

**Residents and Clients' Perceptions of Safety
and CeaseFire Impact on Neighborhood Crime and Violence**

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CeaseFire Qualitative Evaluation Report

Executive Summary

The purpose of this study was to address questions related to the impact of CeaseFire activities on participants and neighborhood residents living in four target police beats in the Woodlawn and North Lawndale Chicago neighborhoods. Specifically, the study was designed to evaluate the process through which CeaseFire outreach and violent interruption activities might relate to changes in gun-related violence, including the behavior and decision-making of high-risk individuals living in these neighborhoods. In addition, questions regarding perceived neighborhood safety, norms regarding the use of violence, and non-participating residents' knowledge of CeaseFire activities were evaluated. Interviews were conducted with 75 individuals living in the four targeted police beats. Forty high-risk individuals (20 CeaseFire clients/5 in each beat and 20 high-risk individuals who were not CeaseFire clients/5 in each beat) and thirty-five neighborhood residents (18 parent residents with children under 18 years old and 17 elderly residents) were interviewed.

Consistent across all of the interviews conducted with CeaseFire participants were individual reports of decreased involvement in crime and violence, with change in behavior attributed to mentoring, primarily around opportunities for employment. Participants also highlighted CeaseFire workers' ability to mediate conflict within the neighborhood, pointing to workers' unique skill to get high-risk residents to listen and respect their message because they had credibility. High-risk participants reported they were more likely to respond and listen to CeaseFire workers because the workers had lived a similar life, "the things I did, they did".

Important, there was a striking gap in knowledge about CeaseFire and CeaseFire activities between the residents and high-risk participants. Nearly all (n=38) of the high-risk participants, including those who had not been directly involved with CeaseFire workers or activities, were aware of CeaseFire, describing CeaseFire's mobilization activities such as rallies, vigils, and distribution of violence prevention material. In contrast, only 34% or approximately one-third of neighborhood residents were familiar with CeaseFire and even fewer residents had personal experiences with CeaseFire staff or community activities.

Across both communities, CeaseFire's lack of visibility was a common theme among neighborhood residents and a small number of high-risk non-client participants. Residents were not able to recall or identify any community mobilization efforts or other activities that had a specific violence prevention message. For neighborhood residents, despite a consistent theme of negative experiences and attitudes toward law enforcement, policing was seen as one of the few viable responses to violence in the neighborhood. Residents described changes in crime,

safety, and violence as solely attributed to fluctuations in the presence and attitudes of law enforcement.

All study participants, high-risk individuals and neighborhood residents, reported youth between the ages of 11 and 17 as the primary perpetrators of violent crime in their neighborhood. When questioned about precipitating factors, both high-risk participants and neighborhood residents pointed to incidents involving social media messages, conflict over women, and territorial conflicts over illegal drug markets and gang cliques as the major precipitants of violence. High-risk participants, both clients and non-clients, said conflicts are often settled by fighting, flashing guns, and shooting. Both high-risk participants and neighborhood residents' responses to violence typically involved isolating themselves to their block or home, limiting travel routes through their neighborhood, reliance on police presence, and for high-risk participants, connecting with CeaseFire violence interrupters and outreach workers as a resource to address neighborhood violence.

Participants' suggestions for community-based solutions included parenting programs, job training, mentoring, and access to programming for youth that will get them off of the street. High-risk participants recommended mentoring and other programs that would provide opportunities for youth to stay off the street as a means to reduce or keep violence stable.

The CeaseFire model outlines three components to reduce violence within communities: 1) detect and interrupt violent conflicts, 2) identify and treat the highest risk, and 3) mobilize the community to change norms. While these and other data suggest that CeaseFire appears to be effective in implementing the first component of the model, at least in these two communities, they have not been effective in community mobilization efforts. CeaseFire workers appear to be able to identify those at highest risk for involvement in serious violence. Workers cite constrained resources as an obstacle to engaging many of the high-risk youth identified.

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Background

Administered through the Department of Public Health, the CeaseFire program of the Chicago Project for Violence Prevention (CureViolence) worked intensively in four police beats located in the Ogden and Grand Crossing police districts in the Woodlawn and North Lawndale communities between September 2012 and September 2013. Using qualitative methods, the purpose of this study was to evaluate interim outcomes of the CeaseFire intervention in these four target neighborhoods. These outcomes included: perceived neighborhood safety, norms regarding the use of violence, decision-making of high-risk individuals, knowledge of CeaseFire activities by non-participating residents and the process through which CeaseFire activities may relate to changes in gun-related violence in the four target police beats. Three research questions guided this evaluation:

- 1) To what degree are CeaseFire Outreach Workers perceived by high-risk youth and by other community members as resources in the community and agents of positive change related to violence?
- 2) During the time since CeaseFire implementation began, do high-risk youth and community members report changes in levels of violence and community attitudes about violence? To what extent do they attribute changes to the activities of CeaseFire Outreach Workers and other CeaseFire community mobilization activities? To what extent do they perceive any noted changes to other activities within the neighborhood?
- 3) Do high-risk individuals working with CeaseFire Outreach Workers identify changes in their own behavior, attitudes, and decision-making? To what do they attribute those changes? In what ways have they been involved in CeaseFire activities and the Outreach Worker?

Methods

Participants. Qualitative interviews were conducted with four different groups of individuals within each of the four police beats: 1) high-risk clients engaged with a CeaseFire outreach worker; 2) similarly high-risk individuals not engaged with a CeaseFire outreach worker; 3) residents/parents with children 17 and under living in the target beat; and 4) elder residents over the age of 62 without children living in the target beat. Five individuals within each category were targeted (20 individuals per beat/80 individuals across the four beats). Due to a decrease in the number of residents living in the neighborhood and increase in unoccupied homes in one police beat (1021), however, it was difficult to find eligible participants to complete the last five resident interviews (3 elderly and 2 parents). Thus, seventy-five

interviews with clients (20), non-clients (20), parents (18), and elderly (17) residents were conducted between December 2013 and March 2014.

Procedures

High-risk Adolescents/Young Adults: High-risk individuals (both clients and non-clients) were referred by CeaseFire outreach workers. To identify high-risk individuals who were not CeaseFire clients, we employed a combination of two recruitment methods. First, referrals were made from CeaseFire outreach workers. Because of their relationship with CeaseFire clients and presence in the neighborhood, outreach workers know many of the high-risk individuals they have not yet engaged. Second, we used a snowball sampling method in which potential participants were also solicited from high-risk CeaseFire clients.

Resident Parents and Elders: In order to secure an unbiased sample of neighborhood residents, we used a neighborhood sampling technique used in previous studies. We obtained address listings for each target neighborhood/police district. In each neighborhood, we then randomly selected an initial group of 20 addresses to serve as targets for recruitment. Letters were sent introducing the study to each household prior to attempting in-person contact. Recruiters called and then visited households, described the study and determined if someone in the household was eligible and willing to participate. As strata/groups were filled, inclusion was limited to those in unfilled cells. Informed consent was obtained and when possible, the interview was conducted at that time. If the interview could not be completed immediately, it was scheduled for another date.

Interview

Qualitative interviews lasted approximately two hours and took place at a location convenient to the respondent. Participants received \$50 to compensate them for their time.

The interview (see appendix A) focused on the following key topics:

1. Background in Neighborhood
 - a. Length of time Living
 - b. Positive and negative Qualities of Neighborhood
 - c. Resources in neighborhood
2. Safety and Violence
 - a. How safe participants feel in neighborhood?
 - b. Thoughts on what causes conflict to turn violent?
 - c. How neighborhood residents respond to violence?
 - d. What neighborhood resources exist to address neighborhood violence?
3. Awareness and Impact of CeaseFire
 - a. Description of CeaseFire message and activities

- b. Impact of CeaseFire in neighborhood
- c. Impact of CeaseFire in client's life

Analyses

The interviews were transcribed verbatim by experienced transcriptionists and coded by two members of the research team using Atlas.ti software. The coders examined the data to identify patterns and themes in the transcribed interviews. In addition to considering themes specific to the research questions above, the interview guide and coding scheme was designed to be flexible enough to allow for the detection of emergent themes that were not anticipated. The coding scheme was revisited and revised as the data were analyzed, new patterns/themes were identified, and expectations were confirmed or disconfirmed. In addition to considering overall thematic content, the research team considered patterns/themes that varied as a function of beat and/or target group.

Results

The Role of CeaseFire in Decreasing Violence

A. Credibility

Despite very different levels of exposure to and interaction with CeaseFire staff, both the CeaseFire client and non-client participants talked about the role of CeaseFire in decreasing violence in similar ways. Both described CeaseFire outreach workers and violence interrupters as important to the community and effective in the role of mediation, viewing CeaseFire workers as individuals they can trust, respect, and listen to about changing their "high-risk" lifestyle. A dominant theme from the high-risk male interviews was CeaseFire's ability to reach high-risk youth because they were from the neighborhood, they were familiar with and knew many residents in the neighborhood, and they had "street status and legitimacy" in the neighborhood. A North Lawndale Client from beat 1011 best captured this phenomenon by explaining that, "The things I did, they did."

Interviewer: What outlook did they give you, and how did they do that?

Interviewee: Because the things I was doing, they did them things as a shorty, too. But at the same time, they told me-they told me stories like, "Man, Joe. One mistake can really fuck up your whole entire life." I damn near made that mistake. I spent two years, nine months, in a penitentiary. Like I was saying, ***the things I did, they did.*** As a leader and as a dictator and as a Big Brother, you know what I'm saying, when they seen me, "Okay, come

here.” Now I put it like this. They didn’t want me goin’ down the same road leading down like destruction like they was doin’. They feel like, “If I could-if I could just put this in this ear and teach him this and say that some more, maybe he’ll change.” Everybody need a little guidance, but they ain’t got everything put together, you feel what I’m saying? They took me by my hand. “Come on, I’m gonna show you the way, you feel me? This is how you do it.”--North Lawndale Client #4 beat 1011.

This phrase, "The things I did, they did," was a common storyline. It is clear that CeaseFire workers’ background is an essential element to their credibility providing the social capital needed to encourage participants to listen and respect CeaseFire’s message. Table 1 provides examples of each key area from clients and non-clients in both neighborhoods.

Table 1: CeaseFire’s ability to reach high risk males

North Lawndale Non-Client	<p><i>If you had a group of men out here that’s come from the same background-the same upbringing-and they out here. It’s gotta be some help in it. It’s gotta be. It’s gotta be. It’s gotta be if they out here in the streets marchin’ and preachin.’ You know what I’m sayin’? These guys are relatives. These guys are ex-cheese or whatever. A lot of those guys are still respected by these young guys out here, or the guys that these young guys are respecting. If they too young and they don’t know some of these older guys that might be workin’ for CeaseFire, it’s somebody that they are respectin’ like me that respect those guys that work for CeaseFire. Beat 1011 #3</i></p>
North Lawndale Client	<p>Interviewer: How do you think the community feels about ex-offenders and ex-gangbangers doing community work?</p> <p><i>Interviewee: If they in their community, then the community knows them. The community will respond if they’re in their community... because they know Granny, Auntie, Auntie, your cousin, your sisters, daughters. I think it’s very—if you in your community, then you know your community. But if you outside the community, you don’t really know these people. These people don’t know you. Then it’s hard for people to communicate.- Beat 1011 # 10</i></p>
Woodlawn Non-Client	<p><i>I mean a lotta my fellas respect y’all. Like I say, y’all got a lotta older guys, they used to be out here in this shit. If Watley come on my neighborhood and Watley say somethin’ squashed, somethin’ is—it’s dead, period. That’s dead. Ain’t none of that. Y’all got guys like Watley that’s with child and they got—they not on—they still got that respect in the neighborhood...Because motherfuckers just look up to them.</i></p> <p>Interviewer: What is it about them that they look up to?</p> <p><i>Interviewee: They see that cuz they a changed man. He used to be out</i></p>

here and he changed his whole life for him. That's what people respect about 'em. Cuz he ain't out here no more. He a changed man, he grown. He ain't out here. –Beat 0313 #8.

