



DURHAM



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Updated Gang Assessment

June 2014

Durham Public Schools Data

Student and School Data - Index

- Introduction2
- Putting Data into Context2
- Who Is Durham Public Schools Serving?3
- Enrollment by Grade4
- Graduation Rates4
 - Discrepancies in Graduation Rates6
- School Performance Data7
- High School Dropout Rates8
- Graduation Rates by Subgroups9
- Race and Economic Status of DPS Middle and High School Students10
- Truancy11
- DPS Response to Truancy13
 - The Early Truancy Court Project (TPP) and Early Absenteeism14
- School Resource Officers (SROs) in Schools14
 - SRO Focus Group15
- Gang Activity in Durham Public Schools16
- Students and Gangs18
- School Suspensions & Incidents18
- Specific Violent Incidents in Schools: County-Level Comparison Data21
- School Based Offenses23
- School Gang Policy24
 - Violations of Durham Public Schools Gang Policy25
- Gang Resistance Education and Training (GREAT) in Durham Public Schools25
- Education Gap for Youth Awaiting Trial27
- Summary28

Student and School Data¹

Introduction

The purpose of this section is to examine several aspects of the Durham County public school system, including enrollment, graduation rates, attendance, incidents and suspensions, to determine whether circumstances and conditions exist that may pose challenges to learning and teaching. Educational barriers, many with origins in the home and neighborhood or in schools themselves, result in students who disengage from learning at school and fail to achieve academically. Young people who do not achieve academically are more likely to engage in problem behavior, including involvement with gangs.

Durham youth spend a significant amount of time in school, and researchers Gottfredson & Gottfredson note that *“The school therefore is in a better position than any institution other than the family to influence the behavior of young people. To the extent to which schools provides successful instruction in social competencies and develop attitudes and beliefs that are not conducive to problem behavior or involvement with gangs, gang involvement may be reduced”*²

Schools and communities must work in tandem to address the gang and youth crime problem, and this work must be done in a comprehensive (and cohesive) framework. This section will examine graduation rates, truancy, school resource officers, gang activity, suspensions and incidents, school-based offenses and gang resistance education.

Putting Data into Context

The North Carolina Department of Public Instruction (NCDPI) is charged with implementing the state's public school laws and the State Board of Education's policies and procedures governing pre-kindergarten through 12th grade public education. It oversees 115 school districts, also referred to as Local Education Agencies³ (LEA), and more than 2500 traditional public schools.

Durham County is served by 27 private, 10 charter schools and the 56 schools that comprise LEA #320, the Durham Public School (DPS) district. During School Year 2012-13, the vast majority, approximately 32,500 school-age children, attended a DPS school.

¹ Analysis in this section uses data collected according NCDPI protocol.

² Gottfredson, G. D., & Gottfredson, D. C. (2001). *Gang problems and gang programs in a national sample of schools*. Ellicott City: Gottfredson Associates, Inc.

³ Each LEA has an established boundary, usually defined as the county.

Who Is Durham Public Schools Serving?

For purposes of this report, census and enrollment data for Black, White and Hispanic school age youth will be considered. These groups make up 94% (30,583 of 32,484) of Durham Public School enrollment. This report defines school age population as youth between the ages of 5 and 19.

DPS enrollment for SY 2009-10 does not reflect Durham County's school age population⁴ as illustrated by the table below.

Table B1: Variance in school age population and DPS enrollment

	Percentage school age population in Durham County ⁵	Percentage of total Durham Public Schools enrollment ⁶	Percentage variance (positive or negative)
aBlack	48%	53 %	+ 5%
White	33%	21%	- 12%
Hispanic	19%	19%	0%

The table shows that while Black and Hispanic families proportionally use Durham Public Schools for education of their school age children, White families appear to seek alternatives such as charter, private schools or home schools. 12.5 percent of Durham school age children attend charter schools, compared with 3.3 percent statewide⁷, and this impacts the public school system's ability to mirror racial balance of Durham County.

The table below provides additional demographic information on students enrolled in DPS for the 2009-10 school year.

Table B2: Race and gender of school age population

Race and Gender	School Age Pop ⁸	DPS Enrolled ⁹ (month 1)	<i>Percent of School Age Children enrolled in DPS</i>
BF	10,775	8,467	78.6%
BM	11,000	8,440	76.7%
HF	4,174	3,046	73.7%
HM	4,342	3,067	70.6%
WF	7,160	3,297	46.042.7%
WM	7,699	3,534	45.941.7%

Based on the tabular data, it is apparent that Black and Hispanic families utilize the public school system at greater rates than White families.

⁴ There are variances between racial demographics of school-age Durham youth and racial demographics for Durham County as a whole.

⁵ http://factfinder2.census.gov/bkmk/table/1.0/en/DEC/10_DP/DPDP1/0500000US37063

⁶ <http://www.dpsnc.net/images/pdf/enrollment/enrollment-data-2009-10>

⁷ <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/answer-sheet/wp/2014/02/04/charter-experiment-spinning-out-of-control-in-durham-county/>

⁸ http://factfinder2.census.gov/bkmk/table/1.0/en/DEC/10_DP/DPDP1/0500000US37063

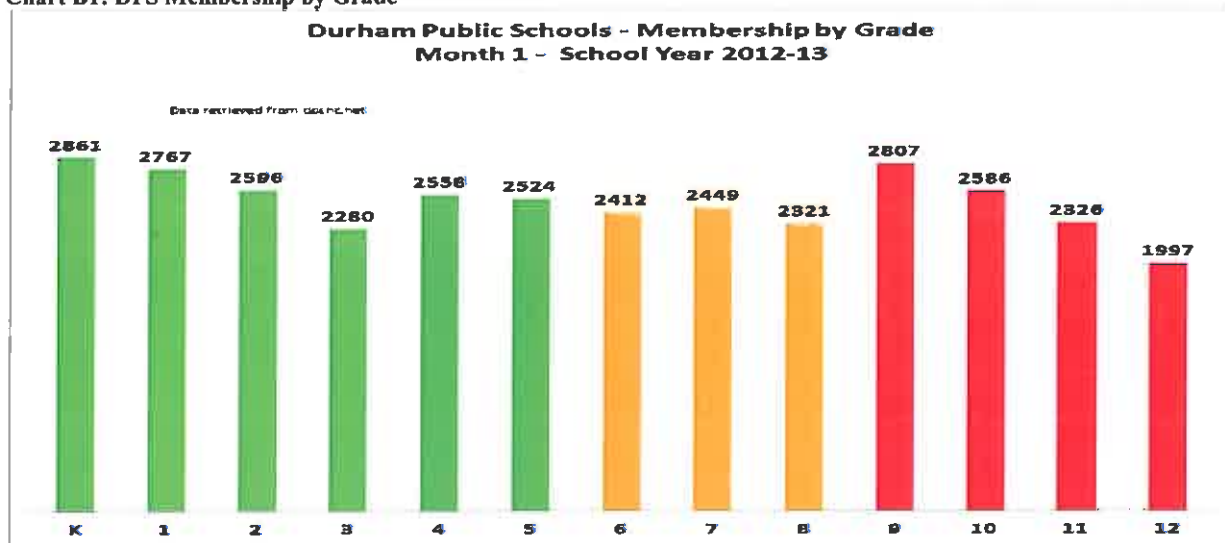
⁹ <http://www.dpsnc.net/images/pdf/enrollment/enrollment-data-2009-10>

Why do White families (and to some extent Black families) seek alternatives to the public school system at greater rates than Hispanic families? Although this report does not attempt to address that question, it can be suggested that perhaps these families can afford private schools and perhaps have transportation resources that allow them to select charter or private schools that are not within walking distance or served by public school busses.

