



NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CHILD ADVOCATES

FACT SHEET:

Youth Crime Prevention Programs WORK

Eve Brooks
President

Board of Directors

Chairman
John Riggan
The Conservation Company

Vice Chair for External Affairs
Terri Lee Freeman
Freddie Mac Foundation

Vice Chair for Internal Affairs
Rosalind McCee
Utah Children

Treasurer
Marvin Cohen
Chicago Community Trust

Secretary
Carol Kamin
Children's Action Alliance

Robert Allen
Mecklenburg Partnership for Children

Peter Berliner
The Children's Alliance

Robert D. Cumbs
Health Systems Agency of NYC

Winsome Hawkins
Metropolitan Atlanta
Community Foundation, Inc

Dennis C. Johnson
The Children's Health Fund

Jack Levine
Florida Center for Children & Youth

Ruth W. Mayden
Bryn Mawr College

Ciro Scalera
Association for Children of
New Jersey

Jerome Stermer
Voices for Illinois Children

Jule Sugarman
Center on Effective Services
for Children

Shelly Yanoff
Philadelphia Citizens for
Children & Youth

Robert Quigley

Over 50 national organizations, as well as dozens of state and local organizations from around the country, are calling upon Congress to support the youth crime prevention programs in the recently-enacted crime bill, and oppose efforts now pending in Congress to eliminate those programs. Prevention programs work.

According to a 1994 report from the Trust for Public Land [(415)495-4014]:

- In Fort Myers, Florida, police have documented a 28% drop in juvenile arrests since 1990 when the city began STARS (Success Through Academics and Recreational Support) for young adolescents. In 1991, 75% of the children enrolled in STARS were making less than a C average in school. Now, 80% of the 1,500 children enrolled have brought their grades up to a C average or better. Mayor Smith stated, "As the mayor of a city that totally committed itself to using recreation and academic support as the vehicle for combatting violent juvenile crime, I can tell you that it works."
- In the summertime, when Phoenix basketball courts and other recreation facilities are kept open until 2 am, police calls reporting juvenile crime drop by as much as 55%. Such programs are needed year-round, but funding is not available. Yet, these programs are a bargain: with 170,000 participants in Phoenix, the cost is sixty cents per youth.
- In Hart County, Georgia, Project HYDRA (Hart Youth Development Resource Association) puts young first offenders into a recreation and mentor program as part of informal probation. In HYDRA's first year of operation, juvenile complaint calls fell by 14% & incarcerations by 25%.

Other information available from the National Criminal Justice Commission [(703)684-0373] similarly supports prevention approaches:

- A recently-released comprehensive drug and alcohol treatment follow-up study of approximately 3,000 individuals (CALDATA) found that criminal activity declined by 66% following treatment, and the longer an individual remained in treatment, the greater the reduction in criminal activity.
- At the Mountlake Terrace Neutral Zone Gang Intervention Program near Spokane, Washington, at-risk youth were offered a variety of recreational and educational activities at a school each Friday and Saturday night, from 10pm to 2am. An evaluation of the program found that crime in the area was reduced after the program was implemented.

Youth crime prevention works and saves money; federal support should continue.

Jose
FYI



NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CHILD ADVOCATES

Eve Brooks
President

John Riggan, Chairman
The Conservation Company

FACT SHEET:

Why Prevention Programs LOSE in a "Law Enforcement Block Grant"

The National Association of Child Advocates opposes efforts, such as those in H.R. 3 and S. 3, to eliminate youth crime prevention programs. While the "Law Enforcement Block Grants" funds in Title IV of H.R. 3 could allegedly be used for such youth crime prevention purposes, there is no guarantee that a single penny from any such law enforcement grants would be used for youth crime prevention, and it is very unlikely, from the way it is written, that any significant amount of funds would be used for crime prevention programs for youth. [Note: The "State and Local Law Enforcement Assistance" block grant in Title II of S.3, as introduced, does not even permit the use of funds for any prevention efforts.]

How do we know that little, if any, of the "Law Enforcement Block Grants" would go to prevention?

We can look at the recent experiences with grants under the "Edward Byrne Memorial State and Local Law Enforcement Assistance Program" (Title VI, Subtitle C of the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988).

According to the Bureau of Justice Assistance, state plans for expenditures of Byrne grants in FY1993 (the most recent year for which full information is available) reveal that only 3.55% is expected to be spent on "Crime Prevention", which includes community policing expenditures, and that only another 3.72% is expected to be spent on "Demand Reduction". Thus, under the Byrne grants law enforcement program, little more than 7% is spent on prevention activities, even when community policing is included as a prevention activity.

In fact, **over half of the states** did not plan to spend any funds on "crime prevention", and **over 20 states** did not plan to spend any funds on "demand reduction", according to statistics from the Bureau of Justice Assistance.

Clearly, when state and local governments have inadequate funds to meet needs, funds for prevention take a back seat to law enforcement funds, even though prevention is the only solution to our nation's crime problem that addresses the causes, and not just the symptoms, of crime.

January 30, 1995 (NACA)



National Institute of Justice

Update

Jeremy Travis, Director

October 1994

Preventing Interpersonal Violence Among Youths

Homicide is the 11th leading cause of death in the United States and is increasingly prevalent among youths; between 1980 and 1989, more than 11,000 persons died as a result of homicides committed by high school-aged youths who used a weapon of some type.

Several prevention programs have been started during the past decade to teach anger management and conflict resolution skills to youths; other programs increase contact between youths and appropriate role models.

The Issues and Practices report *Preventing Interpersonal Violence Among Youth: An Introduction to School, Community, and Mass Media Strategies* describes promising programs now in operation and recommends ways police and other criminal justice professionals can get involved in more broad-based violence prevention.

Understanding violent behavior

In 1992 almost half of all murder victims were either related to (12 percent) or acquainted with (35 percent) their assailants, and 29 percent of all murders were the result of an argument. Most were committed impulsively, and about half of all perpetrators or victims had consumed alcohol before the homicide.

The dimensions of the violence problem, especially for young people, have made the case for viewing violence from a public health perspective as well as the criminal justice vantage point. While criminal justice professionals approach violence in terms of investigation, arrest, prosecution, and conviction, public health specialists approach health problems in terms of the interaction between the host, the agent, and the environment.

The *host* is a person whose behavior determines or contributes to a public health problem. Males, especially

adolescents and young adults, are at greatest risk for assaultive violence, believing that they need to prove their manhood.

By *environment*, public health specialists mean the broad social, cultural, institutional, and physical forces that contribute to a public health problem. Many translate into an inability by families and communities to transmit positive values to young people, communicate a sense of hope about the future, or teach nonviolent conflict resolution skills.

The public health focus has brought renewed attention to the weaponry of violence: the *agent*. Thus there have been many calls to severely restrict the sales of firearms and, at the very least, to minimize young people's ready access to weapons.

Following are descriptions of two violence prevention programs based on the premise that violence is a learned behavior. They are rooted in the belief that children must be taught nonviolent means of resolving conflict.

Resolving Conflict Creatively Program (RCCP)

RCCP is a school-based conflict resolution and mediation program sponsored by the New York City Public Schools and Educators for Social Responsibility—Metro (ESR), a nonprofit organization. Begun in 1985, this K-12 program is now in place in 180 elementary, junior high, and high schools in the city, with 3,000 teachers and 70,000 students participating.

RCCP's year-long curriculums concentrate on active listening, assertiveness (as opposed to aggressiveness or passivity), expression of feelings, perspective-taking, cooperation, and negotiation. Teachers are encouraged to do at least one "peace lesson" a week, to use "teach-

able moments" that arise because of what's happening in the classroom or the world at large, and to infuse conflict resolution lessons into the regular academic program. By creating a "peaceable school," RCCP teachers strive to give their students a new image of what their world can be.

The teachers, too, must learn a new set of skills for resolving conflict and adopt a new style of classroom management, sharing power with students so they can learn how to deal with their own disputes.

RCCP recently began a pilot program for parents; two or three parents per school are trained to lead workshops for other parents on intergroup relations, family communication, and conflict resolution. To date nearly 300 parents have received training.

Violence Prevention Project (VPP)

VPP is a community-based outreach and education project run by Boston's Department of Health and Hospitals as part of its Health Promotion Program for Urban Youth. Begun in 1986 as a 3-year pilot program in two neighborhoods, Roxbury and South Boston, the project has been expanded as an integral part of the mayor's citywide Safe Neighborhoods Plan.

VPP began with development of the *Violence Prevention Curriculum for Adolescents*, developed by Dr. Deborah Prothrow-Stith. VPP teaches staff from community-based youth agencies how to use lessons from the high school curriculum in their own violence prevention programs.

VPP's community education program was coupled with a mass media campaign to raise public awareness of adolescent violence. VPP's peer leadership program

uses a small group of youth leaders who do conflict resolution and violence prevention work among their peers.

VPP is now organizing a coalition of service providers, teachers and school administrators, juvenile justice officials, parents, and other community residents. In VPP's view, such coalitions are more likely to start their own violence prevention activities, a key objective of the project.

Mass media strategies

The report also addresses ways the media can be used as an adjunct to school and community programs to prevent violence. Three such campaigns are "Walk Away From Violence," sponsored by the Wayne County, Michigan, Department of Public Health; "Stop the Violence," cosponsored by Jive Records and the National Urban League; and "Family Violence: Breaking the Chain," developed and broadcast by WBZ-TV in Boston.

Mass media campaigns can be used to educate the public about violence, keep it at the top of the public agenda, inform citizens about their community's attack on the problem and inspire their participation, and build support for changes in institutional arrangements, public policy, or law.

Preventing Interpersonal Violence Among Youth: An Introduction to School, Community, and Mass Media Strategies describes other conflict resolution strategies, curriculums, professional training programs, and parent training programs, as well as providing coalition-building information. The report can be obtained free from the National Criminal Justice Reference Service (NCJRS), Box 6000, Rockville, Maryland 20850 (800-851-3420).

U.S. Department of Justice
Office of Justice Programs
National Institute of Justice

Washington, D.C. 20531

Official Business
Penalty for Private Use \$300

BULK RATE
POSTAGE & FEES PAID
DOJ/NIJ
Permit No. G-91

27008
JOSE CERDA
SPECIAL ASSISTANT
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR
ONDCP
EXEC OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON DC 20500

October 27, 1994

JENNIFER:

**THESE ARE ONDCP INTERPRETATIONS OF THE
FINDINGS IN THE HEAVY BLACK. THE GRAY
AREAS ARE HHS FINDINGS.**

RICIA

THE NATIONAL STRUCTURED EVALUATION (NSE) OF DRUG USE AND ALCOHOL ABUSE PREVENTION PROGRAMS

NOTE: THE FOLLOWING STRIKEOUTS AND REDLINES REFLECT THE REVISIONS CSAP HAS MADE TO THE FINDINGS OF THE NSE, AS OF 10/24/94. IN SHORT, MOST OF THE FINDINGS, AND ALL OF THE POPULATION-SPECIFIC FINDINGS HAVE BEEN DROPPED OR BRANDED "TENTATIVE."

INTRODUCTION

- o Decades of research on drug treatment effectiveness culminated this year with two major, independent studies¹ that should end the nagging skepticism of those who have been reluctant to accept treatment as an extremely cost-effective drug control intervention. On treatment, the record is clear.
- o Prevention is a younger, and in many ways more complex, discipline. Its promise is evident but its specific results not as well documented as those of treatment. Indeed, a recently released report from the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment² concluded that

"...Current drug prevention programs lack scientifically accepted standards for determining their success or failure..."

The National Structured Evaluation (NSE) takes the discipline of prevention considerably closer to being able to respond to such criticism.... It makes a significant contribution to the scientific record, identifying effective approaches and making essential distinctions regarding outcomes sought and populations addressed. NSE results equip the Federal government to better guide local efforts and challenges us to provide such guidance in a directly useful way.

~~Findings of the NSE should be viewed as tentative.~~

OVERVIEW OF NSE METHODOLOGY

- o The NSE is one of a number of studies contributing to the 3rd report to the congress, which is now between SAMHSA and PHS in the HHS clearance process.
 - o The NSE report is the culmination of a 3 year comparative analysis of 309 prevention efforts (drawn from an original set of 2300 with some form of evaluation), which have widely different outcome measures.
- Since many of these efforts served two or more populations, "modules" were drawn from them to allow comparison of activities geared toward one target

population over time. The 309 efforts yielded 633 modules for comparison.

- Because the outcome measures presented are not directly comparable, the comparison does not yield a "what works" conclusion. Rather, it yields a sense of which approaches are more likely to produce positive results, without a quantitative expression of the extent of the result.
- This "more likely" scale is the result of a scoring process by expert viewers across the country. Reviewers were provided with outcome measures only, for each of the modules they reviewed. That is, they had a measure of results but did not know what kind of activities had been engaged in to produce the outcomes.
- For example, participants in module 365a reported their drug and alcohol use and their friends' (i.e., nonparticipants') drug and alcohol use after completion of the module. Since their drug and alcohol use was reported to be significantly lower than that of their friends, module 365a was considered to have positive effects.
- Reviewers scored a module from 1 to 5, ~~1 reflecting no effect, 3 reflecting minimal effect and 5 reflecting significant effect.~~

- o Evaluators took the results of these reviews, ~~some of which were rigorous,~~ and combined them into an analysis that included information on the attributes of those who delivered the modules, the activities involved, and the population served.
- o Three broad categories of outcome were addressed by the NSE: reduction in risk factors or increase in protective factors; improved knowledge and attitudes about drug or alcohol use; and reduction in drug or alcohol problem behaviors.

COMMON PREVENTION ACTIVITIES

- o Evaluators found that the 633 modules could be grouped into 7 distinct approaches, or clusters, that characterize typical prevention activities.
 1. Positive Decision making Approach -- that provides personal skills development and didactic drug education to pre-adolescent children, accounts for nearly one quarter of the modules and is most often identified with both school-based and community-based programs.

2. Safety/Health Skills Approach -- that provides personal skills development, didactic drug education, and safety education is the least common, accounting for slightly over 2 percent of the modules, and is almost always school-based.
3. Psychosocial Skills approach -- that provides personal skills development and/or task-oriented skill training, but no didactic drug education, accounts for over 10 percent of the modules and is generally provided by nonprofit agencies for adults and adolescents.
4. Counseling Intensive Approach -- that provides individual counseling and/or family intervention and didactic drug education, accounts for over 10 percent of the modules and is often administered by government agencies in large cities and targeted toward minority population, notably Hispanic.
5. Case Management Approach -- that provides case management, individual counseling, and task-oriented skills training, accounts for over 7 percent of the modules, and is generally longer-term and more likely to involve health care and addiction professionals. Modules addressing pregnant and postpartum women and infants generally used this approach.
6. Multidirectional Approach -- that provides many disparate activities including, at a minimum, personal skills development, task-oriented skill training, didactic drug education, and access to drug-free activities for inner city minority adolescents, accounts for about 13 percent of the modules.
7. Environmental Change Approach -- that provides training, forms coalitions, changes laws or enforcement patterns, and changes the physical environment, accounts for nearly one third of the modules, and often involves both public and nonprofit agencies, but seldom involves schools.

AN EXAMPLE OF HOW FINDINGS WERE REACHED FOR POPULATION GROUPS

- o The analysis resulted in findings like the following: For the preschool to grade six group, the psychosocial skills module was rated as likely to be effective (i.e., rated 3.75 out of a possible 5), in reducing drug and alcohol problem behaviors.
- For this same group, the safety/health skills module rated 3.50 was likely to be effective on for long-term risk and protective factors.

- And the positive decision making module rated 2.93 ~~was~~ likely to be effective in for improving knowledge and attitudes towards drug and alcohol use.
- o Modules were also rated, with differing results, for each of these three outcomes for secondary school children and for adults, including those of college age.
- o In other words, different approaches have different outcome effect on different populations, and no one module approached a 5 rating, for any outcome, for any population.

~~BECAUSE THE NUMBER OF EXAMPLES FOR ANY SPECIFIC POPULATION IS SMALL, STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT CONCLUSIONS CANNOT BE DRAWN FOR ANY PARTICULAR POPULATION GROUP. SKILLS-BUILDING EFFORTS AND ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE EFFORTS APPEAR TO BE EFFECTIVE ACROSS POPULATIONS.~~

EFFECTIVENESS FINDINGS FOR DIFFERENT POPULATIONS

o For younger children and adolescents:

- Prevention approaches that emphasize personal skills development and task-oriented skills training -- so-called "psychosocial" approaches -- are the most consistently effective in reducing alcohol and drug use.

o For adolescents at significant risk for problem behaviors:

- Professionally administered individual and family counseling holds promise as a means to affect long-term risk and protective factors related to drug use and alcohol abuse.

o For adults:

- Prevention approaches that change the community environment, often in concert with interventions targeted to specific individuals, are the most effective in reducing drug and alcohol problem behaviors.

o For all ages:

- Prevention approaches that combine personal skills development with credible, accurate drug education are most likely to improve alcohol and drug-related knowledge and attitudes.

o For communities:

- Carefully planned combinations of the listed approaches

offer the most effective community prevention.

o For any target population:

-- A limited number of tightly-focused and well-chosen activities is more effective than approaches that attempt to provide many, diverse activities.

-- More effective programs are those that are sensitive to, and reflect, the cultural values of the targeted group.

RELATED GENERAL FINDINGS

- o Multidirectional (multidimensional) programs do not appear to produce positive results in general.

This calls into question the notion that we should bombard kids (especially at-risk kids) with a multiplicity of efforts simultaneously. The analysis suggests that fewer, well-targeted efforts are likely to be more successful, and that each element of a prevention effort must be planned to meet a specific objective.

The fact that there are some notable exceptions, indicates that the question is more complex. These programs are simply harder to run. The general sense is that a considerable amount of administrative skill and training are required to conduct such programs well. The abstract tradeoff is the cost to acquire such skill and conduct such training. The more practical question is what level of skill is most likely to found in community prevention programs (and what works best given that level of skill)?

In other words, ease of administration can make one program look superior to another, which is just as good or better, that is not run well. However, ease of administration is a quality that should be recognized as an objective good.

- o ??????Knowledge and attitudes do not appear to be clearly linked to (risky) behaviors in the younger population.

Apparently, investments in knowledge and attitudes are most fruitful when real choices are proximate. Creating drug consequences knowledge and anti-drug attitudes among those who do not (and will not soon) face drug use choices is questioned by the study. One connotation is that programs like DARE might be more appropriate for older children. Another that such program effects are perishable and should be reinforced periodically.

- o To be effective, interventions like counseling must be

professionally staffed. Peer counseling is not rated as effective for those populations that need counseling -- e.g., experimenters or high risk youth. Professional counseling for these groups is rated as more likely to be effective.

- o Drug-free alternative activities are not rated as likely to be effective on drug-related outcomes. That is to say, if the outcome(s) sought are drug-related, general, positive activities are not effective. The impact of carefully targeted and timed alternatives on gang activity and violence might well be another matter.
- o Environmental change modules, that ~~because they~~ are tightly focused, ~~are measured in the NSE as likely to be effective with those of high school age and older.~~ The effect of specific actions can be cumulative -- this year, getting the stadium to stop beer sales after the 3rd quarter or 7th inning, next year getting cigarette vending machines out of places frequented by adolescents, the following year closing down a crack house. These are palpable changes with community impact.

SIGNIFICANCE OF NSE FINDINGS TO NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL POLICY

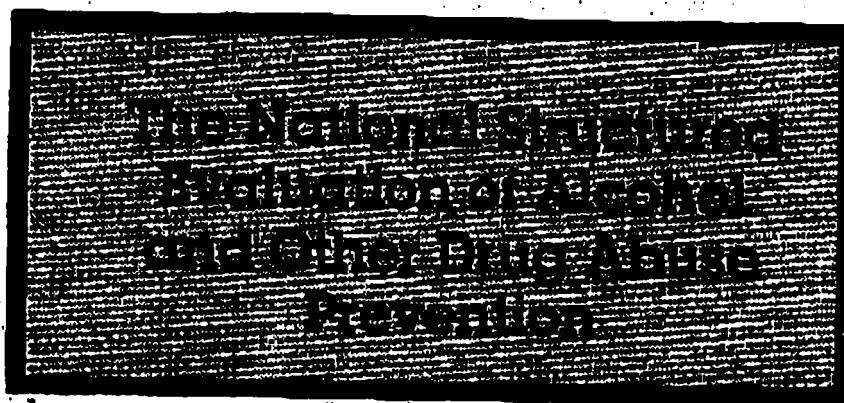
- o Prevention must be targeted. The NSE makes clear that we need to ask the right questions up front. ~~The question is not the simplistic "What works?". Rather, we need to ask "What programs accomplish specific results for specific target groups in specific settings?"~~
- ~~Multidirectional programs, which are not yet well evaluated, may yet prove to be highly effective.~~
- o Ongoing evaluation must be a part of program administration. Clear expectations must be established and progress measured in light of those expectations.
- o ~~The information from NSE can foster cost-effective use of local as well as national resources. The Federal government should get this information out to community coalitions in immediately useful form.~~
- o The differing impacts of drug use and violence prevention programs and the need for all prevention programs to be properly coordinated and targeted make clear that a very vigorous Ounce of Prevention Council is critical to effective implementation of the crime bill's violence prevention programs and related drug prevention programs.
- o Theoretically, the interrelationship of risk and protective factors, knowledge and attitudes, and drug use behaviors connotes the potential for structuring a phased, cumulative

prevention impact model that would allow communities to identify and take prerequisite actions prior to requisite program actions, to take necessary organizational steps in the right order to support subsequent operational steps.

- o Practically, it is clear that we must build an accessible literature with predictable, projected additions. Studies such as the NSE should be presented to communities, not as stand-alone, independent pieces but rather, as a clearly demonstrated addition to our knowledge, building on studies completed, relating to studies underway, and laying the groundwork for studies planned.

~~Cross-site evaluations are underway. Results regarding outcome of pregnant and postpartum women and infants grants and community partnership grants should be available in 1996-97. evaluations of high-risk youth projects are on hand.~~

1. Cite RAND and CALDATA
2. cite ota report exec summ p 21



Executive Summary

Michael J. Stoll, Ph.D.

Gary A. Hill, Ph.D.

Paul Brownstein, Ph.D.

Kelly Hancock, B.A.

Diana Hayden, B.S.

Monica L. Larracu, B.A.

Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration
U.S. Public Health Service
U.S. Department of Health and Human Services

Foreword

The National Structured Evaluation is the most comprehensive analysis of the outcomes reported by substance abuse prevention efforts to date. It sheds light on the perplexing question of what approaches work more effectively. It provides evidence that well-designed prevention can have a salutary effect on alcohol and other drug problems; on knowledge and attitudes toward the use of alcohol and other drugs; and on factors that protect against alcohol and other drug abuse. The highlights of this study are presented in the Executive Summary.

A unique aspect of the National Structured Evaluation is that it was implemented as a partnership between prevention practice and science. Its findings are based primarily on data obtained from hundreds of community-based prevention efforts, including demonstration grant programs funded through the Center for Substance Abuse Prevention (CSAP) and other federal agencies. In effect, the findings of this study represent a synthesis of the experience of the teachers, parents, clinicians, social workers, and prevention activists who direct interventions that continue our nation's progress in reducing the incidence of alcohol and other drug problems.

The National Structured Evaluation is a critical element in the fulfillment of CSAP's mission as a knowledge-generating agency, with roots in community-based substance abuse prevention services and programs. Additional CSAP cross-site and comparative studies that have been released this year or are currently in progress will further the process of applying systematic research to improving the outcomes and cost-effectiveness of community-based prevention.

Elaine M. Johnson, Ph.D., Director
Center for Substance Abuse Prevention
Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services
Administration
U.S. Department of Health and Human
Services

Introduction and Background

The Secretary of Health and Human Services designated the Center for Substance Abuse Prevention (CSAP) as the lead agency for implementing a Congressionally-mandated evaluation of the prevention and education approaches used to reduce alcohol and other drug (AOD) abuse. From this mandate came the National Structured Evaluation (NSE), a multiyear study that summarizes and compares the outcomes of prevention initiatives undertaken from the mid-1980s to summer 1993.

CSAP has prepared two Reports to Congress that provide an initial assessment of the status of the prevention field, and an interim account of the NSE's approach and progress.¹ A third report will incorporate the findings of the NSE and offer a more extensive discussion of their implications for the field of prevention.

More than 2,300 programs conducted from 1986 through 1992 were screened first for relevant goals and objectives, and then for outcome evaluations; 309 programs passed both screens. Among the 309, variations in outcomes, implementation techniques, populations, and quality of reporting make interpretation of final results somewhat tentative. Despite this, the NSE found that many prevention efforts succeeded in documenting at least short-term successful outcomes. The analysis of these efforts represents a significant contribution to an empirically-derived knowledge base and provides examples of effective programming that can be used to guide future prevention efforts.

Highlights

- Using expert assessment of prevention program outcomes, the NSE indicates that no single "best" approach worked with everyone. The effectiveness of an approach appeared to vary depending on whether the desired outcome was short-term reduction of AOD problems, changes in knowledge and attitudes related to AOD use, or effects on attitudes and behaviors that are viewed as risk and protective factors influencing future drug use. The effectiveness of some approaches also appeared to vary with the age of the target audience. Specifically:
 - Among adolescents and younger children, a psychosocial approach that emphasized personal skills development and task-oriented skills training often produced outcomes that reduced AOD use. "Personal skills" refers to decision-making, problem-solving, communication, and coping skills that apply to many different situations; "task-oriented skills" refers to literacy and academic skills, parenting skills, employment readiness, and other abilities that apply to a specific type of task.

¹ U.S. DHHS (1992 & 1993).

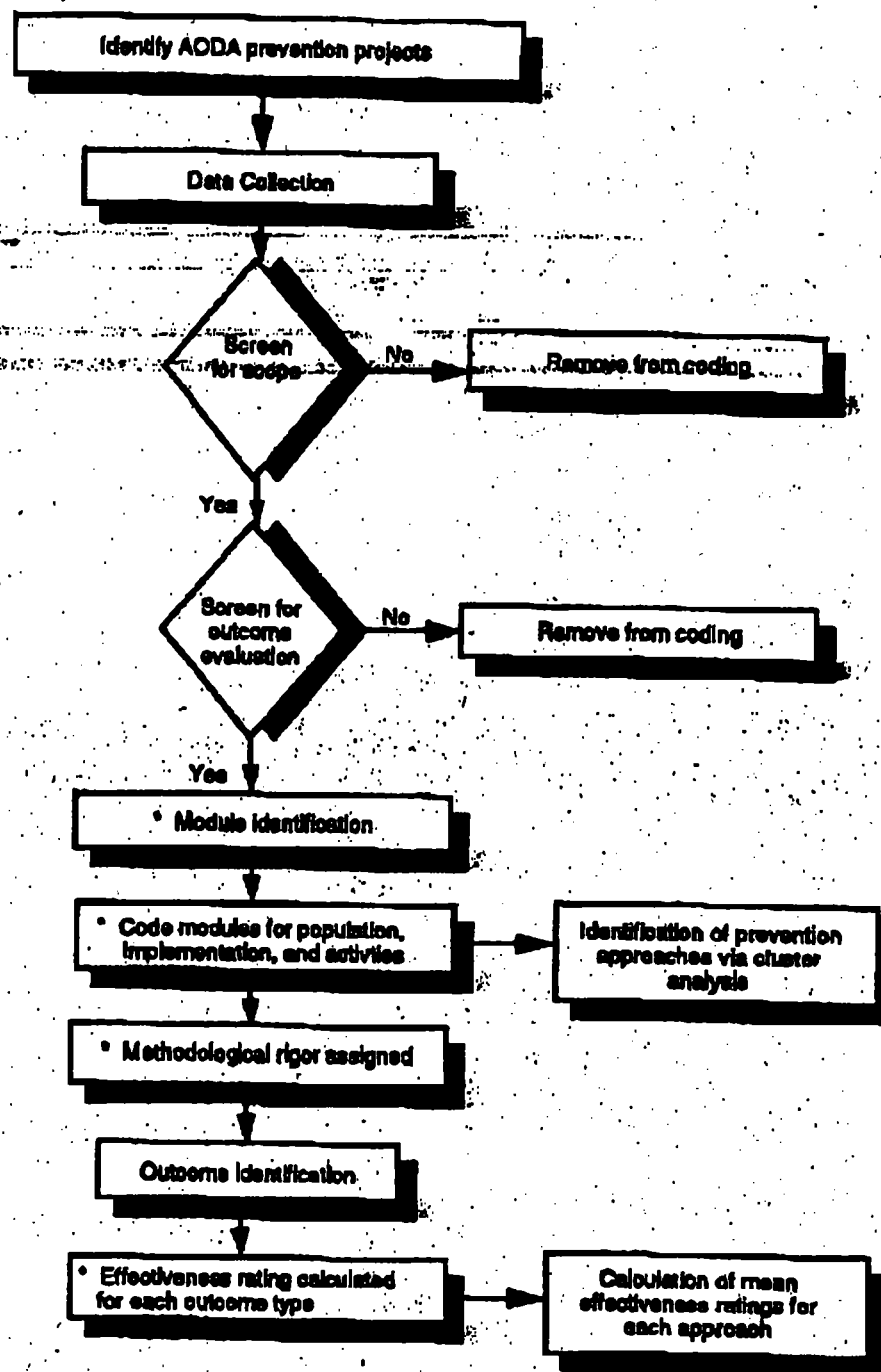
- Effective approaches for reducing AOD problem behavior among adults often focused on changing the community environment in concert with direct intervention among specific individuals (for example, empowering nurses to identify individuals at risk, combined with resources to effectively intervene with the newly-identified cases).
- Among adolescents at significant risk for problem behaviors, the use of individual counseling and/or family intervention displayed promise as a means of affecting long term risk and protective factors related to AOD abuse.
- Short-term changes in AOD-related knowledge and attitudes were likely to be achieved by combining personal skills development with credible, accurate drug education.
- Effective prevention efforts were more likely to consist of a few well-chosen activities rather than "shotgun approaches" that attempted to provide diverse types of activities to a single target population.
- The most effective, rigorously-evaluated approaches appeared to be enhanced through activities and information that are sensitive to and reflect cultural values within the population served, in addition to being well-designed and competently implemented.

Scope

The NSE's scope encompassed all efforts to prevent AOD abuse, including programs funded by both the public and private sectors, programs targeted at individuals of all age groups, at families as a unit, and at institutional change. The NSE did not, however, include either addiction treatment or the interdiction of drug trafficking, although these activities are recognized as potentially contributing to prevention of drug use.

Designed as a secondary data analysis, the data in the NSE are derived from evaluation reports submitted by the prevention initiatives, primarily to funding agencies. The extent to which the NSE reflects the reality of what is happening in the prevention field, therefore, is shaped by the detail included in the evaluation reports. For the most part, this detail was severely lacking. Among 1,642 prevention initiatives found to be within the NSE's scope, only 309 (18.8%) provided outcome evaluations that met the NSE's minimum standards for methodological rigor.

Figure 1 depicts the NSE's major steps in data collection and analysis.

Figure 1. Flow Chart of the NSE Study Process

• Consensus driven

Analytic Overview

As noted above, the NSE was framed as a descriptive assessment of all approaches used in the prevention field. The variety of approaches posed an initial and difficult problem in that prevention initiatives vary dramatically in terms of the number and types of approaches they employ. Some are large and comprehensive undertakings that use multiple approaches. The NSE requires, however, that the results of a complex initiative be compared to a more simply defined initiative that uses a single approach. Accounting for this variation must be solved through the definition of an appropriate unit of analysis.

Once the unit of analysis was defined, the second problem was to construct some measure of effectiveness by which the results of these prevention initiatives and the approaches they employed could be compared. Finally, a design was also needed that both defined what an 'approach' was, and specified what other factors might intervene to influence the relationship between the approach or approaches an initiative employed, and the effectiveness of its results.

Defining the Unit of Analysis

The NSE solved the problem of the unit of analysis by developing the concept of a prevention "module." The module represents a discrete unit that consists of an activity or set of activities administered to a specific population during a defined period of time. Prevention initiatives may consist of a single module, e.g., refusal skills to all 6th graders in a school district for one semester, or multiple modules, e.g., the same refusal skills coupled with parent training in identifying drug problems and community wide drug awareness campaigns. Many initiatives contain several modules involving different activities targeted at different populations. The NSE database consists of 633 discrete modules identified in the 309 initiatives that included evaluation data.

Defining Outcomes

Prevention initiatives use scores of different outcome variables to report the effectiveness of their results. These outcome variables may reflect measures of change in use rates, age of first use, attitudes toward use and the risk of use, and knowledge of consequences of drug use. In addition to these measures, numerous other factors are thought to be related to future use such as family and peer use patterns, and instances of certain socially-deviant behaviors. For analytical purposes, the NSE classified these variables into three broad outcome categories: change in AOD problem behavior; AOD-related knowledge and attitudes; and risk and protective factors that may affect future AOD abuse.

The use of these outcome categories represented a major change in how success is measured in prevention that will, in turn, improve understanding of "what works." The NSE assumed that a prevention initiative may be very effective in changing risk or protective factors, but may be unable to document effectiveness in reducing AOD problem behaviors. Similarly, a prevention initiative may succeed in changing beliefs and attitudes about the consequences of drug use, but may not be designed to document other types of change on the individual level. The definitions of desired outcomes used in the NSE change the basic research question from: "What approaches can be proven to prevent AOD abuse?" to "What approaches can be proven to produce outcomes that contribute to the prevention of AOD abuse?"

Defining Effectiveness

Assessing effectiveness posed two problems. First, effectiveness refers to the amount of change achieved on a specific initiative's outcome(s). That change must then be compared to the change achieved for another initiative's outcome(s) and a judgment made as to the relative effectiveness of one or the other. Acknowledging the judgmental nature of the problem, the NSE initially utilized a modified Q-sort procedure in which teams of expert raters independently reviewed and assessed the effectiveness of each outcome for each prevention module. Ratings were made on a 5-point scale: a rating of "1" indicated a negative impact, "2" indicated no net impact, and "3" to "5" indicated an increasing impact from limited to significant. This procedure was found reliable for the three outcome categories. The Q-sort process allowed expert raters to develop consensus assessments of effectiveness that were applied to all of the modules.

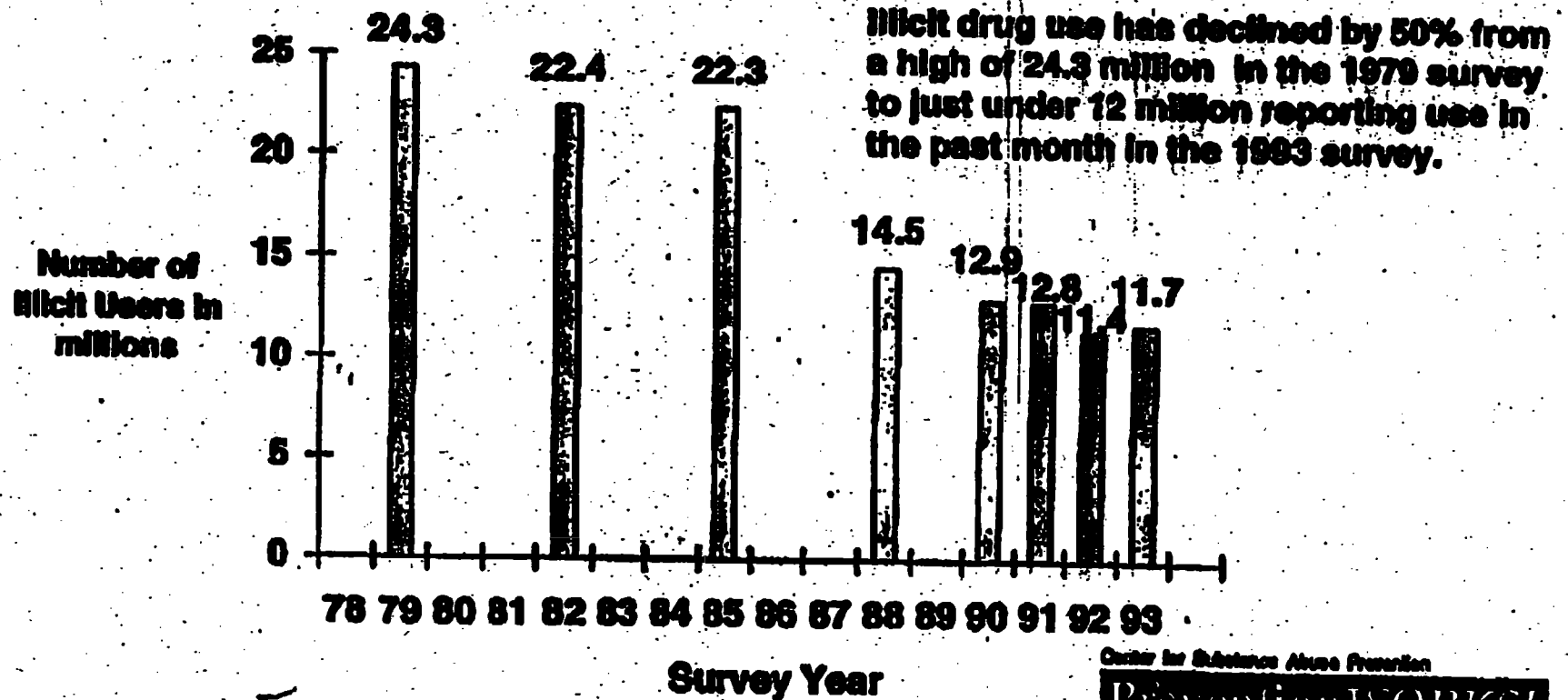
Second, effectiveness implies that the amount of change reported is both valid and reliable. Remarkable results can be reported but, under scrutiny, the methods and procedures used in the evaluation of the initiative may be flawed thus either compromising or invalidating the results. For the NSE, the methodological rigor of each initiative was also examined using expert judges who employed an 11-item rating instrument to assess, on a 6-point scale, the relative level of confidence that the direction and general level of outcomes reported were meaningful. Ratings assigned ranged from 0 (no confidence in the results) to 5 (high confidence in the results). Ratings of 3 or higher indicate a level of rigor that offer confidence that the direction and general level of outcomes reported were meaningful.

Defining Intervening Variables

Prevention initiatives address their efforts to a broad array of target populations including individuals, families, and communities as a whole. These populations vary in terms of such factors as age, gender, and ethnic composition. The characteristics of the communities in which prevention initiatives are undertaken

E-2 State

Trends In Illicit Drug Use 1979 to 1993



7/22/94

Source: Preliminary Estimates from the 1993 National Household Survey on Drug Abuse, Advance Report No. 7, OAS, SAMHSA; Table 1, p. 44.

Center for Substance Abuse Prevention

PreventionWORKS!

also vary in terms of certain demographic factors such as population density, crime rates, drug epidemiology patterns, etc. These initiatives also implement their prevention efforts in a variety of ways using different settings, for different periods of time, with different facilitators, and by tailoring their activities to reflect the cultural diversity of their target populations. For its analyses, the NSE developed and used a coding scheme to portray population, community, and implementation characteristics of each initiative.

Defining Approaches

Prevention initiatives employ a wide variety of educational, training, counseling, and other activities in their efforts to address the problems of AOD use. Since the prevention field does not have an agreed upon scheme to classify the approaches represented by these activities, the NSE developed a typology of 27 categories to code the activities of each initiative. Cluster analytic techniques were used to define seven approaches representing analytically-distinct combinations of the activities.

Defining the Evaluation Problem

To restate, the principal objective of the NSE was to assess the relative effectiveness of the different approaches used to deal with the Nation's AOD problems. Based on the analytic components described above, the evaluation problem was to identify what approaches were effective given variations in the category of outcome sought, populations served, implementation methods used, and community characteristics involved in the conduct of these prevention initiatives.

Identifying Seven Core Approaches to Prevention

After dividing prevention initiatives into discrete modules, each module was coded in terms of the following variables:

- Activities included in the prevention module
- Characteristics of the populations served by the prevention module
- Characteristics of the host community of the module (e.g., population density, crime rate, etc.)
- Implementation characteristics, including type(s) of settings used for service delivery, nature of administering agency, planned duration of exposure of individuals to the activities, voluntary versus mandatory versus compensated participation in the program, etc.

When coding was completed, cluster analysis techniques were used to sort the 633 modules into groups based on similarities in the mix of activities. An iterative application of this procedure identified a stable set of seven (7) clusters that represent an empirically derived classification of distinct approaches used in AOD abuse prevention (see Table 1). Based on the activity mix, these seven approaches have been defined as follows:

- **Positive Decisionmaking Approach** - Provided only personal skills development and didactic drug education (147 modules);
- **Safety/Health Skills Approach** - Provided personal skills development, didactic drug and safety education (15 modules);
- **Psychosocial Skills Approach** - Provided personal skills development and/or task-oriented skill training, but no didactic drug education (68 modules);
- **Counseling Intensive Approach** - Provided individual counseling and/or family intervention, and didactic AOD education (67 modules);
- **Case Management Approach** - Provided case management, individual counseling, and task-oriented skills training (48 modules);
- **Multidirectional Approach** - Provided many disparate activities including, at a minimum, didactic drug education, both personal skills and task-oriented skills training, and access to drug-free activities (81 modules);
- **Environmental Change Approach** - Consisted of activities that change the community environment without directly intervening with individuals at risk of alcohol- or other drug-related problems. These activities include training such intermediaries as clinicians or alcoholic beverage servers (e.g., bartenders), forming interagency prevention coalitions, changing laws or enforcement patterns to restrict access to alcohol, tobacco, and other drugs, and changing the physical environment to reduce such risk factors as abandoned buildings that can be used as "crack houses." (209 modules).

Table 1. Activity Characteristics of the Seven Approaches to AOD Abuse Prevention

Approach	Defining Activity Mix	Other Activities Often Included
Positive Decisionmaking (147 cases)	• Personal skills development • Didactic AOD education • No other activities	• None
Safety/Health Skills (15 cases)	• Personal skills development • Didactic AOD education • Safety education	• Health education • Task-oriented skills training
Psychosocial Skills (68 cases)	• Personal skills development • Task-oriented skill training • No didactic AOD education	• Drug-free activities or • Wilderness challenge experience
Counseling Intensive (67 cases)	• Individual counseling • Family counseling • Didactic AOD education	• Personal skills development • Task-oriented skills training
Case Management (48 cases)	• Case management • Individual counseling • Task-oriented skills training	• Treatment for addiction • Didactic AOD education • Referral to other service providers
Multidirectional (81 cases)	• Didactic AOD education • Personal and task-oriented skills training • Drug-free activities	• Individual counseling • Health education • Cultural regrouping
Environmental Change (209 cases)	• Activities to change the community environment such as training professionals who work with children, forming prevention coalitions and revising laws or enforcement patterns to restrict effective access to alcohol, tobacco and other drugs	• None

Summary Observations on the Seven Core Approaches

Table 2 describes the principal findings for each of the seven approaches in terms of the populations and communities served. Similarly, Table 3 describes the findings for each of the seven approaches in terms of their implementation characteristics. Highlights of these findings include:

- The limited activity mix defined as the **Positive Decisionmaking** approach dominates prevention efforts targeted at pre-adolescent children. Although closely identified with school-based programs, it also is the most frequently described individual intervention offered by community-based AOD abuse prevention coalitions and consortia.
- Nearly all identified examples of the **Safety/Health Skills** approach are derived from school-based efforts with compulsory attendance.
- The activity mix of the **Psychosocial Skills** approach typically was administered by single nonprofit agencies. Nearly one-third of the modules using this approach were directed at older populations; surprisingly few examples were directed at young children. The majority of the efforts were based on voluntary participation.
- Most examples of the **Counseling Intensive** approach were identified in large cities; a relatively large percentage were administered by government agencies. Over one-third of prevention efforts directed specifically at Spanish-speaking communities used this approach.
- Despite a similar activity mix, modules using the **Case Management** approach differ from the **Counseling Intensive** approach in several significant characteristics, including a tendency toward much longer planned duration of client participation and involvement of health care and/or addiction professionals as primary facilitators. Because the **Case Management** approach includes efforts under the **Pregnant/ Postpartum Women and Infants** prevention grants, it includes most identified cases of gender-specific prevention in the NSB.
- The **Multidirectional** approach was associated with programs directed toward inner-city minority adolescents.
- The **Environmental Change** approach was widely used throughout the U.S. and could be viewed as the activity mix "of choice" of both nonprofit groups and most public sector agencies. School-administered prevention efforts, however, were least likely to engage in environmental change activities.

