

than those running the programs? The number of gangs and gang members continues to grow despite the money spent and the programs developed.

An exception can be found in a program located in the heart of gang territory in East Los Angeles, known as Homeboy Industries.

Homeboys Industries: A Unique Program

The motto of this program is as follows: "Homeboy Industries is the living example of our mission statement, 'nothing stops a bullet like a job.'" ⁷ This program began with the goal of helping gang members find jobs. These youths lived in one of the toughest neighborhoods in Los Angeles, the area around East L.A., where gangs have become an entrenched institution (Moore, 1991). The program consisted of counseling, education, tattoo removal, substance abuse and addiction assistance, job training, and job placement. It began under the leadership of Father Greg Boyle, who has been a fixture within the community for many years (Fremont, 2004).

What makes this program distinct is the businesses they have established, not unlike what has been accomplished in Delancey Street in San Francisco. ⁸ These businesses are Homeboy Bakery, Homeboy Silkscreen & Embroidery, the Homegirl Café, Homeboy/Homegirl Merchandise, Homeboy Diner (located on the second floor of Los Angeles City Hall), and Homeboy Farmers Markets. Homeboy Industries began in 1998 as a "Jobs For A Future" (JFF) program created by Father Gregory Boyle while he was pastor of the Dolores Mission parish in Boyle Heights (a neighborhood within East Los Angeles). It became a nonprofit institution in 2001.

Unfortunately, the recent recession dealt the program a heavy blow. According to a story in the *Los Angeles Times* (Becerra, 2010, 2010a), 300 people (about three-fourths of the staff, including Gregory Boyle) had to be laid off because they could not raise enough money to remain open, and sales from their businesses were falling. However, some persistence has perhaps paid off, for in February 2011, they introduced a new product called Homeboy Salsa. The logo reads "Jobs Not Jails." It soon became the hottest selling snack at Ralph's supermarket deli sections throughout the Los Angeles area (Hallock, 2011). This became possible through "collaboration with Ralph's, which waived slotting fees—what food manufacturers sometimes pay grocery companies to carry a new product—and donated \$50,000 to the project." The program has made a comeback in the past year, largely because of some large private donations, which resulted in hiring back about 100 employees who had been laid off the previous year. The *Times* story further notes:

Meanwhile, Homegirl Café plans to expand to Los Angeles International Airport, and a Homeboy General Store is slated to open this spring in City Hall downtown. The bakery, Homeboy's original business and the employer of about 40 people, turns out more than 3,000 breads and pastries a day—croissants, cookies, tarts, baguettes and sourdough loaves that are sold at 17 farmers markets and

increasingly at "foodie" spots such as Intelligentsia coffee houses in Silver Lake and Pasadena and the new Black Cat Bakery on Fairfax Avenue. (Hallock, 2011)

One of the unique aspects of this program is that it targets gangs within their own turf, as it is located in an area that has one of "the highest concentration of gang activity in all of Los Angeles." In fact, it "is a sanctuary for former gang members who yearn to become functioning members of society" (Vigil, 2010: 93–94).

The most recent news about this program is that a screenwriter has adapted Father Greg Boyle's book *Tattoos on the Heart* (Boyle, 2010) as a play at the Casa 0101 Theater in Boyle Heights under the leadership of Josefina López (Johnson, 2011).

This program is an illustration of what can be accomplished when thinking unconventionally, because the program is not funded by the government and not operated by the criminal justice system (such as those reviewed earlier). We sincerely hope that it continues to be successful.

A Model Program: The Detention Diversion Advocacy Project. One of the major problems with most programs reviewed here (with the exception of Homeboy Industries) is that they rarely target kids who are seriously at risk of joining gangs or are in gangs. They far too often target kids who are only marginally at risk and would probably go straight with little or no intervention. What is required is going to what Miller has called the "deep end" of the system, targeting those at the highest risk (1998). A program that started in San Francisco, known as the Detention Diversion Advocacy Project (DDAP), illustrates this idea. The senior author of this book conducted an evaluation of this program. The success of this program, plus the fact that it has been replicated in two other parts of the country (Washington, D.C., and Montgomery County, Maryland) and the fact that the evaluation was published by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (Shelden, 1999b), warrants a special section in this chapter. Even though it was not originally established to deal with gangs, it is still worth considering because so many offenders who have participated have been involved in gangs or at least lived in areas where gangs are prevalent.

The original DDAP was begun in 1993 by the Center on Juvenile and Criminal Justice (CJCJ) in San Francisco, California. The program's major goal is to reduce the number of youth in court-ordered detention and provide them with culturally relevant community-based services and supervision. Youths selected are those that are likely to be detained pending their adjudication. DDAP provides an intensive level of community-based monitoring and advocacy that is not presently available. **Disposition case advocacy** is the concept that describes the type of approach being used in this program. This method has been defined as "the efforts of lay persons or non-legal experts acting on behalf of youthful offenders at disposition hearings" (Macallair, 1994: 84). It is based in part on the more general concept of "case management," which has been