Enrollment by Grade¹⁰

Student enrollment declines three distinct times in Durham County: 20.3% during early elementary (Kindergarten to 3rd grade); 9.2% during late elementary-middle school (4th to 8th grade); and 28.9% during high school (9th to 12th grade).¹¹

Chart B1: DPS Membership by Grade



In regards to risk for gang-involvement, this report will focus on the high school decline.

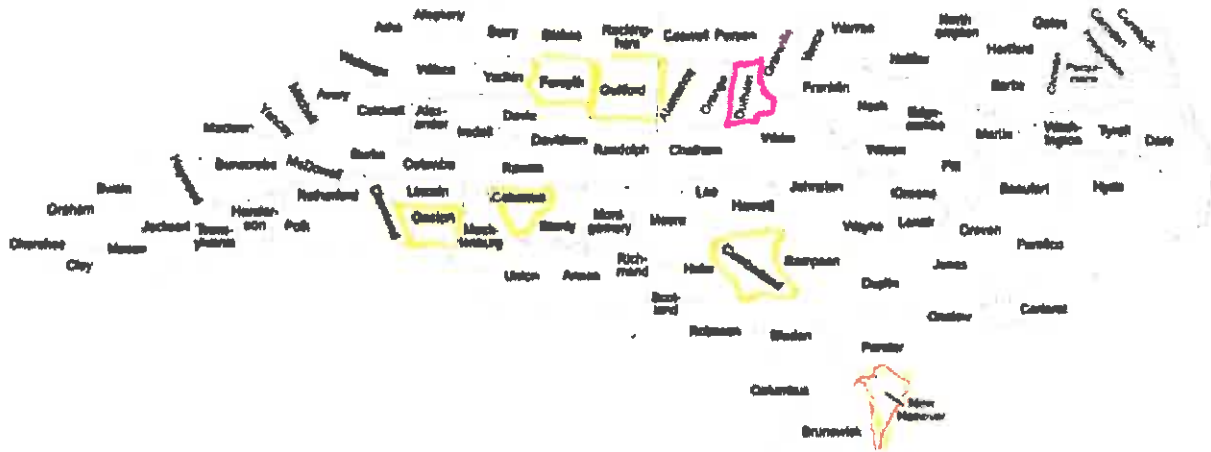
Graduation Rates

While graduation rate is often used as an indicator of institutional success, it is a better indicator of youth crime and gang activity. It is not an accurate indicator of institutional success because public school districts are required to accept students who come from diverse backgrounds and have risk factors. Data shows that many students entering the DPS system have risk factors, the most significant being living at or near poverty levels.

¹⁰ [http://www.dpsnc.net/images/pdf/enrollment/enrollment-data-2012-13 on November 21](http://www.dpsnc.net/images/pdf/enrollment/enrollment-data-2012-13%20on%20November%2021,%202013), 2013.

¹¹ There is a 12.2% increase in student enrollment between 3rd and 4th grade, and an 8.3% increase between 8th and 9th grade. Explanations for the first two declines and the two increases are not addressed in this paper.

To provide perspective on some distinctive aspects of Durham County's demographic, crime and school district data found in the Updated Gang Assessment, six comparison counties were selected based upon overall population size, and racial/ethnic and economic demographics.



The six comparison counties are Cabarrus, Cumberland, Forsyth, Gaston, Guilford, and New Hanover.

The following table compares key descriptive information for each of these counties side by side. Table B3 utilizes census-based demographic information for these comparison counties, the state of North Carolina, and the United States.

Table B3 – 2010 Census Information for Durham County and Comparison Counties¹²

	Population	% Black	% Hispanic	% Population in Poverty	% Spanish Spoken at Home
Durham	267,587	38.0	13.5	18.8	9.2
Cabarrus	178,011	15.3	9.4	13.0	7.1
Cumberland	319,431	36.7	33.4	18.0	7.9
Forsyth	350,670	26.0	12.0	16.4	7.0
Gaston	206,086	15.3	5.9	20.5	n/a
Guilford	488,406	32.5	7.1	17.7	5.9
N. Hanover	202,667	14.8	5.3	18.1	4.9

The latest data from the North Carolina Department of Public Instruction indicates that the 4-

¹² All census data retrieved from <http://www.usa.com/>; to access individual county data, type the county name into the website search bar

year cohort graduation rate for Durham Public Schools was 79.6%.¹³ While DPS graduation rates have annually increased approximately 3% over the last three years, Durham County rates remain lower than rates in similar counties as indicated in the following table.

Table B4: 4-Year Graduation Rates – Durham and comparison counties (percentages)

<i>County</i>	<i>2010-11</i>	<i>2011-12</i>	<i>2012-13</i>
Cabarrus County	84.1	86.3	86.5
Guilford County	83.1	84.5	86.2
Forsyth County	78.8	80.9	82.1
Cumberland County	78.1	80.7	81.7
New Hanover County	73.9	80.4	82.4
Gaston County	75.4	77.8	81.2
Durham County	73.9	76.9	79.6

There is variance in graduation rates of the 13 high schools in the DPS system.¹⁴ Magnet schools have higher graduation rates than traditional schools.

Table B5: 4-Year Graduation Rates for DPS High Schools (percentages)

High School	Type	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13
Durham School of the Arts	magnet ¹⁵	88.2	94.1	91.2
Hillside	traditional	70.8	78.3	83.8
Hillside New Tech High School	magnet	>95	>95	>95
Middle College High School at DTCC	magnet	>95	86.0	93.8
Southern School of Engineering	magnet	90.2	93.8	>95
City of Medicine Academy	magnet	>95	>95	94.6
CE Jordan	traditional	84.5	84.6	85.4
Durham Performance Learning Center	non-traditional	52.2	72.1	79.4
JD Clements Early College	magnet	95	>95	>95
Northern	traditional	75.3	78.6	83.1
Riverside	traditional	79.0	83.1	83.8
Southern School of Energy and Sustainability	magnet	71.0	76.2	81.7

Discrepancies in Graduation Rates

While students have the legal right to quit school at age 16, what causes some to leave school before graduation, while others persevere? Causes of dropout events can be difficult to investigate but are worth exploring. The Annual Report of Dropout Rates uses “reason codes” to identify circumstances surrounding a dropout event. “Attendance¹⁶” accounted for the

¹³ <http://accrpt.ncpublicschools.org/app/2013/cgr/> on November 21, 2013; data is for 2009-10 entering 9th graders graduating in 2012-13 or earlier

¹⁴ Rates shown are 4-year cohort graduation rates for students entering 9th grade and graduating in or before the (indicated) year.

¹⁵ Magnet schools are part of the public school system. Unlike the public schools where students are zoned based on the neighborhood in which you live, magnet schools exist outside of zoned school boundaries and students have to apply to be admitted. There are Magnet schools at the elementary school, middle school, and high school levels.

¹⁶ Attendance code wording is as follows: “The student dropped out due to excessive absences that caused the student to become ineligible or in jeopardy of becoming eligible to receive course credits.”

majority of statewide dropouts, 43.2%, in SY 2010-11.

School Performance Data

The North Carolina End-of-Course Tests (EOC) sample students' knowledge of subject-related concepts specified in the North Carolina Standard Course of Study and provide global estimates of mastery in content areas. EOC testing was enacted by the North Carolina General Assembly in the North Carolina Elementary and Secondary Reform Act of 1984. During the 2011-12 school year, students taking Algebra I, Biology and English I were required to take EOC tests.¹⁷

The following two tables are EOC tests results for Durham's middle schools and high schools.