Table 2. Client and Host Community Characteristics of the Seven Approaches to AOD Abuse Prevention

Approach	Population Characteristics	Host Communities
Positive Decisionmaking	- Accounts for 41% of the prevention modules directed specifically at pre-adolescent children. - Less likely to be used among older youth and adults. - Single most widely-reported approach among Native American programs; less often used among other minority groups.	- Smaller cities and towns (urban places under 250,000 population not part of a larger SMSA) were most likely to host approach. - Accounts for at least 16% of the prevention modules identified in all other types of community.
Safety/Health Skills	- Majority served only adolescent participants. - No ethnic-specific examples.	Disproportionately used either on statewide basis or in mixed/suburban communities.
Psychosocial Skills	- Nearly 80% of identified cases served older adolescents and/or adult participants. - Relatively infrequently used among pre-adolescent children. - Second most widely-reported approach among Native American programs.	- Most popular activity mix for individual interventions in rural jurisdictions. - Suburban/mixed communities least likely to host.
Counseling Intensive	- Majority served older youth and adults. - Among minority ethnic groups, most widely-reported among Hispanic-American programs.	Majority (56%) of identified modules were hosted in large city (over 250,000 population) communities.
Case Management	- Two-thirds of cases served adult participants. - Includes Pregnant/Postpartum Women and Infants prevention programs; consequently, 56% of cases exclusively served women. - Approximately one-sixth of identified cases exclusively served African-Americans.	Over 70% of the modules were hosted in large SMSA's, either within the central city or in a close-in suburb.
Multidirectional	- Nearly half (44%) served ethnically homogeneous, school-aged minority populations. 28% had exclusively African-American participants.	60% of all identified examples were hosted in neighborhoods of large cities (i.e., over 250,000 population).
Environmental Change	- Most examples not directed at specific demographic subgroup. - Most age-specific examples were directed at adults.	43% of all statewide interventions used approach. - Smaller-scale efforts widely distributed among community types. - Least typical of large cities.

Table 3. Management and Implementation Characteristics of the Seven Approaches to AOD Abuse Prevention

Approach	Management Elements	Implementation Characteristics
Positive Decisionmaking	- A majority of cases administered by educational institutions. 44% used school settings. 47% used teachers as primary facilitators. - Most frequently-described individual intervention approach administered by prevention coalitions.	85% used small groups and/or audiovisual media as principal service delivery formats. 64% planned duration of client participation of 1-to-25 weeks. 12% planned less than one week of client participation. - Participation compulsory in 3 out of 5 identified cases.
Safety/ Health Skills	75% used school settings. 68% administered by educational institution.	87% used small groups and/or audiovisual media as principal service delivery formats. - Participation usually compulsory. - Only 1 case planned more than 25 weeks of client participation.
Psychosocial Skills	63% administered by single non-profit private sector agencies. 16% administered by local health departments. - Wide variation in setting and facilitator.	65% used small group sessions as principal service delivery format. 12.5% used large groups only. - Wide variation in planned duration of client participation. - Participation rarely compulsory.
Counseling Intensive	55% administered by single non-profit private sector agencies; 19% by government agencies. - Wide variation in setting; 25% of cases included client residence. - Frequent involvement of social service and health professionals.	47% used one-on-one sessions as principal service delivery format. - No examples with less than one week of client participation. 67% used voluntary participation. 67% of identified cases planned less than 26 weeks of client participation.
Case Management	- Most administered by nonprofit institutions, including hospitals and community-based agencies. - Majority involved health care or AOD abuse professionals as facilitators. - Often used residence and health care settings.	- Majority provided service through voluntary participation in one-on-one interventions. - Nearly half (46%) planned more than 75 weeks of client participation.
Multidirectional	- Majority (54%) administered by single nonprofit agencies. - Often multiple settings, facilitators.	25% used compulsory participation. 44% combined small group with one-on-one formats.
Environmental Change	50% administered by nonprofit groups as part of complex effort. - Most frequently-cited approach among all public sector agencies except schools.	- Wide variation in implementation characteristics. - Of those involving professional training, nearly a third planned less than one week of participation.

Effectiveness of the Seven Strategies

Table 4 provides the mean effectiveness ratings of all modules by outcome category and prevention approach. As expected, no single approach emerged as consistently superior in effectiveness across all types of outcome and all populations. Instead, the NSE data suggest a complex pattern of relative strengths and weaknesses, some of which may be specific to individual age groups. Although interpretation of the findings is limited by variation in the application of prevention approaches by population and implementation characteristics, the following observations can be made:

- The **Positive Decisionmaking** approach included some prevention efforts that were clearly outstanding both in methodological rigor and in effectiveness. Overall, implementation of the approach tended to yield best results in terms of change in AOD-related knowledge and attitudes for adolescent populations and in reducing AOD problems among adult populations. Among younger participants, **Positive Decisionmaking** programs typically were rated lower in effectiveness than other approaches.
- The closely-related **Safety/Health Skills** approach offered few examples with rigorous evaluations. Among adolescents, the **Safety/Health Skills** approach tentatively offered effective gains in knowledge and attitudes.
- Prevention efforts adopting the **Psychosocial Skills** approach generally achieved positive change in terms of both AOD problem behaviors and long-term risk and protective factors. The approach was less successful in affecting factual knowledge and conscious attitudes. Although few examples of the approach were rated as truly outstanding in effectiveness, **Psychosocial Skills** programs appear to achieve good results for a wide variety of populations and settings. For example, four of the six programs rated most effective in reducing AOD use among younger children used this approach.
- Examples of the **Counseling Intensive** approach generally received low ratings for effectiveness. The approach appeared to be most effective in affecting long-term risk and protective factors among adolescents at highest risk of future drug use. A larger number of rigorously-evaluated studies of this approach would help to verify this finding.
- The **Case Management** approach included several rigorously evaluated programs that clearly document behavior change. It achieved a high mean effectiveness rating for AOD problem behavior and risk/protective factors among adults and among older adolescents.

- The Multidirectional approach included a few cases of effective outcomes among adolescents. However, nearly half of the modules using the approach did not demonstrate effective performance for any type of outcome among any population.
- The Environmental Change approach included some of the most effective programs and had the most consistent record of effectiveness across all three types of outcomes examined. The limited data available suggest that it may be more likely to achieve effective outcomes in the large city environment.

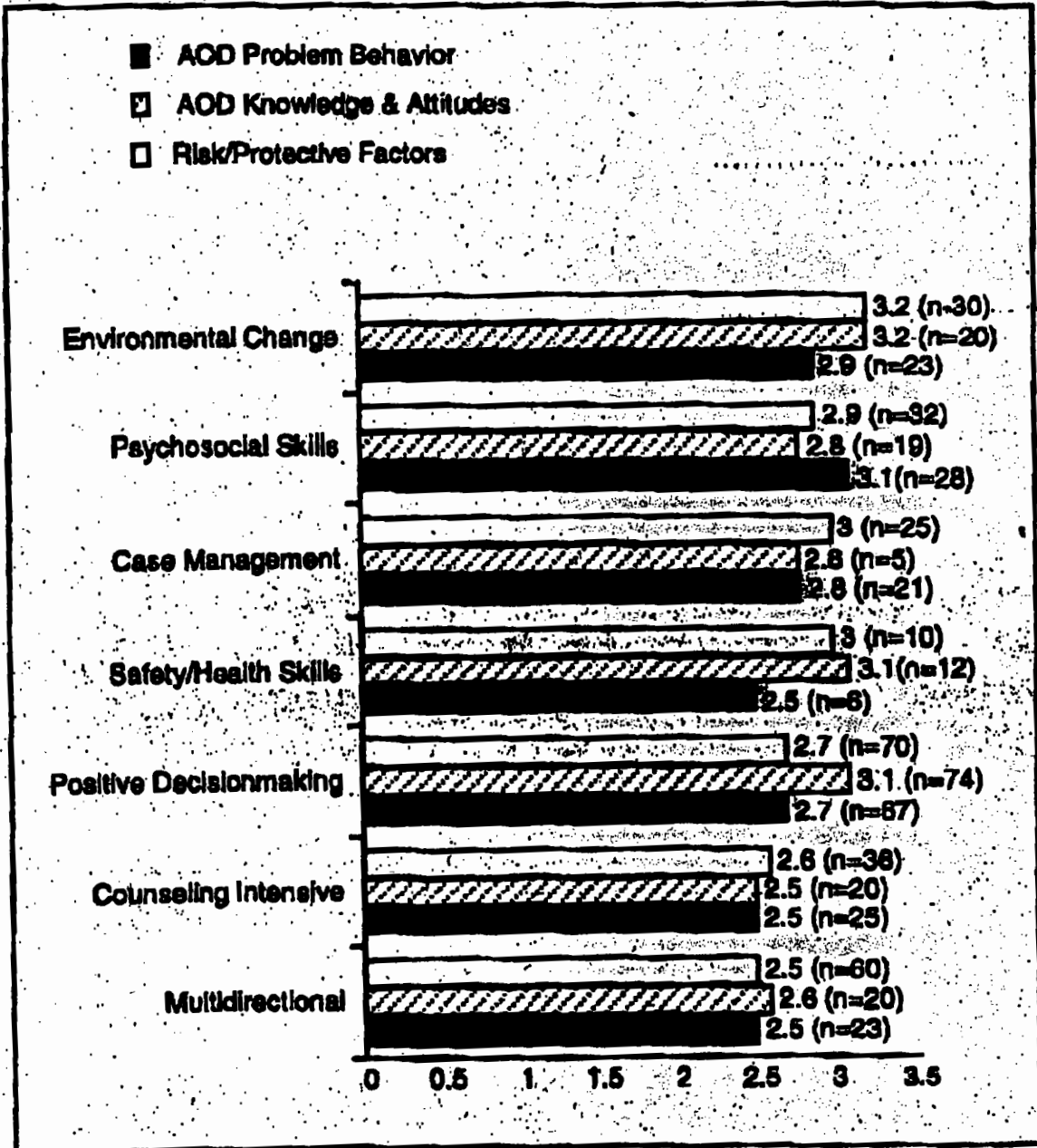
Characteristics of the Most Effective, Rigorously-Evaluated Prevention Modules

The preceding illustrates that no single activity mix produces consistently effective results for any type of outcome. Rather, certain approaches appear to perform more effectively for some groups than for others. In effect, there is no single "best" approach to preventing alcohol and other drug abuse.

The opportunity to review and rate the effectiveness of prevention efforts for the NSE, however, provided an opportunity to look closely at rigorously-evaluated initiatives rated as highly effective in reducing AOD abuse by multiple reviewers. Forty modules met these criteria. The following observations were derived from close review of the characteristics of these methodologically-rigorous, highly-rated modules:

- 7 of the 40 (17.5%) were limited to Environmental Change activities and did not include direct contact between the organizers of the prevention effort and the target population at risk of AOD use;
- Of the 33 modules that directly intervened among a specific target population, all but one included some type of personal skills development. This is consistent with the finding of the *Second Report to Congress* that skills development appears to be a critical element of nearly all successful prevention efforts.
- In comparison, slightly over 50% of the highly-effective modules that focused on individual intervention included didactic AOD education while only 12% increased access to drug-free alternative activities. This also is consistent with the findings of the *Second Report to Congress* that drug education may be useful but promotion of drug-free alternative activities—although valuable for reduction of delinquency in general—may not make a significant contribution to short-term prevention of AOD abuse.

Table 4. Mean Effectiveness Ratings for the Seven Core Prevention Approaches on Each Outcome Dimension



Note: A ratings of 3.0 or higher indicates documented effectiveness in achieving the desired type of change. Standard deviations are provided in the full report.

- Among the 32 rigorously-evaluated modules that effectively intervened directly with individuals at risk, over two-thirds were part of complex prevention efforts that included multiple modules addressing several populations within the community.
- Among all rigorously-evaluated prevention programs, those efforts which demonstrated concern for cultural issues among the client population were more likely to have effective outcomes than prevention programs that did not.

The latter two observations support the preliminary findings in the *Second Report to Congress* that comprehensive, culturally-attuned prevention efforts are most likely to have positive impact on program participants.

Directions for Future Development of Knowledge

Although the NSE provides substantial insights into many of the critical issues in the substance abuse prevention field, the study did not fill all of the major gaps in knowledge of "what works." These gaps include the answers to the following questions:

- Which risk and protective factors are both potent and capable of being affected by prevention efforts? This is a most critical issue because the answer would identify the specific content of prevention activities and ~~interventions~~ that contribute most to reduction of AOD abuse. As stated in *Reducing Risks for Mental Disorders*, "As scientific evidence converges on particular sets of risk and protective factors, interventions addressing them become more plausible and more likely to succeed" (Mrazek and Haggerty, 1994, p. 219).
- What is the relationship between the three categories of outcomes? How do changes in attitudes and knowledge about alcohol and other drugs affect individual behaviors and how are both related to the risk and protective factors thought to affect future AOD problem behaviors?
- What is the impact of unmeasured activities included within prevention initiatives on the effectiveness of complex programs with multiple modules? Many initiatives engage in a wide array of activities that are not subjected to any evaluation; their presence may or may not contribute to the overall effectiveness of the initiative.
- Does the highly-regarded ^{development} ~~partnership~~ community ~~partnership~~ model for organizing prevention services improve effectiveness and generate lasting systemic changes in the community infrastructure in support of prevention?

- Does societal investment in AOD problem prevention produce a positive cost-benefit, and what specific types of investment are most cost-effective?

A final issue is whether the knowledge gains of the last eight years are reflected in improvements in the practice of prevention. This question can be resolved only through continued efforts to rigorously evaluate prevention programs. The results of the NSE reported in this Executive Summary are descriptive and are derived, in part, from expert ratings; they may be used to generate valuable hypotheses for additional study rather than to draw final conclusions.

U.S. Department of Education

Michele Cavataio

Office of the Deputy Secretary

400 Maryland Ave., SW • Washington, D.C. • 20202



(202)401-1000



(202)401-3093

Date:

6/13

Total # of pages including cover sheet: 4

To:

José Cerda

Recipient Fax:

456-7028

Memo:

José -

heres a description of a prevention program that actually has data on positive results. Better late than never.

Michele

PACT

Positive Adolescents Choices Training

Purpose of the Program

The Positive Adolescents Choices Training (PACT) program is a culturally sensitive training program developed specifically for African-American youth to reduce their disproportionate risk of becoming victims or perpetrators of violence. The PACT program uses a cognitive/behavioral group training method that equips youngsters with specific social skills and anger management techniques to use in situations of interpersonal conflict. The project addresses the problems of expressive violence and primary homicide, which involve loss of control between family, friends, or acquaintances and represent the greatest threat to adolescents.

Location/Setting

The PACT program was developed by W. Rodney Hammond, Ph.D., Associate Professor of the School of Professional Psychology at Wright State University in Dayton, Ohio. The PACT program is operated and has been implemented since 1989 in a middle school setting in cooperation with Dayton Public Schools.

Target Population

PACT primarily targets high-risk African-American youth between the ages of 12 and 16 who are selected by teachers on the basis of skill deficiencies in relating to peers, behavior problems (particularly aggression), and/or a history of victimization by violence. Approximately 50 youth are served each year; typical ethnic and gender composition of the youth served is about 90% African-American and about 70% male.

Training Method

Youth are trained in small groups of no more than 10, facilitated by adult trainers who are doctoral level clinical psychology students at the School of Professional Psychology. Adolescent participants are introduced to skills related to avoiding violence through a project-developed video resource program called *Dealing with Anger: Givin' It, Takin' It, Workin' It Out*. The videos present African-American adolescents in situations that appear to be heading toward physical conflict and provide demonstrations of these role models using the target skills correctly and incorrectly. Target skills include giving negative feedback (expressing criticism or displeasure calmly), receiving negative feedback (reacting appropriately to criticism and anger of others), and negotiation (identifying problems and potential solutions and learning to compromise). Each skill is broken down into well-defined behavioral components that youth practice in small group sessions. Other curricular components include anger management techniques and violence awareness education.

Funding Sources

The development of the PACT approach was supported through funding of the *Ohio Commission on Minority Health*. Ongoing support for the basic service operation is provided through the *Ohio Governor's Office of Criminal Justice Services* (DG-B01-7138), with additional related support for evaluation, training of professionals, and dissemination of information about the violence prevention approach coming from the *Maternal and Child Health Bureau, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services* (MCJ-393A15-01-0).

Project Staff

Project Director: W. Rodney Hammond, Ph.D.
Project Evaluator: Betty R. Yung, Ph.D.
PACT Training Coordinator: Michelle S. Hassell, Psy.D.
Community Training Specialist: Michael Williams, Ed.D.

For Additional Information

School of Professional Psychology
Wright State University
Ellis Human Development Institute
9 N. Edwin C. Moses Blvd.
Dayton, OH 45407
(513) 873-4300

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY: BEHAVIORAL OUTCOMES OF PACT TRAINING, 1992-93

Effects on school behavior

The behavioral effects of PACT youth group training are measured by tracking the year's school disciplinary records for youth who receive training and comparing them to the records of a no-contact comparison group of youth who are referred to the program but who cannot be served in the program generally as a result of a conflict in their academic schedules. Separate analyses was conducted for each semester's cohort of trained participants and their controls because there was no true pre-training phase for the first semester students and no post-training phase for the second semester participants. The effects of training on physical aggression at school (i.e., behavior described in the school records as fighting, hitting, punching, shoving, kicking, biting, spitting, pushing, or carrying or using a weapon) are shown in the two charts below.

	<u>1st Semester</u> <u>PACT Participants</u> N=21		<u>Control Group Youth</u> N=17	
	<u>*1st Semester</u>	<u>**2nd Semester</u>	<u>*1st Semester</u>	<u>**2nd Semester</u>
No. of incidents of physical aggression	8	4	8	10
No. & % of adolescents demonstrating physical aggression incidents at school	6 (29%)	4 (19%)	6 (35%)	8 (47%)
Outcome	# of incidents reduced by 50%		# of incidents increased by 25%	
* Corresponds to training period		** Corresponds to post-training period		

	<u>Second Semester</u> <u>PACT Participants</u>		<u>Control Group Youth</u>	
	N=20		N=19	
	<u>*1st Semester</u>	<u>** 2nd Semester</u>	<u>*1st Semester</u>	<u>** 2nd Semester</u>
No. of incidents of physical aggression	15	7	9	14
No. & percentage of adolescents involved in physical aggression incidents at school	8 (40%)	5 (25%)	6 (32%)	10 (53%)
Outcome	# of incidents reduced by 53%		# of incidents increased by 56%	
* Corresponds to pre-training period				
** Corresponds to training period				

Effects on behavior in the community: 1992-93 Juvenile Court Records

A check of juvenile court records for 1992-93 was conducted for all youth trained in the school years 1989-90, 1990-91, 1991-92, and 1992-93 along with their respective control groups. The results are summarized below.

	<u>PACT Participants</u> 130	<u>Control Group Youth</u> 111
Total Number		
No. & percentage of youth charged with any offense	24 (18%)	46 (41%)
Total no. of charges	42	137
No. & percentage of youth charged with violence-related offenses	10 (8%)	23 (21%)
*Total number of violence-related charges	12	25
**Total number of other criminal charges	23	100
***Total number of status offenses	7	12

* Violence-related charges include: assault; aggravated menacing; carrying concealed weapon; domestic violence; felonious assault; gross sexual imposition; rape; discharging firearm; aggravated assault; and menacing.

** Other criminal offenses include: theft; criminal damage; robbery; aggravated robbery; breaking and entering; disorderly conduct; criminal trespass; drug abuse; possession of illegal substances; burglary; aggravated burglary; receiving stolen property; forgery; trespass; violation of court order; and miscellaneous minor offenses.

*** Status offenses include truancy, running away from home, and incorrigibility.

At the end of the 1991-92 program year we had tracked the juvenile court records of three cohorts of youth (trainee and control groups for 1989-90, 90-91, and 91-92). We were able to compare this year's data with the 1991-92 records to see whether the juvenile court records of trained youth and their controls improved or worsened with the passage of an additional year and whether there was any worsening of behavior for youth in relationship to the length of time that has passed since training. We did find that there was some increase in charges for both groups, and that this effect was increased for the older cohorts of youth (including both trained participants and controls). Overall, however, the percentage of untrained youth charged remained more than double that of trained youth, and they committed more than twice as many offenses (both violence-related and other criminal charges) as trainees.

Five Schools Up-Close

America's Drug-Free Schools are fascinating in their extraordinary diversity — and in the way each develops distinctive approaches that reflect its community's character and specific challenge. Here is a glimpse at five remarkable schools, conveyed in the words of teachers and principals who are committed to the goal of helping students live drug-free lives and who will not give up until that goal is fully realized for each and every student.

Albuquerque, New Mexico

Washington Middle School: A Stunning Turnaround

Albuquerque's Washington Middle School had a tough reputation. "Three years ago," recalls former principal Joseph Vigil, "gangs were confronting each other in the hallways. And as students became fearful, they started bringing weapons to school. Older gang members tried to come onto campus as 'back-up.' Some were into sales of drugs, some were using substances. My assistant and I used to carry walkie-talkies with us outside because we never knew what was going to happen. Sometimes we were physically threatened or verbally assaulted. Once kids with weapons were circling our school in trucks."

First step: getting the gangs on board

Washington Middle School is a different place today. "I haven't carried a walkie-talkie with me in two and a half years," notes Vigil.

"Still, it's never really 'fixed.' It's a dynamic process. The bottom line is that you have to know your kids. You have to know what moti-

vates them. Every kid who comes to our school wants to be here. Nobody drags them.

"We negotiated an agreement with the eight gangs to keep the school neutral territory. In this community gangs exist because so many students lack a sense of belonging at home. Many have very low self-esteem, and through their allegiance to a gang, they feel they improve their image," he explains. "Given this, we may not be able to rid the school of gangs, but we have managed to control them."

If kids don't fit the mold, remake it

A school can also create a sense of belonging and build self-esteem. That conviction underlies the faculty's approach.

Vigil explains: "We have a zero-reject model. Our idea is that every child who comes to our school will be successful. If they don't fit the mold when they come, we'll adjust the mold so they can be successful.

"We try to look at the whole child, even in the way we structure our consequences. For a first offense involving possession or use of tobacco, for example, the consequence is a tutoring program, twice a week. It's like after-school detention, except that four staff members provide tutoring. We felt most of our kids who

are disruptive are frustrated because they're behind academically. By applying just a punitive consequence, when the kid went back to the classroom, the kid had not really changed.

"We also have a three-day in-school suspension program called Team Intervention to Promote Self Responsibility (TIPS) for students who are caught on other first-time offenses, such as possession or use of alcohol. They spend those days looking at what they did wrong, what they could have done, how they can change their behavior. Lunch is brought to them. They're escorted to the bathroom. Kids hate the isolation, but they also get each day's schoolwork, so they don't miss out," explains Vigil.

Suspended — but still connected

"The most severe consequence is what we call TRAPS — Team Responsibility to Assist Parents and Students. In order to maintain the safe environment of our school, certain behaviors are not tolerated: fighting, vandalism, drugs, weapons, and gross insubordination to a staff member. Any of those will get you automatically suspended. But if you're suspended, you and your parent have to come to the 45-minute workshop we have once a week in the evening. There we review school rules, reinforce expecta-

tions, and talk about options available to the student as opposed to the one the kid chose that got him or her into trouble," says Vigil.

"When students behave inappropriately, perhaps it's because they haven't stopped to think about some of the other options available to them. We also saw that we needed the involvement of their parents to help change behavior. Initially, parents had a million excuses for why they couldn't come. The biggest reason was that they didn't have transportation. So we would pick them up ourselves. Eventually, we got some funding for taxi fares."

Parent Center: haven with a purpose

"Our Parent Center also validates the importance we place on community involvement in our school," adds Vigil. "A lot of our parents haven't had good experiences in school themselves, so you've first got to get them in the door.

Washington Middle School

Grades: 6-8

Enrollment: 849

Students from low-income families: 93%

Ethnic composition:

87% Hispanic

9% Black

3% White

1% Other

ADVICE: "Remember, conflict is not necessarily bad. Not resolving conflict within a school or community can be bad, but conflict itself can be a catalyst for change." — Joseph Vigil, former principal, Washington Middle School

Five Schools Up-Close



Teachers in schools with effective drug prevention/education programs often note a strong correlation between the program's success and increased academic achievement levels among students.

Washington Middle School (continued)

We had the idea for the Parent Center, but it was difficult getting it off the ground. I didn't have the time, yet it was so important!

"I got a grant from within our school system to pay a parent coordinator — a teacher who also has a child in our school — to staff the Parent Center. I also got a grant for a portable classroom, so I could free up the classroom by the office," explains Vigil. "Initially, and even now, the Parent Center attracts some parents because it's a place to wait when picking up their kids, a place with someone to talk to — the bilingual parent coordinator or other parents."

The Parent Center also offers parenting classes, English lessons, counseling for recent immigrants, and information about the school, including its drug programs. It helps establish a sense of community among school parents and between families and school staff. It attracts both fathers and mothers — and also grandparents and others who share responsibility for students. Like Washington Middle School itself, the Parent Center is a place of safety, a place of belonging, a place of hope.

What is the Albuquerque Public Schools doing at a place like Washington Middle School? Depending on where you look, you will find employees of the Internal Revenue Service tutoring students, helping a teacher figure out her taxes, or working out in the school's weight room. But wherever in the school IRS workers are, they are also at the school for students. It is one of the mutually rewarding partnerships the school has developed with business and community groups.

Another such partnership is with the University of New Mexico, which sends volunteer doctors once a week to check students identified by the school nurse as being in need of special medical attention. Parents are notified of the referral and invited to attend the examination. Once a visiting doctor makes a diagnosis, the child is treated or referred to a specialist. The school helps parents who are unable to pay for a specialist find resources among local social agencies. An alcohol/drug specialist from UNM also trains teachers who lead student support groups.

Five Schools Up-Close

ADVICE: "Students need courses that offer specific information about what different drugs do to the mind and body. But most students also need help learning that there is always more than one way to solve a problem." — Andy Bayerl, counselor, Boys Town High School

Boys Town, Nebraska

Boys Town High School: A Place of Hope and Healing

Boys Town, a one-square-mile self-contained city within Omaha, Nebraska, is home to 560 youths, about half of whom are female. Students live in eight "communities" — clusters of homes — with husband-and-wife teams called "family teachers." They have assigned group chores and individual duties such as cooking, cleaning, and laundry.

Boys Town High School, a private institution serving 420 Boys Town residents from all parts of the globe, does not look any different from most high schools, says Andy Bayerl, coordinator of the Chemical Dependency Program. "We may be less imposing than some urban schools — there are no gates, no fences. It's inside the classroom that visitors note a difference. We teach to behaviors. If a student throws an object in class, the teacher stops and deals immediately with the negative behavior.

"Our whole program is based on behavioral principles. Through a point system, students face the consequences of negative actions and

earn praise for positive ones. They get points for both types of behaviors on a card they carry. Privileges come when they accumulate a number of points.

"Most of our kids come through court referrals," says Bayerl. "We try our damndest with them, because for most, the next step is usually the lockup. A good 50 percent end up at Boys Town because of drug use, either their own or their parents. Eighty percent of the girls have been sexually abused, as have 60-70 percent of the boys," notes Bayerl.

CURBing drug use

Before a student is admitted to Boys Town, the admissions staff does a thorough background check, which identifies problems such as drug use by the youth or alcoholism at home. Students with drug or alcohol problems or with a family history of dependency enter the school's drug and alcohol program. Each youth meets with

Boys Town High School

Grades: 9-12
Enrollment: 420

Students from low-income families: 65%

Ethnic composition:
64% White
21% Black
9% Hispanic
4% American Indian
2% Asian

CURB (Chemical Usage Review Board) members — Bayerl, a school counselor, the youth's family teachers, a community director, clergy of the youth's faith, and two student residents.

"We do an in-depth evaluation of the student's problems and share it with him or her. Then we set up a personalized program based on that evaluation," explains Bayerl.

Some courses are mandatory

"Students at risk of drug or alcohol use because of family history also take a course we've created called Living Without Chemicals. Those who are drug dependent take Advanced Living Without Chemicals, which is pretty close to a treatment program; for example, we do AA's 12 steps. A nine-week course called Children of Alcoholics deals with co-dependency issues.

"These courses contain specific information about what different drugs do to the mind and body. We also do a lot with peer support, with building trust and self-esteem, with helping students learn that there's more than one way to solve a problem," notes Bayerl.

"But our concern isn't just with those students in our drug and alcohol program. Every student at Boys Town High takes two drug prevention courses. One is Staying Free of Chemicals, part

of the science program. Kids learn about the physical and psychological effects of tobacco, alcohol, or other drug use. The other is Journey Through Life, part of the religion program. Here the focus is on the value of a drug-free lifestyle from a spiritual viewpoint."

Boys Town goal: reunite the family

Though students do not live with their families, the school works to involve parents as much as possible. "We send literature to parents explaining our programs. If the family lives nearby, we try to get them to our parenting classes," says Bayerl.

"It's tough. Many of these kids come from dysfunctional families. We try to get the family back on track by encouraging the parents to seek counseling or treatment for their own problems. The goal at Boys Town has always been to correct troubled behavior, then to integrate the youth back into a *functional* family.

"Do we succeed? Sometimes yes, sometimes no," concludes Bayerl. "Out of the nearly two thousand kids I've had contact with here, there has been only one I wasn't able to reach in some way. That hard exterior isn't that deep if you only listen to kids. But you have to listen. I don't mean hear, I mean listen to them."

"Out of the nearly two thousand kids I've had contact with here, there was only one I wasn't able to reach in some way. That hard exterior isn't that deep if you only listen to kids." — Andy Bayerl

Five Schools Up-Close

ADVICE: "I think the real meaning of the generation gap is when adults talk on one level and kids talk on another. Too often, as adults, we assume that we know what is right and how things should be for our youth. But we don't always know. That's why we have to keep listening to kids, or we're going to lose them." — Andy Bayerl, counselor, Boys Town High School

We are going to be talking about a way to help students understand the meaning of the word "problem" when it comes to the social and emotional problems that we face. And I want to mention a report that was made in the Boys Town High School.

For example, in writing A.A.'s, twelve students kept coming to a fourth step that students could relate to. The fourth step means that individuals must be different by attitude and behavior and list people they've harmed.

"I found kids had trouble with it. So I remembered my own advice: Listen to students. Don't tell them what they did wrong. Ask them to tell you in their own words. This led to very insightful and soul-searching discussions: What areas in my life have I messed up? Why? What am I going to do to change? The activity becomes much more powerful than my saying, 'You have done such and such. How do you feel about it?'"

Bayerl and staff at Boys Town also help students take the lead in recognizing

the different options that are available to them. It's not just a matter of what to do, but also of how to do it.

We want our students to help them understand the word "problem" when making a decision. It's not just a matter of what to do, but also of how to do it. It's not just a matter of what to do, but also of how to do it. For example, when he or she does the first and second steps, he selects one — usually the one with the most pros — and then it's...

"If the solution doesn't work, we urge the student to reflect on what he learned from this failed attempt, then to look for another possible solution from the list," explains Bayerl.

"The process teaches kids that there's always more than one way to solve a problem, and that if one way doesn't work, you try another. Plus it builds self-respect, because the students are the ones who are making the decisions and they're the ones who are trying their solutions to see if they work."

It's all part of the Boys Town approach: *listen to students and help them believe in themselves.*

1

1 REMARKS BY THE
2 HONORABLE JANET RENO,
3 ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES
4 AT THE
5 SOLVING YOUTH VIOLENCE:
6 PARTNERSHIPS THAT WORK:
7 NATIONAL CONFERENCE
8 - - -
9
10 Monday, August 15, 1994
11 Independence Ballroom
12 Grand Hyatt Hotel
13 1001 H Street, N.W.
14 Washington, D.C.
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25

ALDERSON REPORTING COMPANY, INC.
1111 FOURTEENTH STREET, N.W.
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005
(202) 289-2260

P R O C E E D I N G S

(9:03 a.m.)

ATTORNEY GENERAL RENO: Thank you very much.

Ladies and gentlemen, there is something exciting happening out in America today. It's not happening in Washington; it's happening in communities, it's happening in neighborhoods, it's happening on the streets. And you are on the front line to make it happen.

Everywhere I've gone, and this morning I've had a chance to see people who I haven't seen in some time since I've been to their community. Everywhere I've been, people are coming together in their communities. They're involving citizens and all young people. They're reaching out, doctors, lawyers, police officers, teachers, social workers, parks and recreation people, coming together to make a difference in the lives of our children.

It is exciting. It is one of the most impressive and inspiring efforts that I have seen. And what it is is people speaking out. It is government by the people. It's the people knowing what's right and coming together to do something about it.

We have got to take the spirit. We have got to take this inspiration that you have created on your streets and move ahead to make it a reality for all America.

1 How do we do it? First of all, what you know
2 better than anybody else, what you know better than
3 Congress, is we've got to listen to people. We've got to
4 listen to that mother who is on welfare, struggling to be
5 somebody, hoping to give her children a future, wanting to
6 believe in her future, but she doesn't see a light at the
7 end of the tunnel. We've got to give her enough hope to
8 come out and talk with us, to join with us, to make a
9 difference, to move ahead.

10 We've got to talk to the young people, and it is
11 so wonderful to see you here. Wherever I go, I try to
12 talk to the young people in the community. I ask them, if
13 they've been in trouble, what could have been done to
14 prevent it, what we might have done early on. And again
15 and again they tell me: If there had been something to do
16 in the afternoons and in the evenings when I was in
17 elementary school, if there had been something positive,
18 it would have made a difference.

19 And secondly and so poignantly: If there had
20 been somebody to talk to, an adult who understands how
21 difficult it is to grow up in America today, it would have
22 made such a difference, somebody who knew when to give me
23 a pat on the back and when to talk to me firmly, somebody
24 who didn't put me down, who didn't hassle me, who
25 respected me, but understood when I needed discipline.

1 You have listened. You have heard. You are an
2 example for America again of what we need to do to involve
3 neighborhoods and citizens and all our children in
4 charting the course for their future.

5 But along the way it is clear that there are
6 some ingredients to success that will help bolster what
7 you do. First of all, a partnership, the partnerships
8 that we've all spoken of, with Federal and local
9 government, with local government, with citizens, with
10 doctors and lawyers and everyone coming together, rather
11 than pursuing their own disciplines in fragmented ways.

12 But then I think one of the second ingredients
13 that I've seen: Those programs that are working are
14 programs that don't spread themselves too thin, that don't
15 try to be everything to everybody, but focus on a narrow
16 group and work in providing a whole approach to the life
17 of that youngster to make a difference.

18 Secondly, the programs that are working are
19 programs that recognize that it's not going to be done
20 overnight. I like to take long Sunday afternoon walks in
21 Washington or in the area around here, and I was standing
22 on the Potomac when a lady came up to me yesterday talking
23 about what I had been saying about youth violence and what
24 we needed to do.

25 She volunteers in a church program. She's been

1 volunteering for four years, going to the same students,
2 working with them, mentoring with them, not spreading
3 herself too thin, and neither are her church members. And
4 she is beginning to see the results. She is beginning to
5 see those students on the verge of getting into college.

6 Now, if she had just gone the first year and
7 then said, I've done my duty by those children, and then
8 turned to others, her impact would have been lost. But
9 she has, sometimes tediously, but with great dedication,
10 come back year after year, so that those children know
11 they can rely on her. And she, along with you, are some
12 of the heroines and heroes of this Nation.

13 Start early. I'm just going to keep preaching
14 it until I can say no more. But unless we start when
15 children are conceived, unless we give them the foundation
16 in zero to three to grow, we are never ever ultimately
17 going to succeed.

18 (Applause.)

19 And you must be the voice. As I look out over
20 the groups, so many are focused on elementary school or
21 teenage years. We've got to focus on those first three
22 years, and there are no other advocates but us to make the
23 world understand how important it is.

24 And we've got to put it in terms that Congress
25 and business people understand. Unless we make an

1 investment in children in those early years, we will be
2 spending so much in remedial programs down the line that
3 we will never be able to make the proper investments.
4 Unless we make investments in children in zero to three,
5 when they learn 50 percent of all learned human response,
6 we are not going to have a work force with the skills
7 necessary to fill the jobs to maintain America as a first
8 rate Nation. We will not have health care institutions
9 that can continue to minister to those in need. We will
10 never be able to build enough prisons.

11 We have got to continue to spread that message
12 so that we are assured that children will be given the
13 health care, the supervision, the educare necessary to
14 give them a foundation for the future.

15 We have a chance to begin to make a difference.
16 Secretary Riley, Secretary Shalala, all of us coming
17 together to focus on those years. But then we've got to
18 do more. We can't just hand a child off from Headstart
19 into elementary school and not give teachers the support
20 necessary to do the job.

21 And that won't work unless we provide children
22 with afternoon and evening programs that can make a
23 difference. That is one of the big gaps in children's
24 lives today, with both parents working, with single
25 parents struggling to make ends meet, and with some

1 parents who are indifferent to their children.

2 Ladies and gentlemen, we have a golden
3 opportunity to let Congress know what the people of this
4 country know, to let Congress know what prosecutors know,
5 to let Congress know what police officers know, to let
6 Congress know what sheriffs know: that unless we start
7 making an investment in children now, we will never be
8 able to build our way out of it with prisons, we will
9 never be able to police our way out of it. We've got to
10 have punishment, policing, and prevention.

11 (Applause.)

12 Some call it pork. Do you call it pork to give
13 a young person who doesn't have a parent there to
14 supervise them a positive program after school and in the
15 evenings that could give them something to say yes to, so
16 that they can say no to drugs and crime and violence?

17 (Applause.)

18 Do you call it pork to give a young person in a
19 high crime area who's struggling to be somebody a job, a
20 job, not a make-work job, but a job that can develop
21 skills that can enable them to earn a living wage?

22 VOICES: No.

23 ATTORNEY GENERAL RENO: Do you call it work to
24 bring help and education and other forces together to
25 focus on a family as a whole, to rebuild the American

1 family so they can properly take care of their children?

2 VOICES: No.

3 ATTORNEY GENERAL RENO: Then tell Congress.

4 (Applause.)

5 Most of the expenditures -- the House passed a
6 bill that provided for significant moneys in prevention.
7 A large number of people who didn't vote for this rule
8 voted for that crime bill when it passed the House in
9 April. In the conference they cut the prevention by \$820
10 million. Where they added it was for community police
11 officers, for violence against women, for domestic
12 violence.

13 Do you call that pork? No.

14 VOICES: No.

15 ATTORNEY GENERAL RENO: There are too many
16 situations, ladies and gentlemen, where political rhetoric
17 has confused the issue. But the American people
18 understand what the issue is. We will never fight crime
19 just with prevention. We will never fight crime just with
20 punishment.

21 We can fight crime in a good, solid, balanced,
22 comprehensive way with punishment, policing, and
23 prevention that can make a difference.

24 (Applause.)

25 Public officials in the communities of America

1 understand that. When the Democratic Mayor of
2 Philadelphia joins with the Republican Mayor of the City
3 of New York to get on a helicopter to fly out to Air Force
4 One to go to Minneapolis with the President of the United
5 States to tell America how important it is to get this
6 crime bill passed, the time has come to get rid of
7 partisan politics, to get rid of political bickering, to
8 get rid of procedural wrangling.

9 Let the American people's voice be heard and
10 let's give our children a future.

11 (Applause and end of remarks at 9:12 a.m.)
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25

P R O C E E D I N G S

(1:25 p.m.)

GENERAL RENO: Thank you so very much, Your Honor.

It is a great privilege for me to be here today because, as I think back on my lifetime, many of the heroes and heroines to me were juvenile court judges. They were the people who had the most difficult job of all. They were the people who never stopped trying.

But in watching my heroes and heroines in action, I have developed some perspectives on the juvenile court and I have had these perspectives confirmed now, after a little over 15 months in office, in talking with juvenile court judges around the country. I think that we ask the juvenile court judge to be everything. We ask them to be the parent, the great legal scholar on the cutting edge of legal issues. We ask them to be the social worker in our minds. We ask them to be the police officer. And we give them totally inadequate resources.

I'm not sure how in history this concept of the juvenile court judge as being everything to the child in trouble has developed, but I think all of us as lawyers and as participants in the system have a responsibility for letting the communities of America know that a juvenile court judge can't do it by themselves and they

ALDERSON REPORTING COMPANY, INC.
1111 FOURTEENTH STREET, N.W.
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005
(202) 289-2260
(800) FOR DEPO

1 can't do it with the totally inadequate resources that we
2 give them to address the job.

3 They have extraordinarily heavily burdens, but
4 without the resources to do it. They're held accountable,
5 but they're given limited authority to really affect the
6 problem that they are assigned to deal with. They are
7 doomed to failure in terms of community expectations. And
8 because they have been given so inadequate an opportunity
9 to deal with the issue and therefore the results are
10 limited, those that would provide the resources and the
11 authority are more hesitant to give it again.

12 Somehow or another as lawyers we've got to
13 change this concept. The juvenile court judge is at the
14 end of the line, a line of failure on the part of so many
15 other institutions, beginning with the family, the
16 neighborhood, the schools. We start too late to focus on
17 the problem.

18 Where do we begin? I think one of the first
19 things that we have got to do is get out of our narrow
20 focuses in the law. A juvenile court judge handling
21 delinquency cases will focus on delinquency. Another in
22 another jurisdiction may focus just on child abuse and
23 dependency. Somebody else, a teacher, may deal just with
24 truancy issues.

25 Nobody looks at the child as a whole because

ALDERSON REPORTING COMPANY, INC.
1111 FOURTEENTH STREET, N.W.
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005
(202) 289-2260
(800) FOR DEPO

1 traditionally the family looked at the child as a whole.
2 You are here today because you already know what the
3 circumstances are. There are too many children in America
4 who do not have a family to look at the whole picture and
5 to address all of the issues involved.

6 We've got to figure out a new way to do it. But
7 lawyers have helped create the impression that the
8 juvenile court can solve the problems, because lawyers,
9 unfortunately, give people the idea that you win all your
10 battles in the courtroom. Lawyers praise themselves for
11 having gotten a child off on a motion to dismiss. Another
12 praises himself because he got the child adjudicated and
13 got him into a perfectly wonderful program.

14 They think they win the battles in the
15 courtroom. But I suspect that all of you are here today
16 because you know that we will never ever win the battles
17 that we need to fight for our children if we wait to win
18 them in the courtroom. We have got to start earlier.