Woodlawn Non-Client

They're goin' beyond their own ordinary duties to do shit that Chicago Police Department can't handle on they own. They're out here with no guns. They have no badges. They're out here with no vests on stoppin' shit that the police department can't stop.

Interviewer: How do they do that?

Interviewee: By their presence alone. I'm sorry. They stoppin' shit with their presence because of who they are. Because you all didn't—I mean, CeaseFire didn't grab people from all around the state, all around the city to come do it. They actually grab people from the neighborhood to do CeaseFire. To stand up for they own community, the community they live in to stop the violence. It'll be shootin' left and right if you all woulda bring a whole team of CeaseFire people from Oak Park. People would still be shootin' the shit outta motherfuckers over there.

Interviewer: Why?

Interviewee: Because what the fuck do we respect you all for? You motherfuckers don't even live over here. –Beat 0312 #1

North Lawndale Client

Cuz I looked up to him, and saw how much he educated, too. Once I saw him doin' a different path, I wanted to do a different path. I don't know how to explain it. I ain't a man of many words. Once I saw that one of my brothers could change from who he has, I knew I was able to change from who I was. Even though I was educated, I still—you're never too old to learn. I started soakin' up the knowledge. It's just like I said, bein' in the streets, you take everything from the street. I saw one of my brothers able to change, and he helped me change- Beat 1011 #10

Woodlawn Client

There's some people in CeaseFire that can, like Big Watley he come talk to us and tell us, "Fall back. No, don't do that. This ain't what's up." We'll fall back. Everybody don't got that somebody that can—and everybody ain't gonna listen to that person.

***Interviewer:* That's what I'm curious about. What makes them listen?**

Interviewee: It's just the mutual respect. Some people just got the respect.

***Interviewer:* What is it about them that, say, all right, they got my respect?**

Interviewee: Sometimes, you get people, it's what they did in their past, like if they overcame stuff. If they've been out here and they

overcame it and they grew past it and they've done some positive stuff, that's what—that gets the respect of the young people that's like, "Okay, we're gonna listen to big homey." Beat 0313 #7

B. Mentoring and Role-Models

The most important impact that CeaseFire had on the high-risk youth (especially its clients) was helping them realize that they can change their lifestyle. The outreach workers and violence interrupters were seen as role-models, individuals who had lived a similar life but had made a decision to change in positive ways; change that the clients aspired to see in themselves. Clients talked about their desire to change their response to conflict (specifically not retaliating to a violent event or threat), obtain the education and skills necessary to live a less risky life (i.e. their worldview and practical skills to apply and interview for a job), work “on the books” jobs, and mentor younger men from the community. Table 2 provides examples of the role of CeaseFire workers. Examples of CeaseFire’s impact in both neighborhoods are outlined in Tables 3 and 4.

Table 2 CeaseFire Impact

<i>CeaseFire Resources</i>	<i>CLIENTS</i>		<i>NON CLIENTS</i>	
	<i>Woodlawn</i>	<i>N.Lawndale</i>	<i>Woodlawn</i>	<i>N. Lawndale</i>
<i>Mentoring/Coaching</i>	5 out of 10	6 out of 10	4 out of 10	2 out of 10
<i>Job Opportunities</i>	8 out of 10	8 out of 10	2 out of 10	3 out of 10
<i>Social Activities</i>	8 out of 10	5 out of 10	3 out of 10	2 out of 10
<i>Getting Youth of the Streets</i>	7 out of 10	6 out of 10	1 out of 10	2 out of 10
<i>Mobilization Activities</i>	6 out of 10	6 out of 10	4 out of 10	1 out of 10
<i>Interrupting Conflict</i>	9 out of 10	8 out of 10	4 out of 10	3 out of 10
<i>Education/Learning Skills</i>	8 out of 10	4 out of 10	0 out of 10	1 out of 10

TABLE 3: Woodlawn High-Risk Youth on CeaseFire

<p><i>Mentoring/Coaching</i></p>	<p><i>Interviewee: Because they see the older people not on that bullshit and they see them interactin'. The people that they look up to, and the people that they look up to are interactin' and they're cohabitatin'. They're not on the bullshit. They're seein' 'em like "Oh, they're cool." Then seein' like, "Oh, they're cool together." It's not gonna happen in this general area, so CeaseFire in this general area is actually workin'. I can't speak on any other area because I don't live in any other area, but over here it's actually kept it down to a minimum. It may be like one death maybe once every three, four months or somethin' because you remember how it was.</i></p> <p><i>Interviewer: Why they listenin' to 'em?</i></p> <p><i>Interviewee: The people that are on the CeaseFire team are respected by the people that are out here shootin'. I'm not gonna actually say who the fuck is out here on the CeaseFire team who are respected, but the people on the CeaseFire team are actually respected by the people who are out here doin' the shootin'.</i></p> <p><i>Interviewer: How did they get their respect? You told me earlier you got these cliques don't care if you with BD, don't care if you with Vice Lords, don't care if you a Mo.</i></p> <p><i>Interviewee : Because everybody got somebody to look up to. - non-client #1</i></p>
<p><i>Job Opportunities</i></p>	<p><i>They cool. They got jobs. I hang out with Jigg and Whatley . They work the CeaseFire. They try to help us get jobs, make sure we stay outta trouble. We need anything, we can go to them, ask them for help and they'll help us with advice or anything. They be there for us. We talked about the good aspects; welcoming, people come introduce you, introduce themselves, elderly in there, the people you hang out wit, we got the brothers Whatley from CeaseFire.....They provide jobs, they give you advice; staying out of trouble, and it's important cuz they been there. You grew up under them, so you seen what they did.- client #9</i></p>
<p><i>Social Activities</i></p>	<p><i>I met him with the whole rappin'. Just the Battle on Wax for Peace. That made it more—cuz it was around rappin'. It wasn't no more about shootin'. It was around rappin' cuz they figured it was, "Okay. Y'all like to rap. Y'all like to rap. Let's do this together." It was calm. It was a little peace then. When that started, they made a little more peace. It was, like, "We can do this music, and we ain't gotta do all that."...It felt good to have another outlet to where you don't have to play basketball to do this. You can go to the studio. Whether you rappin' or you just there, you doin' something ' positive. –Non-Client #6</i></p>

Interviewer: Okay. How important do you think it is for folks that aren't gang bangin', and they ain't out hustlin' on a drug gang or on a gun gang to be interactin' with CeaseFire?

Interviewee: I think it'd be helpful for them.

Interviewer: In what ways?

Interviewee: Keepin' 'em out of trouble. Keepin' 'em doin' somethin' positive. Occupyin' instead of bein' outside tryin' to hustle and shoot guns.-

Interviewer: Okay. How would you describe their message?

Interviewee: Their message? Their message was just to keep us off the streets, try to get us on a good path, keep us in school, keep us doin' somethin' positive, keep our mind focused on the positive and not the negative.

Interviewer: I'm gonna read a quote to you. I want you to tell me what you think of this. "People are less likely to shoot if they are taking advantage of having alternatives." What do you think bout that?

Interviewee: That's true. If you got somethin' goin' on, you ain't worried about shootin'. Your focus ain't gonna be on shootin' if you got something else to do, probably the basketball team, football team, sports. Anything other than shootin' on your mind, you ain't gonna be shootin'.

Interviewer: Are there any ways that CeaseFire helps provide any of those alternatives?

Interviewee: Yeah, jobs and stuff. They took us to play basketball. Helps keep us off the streets. -client #8

Mobilization

Interviewer: All right. I wanna finish off with two statements, and we'll be done. I'm a say something, I want you to finish the sentence. All right, the best thing Cease Fire did for me was—

Interviewee: Put me out, take me out my element. Had me in another neighborhood, walking around on feet, feel me. Not with them right behind me, you feel me, not with the older people right behind me to let you know I'm with some older people. We did have our Cease Fire get up on, our Cease Fire shirts, but still, had us walking around. It's still how you feeling, whether you got that shirt on or not. You don't wanna run into no guys, you feel me on that. It had me out my element, had me places. It took people out the hood, basically. It take you out your neighborhood, whether you in your neighborhood, it's gon' take you out your neighborhood or your mindset, basically. It'll do that for you.

Interviewer: What's mindset of your neighborhood?

Interviewee: The mindset of your neighborhood, just basically I can be in here and Cease Fire, but we in here talking about it. We ain't thinking about what's going on. When you out here, when they be out here, they thinking about what they do out here. When they out here, they ain't thinking about, "I shouldn't be out here." When they gon' be at Cease Fire, or when they 'll be in Cease Fire, they'll be thinking, "I shouldn't be out here." When they out there, they not thinking, "I shouldn't be out there." It'll do that for 'em, take them out their mindset of being where they at or whatever [fading voice 1:00:19]. Just get 'em out there- client #10

Interrupting Conflict

Interviewee: It depends. Some people like me, I can hold my composure around certain Moes, but certain Moes can't hold their composure around me. It's dependent on which Moe you're working with. Cuz it's like, they got some little Moes that's down there that's like us that's like—man, there ain't nothing there. I can work with them. They don't say nothing to me. I ain't gonna say nothing to them. There's some who I can't be around going, "Get your bitch ass out, you're a bitch," gonna say something slick just because.

Interviewer: How do you feel that CeaseFire handles those type of scenarios?

Interviewee: They try to be on—especially within their programs, they try to be on top of any little thing gets said, they're zero tolerance with the gang violence within their—in their little organization. They're gonna try to get on top of that ASAP.-client 7

Education

Interviewer: How does CeaseFire—did they help you change your perspective?

Interviewee: Yeah, they got me that job. Help me like man, little Rodey, get this job, you won't have to sell. You won't have to break into cribs. Yeah, they got me a job, and they was trying to help me get in college. Me and friend, they was finna help us get into Miles Alabama (College). We still might be going in January. It's us playing around; it ain't them. Cuz they drive on us still to this day. Man, what you gone do? January right around the corner, you know it's a new semester in college coming up, so yeah.

Interviewer: How's that make you feel that they're still driving on you?