Table B6: Middle School Composite EOC Trends¹⁸

Schools	2006-2007	2007-2008	2008-2009	2009-2010	2010-2011	2011-2012	Total % Increase 2006-2012
W.G. Pearson			84.6	>95	>95	>95	N/A
Brogden	>95	94.2	>95	>95	91.8	>95	0
Rogers-Herr	>95	94.1	>95	>95	>95	>95	0
Carrington	92.4	94.9	>95	>95	>95	>95	2.6
Chewning	79.2	84.6	73	71.9	83	92.5	13.3
Githens	76	85.9	83.8	86.9	86.6	>95	19
Shepard	66.7	71.9	71	92.6	>95	>95	28.3
Lowe's Grove	56	54.3	60	57.8	84.1	90.9	34.9
Neal	33.3	93.8	91.7	92.7	90.7	90.9	57.6

¹⁷ <http://www.ncpublicschools.org/accountability/testing/eoc/>

¹⁸ Composite % of students at or above grade level for North Carolina End Of Course assessments. Source: <http://www.ncpublicschools.org/accountability/reporting/leaperformancearchive/>; Note that Lakewood Montessori, Duke Hospital School, and Lucas Middle are excluded here due to inadequate data availability

Table B7: High School Composite EOC Trends

Schools	2006-2007	2007-2008	2008-2009	2009-2010	2010-2011	2011-2012	Total % Increase 2006-2012
J.D. Clement Early College	63.6	67.1	74	87.6	86.8	>95	31.4
Hillside	40.8	38	43.8	55.3	53.8	63	22.2
Northern	47.4	44	46.8	59.1	62.8	64.1	16.7
Durham School of the Arts	75.5	75.4	75.4	89	90.6	91.4	15.9
Southern School of Energy and Sust.	40.2	30.1	31.3	41.8	46	54	13.8
Lakeview	14.4	8.9	19.2	27.1	16.8	27.5	13.1
Riverside	62.4	61.2	60.7	71.6	70.8	72.6	10.2
Jordan	61.1	60.3	67	74.3	72.5	69.8	8.7
City of Medicine Academy	n/a*	n/a	59.8	79.3	87.7	90.5	n/a
Hillside New Tech	n/a	61.9	48.8	68.2	64.7	66.7	n/a
Middle College	61.6	61.7	86.2	89.1	87.3	n/a	n/a
Performance Learning Center	n/a	31.7	22.2	56.4	43	43.6	n/a
Southern School of Engineering	n/a	54.7	43	71	70.3	76.8	n/a

*n/a indicates that information was not available

The first table reveals a rise in scores among Durham middle schools; Neal and Lowe’s Grove had the greatest improvement from 2006 to 2012. The second table shows a rise in high school scores, led by J.D. Clement Early College and Hillside high schools.

Compared to statewide and similar county scores, DPS lower than comparison LEAs but is narrowing the gap.

Table B8: State and County EOC Composite Trends

	2006-2007	2007-2008	2008-2009	2009-2010	2010-2011	2011-2012	Total % Increase 2006-2012
New Hanover	69.1	70.8	73.6	83.6	83.1	85.6	16.5
Cabarrus	74.6	76.6	79.6	85	84.5	83.2	8.6
Cumberland	60.8	63.1	66.5	80.5	79	81.2	20.4
Guilford	61.9	63.8	64.4	74.1	75.1	79.7	17.8
Gaston	60.6	64.2	71.3	80	79.2	79.7	19.1
Forsyth	60.9	61.9	65.8	74.3	75.8	77.1	16.2
Durham County	54.4	53.1	55.9	67	67.2	72.5	18.1

High School Dropout Rates¹⁹

Early exiting and disconnecting from school increase the likelihood of becoming gang-involved. The following tables examine dropout rate percentages for Durham and comparison counties and subgroup information for students who graduate (race, gender etc.)

Since the initial gang assessment was completed in 2007, DPS has reduced school risk factors;

¹⁹ Source: Class membership per year- <http://www.dpsnc.net/images/pdf/enrollment/2011-12-adm>; School reported graduation rates-<http://www.ncreportcards.org/src/>; State and county-<http://www.ncpublicschools.org/accountability/reporting/cohortgradrate>

as an example, early exit has decreased from 4.19 to 3.55 students per 100.²⁰

Table B9: Grades 7-13 Dropout Rates (%), Comparison Counties²¹

County	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12
Cabarrus Co.	4.76	4.27	2.54	2.57	2.08
Guilford Co.	3.31	3.13	2.81	2.71	2.15
New Hanover Co.	5.4	4.49	4.91	3.83	2.26
Cumberland Co.	3.61	3.78	3.12	3.12	2.63
Forsyth Co.	5.49	4.76	4.07	3.81	3.38
Gaston Co.	5.69	5.6	4.43	4.46	3.43
Durham	4.19	4.26	4.32	3.67	3.55

Graduation Rates by Subgroups²²

Table B10: DPS Subgroup Graduation Rates

Subgroup	Percent
All students	79.6
Male	75.0
Female	84.4
American Indian	66.7
Asian	83.6
Black	78.1
Hispanic	66.8
Two or more races	87.9
White	89.6
Economically Disadvantaged	72.6
Limited English Proficiency	54.3
Students with disabilities	54.3
Academically gifted	>95

Females graduate at higher rates than males, while students who have limited English proficiency or disabilities have the lowest graduation rates. Black, Hispanic and American Indian students graduate at lower rates than Asian and white students.

²⁰ A list of Durham Public Schools (DPS) Approaches/Initiatives to Improve Graduation Rates can be found in the Appendix.

²¹ Source: <http://www.ncpublicschools.org/docs/research/discipline/reports/consolidated/2011-12/consolidated-report.pdf>

²² <http://accrpt.ncpublicschools.org/app/2013/cgr/> on November 21, 2013; data is for 2009-10 entering 9th graders graduating in 2012-13 or earlier

Race and Free & Reduced Lunch Status of DPS Middle and High School Students

Students of color have lower graduation rates than white students in Durham Public Schools. National studies also indicate that students from lower-income homes have lower rates of graduation.²³ An indicator of low income is eligibility for free and reduced lunches; a way to calculate the level of impoverished students is to calculate the percentage of students who qualify for such assistance. The following tables show ethnicity and “free or reduced lunch” data for DPS middle schools and high schools.

Table B11: DPS Middle Schools: Race/Free & Reduced Lunch²⁴

School	Total Membership	White	African-American/Black	Hispanic/Latino	% with free & reduced lunch
Rogers-Herr	641	17.0%	59.0%	17.8%	43.4%
Carrington	1249	31.3%	45.0%	17.0%	51.4%
Lakewood Mont.	181	24.8%	43.6%	26.0%	54.4%
Brogden	676	23.8%	49.0%	22.8%	64.0%
Githens	956	20.3%	49.4%	22.0%	65.1%
Shepard	496	1.6%	82.5%	15.1%	70.1%
Pearson Middle	311	3.5%	63.7%	32.8%	79.0%
Lowe's Grove	641	6.3%	67.9%	22.3%	82.3%
Chewning	572	8.7%	56.9	30.8%	82.4%
Neal	617	5.3%	63.9%	27.1%	85.6%

DPS middle school data indicates that, in most cases, schools with higher percentages of African American/Black and Hispanic/Latino students have higher percentages of students receiving free and reduced lunches. It is possible that these schools have a greater number of students with low socio-economic means, which translates into higher dropout rates in later years.²⁵

²³ [Urban Institute: How Minority Youth Are Being Left Behind by the Graduation Rate Crisis](#) by Gary Orfield, Daniel Losen, Johanna Wald, Christopher B. Swanson (Feb2004).