19 The public defender who gets his client off on a
20 motion to dismiss only to watch that client turn and walk
21 out of the courtroom in the grasp of a cocaine addiction
22 is not winning the battle for his client. We have got to
23 focus earlier on and develop new processes, systems, and
24 approaches in communities throughout America that can make
25 a difference.

ALDERSON REPORTING COMPANY, INC.
1111 FOURTEENTH STREET, N.W.
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005
(202) 289-2260
(800) FOR DEPO

1 Everywhere I go people give me the litany of the
2 problems that children face -- youth violence, child sex
3 abuse, teen pregnancy -- just a whole range of symptoms
4 that reflect to me the fact that for the last 30 years in
5 America we have too often forgotten and neglected our
6 children.

7 And when we have focused on them, it has been
8 too late, at the end of the line, when we don't begin to
9 have enough resources to change the course of that child's
10 life and to make a difference.

11 I think we should approach everything that we do
12 with the consideration of what it takes to raise a child.
13 I think raising children is the single most difficult job
14 I know to do. I have some limited understanding of it
15 because about nine years ago a friend died, leaving me as
16 the legal guardian of her 15 year old twins, a boy and a
17 girl, and the girl was in love, and I've learned an awful
18 lot.

19 (Laughter.)

20 It takes hard work, intelligence, an awful lot
21 of love, and a lot of luck. It is also one of the most
22 rewarding experiences that anybody can have. When I put
23 that young lady on the plane to send her to college and
24 when she graduated in three years cum laude, and on each
25 occasion she threw her arms around my neck and said,

ALDERSON REPORTING COMPANY, INC.
1111 FOURTEENTH STREET, N.W.
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005
(202) 289-2260
(800) FOR DEPO

1 "Thank you, I couldn't have done it without you," I
2 wouldn't trade that for anything, even being Attorney
3 General.

4 (Applause.)

5 I've learned from my own experience that raising
6 children requires love, it requires guidance, it requires
7 limits, it requires appropriate punishment for violations
8 of those limits, punishment that means what it says and is
9 carried out. And then the child who's raised right knows
10 that after the punishment is concluded there will be more
11 love and guidance and limits and support along the way.

12 We have too often created a system where there
13 is not love, where too often there is not guidance, where
14 too often the limits are confused and murky, where the
15 punishment is threatened but not carried out, and, most
16 grievously, we have too often created a system for our
17 children where when they receive punishment they deserve
18 they have no sense at all that there will be love and
19 guidance and follow-up after that punishment.

20 We've got to change the way government
21 approaches the problem of children and families and start
22 to make a difference in the child's life as a whole, not
23 just after the child has gotten into trouble, and then
24 we're going to have to follow through to make sure that we
25 bring that child back with a chance of success.

ALDERSON REPORTING COMPANY, INC.
1111 FOURTEENTH STREET, N.W.
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005
(202) 289-2260
(800) FOR DEPO

1 I would like to challenge the District of
2 Columbia. You have extraordinary burdens. I realize the
3 sensitive issues with regards to statehood, with regards
4 to how you get your funding. But you also have an
5 extraordinarily magnificent opportunity to make a
6 difference.

7 You are not a huge, sprawling city of millions.
8 I think you have about 80,000 school children, a
9 manageable number. You have a community that can be
10 galvanized to care and to make a difference. And if we
11 started focusing on the lives of children and families
12 from the beginning, we can make a difference.

13 If instead of lawyers winning their battles in
14 the courtroom, instead of placing the responsibility just
15 on juvenile court judges, without giving them the
16 authority or the resources to do the job, let us change
17 the focus of government to focus on a neighborhood or on a
18 block.

19 If we took this relatively small geographic area
20 that I now live in -- and I am proud to live in this
21 District, I am proud to be able to walk through it in the
22 morning and learn more and more about it, but it is a
23 manageable size -- and you identified a five square block
24 area and you brought community policing together with
25 social workers and youth counselors and parks and

ALDERSON REPORTING COMPANY, INC.
1111 FOURTEENTH STREET, N.W.
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005
(202) 289-2260
(800) FOR DEPO

1 recreation people and the schools in that neighborhood and
2 joined together to focus on each family, each child, to
3 make sure that from the beginning we gave them the tools
4 to do the job, to be self-sufficient, to avoid crisis, to
5 prevent rather than wait until the costly expenditures of
6 crisis had to be incurred, you could make such a
7 difference.

8 If you designed this District and took five
9 square block areas and assigned police officers who would
10 be known in the community, who would develop the trust and
11 the respect of the youngsters, not the antagonisms of the
12 youngsters, if you took a social worker who could work
13 with that police officer in addressing the family problems
14 and a public health nurse who could address with the young
15 mother the issues of parenting, the issues of nurturing
16 and bonding and infant formula, we can make such a
17 difference.

18 If you had that community police officer working
19 with the principal of the school to find out why the eight
20 year old was truant for two weeks, you could do so much
21 more than waiting for that eight year old to turn 14 and
22 to become delinquent by putting a gun up beside somebody's
23 head because nobody had supervised him along the way.

24 And if you say you don't have adequate
25 resources, that may be the case. But you could galvanize

1 at least the muscle of this government in personal terms.
2 Just imagine what it would be like if you matched this
3 effort with the responsibility of every Federal worker to
4 be responsible as a mentor or as a participant in
5 contributing to a child's life, a child who is at risk,
6 leveraging private sector to come into this partnership
7 and to make a difference.

8 I adopted Raymond Elementary School because I
9 wanted to have a place where I could care and I didn't get
10 spread too thin and I could try to make a difference, if
11 ever so slight. I've been going to that school about once
12 every two weeks since September. It has been wonderful to
13 get to know teachers, to get to know the students, to have
14 the students come up to me on the street and remind me of
15 what we talked about in their class.

16 That school, though, is a bit dingy, or was. It
17 was grey and kind of dirty. A law firm in this town on
18 one Saturday changed the complexion of that school.
19 Partners were up on the ladders painting, people were
20 planting trees, planting flowers, cleaning bathrooms,
21 cleaning the tops and bottoms off desks.

22 It was just an exciting experience to walk into
23 that school and to see it changed and to see it lighter
24 and brighter and happier, to see how that one law firm had
25 involved all the students in that school in planning, in

ALDERSON REPORTING COMPANY, INC.
1111 FOURTEENTH STREET, N.W.
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005
(202)289-2260
(800) FOR DEPO

1 painting. Not all the students, but a sizable number, who
2 had an interest in it because somebody finally cared.
3 They cared about their school. They cared about something
4 these children cared about.

5 We have got to stop wringing our hands and
6 saying we can't do something because we don't have
7 adequate resources. There are some splendid resources out
8 there if we get them focused in the right direction. But
9 we will never be able to save the lives of our children if
10 we wait until they're 17 years old and are adjudicated
11 delinquent for the second time before we start putting
12 resources into their lives to make a difference.

13 We will never even begin to save the lives of
14 our children if we wait for dropout programs in middle
15 school, because already the child has fallen two grade
16 levels behind and already is beginning to act out in other
17 ways to attract attention to themselves because they are
18 thought of as stupid.

19 And we will never be able to if we wait until we
20 get a good first grade teacher that can make a difference
21 in that child's life, unless we start focusing early on on
22 early childhood development.

23 In short, we have got to take the burden that
24 society, that all of us, that lawyers, have permitted to
25 be placed on juvenile court judges and turn and place it

1 on a community as a whole, design new systems, new
2 processes, to develop an assurance for the children of
3 America that they can and may anticipate certain basic
4 approaches to their life, beginning with the fact that we
5 have got to do everything we can to make sure that the
6 children of America's parents are old enough, wise enough,
7 and financially able to take care of their children.

8 We have got to focus on the issue of teen
9 pregnancy. We can make a difference. We can develop
10 programs after schools and in the evenings for our young
11 women. We can start teaching them so much along the way.

12 But you know better than I, because you are the
13 people that have been on the front lines, we have got to
14 make sure that every child in America, every child in this
15 District, has appropriate health care opportunities.

16 But look what we've done. I'm not expert on the
17 District, but I met one of the prominent officeholders in
18 the District who said that she was plagued more by these
19 court orders that said she had to do this and that and the
20 other and she didn't have the money to do this and that
21 and the other.

22 One of the reasons is because we too often wait
23 for the crisis to occur, for some lawyer to take a
24 situation into a courtroom, win an injunction against a
25 community, direct the payment of some dollars, and the

ALDERSON REPORTING COMPANY, INC.
1111 FOURTEENTH STREET, N.W.
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005
(202) 289-2260
(800) FOR DEPO

1 courts are directing payments of the dollars so that the
2 government can't plan as a whole because the government's
3 resources are limited.

4 If we just took our resources and put them up
5 front and investing in human beings, rather than waiting
6 until the crisis occurred, we could make such a
7 difference, and medical care is a classic example. If we
8 organized ourselves so that with police and social workers
9 and public health nurses working together as teams in
10 areas that were of high risk, we could get primary health
11 care to children and families where it counted, where it
12 made a difference, before the illness really took its toll
13 in terms of behavioral problems down the line.

14 We should make sure that every child in this
15 district receives current and appropriate immunization, as
16 well as every child in America. And you say, why are we
17 talking about that in a juvenile court conference? I
18 don't know about you, but I looked at enough presentence
19 investigations over time that went back to the issue of
20 some medical problem that could have been avoided by an
21 investment up front in preventative medical care. We can
22 make a difference.

23 But one of the things that we tend to do is
24 still, even as we talk about early intervention, we still
25 talk about early intervention when the first signs of

1 trouble develop, when the first truancy develops, when the
2 first behavioral problems start in school. We can't wait
3 that long.

4 The studies are complete enough now. The
5 Carnegie Foundation's remarkable report "Starting Points,"
6 the research of so many fine experts around the country
7 and around the world, show that the problems that you deal
8 with today are found, their origins are found 15, 16 years
9 ago in the ages of zero to 3, in the ages where the
10 concept of reward and punishment is developed, the
11 conscience is developed, 50 percent of all learned human
12 response is acquired.

13 Those are the years that the foundations are
14 laid for the problems that you deal with today. And too
15 often there is no advocate, there is no system that can
16 step in to ensure the delivery of the foundations to make
17 a difference.

18 Unless that child is so abused and neglected
19 that the courts can step in through dependency
20 proceedings, that child just withers instead of growing
21 during the most formative time.

22 It has been wonderful for me to have as an ally
23 in these first 15 months in Washington as I've talked
24 about ages zero to three, as I've talked about early
25 childhood as critical to delinquency prevention efforts,

ALDERSON REPORTING COMPANY, INC.
1111 FOURTEENTH STREET, N.W.
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005
(202) 289-2260
(800) FOR DEPO

1 to have an ally who is two years old. She happens to be
2 my great-niece. I now see her about every three months,
3 rather than every other day, and to see the changes in
4 that child over this two-year period reminds me of how
5 important it is for all of us who care about children, all
6 of us who care about delinquency, to give to all the
7 children of America an early childhood that can be a
8 strong foundation for their future.

9 As we talk about early intervention, we've got
10 to go to the beginning. And we've got to work together to
11 ensure that our child care institutions for zero to five
12 are as automatic for those children who need them as K
13 through 12. If we wait to K through 12 we're going to be
14 doing more and more remedial programs, at a lot more cost,
15 than if we make the investment up front, where it can make
16 a difference.

17 And then we come to our schools. I've often
18 wondered as I talk to principals in my own home town of
19 Miami how people who cared so much about children could
20 get so distant from each other. You go to a principals'
21 meeting and the principals are fussing about the judges.
22 You go to the judges' meeting and the judges are fussing
23 about the principals.

24 You've asked when they've talked and when
25 they've talked with teachers and, well, they talked when

ALDERSON REPORTING COMPANY, INC.
1111 FOURTEENTH STREET, N.W.
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005
(202) 289-2260
(800) FOR DEPO

1 the principal got subpoenaed into court, but it disrupted
2 the schedule because they had to sit there all day, and
3 the principal is more worried about having to sit there
4 all day than how she and the judge can work together to
5 make a difference in a child's life.

6 But if we focus in neighborhood-based efforts,
7 we can make such a difference. But we all have a special
8 responsibility to start telling people how wonderful our
9 teachers are. I have been to schools now, not just at
10 Raymond Elementary but throughout this District, where you
11 have some miracle workers, some men and women who are
12 saints, who are making such an incredible difference in
13 their children's lives, who are teaching them so very
14 much, and they too often feel put down and unappreciated.

15 All of us have got to renew a commitment to
16 public education, to letting those saints know just how
17 wonderful they are, to doing something about a society
18 that pays its football players in the six digit figures
19 and pays its teachers what it does, that pays its lawyers
20 coming to Wall Street law firms obscene salaries compared
21 to what it pays its teachers who have jobs sometimes I
22 think twice as difficult.

23 We must do everything we can to support our
24 educational system. But we have to think of what it
25 means, because the educational system, as best it can be,

ALDERSON REPORTING COMPANY, INC.
1111 FOURTEENTH STREET, N.W.
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005
(202) 289-2260
(800) FOR DEPO

1 is dissipated by the child who leaves the school in the
2 afternoon, walks home unsupervised through streets that
3 put that child at risk.

4 We've got to develop programs afternoons and in
5 the evenings that are organized and available for all
6 children and young people.

7 I was out in Glen Arden, Maryland, this past
8 week at a midnight basketball game. I wondered whether
9 midnight basketball was a catchy phrase, but I have
10 learned over the years that it's not. I talked to young
11 men whose lives had been changed so dramatically because
12 of it, because of the workshops and the educational
13 opportunities that went with it.

14 And yet in that limited suburb of Maryland,
15 there were only two such programs, with a lot of other
16 children missing out. And TV reporters that night -- it
17 was interesting to me that it was the TV reporter who was
18 the advocate for the District -- was saying we can't get
19 it started in the District because we don't have the
20 money.

21 Somehow or another, we have got to reweave the
22 fabric of society around these children in the afternoon
23 and in the evening and, through private sector
24 initiatives, through passage of the crime bill, through so
25 many other efforts, get programs to schools and

ALDERSON REPORTING COMPANY, INC.
1111 FOURTEENTH STREET, N.W.
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005
(202) 289-2260
(800) FOR DEPO

1 communities that can provide activities for our children
2 that can make a difference.

3 Through partnerships between police and schools,
4 we can make a difference. It is so exciting to see what
5 is happening in communities where police officers are
6 reaching out to the young people at an early age and
7 developing their trust, becoming their mentors. When I
8 stand in South Central Los Angeles with an elementary
9 school that has 40 percent Hispanic students, 40 percent
10 African American, and 20 percent Cambodian, and I ask
11 those kids what they want to be when they grow up and they
12 look over my shoulder and beam at the community police
13 officer and say, I want to be a policeman, you can see the
14 differences.

15 When three young men come down from Dorchester,
16 Massachusetts, with their community police officers to
17 tell the President of the United States what a difference
18 those men have made in their lives in terms of getting
19 them straightened out and off on the right foot, you begin
20 to understand the potential for what community policing
21 can do. It can make a difference.

22 But then no matter what we do, there will be
23 children who get into trouble. And we've got to develop
24 better ways to do it earlier on. Nine years old when that
25 child is first truant, let's take action there. Instead

ALDERSON REPORTING COMPANY, INC.
1111 FOURTEENTH STREET, N.W.
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005
(202) 289-2260
(800) FOR DEPO

1 of just having the police officers pick up the child and
2 take him back to school, if the parent doesn't come to get
3 the child let's do home visits. Let's make a difference.
4 Let's find out what's causing the problem and let's
5 intervene early enough.

6 When we see the child starting to fall behind,
7 let's not wait until middle school for a dropout
8 prevention program. Let's start making sure we have
9 tutors from the private sector, volunteers, others, who
10 will make a difference after school in that child's life,
11 so they don't fall behind and they don't drop out.

12 When a child gets to be age 12 and starts
13 getting into trouble, let us do a risk assessment up
14 front. Let's analyze it up front, rather than waiting for
15 the first non-serious offense to be disposed of without
16 too much attention, and the second and the third.

17 Let us try to look at the child as part of a
18 family, focusing on what the problems in the family are as
19 well as the child. It will do us no good whatsoever if we
20 take a delinquent child, punish him the right way, send
21 him to the most appropriate program in the world, and then
22 send him home to a family that caused the problem in the
23 first place.

24 And let us start focusing on aftercare. We get
25 into these great debates about whether boot camps work and

ALDERSON REPORTING COMPANY, INC.
1111 FOURTEENTH STREET, N.W.
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005
(202) 289-2260
(800) FOR DEPO

1 what is a boot camp and does it work. We get into great
2 debates about what youthful offender program works and
3 what doesn't work. But it is clear that the programs that
4 are working have as an essential component community
5 aftercare that can make a difference.

6 We're going to have to be bolder in what we talk
7 about in terms of aftercare, because again it makes no
8 sense to punish a child the right way and then send him
9 home to the apartment over the open air drug market that
10 got him into the trouble in the first place. We've got to
11 think of alternative housing sites and creative things,
12 like, say, six youngsters with a couple renovating an
13 apartment in an area and coming in and living in a group
14 living situation far better than the situation, the family
15 situation that caused the problem in the first place.

16 But most of all, we have got to listen to our
17 young people. I talked to one of my colleagues from the
18 Department of Justice this morning and he told me of how
19 the young people had participated in this conference. You
20 have done something that few have done around the country,
21 and I want to congratulate you because our children --

22 (Applause.)

23 -- our children have such extraordinary wisdom.
24 They have such keen understanding. They have so much good
25 sense, and they've got so many things to tell you. And I

ALDERSON REPORTING COMPANY, INC.
1111 FOURTEENTH STREET, N.W.
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005
(202) 289-2260
(800) FOR DEPO

1 think one of the great problems is that we are trying to
2 find solutions for these children, some of whom have been
3 through hell, and our solutions are based on the way we
4 were raised, and most of us didn't go through hell.

5 For somebody who's been through hell and who
6 wants to make a difference and wants to teach us how to
7 help somebody who has had their experience, we must
8 listen. Punishment won't work if the child never learned
9 the concept of punishment. If the child doesn't have the
10 self-confidence or faith or belief in himself to make a
11 difference, we've got to pursue new notions of how we work
12 with children. Is it the pat on the back first? How do
13 we mix the pat on the back with the punishment? What are
14 the ingredients? How do we work together to do it?

15 The young people of America have so many answers
16 out there just waiting to be heard, and the young people
17 of America want so to make a difference. In our effort as
18 we take back this Nation, we can use our children. They
19 want to volunteer, they want to participate, they want to
20 tutor the youngster in the grade school below them. They
21 want to make a difference.

22 If we all work together and understand that our
23 problems will not be resolved in courts, that lawyers
24 fighting great legal battles will not win the problem,
25 find the solution, but if all of us, doctors, lawyers,

ALDERSON REPORTING COMPANY, INC.
1111 FOURTEENTH STREET, N.W.
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005
(202) 289-2260
(800) FOR DEPO

21

1 judges, police officers, teachers, work together, child by
2 child, family by family, block by block, neighborhood by
3 neighborhood, city by city, we're going to do it because
4 of people like you.

5 God bless you and thank you ever so much.

6 (Applause and end of remarks.)

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

ALDERSON REPORTING COMPANY, INC.
1111 FOURTEENTH STREET, N.W.
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005
(202) 289-2260
(800) FOR DEPO



October 19, 1993

Mr. Carter Wilkie
Old Executive Office Bldg., Room 158
Washington, DC 20500

As I promised, I have enclosed a copy of the National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC) Position Statement on Violence in the Lives of Children, which was published in the September 1993 issue of NAEYC's magazine, *Young Children*. As the statement points out, NAEYC is committed to action addressing two goals: 1) To decrease the extent of violence in all forms in children's lives by advocating for public policies and actions at the national level, and 2) to enhance the ability of educators to help children cope with violence, promote children's resilience, and assist families by improving professional practice in early childhood programs.

Please feel free to contact me, Marilyn Smith (Executive Director of NAEYC) or Barbara Willer (Public Affairs Director of NAEYC) if you would like more information on this or other early childhood issues.

Sincerely,

Diane Trister Dodge
President

Enclosure

DTD/ab

cc: Marilyn Smith and Barbara Willer

TO: JOSE CEDRA

FROM: CARTER

WILKIE

#222

NAEYC Position Statement on Violence in the Lives of Children

Adopted July 1993

The problem of violence

Tragically, every day children in America witness violent acts or are victims of abuse, neglect, or personal assault in their homes or communities. Marian Wright Edelman (1993) states, "[We] Adults have failed dismally in our most basic responsibility—to protect our society's children from violence," as the following facts and statistics reveal:

- The United States is now the most violent country in the industrialized world, leading the world in homicides, rapes, and assaults (Dodd, 1993; Weiner, 1991).
- An estimated 2.7 million children were reported to child protection agencies in 1991 as victims of neglect, physical abuse, sexual abuse, or emotional maltreatment; nationwide the number of children reported abused or neglected has tripled since 1980 (Children's Defense Fund, 1992).
- Gun-related violence takes the life of an American child at least every three hours and the lives of at least 25 children—the equivalent of a classroomful—every three days. In 1990 alone guns were used to kill 222 children under the age of 10 and 6,795 young people under the age of 25. Another 30 children are injured every day by guns (Edelman, 1993). Every day 100,000 children carry guns to school.
- In one Chicago public housing project all of the children had witnessed a shooting by the age of five

(Dodd, 1993). A child growing up in Chicago is 15 times as likely to be murdered as is a child growing up in Northern Ireland (Garbarino, 1992).

- By age 18 the average child will have seen 26,000 killings on television (Tuchscherer, 1988). *TV Guide* reports that a violent incident is shown on television, on the average, every six minutes (Edelman, 1993). The number of violent acts depicted on television has tripled since deregulation of the industry.

- In a national survey 91% of the responding teachers reported increased violence among children in their classrooms as a result of cross-media marketing of violent cartoons, toys, videos, and other licensed products (Carisson-Paige & Levin, 1991).

- In a recent survey of New Orleans fifth graders more than half reported they had been victims of some type of violence; 70% had witnessed weapons being used (Zero to Three, 1992).

The escalating rate of violence in many American cities means that large numbers of children are growing up in conditions that have been described as "inner-city war zones" (Garbarino, Dubrow, Kostelny, & Pardo, 1992). But the problem of violence is not restricted to any one community or group. All children today are affected by the violence that pervades our society. As a result, the healthy development of many of our nation's children is in serious jeopardy.

The causes and effects of violent behavior in society are complex and interrelated; much violence results from social injustice prevalent in our society. Among the significant contributors are poverty, racism, unemployment, substance abuse, proliferation of guns, inadequate or abusive parenting practices, real-life adult models of violent problem-solving behavior, and frequent exposure to violence through the media. Today every fifth child lives in poverty; among children under the age of six the percentage is 25% (Children's Defense Fund, 1992). Basic services to low-income families have been drastically reduced in the last decade as federal funding has been cut. As social programs have disappeared and the economy has worsened, violence in homes, schools, and communities has increased. The proliferation of handguns has contributed greatly to the increase in violent assaults and homicides experienced by children (Garbarino, 1992).

The culture of violence is mirrored in and influenced by the media. As a result of the deregulation of the broadcasting industry, children's television and related toys have become more violent (Carisson-Paige & Levin, 1990). Research is clear that the media, particularly television and films, contribute to the problem of violence in America (Slabey, 1992; Huesmann & Miller, in press). Research demonstrates that children who are frequent viewers of vio-

lence on television are less likely to show empathy toward the pain and suffering of others and more likely to behave aggressively.

Violence touches the life of every child in this country, some more directly than others. A continuum of exposure to violence exists that extends from exposure through the media to being a direct witness, being a victim, and, for too many children, becoming a perpetrator. There are many points along the way in this continuum that include frequent viewing of media violence and the commercial linkup of toys that promote violent behavior (for example, a popular line of male dolls now includes drug dealers), secondhand reports of acts of violence, warnings and admonitions by parents about personal safety, witnessing actual acts of violence to strangers or family members, witnessing or experiencing domestic violence, harming or killing someone else, being wounded or killed oneself. Recognizing the existence of this continuum of exposure to violence makes it evident that no child in America is exempt from some exposure. As U.S. Senator Christopher Dodd points out, "Violence is America's problem; from affluent suburbs to inner-city streets, violence knows no social, economic, racial, or geographic boundaries."

This country has committed itself to a national goal—by the year 2000: All children will start school ready to learn. Achieving this goal will be impossible unless the country also simultaneously breaks the cycle of violence that grips so many children and families. Children need to be safe and secure at home to develop a positive sense of self necessary to their growing into healthy, productive, caring adults; children need to be safe in their communities to be able to explore and develop relationships with other people; and children need to be safe at school in order to successfully learn.

The effects of violence on children

What is this tragedy doing to our children? A fundamental need of children is to feel safe; if children do not feel safe, they run the risk of becoming traumatized as victims or eventually becoming perpetrators themselves. Experts describe the impact of violence on many children as *post-traumatic stress disorder* (Garbarino et al., 1992). American children show symptoms similar to those first associated with some Vietnam veterans and children living in war-torn countries: sleep disturbances, inability to concentrate, flashbacks, images of terror, and nightmares.

The younger the child the greater is the threat of exposure to violence to healthy development. Individuals who experienced an initial trauma before the age of 11 were three times more likely to develop psychiatric symptoms than those who experienced their first trauma as teens (Davidson & Smith, 1990, quoted in Garbarino et al., 1992, p. 70). Chronic exposure to violence can have serious developmental consequences for children including psychological disorders, grief and loss reactions, impaired intellectual development and school problems, truncated moral development, pathological adaptation to violence, and identification with the aggressor (Craig, 1992; Garbarino et al., 1992). Not surprisingly, children exposed to violence have difficulty focusing on school work or engaging in any of the other playful activities that should be treasured experiences of childhood.

It is estimated that up to 80% of all children exposed to powerful stressors do not sustain developmental damage (Rutter, 1979; Werner, 1990). Research indicates that certain factors contribute to the resilience of these children. A child's individual characteristics and early life experiences, as well

as protective factors in the child's physical and social environment, contribute to resilience. A number of protective factors in the environment are associated with resilience: a stable, emotional relationship with at least one parent or other significant adult; an open, supportive educational climate and parental model of behavior that encourage constructive coping with problems; and social support from persons outside the family. The most important buffer is a supportive relationship with parents. Most children are able to cope with dangerous environments and maintain resilience as long as their parents are not stressed beyond their capacity to cope (Garbarino et al., 1992). Schools and child care programs can be vitally important support systems by strengthening children's resilience and providing resources for parents so that they can serve as psychological buffers to protect their children.

What can be done?

The National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC), the nation's largest professional organization of early childhood educators, is committed to actions that address two major goals:

1. To decrease the extent of violence in all forms in children's lives by advocating for public policies and actions at the national level; and
2. To enhance the ability of educators to help children cope with violence, and promote children's resilience, and assist families by improving professional practice in early childhood programs.

1—Advocate for public policies and actions

Many of the negative outcomes described above can be prevented if we are willing to take action on

many fronts. First, the nation must begin focusing energy and resources on prevention rather than only supporting more criminal justice strategies that come after the fact and have not proven to be effective deterrents (Prothrow-Stith, 1993).

Every sector of our society must assume some responsibility for the problem. The challenge is to develop policies that reduce the number of risk factors for all children but especially for children from low-income families. Policies should target the greatest number of resources toward children in the preschool and elementary years when children are most vulnerable to developmental damage as a result of exposure to violence.

Several important steps are necessary for this nation to prevent violence in the lives of children:

- **Generate public outrage.** We believe that a necessary first step is to generate a sense of public outrage that motivates actions that will eliminate violence in the lives of children, families, and communities. Too many Americans believe that violence is something that happens to other people or only in some places; as a result, increasing violence in our nation has been met with surprising apathy. Only when violence hits close to home do citizens become sufficiently mobilized to take action, often too late. Many adults are so overwhelmed by constant exposure to violence in the media, on the streets, and in the world that they become hopeless, desensitized, or disempowered to act.

- **Allocate resources to prevention of violence.** In 1980 there were 500,000 inmates in jails and prisons in the United States; in 1990 there were 1,000,000. The previous decade of getting tough on crime saw a 12% increase in violent crime (Prothrow-Stith, 1993). It is obvious that criminal-justice efforts alone will not slow the rate of violence. Such efforts must be

combined with equal or greater resources allocated to proven strategies that prevent violence, starting with programs targeted to support families with young children.

- **Generate commitment to the right of every child to a safe, non-violent, and nurturing society.** Our nation must commit itself to changing the conditions in which children live, reducing the number of risk factors that children experience, and enhancing social and psychological resources. Policies must support the provision of jobs that pay adequate wages, affordable housing, adequate health care, strong supportive families, high-quality early childhood and school-age programs, and safe neighborhoods.

- **Revitalize neighborhoods through ensuring peacekeeping and targeting the delivery of human services, such as job training, health care, early childhood education programs, and parent education.** Although violence is a problem that affects our entire nation, violence in inner cities requires targeted assistance to save the children and break the cycle of violence. Resources must become available for programs that address violence prevention through legislation, such as the Child and Family Services and Law Enforcement Partnership Act. Increased funding is needed for family support programs that equip parents with coping skills while also developing positive parenting behaviors. Resources are also needed to assist children who are victims of violence.

- **Support efforts to limit the availability of firearms and other weapons, especially their access to children.** If firearms kept people safe, the United States would be the safest country in the world because so many firearms are readily available. In the state of Texas, for instance, there are four guns available for every citizen. Instead, we are the most violent industrial-

ized country in the world. According to the Center To Prevent Handgun Violence, in 1990 handguns were used to kill 87 people in Japan, 68 in Canada, 22 in Great Britain, 10 in Australia, and 10,567 in the United States. If we are ever to achieve safe schools and communities for our children, this nation must limit the availability of firearms and other weapons. Large numbers of children are "accidentally" injured or killed by guns; these injuries or deaths are preventable by limiting children's access to firearms.

- **Regulate children's television programming to limit media exposure to violence and restrict practices that market violence through the linkup of media, toys, and licensed products.** Since deregulation in the early 1980s, children's exposure to violence through the media has gone unchecked. At the same time longitudinal data have become available that clearly link media viewing of violent acts with increased violent behaviors. Presumably broadcasters would act responsibly to limit exposure to violence without the constraint of regulation, but this has not been the case. The Federal Communications Commission should regulate the amount of violence on children's television and, as a condition for license renewal, review television station's efforts and accomplishments in helping serve the information and educational needs of children regarding violence and how to prevent it. The powerful linkup of commercial products with programs depicting violence has well-documented negative effects on children's development (Carlsson-Paige & Levin, 1990). Regulation is also needed to control practices that market violence to children through the linkup of media, toys, and licensed products. (See NAEYC Position Statement on Media Violence in Children's Lives,

1990). Violence in film and film previews is increasing, and previews are shown even during family films and during children's TV.

• **Prohibit corporal punishment in schools and all other programs for children.** Numerous states continue to permit corporal punishment in schools or child care programs. Some states that prohibit corporal punishment in standards for licensing child care programs allow exemptions for certain types of programs or under certain conditions. The institutional use of corporal punishment in such situations teaches children that physical solutions to problems are acceptable for adults and that aggression is an appropriate way to control the behavior of other people. The institutional use of corporal punishment should never be condoned.

2—Commit the early childhood profession to helping children cope with violence in their lives and promoting their resilience through partnerships with parents; early childhood programs and curriculum; and professional preparation, development, and support.

As do all sectors of society, the early childhood profession has an important role to play in breaking the cycle of violence in the lives of children. Specific recommendations for action follow in each of three areas. **Partnerships with parents.** Early childhood professionals must help families deal with stress and enhance their ability to help children cope with violence. The needs of families also range along a continuum. Popular culture socializes children into violent behavior so effectively that society is actually undermining parents' ability to protect their own children. Some parents are victims of violence themselves. Many are so

stressed by community conditions that they are unable to serve as the buffer of emotional protection that children need. Finally, some parents are perpetrators of violence themselves, and in some cases their children are their own victims. NAEYC is committed to actions that support families, such as the following:

- Increase awareness on the part of families about the profound effects of violence on children.
- Support the critical role that parents play in promoting the development of prosocial behavior.
- Collaborate with parents to bring about changes needed in local communities to prevent violence.
- Support the importance of the parental role in the lives of children by providing education for parenthood, helping parents develop positive parenting skills, and supporting proven programs that prevent child abuse and neglect.
- Increase the ability of families to find and use community resources to support and protect children and families.

Early childhood programs and curriculum. We should not underestimate the important role that early childhood programs can play in supporting the healthy development of children and families. Although high-quality early childhood programs are *not* an inoculation against the destructive effects of violence, positive early school experiences and warm, nurturing relationships with teachers are known to be critical contributors to children's ability to cope with stress and trauma. To achieve this potential such programs must meet the highest possible professional standards, teachers must be well trained and compensated, and comprehensive support systems must be in place. NAEYC is committed to the following goals:

- Ensure that high-quality, developmentally appropriate early

childhood programs are available to all children. Such programs comply with NAEYC's standards for accreditation (NAEYC, 1992) and developmentally appropriate practice (Bredekamp, 1987) and provide adequate salaries to ensure continuity of qualified staff.

- Ensure that all early childhood programs that serve children who are exposed to violence are able to provide comprehensive physical, social, and mental health services; and family involvement.

- Provide guidance to early childhood educators on how to create a sense of community in their classroom by infusing democratic processes and on the promotion of social competence into the total school environment and daily classroom life (for example, supportive warm-and-caring relationships with adults; an organized and predictable environment; and a developmental curriculum that fosters self-esteem and integrates therapeutic and healing strategies, such as play and art). (See Wallach, 1993.)

- Promote curriculum and teaching practices that address violence prevention; teach conflict resolution, cooperative learning, respect for diversity in all its forms; and promote positive cultural identity as a central part of the program (Carlisson-Paige & Levin, 1992).

- Support individualized, early intervention for children who are victims of violence and strengthen training for all personnel on violence counseling.

Professional preparation, development, and support. Studies have shown that positive school experiences are a major contributor to the resilience of children who are exposed to stress. Of special importance is a trusting relationship with a preschool or primary school teacher. Most teachers, however, have not been trained to help children cope with the ef-

fects of violence, nor have they learned how to teach children alternatives to violent behavior. In addition, schools in urban areas with high levels of poverty have the highest levels of violence but the fewest resources to combat them. Adults who care for victimized children over long periods of time are themselves in psychological peril. NAEYC is committed to the following actions:

- Provide teacher education programs that address the areas of child development theory and practice, root causes of violence in children's lives, the developmental consequences of stress and trauma, protective factors and resilience, the development of mental health skills, emotional availability and the role of affect in helping relationships, advocacy skills to help eliminate causes of violence, and the use of community and professional resources.
- Revise teacher certification standards to require violence-prevention training and the teaching of alternatives to violence.
- Create in-service teacher education programs on helping children cope with violence in their lives, with special emphasis on the therapeutic strategies of children's play and art.
- Develop ongoing consultation services for teachers, especially those who work with children in violent communities, to support teachers' mental health, address their fears and trauma, and provide assistance as they work with children who have multiple needs.

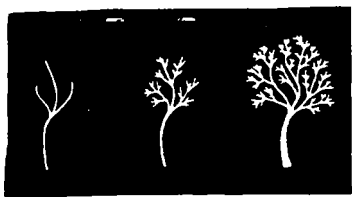
Conclusion

The violence that plagues our nation has many sources, and its elimination will require systematic attention at many levels. Most importantly, the citizens of our na-

tion must become outraged at the victimization of its children and must turn this outrage into positive action and increased resources toward preventing violence in the lives of children. All adults must assume the responsibility for keeping children safe. Our society cannot afford the devastating effects of failing to protect its children. Each of us individually must commit ourselves to the actions that are most appropriate for our own sphere of influence. The early childhood profession individually and collectively must work to influence public commitment, action, and policy and collaborate with other organizations to reduce the causes of violence. The early childhood profession must also address issues of violence in children's lives through partnerships with parents and other professionals; early childhood programs and curriculum; and professional preparation, development, and support.

References

- Bredenkamp, S. (Ed.). (1987). *Developmentally appropriate practice in early childhood programs serving children from birth through age 8* (exp. ed.). Washington, DC: NAEYC.
- Carlsson-Paige, N., & Levin, D.E. (1990). Who's calling the shots? How to respond effectively to children's fascination with war play and war toys. Philadelphia: New Society Publishers.
- Carlsson-Paige, N., & Levin, D.E. (1991). The subversion of healthy development and play. *Day Care and Early Education*, 19(2), 14-20.
- Carlsson-Paige, N., & Levin, D.E. (1992). Making peace in violent times: A constructivist approach to conflict resolution. *Young Children*, 48(1), 4-13.
- Children's Defense Fund (CDF). (1992). *The state of America's children, 1992*. Washington, DC: Author.
- Craig, S. (1992). The educational needs of children living with violence. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 74(1), 67-71.
- Dodd, C. (1993). Testimony prepared for the Joint Senate-House Hearing on Keeping Every Child Safe: Curbing the Epidemic of Violence. 103rd Cong., 1st sess., March 10.
- Edeleman, M.W. (1993). Testimony prepared for the Joint Senate-House Hearing on Keeping Every Child Safe: Curbing the Epidemic of Violence. 103rd Cong., 1st sess., March 10.
- Garbarino, J. (1992, November). *Helping children cope with the effects of community violence*. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the National Association for the Education of Young Children, New Orleans, LA.
- Garbarino, J., Dubrow, N., Kostelny, K., & Pardo, C. (1992). *Children in danger: Coping with the effects of community violence*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Huesmann, L.R., & Miller, L. (in press). Long-term effects of repeated exposure to media violence in childhood. In L.R. Huesmann (Ed.), *Aggressive behavior: Current perspectives*. NY: Plenum.
- National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC). (1990). NAEYC position statement on media violence in children's lives. *Young Children*, 45(5), 18-21.
- National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC). (1992). *Accreditation criteria & procedures of the National Academy of Early Childhood Programs* (rev. ed.). Washington, DC: Author.
- Prothrow-Stith, D. (1993). Testimony prepared for the Joint Senate-House Hearing on Keeping Every Child Safe: Curbing the Epidemic of Violence. 103rd Cong., 1st sess., March 10.
- Rutter, M. (1979). Protective factors in children's responses to stress and disadvantage. In M.W. Kent & J.E. Rolf (Eds.), *Primary prevention of psychopathology: Social competence in children* Vol. 3 (pp. 49-74). Hanover, NH: University Press of New England.
- Slabey, R.G. (1992). The prevention of youth violence. Testimony prepared for the U.S. Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs. 102nd Cong., 2nd sess., March 31.
- Tuchscherer, P. (1988). *TV interactive toys: The new high tech threat to children*. Bend, OR: Pinnaroo Publishing.
- Wallach, L. (1993). Helping children cope with violence. *Young Children*, 48(4), 4-11.
- Weiner, T. (1991, March 13). Senate unit calls US most violent country on earth. *The Boston Globe*, p. 3.
- Werner, E.E. (1990). Protective factors and individual resilience. In S.J. Meisels & J.P. Shonkoff (Eds.), *Handbook of early childhood education* (pp. 97-116). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Zero to Three. (1992). *Can they hope to feel safe again? Impact of community violence on infants, toddlers, their parents and practitioners*. Arlington, VA: National Center for Clinical Infant Programs.



CENTER FOR
YOUTH
DEVELOPMENT
AND POLICY RESEARCH

ACADEMY FOR EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

YOUTH DEVELOPMENT AND RESILIENCY RESEARCH: MAKING CONNECTIONS TO SUBSTANCE ABUSE PREVENTION

by
Karen Pittman
Ray O'Brien
Mary Kimball

for
the CSAP Issue Forum on
Successful Youth Development: Building Resiliency
February 11-12, 1993

Karen Pittman is the director of the Center for Youth Development and Policy Research. Ray O'Brien is a program officer at the Center. Mary Kimball is a program associate at the Center.

YOUTH DEVELOPMENT AND RESILIENCY RESEARCH: MAKING CONNECTIONS TO SUBSTANCE ABUSE PREVENTION

There is no doubt that substance abuse is a serious and growing problem among adolescents in the United States. Like many of the problems and behaviors experienced and exhibited by young people, it is paralleled in adult behavior, depicted in conflicting ways by the media, the schools, the religious organizations, and individual families. And like its sister problems captured under the umbrella of adolescent health risks -- pregnancy, AIDS, STDS, and violence -- it is a problem whose solution will require both specific targeted strategies and broad community and societal changes.

The research on substance abuse and prevention and intervention strategies is as rich, if not richer, than that developed to date on other problem behaviors. There is a working knowledge of good practice. What will be stressed in this paper, however, are two points. First, the overlap between good practice in adolescent substance abuse prevention and the prevention of other risk-taking behaviors among adolescence far outweighs the distinctions.

Second, and most important, the overlap between the "preventions" suggests a need for placing problem prevention in a larger context -- the context of youth development. The central argument of this paper is that talking about promoting youth development versus preventing youth problems is more than a semantic shift. It is a shift that can bring with it some fundamental changes in the way program and policy are developed, implemented and evaluated. It is precisely because most of the strategies used to prevent substance abuse and other problems are, in fact, strategies that promote development -- social skills, communication skills, self-awareness, family and community commitment -- that this shift is needed.

ELEMENTS OF BEST PRACTICE IN SUBSTANCE ABUSE PREVENTION

Perhaps more than in any other prevention field, researchers and practitioners working on substance abuse prevention have adopted the risk and protective factors framework which assumes that high-risk behaviors are the result of both a presence of risk factors within the individual, family, peer group, school, community that increase the likelihood of problems *and* the absence of protective factors within these same spheres that can decrease that likelihood. Prevention strategies, therefore, have sought a more balanced approach of decreasing risk and increasing protective factors and have looked to influence not just the individual but the larger spheres within which that individual associates.

Not surprisingly then, the most resounding call, based on research about adolescent substance abuse prevention, is for comprehensive programs. Multi-dimensional programs recognize the varied, complex, and interrelated causes of adolescent substance abuse. OSAP asserts that "comprehensive programs hold the most promise for [substance abuse] prevention efforts. Programs that address more than one level of influence, thus taking into consideration the complexity and interrelatedness of the many causes affecting [AOD] use, are more likely to be successful." (OSAP, 1988, p.25)

Embedded within this call for comprehensive programs are six specific recommendations for shaping the content of effective practice:

- 1. *Accurate, Appropriate Information.*** A good adolescent substance abuse prevention program must provide youth with accurate information regarding the health, social, and legal risks and ramifications of using alcohol, tobacco, and other drugs. This information must be given in terms youth will understand, with an emphasis on the drugs that youth in the community are likely to have access to. Additionally, providing youth with correct information on peer norms concerning alcohol and other drug use can be a relief for them. Knowing that most youth are not substance users mitigates some of the pressure they may feel to become users (Griffin, 1992; OSAP, 1988). *It is clear, however, that programs which rely*

exclusively on transmitting information about the health, legal, and social risks of alcohol and other drugs are not effective (Jaker, 1989).

2. Social and Life Skills Training. Building on research that suggests that frequent drug use is a "symptom" rather than a "cause" of personal and social maladjustment. (Shedler & Block, 1990) and that promoting psychological health and well-being may help prevent substance abuse (Griffin, 1992), many programs have incorporated social and life skills into substance abuse prevention curricula. Several curricula have been developed and tested, with activities designed to help youth improve their communication, decision-making, problem-solving, refusal, pressure-resisting, and interpersonal skills. Such programs also help youth to better understand their emotions, control their anger, and curb aggressiveness (OSAP, 1992; Griffin, 1992).