Interviewee: Man, cuz they know, man, ain't nothing out here but jail and hell. They know ain't nothing out here from jail and hell. I look for Mr. Whatley perspective, because he done did everything. He just got out for something heavy, know what I'm saying? He just spent long time in jail, over 10 years in jail. He know man, ain't nothing out here. Y'all tripping out here. Ain't nothing but jail and hell out here. He know, and he be saying, "My mama was sick when them people

said 10 years, and all I went down for that attempt and all that.” He be saying [inaudible 45:44]. The guys ain’t gone send you nothing, and I know that from perspective. I done been locked up a lot of times. I know the guys ain’t finna send me nothing. Ain’t nothing out here, that’s what they basically saying, like go do something productive with y’all lives. Cuz right here ain’t gone get it. –Client #3

Table 4: North Lawndale High Risk Youth on CeaseFire Impact

<p>Mentoring/Coaching</p>	<p>Like I said, I got spotted out the gate. They saw me. Two of the little Dirty Mobs, they saw me and stuff. I guess they ran back to the block, told ‘em, “Yeah, he over there, woo, woo.” They came back 30, 40 swoll. Derrick and Charlie, they made sure that didn’t nothing happen. They made sure that they didn’t touch me or none of the people I was with, you feel me. Cuz I ain’t gonna—we was with Cease Fire. It wasn’t even like a job. It was more of a family, you feel me. Derrick and Charlie, they was like our father figures up in Cease Fire. Them the people that we can go to when we have problems or troubles, you feel me. That’s what really helped me out during Cease Fire. –client #7</p>
<p>Job Opportunities</p>	<p>The CeaseFire, like Charlie Hill. Every time he get up on the, like a job or something, he’ll let us know about it. He’ll let us know about it.</p> <p>Interviewer: Okay. How does that make you feel that he keeps you plugged in?</p> <p>Interviewee: That’s showing he care about us. He don’t want us to be out here like nobody else, out here selling drugs, and then locked up, or nothing like that. He care about us. You wanna do something positive with ourselves-Non-Client #6</p>
<p>Social Activities</p>	<p>Interviewee: I was just driving past, and I seen them. I’ve been seeing them, but I never like really read the shirt to see what it said, but I used to always see them marching up and down with the kids. I used to always see them, because he had boxing thing, and he used to train them, but you know, by me riding always right past them. I always see them, but never asked, but one day, like I said, they had the little bucket for—they was doing the— like they had a fund raising going on, and I said, look. They had little kids, little children in the street, “May I have some change for my fundraiser? I want that bike.” You know, I guess they totally said, which was cute, but when they say, “I want one of those bikes. Are you gonna help me?” You know? Yeah, I put \$20.00 in there and kept going.</p> <p>Interviewer: Right. How did that make you feel when you saw that was going on?</p> <p>Interviewee: I was proud. That’s what made me like always paid attention. I told them I used to see them boxing, cuz where I’m at—that state route</p>

when he trained them, they run, so you would see him with at least—Derrick Brown, you see him with at least 20 kids running through the whole area, up and down the blocks. Their route was right on the block where I was selling drugs at, so I got to be out there every day, and every day, I see ‘em go running like that.....No, I just thought—I thought it was exercise, really, until by me standing right up there, I’m seeing him pass, showing little kids boxing. I’m like, oh, that’s what they be doing, training them to box. Then, you know, two days, they’re barbecuing. I know a lot of people on that block. I might come down, go get me a plate, cuz they was giving to anybody, and I know the food was good, and sometime I knew some of the cooks. They usually be women in the hood with the CeaseFire helping out, and they used to do the cook with the—they used to have a camcorder also. At the time, I didn’t even want to be on the camcorder, but we used to eat, talk, have fun. They used to let me know what they’ve been doing, ask me do I got any nephews or something want to box. My niece used to box for them, but she got grown and went to college. She cool now, but yeah, they always been havin’ [inaudible 37:33]. When I seen that fundraiser, I helped out. I came back the next day for the talent show because I wanted to see it. They had the African people up there. They had the horses. They did their little talent show. The little kids, they won their little bikes. They set it up so all of them will win anyway, but all of them got their little bikes. You know, we had a conversation about it then, and since then, I’ve been talking to ‘em, talking to ‘em, and one day I just decided to help, and it ain’t stopped since then.- client #2

Getting Youth Off The Streets

Interviewee: Yeah cuz they, basically, tryin’ to get you off the street. Cease Fire could be walkin’ past. You could be out on the street. See somebody. They’re doin’ somethin’ positive so, I mean, if you’re doin’ somethin’ negative, you see somebody doin’ somethin’ positive, positive is always good so if you want to do somethin’ positive do somethin’ good just switch over from that negative to a positive.

Interviewer: What would you describe that they are doin’?

Interviewee: Like, being there. Some people don’t feel like they got nobody to be there for ‘em. That’s, basically, why people get into gangs cuz they want another family or somebody that’ll do somethin’ for ‘em, look out of ‘em. Because, like I said, I’d been—I knew Derek for a nice, long time. He was always been a positive role model. He told me to get off the corners and do somethin’ positive for myself. He was my role model and my motivation.--client #3

Mobilization

When I worked with them, it was like—damn. I’m like, “Man, these people really mean it.” Okay, I’m gonna see if I can explain it. I used to walk, “Man, stop the violence,” puttin’ up posters, you know what I’m saying, and passin’ out, “Man, stop the violence.” Young brothers my age used to stop and be like, “Man, y’all with CeaseFire?” We’d be like, “Yeah.” He like,

"Man, how can I get in?" Such and such. I let him know. I'd give him a little information or, "You talk to such and such. You talk to Marty," or, "You talk to Derek. He'll try to—he gonna get you in most definitely." The brother that we walked past the block will be in. It's motivational, because other brothers, other young brothers, will see a lot of—it starts with one. Then you've got two. When you get two, then you've got a group. Then you've got other people looking at you. "I want to join in. I want to see what this is about." You know what I'm saying? You see what I'm saying? I'm trying to explain it the best way I can. When we used to walk, it's like we even had little kids. "Come on, man. I'm gonna pass these posters out. Ain't nothin' wrong with it." It's like self-motivation like, "Damn, I'm gonna try to do this." I ain't seen—I ain't peeped the nigger got them, he's on the block got them to serve. Come on. I see the niggers. I know the niggers. "Man, come on, y'all. Woo woo, man. Fuck, you go back to that. Come on, let's do something positive.- Client 4

Interrupting Conflict

Interviewer: Was anybody from your neighborhood tryin' to go back and get revenge?

Interviewee: The one who got shot He was tryin' to go back and get revenge.

Interviewer: Oh, he was? Okay. Did CeaseFire try to talk to him or—

Interviewee: Yeah. Actually, they talked to him. They like man like this ain't your life. You need to stop. You already got shot.

Interviewer: How did he react when they told 'em that?

Interviewee: He thought about it. He sat down and thought about it. Like man he right. I need to do that. He end up stayin' in the house for a year. He got a job at White Castle. That summer he had a job at CeaseFire for a summer. That's about it.- Client #8

Education

Well, of course my homie, Little Charlie (CF staff), he was workin' for y'all at one point in time. This guy, they educated me on, "Slow down," even though I didn't know a lot of things. I didn't know a lot of things at that time. They started workin' for y'all, and they started educating me, like this ain't like that no more. Once I got it from them, I was like—cuz eventually everybody got their stepping stones when they wake up. CeaseFire helped me wake up. I saw brothers being unified against the violence and unnecessary killings, the killings of the kids, the killings of the old folks. Start respecting yourself. Start respecting older people. Once I had did this last bit, education was already up there. I started paying attention to the people that was around me. Looking around the room, I'm like, "Damn, this is a damn waste. It's a waste of a man."- Client #10

CeaseFire as a Response to Violence

A. Knowledge Regarding the Presence of CeaseFire in the Neighborhood

When interview participants were asked about neighborhood resources that exist to address the violence described during the interview, there was a striking gap between the neighborhood residents and high-risk participants' awareness of CeaseFire activities (see table 5). High-risk participants, both CeaseFire clients and non-clients, described the mobilization activities, such as rallies, marches, vigils, and distribution of violence prevention material. They also highlighted CeaseFire's ability to get youth off the streets through job opportunities and social activities. In contrast, neighborhood residents had limited knowledge of CeaseFire, with only one-third of the resident participants (n=12) knowing the program existed.

TABLE 5

INTERVIEWEE	NORTH LAWNSDALE	WOODLAWN
PARENT RESIDENT	3 out of 9 (33%)	3 out of 9 (33%)
ELDERLY RESIDENT	4 out of 7 (57%)	2 out of 10 (20%)
HIGH-RISK CLIENT	10 out of 10 (100%)	10 out of 10 (100%)
HIGH-RISK NON CLIENT	8 out of 10 (80%)	10 out of 10 (100%)

Occasionally, residents were familiar with the concept of CeaseFire, but were unaware that CeaseFire had a presence in their neighborhood. This may be the result of the relative isolation of residents in these communities. Residents reported that they tend to keep to themselves or to their block, and do not venture beyond this boundary except when necessary (e.g. to go to work and/or school).

***Interviewee:** Now, my understanding about Cease Fire, Cease Fire is an organization that attempts to provide resolution, conflict resolution among gang members, and I guess that's basically it. That's what I understand about Cease Fire...*

(Continued)

***Interviewer:** Do they have a visible presence in the neighborhood?*

***Interviewee:** Not that I know of. You have to understand now, I'm*

sort of isolated in—I—that there may be things going on that I'm not aware of, but nothing that I can say I've seen directly.- Elderly from Woodlawn beat.

Tables 6 and 7 capture the resident and high risk youth’s awareness of CeaseFire message and activities.

TABLE 6: NEIGHBORHOOD RESIDENTS ON CEASEFIRE AWARENESS

<p><i>Woodlawn Parent Resident</i></p>	<p>Interviewer: <i>Could you describe it for me like who are they? What do they do?</i></p> <p>Interviewee: <i>They go around handing out posters. Sometimes they do marches, but I rarely see ‘em. Cease Fire they do a lotta—they go to a lot of funerals like gang funerals that a person was shot by gang members. They go and they’ll be security for the family to make sure there’s no retaliation going on. You know people don’t come back and try to shoot up the funeral because most people say, “I’ll shoot up your funeral.” ... Right, that’s what people be, “Oh, I’ll shoot up the funeral.” You don’t know, so you get security. Cease Fire actually prevented a lot of things... I don’t know too much about this neighborhood, but I know around like on 81st the Cease Fire when the barbershop got robbed. A member from Cease Fire went in there, talked to the people and brung the guy that actually robbed the barbershop back to the barbershop- 0313 beat</i></p>
<p><i>Woodlawn Elderly Resident</i></p>	<p>Interviewer: <i>...If you could, describe their (CeaseFire) impact?</i></p> <p>Interviewee: <i>Yeah, any impact is a positive impact...Any entity(?) that tries to divert violence or has a voice in the community for positive change is an asset, in my book. Anything because this community is starving for an advocate to promote some positivity of jobs or community services or daycare. This community is...starving for some resources. Anything positive like that has got to be an asset. It can never be negative unless the people who are running it tend to start be doing like [pause] embezzling funds...- beat 0312.</i></p>
<p><i>Woodlawn Parent Resident</i></p>	<p>Interviewer: <i>...have you heard of the—a group called CeaseFire?</i></p> <p>Interviewee: <i>Yes, I have...Well, what I know about CeaseFire is that a lot of them are ex-gang members that dealt in the street life, and what they’re trying to do is reach out to the youths that’s in gangs and let ‘em know that that’s not the way anymore...</i></p> <p>Interviewer: <i>Have you ever had any personal contact or—with a—an</i></p>

outreach worker for CeaseFire or one of the violence interrupters?

Interviewee: Yeah, I have. There's a couple of the guys I know. Hightower Brand, Gator Brand I done some work as far as passing out pluggers before, when they were having that march they just had my T-shirt on and walked the march with them as well.-Beat 0312

Lawndale Parent Resident

I can't tell you how visible—really, what they do, cuz I've never been—they have meetings. ...I see them in the summer, just say they'll come out twice a week, and just see how the neighborhood going, and talk to the kids. What you doing, get in these programs. I don't know exactly what they do..... I don't know what they do. I'm not gonna knock what they do, cuz I don't know...I'm not gonna say, "Oh no, they ain't doing nothing over here," because I don't know exactly what they do... I see them but they don't be talking to me. They'll say, "Hey, how you doing?" but they don't stop and talk to me.- Beat 1021

Lawndale Parent Resident

Interviewer: ...Have you heard of CeaseFire?

Interviewee: Yeah, mm-hmm.

Interviewer: Can you tell me a little bit about who they are, what they do?

Interviewee: Well, a close friend of mine, he's pretty much a head of CeaseFire. Derek House, I don't know if you know him?...he in that office over there. Yeah, they—well, actually that's who I call whenever I have problems around here, I call him and he come around—like when the Breeds jumped on my son. Instead of callin' his daddy and havin' him fly through the neighborhood like a madman, I call CeaseFire and I let 'em know what's going on. They presence is a lot more organized and strong than the police to me.-Beat 1021

Lawndale Elderly Resident

Interviewer: Have you heard of CeaseFire? The organization?

Interviewee: Yeah, mm-hmm. Yep.