²⁴ <http://www.dpsnc.net/images/pdf/enrollment/2011-12-adm>, and <http://www.ncreportcards.org/src/>. And <http://www.dpsnc.net/about-dps/reports-publications/free-and-reduced-lunch>; membership from 2011/12 month

1

²⁵ <http://www.tcrecord.org/library> ID Number: 16529

Table B12: DPS High Schools: Race/Free & Reduced Lunch²⁶

School	Total Membership	White	African-American/Black	Hispanic/Latino	% free/reduced lunch
Middle College	103	51.4%	31.0%	8.7%	10.7%
Jordan	1792	37.2%	36.4%	17.0%	32.9%
Durham School of the Arts	1505	33.8%	40.9%	17.4%	40.3%
Riverside	1815	33.8%	44.6%	18.0%	48.4%
Northern	1426	25.5%	55.6%	14.3%	50.6%
Early College	350	3.1%	76.8%	14.9%	51.6%
Hillside New Tech	349	3.7%	85.4%	6.8%	52.6%
Southern School of Engineering	215	1.4%	86.5%	10.2%	55.7%
Performance Learning	150	7.3%	72.0%	16.7%	61.1%
Hillside	1326	2.7%	83.3%	11.2%	65.3%
CMA	294	7.8%	69.7%	13.3%	68.3%
Southern	1048	5.3%	70.0%	22.4%	68.3%
Lakeview	122	6.6%	81.1%	Not available	73.2%

While there is not a perfect correlation among the high schools, the six schools with the lowest percent of students qualifying for free and reduced lunches have a student body that is less than 65% minority and the seven schools with the highest percents of free and reduced lunches are more than 80% minority students.

Many students in the DPS system have a disproportionate number of risk factors; qualifying for free and reduced lunch indicates that many live at or near the poverty level or come from single-parent households. These are significant risk factors for gang-involvement.

Truancy

Truancy is another risk factor for crime and gang-related problems. Some studies show that truancy is often the first step towards school failure, criminal activity and gang affiliation.²⁷

One way to determine the level of truancy is by examining the Average Daily Attendance (ADA) rates for school districts and individual schools. The NC Department of Public Instruction monitors each LEA's truancy rate, and ranks them from best (1) to worst attendance (115). Durham ranked 72 during the three year period ending in 2012-13. Durham was in the middle when compared to the previously identified comparison counties.

²⁶ <http://www.dpsnc.net/images/pdf/enrollment/2011-12-adm>, and <http://www.ncreportcards.org/src/>. And <http://www.dpsnc.net/about-dps/reports-publications/free-and-reduced-lunch>: membership from 2011/12 month 1

²⁷ Garry, E. M., *Truancy: First Step to a Lifetime of Problems*, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Washington, D.C., October, 1996.; <http://www.schoolengagement.org/index.cfm/index.cfm/Truancy>; http://www.dccrimepolicy.org/Studies/images/Final-Truancy-Court-Diversion_1.pdf

Table B13: Average Daily Attendance for Durham and Comparison Counties²⁸

County	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	3-year Avg.
Cumberland Co.	93	99	93	98
Forsyth Co.	82	72	88	84
New Hanover Co.	91	79	65	82
Durham	70	70	75	72
Gaston Co.	44	64	57	58
Guilford Co.	47	38	40	41
Cabarrus Co.	29	37	19	28

NCDPI collects data for individual schools as well. Elementary, middle and high schools are ranked between 1 (best attendance) and 2,375 (poorest attendance).

Table B14: Attendance Rankings at Durham Middle Schools²⁹

Middle School	NC Rank (out of 2,375 schools) 3-yr average ending SY 2012-13
Neal	2,206*
Brogden	2,149*
Githens	2,014
Lowe's Grove	1,912
Lakewood Mont.	139
Carrington	1,291
Pearson Middle	738
Rogers-Herr	98
Shepard	75
Chewning (now called School for Creative Studies)	2,262*

* Denotes bottom 10% in state

²⁸ <http://www.dpi.state.nc.us/fbs/accounting/data/>

²⁹ <http://www.dpi.state.nc.us/fbs/accounting/data/>

Table B15: Attendance Rankings at Durham High Schools³⁰

High Schools	NC Rank (out of 2,375 schools) 3-yr average ending SY 2012-13
Southern	2,295*
Southern School of Engineering	1,033
Riverside	2,135
Performance Learning Center	2,332*
Northern	2,268*
Middle College	9
Lakeview	2,370*
Jordan	1,877
J.D. Clement Early College	22
Hillside New Tech	411
Hillside	2,273*
Durham School of the Arts	1,108
City of Medicine Academy	323

* denotes bottom 10% in state

Three middle schools (School for Creative Studies, Brogden and Neal) and five high schools (Hillside, Northern, Performance Learning Center, Southern, Lakeview) rank in the bottom 10%.³¹ Of the thirty elementary schools, three elementary schools rank in the bottom 20%: YE Smith at 1974, CC Spaulding at 2056 and Fayetteville Street at 2125. For a complete listing of elementary school rankings see <http://www.dpi.state.nc.us/fbs/accounting/data/>.

DPS Response to Truancy

In a truancy report to the Gang Reduction Strategy Steering Committee (May, 2013),³² DPS officials cited the NC Compulsory Attendance Law (G.S. 115C-378)³³ but not the system or school truancy rankings.

According to the report, certain “triggers” prompt DPS action for unexcused absences:

- 3 – Teacher/school contact parent and make referral to school social worker

- 6 – Principal mails “six day letter” to parent; student referred to school-based truancy court. A truancy docket is prepared of students to appear before the truancy court team. Parents are invited to the meeting where the court team reviews grades, behavior and other pertinent information in order to develop an action plan. When cases are “chronic,” the student and parents are provided with additional resources (i.e., mentoring, tutoring, mental health services and after school programs etc.) The truancy court team follows up to monitor the student’s progress and the effectiveness

³⁰ *ibid*

³¹ Lakeview is an alternative school

³² Theresa McGowan, Prevention Services Coordinator of Student, Family and Community Services gave a Power Point presentation – “Durham Public Schools Truancy Report” on May 1, 2013.

³³ The law states that children between the ages of 7 and 16 years “shall attend school continuously for a period equal to the time which the public school to which the child is assigned shall be in session.”

of interventions.

- 10 – Principal and District Attorney mail a certified “ten day letter” to parent; attendance profile generated by a DPS data manager. The parent/guardian is subject to prosecution under North Carolina laws.³⁴

The Early Truancy Court Project (TPP) and Early Absenteeism

Duke University has been conducting the TPP study of Durham public schools since 2010, examining patterns of absenteeism from kindergarten through third grade. Early findings have not found a link between truancy and crimes in schools. It has been determined that patterns of absenteeism and truancy start as early as first grade³⁵, and “chronic truancy” in second and third grade increases the likelihood of eventual dropout by 15%.³⁶ Early school engagement and retention programs are suggested as ways to establish positive attendance patterns early on.

School Resource Officers (SROs) in Schools

According to the North Carolina Department of Public Safety, *“A School Resource Officer (SRO) program places law enforcement officers in schools with the goal of creating and maintaining safe, secure and orderly learning environments for students, teachers and staff”*

School Resource Officers work in schools to preserve student and staff safety as well as to provide opportunities for positive interactions between students and law enforcement agents. Both functions play an important role in reducing the negative effects of gang membership. Every traditional high school in Durham has two SROs and most middle schools have one full-time SRO. Due to their daily interactions with students, SROs have an important perspective on the ways in which gang membership or activity may impact schools.

There is some concern that the presence of SRO’s in schools increases the number of arrests and court referrals for minor misconduct.³⁷ Consequences for youth include deportation, ineligibility for financial aid, prohibition from participation in high school athletics, eviction, and reduced employment opportunities.

³⁴ According to data provided by DPS on May 13, 2014, there were 1,818 10-day letters sent in SY 2012-13

³⁵ Karl L Alexander, Doris R Entwisle & Carrie S. Horsey. “From First Grade Forward: Early Foundations of High School Dropout”. *Sociology of Education*, Vol. 70, No. 2 (April 1997), p 87-107. Accessed via <http://tprc.childandfamilypolicy.duke.edu/projects/truancy-prevention.php>.

³⁶ Philip Cook, Amy Schulting, & Kenneth Dodge. “The Truancy Prevention Project”. <http://tprc.childandfamilypolicy.duke.edu/projects/truancy-prevention.php>.