3. Family Education and Supports. Several curricula have been developed to work with parents of adolescents who are at risk of becoming substance abusers. Many programs help parents articulate clear expectations for behavior, monitor and supervise their children, consistently support prosocial behavior, create opportunities for family involvement and greater family cohesion, and promote the development of their children's academic, social, and refusal skills (Hawkins, 1992). Other programs, such as the Strengthening Families Program (SFP), developed by Kumpfer and associates at the University of Utah, offer family skills training program for children of drug abusers participating in treatment programs. Parents are taught how to monitor and regulate their children's behavior, and children work on developing social skills. Parents and children also meet with individual trainers to practice the skills and concepts raised in the skills classes (Kumpfer & DeMarsh, 1983). Evaluations of adaptations of this program (OSAP, 1992) suggest improvements in family interaction such as reduced conflict and improved family organization and cohesion and changes in children such as fewer signs of depression, withdrawal, aggressiveness, delinquency, and somatic complaints (OSAP, 1992).

4. Peer Involvement in Modeling and Delivering Messages. Several studies have shown the value of using peers as role models in prevention programs. One study conducted a meta-analysis of 143 adolescent drug prevention programs and collapsed prevention programs into five strategies or types: knowledge only, affective only, peer programs, knowledge plus affective, and alternatives. Peer programs, which highlight peer influence and emphasize skill building, were found to be the most successful (Tobler, 1986). With respect to building social influence resistance skills among youth, peers are often the best positioned to bring about significant results in reducing drug use as compared to teachers or other adults. Peer counseling and student assistance programs, for example, offer unique opportunities for youth to cope with difficult issues and develop skills to resist peer pressure (OSAP, 1988; Goplerud, 1993; Hawkins, 1992).

5. Positive Alternatives. Communities are beginning to create healthy, drug-free alternative activities, such as teen centers or drug-free parties, for youth who may feel there isn't anything else to do. This alternatives approach grows from the idea that youth often turn to drugs as a way to meet certain social and psychological needs and desires that a host of nonchemical "alternatives" can also meet, but in a positive, healthy manner (Cook, 1985). In its guide book, Prevention Plus III, OSAP stresses the importance of considering the incentives to youth for participation in such "alternative" activities (OSAP, 1988). For example, activities should reflect the interests and preferences of the youth involved (Cook, 1985).

In addition to this strong knowledge based on content -- what should be offered and to whom -- there is an equally strong base of knowledge being developed on context -- how strategies should be designed and presented. Sensitivity to culture, gender, and sexuality is a given in the design of any intervention strategy. Substance abuse researchers, however, have drawn attention to the need for further research and program development geared to the needs of Native American and Alaska Native adolescents, who have high rates of substance abuse (Schinke, Botvin et.al, 1988; Moncher et al., 1990). Some efforts have incorporated the bicultural competence theory. They help youth blend their traditional cultures with mainstream culture by strengthening coping, communication, and decision-making skills (Schinke et al, 1988).

Quite relevant for the topic of this paper -- youth development and problem prevention -- is the finding that drug prevention programs are more likely to be effective if they develop creative ways to reach and connect with their participants. Many programs incorporate lessons concerning drug use into activities such as games, theatrical performances, creative arts, sports, etc. Some programs do not even state in their names that they are focusing on drug use prevention, and in this way often attract more youth and preclude them from feeling stigmatized (GAO, 1992). Because youth spend so much time in school, programs with a didactic, lecturing approach are less likely to be effective. GAO

has recommended that programs engage youth in activities which are more motivational and participatory, such as support groups, dramatic productions, leadership training, and role-playing (GAO, 1992).

While not supported by research findings, the following recommendations were made by researchers in the field of adolescent substance abuse:

- "Interventions must be sufficiently intense and keep young people and their families involved for a sufficiently long time to counteract the risk factors and threats to use drugs that they confront -- the greater the risk, the later the intervention, the more intense and extensive prevention interventions must be [in order] to be effective." (Goplerud, 1993, p.4).
- Prevention efforts must take place in a wide variety of settings to ensure greater inclusiveness. Schinke et. al. report that "most psychosocial interventions are school-based and therefore do not reach the dropouts and absentee students often most in need of intervention." (Schinke, Orlandi, & Cole, 1992, p.119).
- Activities that are structured and scheduled allow youth to develop a sense of consistency and dependability. Clear rules and guidelines for supervised activities are desirable (GAO, 1992).

COMMON LESSONS ACROSS PREVENTION FIELDS

While it is probably not surprising that the themes from the substance abuse prevention literature are supported by the comments of those in the field, perhaps a more interesting observation is that these themes are in fact quite similar to the factors that contribute to success in the prevention of other negative youth outcomes.

In *Adolescents at Risk*, a review of 100 programs designed to prevent delinquency, substance abuse, teen pregnancy, and school failure, Joy Dryfoos identified the following eleven common components of successful prevention programs:

- *intensive individualized attention;*
- *community-wide multiagency collaborative approaches;*
- *early identification and intervention;*

- *locus in schools;*
- administration of school programs by agencies outside of schools;
- *location of programs outside of schools;*
- arrangements for training;
- *social skills training;*
- *engagement of peers in interventions;*
- *involvement of parents; and,*
- link to the world of work.

Three of the components identified by Dryfoos relate directly to those gleaned from research on substance abuse prevention efforts (those in bold italics). Four relate to recommendations made by those in the field that, while reflecting practical wisdom, were not documented with research in the substance abuse literature (italics). The remaining components are clearly not in conflict with the research conducted on substance abuse programs. Training is critical, as is early intervention. Dryfoos's recommendation that effective programs are linked to the world of work is a specific example of the need to offer concrete alternatives and opportunities. Embedded within the many program descriptions offered within *Adolescents at Risk* are repeated references to the importance of creating alternatives -- alternative environments, alternative roles, alternative social networks, alternative activities -- for young people in their daily lives.

BEYOND PREVENTION¹

Pointing out the similarities between elements of best practice across prevention fields, though, does not go far enough. Rather, the important step is to recognize that these elements of best practice from the prevention fields are much more about the promotion of

¹ This section is drawn from the forthcoming paper, "Beyond Prevention" by Pittman et. al. and from a working draft document by the Center for Youth Development and Policy Research, "Preliminary Issues in Strengthening the Field of Youth Development Work: Generating Dialogue and Recommendations for Action."

positive skills and connections than they are about the prevention of negative youth outcomes. Framed in this way, the problem confronting most communities is more than an inadequate base of youth services. It is an inadequate vision of what young people need and what they can achieve.

A focus on youth development, rather than problem prevention, is key to creating this positive vision for youth at the community level. Youth development can be defined in the following way:

Youth development is the ongoing growth process in which all youth are engaged in attempting 1) to meet their basic personal and social needs to be safe, feel cared for, be valued, be useful, and be spiritually grounded, and 2) to build skills and competencies that allow them to function and contribute in their daily lives.

Youth development occurs as young people interact in their families, with peers, and within their communities. It is influenced by but by no means controlled by the services, supports and opportunities provided by formal programs, organizations, and institutions. *Whether youths' needs are met and skills are used in socially acceptable ways depends, in large part, on the quality and availability of people, places, possibilities. Young people will seek ways to meet needs and build and use competencies whether or not these are socially acceptable.*

A youth development framework tends to point toward a different set out outcomes than a traditional deficit-driven prevention model. Within this context, *youth outcomes* are:

the behaviors, skills, knowledge, perceptions and values that reflect the goals that adults have for youth and youth have for themselves and chart the progress that young people are making toward those goals.

Specifically, there are *psychosocial outcomes* that relate to youths' perceptions of:

- a sense of safety/protection;
- a sense of self-worth/self-concept;

- a sense of mastery;
- a sense of autonomy;
- a sense of closeness/affiliation;
- a sense of belonging;
- spirituality/self-awareness;

and *competency outcomes* that describe the behaviors, skills, and knowledge needed by youth:

- personal competence/efficacy;
- physical health competence;
- mental health competence;
- social competence;
- cultural competence and citizenship;
- academic competence; and,
- employability competence.

Strategies designed to assist youth in achieving these positive outcomes, then, need to utilize *youth development supports*, which can be described in the following way:

- Youth development is facilitated when young people consistently have *opportunities* to:
 - feel physically and emotionally safe,
 - build relationships with caring, connected adults,
 - acquire knowledge and information, and
 - engage in meaningful/purposeful activities in ways that offer both continuity and variety,
- and clear, consistent *expectations* that they will:
 - set goals,
 - devise strategies,
 - make concerted efforts, and
 - follow social rules.

What is the relevance of these youth development concepts to communities who are understandably concerned about the many serious problems, including the risk of substance use and abuse, facing their youth every day? There are several answers to this question.

Prevention, Alone, is an Inadequate Goal. Problem-prevention is not enough. The skills, competencies and connections that were actually being promoted within prevention programs need to be labelled and promoted directly. The strategies considered when promoting development is the goal are not the same as the strategies considered when the goal is prevention. Asserting that positive outcomes and development -- rather than deficit-related goals -- must be addressed before prevention messages and services will be fully heard and used, suggests the need for a fusion between prevention education strategies and community-based organizations.

Communities arrive at a very different set of recommendations for action when they set development rather than problem prevention as a goal. Prevention leads to discussions of programs and services. Development leads to discussions of opportunities and supports. Prevention leads to discussions of "high risk" youth, bifurcating the youth population and often reinforcing stereotypes. Promoting development leads to commitments to all youth with clear recognition that differences in unmet needs and differences in family and community risks and assets will require differential strategies. When communities are challenged to think development, they develop long-term plans and community charters with their own children in mind. When they are asked to think problem prevention, they develop short-term programs for other people's children.

Prevention is a Redundant Goal. Most of the programs designed to "prevent" a specific problem do so primarily through efforts to promote positive skills and connections. Joy Dryfoos' analysis in *Adolescents at Risk* found that beyond the problem-specific information offered, most of the programs focused on a) the development of social skills, problem solving skills, and communication skills, b) engagement/re-engagement of youth

through participation, leadership, and the building of membership within the group, c) the establishment of new norms/expectations for behavior that were sanctioned by the group, and d) the development of different/deeper relationships with adults (different structures for interaction were established and adults were trained to work differently with youth).

Prevention is a Precarious Goal. From an evaluation perspective, it is difficult to demonstrate that behaviors are prevented and that the reduced rates are attributable to specific interventions. From a funding perspective, prevention dollars are unstable and allocated within systems that have a mandate to provide crisis and treatment services. We estimate (and have had practitioners and evaluators affirm) that 60-80 percent of what comprises prevention programs across the problem areas is the same. Evaluating these programs on their effectiveness at preventing one problem, if they are actually using strategies that promote the skills and connections needed to prevent multiple problems, makes the programs look more expensive than they really are.

Second, communities must acknowledge that it is not simply coincidental that literature from a variety of prevention fields all points to the same factors, and that these factors are in fact practices that attempt to assist youth in meeting a broad array of needs and developing skills and competencies that extend far beyond any behavior that a single prevention effort may be addressing. Communities should proactively plan to put these basic supports in place for all youth, not only because they seem to be critical elements of successful prevention efforts, but also because they represent a logical strategy to help youth achieve the positive outcomes described above. While no magic list of needed community inputs exists, research does suggest that the following are areas in which communities should be intentionally putting in place supports and opportunities for youth:

- physical health and safety;
- sustained relationships;
- high expectations and clear standards;
- challenging experiences;
- social networks;
- participation/involvement; and,
- high quality instruction and training.

Finally, communities must attempt to strike a balance that provides a sufficient amount of both positive supports and opportunities and more specific, targeted prevention services. The attached diagram, "Common Core of Prevention Strategies," illustrates the way in which developmental supports and opportunities often comprise the core of effective prevention strategies. The tension implicit in this diagram is the struggle that communities must undertake regarding the relative emphasis on core supports versus targeted prevention activities. The implication of a youth development approach is that communities should put the vast majority of their resources into developing and strengthening the core supports and opportunities that are in the end critical both to the positive development of youth and the prevention of negative youth outcomes, allowing targeted prevention efforts to remain relatively small and specific. Many communities, though, have failed to see both the similarities between the common prevention elements and the fact that these are in fact promotional and developmental strategies, resulting in overlapping prevention efforts that attempt to include various core supports and opportunities in a disorganized fashion.

BUILDING ON THE RESILIENCY LITERATURE

Again, the substance abuse prevention field, perhaps more than any other, has summarized and used the research on the resilient child. Numerous developmental and longitudinal studies have followed children from early ages who were considered at high risk

of developing problems -- "children growing up under conditions of great stress and adversity such as neonatal stress, poverty, neglect, abuse, physical handicaps, war, and parental schizophrenia, depression, alcoholism and criminality." (Benard, 1991) While some of the children in these studies did develop problems, the majority grew up to become happy, healthy adults.

The contribution of this research to the prevention fields, and to the application of a youth development approach to prevention, is the isolation of the variables that seemed account for the difference between the children that encountered problems and those who did not. In her review of the resiliency literature, Bonnie Benard identified the following characteristics of the resilient child:

- Social Competence: usually includes responsiveness, flexibility, empathy and caring, communication skills, a sense of humor, and other prosocial behavior;
- Problem-Solving Skills: including the ability to think abstractly, reflectively, and flexibly and to be able to arrive at alternative solutions for cognitive and social problems;
- Autonomy: a sense of identity and an ability to act independently and exert control over your environment;
- Sense of Purpose and Future: including healthy expectancies, goal-directedness, success orientation, achievement motivation, educational aspirations, hopefulness, hardiness, and a sense of coherence.

In addition, Benard summarized the protective factors, within the family, school, and community, that seem to contribute to resilient children. At all three levels (family, school, and community), the protective factors were the same: a caring and supportive environment; high expectations; and, opportunities for meaningful involvement and participation.

The similarities between the findings of this research and the logical consequences of a youth development approach to working with youth are striking. The characteristics of

resilient youth, as described above, are precisely the types of outcomes that a youth development approach promotes. Further, the protective factors that lead to the development of resilient youth are the same supports and opportunities that flow from the youth development framework. Thus, while targeted substance abuse prevention services are important, if our goal is the development of a child who "works well, plays well, loves well, and expects well," strategies with youth development supports and opportunities at their core will in the end be most effective (Werner and Smith, 1982).

A FINAL COMMENT

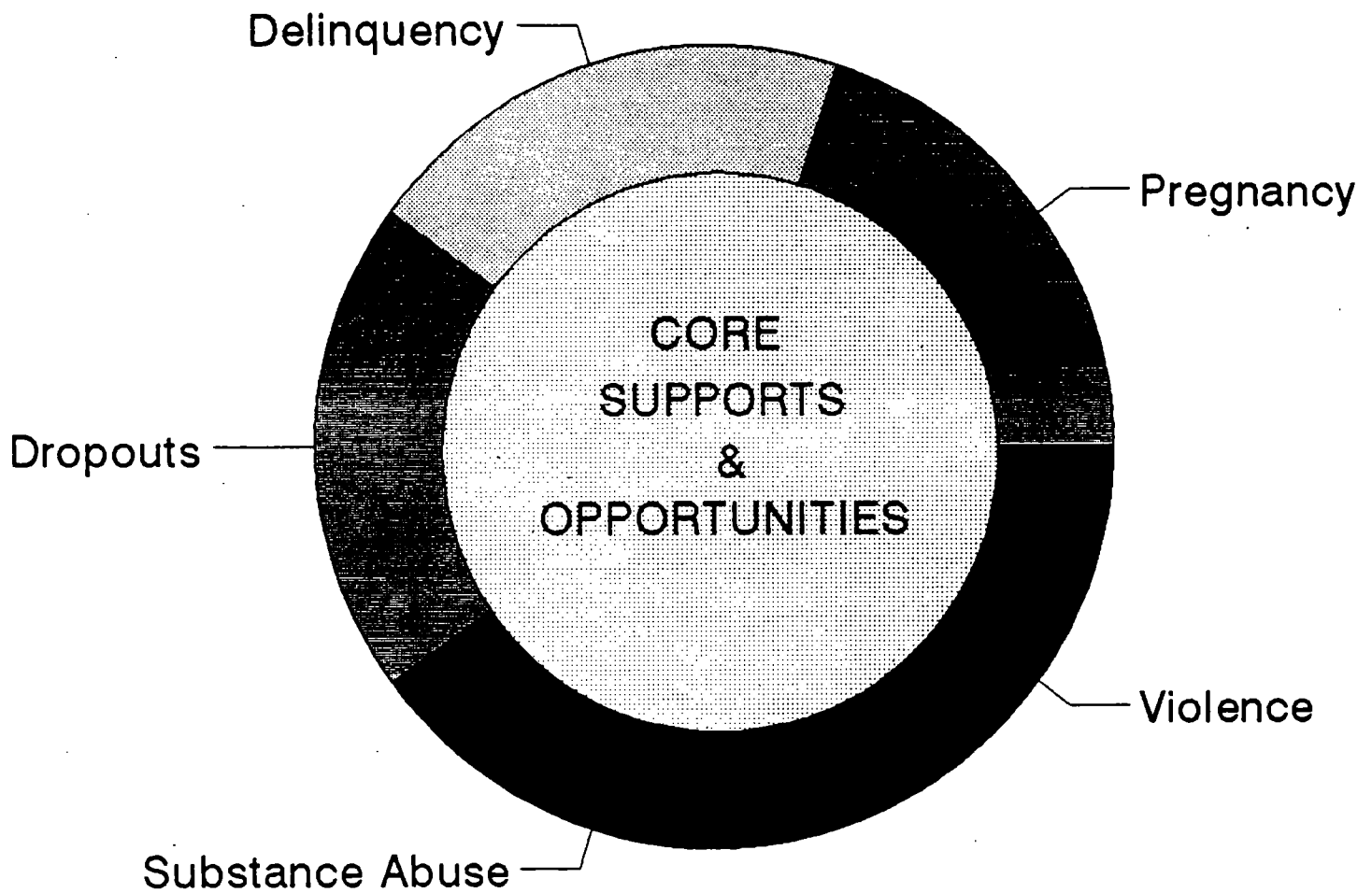
The substance abuse prevention field has taken the resiliency literature on as its own. Perhaps it is just a question of semantics, but the differences in community commitment and community action that come from presenting problem prevention as the by-product of systematic efforts to promote development (which include education and services to avoid risk) and the commitments that come from presenting problem prevention as an end in itself are profound. If outcomes such as social skills, communication skills, community commitment, leadership, self-awareness, autonomy, sense of future are to be valued in and of themselves as key goals for youth, there is a need to rename programs, rethink strategies, and redesign evaluations.

REFERENCES

- Benard, Bonnie. (1991). *Fostering Resiliency in Kids: Protective Factors in the Family, School, and Community*. San Francisco, CA: Western Regional Center for Drug-Free Schools and Communities.
- Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development (1992). A Matter of Time: Risk and Opportunity in the Non-School Hours. New York: Carnegie Corporation.
- Cook, R. (1985). *The Alternatives Approach Revisited: A Biopsychological Model and Guidelines for Application*. The International Journal of the Addictions, 20(9), 1399-1419.
- Dryfoos, J. (1990). *Adolescents at risk: Prevalence and prevention*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- GAO. (1992). Adolescent Drug Use Prevention: Common Features of Promising Community Programs.
- Goplerud, Eric. AOD Prevention Across the Lifespan: We Do Know What Works. Presented at CSAP Youth Development Issue Forum. Washington, D.C. February 12-13, 1993. (Draft)
- Griffin, T., Svendsen, R., & Benson, P. (1992). *Promising Prevention Strategies: A Look at What Works*. Report written for the Minnesota legislature.
- Hansen, W.B. (1990). *School-based Substance Abuse Prevention: A Review of the State of the Art in Curriculum, 1980-1990*. Wake Forest University.
- Hawkins, J. D., Catalano, R., & Miller, J. (1992) *Risk and Protective Factors for Alcohol and Other Drug Problems in Adolescence and Early Adulthood: Implications for Substance Abuse Prevention*. Psychological Bulletin. Vol. 112 No.1.
- Jaker, J. (1989). *Lessons Learned: An Update on Research in Drug Education*. Minnesota Department of Human Services.
- Kumpfer, K., & DeMarsh, J. (1983). *Strengthening Families Program: Parent Training Curriculum Manual*. Social Research Institute, Graduate School of Social Work, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, UT.
- Moncher, M., Holden, G., & Trimble, J. (1990). *Substance Abuse Among Native-American Youth*. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, Vol. 58, No. 4, 408 - 415.

- Office of Substance Abuse Prevention. (1988) Prevention Plus III: Assessing Alcohol and Other Drug Prevention Programs at the School and Community Level. Rockville, MD: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.
- OSAP. (1992) *Signs of Effectiveness: The High-Risk Youth Demonstration Grants*. Rockville, MD: OSAP.
- Pittman, K. (1991). *A New Vision: Promoting Youth Development*. Testimony before the House Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families. The Center for Youth Development and Policy Research of the Academy for Educational Development.
- Pittman, K., & Wright, M. (1991). *A Rationale for Enhancing the Role of the Non-School Voluntary Sector in Youth Development*. Center for Youth Development and Policy Research of the Academy for Educational Development.
- Schinke, S., Orlandi, M., Botvin, G., Gilchrist, L., Trimble, J. & Locklear, V. (1988) *Preventing Substance Abuse Among American-Indian Adolescents: A Bicultural Competence Skills Approach*. Journal of Counseling Psychology. Vol. 35 No.1.
- Schinke, S., Orlandi, M. & Cole, K. *Boys & Girls Clubs in Public Housing Developments: Prevention Services for Youth at Risk*. Journal of Community Psychology. OSAP Special Issue, 1992.
- Shedler, J., & Block, J. (1990). *Adolescent Drug Use and Psychological Health*. American Psychologist, 45, 612 - 630.
- Tobler, N. (1986). *Meta Analysis of 143 Adolescent Drug Prevention Programs: Quantitative Outcome Results of Program Participants Compared to a Control or Comparison Group*. Journal of Drug Issues, 16(4), 537 - 567, 1986.
- Werner, E. and Smith, R. Vulnerable But Invincible: A Longitudinal Study of Resilient Children and Youth, New York: Adams, Bannister, and Cox, 1989 (1st Edition 1982).

Common Core of Prevention Strategies



Youth Violence Prevention
May 13, 1994
Myrtle Beach, South Carolina
Michele Cavataio

Thank you.

I am happy to have the opportunity to visit South Carolina, home state of our very own Secretary Riley (you all know him as Governor Riley). When I first met Dick Riley, I was quite in awe of this elder statesman – a distinguished former Governor and a friend of President Bill Clinton. I have to admit that I used to even get a little nervous in his presence. Well, that changed when, a few months into his term at Education, his father came to visit. I have heard that Mr. Ted Riley is well known in these parts – he is a very impressive, spry 93 years old. On the day he came to the Department, I happened to be walking down the hall behind him and the Secretary. Mr. Riley was looking at the color drawings done by children that line our hallways. Secretary Riley said to his father as he tried to move him into his dining area, “come on dad, we got to go have lunch.” Mr. Riley replied, “hold on boy, I am looking at these pictures.” After hearing the esteemed Secretary be called boy, and seeing that he too is someone’s son, ~~he seemed a lot more real to me.~~
I became a lot more relaxed in his company

But it has been a privilege to serve under Secretary Riley - a man committed to children and, very importantly for you all here today, to ensuring that our schools are safe and drug free.

Every day 42 million children wake up and go to school. From Maine to Florida and from California to South Carolina 110,000 schools open their doors---as these children go off to schools, parents expect them to be "safe". Most children go to schools that are safe and drug free. But unfortunately, some children find themselves in schools, or in communities on the way to and from school, where they are not safe. ^{stats:} ^{According to the Centers DC, in 1990,} Nearly one in five students in grades 9-12 carried a weapon to school at least once in a 30 day period (Youth Risk Beh. survey, ⁽¹⁹⁹⁰⁾ CDC). In the 1992-93 school year, the country reported 33 homicides on school grounds. ^{so far} This school year there have already been 40 school-related homicides.

What is frightening is that while overall rates of violent crime have remained steady over the past decade, the rates of violent crime among juveniles – both as victims and as perpetrators – has been increasing dramatically. Parents are rightly concerned for the safety of their children. Between 1988 and 1992, juvenile arrests for murder increased 51% compared with 9% for those 18 and older. Minority communities have been particularly hard hit as firearm homicides have become the leading cause of death among black males 15-24 years old.

But numbers don't always provide a graphic story.

Two weeks ago a teacher at Largo High School in Prince George's County, Maryland, was shot when he entered a boys bathroom where a gun sale was taking place.

Last month in Nashville, Tenn a seventh-grader was shot and killed in a darkened classroom while watching a video of "Beauty and the Beast" with classmates. Terrence Murray, 13, died after being shot once in music class at J.T. Moore Middle School. A student who was sitting behind Murray was taken into custody.

And the tragic story of Jeremy Bullock, an 11 year old from Butte, Montana. Jeremy was in the line of fire of an angry 10 year old classmate on a crowded elementary school playground. If you saw the USA Today story on Monday, the saddest part was the words that 10-year old killer uttered as he was being held in the principal's office after the incident. "Nobody loves me," he said.

When we look at this data and these incidents and carefully analyze them and compare them with what schools experienced say, two decades ago, we find that the biggest difference is not the extent of school crime but the nature of the crime.

What is different now is the level of violence – while ten or twenty years ago a bump in the hall, a wrongful glance, being in the wrong part of a ^{town} community, or taking another's girlfriend, might result in a black eye, today it can end up in a family mourning a teenager. The change is not only in the use of guns, but in the intensity and the willingness of students to escalate an argument into a life threatening event. (Since 1986, according to the CDC, the killing of children with guns has risen 143 percent.)

As we look at school violence many of us are shocked by what goes on. We are shocked that guns come into the classroom, that girls are sexually assaulted, that teachers are physically assaulted, that kids get beat up... But we shouldn't be totally shocked, as we know that what happens in our schools is merely a reflection of what happens outside our schools: ~~in families and communities where our students live~~. Schools are not isolated institutions...They do not have moats or walls around them...They mirror ^{society} ~~our families and our communities~~, and if we are to be effective in preventing violence, we need to work together to strengthen our families and communities.

like you all are doing here today

Violence is a complex problem, one with no simple solutions. I am going to make a few suggestions for reducing violence, but clearly, there is not one program or any single group or organization that is going to solve the problem.

first As we work to prevent violence, we should base what we do on five premises: *that are foundation*

1. That violence is a learned behavior and it can be unlearned. Violence is preventable!
2. That violence is a very complex problem...a problem that requires:

multiple strategies---strategies that:

- o Involve the entire community ~~including~~ businessmen and women, clergy, residents, youth, youth organizations are all affected by violence and each has a role.
- o That combine and balance law enforcement efforts with prevention and education. Strong law enforcement is essential for an effective violence prevention strategy, however, more police and more metal detectors, need to be balanced with more jobs, better housing, improved education.
- o Multiple strategies should include short term strategies that deal with short term problems, but we can't neglect the longer term problems that require a longer term view.

There are some things that can be done today such as metal detectors. ~~and added police.~~ But those issues that get at the core of violence such as substance abuse, teen pregnancy, spouse and child abuse, media, guns, and poverty need a longer term strategy^{ies}. We cannot deal with the problem of violence in a vacuum.

- most important*
3. A third premise is that the best solutions to preventing violence can be found here in this room, not in Washington. You know more than we do about what your problems are and what resources you have to deal with those problems.
 4. Schools ^{can be used} ~~are in a position~~ to counteract the breakdown of families and communities.

5. We need to promote "what works" not merely "what is popular".

This takes us where we began--violence is complex and often times we want to believe that if we just adopt one program we can prevent violence--a program has to do more than sound good--it has to work....it has to address multiple risk factors and it must be evaluated to see if it is effective.

Preventing violence may not be easy but it can be done....

As educators, community leaders and concerned members of the community, we can do several things--many of which do not cost anything. Having watched a number of communities embark on the process of dealing with violence, ^{my colleagues at ED} we have compiled 10 suggestions for ways to reduce violence. This list is not exhaustive or complete, but it has a few practical suggestion for what communities can do:

What you can do:

1. Break down the walls of denial.

- 97% of superintendents say violence in schools on increase, but only 39% stated that their district had an increase.
- if we are not ready to acknowledge that a school has a problem, no program will adequately address it. ^{our school leaders need to know we support} ~~we need to provide support to~~ ^{them so that we} ~~our schools~~ and empower them to openly discuss the problems they are facing.

2. Make an accurate and objective assessment of security needs.

- more cops and metal detectors may be needed--but if they are used:
 - they should not be *the* prevention strategy, but merely a part of it.
 - they should include training, ^{because} its the person behind the machine, not the machine that makes ~~mechanisms~~ such as metal detectors work.
- ensure that part of the security assessment is going to and from schools and at school-related functions (we are seeing that a significant number of violent incidents, including homicide, occur at sporting events and after-school programs.)

3. Get students more involved in violence prevention efforts.

- we need to convince students that they are more than part of the problem---they are also part of the solution. Involve ^{them} in program and policy development--they are afterall ^{our real} the customers.
- we also need to convince them that we need them to stop weapons from coming into schools--kids know who has weapons. They need to come forward and tell the appropriate authorities, this is not "squealing" this is helping to make the school safe.

4. Get parents more involved in what goes on in school and at home.

In a 1993 survey on violence in schools, half the students with below average grades reported that their parents had spent little or no time with them on school work. Secretary Riley has started a national family involvement initiative to reconnect parents to learning – to recognize that strong families make for strong schools. He has a few suggestions for parents:

- know your children's friends
- come to school: volunteer in classrooms, serve as monitors.
- provide input into programs and policies that affect children. Work with your local PTA.
- when your kids watch tv, watch with them and talk to them about what they're watching.
- read to them often
- instill values in children: respect, honesty, trust, responsibility and fairness
- support schools and teachers and reinforce messages provided in schools
- and most of all, hug your children a lot and love them unconditionally because no child should feel that nobody loves them like the 10 year old killer of Jeremy Bullock felt.

5. Get a mentoring program started in your school and community.

- A common denominator among many kids in trouble is that they do not have any adult role model. We need to find them.

- In New Jersey we found executive from Merrill Lynch; Johnson and Johnson; and Bell Atlantic in classrooms of three New Brunswick grade schools, serving as male role models. The program has 70 executives serving as role models/mentors for 400 pupils.

6. Give kids options to hanging around the streets or in an empty home after school. ~~Develop alternatives for after school programs.~~

One way

- Keep schools open after hours to provide constructive activities for kids. Support Boys and Girls Clubs, sports and the Arts. In Omaha, they've put study halls and libraries in housing projects. Remember, most of a child's time is not spent in school.

all parts of

7. Develop linkages with community.

Churches, law enforcement, social services, parents, businesses all need to work together to confront these problems..

- ~~1992 Police Executive Research Forum study showed that over half of the police departments have no policy for responding to serious incidents in schools.~~

Other groups that can provide community support include:

- employment and training programs
- victim witness programs
- ~~youth serving organizations such as Boys and Girls Clubs~~
- The ABA is skilled in peer mediation.
- Prosecutors' offices can provide training in legal issues.

You've heard the adage that it takes a whole village to raise a child, well

These organizations must be viewed as allies not adversaries. to make that happen

8. Provide ^{children} kids with skills to cope with violence, in a creative not confrontational manner as well as values, respect, ethics, and good citizenship. Programs such as: conflict resolution, peer mediation, curricula on victimization, and teaching students to view the media critically will provide useful skills to young people.

- We don't have to wait to junior high or senior high school to start these programs. Patterns of violence start early, prevention programs have to do the same. Attitudes regarding such issues as discipline are formed 0-3, skills to combat violence can start as early as 3! And we definitely need to act when we see indicators of future problems—delinquency, fighting, drug abuse, stealing,—in 8-10 year olds.

One example of success

At Melrose Elementary School in Oakland peer mediators have been touted as the reason suspensions for fighting have been reduced from 100 five years ago to two students last year.

- Values are difficult issue to discuss and many schools shy away from them—they don't want the fights that go along with deciding on what values to teach: but we could at a minimum decide to agree to:
 - value human life
 - value cultural and ethnic differences
 - value honesty and hard work
 - value respect for authority

9. Schools should develop policies and an environment that reflect a zero tolerance for violent behavior--or weapons.

Policies must send the signal that violence behind the doors of a school will not be treated any differently than violence that occurs in a community. Youth that violate policies need to be dealt with in a swift but fair manner, a manner that recognizes their rights as well as the rights of those they have victimized.

10. Finally, and probably most importantly, create schools that value children.

The best approach to preventing violence is still a good education - kids get in trouble because they see no future for themselves. When the education system in this country fails, it is often the Justice system that has to pick up the pieces. We just have to consider the fact that over 80% of ^{our} the prison population are high school dropouts to see the importance of better schools. For the truth of the matter is that in some neighborhoods, the only public institutions still functioning are the schools. They are the last anchors.

Even schools facing some of the toughest circumstances, manage to succeed and make a real difference in the lives of children. At PS194, a beacon school in West Harlem, they have managed to provide a thriving environment for youth despite the fact that the school is surrounded by poverty and violence. In all of these outstanding schools, there are some common elements:

- strong leadership
- a sincere commitment to the total well-being of every child - an environment that provides students with the sense that they are worth something
- a dedication to high academic standards for all students; and
- a willingness to challenge the assumption that excellence of the mind cannot be achieved in the midst of poverty and violence.

None of this can be done unless there is strong "leadership". Leaders can be found at all levels. They do not necessarily have to be elected or appointed. Teachers should be leaders as should principals, clergy, police officers, parents, and youth themselves.

Pause

For our part, the Department of Education will continue to push the issue of violence and make the public aware of the serious consequences it has on society. We will also strive to pass legislation to provide you with needed resources. Three major pieces of legislation that have passed or are pending approval of Congress will define our major prevention activities:

(1) The Safe Schools law which recently passed Congress

Provides \$20 million to fund violence prevention activities such as conflict resolution programs and peer mediation programs.

(2) The Safe and Drug Free Schools and Communities Act will provide \$560 million for violence ^{and substance abuse} prevention activities and some money for schools to purchase hardware such as metal detectors and more security personnel.

(3) Finally, there is the President's Crime bill that will go to a committee of conference on Capitol Hill very soon. It is ^atough and smart ^{bill} with an equal balance on prevention and punishment. The Crime Bill will put ~~(50,000)~~ more police on the streets, ban the deadliest assault weapons and provide funds to expand prisons.

At the same time, the Crime bill will give you some real help on prevention. The Ounce of Prevention fund in the crime bill would fund prevention programs that help keep kids off the streets. Substantial funds would be available for after-school and summer programs ^{for} to keep young people ^{educⁿ would get \$230mil.} safe ~~and out of trouble~~. Money would be available for a Youth Employment and Skills program that would help find jobs ^{for youth.} ~~for young~~ people. There would also be funds for school security, boot camps, gang resistance training, substance abuse treatment and programs to prevent violence against women.

No one of the activities I've mentioned will end violence. To do that, communities need to come together like you all have today to find community-based solutions. While many of these suggestions may be helpful and practical in significantly reducing violence, I believe that ending violence also requires a deeper commitment to a spiritual transformation: ¹ something more - it requires

I'd like to close with some of President Clinton's words that touch on this transformation. He said, "We must deal with the ravages of crime and drugs and violence, and we must recognize that it's due to the breakdown of the family and community, and the disappearance of jobs -- and this cannot be solved by government. Unless we reach deep inside to the values, the spirit, the soul, and the truth of human nature, none of the other things we seek to do will ever take us where we need to go."

Thank you.

School Safety and Juvenile Justice Reform Act of 1994

Briefing Notes on Effective Prevention of Youth Violence

unconfirmed Since the mid-1960s, the Federal Government has spent at least \$200 million dollars on research and demonstration of techniques and combined approaches that can reduce the growing trend of youth violence in this country.

Much of the relevant research and demonstration has been funded by the U.S. Department of Education,¹ the National Institute for Mental Health, and others. To assure that the findings and fruits of these studies have a significant probability of reducing youth violence, they must be organized in a planned, national strategy to reach millions of homes, children, teachers and hundreds of thousands of schools and community settings in a short period of time.² In theory, strong application of that research in this country could reduce youth violence by 50% in a decade.

Major systematic conclusions for a national youth violence prevention strategy in the Crime Bill include:

- Start early. Temper tantrums, getting into trouble in elementary school and fighting with teachers and other students (as early as first grade) significantly predict serious anti-social behavior in the teen years and through age 30.³
- Enhance everyday parenting competence prior to a child's adolescence. When parents are given very specific tools and techniques to improve daily family routines, there is a significant reduction in aggressive acts leading to youth crime.⁴
- Enhance rate of praise and reward for positive, daily behavior and reduce verbal threats in school and after-school settings. A systematic plan to increase daily praise and reward for positive behavior in schools and other places in the community significantly reduces the risk of youth crime.⁵
- Teach children to reduce insults, increase their use of praise, how to accept feedback, how to engage others in cooperative tasks and play, and how to self-monitor behavior. Learning select positive social, or peacebuilding skills—quite distinct from conflict resolution, reduces violent behavior and referrals to juvenile courts.⁶
- Increase the daily frequency and availability of positive social skills and parenting models in the mass media and school/community settings. Printed, video and live models presented frequently of positive parenting and "peacebuilding" skills can increase cooperative behavior that reduces the risk of aggression and violence by young people.⁷
- Disseminate practical, hands-on tools to reduce disruptive, aggressive behavior at home, schools and after-school settings. Both long-term and short-term behavior change by students, teachers, and families that will reduce youth crime are much more likely to occur if interventions are packaged, disseminated and promoted in a user-friendly way.⁸
- Disseminate practical tools to improve school climate. Simple interventions can reduce aggressive or disruptive behaviors that strengthen or decrease the strength of the causal chain toward youth violence more quickly and sustainable than conflict-resolution training.⁹
- Plan and design interventions so that they generalize across behaviors, people, settings and time. Repeated scientific studies show that limited interventions often fail to sustain their effects, and that very specific actions must be taken to assure that the intended positive benefits last.¹⁰



Conserving Land
for People

EMBARGOED
June 8, 1994

Contact: Suzanne Turner
Fenton Communications
(202) 745-0707

REPORT LINKS CRIME PREVENTION TO URBAN PARKS/RECREATION Shows Need for Increased and Improved City Open Spaces & Programs

A report released today by the Trust for Public Land provides evidence from cities across the country that crime drops when adequate parks and recreational activities are available in inner-city neighborhoods. However, parks and recreation programs in urban centers are in crisis because dwindling funds for open spaces are largely spent in the suburbs and outlying areas and tightening local budgets leave little money for city parks.

The paper found that law enforcement professionals, community activists, psychologists and elected officials agree: parks and recreation help keep kids out of trouble. "Urban recreation and sports programs are a proven, common sense and cost effective means of preventing crime and delinquency," said Representative Bruce Vento (D-MN), who is co-sponsoring legislation to provide crime prevention funds for parks and recreation facilities. "Perhaps our urban youth crime rate would be different if these programs had not been neglected in the past decade," he continued.

Unfortunately, the neighborhoods most in need have the fewest resources for maintaining and acquiring open space. In 1978, ten years after the National Commission on Civil Disorders linked urban violence to the decay of inner city recreation facilities, an Interior Department study found virtually no improvement in city parks and recreation programs. One quarter of low-income neighborhoods had no park or play areas at all. A 1993 Trust for Public Land Survey of 38 cities funded by the Lila Wallace-Readers Digest Fund found the situation essentially unchanged.

In addition, a disproportionate share of the shrinking resources available for open spaces never makes it to the inner city. For example, monies from the primary funding source for parks, the Land and Water Conservation Fund, are spent primarily on suburbs and rural areas; less than 16 percent goes to cities, and less still to underserved neighborhoods. The Urban Park and Recreation Recovery Program (UPARR) was established in 1978 to address these inequities, but no money was allocated to UPARR from 1985 to 1990, and this year the program received only \$5 million, despite original

The Trust for Public Land
National Office
116 New Montgomery
Fourth Floor
San Francisco, CA 94105

(415) 495-4014
Fax (415) 495-4103

plans for \$100 million per year. National Park Service grants manager Michael Rogers compares UPARR funding to "using a teaspoon to bail the Atlantic Ocean."

The lack of resources for inner-city parks and recreation is particularly distressing as the link between urban open space and healthy communities has been documented for several decades. After the 1965 Watts riots and other urban disturbances in 1967 left 83 people dead and 1900 people injured, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders listed insufficient parks and recreation as a primary concern of inner-city residents. "Grievances concerning municipal recreation programs were found in a large majority of the 20 cities and appeared to be one of the most serious complaints in half," according to the report. In several cities, concerns about adequate open spaces ranked above unemployment and difficulties with police as exacerbating problems in the unrest.

After violence erupted in Los Angeles in 1992, inner-city residents had surprisingly similar reactions. A survey revealed that 77 percent of those questioned ranked improved parks and recreation as "absolutely critical" or "important" to their communities, giving them a higher priority than health care or business development.

A report from the Centers for Disease Control's Forum on Youth Violence in Minority Communities, a major study by the Carnegie corporation and research by the National Recreation and Parks Association all corroborate stories from across the country: when young people have something positive to do, and somewhere to do it, juvenile crime drops.

- * In Philadelphia, after police helped neighborhood volunteers clean up vacant lots and plant gardens, crime in the precinct dropped 90 percent.
- * During the summer, when Phoenix basketball courts and other recreation facilities are kept open until 2 a.m., police calls reporting juvenile crime drop by as much as 55 percent. Compared to other crime fighting measures, midnight recreation is a bargain. With over 170,000 participants in Phoenix, the cost is sixty cents per youth.
- * Fort Myers, Florida police report that juvenile arrests have dropped by nearly one-third since the city began the STARS (Success Through Academics and Recreational Support) Program in 1990. Young people's grades have also improved significantly. STARS won the 1992 crime reduction program of the year from the U.S. Conference of Mayors. Mayor Wilbur Smith said, "As mayor of a city that totally committed itself to using recreation and academic support as the vehicle for combating juvenile crime I can tell you it works. In my judgment it is the best, most cost effective and the most responsible position to take in the very complex search for solutions to juvenile crime."
- * Since Project HYDRA (Hart Youth Development Resource Association) in Hart County, Georgia, began putting young first offenders into a recreation and mentor program juvenile complaint calls

fell by 14 percent and incarcerations went down by 23 percent.

- * Once a magnet for vandalism and other crimes, a formerly abandoned recreation center in Newark, New Jersey is now used by 5,000 young people monthly, and crime in the area has decreased. Hundreds of inner-city children are learning to ice skate, and midnight basketball is available in the summer when criminal activity usually escalates.

For these reasons, the Trust for Public Land, the leading environmental group devoted to conserving land for people, has announced a five-year, multi-million dollar project to expand parks and open spaces in America's cities. As part of the "Green Cities Initiative," TPL plans to acquire up to 250 properties for parks that meet high-priority needs in cities nationwide. The organization also plans to generate an additional \$2.5 billion in public funding for urban open spaces and will offer teams of experts to help guide local groups through complicated real estate, legal and financial transactions.