Interviewer: Have you seen any activity from CeaseFire in the last year or so around here?

Interviewee: No. No they don't 'cuz like I said, mainly around here things been calm and stuff. You know it's peaceful and stuff and the time to shoveling snow [laughter]...Well, most people over here is older.

Interviewer: Have you see CeaseFire workers that you know of—and not just this block or these couple of blocks but in the neighborhood

in general—have you seen them around? Have they been present?

Interviewee: Well, not lately. Not around in the neighborhood here.

Interviewer: When's the last time you saw them?

Interviewee: Last time I seen them was about a year ago over on Roosevelt and Pulaski and they were going through there coming from Cermak walking down through here with their buses and stuff trying to explain stuff to people. Yeah, a lot of people walking behind, though, from CeaseFire and all that, you know? ...Stop the violence. –Beat 1021

TABLE 7: HIGH RISK YOUTH ON CEASEFIRE AWARENESS

<p><i>Woodlawn Client</i></p>	<p><i>CeaseFire is the message, man, we done led this life before. We know what route y'all going down....all them kids, I want to grow up. Two out of five kids die each day in—all stuff like that, 600 kids done died this year and stuff like that. They done led the life, so they be like, "Man, I know you—" They relate to the streets, man. It's like they know what's going on in the streets. They not finna just think of no dumb solution, think they finna know what they talking about. They know. They know, cuz they done lived it. They see it.</i></p> <p><i>CeaseFire, most of the people CeaseFire live in the community, so they see it. They know the gang bangers and stuff like that, so they see it. They not just thinking of something just to say to—no. Man, that's how really they probably been getting through. All right, suppose you go up north and they got the Guardian Angels, them probably people ain't never seen no gang bangers day of they life, never seen it. Instead you got CeaseFire done seen it. They seen it. They lived it, so they know. They can interact way better. - 0312 CL #3</i></p>
<p><i>Woodlawn Non Client</i></p>	<p><i>Interviewer: Did you ever see any CeaseFire workers?</i></p> <p><i>Interviewee: I saw one. He had a clipboard. He was walking around. He was doing something door to door.</i></p> <p><i>Interviewer: Okay. What would you say he was doing?</i></p> <p><i>Interviewee: I don't know. I thought he was interviewing people, but I was like, interviewing them for what? I was like, he may be a CeaseFire worker, because I see CeaseFire on the jacket. I'm like, okay. Doing something related to good, so that's all right. Like I said, it made me feel good, cuz I'm like, people out there—there's hope. Cuz at first, I don't know why, but I had no hope for humanity. It's like, I just felt like</i></p>

humanity was gonna fall down the drain. Slowly but surely.
I like to think a lot, so I was thinking greatly into the future.
What hope do we really have if we, at the pace that we are
now? It's odd. It's like rolling the dice.

*Interviewer: How did seeing the CeaseFire posters and the
worker impact your thought about hope?*

*Interviewee: Instill hope. It impacted good, like it's still hope and I still have
time. Still have time, meaning make the best of time of what you got.
Everything don't last forever. We don't know where we going when we
leave, something like—why not make the best of it? If you know you only
live once, why not be peaceful? Why not be good? Why not love it? It's
better than being all upset at the time. This world greatly, beautiful things,
everything that goes, everything that lives is a wonder to me. CeaseFire is
giving me peace of mind, giving me a space where I feel comfortable in
thinking that I do have more time and there is a chance for us. There's a
chance.- Beat 0312*

North Lawndale Client

***Interviewer: Okay, all right. What was his message to you, if
you could just break it down in a couple of sentences?***

Interviewee: Just educate myself.

Interviewer: Okay. Educate yourself about what?

*Interviewee : Life! Sometime you gotta hear the message from
one of your brothers...Cuz I looked up to him, and saw how
much he educated, too. Once I saw him doin' a different path,
I wanted to do a different path. I don't know how to explain it.
I ain't a man of many words. Once I saw that one of my
brothers could change from who he has, I knew I was able to
change from who I was. Even though I was educated, I still
—you're never too old to learn. I started soakin' up the
knowledge. It's just like I said, bein' in the streets, you take
everything from the street. I saw one of my brothers able to
change, and he helped me change. Cuz he was an influence.
It's like I'm gonna influence myself, and so now it's like,
"Okay,"*

Interviewer: Who are you influencing?

*Interviewee: I'm influencing myself right now, and I'm influencing my son
and my daughter*

North Lawndale Non Client

***Interviewer: Okay, all right. What do you think community
people would think about CeaseFire if they hear that they're
doing this work—***

Interviewee: Yeah, people from the community, I'm sorry, that

they're doing this work. They're reaching out to kids. They're trying to get in the way of this drama going on between two groups, two cliques. They not being paid for it, even though they used to be paid for it. I think they'll jump on the bandwagon. I mean, that's a good thing. I mean, how can you not jump on the bandwagon? These guys out here doing this, and they not even getting paid doing it. Yet they still out here doing it, you know what I mean? That's a beautiful thing. If they can't come with that, something ain't right with them, know what I mean? That's just like if I disrespect you and give you respect in return, and you still respecting me. I mean, come on you can't beat that, you know what I mean? That's a good thing. I would jump on it, definitely.

B. Residents Perspectives on Possible Strategies to Prevent Violence

Although only one-third of the residents interviewed could describe some activities of CeaseFire, those interviewed outlined program ideas that paralleled services that CeaseFire clients had described as most helpful, including mentoring and opportunities for youth to get off the street through employment and social activities. In addition, residents described the need for more programs that focus on improving parenting skills (see Table 8).

Table 8

Suggestions for Violence Prevention Programs	PARENTS		ELDERLY	
	Woodlawn	North Lawndale	Woodlawn	North Lawndale
<i>Mentoring/Coaching (23)</i>	7 out of 9 (78%)	6 out of 9 (67%)	7 out of 10 (70%)	3 out of 7 (42%)
<i>Social Activities (17)</i>	6 out of 9 (67%)	3 out of 9 (33%)	5 out of 10 (50%)	3 out of 7 (42%)
<i>Job Opportunities (12)</i>	2 out of 9 (22%)	3 out of 9 (33%)	4 out of 10 (40%)	3 out of 7 (42%)
<i>Parenting (10)</i>	4 out of 9 (44%)	1 out of 9 (11%)	2 out of 10 (20%)	3 out of 7 (42%)

Below are some examples of quotes from neighborhood residents' suggestions (see Tables 9 and 10).

Table 9

Resident Suggestions

Woodlawn Participants

Mentoring

Yeah, yeah, yeah. I'm gonna say a mentor would help. I was comin' home from work. I seen a group of teenagers, boys, from—they go to the school on 35th and Wabash 28:35. I can't think of the name of it. 35th and Wabash—but they was on the L, and I was comin' home. They just wanted to be violent. They wanted to be violent with any other kid that didn't go to their school. They chose a group of boys. They began to bother these boys. I seen a man that had been incarcerated, been through some things in this life. He told 'em, "I been right there where y'all was at. This is not what y'all should be doin'. You shouldn't be tryin' to do with somebody on the L where they got cameras." For a second, every last one of them boys sat down and listened. Yes, they did. Yes, they did. They all sat down and listened. They all jumped off the L and went about their business and left the other kids alone. They did just because of this man sayin' he been through the same stuff they been through. They can relate. They all can relate.

Interviewer: What is your recipe for success for an organization to come in here and reduce conflict? Resolve conflict in the neighborhood on your block.

Interviewee: Oh, okay. You know what? That's interesting, Eva, because I often think about how do you attack a problem like this? Because a problem has gotten out of hand from the time that I was a kid in this neighborhood. If there hadn't been some entities to try to resolve this situation then it might not be in the situation that it is now. Okay, let's go back and start a smaller level. How do you do this on this block? To me, you need some mentors. You need the men in the neighborhood to step up to the plate and try to mentor these young men to let them know that there's a better way of life. That they need their education; they need to be responsible, knowing that they don't have enough respect for human life. Not even their own. They have to start respecting these young ladies around here and education. Education, resources and mentoring- Beat 0313 Elderly

Social Activities

Interviewer: ...if you could change something about the neighborhood, what would it be? Add or subtract?

Interviewee: What I would add? I would add some more community sense. That's for one. I would add some more community sense. Number two, I would have something more set up for the kids when they get out of school. If their parents are working or whatever, I would have...something for after-school programs, for 'em. More so than we have in this community. We need that more.

Interviewer: Somewhere for them to go.

Interviewee: Yeah. After school, if their parents is—are at work or whatever, instead

	<p><i>of just coming home, being—be free what they wanna do. They should...be able to go someplace and be safe.- Beat 0313 parent</i></p>
Job Opportunities	<p><i>I think one of the first things to reduce violence, the young people need some type of, one, employment would help a lot.</i></p> <p><i>Employment will keep a lot of people busy. If you got to get up and go to a job and put your mind on, “I have to go to work. I got to be there at a certain time. This is what I have to do when I get to work,” employment would help- Beat 031206 parent</i></p>
Parenting	<p><i>Interviewee: Being there with them when they’re going to school, knowing who they hang out with, and keep an eye on them. Make sure they are doing the things that’s necessary to be a well-rounded person. All kids make crazy mistakes, and this, that, and the other. If you don’t go too crazy, they could have a nice life.</i></p> <p><i>Interviewer: That’s nice; that’s good. If you could create a program to deal with community conflict, community violence that still exists here, what kind of program do you think could help clear that up, once and for all?</i></p> <p><i>Interviewee: Well, people ought to raise their children correctly.-beat 0313 Elderly</i></p>

Table 10

Resident Suggestions	North Lawndale Participants
Mentoring	<p><i>It's an okay method (violence interrupters) because of the fact a lot of people that is gang banging, this is the stuff they claim and stuff that they actually show some type of respect to. With them giving them that respect, at least if you respect this, and this is the person who's running it, then you'll expect them to kind of respect the person who runs an organization, have a little bit—it's almost like they got a little bit more authority over the youth or whoever—I mean whoever might be in this organization, so that—it can play a big part. That can help out a lot believe it or not. It does help out a lot. Then just a lot of moving around and networking, and just helping and doing different stuff, just being involved helps out. That itself, when it comes to the gang organizations and things, if you got certain people who was out—even out in the streets to this day maybe, you know, it'd be a big difference with violence in Chicago.- Beat 1011 parent</i></p>
Social Activities	<p>Interviewer: <i>Are there any resources that the youth or young parents—anything in the neighborhood that would help the situation?</i></p>

Interviewee: [Clears throat]. Excuse me, just like she first stated, you know what I'm saying? Anytime a child is raised by a single parent, there's something missing right there. There's one place in their lives even from jump street, and only thing that they know to do is mingle on the street, you know what I'm saying? One of the things that I often wonder why there wasn't more things made available for recreation, to get the children off the streets. You have the recreation, you need a job, you know what I'm saying? -Beat 1021 Elderly

Job Opportunities

Okay. I would like to see—okay, I know what a big problem is, too, is because—it's the income, the revenue. Some type of program to where—and then, it's a lot of vacant lots that's nasty. Some type of program to where the children, they having incentive to do things because you give them money, if you offer them money. Some type of program to where they can come out and clean up. Give them the job, something to look forward to, as far as income. Because a lotta the children, their parents are on drugs, and they can't eat, or they can't buy themselves the basic things that they need to fit in as a teen, like clothes and things like that. That's what makes them go out and wanna sell drugs.

Interviewer: When they see these dealers with nice things that they want.

Interviewee: Right. If we can try to find some type of job program or readiness for the children to come to every day—like they pay—you know what? -- Beat 1021 Parent

Parenting

Interviewee: Of course you're gonna have problems, no supervision, so I find out the children are really—just us talking to them, I realize that some of them'll listen. They just need somebody—I guess to kinda understand. I don't understand everything and why they do it, but I do know that they are lost for—they don't wanna be like that. They're tired. I've talked with some of the young men. They said, "We're tired. I want a job. I wanna work. I wanna be something."