³⁷ <http://www.legalaidnc.org/Public/Learn/News/2014/complaint-unregulated-policing-in-wake-county-schools.aspx>

SRO Focus Group

As part of this assessment, a focus group was conducted with nine School Resource Officers regarding their perceptions of gangs. A brief preliminary survey was conducted prior to beginning the group discussion; highlights from this survey follow:

Note: The participants included five officers who work in high schools, four who work in middle schools, and two who work in elementary schools (note that some officers may work or have experience in multiple schools).

Perceptions of the Current Status of Gangs in Schools:

When SROs were asked whether gang membership was nonexistent, a small problem, a moderate problem, or a major problem:

4 officers said "a small problem"

5 officers "a moderate problem"

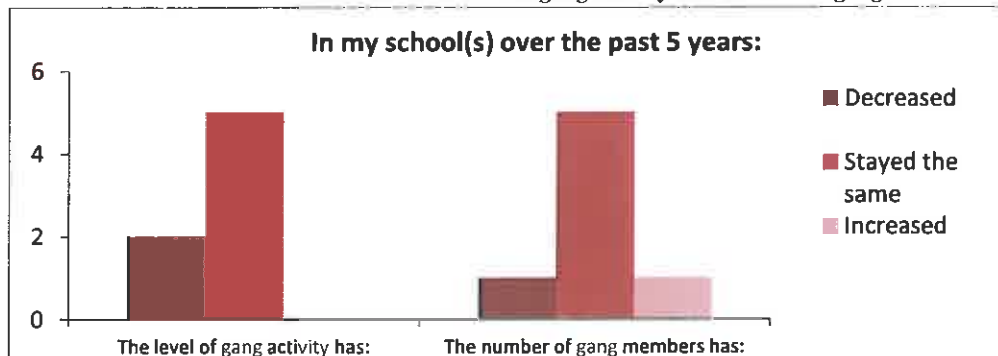
No officers selected that gangs were either nonexistent or a major problem

When asked about level of gang activity and size of gang membership in schools:

Gang activity: 2 SROs saw a decrease, 5 said it was the same³⁸

Gang membership: 1 saw a decrease, 5 said it stayed the same, and 1 saw an increase³⁹.

Chart B1 - SRO views on level of gang activity and number of gang members

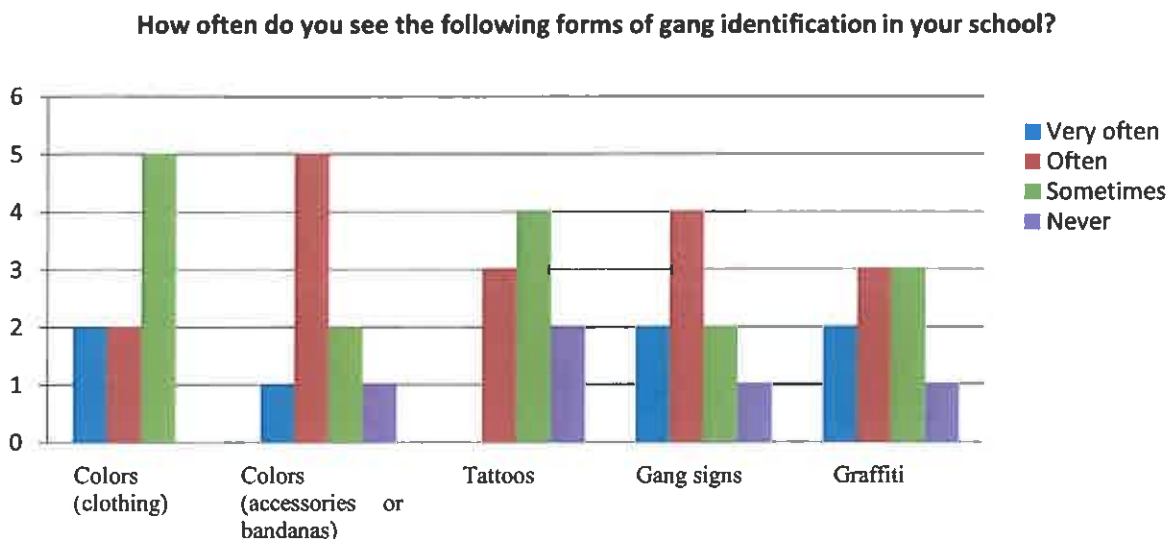


³⁸ 2 SROs did not answer.

³⁹ 2 SROs did not answer.

When asked how often they see Gang Identifiers in their schools:

Chart B2 - SRO views on gang identifiers in schools



Gang Activity in Durham Public Schools

It is very difficult to ascertain the level of gang activity in Durham Public Schools. The “hard data” shown later in this report is inconclusive. That data tracks the number of student violations of Durham Public School’s Gang Policy for school years 2008-09 to 2011-12, a 4-year period. Given that the numbers are small, and vary widely (anywhere from 1 to 21 violations per year) no valid conclusions can be drawn.

A second source of information is the Youth Risk Behavior Survey; a national school-based survey produced by the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) and administered every other year.⁴⁰ The most recent release of survey data (2011) from this instrument shows that 58% of respondents of high school age (n=320) in the spring of 2011 ***“strongly agree or agree that gang activity is a problem at their school”***. CDC reports that this percentage is a statistically significant difference from the state-wide result, which was 40%. In the 2009 survey, 54.0% Durham respondents answered in this fashion compared to 36.4% statewide. The question was not asked in 2007 in the CDC survey.

⁴⁰ http://www.healthdurham.org/index.php?page=health_recent

A third source of information is the results of a School Resource Officer (SRO) focus group survey, conducted in July 2013.

When asked whether gang membership in each SRO's assigned school was nonexistent, a small problem, a moderate problem, or a major problem:

- 4 officers selected "a small problem", 5 officers selected "a moderate problem"
- No officers selected that gangs were either nonexistent or a major problem

A fourth source of information on gang activity in DPS is the Staff Perceptions Survey administered to all middle school and high school teachers and certified staff in October 2013. Of the 1,383 teachers and certified staff, 541 responded to the survey, for a return rate of 39%.

When asked if gang members were present in their schools and if gang activity was present in their school, the respondents provided the following answers:

Table B16 – DPS Staff Perception Survey - Gang Members Present vs. Gang Activity Present

	<i>Gang Members Present</i>	<i>Gang Activity Present</i>
Yes	352 (65%)	253 (47%)
No	79 (15%)	119 (22%)
Don't Know/Unsure	110 (20%)	169 (31%)

When asked about the extent to which gangs were a problem in their schools, the respondents provided the following answers:

Table B17 – DPS Staff Perception Survey – Extent to Which Gangs are a Problem at My School

Major Problem	19 (3.5%)
Moderate Problem	135 (24.9%)
Minor Problem	236 (43.6%)
Not a Problem	134 (24.7%)
Not Present	17 (3.1%)

Based on the survey results, 71% of staff believe gangs are no more than a minor problem in DPS. The Staff Perceptions Survey does not give any indication of how many gang members might be present in Durham Public Schools. DPS chose not to include specific school indicators, so the survey does not indicate which schools have more gang members or more gang activity based on staff perceptions.

We will now explore how truancy, gang policies and school suspensions impact Durham's gang problem.

Students and Gangs

According to the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Provision (OJJDP);

Youth in elementary and middle school consistently exhibit early warning signs of at-risk behaviors before their first detention. Behaviors include truancy, a drop in grades, and evidence of mental health issues. Families believe that the school system is a critical access point for teachers, school counselors, and school resource officers to intervene.⁴¹

Several school risk factors strongly correlate with gang membership, including: poor school performance, school disciplinary actions, truancy, and eligibility for free & reduced lunch.⁴²

Antisocial activities range from gang-related crimes, usually committed by members of street gangs, to delinquent acts committed by members of starter (social) gangs made up of students who are physically (suspended or expelled) or psychologically (lack a sense of belonging) disconnected from schools⁴³.