###



*Conserving Land
for People*

EMBARGOED
June 8, 1994

Contact: Suzanne Turner
Fenton Communications
(202) 745-0707

**LAND CONSERVATION GROUP LAUNCHES CAMPAIGN
TO INCREASE/IMPROVE URBAN OPEN SPACES**
Responds to Evidence that Parks & Recreation Reduce Crime & Improve Urban Life

The Trust for Public Land (TPL), the leading environmental group devoted to conserving land for people, has announced a five-year, multi-million dollar project to expand parks and open spaces in America's cities. As part of the "Green Cities Initiative," TPL plans to acquire up to 250 properties for parks that meet high-priority needs in cities nationwide. The organization also plans to generate an additional \$2.5 billion in additional funding for urban open spaces and will offer teams of experts to help guide local groups through complicated real estate, legal and financial transactions.

The Green Cities Initiative will involve projects ranging from converting vacant city lots into playgrounds and gardens to creating extensive greenways linking neighborhoods across cities. Initial efforts will focus on Atlanta, Austin, Baltimore, Boston, Cleveland, Los Angeles, Minneapolis/St. Paul, New York City, Portland (OR), Providence, the San Francisco Bay area and Seattle. TPL is also investigating opportunities in an additional 15 cities.

Studies and examples from across the country show that community spaces and recreation programs can have a major impact on crime prevention, thus saving law enforcement and incarceration dollars. And public officials agree that recreation is a cost-effective way to prevent crime. "We are going to recreate or we are going to incarcerate. The choice is ours. We cannot afford to put a cop on every corner, and we can't build a jail cell for every youthful offender. The answer is much more than strictly in law enforcement. We must provide viable alternatives for our young people," said Sharpe James, Mayor of Newark, New Jersey and President of the National League of Cities. James adds that for the money it costs to put one police officer on the street, Newark could hire three recreation leaders who would have a much more positive impact on children's lives. "The answer for these kids who are doing wrong should not be get off the street, go home or go to jail. We should be able to tell them where to go and what to do."

The Trust for Public Land
National Office
116 New Montgomery
Fourth Floor
San Francisco, CA 94105

(415) 495-4014
Fax (415) 495-4103

Charles Jordan, parks director of Portland, Oregon, agrees, "We've been building high self-esteem in kids for years. We've been dealing with social harmony, conflict resolution, wellness, appreciation for education, prevention of juvenile delinquency. There's nothing quick and dirty about crime prevention."

While parks and recreation may seem like expendable luxuries in the face of more pressing needs, residents of low income communities in particular see the need for improved open space. A survey conducted in the wake of the L.A. riots showed that 77 percent of those questioned listed improved parks and recreation as "absolutely critical" or "important" to the restoration of their communities, ranking higher than better health care or more business development. Gang members agreed with this assessment, listing a shortage of parks and green spaces in their neighborhoods among their paramount concerns.

A 1978 National Urban Recreation Study accused states of ignoring municipal recreation needs -- parks in older cities were deteriorating, understaffed and unsafe. One quarter of low income neighborhoods had no park or play areas at all. And a disproportionate share of money for park land was flowing to suburbs and outlying areas.

A 1993 TPL study found the situation essentially unchanged. Parks were concentrated in affluent neighborhoods in two-thirds of the cities surveyed, leaving low-income, inner-city communities with inadequate and severely overcrowded park lands in 16 out of 23 cities surveyed. The study revealed a pattern of municipal disinvestment in cities nationwide and found that the infrastructure of public parks was deteriorating in all 23 cities surveyed.

In addition to improving quality of life and helping prevent crime, parks and open spaces pay for themselves in a variety of ways. Restoring urban areas attracts business and tourism, thus enhancing property values and bolstering beleaguered city revenues. Cities also save money by using parks and open spaces as low cost alternatives to spending on flood control, water treatment and transportation systems.

The San Francisco-based Trust for Public Land was established in 1973 to conserve land for people by acquiring and holding threatened land for public parks and open spaces until they can be transferred to the ultimate land steward. TPL is a non-profit organization backed by \$28 million in revolving capital funds and staffed by a team of real estate, environmental and legal professionals. Because of its unique expertise, the organization has been able to protect nearly one million acres ranging from small lots to enormous recreational areas for the public's use and enjoyment.

As TPL President Martin J. Rosen sees it, "Parks and gardens alone cannot solve the problems faced by our cities, but they are critical to the health of urban communities. We need to take seriously the evidence that open space counts in human lives."

###



Conserving Land
for People

EMBARGOED
June 8, 1994

Contact: Suzanne Turner
Fenton Communications
(202) 745-0707

**Green Cities Initiative
The Trust for Public Land**

FACT SHEET

PARKS AND RECREATION PROGRAMS HELP PREVENT CRIME

Project HYDRA -- Hart Youth Development Resource Association -- in Hart County, Georgia, puts young first offenders into a recreation and mentor program as part of informal probation. In HYDRA's first year, juvenile complaints fell by 14 percent and incarcerations by 25 percent.

L.A. police chief Willie Williams specifies that the city needs more "safe parks and healthy recreation opportunities to keep our kids off the streets and out of gangs." Samuel Saxon, director of the Prince George's County, Maryland, Department of Corrections sees the whole process as key to the nation's future. "The difference between a safe country, and a country that is going down the tubes, is the degree that we pay attention to the young people," he says.

When Phoenix basketball courts and other recreation facilities are kept open until 2:00 a.m. in the summer, calls reporting juvenile crime drop by as much as 55 percent.

In Fort Myers, Florida, police have documented a 28 percent drop in juvenile arrests since 1990 when the city began the STARS program -- Success Through Academics and Recreational Support -- for adolescents. In the program's first three years, grades of local children have also improved markedly.

After the L.A. riots in 1992, L.A. residents were not surprised to find their community garden undisturbed among the torched buildings and shattered windows. In one neighborhood after the next, community gardens and parks somehow escaped the fury of the riots.

According to a National Park Service report, reductions in drug use have occurred at public housing projects after recreation areas were renovated. At Rembrandt Homes, a public housing complex in Tampa, Florida, establishing a Boys & Girl Club helped reduced crime. Tampa Housing Authority director Audley Evans says in the two years since the club opened, "we have seen a significant decrease in recidivism, drug trafficking, and drug activity."

The Trust for Public Land
National Office
116 New Montgomery
Fourth Floor
San Francisco, CA 94105

- Page 1 of 3 -

(415) 495-4014
Fax (415) 495-4103

"We are going to recreate or we are going to incarcerate. The choice is ours... We cannot afford to put a cop on every corner and we can't build a jail cell for every youthful offender... so why do we continue to believe that the answer is strictly in law enforcement?" - Sharpe James, Mayor of Newark, NJ and President, National League of Cities.

"It is not surprising that the incidence of juvenile crime in many places directly corresponds to general decreases in national, state, and local investment in recreation and parks." - R. Dean Tice, Executive Director, National Recreation and Parks Association.

THE COMMUNITIES MOST IN NEED HAVE THE LEAST PARKS AND OPEN SPACES

A 1978 National Urban Recreation Study accused the states of ignoring municipal needs: parks in older cities were deteriorating, understaffed and unsafe. One quarter of low-income neighborhoods had no park or play areas at all. And, most importantly, a wildly disproportionate share of money for parks land was flowing to suburbs and outlying areas.

A 1993 Trust for Public Land survey found that parks were concentrated in the most affluent neighborhoods in two-thirds of the cities surveyed, leaving low-income, inner-city communities with inadequate and severely crowded park lands in 16 out of 23 cities surveyed. The study revealed municipal disinvestment and deteriorating infrastructure in public parks in all 23 cities surveyed.

A 1992 Carnegie report noted that "publicly supported recreation programs are evolving into a two-tier system, with more and better services available in suburban areas than in less affluent rural and urban areas. The current fiscal setbacks are serving to increase the disparity between upper and lower-income areas, meaning that youth most dependent on public recreation services are increasingly less likely to have access."

In 1993 Los Angeles County supervisors proposed closing 24 parks and 20 swimming pools and cutting staff, and the same plan is expected to be revived during budget discussions in 1994. New York City has cut back its park and recreation staff from 4500 to 3,000 in four years and plans to cut 255 more.

The Land and Water Conservation Fund (LWCF), the nation's largest source of money for parks, generally reaches \$900 million annually and sometimes exceeds \$2 billion. But, over the last decade, Congress has appropriated less than one-third of the available money for its intended purpose. Since 1984, LWCF appropriations have averaged only \$251 million annually -- only \$35 million of which has gone to state and local projects.

According the National Urban Recreation Study, during LWCF's first 14 years, 40 percent of the grant money went to rural areas, 43 percent to suburbs, and only 16 percent to central cities.

PARKS SAVE MONEY AND INCREASE CITY REVENUES

Crime Prevention It is less expensive to recreate than incarcerate: according to a study by the U.S. Department of Justice, in many cities half of the young men will be arrested for assault, robbery, burglary, or other serious crimes by the age of seventeen. The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention estimates the cost of keeping one teenager in detention for a year at \$29,600.

Nationwide, that added up to \$2.3 billion to incarcerate juveniles in 1993. Compared to other crime-fighting measures, midnight basketball is a bargain. With 170,000 participants in Phoenix, the cost is sixty cents per youth.

Economic Development Examples in dozens of cities show clearly how economic development follows the creation of well-designed and properly maintained parks, greenways, and other open spaces. In Baltimore, San Francisco, San Antonio, Seattle, New Orleans and elsewhere, investments in waterfront and other open space development have succeeded in attracting new businesses and attracting new business and tourism, with subsequent increases in tax revenues.

Environmental Benefits Floodways, riverside parks, streams and wetlands are also money savers. Such natural areas can replace a good deal of expensive infrastructure to handle drainage, water supply and water quality. A recent *New Yorker* article noted that the streams of southern Staten Island save New York hundreds of millions of dollars because they handle rain water so efficiently that there is no need to build new storm sewers. Wetlands help lessen flood damage, reduce erosion, recharge the groundwater, and filter out sediments and pollution, cutting down on the need for expensive water treatment facilities.

PEOPLE WANT PARKS AND OPEN SPACES

In a survey conducted after the L.A. riots, 77 percent of those questioned listed parks and recreation facilities as "absolutely critical" or "important" to the restoration of their communities, ranking higher than improved health care or more businesses.

In 1968, following the 1965 Watts riots and disturbances in other big cities in 1967 which left 83 dead and 1900 injured, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders reported, "Grievances concerning municipal recreation programs were found in a large majority of the 20 cities and appeared to be one of the most serious complaints in half."

A survey by the National Recreation and Park Association found that the vast majority of people would support greater public expenditures on local parks.

A 1994 Louis Harris poll conducted for the Commonwealth Fund found that 62 percent of New Yorkers consider parks and "essential service" on par with police, fire and sanitation. Some 67 percent want park budgets increased, and nearly 85 percent wanted to see parks and recreation expanded through greenways, converting vacant lots into neighborhood parks and gardens, opening up waterfronts for recreation, and protecting wetlands from development.

In a city stressed by crime, violence, unemployment and pollution, Los Angeles voters have agreed to impose new taxes on themselves for the purpose of buying more park land. In 1992, shortly after the riots, 64 percent of Los Angeles county voters approved Proposition A, the Safe Neighborhoods Parks Act, a special property tax surcharge that provides \$540 million to redesign old parks so that they are safer, buy land for new ones, and to build new recreation facilities.

###

MILLER/VENTO URBAN RECREATION AND AT-RISK YOUTH AMENDMENT TO HOUSE CRIME BILL

H.R. 4034, the Urban Recreation and At-Risk Youth Act of 1994, was introduced by Rep. George Miller, Chairman of the House Natural Resources Committee, and Rep. Bruce Vento, Chairman of the House Subcommittee on National Parks, Forests and Public Lands. The bill passed the House of Representatives on March 22, 1994 by a vote of 361-59. The text of H.R. 4034 was also adopted as an amendment to the House crime bill, which is currently the subject of a House and Senate conference committee. H.R. 4034 has 35 cosponsors and is supported by over 60 national organizations including the U.S. Conference of Mayors, the Boys and Girls Clubs of America, the National Association of Police Athletic Leagues, the National Recreation and Park Association, Major League Baseball and the National Parks and Conservation Association.

The amendment would authorize competitive matching grants to urban areas with a high prevalence of crime in order to expand park and recreation opportunities for at risk urban youth. "At-Risk Youth Recreation Grants" would be available for rehabilitation of facilities, improvements to increase the security of urban parks and operating support for innovative and successful recreation programs. Such a program can be a highly effective tool in preventing crime and generally improving the quality of life of urban neighborhoods. The bill amends the Urban Park and Recreation Recovery Act (UPARR), a recreation grants program operated by the National Park Service since 1979.

Many young people in urban areas have little or no access to sports and recreation because of badly deteriorated facilities or because of program cutbacks. Urban recreation can help deter crime by providing a constructive use of non-school hours for young people. Sport and recreation programs teach important values and life skills including teamwork, responsibility and leadership and self-esteem. These programs are important to anti-crime efforts because they target young people, the age group most prone to crime. Fifty to sixty percent of all crime in the United States is committed by people 10 to 20 years of age. The incidence of crime peaks between the ages of 16 to 18 and quickly drop after age 21.

The amendment is cost-effective and efficient because it uses the staff and procedures of the existing UPARR program rather than creating a new bureaucracy. The Miller amendment has other features which maximize the effectiveness of federal funds. It leverages additional resources by requiring a 30% local match. It allows non-profit organizations such as Boys and Girls Clubs, Police Athletic Leagues and Midnight Basketball programs to receive funding assistance. It requires eligible cities to submit a plan which states how they intend to improve recreation opportunities in crime ridden neighborhoods over the long term. Finally, it requires facilities which have been improved as a result of this grant program to remain open for public recreation uses in perpetuity. Other programs in the pending crime bills do not contain these important features.



FRATERNAL ORDER OF POLICE

NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE

309 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.E., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20002

PHONE: (202) 547-8189 FAX: (202) 547-8190



WRITER'S DIRECT DIAL NUMBER

DEWEY STOKES
NATIONAL PRESIDENT

DONALD L. CAHILL, CHAIRMAN
NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE

GRAND LODGE FRATERNAL ORDER OF POLICE

TESTIMONY OF

DONALD L. CAHILL

BEFORE THE SENATE LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES COMMITTEE

**SUBCOMMITTEE ON
CHILDREN, FAMILIES, DRUGS AND ALCOHOLISM**

**MAY 17, 1994
WASHINGTON, D.C.**

DEWEY R. STOKES, PRESIDENT

GOOD MORNING MR. CHAIRMAN AND DISTINGUISHED MEMBERS OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE. MY NAME IS DONALD L. CAHILL, I AM A POLICE OFFICER AND I AM HERE TO REPRESENT THE 250,000 MEMBERS OF THE "FRATERNAL ORDER OF POLICE"; THE NATIONS LARGEST PROFESSIONAL LAW ENFORCEMENT ORGANIZATION. PRESIDENT DEWEY STOKES REGRETS THAT HE CANNOT BE HERE PERSONALLY BUT HE SENDS HIS WISHES FOR YOUR SUPPORT ON THIS IMPORTANT MATTER BEFORE YOU THIS MORNING.

THE NATIONS LAW ENFORCEMENT HAVE BEEN LONG AWAITING THE COMPLETION OF THE OMNIBUS CRIME BILL THAT IS READY TO GO TO CONFERENCE WITH THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. IN THIS BILL, ALONG WITH MANY OTHER PROVISIONS FOR ADDRESSING THE COUNTRY'S CRIME PROBLEMS ARE PROVISIONS TO PROVIDE FUNDING FOR CERTAIN PROGRAMS THAT WE, THE COPS ON THE STREET, BELIEVE WILL HELP REDUCE VIOLENCE AND CRIME AND AT THE SAME TIME HELP PREPARE YOUNGSTERS OF TODAY BECOME THE LEADERS OF TOMORROW.

THE FRATERNAL ORDER OF POLICE HAS LONG BELIEVED THAT THE CITIZENS OF THIS COUNTRY BETTER "SOUND A WAKE UP CALL" TO OUR NATIONS LEADERS AND REALIZE THAT TODAYS YOUTH WILL NOT BE READY TO BE TOMORROWS LEADERS UNLESS WE MAKE A POSITIVE INVESTMENT IN THEM NOW.

IN THIS CRIME INITIATIVE BOTH THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES HAVE EXAMINED THE SITUATION AND TAKE POSITIVE ACTION ON THIS MATTER. INCLUDING "GRANTS PROGRAMS" SUCH AS THE "OUNCE OF PREVENTION" GRANT WHICH WOULD PROVIDE FUNDING FOR AFTER SCHOOL AND SUMMER YOUTH PROGRAMS, SUBSTANCE ABUSE PROGRAMS AND PREVENTION PROGRAMS WILL GO A LONG WAY IN HELPING THE SITUATION IN THE STREETS. ADDITIONAL PROGRAMS LIKE PROGRAMS TO HELP COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS PROVIDE YOUTH ACTIVITIES SUCH AS AFTER SCHOOL ACADEMIC AND EXTRACURRICULAR PROGRAMS, MENTORING AND SUPERVISED SPORTS PROGRAMS ARE ALSO VERY IMPORTANT.

ALONG WITH THESE ACTIVITY TYPE PROGRAMS THERE ARE ALSO SUCH THINGS AS CRIME EDUCATION AND PREVENTION AND DRUG AND ALCOHOL EDUCATION WHICH WILL GO HAND IN HAND WITH THE OTHERS.

DO PROGRAMS SUCH AS THESE MENTIONED WORK? YOU BE THE JUDGE, BUT JUDGE THEM ON FACTUAL DATA. LETS TAKE A SHORT LOOK AT THE "BOYS AND GIRLS CLUBS OF AMERICA". FOUNDED IN 1906 BY AN ESTABLISHED GROUP OF 66 SMALL CLUBS, THE ORGANIZATION HAS GROWN TO OVER 1,500 CLUB LOCATIONS NATIONWIDE SERVING OVER 2,000,000 BOYS AND GIRLS. OVER 250 OF THESE CLUBS ARE IN PUBLIC HOUSING DEVELOPMENTS.

BOYS AND GIRLS CLUBS HELP PROVIDE ONE ON ONE TUTORING, HOMEWORK HELP, COMPUTER ASSISTED TUTORING, SAT PREPARATION, SUBSTANCE ABUSE PREVENTION, HEALTH AWARENESS, ARTS AND CRAFTS, ATHLETIC LEAGUES OF VARIOUS SPORTS, SWIMMING AND SO ON.

DEWEY STOKES OUR NATIONAL POP PRESIDENT HIMSELF GREW UP THROUGH THE BOYS CLUB OF COLUMBUS, OHIO WHERE HE BOXED AND PARTICIPATED IN NUMEROUS SPORTS. AS A RESULT OF HIS INVOLVEMENT AS A TROUBLED YOUTH, HE LEARNED FIRST HAND THE IMPORTANCE OF THESE PROGRAMS AND TODAY HE ALSO IS A LEADER IN THE LOCAL BOYS AND GIRLS CLUBS IN COLUMBUS WHERE HE NOT ONLY SPENDS TIME COUNSELING YOUTHS BUT IS AN ACTIVE FUNDRAISER FOR THEM. DEWEY WAS HONORED SEVERAL YEARS AGO BY BEING INDUCTED INTO THE BOYS AND GIRLS CLUBS OF AMERICA "HALL OF FAME".

SEVERAL DECADES AGO, YOUTH GANGS WERE ROMANTICIZED BY MUCH OF THE ENTERTAINMENT INDUSTRY. MOVIES SUCH AS "WEST SIDE STORY" AND OTHERS TENDED TO SHOW MOSTLY GOOD THINGS RELATING TO MEMBERSHIP AND TENDED TO LEAVE OUT THE BAD. AND WHO COULD FORGET "MARLIN BRADO" AS A MEMBER OF THE "HELLS ANGELS" IN THE MOVIES. IN THE MEDIA, MOTORCYCLE GANGS WERE CHARACTERIZED AS OMINOUS, BUT AVOIDABLE. THIS IS NO LONGER TRUE. WE ARE FOREVER CONFRONTED BY GANGS ON THE STREET TO THE POINT THAT SOME "OLDER" AMERICANS ARE LIVING IN A "CONCENTRATION CAMP" NEIGHBORHOOD, AFRAID TO LEAVE THE SAFETY OF THEIR HOME.

STREET GANGS HAVE BEEN IN EXISTENCE IN THIS COUNTRY ALMOST FROM THE BEGINNING. BUT TODAY THESE GANGS, FUELED BY THE DRUG TRADE AND CRIMINAL ACTIVITY POSE AN ENVIRONMENTAL THREAT TO THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE. THE DETERIORATION OF OUR NEIGHBORHOODS IN URBAN AND RURAL AMERICA WILL NOT RECOVER WITHOUT MAJOR ASSISTANCE. ONE OF THESE PROGRAMS RECENTLY STARTED AND BEING FUNDED IN THIS LEGISLATION IS THE GANG RESISTANCE EDUCATION AND TRAINING (G.R.E.A.T.) PROGRAM OF THE BUREAU OF ALCOHOL, TOBACCO AND FIREARMS. THIS PROGRAM'S PURPOSE IS TO PREVENT YOUTH VIOLENCE AND CRIME BY REDUCING INVOLVEMENT IN GANGS. THIS IS ACCOMPLISHED USING THE SKILLS OF FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENTS TO EDUCATE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL STUDENTS IN GANG PRONE AREAS ABOUT THE DESTRUCTIVE CONSEQUENCES OF GANG MEMBERSHIP.

WHILE THIS IS STILL A NEW PROGRAM BEING EVALUATED IT IS WELL WORTH THE TIME AND EFFORTS PUT FORTH. THE GOALS OF THE G.R.E.A.T. PROGRAM ARE TO REDUCE THE INCIDENCE OF VIOLENT YOUTH CRIME, REDUCE GANG ACTIVITY, PROVIDE YOUTHS WITH LIFE SKILLS AND STRATEGIES TO RESIST GANG INVOLVEMENT, GIVE THE YOUTHS A MEANS BY WHICH TO RESOLVE CONFLICTS NON-VIOLENTLY, PROVIDES ALTERNATE SUMMER ACTIVITIES AND HELPS EDUCATE PARENTS AND

TEACHERS AND THE COMMUNITY ABOUT SPECIAL INDICATORS SHOWING ACTIVITY IN THEIR NEIGHBORHOODS.

ANOTHER PROGRAM THAT WILL BENEFIT GREATLY FROM THESE FUNDING GRANTS IS THE "BOY SCOUTS" AND "GIRL SCOUTS". I SPEAK FROM PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE ACTIVITIES OF THESE OUTSTANDING ORGANIZATIONS HAVING SPENT MY YOUTH AND LATER AS A ADULT LEADER. STARTING DURING MY EARLY TEEN YEARS WITH THE "SIR ROBERT BADEN POWELL" TROOP #4 IN MONTCLAIR, NEW JERSEY. UNDER ADULT LEADERS "MALCOMB STEER" AND HOWARD VAN VLECK", I HAD THE MENTORING AND TEACHING THAT HELPED ME STAY OUT OF TROUBLE AND GUIDED ME THROUGH LATER LIFE; FIRST AS A "CAREER MARINE" AND LATER AS A LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICER. I AM STILL VERY PROUD OF THIS BEGINNING.

THE FINAL PROGRAM I WANT TO DISCUSS IS THE "DRUG ABUSE RESISTANCE EDUCATION" (D.A.R.E.) PROGRAM. THIS PROGRAM WHICH STARTED IN 1983 IN THE LOS ANGELES POLICE DEPARTMENT HAS PROVEN TIME AND AGAIN TO BE SUCCESSFUL IN REDUCING DRUG USE AMONG YOUTH. ONE PARTICULAR PROGRAM I AM VERY PROUD TO TALK ABOUT WAS STARTED BY FOP MEMBER AND TEMPLE, TEXAS POLICE OFFICER JAMES R. (RANDY) DIXON. SEVEN YEARS AGO, OFFICER DIXON RESEARCHED, PLANNED AND FOUNDED THE DRUG ABUSE RESISTANCE EDUCATION (DARE) PROJECT IN TEMPLE, TEXAS. TOTALLY ON HIS OWN HE HELPED RAISE FUNDS AND SUPPORT SO THE CURRICULUM BASED, WELL RENOUNED PROJECT COULD BE IMPLEMENTED IN THE SCHOOLS. OVER SEVEN YEARS OFFICER DIXON HAS BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR TRAINING OVER 4,755 CHILDREN IN THE DARE 5TH GRADE CURRICULUM AND ANOTHER 19,840 CHILDREN IN PRE-DARE AND OTHER DRUG/ALCOHOL PREVENTION ACTIVITIES.

IN ADDITION TO OFFICER DIXONS DARE ACTIVITIES, HE ALSO FOUNDED WHAT IS NOW KNOWN AS TWO MAJOR SUMMER PROJECTS IN TEMPLE, TEXAS. NINE YEARS AGO, KNOWING MANY OF THE POORER, AT RISK CHILDREN HAD NO SUMMER ACTIVITIES, HE GARNERED SUPPORT AND PUT TOGETHER A FREE SUMMER SWIM PROJECT FOR THE KIDS OF TEMPLES DISADVANTAGED AREAS. OFFICER DIXON STAYS VERY ACTIVE TEACHING SWIMMING AND OTHER ACTIVITIES AT THESE SUMMER CAMPS.

THREE YEARS AGO, OFFICER DIXON STARTED THE FIRST "IN THE HEART OF TEXAS" SUMMER CAMP FOR KIDS. BASED ON THE CURRICULUM OF DARE, OFFICER DIXONS DARE TO BE GREAT SUMMER CAMP SERVES CHILDREN WHO WILL BE GOING INTO MIDDLE SCHOOL. THE AIM OF THE CAMP IS TO PROVIDE RECREATION AND EDUCATION TO CHILDREN WHO OTHERWISE WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO HAVE ANY TYPE OF SUMMER ACTIVITY. THE CAMP, MADE UP OF 90% AT RISK KIDS AND 10% MAIN STREAM KIDS PROVIDES EDUCATION AND PHYSICAL RECREATION FOR A WEEK LONG PERIOD OF TIME. THE CAMPS STRESS LEADERSHIP AND DRUG FREE LIFESTYLES.

MEMBERS OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE, YOU HAVE VIEWED A VIDEO FEATURING DEWEY STOKES OUR NATIONAL PRESIDENT WHICH WAS PRODUCED WITH THE GENEROUS ASSISTANCE OF PRC, INC. ENDORCING PROGRAMS SUCH AS THIS AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO JOINING GANGS AND YOU HAVE HEARD MY TESTIMONY THIS MORNING. I ASK YOU ON BEHALF OF THE MEMBERS OF THE FRATERNAL ORDER OF POLICE TO SUPPORT THIS IMPORTANT FUNDING IN THE CRIME BILL. IT IS NOT ONLY FOR AFTER HOURS SPORTS PROGRAMS, IT IS NOT ONLY FOR EDUCATION PROGRAMS, IT IS AN INVESTMENT IN THE FUTURE OF AMERICA.

I THANK YOU FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO ADDRESS THIS IMPORTANT ISSUE BEFORE YOU TODAY AND STAND READY TO ASSIST IN ANY WAY I CAN TO HELP ITS PASSAGE.

Date: 08/12/94 Time: 16:57

Midnight Basketball Pork or Crime Prevention

WASHINGTON (AP) Opponents say the crime bill sidetracked by the House Thursday concealed a great deal of old-fashioned, Great Society-style social welfare spending. Supporters say that, in fighting crime, prevention is just as vital as detention.

The argument got down to midnight basketball leagues, intended to keep idle kids out of trouble and off the streets.

``Pork?''

Or ``smart,''' the term President Clinton applies to the bill?

How about money to teach street kids to dance? To do arts and crafts? For ``rape prevention'' education? To encourage police to live in housing projects? For ``safe havens'' where sexually abused kids can be visited by parents without fear?

The bill's supporters said those provisions were as important in the long term as new prisons, more police and more death penalty crimes.

The debate spilled into the Senate Friday.

Sen. John Warner, R-Va., said senators and House members shaping the compromise version surreptitiously approved \$8 billion in ``pork stuffed in there like so much sausage.''

Sen. John Kerry, D-Mass. replied that \$1.8 billion to prevent violence against women ``is not pork.''' He added: ``It seems to me that a youth league to help kids have something to do at night rather than walk around toting guns is money well spent.''

In the House, even such a solid Democrat as Rep. Lee Hamilton of Indiana complained about ``extraneous provisions job training, economic development that really may or may not have merit but don't belong in this bill.''' He voted no.

``You would think the only thing in this bill is night basketball,''' said Rep. Bill Hefner, D-N.C., who voted yes. Rep. Thomas Foglietta, D-Pa., another supporter, said that when the city of Phoenix spent 60 cents per child on night basketball, the youth crime rate dropped 50 percent.

Few defenders only one, in fact stepped forward to justify a \$10 million provision to establish a criminal justice research and education center at Lamar University in Beaumont, Texas.

Rep. Jack Brooks, D-Texas, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee and a Lamar graduate represents Beaumont, the site of federal, state and local prisons, in existence or development, with a population of about 6,000.

``Just because it is in Beaumont,''' Brooks said, ``doesn't mean it's a bad idea.''

Among the measure's other social spending provisions, with the money in most cases to be spread over six years:

\$900 million to help schools prepare students for participation in the work force, and for training in entrepreneurship, cultural and health programs, social activities, dance and arts and crafts programs, tutoring and mentoring.

\$30 million to establish boys and girls clubs in low-income housing communities.

\$40 million for midnight sports leagues to give at-risk youth nighttime alternatives to the streets.

\$50 million for the U.S. Olympic Committee to develop sports and recreation programs in high-crime areas.

\$6 million for partnerships between police and senior citizen groups to combat crimes against the elderly.

\$30 million for ``safe haven'' centers where physically or sexually abused children can be visited by divorced or separated

parents.

\$1.8 billion to fight violence against women. The money would go to increase training of police, prosecutors and judges; for victim services, battered women shelters, rape education and prevention, a national family violence hotline and increased security in public places.

\$100 million for matching ``Ounce of Prevention'' grants for community programs that tutor youths, run summer and after-school education and recreation programs and others to combat drug abuse, child abuse and adolescent pregnancy.

\$800 million for a ``saturation jobs program'' in high-crime and high-poverty areas. The money would subsidize jobs for one year for young adults in high-crime areas.

\$895 million for experimental crime prevention programs in high-crime neighborhoods in 15 cities. The money would be used to relieve conditions that encourage crime.

APNP-08-12-94 1658EDT



NATIONAL COUNCIL ON CRIME AND DELINQUENCY
685 MARKET STREET, SUITE 620
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94105
415/896-6223 FAX 415/896-5109

JOSE
FYI

National Officers

IRA A. LIPMAN
Chairman of the Board

HON. JOHN T. RACANELLI
Judicial Arbitration & Mediation Services, Inc.
Vice Chairman of the Board

KENNETH G. WALSH, ESQ.
U. S. Trust Company of New York
Treasurer

NOEL EDLIN, ESQ.
Waisworth, Franklin & Bevins
Secretary & Legal Counsel

ALLEN F. BREED
Criminal Justice Consultant
Chair Emeritus

ALBERT WELLS
Abolard Foundation
Chair Emeritus

DR. BARRY KRISBERG
President

DR. JAMES F. AUSTIN
Executive Vice President

Board of Directors

PETER ARNSTEIN
Retired Partner, KPMG Peat Marwick

JOHN R. ARREDONDO
Arizona Department of
Youth Treatment & Rehabilitation

DR. MICHAEL BERNHARD
Deputy Medical Center

RAYMOND M. BROWN, ESQ.
Brown & Brown P.C.

F. WILLIS CARUSO
Chicago Housing Authority

ALAN ELLIS, ESQ.
Past President, National Association of
Criminal Defense Lawyers

PATRICK HALLINAN
Hallinan, Proffack & Levine

ROBERT J. HORN, ESQ.
Republican National Lawyers Association

TOM KILLEFER
Chairman Emeritus, U.S. Trust Co. of New York

HON. WOODWARD KINGMAN
Van Strain & Towne, Inc.

MICHAEL P. LANE
Illinois State Police

HON. ALICE A. LYTLE
Sacramento Superior Court
Assigned Juvenile Division

RICHARD MAGAT
The Foundation Center

DR. HENRY A. MCKINNELL
Phizer, Inc.

DR. NORVAL MORRIS
University of Chicago

KATIE NICHOLS
Cowles Charitable Trust

LUTHER K. ORTON, ESQ.
Brobeck, Phleger & Harrison

SUSAN ALEXANDER POWERS
Kings County District Attorney's Office

BERNARD RAPOPORT
American Income Life Insurance Co.

WILLIAM H. RENTSCHLER
The Rentschler Report

ROBERT W. REYNOLDS
AT&T Bell Laboratories

DENNIS W. SHEEHAN, ESQ.
Avia, Inc.

HON. CAROLYN TEMIN
Court of Common Pleas
Philadelphia County

DERRICK THOMAS
Kansas City Chiefs

DR. MARVIN E. WOLFGANG
University of Pennsylvania

NCCD MIDWEST
6109 Ordway Road
Madison, Wisconsin 53719
608/274-8882

NCCD EAST COAST
S.J. Newhouse Center at Rutgers
15 Washington Street, 4th Floor
Newark, New Jersey 07102
201/643-5805

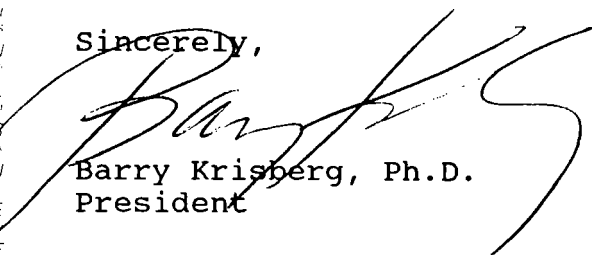
February 18, 1994

Bruce Reed
Special Assistant to the President
for Domestic Policy
Old Executive Office Building
Room 216
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Reed:

Professor Jerry Skolnick, of the University of California at Berkeley, asked me to pass along to you violence intervention programs worthy of the President's support. The following programs handle serious juvenile offenders and have proven track records of success.

Sincerely,


Barry Krisberg, Ph.D.
President

Program: The Choice Program
Contact: Mark Shriver
Director
The Choice Program
971 Seagull Avenue
Baltimore, MD 21225
(410) 354-5511

The Choice Program is an intensive community-based supervision program for delinquent and troubled adolescents. Choice caseworkers see their clients between three and five times per day, seven days per week. Caseworker duties include visiting youths at home, checking to make sure they are at school, taking them to tutoring lessons, getting them to the doctor, and providing structured recreation for them. Since the program began in 1989, 80% of Choice kids have remained arrest-free. The program is extremely cost-efficient: while it costs between \$40,000 and \$60,000 per year to incarcerate a youth for a year, Choice costs just \$6,100 per youth.

Program: Texas Key Day Treatment Program
Contact: Holland Brown
Director of Development
Texas Key Program, Inc.
3000 South IH-35, Suite 410
Austin, TX 78704
(512) 462-2181

The Texas Key Day Treatment Program is a non-residential, community-based facility for youths who need structure and supervision but can still live at home. Youths come to the facility for a 12-13 hour-per-day regimen consisting of formal education, clinical services, vocational skill training, recreation programming, and behavior management techniques. Tracking techniques are used to observe the youths' behavior after hours. The Key Program uses community resources to meet individual needs, to offer families counseling, and to expose youths to positive, constructive behavior alternatives and problem-solving skills. The goal is to reintegrate youths back into the community within six to twelve weeks.

Program: Family Ties
Contact: Eric G. Parsons
Chief of Staff
New York Department of Juvenile Justice
365 Broadway
New York, NY 10013
(212) 925-7779

Family Ties is an innovative alternative to placement for juvenile delinquents. Specially trained family preservationists work intensively with children and their families for four to eight weeks to help them begin solving the underlying problems that contributed to the child's delinquency. In Fiscal Year 1993, 79% of the children who participated in the program averted placement, saving New York City and New York State an estimated \$2.7 million. 80% of the juveniles who participate in the program remain crime free 12 months later.

Program: Missouri Intensive Case Monitoring Program
Contact: Mark Steward
Director
Missouri Division of Youth Services
PO Box 447
Jefferson City, MO 65102
(314) 751-3324

The Missouri Intensive Case Monitoring (ICM) program is a joint venture between the Missouri Division of Youth Services (DYS) and state colleges and universities in which college students serve as intensive case monitors (ICMs), or trackers, for delinquent youths. The ICM program has proven to be extremely beneficial to all parties involved. Delinquent youths benefit from the frequent contact, attention, and mentoring given to them by the college trackers. College students receive real-world experience in their field of study. State universities bolster their reputation in the community. DYS case managers are better able to manage their bloated caseloads. And DYS is provided with an extremely cost-effective alternative to out-of-home placements.

Program: Thomas O'Farrell Youth Center
Contact: John Yates
Director
Thomas O'Farrell Youth Center
PO Box 306
Woodstock, MD 21163
(301) 549-6330

The Thomas O'Farrell Youth Center (TOYC) is located in a pastoral area, 45 minutes from downtown Baltimore. It is a 38-bed staff-secure residential program for youths committed to the Maryland Department of Juvenile Services (DJS). TOYC is operated by the North American Family Institute (NAFI), a non-profit multi-service human service agency headquartered in Danvers, Massachusetts. An NCCD study showed that 55% of the first 56 TOYC graduates had no further court referrals in the post release period (an average of 11.6 months). This recidivism rate compares favorably with the best community-based youth corrections programs nationwide.

Program: Florida Environmental Institute
Contact: Robert Weaver
President
Associated Marine Institutes
5915 Benjamin Center Drive
Tampa, FL 33634
(813) 887-3300

The Florida Environmental Institute (FEI), also known as "The Last Chance Ranch," targets Florida's most serious juvenile offenders. It is operated by Associated Marine Institutes (AMI), a network of affiliated residential and non-residential programs that operate in seven states and emphasize remedial education and training in marine activities. FEI is located in a remote area of the Florida Everglades and has a capacity of 20 youths in the residential portion of the program and serves 20 youths in a non-residential, aftercare component. 67% of FEI youths have no further convictions in the three years following their enrollment in the program.

Program: Alliance House
Contact: Peter Downey
Program Director
Alliance House
38 Pleasant St.
Stoneham, MA 02180
(617) 438-6880

Alliance House is a 12-bed short-term assessment program for newly committed male youths. The goals of the program include stabilization, diagnosis, assessment, and short-term counseling. The program focuses on the coordination and organization of information about each youth; this information is used to develop treatment plans, and results in other programs being used more effectively. Alliance House evaluates each resident, assesses their long-term needs, keeps them current in their school work, and prepares them for the next step-- a longer-term program or, more often, a return home. Alliance House youths are actively involved in the community surrounding the program through an extensive list of community work and service programs.

Program: Robert F. Kennedy Action Corps
Contact: Edward P. Kelley
Executive Director
Robert F. Kennedy Action Corps
11 Beacon Street, Suite 325
Boston, MA 02108
(617) 227-4183

Since 1976, the Robert F. Kennedy Action Corps has been a leader in the treatment of violent offenders in Massachusetts. The Action Corps' five secure facilities are a cornerstone of the state's juvenile justice treatment system. At the heart of the Action Corps program is the use of milieu therapy where line staff trained as counselors provide structure, feedback, and supervision while assisting residents through their daily routines. Through a very sophisticated model, all residents receive individual therapy, group therapy, individualized education services, recreational services, and a psycho-educational curriculum.



National Crime Prevention Council

To forge a nationwide commitment by people acting individually and together to prevent crime and build safer, more caring communities.

Executive Committee

President
Mrs. Arthur G. Whyte
Civic Leader, CT

Secretary
Robert F. Diegelman
Springfield, VA

Treasurer/Finance
Joseph V. Vittona
Chairman and CEO
Avis, Inc., NY

David A. Dean, Esquire
Winstead Sechrest & Minick
Dallas, TX

Mrs. Potter Stewart
Civic Leader, DC

Directors

Jean Adnopoz
Associate Clinical Professor
Yale Univ. School of Medicine, CT

Owen Bieber †
President
United Auto Workers, MI

U. J. Brualdi, Jr.
President and CEO
ADT Security Systems, Inc., NJ

Ordway P. Burden
President
Law Enforcement Asst. Found., NY

Attorney General Pam Carter
Indianapolis, IN

Miles S. Chenault †
Coral Gables, FL

Carole Hillard
South Dakota State Legislature
Rapid City, SD

Robert Keim
Pres. Emeritus, Ad Council
Madison, CT

Mrs. Carl M. Loeb, Jr.
La Ounta, CA

William F. May, Chairman †
Statue of Liberty/Ellis Island Foundation
New York, NY

J. Ben Miller, President
Turley Martin
St. Louis, MO

Edward L. Milstein, Vice Chairman
Douglas Elliman-Gibbons & Ives
New York, NY

Judge David B. Mitchell
Circuit Court for Baltimore City
Baltimore, MD

Edward L. Morgan, Jr.
Vice President
ITT Hartford, CT

Richard M. Page
Attorney at Law
Darien, CT

Raymond J. Petersen †
Executive Vice President
Hearst Magazines, NY

Charles Renfrew †
Vice President
Chevron Corporation, CA

Nell Watson Stewart
Government and Public Affairs Manager
DowBrands, SC

Evelyn Martinez-Zapata
Executive Director
LA Alliance for a Drug Free Community, CA

Counsel
Lawrence Z. Lorber
Verner, Liptert, Bernhard,
McPherson & Hand, DC

Ad Liaison
Robert Marchese
Assistant Vice President
Aetna Life and Casualty, CT

† Advisory Directors

February 3, 1995

MEMORANDUM

TO: Bob Brown, Laurie Robinson, Reggie Robinson, Noel Brennan, Nancy Gist, Shay Bilchik, Jim Swain, Dick Ward

FROM: Jack Calhoun

RE: Enclosed

As you well know, part of our mission, in addition to work on specific projects, is to promote the generic cause of prevention, find promising programs with a track record, analyze how they work, and spread the word about them to key people throughout the country.

Recently we were given the opportunity both to indicate our support and to help with the document I enclose, *Prevention or Pork: A Hard-Headed Look at Youth-Oriented Anti-Crime Programs*, the work of Richard A. Mendel under the sponsorship of the America Youth Policy Forum. We were delighted to play some small part in editing, pointing the author toward promising programs and strategies, and helping to disseminate it to key publics.

We hope this provides some occasion for rational discussion amidst the current crime bill melee.

This is a pre-publication copy. The printed versions will be available on February 10. We have extra photocopies here if you need them (supply limited). The largest repository is the American Youth Policy Forum, whose address is on the inside cover.

Enjoy!

PREVENTION OR PORK?

A Hard-Headed Look at Youth-Oriented Anti-Crime Programs

Richard A. Mendel

**ADVANCE
COPY**

American Youth Policy Forum

in cooperation with

Center for Youth Development, Academy for Educational Development
Institute for Educational Leadership
National Assembly of National Voluntary Health and Social Welfare Organizations
National Crime Prevention Council
National Youth Employment Coalition

Call 775-9731 for printed co

About the Author

Richard A. Mendel

Richard Mendel is an independent writer, researcher and consultant on poverty-related issues in education, employment and training, and community economic development. He worked five years as a staff associate for MDC, Inc., a non-profit employment policy research firm in Chapel Hill, N.C. In addition, Mr. Mendel has done contract work for the Lilly Endowment, Comprehensive Community Revitalization Project (Surdna Foundation), Corporation for Enterprise Development, Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation, Center for Improving Mountain Living, among others. He has written for *The Atlantic Monthly*, *Washington Post*, *Baltimore Sun*, *Washington Monthly*, *Miami Herald*, and others. In 1994, he wrote *The American School-to-Career Movement. A Background Paper for Policymakers and Foundation Officers*. Mr. Mendel holds a bachelor's degree in public policy from Duke University (1983) and an M.A. in journalism from the University of Maryland (1992).