Interviewer: It's not for lack of wanting.

Interviewee: Yeah. It's missing. They're missing either a father or a mother, the mother's working all day. I worked in the school system, and the parents—they don't see their kids until night because the children are at school all day and then after-school programs and everything. They're away from—so of course these children gonna go lacking. They're gonna miss a whole lot. They don't even know what parenting means to them because they don't have that parents with them. Of course you're gonna have problems. – Beat 1021 Elder

Nature of Violence in the Community

A. Those Involved in Violence

When participants were asked to describe the positive and negative qualities of their neighborhood, positive qualities included the social connections with neighbors and having close ties with family and friends in the neighborhood. Overwhelmingly, negative qualities focused on crime and violence, particularly youth committing crime. 65 of the 75 participants interviewed cited and provided detailed examples of youth between the ages of 11-26 years old as the primary perpetrators of violence in their community (Table 11).

Table 11: Participants identifying youth as primary perpetrators of violence

PARTICIPANT	NORTH LAWNSDALE	WOODLAWN
PARENT RESIDENT	7 out of 9 (78%)	8 out of 9 (89%)
ELDERLY RESIDENT	5 out of 7 (71%)	10 out of 10 (100%)
CLIENT	10 out of 10 (100%)	8 out of 10 (80%)
NON CLIENT	8 out of 10 (80%)	9 out of 10 (90%)

Examples of participants’ descriptions of the source of crime and violence in their community are provided in Tables 12 and 13.

Table 12: Woodlawn Participants on Youth Committing Crime

<i>Parent Resident</i>	<i>When you seein’ a 12 year old with your own eyes—a 11 year old with your own eyes with a gun, that’s when it’s gettin’ worse. Shooting. I mean, just running down the street, shooting at people. For what? ...Eleven, twelve years old, man. I mean, they ain’t even started living yet. Ain’t even hit puberty yet, and they...shooting guns. Because they’ve been misled. They’ve been misled to think that this is cool, and it’s not—Beat 0312</i>
<i>Elderly Resident</i>	<i>Well, they come up. They start at 13 and 14. When they wind up and go to juvie. Then from there, they go in penitentiary. Then from there, that’s it. Cuz what you don’t learn on the streets, you gonna learn in the juvie. You gonna learn in the jail...They done already been in the gang. They already in the gang. Cuz you in the gang when you livin’ in the neighborhood. You can’t live in the neighborhood if you ain’t in the gang.—Beat 0313</i>

Clients	<i>It's so easy to get a gun, man you could be 13, 12 with a gun. We hit a crib when I was probably in fifth grade. In fifth grade, what I had to be, eight, nine? We hit (robbed) a crib for 11 guns, shotguns and everything. It ain't hard to get guns. It ain't hard to get guns.-Beat 0313</i>
Non Client	<i>The youngsters, they just wild. They look up to us. They want to drill. The big homies (older high risk young adults) hand 'em the gun. Like, "Yeah, little folks, you gonna be with this shit. You gonna be out here drillin' (shooting just to shoot; not to hit a specific person) Beat 0313</i>

Table 13: North Lawndale Participants on Youth Committing Crime

Parent Resident	<i>It's the little boys that's the— they the ones walking out here carrying guns... Fourteen to like 21. They wanna name for they self. You know what I'm saying? They the ones who will stir up the violence. They wanna jump on this person, start something with this person. It's them.—Beat 1021</i>
Elderly Resident	<i>It's young people doing it. Older people ain't doing it...I'd say from maybe 16 on up to 18 years old...Yeah, mm-hmm. A lot of 'em—I hate to say it—a lot of 'em ain't making it up to 20. – Beat 1011</i>
Clients	<i>...and then you got more little kids, just, I mean-I grew up rough, too, but we got younger kids, that you know they're supposed to be in school...Then you see 'em out, and they got drugs on 'em, guns, and it's a cycle that-I don't know, it's gonna take us, as a whole, to break- Beat 1011</i>
Non Client	<i>...and I'm not just blamin' the younger guys-but a lot of the stuff that's goin' on is comin' from younger guys. If you-just to sit back and watch 'em and stuff, a lot of 'em, they angry Then, anger fueled by drugs and alcohol. That's disastrous. I been down that road, but just God blessed me to understand that that's a road that I travelled on, and I'm able to look back at it. I know it exists, so I know these guys are angry. I know when guys are abused or-you can see it. You know what I'm sayin'? These guys carryin' this stuff all day. Walking through the neighborhood or on their everyday life they carryin' this anger with them. Whatever botherin' them, these issues, nobody dealin' with it. You got a bunch of these guys that could be the same person-identical. They could be the same mind frame, and they all [claps hands as to suggest what happens when they confront each other]-nobody back down.—Beat 1021</i>

B. Incidents that precede violence

When asked to discuss the precipitants of violence, the majority of participants pointed to incident involving: 1) gang/cliue turf (65%), 2) drugs/alcohol (62%) 3) conflict over women (42%), and 4) social media (35%) as the main sources. In addition, participants across groups pointed to easy access to guns as an issue that increased the likelihood of more serious violence, specifically, youths' ability to obtain guns from older youth and adults as a means to settle conflict.

Social media conflicts and access to guns from older friends and family members is a storyline that is consistent with the widely publicized April 28th 2014 shooting death of Endia Martin in the Back of the Yards Chicago neighborhood just two miles northwest of the Woodlawn beats. Interview participants shared similar stories of shootings spurred by a social media conflict over a dating partner

Participants also cited the changing role of gangs from structured street organizations with centralized leadership to less structured cliques as part of the explanation for violence through shootings.

Table 14: Interview Participants on Gang Cliques and Guns

<i>Woodlawn Client</i>	<i>It was bad, but it wasn't really bad. Now it's got worse. People don't got no laws. they used to be all, well, if you gang bang, you gotta go to school....Now all the people don't care if you go to school. They don't have no meetings now. Back in the day, one of your older guys or somebody that you look up to see you disrespectin' somebody at the school, you get a violation. Nowadays, ain't none of that. Young people just doin' what they wanna do nowadays. Ain't no structure. Back in the days, how the gang used to be, it didn't used to be a lot of killin'. It used to be a lot of fightin'. Nowadays, "Who fight? Why fight? I got a gun with 30 bullets in it. I ain't gotta fight you. Especially if you can beat me. I might as well just shoot you. Why fight? My (older) brother got all these guns. My brother got it for the block. I go tell my brother I got jumped on, he give me all type of machine guns. Why fight when we got all these guns? Who fight? Who do that?" It just crazy.—Beat 0313 participant #6</i>
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North Lawndale Parent *Most of 'em are families...but they all belong to the same gang. Then, they branch off into cliques. Then, they branch off, like you said, into blocks, but they the same gang. Okay, say like—in this neighborhood, it's more—it's all Vice Lords, right? Okay, but I grew up on Central Park. You grew up on Drake, right? We all Vice Lords. The ones that's on Central Park are closer and they stick together because they are grew—they're neighbors. You my cousin, and you my uncle. It's like they're all in the same family, so they normally stick together. When this block, they stick together. They all go—...They the same gang, though.*

Interviewer: *They still fight against each other? Despite both being Vice Lords?*

Yes... Cuz it's not like it's organized gangs anymore. It's blocks. It's organized blocks now. —Beat 1011

North Lawndale Non Client *Just it was kinda dangerous, but it was more organized back then and- it was just more structured or maybe because the streets was as far as like with the gangs and stuff it was controlled by an older group or whatever. Now it's like that era is gone. Those guys are-some-a lot of them dead, but a lot of them are locked up. It's like now ain't no order on the streets. What they used to-what-it was like it would be a controlled environment...a sane mind would say nonsense, but it was controlled...it's like the Western days now. That's the difference with me. Sometimes I look at it like you can adapt to it, and then sometimes you look at it, and you hear about certain incidents, and it might make your heart skip a beat. There's a lack of control out there. A lot of violence. A lot of just jump the gun. Jump, jump to the guns right quick, - Beat 1011 #3*

North Lawndale Parent *Right, that's all it—I mean, I know the Vicelords, they originated here, 16th Street was where they originated. You don't even see any—it's crazy. They just got a lot of made up gangs around here I never—that was amazing to me ... I mean, I dipped around and played in the gang stuff when I was younger. I mean, but I know my history and I know that everything around here now is not what—it's just somethin' that came over. I don't know what it is... they gone [the organized gangs]...*

Interviewer: *Okay. Then what you're left with is—*

The assholes... the Breeds, that's who jumped on my son.—Lawndale Parent Beat 1021

Table 15: Interview Participants on Drugs and Alcohol

<p><i>Woodlawn Non-Client</i></p>	<p><i>I'd say the years, it's getting worse and worse every year. By then we ain't used to-there wasn't a lot of shooting. This just started a couple of years. We was just getting money (drugs). We used to work all as a team and try to get something started with money saying look, kickbacks and stuff, trying to get everybody together. Everybody didn't want to get together no more cuz people were dying...they people that was fighting, they get beat too bad. All they know is go get a gun. They just get to shooting. The person you trying to hit, though, didn't get hit. An innocent person get hit. Then it just started something up.—0312 #4</i></p>
<p><i>North Lawndale Elder</i></p>	<p><i>Well, today, all they (the youngsters) think about is my turf, whether this—drugs, you know what I'm saying? This, that, and the other—that's what—and what keeps us the rough going today with these young men today, you know what I'm saying? Remember, we used to do—frequently street meetings, and maybe having a revival on the street. It wouldn't be nothing for 'em to walk up and tell, "You gotta get—give me this corner. This is my turf!-1011 Elder</i></p>
<p><i>North Lawndale Client</i></p>	<p><i>I'm lookin' for how to describe it without incriminating myself. You got them boys on this corner. That's my corner. They ain't got no business on this corner. You want that corner. Okay, then you got-well, a dude get locked up. That was his corner before. He get out. Now he want that corner back. Then you get, "Well, I want that corner anyway." There's a lot of ways to describe, "I want that corner."... 1011 #10 client</i></p>
<p><i>North Lawndale Non Client</i></p>	<p><i>It's more room to sell drugs that it is to come up healthy. You know what I'm saying? That's why I see, like, it's so easy for the kids. It was like that for me. Drug dealer, he could see how my mama on drugs, all that. See a young one hurtin, out in the world, and just a lost soul...Here come a drug dealer, "Hey, nigga, you need a job? I know you need some shoes. It's like the opportunity arose and I took it....most drug dealers don't last 2 years...you go to jail, get out and that corner ain't your corner no more...you can't tell him that he gotta stop doing what he's doing cuz you there...the young one's not going...like, "Go on. Somewhere else, old school. It's just us, right now.</i></p>

Table 16: Conflict Over Women

<p><i>Woodlawn Non-Client</i></p>	<p><i>All I can say is like sometimes you might be talking to somebody, like out of the blue. You don't even know, like you might see a girl and he waitin' on you to say somethin' out of pocket, like this could be his girl, his sister, his</i></p>
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	<p><i>mama, his auntie...he just waitin' on you to say somethin' so that one thing come out wrong out your mouth, he be ready to fight, ready to shoot.—0312 #3</i></p>
<p><i>Woodlawn Client</i></p>	<p><i>My little cousin's dead and gone. Matter of fact, it's about three or four dead and gone. It's probably about three or four...that started over a female or it could have started over a some drug, but either way it go, at the end of the day, the talking or nothing didn't stop them. -0312 #4</i></p>
<p><i>North Lawndale Client</i></p>	<p><i>But a lot of the shit be about these hos, you know what I'm saying? Yeah, it just be over a bitch, man, cuz-okay, just say-I'm gonna just use street terms cuz I'm a street nigger. Your girlfriend, she see me. She likin' me. I don't like her, but she likin' me. So I fuck her. But you get mad, and you want to blow my brains out, you get what I'm sayin.'-1011 #10 clients</i></p>
<p><i>Woodlawn Elderly</i></p>	<p><i>Relationships, I mean you'd be surprised. Yeah, yeah. I've been in the back and heard a lot of, just yeah, relationships. That's not even really on my block. That would be on 63rd or people walking past my block. They don't necessarily live on the block. That's another thing about the city. It seems like all the trouble or the trouble causers don't actually live on your block. They just visit, and it's crazy that the neighborhoods aren't coming together and standing up and doing something about that because our blocks become targets and just belittled and stuff. Because the people that don't live—they pull up everyday and then they leave every night. You know, you don't even live here, but you're coming here. You're selling drugs on the block. You're taking my property value down, which you don't even live here</i></p>

Table 17: Social Media

<p><i>Woodlawn Parent</i></p>	<p><i>Oh yeah. I've seen a girl get her head stomped in because of what she said on Facebook... I've heard about people getting jumped on because somebody decided not to follow somebody on Twitter... it's like an encyclopedia to them now...Because they live on it. I mean, it is a way to express yourself and to get your thoughts and feelings out, but for people to take that to the extreme and to have such a low fuse where you blow up over it and go to fight somebody or go to hurt them, any type of form of action, I think it's just really silly.—Beat 0313 Parent</i></p>
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Woodlawn Elder

Interviewer: Do you think some of the violence is related to turf war, or good spots to sell drugs, or is it—doesn't have anything to do with that?