Membership in starter gangs further devalues education and reduces the effort to succeed in school, and increases early school exit⁴⁴, smoking weed, and susceptibility to criminal street gangs. Youth adjudicated in juvenile courts are seven times more likely to commit crime as an adult⁴⁵, even though background checks for employment, housing and college financial aid do not reveal most crimes committed prior to the age of 16. If there are no long-term consequences for juvenile delinquency, what causes some youth to become further imbedded into gangs?

School Suspensions & Incidents⁴⁶

Intended outcomes of school suspension policies are to maintain a safe learning environment

⁴¹ *OJJDP Family Listening Sessions – Executive Summary*: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice; (July 2013)

⁴² A complete list of risk factors may be found at: <http://www.nationalgangcenter.gov/SPT/Risk-Factors>; more in-depth information is provided at: <https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/ojjdp/203555.pdf>

⁴³ Thornberry, Terrence et al. "Gang Membership, Delinquent Peers, and Delinquent Behavior". http://www.ojjdp.gov/jibulletin/9810_2/intro.html

⁴⁴ Browning, Katharine et al. "Highlights of Findings from the Rochester Youth Development Study". <https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/fs99103.pdf>

⁴⁵ Vitaro, Frank. "Kids From Juvenile Justice System 7 Times More Likely to Commit Criminal Acts, Study Finds." University of Montreal. <http://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2008/11/081118122101.htm>

⁴⁶ Source: All discipline data from <http://www.ncreportcards.org/src/>

with fewer distractions and to render a change in behavior of the student being suspended.

Unfortunately there are unintended consequences of suspension that impact students, families, neighborhoods and law enforcement. The American Academy of Pediatrics found that students who are suspended are often from a population that is the least likely to have supervision at home, in need of professional help and with major home-life stresses.⁴⁷

Legal Aid of North Carolina's Advocates for Children's Services filed a complaint against DPS in early 2013 regarding the disproportionate suspension numbers of minorities and students with disabilities. The goal of the complaint was to formulate district-wide resolutions to the problem, with implementation of more effective guidelines and alternatives to suspension. DPS responded by hosting a series of Community Conversations at various locations in the community. These meetings provided an opportunity for the school district and the community to identify alternatives to these types of suspensions. DPS is created a Final Report based on findings from the Community Conversations. It is available on their website.

Suspensions of Durham Public School students are required to be in compliance with law and Board policy. According to DPS policy,

"Students may be suspended or expelled from school only in compliance with law and Board policy. Furthermore, all schools shall develop and implement viable alternatives to out-of-school suspension or expulsion. The Board encourages the use of in-school alternatives as preferable to out-of-school suspension. When student discipline is recommended, the following procedures shall apply. The Superintendent is authorized to develop administrative procedures implementing this policy".

The school district also authorizes principals to suspend students for 10 days or less for violation of the Code of Student Conduct or local school rules. There are far more short term suspensions than long term suspensions in Durham Public Schools.

The following tables detail short- and long-term suspensions, and number of reportable acts for DPS middle and high schools for SY 2011-12.⁴⁸ The tables are sorted by reportable acts of crime or violence, from least to most.

⁴⁷ <http://pediatrics.aapublication.org/cgi/content/full.112/5/1206>

⁴⁸ Source: All discipline data from <http://www.ncreportcards.org/src/>

Table B18 – Middle School Suspensions & Incidents, 2011-2012

Middle School	Short-Term Suspensions*	Long-Term Suspensions*	Acts of crime or violence*
Lakewood Montessori	11.73	0	0
Rogers-Herr	3.96	0	0
Carrington	11.25	0	0.32
W.G. Pearson Middle	17.32	0	0.33
Brogden	23.96	0.44	0.59
Shepard	15.95	0	1.23
Githens	47.94	0.41	2.16
Chewning	24.83	0.67	2.52
Neal ⁴⁹	66.5	0.16	2.6
Lowe's Grove	31.3	0.16	3.13

Table B19 – High School Suspensions & Incidents, 2011-2012

High School	Short-Term Suspensions*	Long-Term Suspensions*	Acts of crime or violence*
J.D. Clement Early College	0.58	0	0
Hillside New Tech	9.59	0	0
Middle College	0	0	0
Durham School of the Arts	8.41	0.07	0.4
City of Medicine Academy	11.72	0	0.69
Hillside	48.38	0.69	1.08
Jordan	40.96	0.57	1.14
Southern School of Engineering	16.91	0.97	1.45
Riverside	20.41	0.23	1.49
Performance Learning Center	44.22	0	2.04
Southern	51.2	0.5	2.1
Lakeview	N/A	N/A	6.03
Northern	46.53	1.25	6.19

* per 100 students

Some schools, both middle and high school, dispense short term suspensions at much higher rates than others. As an example, Githens has fewer acts of crime or violence than Chewning (2.16 to 2.52) but twice as many short term suspensions (47.94 to 24.83). It suggests that either individual schools have different “types “of students or that some administrators rely on suspensions to deal with disruptive behavior, rather than implementing available alternative measures.

In March, 2013, the NCDPI Board of Education issued a report to the Joint Legislative Education

⁴⁹ This seems to be an extremely high rate, but is posted on <http://www.ncreportcards.org/src/schDetails.jsp?Page=3&pSchCode=355&pLEACode=320&pYear=2011-2012>

The author cannot verify information posted on the NC Report Cards website

Oversight Committee based on the idea that a relationship exist between school crime, suspensions and early exits. It consolidated data on school crimes, suspensions and early exits during SY2011-2012:

“A small, but significant, positive correlations have been found for the relationships between crime and short-term suspension, between crime and dropout, and between short-term suspension and dropout. The correlations are not large, and the existence of a correlation does not mean that one factor leads to another. However, we can say that the factors are associated with one another”⁵⁰

The report noted that “reportable acts” of crime and violence in grades K through 12 have decreased more than 4% statewide: reportable acts for K through 12 were 7.63 per 1000 students, and 14.15 per 1000 high school students.

Durham high schools rates were 40% higher than the state rate, and highest among similar counties. Comparison data for middle schools was not available in the report.

Table B20 – Reportable Acts for DPS and Comparison Counties (High Schools) (2011-12)

County	ADM Grades 9-13	Reportable Acts	Reportable Act Rate per 1000 Students for 2011-12
Gaston Co.	9,181	63	6.86
Guilford Co.	22,088	320	14.49
Cabarrus Co.	8,387	124	14.78
New Hanover Co.	7,246	112	15.46
Forsyth Co.	15,054	265	17.60
Cumberland Co.	15,597	282	18.08
Durham Co.	9,518	183	19.23

Specific Violent Incidents in Schools: County-Level Comparison Data⁵¹

No data is available for individual schools. However, the following table reflects rates of different types of incidents in different jurisdictions.

⁵⁰ North Carolina State Board of Education Department of Public Instruction “Report to the Joint Legislative Education Oversight Committee” Consolidated Data Report for 2011-2012: March 2013

⁵¹ Source: “Crime & Violence Table C-5 [Year]”, <http://www.ncpublicschools.org/research/discipline/reports/>

Table B21 - Specific Incident Counts in Comparison County School Districts, 2011-2012

County	Total # of Acts	Total Acts per 1000 students	A R	A W	A P	B T	B S	P A	P S	P F	P W	R	R W	S A	S O	I M
Durham	333	10.299	0	7	13	0	0	25	136	4	142	1	0	5	0	0
Cabarrus	204	7.029	2	1	8	1	0	20	115	0	51	0	0	5	1	0
Cumberland	587	11.492	2	3	150	5	0	28	162	3	219	0	0	13	1	0
Forsyth	484	9.271	2	0	37	5	2	47	246	1	141	0	0	0	3	0
Gaston	117	3.811	0	0	7	4	0	6	66	2	31	0	0	1	0	0
Guilford	589	8.228	0	3	74	5	6	56	225	1	205	0	0	12	2	0
N. Hanover	165	6.745	0	2	15	0	0	16	77	2	50	0	1	1	1	0
AR- Assault resulting in serious injury AW- Assault involving use of a weapon AP- Assault on school personnel BT- Bomb threat BS- Burning School Building PA- Possession of an alcoholic beverage PS- Possession of controlled substance								PF- Possession of a firearm PW- Possession of a weapon R- Rape RW- Robbery with a dangerous weapon SA- Sexual Assault SO- Sexual Offense IM- Taking indecent liberties with a minor								

Durham County has a higher rate of total acts per 1,000 students than all of the comparison county school districts except Cumberland. In Durham, the most common acts in SY 2011-12 were “possession of a weapon” (43% of the total) and “possession of a controlled substance” (41% of the total).