This publication is *not* copyrighted and may be freely quoted without prior permission,
provided the source is identified as:

Richard A. Mendel, *Prevention or Pork? A Hard-Headed Look at Youth-Oriented
Anti-Crime Programs*

Washington, D.C.: American Youth Policy Forum, 1995

ISBN 1-887031-50-2 \$5

Additional copies may be ordered from:

American Youth Policy Forum
1001 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 719
Washington, DC 20036-5541

\$5.00 each, including shipping.
Prepaid orders only, please.
Quantity prices are available.

Appreciation is due to Ann Dryden Witte, Ray O'Brien, Theresa Kelly, Gordon Raley and Jack Calhoun who reviewed the manuscript and made many helpful suggestions. Samuel Halperin and Jean O'Neil edited the manuscript. Vinny Spera readied it for typesetting by Tasha Harris.

Publisher's Preface

During the acrimonious and often partisan debate preceding final passage of the "Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994" ("The Crime Bill"), advocates of positive youth development were alternately depressed and cheered.

Depressed to hear many of the programs they supported described as "social spending boondoggles," "social pork," and, sarcastically, as "such stringent anti-crime measures as arts and crafts, self-esteem enhancement, and midnight basketball."

Cheered because, in the new federal legislation, the Congress recognized the value, or at least the potential, of such concepts as "an ounce of prevention," "youth anticrime councils" and other language signifying a positive and comprehensive youth development approach to crime prevention.

The *American Youth Policy Forum* is dedicated to exploring all the various ways by which America's youth may develop into productive workers, successful parents and contributing citizens. The Forum looks upon youth as *whole* people. Youth are not merely students, nor solely future workers, parents, or citizens. They fill multiple roles and have multiple needs. Therefore, what is needed is a coherent *system* of long-term youth development opportunities offered in effective schools, safe neighborhoods, and an economy providing good jobs essential to the support of strong and stable families. When all of these "front-line," "first-chance" subsystems are working well, we believe, the need for youth-oriented crime prevention and treatment programs and criminal justice institutions will be greatly diminished.

For these reasons, the prospect of the new Crime Bill offering recognition and financial backing for state and local crime prevention and youth development initiatives became a matter of considerable interest to the Forum as another building block in a comprehensive strategy of helping the nation's youth make transitions to successful adulthood.

But what is meant by youth-oriented crime prevention? How much is reliably known about the efficacy of the various forms of prevention in helping youth to avoid delinquency and crime altogether? And how much is known about preventing youthful anti-social behavior from developing into serious, even violent, criminal activity?

On these important substantive questions, the Congressional debate on the 1994 Crime Bill was less than helpful. Therefore, the Forum turned to Richard Mendel, an independent writer who had previously demonstrated his ability to synthesize a large body of relevant literature in a short time. Mendel's assignment: to present a popularly-written, documented summary of what is known from research and evaluation about the effectiveness of the types of youth-oriented prevention strategies that might be supported under the Crime Control Act.

As the 104th Congress prepares to revisit the issues and the prescriptions contained in the 1994 crime control legislation, we present Mr. Mendel's report, published as an aid to informed public discourse.

—Samuel Halperin
American Youth Policy Forum

* See Mendel's *The American School-to-Career Movement: A Background Paper for Policymakers and Foundation Officers*, (Washington, DC: American Youth Policy Forum, 1994).

Table of Contents

Executive Summary	i
Helping Youth Before Trouble Starts	iii
Treating Troubled Youth	iii
Introduction: A Look Back at the Crime Debate of 1994	1
Why Prevention? A Brief Look at Youth, Crime and Public Policy	3
The Promise of Prevention	3
Pathways to Crime	4
The Causes and Correlates of Crime	4
Resiliency Against Risk	6
The Limitations of Law and Order	6
Crime and Punishment in California	7
The Impact of Incarceration	7
Death Penalties and Juvenile Justice	9
Toward a Comprehensive Approach	10
Does it Work? The Effectiveness of Crime Prevention	11
Deciphering Prevention's Record	11
Helping Youth Before Trouble Starts	13
Recreation and Midnight Hoops	13
School-Based Violence Prevention Curricula: Conflict Resolution	14
Preparing Youth For Adulthood: Education and Training in High-Risk Communities	15
Multi-Dimensional, Community-Wide Prevention	17
Summing Up: The Case for Prevention	19
Treating Troubled Youth	19
Family Therapy and Parental Skills Training	20
Cognitive and Behavioral Skills Training	21
Shock Incarceration	22
Psychotherapy and Other Counseling	22
Rehabilitating Juvenile Offenders	24
Diversion and Other Treatments for Unincarcerated Juvenile Offenders	24
Community vs. Institutional	25
Detention	25
Toward the Future	26
Conclusion	28
Research Notes	30
Appendix	33

Executive Summary

America has been attempting to solve the crime problem with one arm behind its back. For over a decade, the nation has pursued essentially a one-track strategy for attacking crime: "lock-'em-up." Through mandatory sentences, reduced plea bargaining, restricted parole, and the construction of hundreds of thousands of new prison cells, our nation has more than doubled the number of prisoners behind bars. Yet crime rates have not plummeted, and violent crime remains persistently high.

Make no mistake: Our society has a vital stake in incarcerating serious, violent, chronic criminals. But given the tremendous costs associated with building a spate of new prisons and housing hundreds of thousands of additional prisoners, relying only on increased incarceration to eliminate America's persistent crime epidemic flies in the face of evidence and logic.

Though state and local criminal justice budgets have increased significantly, few new resources have been devoted to steering young people away from crime and violence or to redirecting troubled youth who display signs of delinquency. Some localities have implemented new community-based prevention programs and alternative sentences aimed at rehabilitating youthful offenders, but these remain the exception. Increasingly, states' answer to crime—for juvenile offenders and adults alike—has been the prison cell.

In 1994, Congress staked out a new direction for the nation on crime. In addition to prison construction, increased law enforcement, a host of new death penalties and a "three strikes and you're out" provision requiring lifetime incarceration for three-time felons, the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 authorized \$7 billion for an array of initiatives in "crime prevention," including many aimed at keeping youth crime free. Among the more promising new initiatives is an emphasis on comprehensive, prevention-focused, community-government partnerships. Rather than punishment and more punishment, the new rubric is punishment *plus* prevention.

This shift in philosophy did not come without a fight. The debate leading to final passage of this law was among the most heated in recent memory. Many opponents ridiculed the bill proposed by the

conference committee and lambasted the bill's prevention agenda.

The legislative exchange was long on rhetoric and hyperbole, short on reasoned analysis. *Does prevention work? Does criminological research suggest that prevention deserves a prominent place in the nation's crime control strategy alongside increased incarceration and stepped up law enforcement?* Few legislators and few reporters assigned to cover them took time to consider these questions seriously.

In the end, the crime bill passed with only modest reductions in prevention spending. But a new Congress vows to revisit the legislation in 1995. The political war over crime prevention is beginning again.

This report reviews the facts underlying the delinquency debate—the wealth of scholarly evidence on the causes and correlates of delinquency and existing research examining how well various approaches to crime succeed in practice. Is there a strong rationale for such programs as family therapies, recreation and midnight sports leagues and school-based conflict resolution to prevent or decrease delinquent behavior by youth? Do these programs actually make a cost-effective contribution to controlling crime? Or, rather, is there merit to the critiques that depict prevention efforts as naive, soft-headed, even counterproductive?

By examining these questions carefully, policy makers can govern more wisely on crime. Advocates, reporters, and other interested observers can influence policy makers to conduct the next crime debate on the basis of cold reality rather than colorful rhetoric.

What is the cold reality about crime and crime prevention? A hard-headed look at the evidence reveals several lessons:

1. **Research provides a strong foundation for identifying risk factors early in life, which enables us to address the underlying conditions that propel some youth to crime.**

The road to violence begins in childhood. Criminologists have long known that a relative handful of serious chronic offenders are responsible for the majority of crime in America. Research documents that violent chronic offenders are most active during

them, more intensive, individualized treatment will likely be required.

What is the record of treatment or intervention programs in redirecting troubled youth? Though some types of treatment have proven to be far more effective than others, the overall answer can be summed up in two words: "quite promising."

Family Therapies. The most impressive interventions focus on the families of troubled youth—even youth with serious behavior problems. One approach, multi-systemic family therapy (MST) reduced rearrest rates among incarcerated youth by almost half. Youths who received MST spent an average of 73 fewer days behind bars in the year following treatment than did youths in a control group.

Other family interventions have also shown dramatic results. When Parent Management Training (PMT) was provided to parents of problem children ages 3-8, the children fared far better than a control group of children assigned to a waiting list for the program. Overall, between two-thirds and three-fourths of the PMT children achieved clinically significant change and returned to a normal range of behavioral functioning. PMT has also been found effective with adolescents—even those with serious juvenile crime records.

Cognitive Training. Another set of promising intervention programs aims to develop in troubled youth the social and cognitive skills necessary to avoid conflict and control aggression. Children raised in strong families, quality schools, and healthy communities typically develop these skills as a matter of course. Among high risk and delinquent youth they are often lacking. Research shows that focused training in social problem-solving, anger management, moral reasoning and perspective-taking can make a significant difference both with children displaying early signs of delinquency and with youth already incarcerated for serious offenses. These programs can be delivered for only a small fraction of the cost of incarcerating offenders in juvenile or adult prisons; the best programs have demonstrated the capacity to reduce crime rates.

The Positive Adolescent Choices Training (PACT) program teaches negotiation, compromise, and a variety of anger management skills to troubled African American adolescents. A recent study showed that only 18 percent of PACT participants were referred to juvenile court in the three years after training compared with 49 percent of a randomly assigned control group.

A number of other treatment approaches have also been shown to reduce criminality. Providing delinquent youth intensive contact with college student volunteers under the guidance of graduate students and university faculty has proved successful in several tests. Youthful offenders ordered to pay restitution to their victims or perform service to the community have lower recidivism rates than those for whom restitution or service is not ordered. Sentencing juveniles to appropriate correctional programs, based in the community whenever possible, rather than only to "training schools" or other large-scale detention facilities has proved a cost-effective strategy in Massachusetts and other states; recidivism and juvenile crime rates have remained low in these states.

4. Other prevention strategies have not been proven effective—most because they have not been subject to rigorous evaluation, a few because evaluations have found little or no positive impact. Further investments in research and evaluation of crime prevention are clearly justified.

Several popular strategies—including most school-based conflict resolution, peer mediation, and gang prevention efforts—have not yet been rigorously evaluated. Hundreds of these programs are being tested throughout the country, and several show great promise.

Other prevention approaches have proved ineffective in repeated tests. Shock incarceration (i.e., boot camps) does not reduce criminality, studies show. Short-term, "quick fix" job training has not lowered arrest rates. Neither traditional psychotherapy nor behavior modification has shown great promise as a vehicle for redirecting delinquent and criminal youth. A few efforts—mostly scare-oriented programs or programs that place groups of delinquent youth together for extended treatment—have actually worsened the behavior of participants.

5. States and the federal government need to develop and implement prevention programs aggressively, taking care to learn from experience. Research and evaluation must be important elements in all prevention efforts.

A cost-effective approach to crime requires more than punishment. America cannot jail away its crime problem by warehousing criminals, young or old. It cannot solve crime solely through deterrence, or by "shocking" trouble-prone youth or "scaring them straight." Rather, to help children and youth grow into productive, constructive adults, they must be

supervised, supported, educated, encouraged, cared for and given opportunities to contribute. And they must have positive opportunities for recreation, exploration, and personal growth.

For some youth, particularly those from high-risk families and communities, cognitive skills training and family counseling will also be required. And to be effective, these treatments must be carefully crafted, research-based, and effectively implemented.

To date, nowhere in America have all of these pieces been pulled together in one community, although a number of places are trying to do so. Nowhere has the impact of well-defined, youth-oriented crime prevention programs been fully realized. Prevention's potential remains untapped.

Given the high costs and dubious benefits to be expected from continuing on the lock-'em-up path, and given the encouraging results of many youth-oriented prevention and intervention strategies, a significant public investment is surely warranted both to strengthen and expand a youth-oriented prevention agenda and to step up the effort to refine and improve on prevention's promise.

Throwing money at prevention will not solve America's crime problem. But ignoring prevention is an even worse alternative. Both to protect ourselves and to secure our children's future, prevention must become a mainstay in our nation's crime control strategy. A two-armed approach to crime is long overdue.

(Citations for the main points in this Executive Summary may be found in the Research Notes at the end of this paper.)

Introduction:

A Look Back at the Crime Debate of 1994

Surmounting many hurdles and extremely heated argument, Congress completed action on the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act on August 25, 1994. The conference report on the \$30.2 billion authorization—including \$7 billion for prevention—cleared the House of Representatives by 235 (188 Democrats, 46 Republicans, 1 Independent) to 195 (64 Democrats and 131 Republicans). On the Senate side, 61 Senators (54 Democrats and 7 Republicans) voted for final approval versus 38 opponents (36 Republicans and 2 Democrats).

In the preceding debate, critics of preventative strategies unleashed a gale-force rhetorical assault. They derided the crime bill as a "train wreck," "boondoggle" and "unholy trinity of pork, posturing and partisanship," to cite but three examples. Critics assailed many provisions of the bill but they aimed their sharpest, most biting attacks at the dollars proposed for "crime prevention"—especially programs designed to help at-risk youth stay crime-free. The critics double-damned these programs as "social pork," short both for social programs (i.e., welfare) and for pork barrel (i.e., wasteful) spending. Their vitriolic rhetoric indicted delinquency prevention as a wasteful, even ridiculous, response to youthful violence. Their critique was stark and simple and seemed to resonate with many voters:

"[The bill squanders] billions upon billions of dollars in scarce crime-fighting resources on gauzy social spending schemes straight out of the failed Great Society of the 1960s," Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-UT) told the Senate.¹ "Over \$9 billion is included for vague social spending to finance such stringent anticrime measures as arts and crafts, self-esteem enhancement, and midnight basketball," said Rep. Lamar Smith (R-TX). "All this on the theory that the person who stole your car, robbed your house, and assaulted your family was no more than a disgruntled artist or would-be NBA star."²

Prevention's defenders scurried to counter these attacks. They suggested that the opponents were inspired more by the National Rifle Association's opposition to an assault weapons ban than on principled opposition to crime prevention. And they

accused the bill's opponents of hypocrisy—noting that many had supported prior versions of the crime bill that included billions for prevention.

What prevention supporters did not do, however, was to offer an effective defense of the crime bill's prevention agenda as a realistic strategy to fight crime. The President refused to countenance large cuts in prevention programs, but for the most part he and Congressional advocates defended such programs only in vague terms of equity and balance—not safety.

Thus emerged a glaring knowledge gap in the public discourse over crime. Namely: **Does Prevention Work?** Were the critics correct: Is there no place in a hard-headed anti-crime strategy for youth-targeted crime prevention initiatives? Are more police, mandatory sentences, restricted parole, and continued prison construction the best or the only reasonable approaches to crime?

Or, as many criminologists, community activists, law enforcement officials, and big city mayors argue, do delinquency prevention programs represent an important and cost-effective component—even a necessary component—in an enlightened and rational approach to combatting crime and violence in America?

Community organizations and local, state, and federal agencies have tested many youth-targeted crime prevention programs over the past several decades. Scholars have assembled an extensive body of research on the causes and correlates of crime, and they have evaluated the impact of many policy and program approaches for combatting crime.

What does this record tell us about the potential effectiveness of delinquency prevention? Are at-risk youth and already delinquent youth amenable to intervention programs? Which, if any, program models have proved effective in reducing criminal behavior? Which have proved ineffective? Has prevention earned a place beside law enforcement and corrections in a comprehensive national anti-crime agenda? Or not?

The dust of summer 1994's acrimonious debate has now settled. But the battle over prevention has really just begun. While significant new funds have been authorized for youth-targeted crime prevention, the new Republican majority in Congress (as stated in its "Contract With America") will soon revisit the crime bill. Many members apparently aim to gut prevention programs in favor of more prison construction. Even if they fail, funds for prevention will have to be appropriated by Congress each of the six years covered by the new law. And at the state and local level, where much of the authority for directing the federal funds resides, decisions will have to be made where and how prevention efforts will be undertaken.

Before politicians on both sides of the Congressional aisle resume that debate, they—and their staffs, the media, advocacy groups, and state and local leaders—would do well to review the facts about delinquency prevention and to place prevention efforts in proper context. This report is intended to assist them in that endeavor.

Why Prevention?

A Brief Look at Youth, Crime and Public Policy

FACT 1: The peak age of arrestees for serious violent crimes in America is 18. Arrests for violent acts taper off drastically by age 29.³

FACT 2: Adolescence is a period of heightened risk among all youth. More than one-fourth of male adolescents commit at least one violent offense before reaching adulthood.⁴

FACT 3: Despite the prevalence of delinquent behavior, a small proportion of adolescents (6 percent) are responsible for two-thirds of all violent crimes committed by juveniles. About 40 percent of arrests for all serious crime is accounted for by youth between the ages of 10 and 20 years old.⁵

These striking facts underscore two critical facets of the American crime problem. First, violent criminal activity occurs disproportionately among the young. Second, while many adolescents may flirt with delinquency and crime, the major threat to public safety is posed by a tiny minority of individuals, mostly males, who embark on extended, often violent criminal careers. These realities make clear a third truth: making America safer is primarily a function of incapacitating serious violent offenders; if possible, providing effective treatment for them; and preventing youth from lapsing into either episodic or chronic criminal activity.

Over the past 15 years, our approach to crime has increasingly concentrated on incarceration—attempting to incapacitate criminals. Prison construction, mandatory sentencing, and strict new limits on parole and probation have been the priorities, with the result that the nation's prison population—already the largest in the free world—has more than doubled since 1980. Yet crime has not gone away.

Through the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, America has for the first time in decades placed significant emphasis—and tax dollars—on the second half of the public safety equation: preventing criminal behavior. Does this new emphasis and investment make sense? That is the \$7 billion question.

An informed answer requires detailed understanding of the crime problem. What is the nature of America's crime epidemic? How is it changing? Who is committing crime, and what factors have been proven to contribute to or deter their criminal behavior?

A hard-headed look into these questions reveals that the case for including prevention as a central element of a comprehensive national crime control strategy is compelling. This is true for two reasons:

1. Prevention shows significant promise to identify potential risk factors for youth early in life and to address the underlying conditions that propel them toward lives of crime; and
2. In the absence of effective prevention, tougher law enforcement and stricter sanctions are unlikely to reduce the crime problem significantly.

The Promise of Prevention

The road to violent crime begins in childhood. In fact, most who follow that road begin the journey long before reaching the age of majority.

According to a comprehensive multi-year survey of American youth, serious violent offending most commonly begins at ages 15 or 16. Violent behavior peaks at age 18 and declines sharply thereafter. It is rare for anyone who has not exhibited serious violent behavior by age 20 ever to become a violent offender.⁶

Of course, some level of rebelliousness and mischief-making is considered a natural part of adolescence, and a substantial majority of youth crime is non-violent. Yet a considerable minority of youth commit at least one act of violence before they turn 18. For most youth this antisocial behavior ceases with time. More than 80 percent of those who

commit a violent offense during adolescence terminate their violence by age 21, and the "criminal careers" of most violent youthful offenders span only one year.⁷

Thus, while the occasional criminal and violent acts committed by otherwise healthy adolescents represent a serious problem, perhaps increasingly so, the most dangerous source of crime remains, as always, a deviant cadre of chronic offenders deeply engaged in criminal behaviors.

Pathways to Crime

"Adult criminality seems to be always preceded by childhood misconduct," report criminologists Robert J. Sampson and John H. Laub.⁸

This fact, that virtually all career criminals display early warning signs before reaching adulthood, provides an important ingredient for prevention: if risk factors for youth at high risk for violence can be identified early, they might be provided effective remedial treatment and diverted from the road to violence.

Over the past several decades, and especially since the federal Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act passed in 1974, extensive research has identified the common characteristics of chronic offenders, the conditions—personal, familial, soci-

Children who demonstrate antisocial behavior come from very nonsupportive families at two extremes: either the family is repressive and abusive, or it seriously neglects the child from the early years on.... Surprisingly, parental neglect is almost as strong a predictor of subsequent violence as physical abuse, and parental rejection is the most powerful predictor of all. In one study, 50 percent of children rejected by their parents went on to commit serious crimes, versus only 20 percent of abused and neglected children.

—Joy Dryfoos

etal, or educational—that seem to contribute to delinquent behavior, and the factors that seem to prevent repeat offenders from "growing out of it" and returning to the straight-and-narrow, like the majority of other youths who get into trouble.

Perhaps most striking is the finding that the pathways toward crime are well-marked. Across subcultures, over time, the behavior patterns leading to chronic criminal behavior are distinct—and they almost always involve serious behavior problems in early childhood.

"In early childhood, some boys and girls begin to show patterns of aggressive behavior in their family, in their schools, in their interaction with peers, or in their activities in the community. They pick fights with their brothers and sisters, scream at their parents, verbally attack their teachers, bully their peers, and intimidate younger children in the neighborhood," writes Ronald Slaby, a crime prevention expert at the Education Development Center and Harvard University. This behavior is "the best predictor of chronic delinquent offending and violence in adolescence."⁹

Most children who display antisocial tendencies do not go on to become juvenile delinquents or career criminals—most do not. But those who do become chronic offenders typically follow a common progression of increasingly serious behaviors: problems begin with defiance, lying or bullying, followed by fighting among individuals or gangs, and then serious violent behavior starting with aggravated assault and leading (in some cases) to rape, robbery, and perhaps homicide. Early alcohol abuse (often marijuana abuse as well) precedes the slide into violence for the vast majority of serious offenders. Subsequent violent behavior is often associated with use of other illicit drugs such as cocaine and heroin.¹⁰

"Adult antisocial behavior virtually *requires* childhood antisocial behavior," explains Lee Robins.¹¹ Yet, for the most part, children who display warning signs of violence receive little focused attention. They may be punished by parents or teachers, or suspended from school, but seldom are they engaged in a well-designed program to address the underlying causes of their problem behavior.

The Causes and Correlates of Crime

What is it that leads these youth to violence? Here again, the work of criminologists, psychologists, sociologists, and public health scholars sheds light. Through hundreds of studies their research has identified critical risk factors in five domains:

Family: "Children who demonstrate antisocial behavior come from very nonsupportive families at two extremes: either the family is repressive and abusive, or it seriously neglects the child from the early years on," reports Joy G. Dryfoos, a leading scholar on adolescence.¹² Surprisingly, parental

neglect is almost as strong a predictor of subsequent violence as physical abuse, and parental rejection is the most powerful predictor of all. In one study, 50 percent of children rejected by their parents went on to commit serious crimes, versus only 20 percent of abused and neglected children.¹³

As veteran criminologist Travis Hirschi has put it, "the closer the child's relationship with his parents, the more he is attached to and identified with them, the lower his chances of delinquency."¹⁴ This finding holds in one- and two-parent families alike. As studies have concluded, "Parental absence due to divorce or separation has been found to have either a small or inconsistent association with adolescent delinquency,"¹⁵ while marital conflict in two parent families "is strongly associated with juvenile delinquency and conduct disorder."¹⁶

Neighborhood: Growing up in an underclass neighborhood is closely correlated with increased risk of delinquency. Of course, most poor people are not criminals. Prevalence of drugs, crime, guns, and poverty have been identified as causes of delinquency, as has the lack of positive role models, thriving community-based organizations, quality schools, adequately funded social services, cohesive community leadership, and safe and constructive recreational opportunities. "The inclination to violence springs from the circumstances of life among the ghetto poor—the lack of jobs that pay a living wage, the stigma of race, the fallout from rampant drug use and drug trafficking, and the resulting alienation and lack of hope for the future," writes Elijah Anderson, a University of Pennsylvania urban anthropologist who has spent many years observing and documenting the often dangerous and deviant behavioral dynamics of the inner city.¹⁷

Peer Groups: Frequent association with delinquent and drug-using peers or participation in a youth gang are also critical indicators of delinquency. Unlike adult crime, the majority of youth crime is committed in groups.¹⁸ In fact, writes Delbert Elliott, "The strongest and most immediate cause of the actual onset of serious violent behavior is involvement with a delinquent peer group. It is here that violence is modeled, encouraged, and rewarded; and justifications for disengaging one's moral obligation to others are taught and reinforced."¹⁹ Membership in a youth gang is an especially powerful risk factor: though gangs can provide youth a sense of belonging, plus some safety from real dangers, extended involvement in a gang leads to "exceptionally high rates of delinquency."²⁰

School: "While patterns of behavior learned in early childhood carry over into the school context,

the school has its own potential for generating conflict and frustration and violent responses to these situations," Elliott writes. "During junior and senior high school, a clear adolescent status hierarchy emerges, and much of the violence at school is related to competition for status and status-related confrontations. Ability tracking also contributes to a collective adaptation to school failure and peer rejection by grouping academically poor students and those who are aggressive troublemakers together in the same classes. Delinquent peer groups tend to emerge out of these classes and individual feelings of anger, rejection and alienation are mutually reinforced in these groups."²¹

Though there is some evidence that delinquent behavior subsides somewhat in the months immediately after dropping out (due to reduced feelings of failure and frustration),²² the overwhelming overrepresentation of school dropouts among the nation's prison population confirms the powerful ongoing link between school failure and criminal behavior.

Individual factors: In addition to these external factors, several individual characteristics can also predispose youth to violence. Hyperactivity and attention deficit disorder are closely correlated with delinquency, as is low intelligence.²³ Many children who exhibit behavior problems demonstrate maladaptive beliefs, thought processes, and behavior patterns that predispose them to violence. Children may attribute hostility to peers where none is intended. They may lack basic problem-solving skills or the ability to identify non-violent solutions when social problems arise. They may hold beliefs justifying violence in a wide variety of situations, and they may resort to violence quickly in conflict situations. "Under conditions of high emotional arousal," reports Harvard's Ronald Slaby, "aggressive individuals are likely to default almost automatically to learned stereotypic patterns of behavior that are often both violent and inappropriate for the

When the environment engages the adolescent, and provides him or her with appropriate experiences (e.g., sustained adult relations, cooperative activities with peers, high expectations, responsibility, recreation) not only is violent behavior prevented, but the young person is more likely to move successfully toward adulthood.

—Zeldin and Spirak

...the consensus today is delinquency prevention programs "can work." In fact, these programs often do work—but only when they are intensive, oriented to youth development, multi-dimensional, carefully designed, effectively implemented, and constantly evaluated with an eye to improving program performance.

situation."²⁴ These social skill deficits have been the focus of several delinquency programs in recent times—some with highly successful results.

Resiliency Against Risk

These risk factors explain much about who becomes a criminal and who doesn't. They provide important clues for the formulation of effective prevention strategies. If prevention can improve parenting skills and family cohesion in high-risk households, if it can reduce (or ameliorate) the negative influences youth experience in their neighborhoods and schools, if it can intervene to inhibit the formation or expansion of deviant peer groups, prevention can make a major contribution to our nation's struggle against crime.

Yet these risk factors tell only part of the prevention story. "A striking finding of studies of risk factors associated with offending is that many adolescents who are exposed to risk factors do *not* become delinquent," reports the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment. "Studies have found that a positive temperament, including positive mood and a tendency to evoke positive responses in others, a high IQ, positive school and work experiences, high self-esteem, some degree of structure in the environment, and one good relationship with a parent or other adult reduce the risk factors associated with offending."²⁵

"Research has demonstrated that healthy bonding is a significant factor in children's resistance to crime and drugs," explain David Hawkins and Richard Catalano of the University of Washington. "Strong positive bonds have three important components: (1) *attachment*—positive relations with others; (2) *commitment*—an investment in the future; and (3) *belief* about what is right and wrong, with an orientation to positive, moral behavior and action."²⁶

"A variety of social experiences may contribute to violence... Yet none of these social experiences or sources of social interaction, singly or in combi-

nation, will inevitably lead to violent behavior for all individuals," writes Ronald Slaby. "Much like a physiological immune system, learned patterns of psychological mediation are capable of succumbing to, neutralizing, or counteracting the impact of experiences that act as violence toxins."²⁷

This potential for resiliency, this capacity of youth to overcome troubling influences and develop into healthy, productive, law-abiding adults, provides a second critical underpinning for prevention. Not just a means to treat behavior disorders or solve social problems, prevention can also be a vehicle for building up this social "immune system" in high risk youth—creating a moral compass, so to speak, a commitment to prosocial values combined with the skills, knowledge, and thought processes necessary to avoid the temptations and pressures that lead to violence.

"Understanding [the] risk factors [for violence] is a first step toward identifying effective means of prevention," write Hawkins and Catalano, whose "social development strategy" underlies the comprehensive approach to serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offenders advocated by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. "Equally important is the evidence that certain *protective factors* can help shield youngsters from problems. If we can reduce risks while increasing protection throughout the course of young people's development, we can prevent these problems and promote healthy, pro-social growth."²⁸

The Limitations of Law and Order

"Whatever happened to deterrence? Whatever happened to actually carrying out severe penalties for those who commit heinous crimes?" asked Rep. Bob Stump (R-AZ) in the heat of the 1994 crime debate.²⁹ "We should not be spending social welfare money out here like this," echoed Rep. Bill McCollum (R-FL). "We need to put certainty and swiftness and punishment back into the system again. We need to have deterrence of criminal laws in this country, deterrence of crime, which is true prevention."³⁰

"Revolving-door justice," the fact that many convicts serve far less time than they are sentenced to, lay at the heart of the argument in 1994 against devoting scarce public resources to crime prevention. "Our nation's criminal justice system lacks credibility because we have failed to provide an adequate deterrent to crime and enough places to

lock up hardened criminals and throw away the key,"³¹ argued Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-UT), now chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

To bolster their case, Hatch and others presented disturbing information on the failure of courts to punish criminals severely. For instance, violent offenders serve on average only 37 percent of the prison time they are sentenced to. Murderers are sentenced to an average of 15 years but serve only seven; rapists are sentenced to eight years on average but serve only three.³²

Such statistics, combined with news stories (and political advertisements) depicting seasoned criminals committing heinous crimes after early release

For the most part, young people do not avoid crime from fear of punishment. They avoid crime out of respect for themselves, concern for others, a belief in the in future prospects and an internal sense of personal and public morality. Developing this internalized morality, fostering in young people the skills and the will to avoid crime, is the business of the whole community and the key to youth-oriented crime prevention.

from prison, make a powerful impression on the voting public. But politics aside, can a national crime strategy based solely on increased incarceration—coupled with other "law and order" remedies like the death penalty and widespread waivers to try juvenile offenders as adults—make a significant dent in the American crime problem? A hard look at the criminological evidence suggests the answer is no.

Crime and Punishment in California

Between 1984 and 1991, California enacted more than 1,000 new criminal statutes either to lengthen prison sentences or upgrade misdemeanor offenses to felonies. At the same time, California courts dramatically intensified their monitoring of probationers and parolees, sending tens of thousands of convicts back to prison. As a result, the state quadrupled its prison population—from 22,500 in 1980 to over 106,000 in 1992—giving it the largest prison population and the second highest incarceration rate (311 prisoners per 100,000 population) in the nation. California spent \$3.8 billion on prison construction during this period, boosting the prison system's share of state spending from 2 percent in

1981-82 to over 6 percent in 1991-92. Yet California's crime problem did not improve—either in absolute terms or in comparison with other states. Rather, crime remained stable, with violent crime rates increasing and property crimes decreasing.³³

"The data indicate that the money spent in California on prison construction was money wasted," writes Franklin Zimring from the University of California, Berkeley. "The almost quadrupling of prison capacity seemed to make little difference when it came to curbing the rate of violent crime."³⁴

Other studies have been more favorable toward increased incarceration as a means of reducing crime. According to Michael Block of the University of Arizona, the 10 states that increased their prison populations fastest in the 1980s experienced more than a 20 percent decline in overall crime rates, compared with a 9 percent increase in the 10 states which increased their incarceration rates the least.³⁵

Most researchers draw a different conclusion, however. "Several recent studies have attempted to sort out the relationship between imprisonment and crime," reports Joan Petersilia, former director of the RAND Corporation's Criminal Justice Program. "The research results are surprisingly consistent: Prison has a marginal crime prevention/incapacitation effect, but it is not large enough to reduce overall crime rates significantly."³⁶

Perhaps the most complete information comes from the National Academy of Sciences Panel on Understanding and Preventing Violence. "The increments to crime control from incapacitation are modest, even with very large general increases in inmate populations," the Panel found in 1986.³⁷ More recently, the panel reported that "sentencing policy became much harsher" between 1975 and 1989. "Increases in both a convicted violent offender's chance of being imprisoned and the average prison time served if imprisoned at all combined to cause a near tripling of the expected prison time served per violent crime."³⁸

Yet the number of violent crimes committed in America was the same in 1989 as in 1975—2.9 million. "This suggests that by itself the criminal justice response to violence could accomplish no more than running in place," the panel found. "An effective control strategy must also include preventing violent events before they happen."³⁹

The Impact of Incarceration

How can this be? How can increasing the severity of punishment and removing more criminals from

the streets for longer periods of time not make us appreciably safer? A look at the criminological evidence reveals two causes: the impotence of deterrence, and the weak effects of incapacitation.

Deterrence. The criminal justice system's primary means of promoting public safety is deterrence—preventing crime by discouraging potential offenders with the threat of punishment. For deterrence to be effective, would-be offenders must be rational in their decision making and see imprisonment as an unacceptable consequence of offending. Especially within the inner city, real life often meets neither of these conditions.

"Much individual crime (particularly violent crime) is an impulsive response to an immediate stressful situation and is often committed under the influence of drugs and/or alcohol," Petersilia writes. "If crime is highly impulsive, then rational choice models, which attempt to convince the offender that crime doesn't pay by increasing penalties, have limited utility for crime control."⁴⁰

This impulsive behavior is colored by the behavioral and moral norms internalized by would-be offenders during childhood and modeled in their families, schools, and communities. "By the time they are teenagers, most [inner city] youths have either internalized the code of the streets or at least learned the need to comport themselves in accordance with its rules," observes Elijah Anderson. "It's basic requirement is the display of a certain predisposition to violence."⁴¹

"Unfortunately, for too many youth, violence is either the only or the most effective way to achieve status, respect, and other basic social and personal needs," writes Delbert Elliott.

"Prison is most likely to deter if it meets two conditions," Petersilia writes, "social standing is injured by the punishment and the punishment is severe in comparison to the benefits of the crime."⁴² Unfortunately, for many urban youth neither condition holds true. "Many street-oriented boys are much more concerned about the threat of 'justice' at the hands of a peer than at the hands of police," Anderson finds. "Moreover, many feel not only that they have little to lose by going to prison but that they have something to gain. The toughening up one experiences in prison can actually enhance one's reputation on the streets."⁴³

Incapacitating Criminals. A second purpose for incarcerating criminals is to separate them from the community and prevent them from committing

more crime. "I think it's fair to say that we don't know how to rehabilitate the serious repeat offenders," says James Q. Wilson of the University of California at Los Angeles, "so the goal has to be: to protect society and make it clear... that society is not going to tolerate this behavior by ignoring it or winking at it."⁴⁴

Yet the National Academy of Sciences panel found the criminal justice system's increased use of prison from 1975 to 1989 prevented just 10 to 15 percent of potential violent crimes.⁴⁵ The crime-reducing effects of incarceration are necessarily limited for several reasons. First, the great majority of crimes in America never lead to an arrest or conviction. Of the 34 million crimes committed in 1990, 31 million went unreported or unsolved.⁴⁶ Even if those arrested include many chronic offenders, the supply of potential criminal recruits is seemingly endless in many neighborhoods. As Petersilia puts it, "the ability of back-end strategies (such as imprisonment) to increase public safety is severely limited because of the replenishing supply of young people who are entering criminal careers."⁴⁷

This problem is compounded by the poor performance of the criminal justice system in selecting whom to incarcerate. As young adults, chronic offenders often receive light sentences because criminal court judges and prosecutors are unaware of offenders' juvenile records. "In a national survey

A healthy community not only benefits youth who already have many assets in their favor, but is particularly powerful in protecting vulnerable youth who have fewer personal assets (such as strong families) in their lives.... Schools, churches and synagogues, youth organizations, and the general support of structured activities are clearly influential in shaping a healthy community for youth.

—Search Institute

of prosecutors, half the respondents said they normally received little or no juvenile record information on even the most serious young adult offenders in their jurisdiction," reports *Congressional Quarterly*. "When juvenile records were available, they were often incomplete or arrived too late to affect decisions on whether or not to file criminal charges."⁴⁸ Rather than incapacitating

chronic offenders at the height of their careers, prison terms are usually imposed when criminal activity is beginning to taper off. In California, for instance, while the average age of arrest is 17, the average age of first commitment to prison is 26 and the median age of new prison admissions is 29—about the age most criminal careers are coming to a close.⁴⁹

Another factor limiting the crime-reducing impact of incarceration is evidence that imprisonment ultimately increases the criminality of those who serve time. One recent study followed matched pairs of offenders (convicted of similar crimes, with similar demographics and criminal records) who were sentenced differently—one to prison, one to probation. The study found that those sent to prison were more likely to be arrested over the subsequent three years than those given probation.⁵⁰ The criminogenic effects of prison may be especially strong for youthful offenders, write Sampson and Laub. "Imprisonment may have powerful negative effects on the prospects for future employment and job stability. In turn, low income, unemployment, and underemployment are themselves linked to heightened risks of family disruption. Through its negative effects on male employment, imprisonment may thus lead through family disruption to increases in future rates of crime and violence."⁵¹

Death Penalties and Juvenile Justice

Two other 'law and order' approaches—both included in the 1994 crime act with bipartisan support—similarly hold limited promise to reduce the crime threat: death penalties, and the widespread use of waivers to try juvenile offenders as adults.

As has been widely documented, there exists no credible evidence that the death penalty deters crime. One recent study, for instance, compared violent crime rates in 293 pairs of counties that border along a state line. The analysis found that, taking into account demographics and other relevant factors, the states' use of the death penalty had no significant impact on violent crime; in fact, counties in states where the death penalty is widely used showed higher rates of violent crime than those in counties where executions are performed seldom or not at all.⁵² The death penalty may be justified as an expression of public will, or as fair punishment for heinous crimes, but it simply does not make our streets safer.

Less understood is another key intent of the new crime law—to try increasing numbers of juvenile offenders as adults. Between the early 1970s and

1987, the proportion of youthful offenders referred to adult criminal courts increased from 1 percent to 5 percent. Between 1987 and 1991, the number of juvenile cases transferred to criminal courts jumped another 29 percent nationwide, from 7,000 to 9,000.⁵³ This growing reliance on adult courts is rooted in a perception that young criminals are being coddled by a rehabilitation-minded juvenile justice system.

However, many juvenile justice experts deny that serious offenders are receiving lenient treatment, and they argue that diverting youthful offenders from the juvenile system—particularly nonviolent offenders—is counterproductive.

In many states, the sentences meted out by juvenile courts are no less severe than those dealt youthful offenders in criminal court. In California, for instance, youth convicted of homicide, kidnapping, robbery, and assault in juvenile courts actually serve longer sentences than adults and youth convicted in criminal court. Youth convicted of homicide serve an average of 60 months, compared with 41 months for those convicted in criminal court.⁵⁴ In some states, juvenile courts are more lenient. In New Mexico, for instance, a murderer convicted in juvenile court faces a maximum sentence of two years; when convicted as adults, murderers face a life sentence or the death penalty.

Overall, "It does not appear that juveniles receive harsher penalties, on the average, when transferred to criminal courts for a broad range of offenses," conclude criminologists Dean J. Champion and G. Larry Mays. Roughly half the juvenile cases transferred to adult court each year are dismissed for lack of evidence, Champion reports. Many of the rest are spared harsh sentences by judges accustomed to hardened adult criminals. "The kids go from being big-time juvenile actors to small-time criminal actors," Champion says. "The likelihood is they will get probation."⁵⁵

A 1991 study comparing the sentencing of 16-to-17 year-olds accused of robbery and burglary in New York and New Jersey found that juvenile courts were no less severe than adult courts. Moreover, the study found that youth treated in the juvenile justice system "were rearrested less often, at a lower rate and after a longer crime-free period."⁵⁶

This outcome confirms the fears of many juvenile justice advocates: that youth treated as adults, and particularly those sentenced to adult prisons, may be hardened into chronic criminality. Adult prisons typically do not provide the types of rehabilitation programs offered in juvenile detention settings. Yet the majority of juveniles waived to adult courts are not violent offenders: only 34 percent of cases

transferred to adult courts in 1991 involved crimes against persons—and not all of these were for violent crimes.⁵⁶ Most waivers go to youth accused of property or drug crimes—youth for whom rehabilitation is a viable and appropriate option.”

Toward a Comprehensive Approach

Our society has a vital stake in incarcerating serious violent offenders—adults or juveniles—who wreak havoc on our streets. A major goal of public policy must be to redress the breakdowns—remaining leniency in state juvenile justice statutes, and communication gaps between juvenile and criminal courts—that allow many young villains to avoid long prison terms during their most destructive years.

However, the fact remains: on their own, incarceration simply cannot effect a significant reduction in crime. Too few criminals are deterred by the threat (or reality) of increasing prison terms, and too many adolescents are poised to replace those who are shipped off to prison.

Critics of the 1994 crime bill reveled in labeling it “a full employment program for social workers.” Yet the punitive alternative can just as accurately be depicted as a full employment program for construction workers and prison guards. The costs of prison construction alone ran to \$4.9 billion in the latest fiscal year,⁵⁷ and the tab for housing a juvenile or adult prison inmate range from \$15,000 to upwards of \$40,000 per year. In terms of crime reduction, the potential pay-off from this investment is modest.

“Those who focus on the criminal justice system are offering the public a false hope, the hope that if the criminal justice system just did its job more competently—and criminals were punished more often and more harshly—the public would be safe from most crime,” writes Joan Petersilia. “The public gets some comfort from statistics showing that arrests and imprisonments are going up. But if 34 million crimes are being committed in this country and 31 million are never detected, the only way to truly reduce crime is to find some way to stop some of the crime from being committed in the first place.”⁵⁸

In the words of Hawkins and Catalano, “It is as if we were providing expensive ambulances at the bottom of a cliff to pick up the youngsters who fall off, rather than building a fence at the top of the cliff to keep them from falling off in the first place.”⁵⁹

Notes

• Race, on the other hand, does not appear to be a factor in youth's propensity to violence. Though African-American youth tend to grow up at far greater risk than their white peers, Elliott reports that the ratio of black-to-white youth who ever engage in violence is only 5-to-4. Blacks are far more likely to be *arrested* than whites, however, and they are significantly more likely to continue their violence into adulthood. Elliott suggests this disparity is related to blacks' greater difficulty finding and holding jobs and to their lower marriage and stable cohabiting rates. “In essence, race and poverty are related to successfully making the transition out of adolescence and into adult roles,” he writes.

• In an attempt to address these problems, the state of Colorado approved model legislation in 1993 requiring that violent youth offenders (ages 14-18) receive adult-length sentences but serve them in youth-only correctional facilities.

Does it Work?

