gerald Wetherington for his support and humor.

During our Term we heard numerous capital crime cases. We acknowledge the professionalism of the Metro-Dade and the Miami Police Departments in the performance of their duties.

Our Final Report would not have been possible without the work of many persons, many of whom we acknowledged in the Report itself. We also wish to thank Dr. Geoffrey Alpert and Roger Dunham of the University of Miami Department of Sociology, and the interns who assisted us: Barbara Bronis, Camilla Madden and Greg Bilberry.

Respectfully submitted,



Edwin H. Sampson, III, Foreperson
Dade County Grand Jury
Fall Term 1984

ATTEST:



Elsa Leonora Keys
Clerk

Dated: May 14, 1985