It's more like—like an internet thing now. They do more on the internet... Yeah, they put that on now. Who got the weapons, where they at, and I mean, I got 'em, what brand I got. The conflicts start online. If they see each other, that's it—just flare from there—0312 Elder

North Lawndale Parent

Well, the conflicts with young people, I would say it mostly occurs because of the fact they all trying to gang bang. They arguing on Facebook and all this different type of stuff. Sometimes they come from no structure in the home with the kids, but I would say a lot of conflict with them is mainly all about you know, who is who, and who like who, and different things like that, when sometimes they don't know each other at all, and they can actually play on the same team together.—Beat 1021 Parent

Woodlawn Non Client

A lotta bullshit is goin' on over here right now with all the people gettin' killed over here between King Drive and Cottage. It really doesn't have anything to do with money. It doesn't has anything to do with territory. It has nothin' to do with blocks. It's all about females, Facebook and who clique is better...Because they really don't give a fuck who you with unless you with them and they friends...Me, I'm a Black Disciple. It could be shorty and them over here like in Parkway, they Black Disciples. I'm a Black Disciple from over here. They could had Gangster Disciples, Black Stones, Vice Lords, everything in their little clique.-0312 #1

North Lawndale Non-Client

Facebook. Everybody get on Facebook. Oh what you doing? I could see you. Do this. Do that. It be like group Internet though... Everybody get to fighting. Man. It's certain groups. How they got certain names for certain groups for who they be. They got a lot groups like, TYB. I'd say, Take your bitch. Then you got FYB, Fuck your block.

Interviewer: Okay. What happens on Facebook with those different groups?

They like get in to it. He say/she say. Comment on the status. He say something. Comment. They don't like it. They comment their own.

Interviewer: Okay. How is it resolved? How do they settle it?

Fights. That's all it be fighting. It don't get no more than fights. They gang fight. No shooting. – Beat 1021

C. Response to Violence

In some instances, both neighborhood residents and high-risk participants cited similar responses to violence. For example, both groups talked about 1) isolating themselves, and 2) relying on police presence. High-risk participants reported two additional responses: 1) connecting with CeaseFire workers and 2) retaliating with violence.

Isolation. Similar to other research conducted in these and similar neighborhoods, residents and high-risk youth cited isolating themselves as a response to community violence and a way to keep safe. Strategies included keeping to themselves, staying in their home, staying on their block, or leaving the neighborhood altogether (see Tables 18-19).

Table 18: North Lawndale Participants on Isolation and Mobility

<i>Parent Resident</i>	<i>Just talking to maybe just the neighbor outside and the neighbor upstairs, some people do see that just the blocks behind us or in front of us is way worse than just this block. This is like the only block where you might catch it in the middle, whereas like the quiet is only a little bit. Then you go the block behind there, on Lawndale, you would catch a lot of activity going on over there.</i>
<i>Elderly Resident</i>	<i>I'm safe because I mind my own business.</i>
<i>Parent Resident</i>	<i>Okay. I've lived in this apartment, in this neighborhood, for five years. What it's like to live in this neighborhood? It's real—should I say—it's depressing, to me. I mean, not only—it's like I be confined. I only be in my apartment and only go out when I need to just go to the store. Most of the time, I try not to have to go to the neighborhood stores. I usually wait. When I get my food stamps or something, I go outta the neighborhood. I usually go to the big grocery stores and stuff. Sometime, I run out. When I do run out, I kinda like—what's the word for it? You just hate to go there because—and the neighborhood stores, in front of all the stores are always some of them guys hanging out in front, selling drugs. You know what I'm saying?</i>
<i>Clients</i>	<i>My neighborhood is bad. It's rough....Meaning it's hard to go out at night. You will probably get robbed or attacked or shot or somebody trying to sell you something on the corner. It's not a good look...cause I used to be able to walk—I used to stay up and walk for a few minutes and it was nice 'cause I was around a lot of cultured people, a lot of different races. It wasn't a lot of gang bangers. It wasn't a lot of drugs on the corners. It wasn't nothing 'cause it was like more authority was out there.</i>
<i>Non Client</i>	<i>All right, the look in her eyes, she (his mother) was scared. She was scared, and I know how she hurtin'. She hurtin'. I don't think she would've been</i>

able to of took that, if anything would've happened to me. You know what I'm saying? She was like, "If something happen to you, you know your little brothers are gonna go out there, too." I didn't wanna put them in that predicament. With me leaving (moving to Minnesota) I pretty much did save them, because I would put 'em in danger. Go kick it with these people, people they 'aint supposed to kick it with; doin' this, doin' that.

Table 19: Woodlawn Residents on Isolation and Neighborhood Mobility

Parent Resident	Yeah. I mean, I really barely go out. I'm not outside—if I go outside, it's to work, school, to the store. I'm not out here lagging and tryin' to find people to talk to on the corners— and steppin' around. Cuz it gets iffy cuz I see this group, folks comin' from this way. It's girls, too. It's a loud group of girls comin' from this way, they ignorant and talkin' all type of smack.- Beat 0313
Elderly Resident	We all stay inside, pretty much. We speak (to neighbors) when we're outside when the weather is warmer and we go sit on the steps. They will speak. The house over there on that corner—not on that corner, but the closest to that abandoned apartment building there, there seems to be guys in that building that are selling drugs, whatever, because that's the only place where I see the cops roll up and grab people was in there. Everybody else in this block—the few that are here, cuz a lot of these houses are abandoned in this block too—they seem to be staying in the house, trying to stay away from what's going on. –Beat 0312
Parent Resident	I don't go out much. I don't go out at night if I can help it. I don't. There's a few times I've gone out with my friends and had to come back, and I was nervous about coming—walking down the street at night. I was really jumpy about doing that. If I have to go to a store, I try to do it during the day and not at night. Like I said, we sit here at night, and we hear the sirens. We hear gunshots. We hear people. We hear people arguing. I think that hair is out there because there were two girls out there getting in an argument, and I think somebody snatched somebody's wig—weave out, and that's what's out there on the street. Cuz I heard that argument. I just didn't go outside.- Beat 0312
Clients	It's like anything can happen to you, that's why I don't feel safe. Cuz anything happen to anybody. It been times you don't know who from this side wanna ride down there. I don't know everybody from every neighborhood over here, cuz them the two main things over here, that right there. Other than that, I ain't—On Cottage, on the hood of Cottage, all of that right there, I don't go over there. I don't go down that way.- Beat 0312
Non Client	I don't feel very safe. I pretty much have to know what areas I can walk through at a certain time, whereas I can't. At certain times, I know that—let's say King Drive. That's an area to whereas if you're from this side, you can't go on that side at certain times. People might recognize you and might know who you are. It's just somethin's bound to happen. I pretty

much don't have as much of a problem as other people because I understand and over-stand these things. I'm pretty somewhat of a responsible of knowin', "Well, if I'm not 'sposed to be over here at this time," or say somebody might recognize me, I don't go. I'd rather stay in the house. That could be— That could be a problem for most people because they feel, like, "Well, I'm from this area. I should be able to go where I wanna go." They allow their emotions to cloud their judgment. That's another big thing. The emotions. The emotions of many people in this neighborhood and outside of the neighborhood, but definitely within this neighborhood, people have so much built up anger and frustration of not havin' and losin' family members and loved ones. They begin to walk around just not caring about anything, mainly themselves. That affects their decision makin'. It gets to the point where they know that they'll be in the wrong area, and they'll walk into situations blind based on how they're feelin' at the given time. They turn to alcohol and drugs and all these things to cope and deal with all the pain and the pressures of life.-0313

Police. Residents also described police presence as another neighborhood safety strategy. Both neighborhood residents and high-risk youth provided examples of how police play an important role in keeping them safe (see Tables 20-21).

Important however, among residents and high-risk participants, the general theme was that the police are viewed as outsiders who lack the care and concern that is needed in the community. While some noted their appreciation for the police, others indicated that they did not see policing as a long term solution. In addition, many residents and high-risk youth expressed a lack of trust, respect, and overall concern from the police.

Table 20: Woodlawn Residents on Police Presence

<p><i>Parent Resident</i></p>	<p><i>I mean, I don't really think it's—it's a neg—they (the police) have a negative outcome on a community, because they try their best. Even though some of them probably don't even really care whether or not people over here get hurt or not, they're just doing their job—but I think most of them, they try to make sure, okay, what are you doing...I think in like June or July and it was a couple guys walking down the street, like probably my age or younger. The police, one police officer was like, "What are you doing? You don't even live over here. Why are you over here?" He's like, "How did you know I don't live over here?" He's like, "Because I know your face. You don't live over here. You live six blocks away. Why are you over here?" They're paying attention. It's like, "Why are you here? Just go to Cottage Grove. You're trying to start something." He's, "Okay, you know what? I'm not gonna put handcuffs on you, but I'm gonna put you in the car and we're gonna drive you back to where you're—where I usually see you." He got him and three other guys that he was walking with, and they put them in the car and they took them away. I'm like, that's a good thing, because they could easily have been walking</i></p>
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	<i>towards somebody and take their life. I think that was the best thing out of all, so I think the police do—they have a positive—“</i>
<i>Elderly Resident</i>	<i>We have a good police presence. I can sit out there on the porch and, like she says, every eight, ten, 15 minutes, I'll see a police car, which means to me that I'm being protected, so I don't really too much worry about it. I've heard the people complain about the police being out there. I'm glad they're there. I've told them I was glad they're there. I've told a couple of cops, "Be sure you go home safe tonight." He said to me, "Thank you for saying that." I said, "I know how it is out here. Just be careful. I want you to be back tomorrow." [Laughter]—Beat 0312</i>
<i>Parent Resident</i>	<i>Yeah, it has. You don't hear about it as random as it was. Then again, it's like anything else, man. The cold sometimes that always kinda kills things because people don't hang out as much. Right. For me to see it really work, I wanna see how things go when it start getting nice out again. When it start getting warm out. Then I'll really be able to tell what this police presence has really done. So far it's been a plus. I must say that it's been a plus... 'Cause I mean, if you come over here any time after it gets dark, it's police in every corner. Which that has helped. That has helped tremendously because before they did that, before they used that strategy, I mean, man, it was just—I mean, it was like the old shoot-'em-up coral. You just had gun shots all during the day. I'm talking about broad daylight, all the way up into nighttime. Ridiculous going on here. I'd say the change had to come, like I would say last year. —Beat 0312</i>
<i>Clients</i>	<i>I say in the last year the level of violence got real low; which I think good. For the simple fact, before I went to the penitentiary it was pretty high. I seen maybe a body here, body here, body here, body here, a body here day by day. Police being out here. Tonight I could walk through the neighborhood like, "Dang they put a new thing here and a new little park here. This is nice." I ain't gotta keep looking like, "I wonder if they gonna pull up start shooting here or there." 'Cuz the police level done got a high. Then shutting the corner store down on the corner. Then they did something smart, they ain't just close the corner store down, they moved CeaseFire from down there (further east) to down here (current office) has helped.- Woodlawn 0312 client #4</i>
<i>Non Client</i>	<i>It was like then (two years ago)—man, my folks was gettin' knocked off left and right around. Now it be like—and with the police presence over here people hafta be super sneaky. If you went and knocked a motherfucker off, you had to been like damn near covert op agent to knock 'em off G's over</i>

there...Because the police and CeaseFire. They was out patrollin' up and down 63rd. Truthfully, I'm not even gonna bullshit. I actually felt safe with the CeaseFire over here, and I actually felt safe with the police out here. With the combination of police and CeaseFire shit been cool out here. I been seein' kids walk home from school bein' cool and all that. Shit been real cool though.- Woodlawn 0312 non-client 1