The Effectiveness of Crime Prevention

"Violence is not a random, uncontrollable, or inevitable occurrence... Although we acknowledge that the problem of violence involving youth is staggering... there is overwhelming evidence that we can intervene effectively in the lives of young people to reduce or prevent their involvement in violence."⁶²

American Psychological Association
Commission on Youth and Violence

The intellectual case for prevention is compelling. Without prevention, we face untold spending on prison construction and incarceration, yet hold little hope for meaningful crime reduction. Prevention, on the other hand, appears to hold significant promise *as a complement* to the enforcement approach. We know which kinds of children are at risk. We understand what factors can place them at risk. And we know a good deal about the protective factors—the skills, attitudes, supports and opportunities—that can inoculate them from the dangers of delinquency.

If prevention programs can use this knowledge successfully to address the developmental deficits that lead toward delinquency, they will deliver a significant breakthrough in our nation's struggle against crime. If not, these programs will pour taxpayers' money down the sinkhole of good intentions, validating their critics' warnings.

This chapter examines a broad array of approaches to reduce crime among unincarcerated youth at risk for delinquency: community-wide strategies, behavior management and conflict resolution programs, recreation programs, counseling programs. It also examines a range of other youth-oriented interventions—some targeted to assist high risk families and children generally, others focused on development and rehabilitation of adolescents already involved in crime, and still others targeted to high risk youth but not specifically aimed at delinquency prevention.

This review includes programs that are not based in the criminal justice system. Only by examining such a wide array of programs can this report accurately reflect the youth development focus on averting delinquency that is espoused by many experts. "Programs that adopt a youth development orientation... provide adolescents with the full range of supports necessary for them to prepare for adulthood. Indeed, this is the focus of the 'best'

prevention programs," wrote Shepherd Zeldin and Howard Spivak in a 1993 paper for the Center for Youth Development and Policy Studies. "When the environment engages the adolescent, and provides him or her with appropriate experiences (e.g., sustained adult relations, cooperative activities with peers, high expectations, responsibility, recreation) not only is violent behavior prevented, but the young person is more likely to move successfully toward adulthood."⁶³

Deciphering Prevention's Record

So what is the record of programs falling under this broad prevention umbrella? No unequivocal answer to this question exists as yet. Delinquency prevention programs have never been implemented on a massive scale and many have operated on a shoestring. Many have not been implemented fully or effectively, and few have been subject to careful evaluation.

As recently as 15 or 20 years ago, the consensus on delinquency prevention among leading criminologists held that "nothing works." Looking at rehabilitation programs for juvenile offenders, one widely cited 1974 study found that "with few isolated exceptions, the rehabilitative efforts that have been reported so far have no appreciable effect on recidivism."⁶⁴ Three years later, another scholar concluded: "The blanket assertion that 'nothing works' is an exaggeration, but not by very much."⁶⁵

Since then, however, the conventional wisdom has reversed. "Within the last decade... a number of programs have shown that antisocial behavior can be reduced with preventive interventions," writes Alan Kazdin of Yale University. "Improved results appear to have resulted from better understanding of the emergence of antisocial behavior, implementation of comprehensive and protracted intervention programs, and more careful evaluation of long-term intervention effects."⁶⁶

The Power of Early Intervention. Though most intervention programs lack definitive evaluations and some have shown themselves to be ineffective, a number of prevention models have documented powerful effects either on adolescent delinquency or on pre-delinquent behavior among younger children. By far the most dramatic of these are early interventions aimed at children (and their families) in the first five years of life.

Participants in the Perry Preschool program in Ypsilanti, Michigan proved far less likely to commit crimes than a matched control group, for instance. By age 19, fourteen years after completing this two-year program of developmental preschool and weekly home visits, only 31 percent of participants had ever been arrested—compared to 51 percent of the control group. By the time they turned 27, one-fifth as many Perry participants as control group members had been arrested five or more times (7 percent vs. 35 percent), and one-third as many had been arrested for selling drugs (7 percent vs. 25 percent).⁶⁷

A home visiting and parent development program for low-income families in Houston, Texas, also produced significant results related to delinquency. The program trained mothers to be more affectionate, more responsive, and less punitive toward their newborns. Five to eight years later, program children exhibited less fighting than a control group, and they were less disruptive, less impulsive and less restless—all behaviors with proven links to subsequent criminality.⁶⁸

Likewise, children in the Yale Child Welfare Project showed significantly less aggression, disobedience, lying, and cheating than control youth ten years after their parents took part in a home visiting program that provided parenting skills and job counseling. As in other programs, the benefits of intervention were not limited to delinquency-related behavior. At the 10 year follow-up participating parents were less welfare dependent, better educated, and had fewer children than control parents; youth were less likely to require special education.⁶⁹

In Syracuse, New York, a day care assistance and home visiting program for poor mothers with preschool-age children also produced dramatic results. Longitudinal follow-up found that only 6 percent of children from families participating in the program were ever processed in juvenile court, compared with 22 percent of a randomly assigned control group. Moreover, crimes committed by program participants were far less serious than those committed by control group youth. The average juvenile

justice cost per child for the preschool/home-visiting group was \$186; for control group youth it was \$1,985.⁷⁰

Clearly, prevention can curb crime and delinquency. If programs target high risk children and their parents early in life, and if they provide intensive and extended (two years or more) counseling, education, and parenting assistance via highly skilled youth development professionals, prevention efforts yield powerful reductions in later aggressiveness, delinquency, and criminal behavior.⁷¹

What Works for Older Children and Youth?

But the crime prevention agenda does not begin and end with early childhood. What is the record of other intervention strategies—particularly those aimed directly at adolescent and pre-adolescent youth? Here the record is murkier and more mixed.

In general, prevention programs fall into two types. The first is strictly *preventive*, aimed at the general youth population in a given community. The impact of these efforts is difficult to evaluate. Even if it does help lessen the propensity of teens toward delinquency and violence, most observers would agree that a new youth center or recreation program or 10-day "anger management" unit in the school health curriculum is unlikely on its own to reduce the overall juvenile crime rate. And even if the crime rate does drop, evaluators have no way to discern for certain whether the program or some other factor is responsible.

The second type of program is *intervention*, those efforts aimed at controlling or reversing the problem behavior of particular youth. Their impact is somewhat easier to measure. And, though the vast majority of intervention programs are not evaluated and many evaluations that are undertaken suffer serious methodological flaws, a number of programs have been evaluated thoroughly.

Recently, Mark Lipsey of Vanderbilt University completed a "meta-analysis" aggregating the findings on 443 intervention programs for which solid evaluation data are available. He reported that overall, the programs did decrease the delinquency and recidivism of treated youth—but only by about 10 percent. That is, if before the program youth had a 50-50 risk of future delinquency, their chances, on average, were 45 percent after participating. "The answer to the general question 'Does treatment reduce delinquency?' therefore appears to be 'Yes, on average there is a positive effect,'" Lipsey reported. "But while positive and significant, the mean effect sizes found here appear relatively modest."⁷²

At first glance, this modest impact might lend support skeptics. But a closer examination of the data reveals grounds for substantial optimism. Some types of programs produced large positive effects; others demonstrated no effects or even negative effects. "The best of the treatment types... show delinquency effects of meaningful practical magnitude," Lipsey declared.⁷³

What are the characteristics of effective delinquency prevention programs? How do they differ from ineffective or counterproductive programs? The following pages examine the available evidence. The lessons that emerge are varied and complex. Yet the general finding is straightforward: the consensus today is delinquency prevention programs "can work." In fact, these programs often do work—but only when they are intensive, oriented to youth development, multi-dimensional, carefully designed, effectively implemented, and constantly evaluated with an eye to improving program performance.

Helping Youth Before Trouble Starts

This section examines an array of efforts designed for the general population of youth, including those at risk. These include recreation programs; conflict resolution, mediation, gang prevention and other school-based prevention programs; programs for academic enhancement, dropout prevention, and employment training; plus more comprehensive initiatives tying several of these components into a community-wide youth development/crime prevention strategy.

Recreation and Midnight Hoops

As the battle raged on Capitol Hill in 1994, one line item in the proposed crime bill captured more attention than any other: \$40 million for late night sports leagues. Though this represented only half of one percent of prevention's piece of the bill (and barely one one-thousandth of the entire bill), Republicans made midnight basketball "the Willie Horton of the crime bill."¹¹⁶

The program became a magnet for rhetorical grenades. "Presumably kids are supposed to get out of bed in the middle of the night to go play basketball so they won't get involved in crime," wrote one commentator in the *Wall Street Journal*. "Imagine the conversation between two muggers," suggested pollster Frank Luntz. "One looks at his watch and says to the other, 'Hey it's already 10:30.

We'd better get one more mugging in before the game begins.'"¹¹⁷

Yet before receiving their first dime in federal funding, midnight sports leagues have already spread to dozens of cities all over the nation—often with enthusiastic support and cooperation from local law enforcement officials. While the impact of these leagues has not been formally evaluated, there is evidence that they can indeed reduce crime. The original league—located in Glenarden, Maryland—was launched in 1986 after local officials recognized that most of the town's crime occurred between 10 p.m. and 2 a.m. Glenarden opened its recreational facilities during these hours, and as a condition for participation required the players—young men between 17 and 26—to attend life skills workshops and observe a strict code of conduct. Once the league started, "There was a 60 percent drop in drug-related crime," reports the Prince George's County police chief, David Mitchell. In the Winton Hills section of Cincinnati, public housing residents responded to a crime epidemic by launching late-night and weekend basketball along with other supervised recreation activities. In the program's first 13 weeks, reported crime dropped by 24 percent.¹¹⁸

Advocates of midnight basketball emphasize that their programs are about much more than sports. In Chicago, for instance, applicants to the league must first participate in a month-long "boot camp," then attend mandatory life skills workshops after each game. Any player who gets in trouble with the law is expelled from the league. Despite the fact that many of the 1,200 players who've participated since 1989 have a history of delinquency, only one player has been banished for criminal activity.¹¹⁹

A Columbia University study of Boys & Girls Clubs in public housing projects provides additional evidence that safe and constructive recreational opportunities can lessen crime. The study found that public housing projects containing a Boys & Girls Club had crime rates 13 percent lower than projects without a Club. Prevalence of drug activity is 22 percent lower in projects with a Club, the study found, while crack presence is 25 percent lower. "The influence of Boys & Girls Clubs is manifest in [youths'] involvement in healthy and constructive educational, social and recreational activities," the study concluded. "Relative to their counterparts who do not have access to a Club, these youth are less involved in unhealthy, deviant and dangerous activities."¹²⁰

No reputable expert suggests that recreation alone—at midnight or any other hour—can solve

the urban crime problem. But especially when it is integrated with education, training, and other services, and when it is offered through community-based organizations that provide youth with formal and informal counseling, recreation can help reduce crime.

School-Based Violence Prevention Curricula: Conflict Resolution

Another element of the 1994 crime prevention package is conflict resolution. Along with other short-term, school-based violence prevention curricula, conflict resolution programs have swept the country in recent years and become a standard teaching tool in thousands of middle schools and high schools. Though these curricula have not been damned like midnight basketball, they too are a matter of some controversy.

In the winter of 1993, Johns Hopkins University violence prevention scholar Daniel Webster published an article in the journal, *Health Affairs*, entitled: "The Unconvincing Case for School-Based Conflict Resolution Programs for Adolescents." Despite the fact that he had previously participated in designing and evaluating such programs, Webster pronounced himself "skeptical that existing conflict resolution programs can reduce interpersonal violence."⁹¹

Chances are "remote," Webster wrote, that "adolescent conflict resolution curricula, in the absence of changes in families and communities, will produce significant reductions in serious injuries resulting from violence." Most classroom curricula addressing other adolescent health risks (i.e., substance abuse, teen pregnancy, HIV/AIDS) have not effected substantial or sustained behavior change, he asserted. Webster also cited preliminary evaluations of three high profile conflict resolution curricula—two of which seemed to produce little impact. And Webster reasoned that most existing conflict resolution curricula are developmentally and culturally ill-suited to inner city adolescents and ill-equipped to make a significant impact on youths' behavior.

Reaction to the article was vehement. Four rebuttals appeared in *Health Affairs* condemning the integrity and the accuracy of Webster's analysis. They faulted Webster for equating "absence of evidence" with "evidence of absence," noting that conflict resolution's unproven record is the result of unfinished program evaluations rather than documented program failures. The critics also lashed out at Webster for failing to acknowledge his past affiliation with one of the programs criticized. And they noted that two of the three models reviewed by

Webster have since yielded additional evaluation data—both showing positive impacts on participants' attitudes toward violence and skills in avoiding it.⁹²

Such short-term, self-reported changes may or not translate into reductions in aggressive and violent behavior, however. And in the absence of controlled long-term outcome evaluations, the impact of conflict resolution remains a matter for debate. Webster is not alone in voicing doubts. "School officials are responding [to serious violence by and against adolescent students] by adding violence prevention programs—often a commercially available 'off-the-shelf' package—to their schools' already overcrowded curricula," Marc Posner of the Education Development Center wrote recently in the *Harvard Education Letter*.⁹³ William DeJong of Harvard University added in *Health Affairs* that—like the recreation programs discussed earlier—"school-based education programs alone cannot address the deeply rooted problem of youth violence plaguing our nation... Changing the social norms that sustain violent behavior will require a broad-based effort involving families, the mass media, and entire communities."⁹⁴

"Violence prevention may prove most effective when it is one of a number of services offered as part of a 'full-service school'," Posner suggested.⁹⁵ One program that has taken this message to heart is Resolving Conflicts Creatively (RCC), based in Brooklyn, New York. This year-long program—which now involves 4,000 teachers and 120,000 students in 250 schools—teaches students skills and techniques to resolve conflicts peaceably, encourages teachers to grant students a measure of control in the classroom, and empowers some students as "peer mediators" to find peaceful solutions to classmates' disputes. Aiming to change the overall school environment, RCC provides extensive and ongoing teacher education, and it has begun training parents to lead workshops and involve other parents in the RCC process.⁹⁶

In a 1990 evaluation, 70 percent of participating teachers reported that the program reduced classroom violence and name-calling. Many students, too, said they engaged in fewer fist fights and less name calling following participation. While that evaluation did not measure long-term impacts on students' out-of-school behavior (a more thorough evaluation is in progress) the preliminary results and the RCC's subsequent improvements suggest that this program has significant potential to alter students' attitudes about conflict and their conduct.⁹⁷

Other School-Based Programs. A number of other school-based prevention programs have also shown encouraging if not yet definitive results. Several cities have been offering gang prevention curricula in recent years to dissuade young students from gang participation. In Paramount, California, the local human services department developed a 15-part "Alternatives to Gang Membership" curriculum that its staff delivers each year to fifth grade students. The curriculum which has been replicated in a number of other California communities and in Hawaii, is reinforced by an eight-session follow-up for seventh graders. It also includes parent and community awareness meetings.

A post-program evaluation found that prior to the program 50 percent of the students were undecided about joining a gang; by program's end 90 percent were opposed to joining one. Follow-up studies have found that students continued to report anti-gang attitudes years later, and most say they have not joined a gang. Researchers warn that these data should be taken with a grain of salt, however. "Self reports about gang membership have serious problems," concludes the Education Development Center, as students may be biased by their desire to give the "right" answer.⁹⁸

Peer mediation programs have reportedly reduced the amount of fighting in schools and improved the learning climate. School authorities in Charlotte, North Carolina credit their program with reducing assaults by and against students by 50 percent. A New York-based program has reportedly reduced the number of suspensions for fighting in participating schools by 50-70 percent since it was introduced 10 years ago.⁹⁹ These programs have not been subject to rigorous evaluation, however. "Although peer mediation has intuitive appeal," prevention scholars report, "its efficacy has simply not been determined."¹⁰⁰

Another school-based model is Law-Related Education (LRE). Aspects of LRE have been adopted by schools in at least 40 states. The concept is simple: young people who understand the law and its benefits to them are more likely to respect and obey it. Activities for students in elementary through high school grades include mock trials, interactive classroom exercises, visits to courtrooms, and work in the community with lawyers, judges and police. In one evaluation, ninth-grade students in an LRE course (taught one class period per day for an entire semester) reported significantly less delinquent behavior than those in a control group. It is not clear whether this improvement sustained itself over time, however, or translated into reduced violence in the community.¹⁰¹

Summing Up: School-Based Prevention Curricula. Despite the sharp attacks they leveled against him, none of Webster's critics challenged his contention that: "Brief interventions that are not reinforced outside the immediate training environment cannot be expected to alter difficult-to-change behavior."¹⁰² Posner concluded that "a ten-session prevention course cannot overwhelm the deprivations of a life of poverty or the pressures toward violence in the world outside school."

Yet, "while violence prevention programs are not the solution," Posner continued, "carefully designed, targeted, and implemented programs with good teacher training and technical support can be part of the solution." Webster, too, conceded that "well designed curricula could... be useful components of more comprehensive community-wide strategies that involve parents, community leaders, mass media, advocacy, and law enforcement."¹⁰³

Preparing Youth For Adulthood: Education and Training in High-Risk Communities

Completing an education and making a successful entry into the labor market are critical variables in the delinquency equation. "Prevention of delinquency appears to be embedded in the prevention of school failure," wrote Joy Dryfoos in 1990. "The acquisition of basic skills appears to be a primary component of all prevention."¹⁰⁴ Joblessness, likewise, is frequently cited as a key contributor to crime in depressed communities.

If youth stay in school and learn, and if they are able to make a successful transition from school to work, their chances of succumbing to crime and delinquency will be minimal. Thus, the conventional wisdom suggests, programs to enhance academic achievement and foster gainful employment become central to fulfilling the crime prevention agenda.

But what is the record of education and training programs for at risk youth in reducing delinquency and crime? The answer is at best mixed.

Educational Interventions. On one hand, research finds that education and delinquency are closely intertwined. Two educational variables—poor reading achievement and weak commitment to school—are particularly strong predictors of future delinquency. And early school failure is one of the key early warning signs of future delinquency.

Moreover, several intervention programs for at-risk students have proven successful in redressing

basic skill deficits and promoting school completion. Title I, the federal government's main remedial or compensatory education program for schools serving disadvantaged communities, has been shown to improve participants' reading and math scores by 15-20 percent compared with similar needy youth.¹⁰⁵ Computer-assisted remedial instruction, like that provided in hundreds of learning centers nationwide through the Comprehensive Competencies Program, has generated even more impressive results—boosting achievement test scores by 1.0 grade level in reading and 1.4 grade levels in math for every 28 hours of instruction.¹⁰⁶

To date, however, there is little evidence that academic skills remediation has a direct effect on adolescents' propensity to crime and violence. According to Anne Dryden Witte of Wellesley College and Florida International University, "If education is to have a major crime-reducing impact, it appears that the impact will arise from educational programs' socializing and supervisory roles not from their primary educational activities."¹⁰⁷ In short, youth at-risk for delinquency have a more immediate need for support and discipline than they have for academic skills.

So-called "alternative schools" offer one method for educators to enhance the socialization and supervision of high-risk youth. These programs typically work with a small number of students and provide individual attention, self-paced instruction, peer counseling, leadership training, parental involvement, and a student-centered climate. A study of 17 such programs found that they promoted "greater safety, reduced teacher victimization, and less delinquency."¹⁰⁸

Dropout prevention is another widespread strategy. Most school districts engage in some efforts to promote school completion, often with modest resources and to little effect. But the Ford Foundation-supported Quantum Opportunities Program (QOP) demonstrates the potential impact of intensive and well-conceived dropout prevention. In each of five cities, QOP provided counseling, academic enhancement, life skills instruction, community service projects, and financial incentives to 25 welfare dependent students throughout their high school years. Compared to randomly assigned control groups, QOP participants were 50 percent more likely to graduate high school on time, 150 percent more likely to attend postsecondary schools, and one-third less likely to have children. In addition, QOP participants were almost 50 percent less likely to be arrested during the four years of the program.¹⁰⁹

Probably the most important educational interventions, however, are those that improve the overall environment of entire schools. School restructuring is about much more than delinquency prevention, of course. Yet improving the school environment can be a critical step toward improving youth's attachment to school and their motivation to learn—both critical factors in determining the propensity to crime and violence.

Before James Comer of Yale University initiated fundamental restructuring at Brennan-Rodgers and King elementary schools in New Haven 20 years ago, the schools' achievement levels (two to three years below national norms) were among the city's worst. The student population at the schools was overwhelmingly poor, and more than 50 percent came from welfare dependent families. Comer's process to break the cycle of underachievement included three central components: (1) a new management team, led by the principal and including teachers, parents, counselors and other school staff, was empowered to set overall policy for the school; (2) parental involvement in the school was increased dramatically, with parents being recruited to organize school events and to serve as classroom assistants; and (3) focused intervention was provided for children who displayed emotional, behavioral or academic problems.

The process worked. The schools which once fell at the bottom of New Haven's 33 elementary schools ranked third and fourth best by 1984. Despite the high risk student body, attendance rates at King rose to best in the city in the early '80s. Moreover, reported Comer, "We haven't had a serious behavior problem in the schools we're involved in over a decade." The Comer model has now been replicated in several other cities around the country, also with excellent success.¹¹⁰ And several other school change models have also produced promising results. Though no data have been reported measuring the impact of these impressive school change programs on subsequent delinquency, research shows clearly that early school failure and behavior problems are important precursors to adolescent crime and violence.

Job Training Programs. As the Crime Bill worked its way through the legislative process in 1994, there was initial bipartisan agreement on the need for increased opportunities for job training leading to economic self-sufficiency. Supporters successfully urged that residential boot camps include education and training programs for non-violent youth offenders and that the states model their curriculum after the 30-year-old Job Corps. A neighborhood/community wide "saturation model"—Y.E.S., Youth

Employment and Skills, offering youth employment training coordinated with other essential support services—passed both houses of the Congress. In the frenzied, election-eve struggle over alleged “pork” in the Crime Bill’s conference report, however, Y.E.S. was eliminated.

Despite widespread political support for employment training for youth,¹¹² there are no recent long-term evaluation studies of large-scale and comprehensive interventions such as Job Corps or the newer Youth Fair Chance (Title IV-H of the Job Training Partnership Act), although studies of both are underway.¹¹³

What few evaluations do exist focus on measuring only “earning gains” and are usually for short-term, quick-fix, skills training programs—five months or less in duration. Not surprisingly, evaluations of these short-term programs have not found significant increases in participant earnings or reduced risks of delinquency among adolescents. “The relationship between lack of employment and crime or drug use found among adults does not seem to hold for adolescents,” concludes the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. “Working youth have levels of delinquency and drug use equal to or higher than their nonworking counterparts.”¹¹³ A recent national evaluation of the Job Training Partnership Act also found that participating youth had higher reported arrests than non-JTPA youths in a control group.¹¹⁴

The migration of jobs away from inner city areas has been a key factor in the demise of many communities and the attendant rise in violent crime over the past 30 years.¹¹⁵ Ultimately, reducing crime will depend on far greater availability of good jobs and adequate preparation for well-paying careers. Short-term, narrowly-focused youth employment training programs have not proven to be an effective vehicle for achieving those goals. Broader, developmental, community-wide interventions—advocated by many youth employment experts—have yet to be subject to meaningful evaluation.

Multi-Dimensional, Community-Wide Prevention

The most successful of prevention programs do not fit neatly into a single program category. They are not strictly recreation programs, or conflict resolution, or remedial education or job training. Rather, most programs with impact are multi-dimensional: they intervene simultaneously on several fronts to address participants’ varied needs, tap their hidden potential, provide them individualized attention from caring adults—be they counselors,

coaches, teachers, youth agency staff, or volunteer mentors.

Thus, the best school-based violence prevention programs supplement classroom instruction with outreach to parents and members of the community. Recreation programs affect behavior most when they provide counseling and life skills training as well as sports and arts and crafts. “The use of multicomponent programs is reasonable because many high-risk behaviors and conditions co-occur,” writes Alan Kazdin of Yale University. “Narrowly focused and/or brief programs would not be expected to have significant and enduring impact. Moreover, multiple components may be required to address the many influences (family, peers, media) that may unwittingly promote or contribute to at-risk behavior.”¹¹⁴

Community-Wide Action. In fact, many experts believe that the greatest potential for prevention lies not in any single program, multi-dimensional or otherwise, but in a comprehensive, community-driven continuum of programs—what Hawkins and Catalano have dubbed a “communities that care” strategy. “Because community approaches are likely to involve a broad spectrum of individuals, groups, and organizations, they create a greater base of support for behavior change,” they write. “The community-wide focus creates a unique synergy: the whole is greater than the sum of its parts.”¹¹⁵

A recent study by the Search Institute in Minneapolis demonstrates the crucial contribution of a community’s environment to the delinquency of youth. Investigators interviewed young people and assessed them as “vulnerable”, “average”, or “high-asset” based on their answers to 30 questions about family, school, peers, and personal habits and beliefs. Investigators also rated communities as healthiest, average, or least healthy based on the percentage of 9th-12th grade youth engaged in at-risk behaviors (i.e., tobacco, alcohol, illicit drugs, sex, anti-social behavior, etc.). Though the study looked at primarily white, middle class areas in the Midwest, its findings are instructive: In all community types, vulnerable youth are more likely than other youth to engage in risky or delinquent behaviors. However, vulnerable youth in the healthiest communities are far less apt to engage in at-risk behaviors than vulnerable youth in least healthy communities.

“A healthy community not only benefits youth who already have many assets in their favor, but is particularly powerful in protecting vulnerable youth who have fewer personal assets (such as strong families) in their lives,” the study found. “Schools,

For troubled youth, just as for the general youth population and those more or less at risk, the basic ingredients of effective delinquency prevention are the same: fair and consistent discipline, opportunity for growth and development, and sustained access to caring adults.

churches and synagogues, youth organizations, and the general support of structured activities are clearly influential in shaping a healthy community for youth."⁷⁶

"Rather than simply zooming in on single segments of society," the Search Institute concluded, "it's time to pull back to a wide-angle view and examine how whole communities have an impact on youth, both positively and negatively."⁷⁷

One city that has acted on this belief is Fort Myers, Florida, which used a \$1.7 million federal grant to implement its comprehensive "Success Through Academic and Recreational Support" (STARS) program for high risk youth ages 11-14. The program, developed through a city-wide planning process and involving a dozen public and private agencies, provides a variety of academic enrichment, organized recreation, and other activities. Since STARS began, juvenile crime rates have declined for three consecutive years in Fort Myers—with the overall rate falling by almost one-third. Among 11 and 12 year-old offenders city-wide, the rate of repeat criminal behavior dropped 64.3 percent. For 13 and 14 year-olds the rate dropped 26.3 percent. "As the mayor of a city that totally committed itself to using recreation and academic support as the vehicle for combating violent juvenile crime, I can tell you first hand that it works," said Fort Myers Mayor Wilbur Smith.⁷⁸

As one of seven cities participating in the Texas City Action Plan to Prevent Crime, San Antonio, Texas has also employed a comprehensive, community-wide prevention approach to excellent effect. Its approach includes recreation and academic enrichment for youth in after-school programs, new anti-crime partnerships between community residents and police (including training for city residents in community policing techniques), and new penalties—both for youth *and their parents*—when youth under 17 carry weapons, paint graffiti, or violate a curfew banishing them from the streets during late night or school hours. In the first year after this approach was implemented, San Antonio

saw a 10 percent drop in criminal arrests for juveniles and a 50 percent drop in juvenile victimization."⁷⁹

Incorporating Youth Leadership and Service.

One of the more innovative features of the San Antonio program is a "Leadership Program for Teenage Girls" in eight middle schools. Rather than merely keep youth "off the streets" and "fix" problem behaviors, San Antonio leaders elected to recognize and cultivate young people's desire and capacity to contribute. Their program reflects a growing understanding among prevention and youth development experts that, in the words of Hawkins and Catalano, "children must be provided with opportunities to contribute to their community, their school, their family and their peers."⁸⁰

Another demonstration of this philosophy comes in the National Crime Prevention Council's "Teens, Crime, and the Community" (TCC) program, in which youth learn crime prevention techniques and apply the knowledge in community service projects addressing crime problems in their schools and neighborhoods. An evaluation of the program found that in addition to providing valuable service to their communities, participating youth know more about how to avoid becoming crime victims and are less likely to exhibit attitudes associated with delinquent behavior or to associate with delinquent peers.⁸¹

Probably the nation's most widespread teen community service initiative is "Youth As Resources" (YAR), developed and administered by the National Crime Prevention Council. Forty-five thousand youth participated in 39 YAR programs between 1987 and 1993, including many from high risk as well as middle class neighborhoods. Among youth residing in juvenile detention or foster care settings who participate in YAR, 91 percent report that they feel proud or very proud of their efforts, and 87 percent feel that they have helped someone or something.⁸² "Research is clear that a sound sense of self-esteem is a key to averting self-destructive behaviors like delinquency and drug use," writes National Crime Prevention Council executive director, Jack Calhoun.⁸³ "If there's one thing kids in the treatment system... have in common," Calhoun says, "it's that they don't feel they have anything to contribute."⁸⁴

Another impressive group of programs employs a "teen empowerment" model to attack the problems of urban crime directly. These programs rely on paid youth organizers—including many from high risk backgrounds—to sponsor events and activities for other neighborhood youths and engage their peers in a process to address common concerns. When it was first developed in Somerville, Massachusetts in

the 1970s, Teen Empowerment was credited by local police with helping to reduce crime rates. The model has since been replicated in nine other Massachusetts communities, as well as a 15-site city-wide initiative in Louisville, Kentucky.⁶⁵

In April 1994, Teen Empowerment youth organized and ran a day-long "peace conference" for 600 youth in Boston's South End area where gang members and other feuding youth agreed to resolve lingering disputes. In August 1994, 200 youth and adults—including members of rival gangs—joined in a Teen Empowerment peace march.⁶⁶ Though Teen Empowerment has not been evaluated formally, its impact is widely appreciated. Commenting on former Boston Mayor Raymond Flynn's choice to cut funding for Teen Empowerment in the late 1980s, the *Boston Globe* editorialized that the city "lost valuable years in identifying and training those neighborhood adolescents who are best able to exert positive social control over their peers... The South End-based nonprofit Teen Empowerment organization... remains an untapped resource."⁶⁷

As a multi-agency federal task force on violence concluded in January 1994, "Quite simply, the problems of youth violence and high-risk behavior will never be solved without the leadership and active involvement of young people themselves."⁶⁸

Coupling Youth Initiatives with Community Policing. Perhaps the most impressive crime prevention demonstrations to date have been in cities—like San Antonio—that incorporate youth-oriented prevention programs into larger community-driven anti-crime initiatives. Lansing, Michigan reduced crime by 60 percent in two troubled neighborhoods after opening a "neighborhood network center" led jointly by a community police officer and representatives of a social service agency and local schools. Initially, the effort focused on coordinating responses to drug dealing, vandalism, truancy, open consumption of alcohol, feuding among families, and child abuse. An extensive youth program soon became central to the initiative—beginning with a club for ten boys in the 5th grade, then expanding to girls and involving both the Boy and Girl Scouts of America and Big Brothers/Big Sisters. Also, the Neighborhood Network Center frequently supervises delinquent Lansing youth sentenced to community service—helping them develop work skills and build a sense of community ownership and attachment.⁶⁹

In Norfolk, Virginia, the Police Assisted Community Enforcement program (PACE) likewise forged a new partnership between community police, human service agencies, and local citizens to serve

six troubled public housing projects and four other high crime neighborhoods. Athletic leagues were formed to give young people the opportunity to participate in team sports, and a Norfolk Youth Forum was organized to provide opportunity for 250 high school students to speak out and propose solutions to community problems that affect them. Through these youth efforts, combined with stepped up community-aided law enforcement and enhanced social services, PACE led to a 29 percent drop in crime in the 10 targeted neighborhoods and a citywide reduction in violent crime.⁷⁰

Summing Up: The Case for Prevention

While more and more communities throughout America are launching comprehensive, jurisdiction-wide strategies to promote prevention, successes like those in Norfolk, Lansing, San Antonio and Fort Myers are not yet the norm in crime prevention.

Rather, youth-oriented prevention efforts have produced a mixed bag of results. Experience shows that some prevention programs work well and really do seem to reduce crime and delinquency. Others reduce problem behaviors in the short-term but may or may not result in reduced criminality over time. Still other programs simply don't work—producing no immediate or long-term reduction in delinquent conduct.

Given the deep psychological and sociological roots of delinquency, and given the large and heterogeneous target population served by underfunded prevention programs, these mixed results are hardly surprising. Prevention is no piece of cake.

But in light of the tremendous economic and social costs our nation is liable to incur by proceeding only with law-and-order approaches to crime, the many promising efforts presented here provide more than sufficient testimony to prevention's potential. A concerted national effort to build on and replicate effective prevention models would seem an excellent investment.

Treating Troubled Youth

This section examines targeted interventions for youth already exhibiting problem behaviors, including shock incarceration, individual and group counseling, outdoor adventures, behavioral and attitudinal training, and family-based interventions. It also reviews a variety of developmental and rehabilitative treatments and dispositions for already convicted juvenile offenders.

rehabilitative treatments and dispositions for already convicted juvenile offenders.

Prevention can work. By engaging children and their families early in life to set them on a trajectory toward healthy development, by providing recreational and educational opportunities tied to caring adults in prosocial environments, by teaching conflict resolution, mediation, and other social skills and tying these skills into the context of youths' every day lives, and by linking these efforts together in comprehensive community partnerships against crime, prevention programs are finding ways to help keep kids out of trouble.

But on their own, these initiatives are not sufficient. "It is unlikely that primary prevention will be unequivocally successful across the full range of at-risk behaviors and conditions that contribute to aggression," writes Yale's Alan Kazdin.¹¹⁶

"A significant disadvantage of primary prevention programs is that they typically consist of a uniform intervention provided to all members of a given population," explain University of Illinois at Chicago prevention scholars Tolan and Guerra, writing with Rodney Hammond of Wright State University. "The general orientation and short duration of most programs suggests that they may have only limited impact on changing the behavior of more serious and chronically violent youth," Guerra, Tolan and Hammond conclude. "It is likely that such programs are most beneficial for adolescents who display milder forms of age-typical aggressive and antisocial behavior."¹¹⁷

Given the great danger to public safety posed by a small number of seriously violent children and youth, targeted interventions are also required to help (or push) high risk youth off of the pathway to chronic crime and violence. "It is unlikely that youth who have progressed from childhood aggression to more serious and habitual adolescent violence will respond to broad-based educational and/or social development programs," write Guerra, Tolan and Hammond. Treatment programs, on the other hand, "target those individuals who should benefit most from the services. Not only are overall costs reduced, but programs can be tailored more specifically to the needs of the targeted group."¹¹⁸

What works and doesn't work in the treatment of aggressive and delinquent behavior among youth? The record reveals several clear findings—both for and against the use of specific treatment approaches.

Family Therapy and Parental Skills Training

Interventions focused on the family systems of problem youth have proved a powerful weapon for addressing delinquent and aggressive conduct. Several family-oriented treatment strategies have demonstrated strong and lasting positive effects on even highly disturbed youth. As the Office of Technology Assessment reports, "Several studies have shown that, in the short term, family systems approaches cut recidivism rates by half in comparison with more traditional forms of psychotherapy... and no-treatment comparison groups and have a greater impact on child and family functioning than other types of therapy."¹¹⁹

Functional Family Therapy is one model with proven results. This approach aims to identify unhealthy patterns of interaction within the family, then provide family members remedial instruction in communication, negotiation, problem-solving, and other family management skills. In a carefully controlled study, functional family therapy (FFT) lowered the recidivism rates of delinquent youth up to 18 months after treatment, while siblings of treated youth showed significantly lower rates of delinquency two and one-half years after treatment.¹²⁰ FFT also showed positive results working with 30 chronic adolescent offenders with an average record of 20 prior offenses each. After being treated with FFT, 40 percent were not subsequently charged with a criminal offense, compared with only 7 percent of a matched sample of chronic offenders receiving traditional treatment.¹²¹

Parent Management Training is another model that has documented strong effects. One experiment training the parents of 3-8 year-old children with conduct problems yielded significant improvements in child behavior in comparison with control group youth, and the changes had persisted one year after treatment. Overall, 67 to 78 percent of the children whose parents received the training returned to a normal range of behavior.¹²² Other studies have also documented the effectiveness of parent training.

While most research has focused on younger children ages 3-12, recent studies have found parent training effective with older adolescents as well. In one study working with parents of 55 boys (mean age 14) who had committed at least two offenses, youth in the treatment group committed significantly fewer offenses than control group youth during the treatment year and spent significantly fewer days incarcerated during both the treatment year and the following year.¹²³

family therapy and parent training are combined with assistance to help families address practical problems. The reported results are dramatic: In one study, youths receiving MST were arrested about two-thirds as often as control group youth, and MST youths spent an average of 73 fewer days incarcerated than control youths in the 59 weeks after referral to the program. Overall, 38 percent of the MST youth were arrested following treatment, compared with 58 percent of youth receiving conventional services.¹⁴⁵

"There is clear evidence that family-targeted interventions that focus on improving parent behavior management skills, promoting emotional cohesion within the family, and aiding family problem solving are effective," Tolan and Guerra conclude. "[Family treatment] has the most evidence for effectiveness [of any treatment modality]."¹⁴⁶

Cognitive and Behavioral Skills Training

If family therapies have "the most evidence" of effectiveness of any approach for treating delinquency, then cognitive and behavioral skills training ranks second.

Psychological research has found that aggressive and delinquent youth typically display thought patterns far different than other youth. As Kazdin

It is as if we were providing expensive ambulances at the bottom of a cliff to pick up the youngsters who fall off, rather than building a fence at the top of the cliff to keep them from falling off in the first place.

—Hawkins and Catalano

explains, "Aggression is not merely triggered by environmental events, but rather by the way in which these events are perceived and processed."¹⁴⁷

Delinquents tend to be deficient in identifying nonviolent solutions to conflict situations and foreseeing the consequences of violent actions. They tend to act impulsively, unable to control anger and other emotions. In many ambiguous social situations, they attribute hostile intentions when none is intended. Many delinquent and trouble-prone youth also hold attitudes and beliefs justifying the use of aggression; many derive self-esteem and improve their self-images through aggressive behavior.¹⁴⁸

In recent years, a host of programs has been developed and tested to redress these gaps in social problem-solving skills. Several approaches have documented positive crime-prevention effects.

One method is *social perspective-taking*, in which delinquent youth are asked to develop, act out and critique skits related to real-life conflict situations. In one study of social perspective-taking conducted in the early 1970s, 45 serious juvenile offenders met in small groups three hours per day over ten weeks. Compared with control groups, these youth improved their social perspective skills and significantly reduced recidivism for up to 18 months after treatment.¹⁴⁹

A closely related method is *moral reasoning training*. Here, too, the effects have been positive. "Behavior disordered" 7th through 10th grade students who were randomly assigned to weekly small group discussions about moral dilemma situations received fewer disciplinary actions and had fewer police contacts than similar students assigned to a control group. Treatment and control youth continued to diverge one year after the program was completed.¹⁵⁰

Another often-used strategy is *anger management* or self-control training, but here the research evidence is less conclusive. Since 1983 Arnold Goldstein and his colleagues in Syracuse, New York have been developing, testing and packaging for replication a process called "Aggression Replacement Training" (ART). In a 1989 monograph they presented data finding that ART dramatically reduced the recidivism of youth recently released from detention.¹⁵¹ However, a 1994 research review by Tolan and Guerra dismisses these findings and complains instead that "the evaluation of its effects has been minimal and results are not promising in terms of reductions in aggressive and violent behavior."¹⁵²

Social problem-solving typically combines several cognitive/behavioral skill training techniques. In a 1987 study by Kazdin and colleagues, 7-13 year-old children hospitalized for uncontrolled aggression and antisocial behavior were trained by therapists to apply prosocial skills in their interpersonal interactions. Compared to children receiving conventional psychotherapy or simple play therapy, these children showed significant behavioral improvements.¹⁵³

In a number of studies with institutionalized delinquents, social problem-solving programs have reduced criminal conduct. After youthful offenders and their parents in one study were trained in interpersonal and problem-solving skills, recidivism

reduced criminal conduct. After youthful offenders and their parents in one study were trained in interpersonal and problem-solving skills, recidivism rates dropped to barely half those of a control group (24.3 percent versus 42.7 percent), and those who did recidivate committed less serious offenses than did recidivating control youth.¹³³

Tolan and Guerra attribute these successes to the programs' broad scope: "The efficacy of social problem-solving programs may be tied to the fact that they typically are more comprehensive in scope than other cognitive interventions and frequently include training in self-control, anger management, perspective-taking, and attitude change."¹³⁴

Shock Incarceration

The most popular approach in recent times for straightening out wayward youth has been "shock incarceration," better known as boot camps. Since the first correctional boot camp opened in Oklahoma in November 1983, the idea has spread like a wild fire. Today, 30 states and 10 localities operate boot camps, as does the federal government.¹³⁵

"Born in the first wave of official desperation over booming prison populations in the 1970's and early 80's, boot camps were supposed to take young criminals, most of them first-time offenders who were engaged in nonviolent acts like burglary and drug dealing, and shock them back into good behavior," explains the *New York Times*. "Several months of tough treatment, of minute-by-minute supervision by uncompromising drill instructors, would instill discipline and a desire never to repeat the experience or, perhaps worse yet, be sentenced to a regular prison."¹³⁶

Unfortunately, the strategy does not work. Outcome research has consistently found that the recidivism rates of boot camp graduates are no better than those of convicts sentenced to traditional prisons. Doris MacKenzie and Claire Souryal of the University of Maryland recently completed the most comprehensive study to date, evaluating the boot camp programs of eight states. "The impact of boot camp programs on offender recidivism is at best negligible," they found.

Despite these chilling results, boot camps have retained their popularity among lawmakers, fueled by countless newspaper and television accounts "in which heavily perspiring, straining lawbreakers are endlessly drilled, routinely shouted at and unequivocally required to undertake drug and alcohol rehabilitation, do schoolwork and perform labor like highway cleanup."¹³⁷ But however photogenic and politically appealing, boot camps cannot es-

cape their disappointing record. As the MacKenzie study concluded: If success is measured in terms of recidivism alone, there is little evidence that the in-prison phase of boot camp programs have been successful.¹³⁸

Boot camps' apparent failure echoes the experience of another popular intervention for young, first-time offenders: "Scared Straight." In that program, rather than being subjected to the rigors of intensive physical training at the hands of a drill sergeant, young first-time offenders were berated by adult convicts with the realities of prison life. Evaluations of Scared Straight found that the program actually increased the recidivism of participating youth.¹³⁹

From all evidence, it appears that juvenile offenders cannot be shocked into abiding the law; they cannot be scared straight. Scare-oriented programs "create more delinquency than they cure, says criminologist Mark Lipsey. "The idea of taking an acting-out adolescent and giving him a role model for verbal abuse and macho behavior seems to me a poor strategy."¹⁴⁰

"No one should delude themselves that this boot camp, military drill instruction alone is going to straighten everybody out," New York State Assemblyman Daniel Feldman told the *New York Times*. "I thought it would. A lot of us thought it would. But it doesn't."¹⁴¹

Psychotherapy and Other Counseling

"Individual psychotherapy has traditionally been a cornerstone of rehabilitative efforts with delinquent youth," report Guerra, Tolan and Hammond.¹⁴² Yet, research has not found psychotherapy an effective strategy for reducing delinquent behavior. "When the treatment goals are global and vague (such as self-awareness) and when the treatment description is similarly nonspecific and extremely brief (such as providing a warm relationship with the therapist and helping the delinquent achieve insight into his/her behavior), reductions in subsequent delinquent behavior are rarely achieved," report Donald Gordon and Jack Arbuthnot of Ohio University.¹⁴³

In many cases, psychotherapy is offered in conjunction with "social casework." In effect, troubled youth are assigned a social worker who both provides counseling and coordinates whatever social services might be required. According to Tolan and Guerra: "Although this approach is a mainstay of juvenile justice and social services, the literature indicates that it is not effective in preventing or mitigating serious antisocial and violent behavior,

trouble-prone youth—both in schools to reinforce attendance, academic achievement and good classroom behavior, and by juvenile justice programs to reward positive behavior among youth in detention or on probation.