The following table illustrates five-year incident trends in DPS schools ending in SY 2011-12.

Table B22- Specific Incident Trends in Durham County

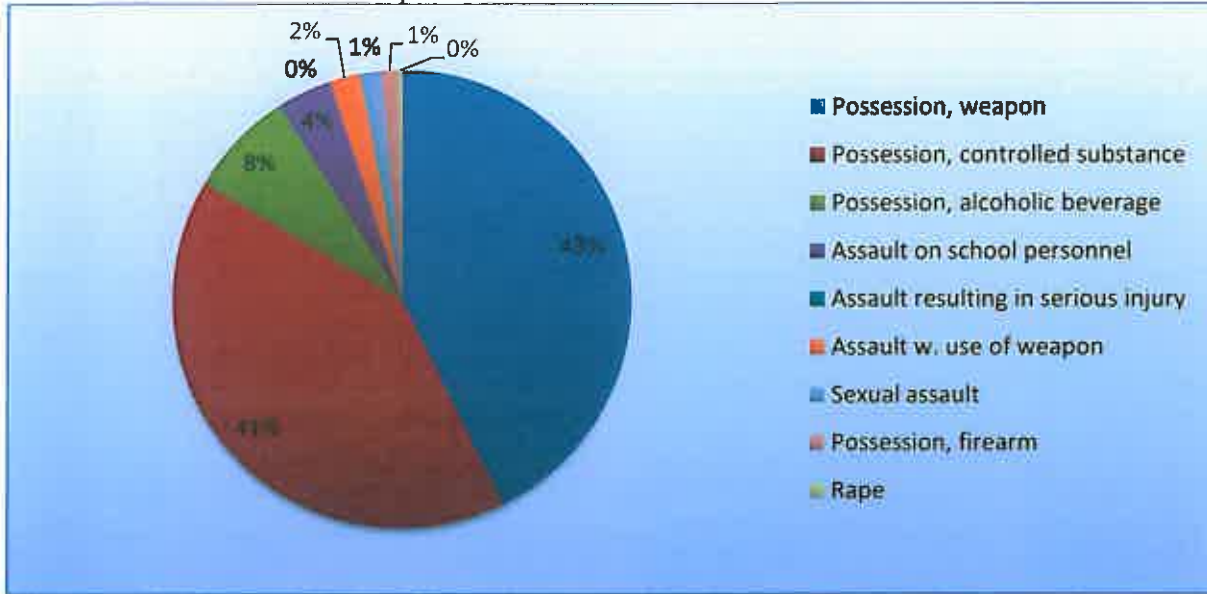
Year	Total # of Acts	Total Acts per 1000 students	A R	A W	A P	B T	B S	P A	P S	P F	P W	R	R W	S A	S O	I M
2011-12	333	10.299	0	7	13	0	0	25	136	4	142	1	0	5	0	0
2010-11	277	8.671	1	4	11	1	0	19	94	1	135	0	0	10	1	0
2009-10	284	8.979	5	8	9	8	0	13	112	4	110	0	0	8	0	0
2008-09	341	10.693	4	10	9	4	0	35	142	5	125	0	0	3	0	0
2007-08	388	12.227	9	15	41	6	2	21	116	3	147	0	0	17	2	0
AR- Assault resulting in serious injury AW- Assault involving use of a weapon AP- Assault on school personnel BT- Bomb threat BS- Burning School Building PA- Possession of an alcoholic beverage PS- Possession of controlled substance								PF- Possession of a firearm PW- Possession of a weapon R- Rape RW- Robbery with a dangerous weapon SA- Sexual Assault SO- Sexual Offense IM- Taking indecent liberties with a minor								

The highest rate occurred in SY 2007-08 when there were 12.28 total acts per 1,000 students,

and the lowest rate was SY 2010-11 at 8.67 per 1,000 students. The most common acts for the 5-year period were “possession of a weapon” and “possession of a controlled substance”. Of interest are the number of incidents labeled as “assault on school personnel” in 2007-08 (41) and the drop of that number to 13 in 2011-12.

The chart below is another illustration of reportable incidents in Durham Public Schools for SY 2011-12.

Chart B3- 2011-2012 Distribution of Reportable Incidents in Durham Public Schools



Note that possession of a weapon and possession of a controlled substance are the two most common types of reportable incident in Durham Public Schools, and add up to a combined 84% of all incidents in 2011-2012.

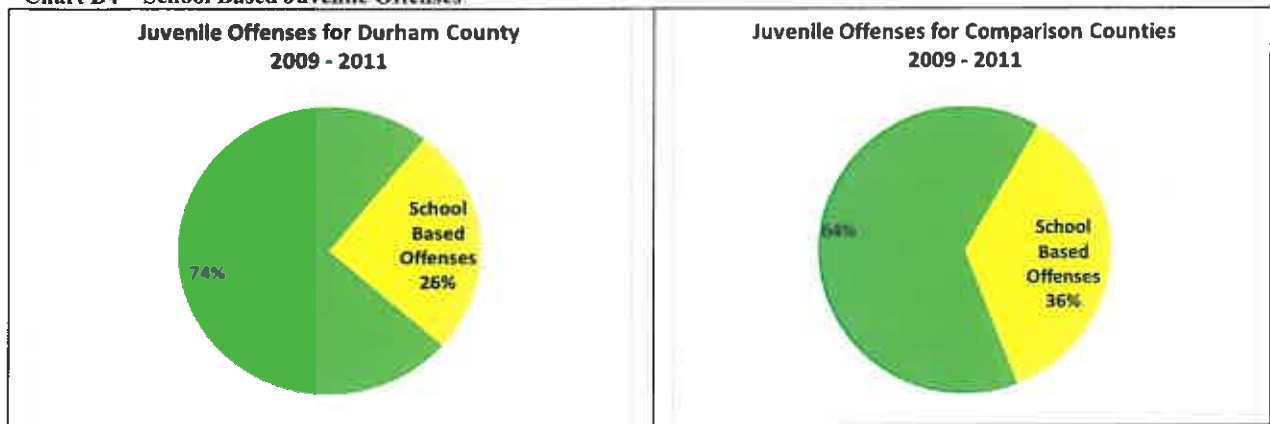
School Based Offenses

Juvenile offenses can be classified as either school based offenses or non-school based offenses. In North Carolina, 41% of juvenile offenses were classified as school based for the years 2009 to 2011.⁵²

The charts below indicate that the percentage of school based offenses for Durham juveniles is less than the state average and less than the average for comparison counties.

⁵² School based offense data was retrieved from the Annie E. Casey Foundation Kids County Data Center on September 16, 2013.

Chart B4 – School Based Juvenile Offenses



School Gang Policy

Durham Public Schools has an extensive gang policy which prohibits “any act which furthers gangs or gang-related activities”. Prohibited activities are described fully in the policy, which is included in the appendix, but in every case require that the intent be clearly gang-driven. This includes gang-related clothing and personal identifiers, verbal or non-verbal communication, defacing of school property, intimidation or threats, inciting other students to violence or intimidation, solicitation for gang membership, or committing any other violation of school policies or the law in connection with gang activity. (See appendix for the full policy).