Client I'd say it's probably Cease Fire cuz if you invest the money into the police I don't think they'll really do a good job for all the violence. Cuz it some people who's getting that. Like I seen somebody really get shot. The police came and just laughed, and actually that's another black male. I don't think they really care. I think the police these days let us, they just want us to kill each other, so they ain't gotta do their job.... Still I mean don't get me wrong we got some police there that care, but some don't. -Woodlawn 0312 client #1.

Table 21: North Lawndale Residents Knowledge of Police Presence

Parent Resident	<p>t's not really calming it down unless the police is gonna show up finally, and then they show up, maybe they—they still can't do that much. They got to wait on backup and stuff. If anything was to happen, I would say it wouldn't do anything, would probably escalate it more to another level. It wouldn't go down; it would just go up a little more, so it could go from fighting—if it's fighting, then it's gonna go to shooting or something that's gonna happen out of it probably.- Beat 1021</p>
Elderly Resident	<p>I'd say over the last year there's been a heavy police presence in the neighborhood. The Chicago police have been walking through the neighborhood on foot and to me there's a sense of security with the police walking through the neighborhood and also it may deter some of the gun violence that might be going on. If you know there's four cops on this block, four cops on that block and anywhere within a mile radius it may deter some of your thinking process if you're not too far gone that if you shoot this gun, if you sell these drugs, if you rape this lady there's a whole lot of police around here that can catch you, send you to jail for a long time. Maybe that's a deterrent and I think that is but I don't think that is the solution. That's not the solution, you know? -Beat 1011</p>

Parent Resident | *Interviewer: Is there anyone else that people can call besides the police? Are there any neighborhood people who kind of like are good at keeping the peace?*

I never heard of them, not me. I will say that's kind of the problem because of the fact a lot of people depend on the police, so most people got it in their heads now, you know, skip, the police. A lot of people don't even care—as much about the police if they show up or not. A lot of people take most matters in their own hand now- 1011.

Non-Clients | *I mean, they try to help prevent violence. For one, it'd be a trust. It'd be a trust that they (CeaseFire) can gain from the streets—from the community, from the neighborhood—that the police—they wouldn't be able to. They (CeaseFire) got history. They got relatives still. They got peers, friends. Like I said, they got history in the neighborhoods. I would—me, personally—I would trust talkin' to one of them before I would a stranger. I would rather them be the go-between. A lot of times with me—a lot of things I might need. I might want for—to be exposed for fear of danger. For fear of wrong things happening in the neighborhood. I probably wouldn't pick the phone up and dial 911. I probably wouldn't speak on—but I could—there's certain guys that maybe just in their group that I would trust that I can talk to them and they'll make sure that—..... It's always—it's always room for improvement, and it's obvious that the police can always use some help, because you can—anywhere down—anywhere in—not just in Lawndale—but anywhere in the neighborhood it's always said that the community won't—they won't talk to the police. You see what I'm sayin'? The people—they aren't gonna open up to the police. They gonna slam their door on the police face. They don't trust the police. These guys right here—they feel like these are one of them. You know what I'm sayin'? -1011 non-client #3*

Non Client | *Right, yeah. You're outside your neighborhood, it's more than—now it's not just the people you have to watch. You gotta watch the police, too. I mean, I prefer to watch the people that's making the neighborhood fucked up, than the police. I feel like that's a security blanket. I should be able to flag a police down and be like, "Hey, man, somebody over there gettin' hurt," instead of, you flag the police down, and they're like, "What's your name? Woo-woppty-bam." It's like, "Well, what has all this got to do with me telling you that's somebody's gettin' hurt?" You feel what I'm sayin'? It's a lot of things that make you don't even wanna see the police, period. That's why we police our own. You feel what I'm sayin'?*

Interviewer: Right. Okay, so how effective is it? Like how do you police your own areas? You started off the interview saying, "It's tense. We don't trust the police. We gotta police our own." How does that happen?

Well, for one, like how I come up, I come to the young ones and I let 'em know, "When you're outside, hey, man, be careful. Be smart." Don't just be—I know you know everybody gotta eat, but it's how you do it. Don't just

stand out there. Don't just be in the crowd because, in the crowd, nobody's looking out for you.
 "They're looking out for theirself," and that's, pretty much, the way I always let 'em know, but it's true, cuz I done went to jail, a few times, and 'aint nobody say nothin'. 1011 non-client #2

Retaliation. High-Risk participants also described retaliation as a response to violence (see Table 22),

Table 22: High Risk Participants on Retaliation

<p>Woodlawn Client</p>	<p>Interviewer: Given that that's some of the reasons why people beef, what would be a reason somebody would say, "All right, I'm not gonna respond by shooting somebody, or beating them down with a bat. I'm gonna just try to have a different approach besides violence"?</p> <p><i>Interviewee: I don't think you can like have a—these days they just you went into it, into it until you in jail there. I don't think it's like you can squash it...The other people they try to retaliate. They try to go after who shot 'em.</i></p> <p>Interviewer: Okay. What do you think is the healthier way to react? You got your guy who said, "I'm gonna go back to school." Kinda had a wake up call. Other people are like—</p> <p><i>Interviewee: Yeah, his friend's thinking the opposite. His friends think like, "We're gonna catch them who shot you". He thinking like he ain't think. He says he in school now. He know some other, whole other stuff. He ain't thinking about that...Cuz they ain't trying to say like, they ain't trying to say they are enemies. Saying they ain't, they getting shot, they ain't dead or nothing, so they wanna retaliate till them gone-0312 #1</i></p>
<p>Woodlawn Client</p>	<p><i>When somebody get shot, or they start fightin' and then somebody pick up a weapon. I don't know. It just certain stuff that make it escalate to something that y'all do. I might see you. You might be by yourself. I might be with five of my friends. We might jump on you and then now, you done got jumped on. Now you mad. Now you wanna go get yo gun and you wanna come back and you gonna wanna fight. You just got jumped on, so you wanna shoot. You shoot one our people, and now we come, now we shoot one of yo people, and that's how it starts, just like that, back and forth. Then you come down here and shoot somebody that ain't got nothin' to do with that. That's what be goin' on with it. There just be so much of that goin' on. Y'all don't even be hittin' the targets. Y'all hittin' people that ain't got nothin'—I might just live on this block. I might be a dude and I just live on this block. Now you thinkin' I'm one of these guys, and you be like</i></p>

that.—0313 client #9

North Lawndale Non Client

I know one kid—he got shot a few times. I didn't know why he was beefin.' Come to find out they was beefin' over—they got into it over a girl, and one was—he whupped him. After that they just went to shootin' from that point on. No more fightin'— they was shootin.' This kid got shot three different times. I think he was on a document (documentary), too, you mighta seen.-1011 non-client #3

North Lawndale Client

But to me, it wasn't a bad thing cuz I liked it, and there was a lot of people, like block for block, they sold drugs and was making money. The only time—only time like if I was to come around with something, like be in a club, and I'm trying to out show, I got more money than you, or I had sex with your girlfriend and you found out about it, now me and you got into it. My team gonna help me; your team gonna help you.

Now the gun play get involved cuz too many people getting jumped on and caught by their selves. Now we're fixin' go shoot, and that's the bad part. That's the bad part, but it ain't nothin' positive in shooting. I just know when they do shoot, and when they won't, who they won't, that's who they're gonna get. I ain't fixin' to get no little babies, no girls, no mothers, no grandmas, no innocent bystanders—period.

When we was out there, like I say, the girls, there was plenty of women on our block, but we were too, "Y'all can't come out. When y'all come out, call us, so we all go out the back door, and we escort you all to your all car someplace. Is only how you won't want your child to get hurt." They did.

But man, it's multiple gangs. It ain't like back in the day no more. It's different. It's different now cuz it ain't about I'm gonna vice a little here, vice a little—it's about my team, they get money; your team they ain't got money, and they rush aheads cuz it's a group—keep going, keep going, different names, different name, and all the names, now they 12 and up; 12 to 17 got the most murders now on people.

You know, you got to like—you have to go get permission. "Man, little Joe, we got into it, but then what you want us to do?" Ain't none of that. "We get two at the liquor store, "Where they be at?" Are we going over there?" They shoot anybody that's standing on the block now, off the mollies. It's the drug play a big part in it cuz you got mollies. You got PCP and you got ecstasy. They're taking one, two, three, plus the cash, plus the liquor, plus the cigarettes, plus the Red Bulls. That's seven drugs in their body!- 1011 #2

Coping with Exposure to Violence. When high-risk youth were asked to describe negative qualities of their neighborhood, nearly all of the participants described exposure to violence,

detailing their own victimization, or that of their friends and family. The most vivid description was from a Woodlawn participant who described knowing at least one victim on seven consecutive blocks in his neighborhood.

Interviewee: I was 17 when I got shot. I got shot right here, on 62nd and Rhodes...another bad time, when my friend got kilt, down here on 62nd and Langley... another bad time, my friend—a couple of friends I had just walked off from got shot, right here on 62nd and St. Lawrence, right down the street. There've been a lot of bad times. My cousin just got kilt, less than—well, last year—two years; well, a year and a half ago, right here, right down the street from where I stay at, on 62nd and Eberhart. My little brother got shot, right on the next block, that I got shot on...62nd and Rhodes...Uh huh, and my other little brother, he had got shot, right here on 62nd and Vernon...He was like 13 or 14, at the time. Then he had shot again, on 63rd and King Drive, by the bus stop. There's just been a lot of bad times.

Interviewer: Okay, so, man, you almost covered the whole 8 blocks between King Drive and Cottage Grove, with somebody getting shot or killed that were close to you.

Interviewee: Basically, yeah, I really 'aint finished, but it's a lot though. On Champlain, my cousin, my oldest cousin, he locked up. He got shot on Champlain, in the leg. A lot, yeah. Oh, man, I've been around here a long time. Houses been broken into. Stores have been broken into. Everything, basically... On the beef side, they just been beefin' up on Facebook or what a female said, and all that shooting. I really want it to stop, tell you the truth.—
Woodlawn non-client #9

Similar to other studies on the impact of exposure to violence, those interviewed described symptoms of depression, isolation, hyper-vigilance, and fatalistic thoughts.

Table 23: High Risk Participants Coping with Exposure to Violence

North Lawndale Client

He got shot...In the jaw, in the neck and in the chest, He was running. Only reason he died—cuz he woulda stayed alive if he woulda just dropped, if he woulda got hit. Reason why he died is cuz he was running, and the bullet had moved to his brain. He died at the bus stop. Yeah, that really was my big homie. That was our homie to tell somebody was messing with us. One of the main homies that'll always be there for us, anything we need, was there for us. He was like my big brother. That's just like when he died, it felt like somebody took my big brother. That's what it felt like. I felt like somebody took my big brother. I just got distant from everybody, except for homie. Cuz the only person who know how I felt was the homies at the time....My homie died. My homie died, and that took a big effect on me, a big, big effect on me. I just didn't wanna be around people like that, but my homies, because I felt like they was the only people feeling that pain that I felt at that time. I wasn't really trying to go around people. Even my mama was telling me I was being distant from her, and I'm not even really distant from my mama. Me and mama talk a lot to each other. During that time my homie died, I just started cutting everybody off except for my homies. Cuz my homies was the only ones that know how I felt. I dropped out of high school, started spending more time on the block with the guys, all that. That's what happened.---Beat 1011#7

Woodlawn Client

Since 2013 came it been hectic. Babies getting killed—like the baby that got killed on 66th? That was my friend daughter baby.

Interviewer: My condolences man. I'm sorry about that. Yeah. How does it make you feel that you're saying it hasn't changed?

People like they got the mindset that's kill your enemies. It's kill. It's shoot, shoot till they all gone.

Interviewer: Okay. What do you think that mindset's gonna do to folks?

Like to say like you got people that look up to you, and they see you doing it. They gonna wanna do the same thing cuz they think it's right cuz you doing it.- Beat 0312 #1

Woodlawn Client

People still hurt off their peoples' dying, trying to get back and don't never want to let up, don't got nothing to live for...It's blood behind these problems. It's death. Certain people not trying to hear nothing. People's brother got killed, so they're not trying to hear nothing. People's cousin got killed. They're not trying to hear nothing. People close to them got killed behind each other, like one of them—each side killed somebody close to somebody, so they're not gonna never just, "Oh, yeah, we're cool. We're gonna let that go. We're gonna let that pass by."-beat 0313 #7

Conclusion

The clients and non-clients provided detailed examples of how CeaseFire is an important asset to the Woodlawn and North Lawndale neighborhoods through the unique ability to mentor and coach males at highest risk for violence on non-violent approaches, as well as provide opportunities that remove them from exposure to street violence through employment and social events. CeaseFire's impact went beyond the interruption of violence by also interrupting the extreme isolation that the high-risk youth experienced. This impact can be best captured by a client from North Lawndale, "CeaseFire taught me that life is more than the block. I can be bigger than the block".

Both residents and high-risk participants of North Lawndale and Woodlawn identified violence and safety as a primary concern of living in their neighborhood and the strategies used to keep them safe. Although residents described some positive qualities of their neighborhood such as close ties with residents (family and friends), crime, and particularly youth as perpetrators of crime, was a dominant theme across the majority of the interviews. Described as "crazy youth" by one of the elderly residents, interviewees cited social media threats and braggadocio over dating women, material items, and the superior status of one's gang as the underlying cause of conflicts among the youth. Many participants identified cliques as a primary explanation for an increase in the victimization of non-gang residents. Coined by one participant as ATG (against

the grain), the cliques are smaller gangs that many participants described as unstructured, unorganized and lacking loyalty to traditional gang allegiances. The story of the changing dynamic of gang conflict provides some descriptive context to a recent finding by Papachristos (2013) that “gang homicide is moving away from inter-gang homicide and towards a greater proportion of intra-gang homicide” (p. 10). Future studies should consider interviewing the “crazy youth” (youth less than 18 years of age) to understand their perspective on safety and violence in the community as well as their opinions on the impact of CeaseFire.

Residents responded to violence by isolating themselves, retaliating, or relying on police or CeaseFire staff. As an elderly resident from Woodlawn described (see row 3 table 11; p. 23), “Any entity that tries to divert violence or has a voice in the community for positive change is an asset”. She explained that in a neighborhood with few resources, CeaseFire is a much needed resource. Based on descriptions by the majority of CeaseFire clients and non-clients, CeaseFire is considered a respectable and trustworthy asset to the community. Although only one-third of the residents could explain CeaseFire’s role in their neighborhood, those that did not know of CeaseFire cited CeaseFire activities as likely effective strategies for violence prevention, including mentoring, job opportunities, and social activities for youth. Thus, CeaseFire is fulfilling a need in the community. Future steps should consider how to increase visibility as well as effectively disseminate CeaseFire’s activities to residents who admit that they typically isolate themselves as a strategy to stay safe.

As described numerous times by residents, there is a need for more parenting programs, particularly as a primary prevention approach. However, for youth at the highest risk for violence, CeaseFire seems to be the most appropriate “indicated” preventive intervention due to the strength of its social and cultural capital. As a result, CeaseFire workers command the attention and respect of the highest risk individuals particularly because, “The things I did, they did” as described by a North Lawndale client. In neighborhoods such as North Lawndale and Woodlawn, characterized by durable constrained structural characteristics, it is critical to continue to invest in what Robert Sampson (2012) describes as the “social infrastructure and interconnected social fabric” (p. 421).

REFERENCES

Papachristos, A. V (2013). 48 Years of Crime in Chicago: A Descriptive Analysis of Serious Crime Trends from 1965-2013. (Yale ISPS Working Paper ISPS 13-023. 9 December 2013). Retrieved from Andrew Papachristos website: <http://www.papachristos.org>

Sampson, R. J. (2012). *Great American city: Chicago and the enduring neighborhood effect*. University of Chicago Press.

APPENDIX: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Interview Guide: *Beginning time:*

INTRODUCTION: Thank you for coming today. My name is _____. I represent a research study being conducted by the Chicago Center for Youth Violence Prevention at the University of Chicago.

You were invited to participate in an interview to discuss your thoughts about safety in your neighborhood. I especially want to learn about your thoughts about violence and any efforts to decrease or prevent violence occurring in your community. I'll also want to hear about the potential impact violence in your community has had in your life and in the neighborhood.

This discussion should last about 1 hour.

I am going to ask for your permission to follow some strategies that will encourage a good discussion and that will help me understand your views:

RECORDING: Our discussion will be digitally recorded to allow for transcription and review of all comments at a future date.

NOTE TAKING: From time to time, I will take notes to keep track of your discussion.

CONFIDENTIALITY: When transcribing and analyzing our conversations, your identity and the identity of all discussion participants will remain anonymous.

INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTIONS: INFORMED CONSENT

1. GIVE PARTICIPANT COPY OF CONSENT FORM
2. ASK PARTICIPANT TO READ CONSENT TO THEMSELVES WHILE YOU READ COPY OF CONSENT FORM ALOUD
3. READ EXTRA COPY OF CONSENT FORM TO PARTICIPANT
4. ASK PARTICIPANT IF HE HAS ANY QUESTIONS BEFORE SIGNING FORM
5. ASK TO PARTICIPANT TO SIGN CONSENT FORM AND DATE
6. SIGN FORM AND DATE
7. GIVE COPY OF CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANT TO KEEP

Note: The first two questions are for all participants

THE OPENING QUESTION: BACKGROUND IN NEIGHBORHOOD (5-10 minutes)

- *Before we get started, I would like for you to tell me about your time in this neighborhood. Reflecting on your time in this neighborhood, please share with me how long you have lived in this house/apt and describe what it has been like living in this neighborhood.*
 - *Potential Probes:*
 - *How long have you lived in this neighborhood*
 - *How would you describe your neighbors to someone who has never been in your neighborhood?*
 - *How would you describe the community organizations (like churches, CBO, parks, others) to someone who has never been in your neighborhood*
 - *Describe some positive qualities about your block/neighborhood*
 - *Describe some negative qualities about your block/neighborhood*
 - *If you could change something about your block/neighborhood what would it be?*

- **INTRODUCTION QUESTION: SAFETY AND VIOLENCE (10-15 minutes)**

*How safe do you feel in your neighborhood? During the day? In the evening?
Please take a moment to reflect on conflict in your neighborhood. Based on your point of view, what are things that may cause that conflict to become violent?
What are the attitudes of your neighbors around the use of violence?
Are there resources in your neighborhood to address issues of safety and violence?
Has the level of violence changed in the last year? How has it changed? Describe some of the reasons the level of violence has changed in the past year.*

- **KEY QUESTION: Awareness and Impact of CeaseFire (30 minutes):**

- **QUESTIONS FOR CEASEFIRE CLIENTS**

- Are you involved with CeaseFire?

1. How would you describe CeaseFire?
2. Does CeaseFire play any role in your life? How do you interact with CeaseFire?
 - a. Potential Probes include:
 - i. Who are they?
 - ii. What do they do?
 - iii. How visible do you think their workers are in your community?
3. Has CeaseFire had any impact in your neighborhood.
 - a. Potential Probes include:
 - i. Has CeaseFire done anything to resolve conflict in your neighborhood?
 - ii. Has CeaseFire done anything to help de-escalate tension in your neighborhood?

iii. Has CeaseFire helped improve safety in your neighborhood?

4. Please take a moment to describe how CeaseFire has impacted your life.

a. Potential Probes include:

i. Has CeaseFire helped you resolve conflict?

ii. If so, what specific strategies did the Outreach Workers/Violence Interrupters use to help you resolve conflict?

iii. Has CeaseFire helped in any other parts of your life, outside of resolving conflict or the focus on violence? Have you changed in any way since you've started working with CeaseFire? If so, how have you changed?

iv. Has any of your behavior changed since you've started working with CeaseFire? If so, what has changed? Why do you think this is? If not, why hasn't anything changed?

v. How has your involvement in your community changed after coming in contact with Outreach Workers and/or Violence Interrupters in CeaseFire?

• QUESTIONS FOR HIGH-RISK INDIVIDUALS NOT INVOLVED WITH CEASEFIRE

• When I say CeaseFire what do think of?

• Have you heard of the organization CeaseFire?

• Tell me what you know about CeaseFire.

○ Potential Probes include:

▪ Who are they?

▪ What do they do?

▪ How visible do you think their workers are in your neighborhood?

▪ How would you describe their presence in your neighborhood?

Describe your interaction OR contact with Outreach Workers and/or Violence Interrupters in CeaseFire.

Have you been approached to work with anyone from CeaseFire? If so, why have you chosen not to?

What is your overall impression of CeaseFire?

What impact do you believe CeaseFire has in your community?

Describe your thoughts or feelings about their attempts to resolve conflict in the community.

How would you describe CeaseFire's impact on safety in your community?

If an Outreach Worker and/or Violence Interrupter approached you to become involved in CeaseFire how would that make you feel?

- QUESTIONS FOR RESIDENTS (PARENTS/ELDER) INTERVIEWEES

- Have you heard of CeaseFire?

- Potential Probes include:

- Who are they?
 - What do they do?
 - How visible do you think their workers are in your neighborhood?
 - How would you describe their presence in your neighborhood?

Describe any interaction you may have had OR contact with Outreach Workers and/or Violence Interrupters in CeaseFire.

What is your overall impression of CeaseFire?

What impact do you believe CeaseFire has in your community?

Potential probes

- Has CeaseFire had any impact? Has CeaseFire’s presence made your neighborhood safer? Less safe?
- If more safe, in what ways has CeaseFire made your community safer? If less safe, in what ways?

Describe your thoughts or feelings about their attempts to resolve conflict in the community.

- **CLOSING QUESTION (5 mins):** If you could design a program to reduce violence and improve safety in your neighborhood what would you like to see happen in this program?

CONCLUSION:

Thank you again for participating. Today we discussed your viewpoint on XXXX, your understanding of XXXX, and XXX. Is there anything else you would like to add so that we can better understand your opinions?

Thank you for your time

(time _____) Closing

The information you provided was very helpful.