For the current gang policy to apply, the school must know that student’s *intent* was gang-driven. This creates a cautious approach intended to avoid mislabeling children as gang members. Since gang-related symbols are popular in the media and may be emulated by students who are not fully aware of the implications, this is reasonable caution. The gang policy is designed to address behaviors that are in violation of the policy.

The Staff Perceptions Survey referred to above asked an open-ended question on the effectiveness of the DPS gang policy. Of the 235 teachers and certified staff who provided a response, 32% said the policy is adequate/effective, 14% said it is inadequate/ineffective and another 14% indicated they did not know. The remaining answers fell into other categories.

Violations of Durham Public Schools Gang Policy

There are very few reportable violations of DPS gang policy over the past 3 years. Part of this can be attributed to changes in policy that occurred after a class action lawsuit was filed against the district in 2006. The lawsuit contended that students' civil rights were violated by targeting black and Hispanic students for serious offenses and adopting a discriminatory gang policy that allowed principals and school resource officers to label students as gang members without proof.

The lawsuit was settled in 2011, and as a result revisions were made to the existing policy that included students to receive warnings and interventions for a violation prior to a student being suspended for a first offense.

DPS maintains that the data shown accurately reflects the violations of gang policy for the years shown.

Table B23 – DPS Policy Violations of Gang Activity⁵³

<i>School Year</i>	<i>School</i>	<i>Number of Acts</i>
2008-09	Jordan	1
	Southern	2
	2008-09 Total	3
2009-10	Lowes Grove	1
	2009-10 Total	1
2010-11	Neal	3
	Hillside	3
	Riverside	9
	Southern	6
	2010-11 Total	21
2011-12	Carrington	1
	Neal	2
	Northern	1
	Southern	7
	2011-12 Total	11

Gang Resistance Education and Training (GREAT) in Durham Public Schools

The Gang Resistance Education and Training (GREAT) Program is a national gang and

⁵³ Data provided by Tina Ingram, Director of DPS Security Department, on October 9, 2013

delinquency prevention program that is provided to middle and elementary school students by law enforcement agencies. GREAT seeks to help students avoid gang membership, violence and delinquent behavior and teaches students how to resist gang pressure and develop positive attitudes concerning law enforcement.

The Durham County Sheriff's Office (DCSO) offers the GREAT program to 4th and 6th grade students in selected schools. Two deputies teach the program full time during the school year. In addition, middle school School Resource Officers (SRO's) teach the program to students at their schools, however, this is not their primary responsibility in their schools. DCSO regularly teaches the GREAT curriculum to 3,000 students per year.

According to the DCSO, there is no system in place to gauge long-term change in students who completed the program. Rather, performance of this program is measured by the numbers of enrolled and the number of those who completed the program. Other measurements are feedback from students/staff and the ratio of GREAT officers to the number of students enrolled.

The Durham Police Department (DPD) also administers the GREAT program in schools based on a "GREAT Agency Agreement" between DPD and the school district. In FY 2013-14 the GREAT program cost the City \$934,638 to assign officers to five middle and secondary schools, and 17 elementary schools. The agreement is up for renewal at the end of each fiscal year, and can be terminated by either party with a thirty day written notice.

DPD teaches the same curriculum with the same goals as DCSO. It is a widely-held opinion that the DPD GREAT officers also serve as school security officers, much like the School Resource Officers.

In the summer of 2013, there was some discussion of the funding set aside by the City for the GREAT program with regards to high needs in other areas of the overall public safety budget. Durham Public Schools objected to any cuts, noting the overall value of the GREAT officers and program including the positive influence on students, strong impact on prevention and intervention, resources, mentoring, serving as a positive role model, and serving as a valuable resource to families and the school community. The City Council voted to fund the program again for fiscal year 2013-14.

One older (2004) evaluation of the GREAT program⁵⁴ found that the program did not reduce gang membership or future delinquent behavior. A more recent (2012) evaluation of the program⁵⁵ found that when the program is implemented as intended it has the intended

⁵⁴ the June 2004 US Department of Justice National Institute of Justice "Evaluating GREAT: A School-Based Gang Prevention Program"

⁵⁵ "Is GREAT effective? Does the program prevent gang joining? Results from the National Evaluation of GREAT" Esbenson, Peterson, Taylor, Osgood; Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice, University of Missouri-St. Louis (June 2012)

program effects on youth gang membership and on a number of risk factors and social skills thought to be associated with gang membership.

The SRO focus group mentioned earlier in this report included questions on gang prevention in schools and asked the SRO's to rate DPS administration understanding, support and communication on a 1 to 10 scale.

Based on responses shown in Table B25, the SRO's indicate that current efforts in DPS schools could be improved.

Table B24 – SRO views on gang prevention in schools

Statement: Current efforts to keep kids out of gangs and minimize the negative effects of gangs in my schools:	
Answer Options	Response Count
Do not exist	2
Exist, but are not enough	7
Exist, and are adequate	0
Exist, and are outstanding	0

Based on responses shown in Table B26, SROs rated school administration understanding (6.44), support (7.89) and communication (7.44) with SRO's using a Likert scale of 1-10 with 10 being highest.

Table B25 – SRO views on administration understanding, support and communication

Please rank the following on a scale of 1 to 10*	
Rating area	Average scores
School and administration understanding of an SRO's duties	6.44
School and administration support for SRO's work	7.89
Level of communication between school administration and SRO's	7.44

* a rating of 1 would be extremely low and a rating of 10 would be extremely high

Education Gap for Youth Awaiting Trial

There is a currently a critical gap in schooling during the detention period for 16-21 year olds in Durham awaiting trial in jail. Pre-trial detention can last between two weeks and several months and the amount of missed schoolwork that results virtually guarantees that young people will either be required to repeat that year or drop out. There were sporadic efforts by DPS and Durham Technical Community College to provide educational services for the past few years, but these ended, and for a significant period of time there were no services provided. DPS resumed some services beginning in November of 2013, and these are described below.

While dropping out at 16 is legal in North Carolina, failure to obtain a high school diploma or GED limits work and other opportunities for young people. If Durham does not offer the opportunity to continue education for all in this group of young people, the likelihood that they will not return to school raises exponentially.

Data show that in CY 2012 the average Durham County Jail population per day was 612. Of those, averages of 12.4 per day were 16 or 17 years of age.⁵⁶

Based on data collected by the Criminal Justice Resource Center for Fiscal Year 2012-13, the following information is also available about 16 and 17 year olds in the Durham County Jail.

Sex	
Male	215
Female	46

Race	
Black	201
White	61

Age	
16	103
17	159

Time Spent in Jail		
Less than 1 day	108	41%
1 to 10 days	97	37%
11 to 30 days	25	10%
31 to 90 days	18	7%
More than 90 days	14	5%

When the age range of all youth in the jail between the ages of 16 and 21 is considered, the number of youth in jail on any given day is around 100. Some of these youth are actively enrolled in DPS at the time of incarceration while others have either graduated or dropped out.

In November of 2013 DPS provided a teacher at the jail who assists with educational services to approximately 25 youth per week. These youth are all identified as EC (exceptional children) with Individualized Education Plans (IEP's) who are required by state mandate to receive educational services by the local school district. The instructor splits her time between the jail, the Broad Street Youth Home and students in the DPS Homebound program.

Efforts are underway by DPS and others to fund and administer a more formal jail instruction program that serves all youth who desire to continue with their education while incarcerated.

Summary

Gang activity in school is an extension of gang presence in the neighborhoods. When gang membership is reduced in neighborhoods so that delinquent or violent activity does not enter the school setting, educators will be able to focus more attention on academic instruction and less on behavior management.

⁵⁶ Data gathered from an internal Criminal Justice Resource Center report