Research finds that these efforts often produce positive results in the short term. Yet, as Gordon and Arbuthnot conclude, "Very few of the studies demonstrating successful behavior change have shown reductions in recidivism, long-term maintenance of behavior change, or generalization across different settings. Thus the individual behavioral approaches offer only limited promises and directions."¹³⁴ Tolan and Guerra reach a similar conclusion: "One of the most common problems with clinic-based behavior modification programs has been that treatment effects do not persist over time after reinforcement contingencies are withdrawn, and often there is a lack of generalization of the results across settings."¹³⁵

In one experiment where behavioral techniques were applied in a community setting, results *did* persist over time. In this program, chronic delinquents were paid by street-corner workers to participate in discussions intended to recruit them out of gangs and into more positive activities. Over the course of one year, participating offenders were only one-half as likely as the control group to be arrested, and three years after the intervention participants had significantly fewer arrests and had spent significantly less time incarcerated than the control group.¹³⁶

Peer Group Counseling. Another set of delinquency treatments has focused on shifting peer group norms and recruiting at-risk adolescents away from deviant groups. The results have been mostly disappointing. Probably the most widespread approach to peer counseling has been a daily discussion group process called Guided Group Interaction (GGI). Evaluations in community-based treatment settings and juvenile institutions have found GGI ineffective, while for participating high school students GGI has actually worsened behavior—increasing lateness, "waywardness," and self-reported delinquent behavior compared with a no-treatment control group.¹³⁷

One community-based treatment program has used peer group counseling successfully, but only when problem adolescents are grouped together with non-antisocial peers. In this "St. Louis Experiment," youth referred by schools and courts for behavioral problems were placed in activity and counseling groups. Some included only referred youth; others mixed referred youth with non-re-

ferred peers. Evaluators found that antisocial behavior decreased almost twice as much in the integrated groups as the delinquent-only groups—though even the integrated groups did not yield significant improvements in behavior or lawfulness over a no treatment control group.¹³⁸

The record of interventions to recruit at-risk adolescents away from youth gangs or to influence gang members toward less antisocial activity is less clear. What evidence exists is not promising, however. In one study, 800 gang members were treated to athletic and social events and provided academic tutoring. Perhaps because these activities increased the amount of time gang members spent together, the intervention actually led to more criminal behavior. "Although gangs have been identified as a significant factor in adolescent violence," Tolan and Guerra report, "very few data have supported the efficacy of interventions aimed at redirecting gang activities or reducing recruitment of new gang members."¹³⁹

Two multi-dimensional preventive treatment programs, both involving schools, warrant mention. The first randomly assigned problem 7th graders in an urban school to treatment and control conditions. Over a two-year period, treated children received a broad battery of school-based supports, including daily monitoring, structured reinforcement for good behavior, biweekly teacher consultations, and periodic meetings with parents. At the end of the two years, treated youth showed significantly better grades and school attendance than control youth. A year later treatment youth had significantly lower rates of self-reported delinquent behavior. Five years after program completion, by which time they averaged 19.5 years of age, treatment youth had committed fewer delinquent and criminal offenses than control youth.¹⁴⁰

The second noteworthy intervention is the Positive Adolescent Choices Training (PACT) program for high-risk African American adolescents. In a recent study, researchers randomly assigned 169 adolescents to treatment and control groups, then provided treatment youth 20 one-hour training sessions on negotiation, compromise, and giving and taking criticism calmly. The program also used a series of culturally sensitive videotapes on anger management. Three years after the training, just 17.6 percent of PACT youth had been referred to juvenile court, compared with 48.7 percent of control youth. Of those referred, PACT youth were less likely than controls to be charged with a violent offense.¹⁴¹

Rehabilitating Juvenile Offenders

By most people's definition, programs to rehabilitate youthful offenders are not "prevention." But the fact remains, selecting the proper punishment or other disposition is one of society's best opportunities to influence the conduct of young offenders.

Each year approximately 700,000 youth are sentenced to juvenile correctional facilities, and the population of juveniles serving time in adult prisons is almost 500,000.¹⁵⁸ Recidivism rates for youth leaving juvenile facilities hover as high as 70 percent in some states.¹⁵⁹ Thus, today's incarcerated juveniles look very much like tomorrow's criminals.

Just as important are the juvenile offenders not held in custody. More than half of the million-plus youth referred to juvenile court each year are never charged with an offense. Most are referred for minor delinquent offenses. Instead of being charged these nonpetitioned youth are either dismissed (49 percent), placed on probation (29 percent), or ordered to some other disposition (22 percent). Likewise, many youth who are charged in juvenile court are never tried. Even a majority who are tried end up with probation or an alternative (non-prison) disposition. Overall, just 9 percent of youth referred to juvenile courts are sentenced to a detention facility.¹⁶⁰

Providing meaningful supervision and effective treatment before these unincarcerated delinquents lapse into serious criminality represents a further opportunity for prevention—perhaps the last best chance both to protect the public and save young lives. Unfortunately, in most cases, this opportunity is being missed.

Diversion and Other Treatments for Unincarcerated Juvenile Offenders

"The juvenile justice system is based on the notions that juveniles are more capable of reform and less responsible for their actions than adults," writes the Office of Technology Assessment. "Consequently, the concept of retribution and punishment might be expected to be less pronounced in the juvenile justice system than it is in the adult criminal justice system."¹⁶¹

True to this philosophy, so-called "diversion" programs have long been a key element of juvenile justice. By their nature, these programs have several immediate benefits: they save taxpayers the heavy cost of housing youth in correctional facilities; they

protect youth from the stigma of a juvenile record; they allow youth to remain in school (and possibly work as well); and they shield youth from exposure to a large population of deviant and delinquent adolescent peers.

Diversion programs also have potential to offer one more benefit as important as all the others combined: the opportunity to provide delinquent youth the types of effective treatments detailed in this report—family interventions, carefully designed cognitive skills training, and the like. Unfortunately, research shows that historically, this opportunity has been foregone far more often than not.

Several past studies have found that, as a whole, diversion programs have not reduced the recidivism of delinquent youth. One study examined 44 diversion programs reported on between 1967 and 1983. They employed a wide variety of treatment techniques, including group psychotherapy, casework, behavior therapy, individual psychotherapy, and educational/vocational guidance. The investigators reported that for these programs "diversion interventions produce no effects." A study of four federally-funded diversion projects from the same period—these providing individual or group counseling plus access to other services—revealed that the projects were no more effective in stemming delinquent behavior than either court processing or release.¹⁶²

Many scholars believe that the concept is sound but that only its implementation has fallen short. "Most programs have provided some type of vaguely-formulated, non-specific services, rather than theoretically-driven and solidly-developed interventions," explain Guerra, Tolan and Hammond. "Perhaps the most critical feature of any intervention, the guiding rationale, has been virtually overlooked."¹⁶³

These scholars point to a number of more recent, better-formulated diversion programs that *have* significantly reduced delinquent behavior among diverted youth. One carefully evaluated 18-week

There is clear evidence that family-targeted interventions that focus on improving parent behavior management skills, promoting emotional cohesion within the family, and aiding family problem solving are effective,.... [Family treatment] has the most evidence for effectiveness [of any treatment modality].

—Tolan and Guerra

diversion program provided delinquent youth intensive contact (6-8 hours per week) with college student volunteers trained and supervised by graduate students under the guidance of university faculty. Participants in the program had lower arrest rates than comparable control group youth as long as two years after program completion. These results have been replicated in several studies, and Kazdin concludes that this model "represents a viable and well-replicated intervention for reducing the severity of dysfunction in youths apprehended for offenses."¹⁶⁴

Another program, "Family Ties" in New York City, has found noteworthy success with nonviolent delinquents referred from juvenile courts. Over an intensive 4-8 week intervention period, program counselors (called "family preservationists") train youths in social problem solving and anger management skills, provide parenting assistance, monitor youths' school attendance and performance, and broker a range of other public services for both the youths and their families. A June 1993 program evaluation found that eight in ten program participants remained uninvolved in the juvenile justice system six months after treatment. Re-arrest, re-conviction and reincarceration rates for program youth were less than half those in a comparison group.¹⁶⁵

In addition to diversion, several other approaches to treating unincarcerated delinquents have also had a positive impact. One promising strategy is restitution, where youthful offenders are ordered either to repay their victims directly or perform a specified period of service to the community. A study of restitution in Utah found that "recidivism is significantly lower when restitution is included in the disposition of juvenile cases." This positive impact held for informal (non-adjudicated) cases as well as formal court-ordered probation decrees.¹⁶⁶

Youth sentenced to intensive probation in lieu of incarceration have been found to have recidivism rates roughly equal to their peers who are incarcerated, and the crimes committed by probation youth who reoffend are typically less serious than those committed by formerly incarcerated youth. Yet the cost of intensive supervision (\$26 per day) is less than one-third the \$88.54 per day cost of a juvenile jail commitment.¹⁶⁷ When probation officers in Bucks County, Pennsylvania were relocated to work directly in schools, the academic performance of probation youth improved 22 percent and absenteeism dropped 29 percent. The number of in-school and out-of-school suspensions declined dramatically.¹⁶⁸

For serious delinquents (with a mean of 18 prior offenses including 11.5 felonies), the Florida Environmental Institute (FEI) provides an intensive 18-month rehabilitation program based in the Florida Everglades. The program includes four phases: a 3-5 day outdoor orientation experience, an initial phase of work projects and education while youth sleep in a non-air conditioned military-style dormitory; a second phase where they move to an air-conditioned, military-style dormitory with television and begin to earn money toward restitution or savings; and a final phase of intensive after-care in the youths' home communities. Evaluations find that FEI participants have far lower recidivism rates than youth assigned to training schools (45 percent versus 60 percent), even though 80 percent of the training school youth have criminal records less serious than the FEI participants.¹⁶⁹

Another promising (but controversial) approach, "VisionQuest," offers a year-long series of outdoor adventures as an alternative to traditional incarceration. The controversy emanated from allegations of tough treatment of youth at the hands of program staff combined with injuries suffered by youth during storms and other emergencies. An independent evaluation by the RAND Corporation found that VisionQuest participants—delinquent youth from San Diego with a mean age of 16.3 years and an average of 8.4 prior arrests—had a lower recidivism rate (55 percent) than youth serving time in a San Diego County work camp (71 percent), sentenced to California Youth Authority training schools (88 percent), or released into community treatment programs (68 percent).¹⁷⁰

Community vs. Institutional Detention

The final piece of the delinquency prevention puzzle involves reducing the future criminality of the million-plus youth who are in custody. For youth who have already amassed a long record of serious and violent offending, rehabilitation may not be a realistic goal. For them, if they are not locked away for life under a "three strikes and you're out" laws, the only hope may be that they will mature out of their violence, as many do as they grow older.

But the striking fact is that only a small proportion of youth serving in juvenile or adult detention have been convicted of violent crimes. According to a recent study examining the juvenile corrections systems of 28 states, only 14 percent of new admissions to juvenile corrections were youth convicted of serious violent crimes. Over half the youth in custody were committed for property or drug crimes

and were experiencing their first confinement to a state institution.¹⁷¹ Even among youthful offenders sentenced to adult prisons, only 38 percent were convicted of crimes against persons (as opposed to property or drug crimes), and not all of these involved the threat or use of serious violence.¹⁷²

Given the high per capita costs of juvenile incarceration and the alarming recidivism rates, such extensive detention of nonviolent youth may well be counterproductive. In fact, Massachusetts leaders' decided just that in 1972 when they closed the states' juvenile training schools and replaced them with a continuum of community-based programs offering a full spectrum of care as well as aftercare—some secured with locked doors and guards, others not.

Today, Massachusetts reserves its secure treatment beds mainly for a relatively small number of chronic violent offenders; they are confined there for an average of 8-12 months. After that period, these youth can be transferred to community-based programs so long as they abide by explicit "conditions of liberty." For juvenile offenders without a record of chronic violence, the stay in secure confinement is generally shorter before transfer to one of a range of a non-secure community treatment facilities. Misconduct by these youth can result in transfer either to a guarded facility or a more structured community program.

This less restrictive approach to juvenile detention, often combined with restitution, has not led to higher crime. Less than 1 percent of persons arrested in the state are youth in the care of the juvenile justice system, and recidivism rates of Massachusetts juvenile offenders are as low as or lower than those of most other states. More telling, Massachusetts' overall juvenile crime rate remains one of the lowest in the nation.¹⁷³ Meanwhile, the states' costs to provide this structured, community-based treatment system are estimated to be \$11 million less those of operating correctional training schools.¹⁷⁴

Though the Massachusetts juvenile justice system experienced some difficulties in the early 1990s due to budget cuts and overcrowding,¹⁷⁵ several states (Utah, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Texas, Florida, Oklahoma, and others) have begun to follow Massachusetts' lead and close their training schools. Preliminary data indicates that they too are experiencing lower recidivism and juvenile crime.¹⁷⁶

In a recent report, Michael Jones and Barry Krisberg of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency listed the ingredients required for effective treatment of violent youth in custody: continuous case management, close attention to the

home and community environment, clear and consistent consequences for misconduct, enriched academic and vocational programming, and family and personal counseling matched to the particular needs of the adolescent.¹⁷⁷

The similarities between that list and the characteristics of programs that have proven successful with other delinquent youth are striking. For troubled youth, just as for the general youth population and those more or less at risk, the basic ingredients of effective delinquency prevention are the same: fair and consistent discipline, opportunity for growth and development, and sustained access to caring adults.

Toward the Future

The preceding pages have highlighted the promise of many emerging or established strategies to curb the criminality of young people. Their promise is real. It represents the best hope for America to combat the persistent curse of violence and crime.

These pages have also documented the failure of several prevention strategies and treatment programs to limit adolescent misconduct. That fact should not be minimized.

"Although many programs have demonstrated positive impact," Kazdin writes, "several humbling exceptions are available in prevention research in general where programs have not worked or have demonstrated deleterious effects."¹⁷⁸ In fact, though the state of the art in prevention advanced considerably in recent years, many delinquency prevention efforts have been strung together on limited budgets by individuals unaware of emerging findings in prevention research and lacking both the funding and the inclination to evaluate their programs rigorously.

"Well-intentioned efforts are being applied to many children and adolescents without any indication of their effects," explain Tolan and Guerra. "It is usually hard to imagine that a good idea put into action by well meaning and enlightened people cannot help... Also, given that adolescent violence is such an injurious social problem, it may seem that any effort is better than nothing. Yet our review and several of the more long-term and sophisticated analyses suggest that both of these assumptions may be dangerously wrong... Evaluation is urgently needed to help us sort out what is helpful, what is harmless but ineffective, and what will actually make the problem worse,"¹⁷⁹ they conclude.

This issue ought not dampen enthusiasm for the cause of prevention. Rather, it only underscores the

fact that, time and again, the prevention and intervention strategies that have proved successful are carefully tailored, informed by research, and effectively implemented. "We believe the key to real progress in adolescent violence is to obtain a solid empirical base," Tolan and Guerra argue. "This need for an empirical base does not imply that action should wait. The need for research is so urgent *because* there currently are so many programs affecting so many adolescents, families, schools, and communities at such large cost and operating under the aura of much promise."¹⁸⁰

Violence in America is an epidemic. But unlike other public health emergencies, there has been no national commitment to research its causes and cures. In 1993, the National Research Council estimated that federal funding for research on violence totalled only \$20 million per year—just \$31 for each year of life lost due to violence. That compares to \$794 spent on cancer research for each year of life lost, \$441 for research on cardiovascular diseases, and \$697 for research on AIDS.¹⁸¹

Careful design, rigorous implementation, and continuous refinement of delinquency prevention and treatment programs, combined with sound evaluation and research, offers America's brightest hope to contain the crime epidemic and perhaps even begin to bring it under control.

Notes

*** Less intensive early childhood interventions have not demonstrated long-term impacts, however. Head Start programs—which generally last only one year and are taught by less skilled instructors than the Perry Preschool program—have shown substantial immediate impacts on intellectual and social developments, but long-term evaluations find that these effects do not sustain themselves over time. (Source: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, *Impact of Head Start on Children, Families, and Communities: Head Start Synthesis Project*, 1985.)

**** For example, see the Appendix for a National League of Cities survey of municipal leaders that gives high priority to employment training for youth.

***** A Job Corps evaluation using data from the 1970s found a 15 percent earnings gain, "significant reduction in serious (felony) crime," a large increase in GED attainment, doubled college enrollment, and a social benefits return of \$1.46 per dollar invested. Cited in U. S. Department of Labor, Office of the Chief Economist, *What's Working (and What's Not)* (Washington, D.C., January 1995). ✓

...politics aside, can a national crime strategy based solely on increased incarceration—coupled with other "law and order" remedies like the death penalty and widespread waivers to try juvenile offenders as adults—make a significant dent in the American crime problem? A hard look at the criminological evidence suggests the answer is no.

Conclusion

Perhaps the greatest irony of the current furor over crime is that in absolute terms, crime rates have not been at an historic high in the 1990s. Overall crime rates have continued to decline from their all-time record in 1981, and violent crime—though rising in recent years—remains below the records set in 1981. The percentage of American households victimized by crime in 1992 was the lowest since that measure was introduced in 1975.¹⁸²

This is not to say that the nation's crime problem isn't serious—or growing more worrisome in important respects. Increasingly, the victims of violent crime in America are youth. While the nation's overall homicide rate has held steady in recent years, the number of teenagers murdered has soared—more than doubling since 1988.¹⁸³ Murder is now the leading cause of death among black males ages 15-24, and it is the second leading cause of death among white males 15 and 24.¹⁸⁴

Contrary to popular perception, this alarming trend is not due to a substantial increase in the number of violent acts committed by youth. According to Delbert Elliott, "About the same proportion of youth are committing serious violent offenses today as in 1980 and their frequency of offending is approximately the same." The difference today is that "violent acts are more lethal," Elliott finds. "And this dramatic increase in lethality is explained almost entirely by the increased use of handguns in these violent exchanges."¹⁸⁵

In a recent survey by the National Institute of Justice, 22 percent of inner city high school students reported owning a gun, and two to three times that many reported that a family member or a friend owned one.¹⁸⁶ This widespread availability of firearms has had dramatic effects: the number of murders by juveniles using guns jumped 79 percent in the past decade, and nearly three of every four murders by 10-17 year-olds now involve firearms.¹⁸⁷ As one reporter explained, "An assault by a young thug that might have produced bruises 10 years ago is more likely to result in a gunshot wound or death—and consequently and arrest—today."¹⁸⁸

The availability of firearms is beyond the scope of this report, of course. So too is the rampant violence in movies and on television that contributes directly to violent and antisocial attitudes and behavior by youthful viewers.

Yet these issues ought not be ignored completely in a thoughtful review of the crime problem, because they illustrate once more a central truth about crime: The propensity of individuals to commit violent and antisocial offenses—and the likelihood that each of us will be victimized—depends on much more than law enforcement and criminal justice.

Effective policing and a competent and sure criminal justice system are essential to public safety. Whole communities must be engaged with police in identifying and apprehending chronic criminals. And serious violent offenders, particularly, must be locked away for long stretches. Yet the evidence is clear: On their own, these law and order efforts stand little chance of sparing Americans the anxiety of suffering with the developed world's highest violent crime rates.

The environment that surrounds youth—the family, school, community, and media influences that help shape them in childhood, the presence or lack of sustained guidance from caring adults, the availability of positive recreational, educational, and developmental opportunities—are also crucial in determining whether young people remain on the right side of the law.

For the most part, young people do not avoid crime from fear of punishment, for the most part. They avoid crime out of respect for themselves, concern for others, a belief in the future prospects and an internal sense of personal and public morality. Developing this internalized morality, fostering in young people the skills and the will to avoid crime, is the business of the whole community and the key to youth-oriented crime prevention.

In some detail, this report has reviewed the effectiveness of many prevention approaches. Both among preventive programs for the general youth population and more targeted treatments for youth already engaged in delinquent or trouble-making behaviors, it has found substantial grounds for optimism. Many strategies show considerable promise to reduce crime.

Research and evaluation must play a central role in the development of prevention programs and systems. Program outcomes must be continually monitored to ensure that our efforts are doing some more good than harm, and to tailor and re-tailor

efforts to the specific needs of their target populations.

At the national level, we should undertake an extensive research program to refine knowledge about what works, why, and for whom? Much remains to be learned about effective crime prevention. Available evidence suggests that indiscriminate expenditures do little good. But we do know enough to move forward—and certainly the need is urgent.

The time has come for America to use its second arm in the struggle for safety, to provide the criminal justice the support it needs to combat crime effectively. Prevention is that other arm.

Research Notes

1. *Congressional Record*, August 12, 1994, p.S11390.
2. *Congressional Record*, August 11, 1994, p.H7945.
3. Elliott, Delbert S., "Serious Violent Offenders: Onset, Development, Course, and Termination—the American Society of Criminology 1993 Presidential Address," *Criminology*, vol. 32, no. 1, 1994 and Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Crime in the United States 1993; Uniform Crime Reports*, (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, 1994).
4. Hechinger, Fred, "Saving Youth From Violence," *Carnegie Quarterly*, Winter 1994, p.2.
5. "Comprehensive Strategy for Serious, Violent, and Chronic Juvenile Offenders," U.S. Department of Justice Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, December 1993, pp.5-6 and F.B.I. *Uniform Crime Reports 1993*.
6. National Youth Survey, cited in Elliott, Delbert S., "Youth Violence: an Overview," Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence, University of Colorado, March 1994; and Elliott, Delbert S., "Serious Violent Offenders..."
7. Elliott, "Youth Violence," and Office of Technology Assessment, *Adolescent Health, Volume II: Background and the Effectiveness of Prevention and Treatment Services*, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, November 1991), p.596.
8. Sampson, Robert J. and Charles Laub, *Crime in the Making: Pathways and Turning Points Through Life* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), p.11.
9. Slaby, Ronald G., "Development of Psychology Mediators of Violence in Urban Youth," in *Inner City Life Contributions to Violence*, J. McCord (Ed.), prepublication copy, (New York: Oxford University Press, in press).
10. For discussion of developmental pathways to violence, see Huizinga, David, Rolf Loeber, and Terence P. Thornberry, *Urban Delinquency and Substance Abuse: Initial Findings*, U.S. Department of Justice Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, March 1994; Elliott, "Serious Violent Offenders"; Office of Technology Assessment, *Adolescent Health*; and Slaby, "Development of Psychological Mediators..."
11. Cited in Sampson and Laub, p.11.
12. Dryfoos, Joy G., *Adolescents At Risk: Prevalence and Prevention* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp.38-39.
13. Study by McCord (1983), cited in Wright, Kevin N. and Karen E. Wright, *Family Life, Delinquency, and Crime: A Policymaker's Guide*, U.S. Department of Justice Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, May 1994, p.18.
14. Wright and Wright, p.19.
15. Office of Technology Assessment, p.605.
16. Brian Minty, cited in Wright & Wright, p.13.
17. Anderson, Elijah, "The Code of the Streets," *Atlantic*, May 1994.
18. Howell, James C. "Recent Gang Research: Program and Policy Implications," *Crime and Delinquency*, October 1994.
19. Elliott, "Youth Violence."
20. Huizinga, Loeber, and Thornberry, p.16.
21. Elliott, "Youth Violence."
22. Thornberry, Terence P., Melanie Moore, and R.L. Christenson, "The Effect of Dropping Out of High School on Subsequent Criminal Behavior," *Criminology*, vol. 23, no. 5, 1985.
23. Slaby, "Development of Psychological Mediators...", p.25.
24. Office of Technology Assessment, p.616.
25. Hawkins, David J., and Richard Catalano, *Communities that Care: Risk-Focused Prevention Using the Social Development Strategy*, (Seattle, WA: Developmental Research and Programs, Inc., 1993.)
26. Slaby, "Development of Psychological Mediators," pp.22-
27. Hawkins and Catalano.
28. *Congressional Record*, August 11, 1994, p.H7942.
29. *Congressional Record*, August 11, 1994, p.H7950.
30. *Congressional Record*, August 12, 1994, p.S11391.
31. *Ibid.*
32. Petersilia, Joan, "Crime and Punishment in California: Full Cells, Empty Pockets, and Questionable Benefits," *CPS Brief* (Berkeley: California Policy Seminar), May 1993.
33. Cited in Petersilia, p.7.
34. *Congressional Record*, August 11, 1994, p.H7959.
35. Petersilia, p.7.
36. Cited in Petersilia, p.7.
37. Roth, Jeffrey A., "Understanding and Preventing Violence," *Research in Brief*, National Institute of Justice, February 1994, p.5.
38. *Ibid.*
39. Petersilia, p.9.
40. Anderson, pp.86,88.
41. Petersilia, p.9.
42. Anderson.
43. Glazer, Sarah, "Juvenile Justice: Should Violent Youths Get Tougher Punishments?" *CQ Researcher*, February 25, 1994, p.172.
44. Roth, p.5.
45. Petersilia, p.8.
46. *Ibid.*, p.10.
47. Glazer, p.174.
48. Petersilia, p.8.
49. *Ibid.*, p.10.
50. Sampson and Laub, p.255.
51. Cheatwood, Derral, "Capital Punishment and the Deterrence of Violent Crime in Comparable Communities," *Criminal Justice Review*, vol. 18, no. 2, August 1993.
52. Office of Technology Assessment, p.634; and Jones, Michael A., and Barry Krisberg, *Images and Reality: Juvenile Crime, Youth Violence, and Public Policy*, (San Francisco, CA: National Council on Crime and Delinquency, June 1994), p.32.
53. Jones and Krisberg, p.26.
54. Glazer, pp.176-177.
55. Jones and Krisberg, p.26.
56. *Ibid.*, p.32.
57. Data from the Corrections Compendium. Telephone conversation with the author.
58. Petersilia, p.11.
59. Hawkins and Catalano.
60. American Psychological Association Commission on Violence and Youth, *Violence and Youth: Psychology's Response*, Vol. I (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 1993), p.14.
61. Zeldin, Shepherd and Howard Spivak, *Violence Prevention and Youth Development: Implications for Medical Clinicians and Community Health Organizations* (Washington, DC: Academy for Educational Development, 1993), p.10.
62. Martinson, cited in Lipsey, Mark W., "Juvenile Delinquency Treatment: A Meta-Analytic Inquiry into the Variability of Effects," *Meta-Analyses for Explanation*, T. Cook et al., eds. (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1992), p.84.
63. Greenberg, cited in Lipsey, *ibid.*
64. Kazdin, Alan E., "Interventions for Aggressive and Anti-Social Children," in *Reason to Hope: A Psychosocial Perspective on Violence and Youth*, L.D. Eron, J.H. Gentry, and P. Schlegel (Eds.) (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 1994), p.353.
65. High/Scope Educational Research Foundation, *Significant Benefits: The High/Scope Perry Preschool Study Through Age 27*, (Ypsilanti, MI: 1993).

66. Study cited in Yoshikawa, Hirokazu, "Prevention as Cumulative Protection: Effects of Early Family Support and Education on Chronic Delinquency and its Risks," *Psychological Bulletin*, vol. 115, no. 1, 1994, pp.28-54.
67. Cited in Yoshikawa, *ibid.*
68. Yoshikawa; and McDonald, Gregory J., "Reducing Youth Violence: Coordinating Federal Efforts and Early Intervention Strategies Could Help," testimony before the Committee on Government Affairs, U.S. Senate, March 31, 1992.
69. Lipsey, p.97.
70. *Ibid.*, p.123.
71. Vanneman, Alan, "Anatomy of a Mugging: How the Right Wing Made Midnight Basketball the Willie Horton of the Crime Bill," *Youth Today*, November/December 1990, pp.40+.
72. Quotations cited in Vanneman.
73. *Beyond Fun and Games: Emerging Roles of Public Recreation* (Arlington, VA: National Recreation and Parks Association, 1994), p.15.
74. Callahan, Tom, "The Game Starts at Midnight," *Parade Magazine*, April 10, 1994, pp.17-18.
75. Shinke, Peter P., Mario A. Orlandi, and Kristin C. Cole, "Boys & Girls Clubs in Public Housing Developments: Prevention Services for Youth at Risk," *Journal of Community Psychology*, OSAP Special Issue, 1992.
76. Webster, Daniel W., "The Unconvincing Case for School-Based Conflict Resolution Programs for Adolescents," *Health Affairs*, Winter 1993, pp.126-141.
77. "Peer Review," in *Health Affairs*, Fall 1994, pp.163-177.
78. Posner, Marc, "Research Raises Troubling Questions About Violence Prevention Programs," *Harvard Education Letter*, May/June 1994, p.1.
79. "Peer Review," in *Health Affairs*, p.163.
80. Posner, p.3.
81. DeJong, William, "School-Based Violence Prevention: From the Peaceable School to the Peaceable Neighborhood," *Forum*, National Institute for Dispute Resolution, no. 25, Spring 1994, pp.8-13.
82. "Resolving Conflicts Creatively Program: 1988-1989," Summary of Significant Findings (New York: Metis Associates, Inc., May 1990).
83. Wilson-Brewer, Renee, Stu Cohen, Lydia O'Donnell and Irene F. Goodman, *Violence Prevention for Young Adolescents: A Survey of the State of the Art* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, September 1991), pp.28-30.
84. Hechinger, p.7.
85. Tolan, Patrick and Nancy Guerra, *What Works in Reducing Adolescent Violence: An Empirical Review of the Field* (Boulder, CO: Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence, July 1994), p.33.
86. Dryfoos, p.136.
87. Webster, p.138.
88. Posner, pp.3-4.
89. Dryfoos, pp. 235-236.
90. Berlin, Gordon and Andrew Sum, *Toward a More Perfect Union: Basic Skills, Poor Families, and Our Economic Future* (New York: Ford Foundation, 1988), p.43.
91. *Ibid.*, p.48.
92. Witte, Ann Dryden, *Social Benefits of Education: Crime* (draft), paper prepared for conference on Social Benefits of Education: Can They Be Measured? U.S. Department of Education Office of Research, 8-9 September 1994, p.32.
93. Dryfoos, p.139.
94. Hahn, Andrew, with Tom Leavitt and Paul Aaron, *Evaluation of the Quantum Opportunities Program (QOP): Did the Program Work?* (Waltham, MA: Center for Human Resources, Brandeis University, June 1994).
95. Dryfoos, p.205; and Lincoln, Carol and Richard Mendel, *Guiding Children to Success: What Schools and Communities Can Do*, companion publication to the telecast, "Making the American Dream Work for Our Children: A New Vision of School Guidance" (Columbia, SC: South Carolina Educational Television, 1990), pp.1,2.
96. Huizinga, Loeber, and Thornberry, p.19.
97. Witte, p.10.
98. Wilson, William Julius, *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.)
99. Kazdin, p.367.
100. Hawkins and Catalano.
101. Blyth, Dale A. with Eugene C. Roehlkepartain, *Healthy Communities, Healthy Youth: How Communities Contribute to Positive Youth Development*, (Minneapolis, MN: Search Institute, 1993), p.5.
102. *Ibid.*
103. *Beyond Fun and Games*, pp.21-23.
104. "T-CAP RECAP," National Crime Prevention Council, Summer 1994; additional data provided by Theresa Kelly, NCP.
105. Hawkins and Catalano.
106. *Youth In Service*, Bulletin of the National Teens, Crime, and Community Program (Washington, DC: National Crime Prevention Council, September 1994); additional program information provided by Theresa Kelly, NCP.
107. Information on Youth As Resources, including data from the 1992 evaluation conducted by PSL and Associates, Inc., provided by David Yates, NCP.
108. Calhoun, Jack, "An Invitation to Adult Citizenship," *Baltimore Sun*, February 9, 1993.
109. Calhoun, John A., "Youth As Resources in the Fight Against Drugs," *National Civic Review*, November/December 1990, p.490.
110. Interview with Stanley Pollack, Founder and Executive Director, Center for the Development of Teen Empowerment Programs.
111. Gorov, Lynda, "600 City Youth Seek End to Violence," *Boston Globe*, May 1, 1994; and Comandini, Michele, "South End Rivals March to Fight Gang Violence," *Boston Globe*, August 28, 1994.
112. "The Bonds of Youth to Community," (editorial) *Boston Globe*, June 12, 1994.
113. Edelman, Peter, Philip Heymann, and Madelaine Kunin, "Report to the President and the Domestic Policy Council from the Interdepartmental Working Group on Violence," January 1994, p.45.
114. Cronin, Roberta, *Innovative Community Partnerships: Working Together for Change*, U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, May 1994, pp.11-18.
115. *Ibid.*, pp.18-25.
116. Kazdin, p.372.
117. Guerra, Nancy G., Patrick H. Tolan, and W. Rodney Hammond, "Prevention and Treatment of Adolescent Violence," in *Reason to Hope: A Psychosocial Perspective on Violence and Youth*, (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 1994), pp.385-88.
118. *Ibid.*, pp.386,389.
119. Office of Technology Assessment, p.637.
120. Studies by Alexander, Parsons, and Klein (1973, 1977), cited in Kazdin, pp.364.
121. Study by Barton *et al.* (1985), cited in Guerra, Tolan, and Hammond, p.398.
122. Study by Webster-Stratton, Kolpacoff, and Hollingsworth (1988), cited in Kazdin, pp.362-63.
123. Study by Marlowe *et al.* (1986), cited in Gordon and Arbuthnot, p.309.
124. Henggeler, Scott W., Gary B. Melton, and Smith, "Family Preservation Using Multisystemic Therapy: An Effective Alternative to Incarcerating Serious Juvenile Offenders," *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, vol.60, no. 6, 1992, pp.953-961.
125. Tolan and Guerra, p.48-49.
126. Kazdin, p.360.

127. Guerra, Nancy G. and Ronald G. Slaby, "Cognitive Mediators of Violence in Adolescent Offenders," *Developmental Psychology*, vol. 26, no.2, 1990, pp.269-270.
128. Study by Chandler (1973), cited in Guerra, Tolan, and Hammond, p.396.
129. Study by Arbuthnot and Gordon (1986), cited in Tolan and Guerra, p.19.
130. Goldstein, Arnold P., Barry Glick, Mary Jane Irwin, Claudia Pask-McCartney, and Ibrahim Rubama, *Reducing Delinquency: Intervention in the Community* (New York: Pergamon Press, 1989).
131. Study by Collingwood and Genthner (1980), cited in Gordon and Arbuthnot, p.298.
132. Tolan and Guerra, p.22.
133. Described in Kazdin, p.361.
134. Tolan and Guerra, p.20.
135. Nossiter, Adam, "As Boot Camps for Criminals Multiply, Skepticism Grows," *New York Times*, December 18, 1993, pp.1,9.
136. *Ibid.*
137. Nossiter.
138. MacKenzie, Doris L. and Claire Souryal, *Multisite Evaluation of Shock Incarceration*, Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice, November 1994, p.30.
139. Lipsy, pp.123-124.
140. Cited in Glazer, p.175.
141. Fisher, Ian, "Prison Boot Camps Prove No Sure Cure," *New York Times*, April 10, 1994, pp.37,43.
142. Guerra, Tolan, and Hammond, p.395.
143. Gordon, Donald A., "Individual, Group, and Family Interventions," *Handbook of Juvenile Delinquency*, Herbert C. Quay, ed. (New York: Wiley, 1987), pp.294-295.
144. Tolan and Guerra, pp. 24, 15.
145. Gordon and Arbuthnot, p.295.
146. Tolan and Guerra, p.16.
147. Studies by Schwitzel *et al.* (1964), cited in Tolan and Guerra, p.17.
148. Tolan and Guerra, p.31.
149. Study by Feldman (1992), cited in Tolan and Guerra, pp.31-32.
150. Tolan and Guerra, pp.32-33.
151. Studies by Bry and George (1979, 1980, 1982), cited in Kazdin, pp.355-56.
152. Guerra, Tolan, and Hammond, p.390.
153. Office of Technology Assessment, p.629.
154. Krisberg, Barry, James Austin, and Patricia A. Steele, *Unlocking Juvenile Corrections* (San Francisco, CA: National Crime Prevention Council, 1989), p.19.
155. Data cited in Office of Technology Assessment, p.627.
156. Office of Technology Assessment, p.632.
157. Studies by Gensheimer *et al.* (1986) and Dunford, Osgood, and Weichselbaum (1982), cited in Guerra, Tolan, and Hammond, pp.392.
158. Guerra, Tolan, and Hammond, p.392.
159. Studies by Davidson and colleagues (1987, 1988), cited in Kazdin, p.357.
160. Collier, Walter V. and Robert H. Hill, *Family Ties Intensive Family Preservation Services Program: An Evaluation Report*, New York City Department of Juvenile Justice, June 1993.
161. Butts, Jeffrey A. and Howard N. Snyder, "Restitution and Juvenile Recidivism," U.S. Department of Justice Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, September 1992.
162. Office of Technology Assessment, p.637.
163. Sillery, Jack, "Bucks County School-Based Probation Project," *PCCD Quarterly*, Pennsylvania Commission on Crime & Delinquency, vol. 8, no. 2, Spring/Summer 1994.
164. Weaver, Robert S., "The Last Chance Ranch: The Florida Environmental Institute Program for Chronic and Violent Juvenile Offenders," *Programs for Serious and Violent Juvenile Offenders*, (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Regents, November 1989), pp.27-39.
165. Greenwood, Peter W. and Susan Turner, *The VisionQuest Program: An Evaluation*, Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, November 1987.
166. Jones and Krisberg, p.27.
167. *Ibid.*, p.33.
168. Krisberg, Austin, and Steele.
169. Jones and Krisberg, p.44.
170. Flynn, Sean, "Juvenile Justice in Massachusetts: Model or Mess?," *Youth Today*, January/February 1995, p.40.
171. Krisberg, Austin, and Steele.
172. Jones and Krisberg, p.39.
173. Kazdin, p.358.
174. Tolan and Guerra, p.54.
175. *Ibid.*, pp.53-54.
176. Tolan and Guerra, pp.61-62.
177. Broder, David S., "Crime Scare," *Washington Post*, January 26, 1994.
178. Elliott, "Youth Violence."
179. Wilson-Brewer, Cohen, O'Donnell, and Goodman, p.2.
180. Elliott, "Youth Violence."
181. Sheley, Joseph F., and James D. Wright, "Gun Acquisition and Possession in Selected Juvenile Samples," *Research in Brief*, National Institute of Justice, December 1993.
182. Glazer, p.171.
183. *Ibid.*, p.172.

Midnight Hoops Survives Congress, Opens Season

■ BY DAVID STEINHART
YOUTH TODAY Correspondent

"You mess with the referee, you're out of the program. You fight, you're out. You got to show respect for what we're doing here."

This is Larry Gray, co-commissioner of the San Francisco Chapter of the National Association of Midnight Basketball Leagues (NAMBL), addressing fifty young black men at the Ella Hill Hutch Community Center. The Center, with its gym and full-length basketball court, is the site for the midnight hoops program in the City's Western Addition, next to a low-income housing project.

Tonight marks the beginning of the local season. Six teams, already drafted by lot from a pool of applicants, will compete over a season lasting nine weeks. The players, young African American men aged 17 to 25, all come from the local community. Tonight they will play in three contests, running from 10 p.m. to two in the morning. One of the league requirements is that everyone plays in every game, "even the fat kid who wheezes up and down the court," says one of the coaches.

The games have a professional look. Uniforms and equipment are supplied by the program. Two referees in zebra stripes call every game. The refs are trained in the rules of the game, first aid and CPR. There are lighted scoreboards, timekeepers and NBA buzzers.

In recent months, midnight hoops has become both symbol and scapegoat for youth crime prevention efforts throughout the nation. But the NAMBL isn't upset by the publicity. "We are not an anti-crime organization," says Stan Hébert, the Association's executive director. "We are pro-youth and pro-community."

How can midnight basketball reduce youth crime? First of all, it keeps teens off the street and out of trouble during peak crime hours. But there is more to midnight hoops than playing ball — much more. For each hour of play, participants spend a mandatory hour in workshops. The workshops cover a range of self-improvement topics such as job development, drug and alcohol use, safe sex, GED preparation and college requirements, and conflict resolution training. And every youth joining the program has to sign and abide by the Player Code of Conduct (see page 33).

The local commissioners of the Midnight Basketball League are firm about the rules: you miss a workshop without an excuse, you don't play. In the first orientation session, the young men groan

and chafe at the requirements. They are here to play basketball, not to go to school. Larry, the commissioner, demands: "Take your hats off and show us some respect." Baseball hats are everywhere, on sideways, backwards and frontways. There are protests, but the hats come off. It is clear that the rules will be obeyed because these young men want to play ball.

Local sponsors of the leagues include some big corporate names: McDonald's, Nestle, GAP and NIKE, among others. Some offer jobs to graduating players. Robert Hector, co-commissioner of the San Francisco chapter, points proudly to jobs he has filled for youth in the program at McDonald's and the GAP. In most cases, chapters also have strong support from local government. Some cities make their high school gymnasiums available for the program. In Oakland, unionized school custodians donate their time to supervise and clean the facilities on league nights.

Personal Crusade

Community improvement was a priority for the founder of the Midnight Basketball League. The League grew as the personal crusade of G. Van Standifer, town manager of Glenarden, Md. — an urban renewal site for black families in the 1950s. By the 1980s, Standifer was distressed to see crime rates rising and a whole generation of young black men going through the criminal justice system. He started a local midnight basketball league as an alternative to gangs and violence, eventually spreading the concept to other states. After Standifer's death in 1992, the family carried on. Today Standifer's son Nelson, 35, runs the Maryland program and his brother Eric, 39, serves as President of the NAMBL, headquartered in Oakland, California. The league now operates at 49 sites, called "chapters," in 17 states, Washington, DC and Puerto Rico.

Back in San Francisco on opening day, October 11, 1994, it is nearly midnight. Ten young men are streaking up and down the court in a close contest, calling signals, putting on their best moves. There is a galvanizing intensity about the game; these youths are focused on playing and winning. A crowd of about 75 watches; they are mostly quiet and riveted on the action. "The word gets out and the crowds get bigger later in the season," says Hébert. "We'll get three hundred watching a game in Oakland — friends, girlfriends, parents, all staying past midnight. Some of the girlfriends dress up for games. It gets pretty loud, with cussing and screaming all around."

The League has taken steps to avoid



President George Bush with the late G. Van Standifer, founder of Midnight Basketball, back in 1991, when the program was a Point of Light rather than a threat to the republic.

conversion of this enthusiasm into violence. Says Hébert, "some of these guys think they're Michael Jordan but they're really more like Mike Tyson." Two uniformed officers are at every game. On this night in San Francisco, there are cops in the gym and cops in the parking lot outside. But there are no metal detectors, no searches and no sense of surveillance. Twenty or so kids mill about outside, waiting for their game; the atmosphere is friendly and devoid of confrontation. Hébert says that fights are few and far between. The worst incident he can recall is when an Oakland youth accidentally shot himself while getting out of a car and putting his gun away.

Hébert attributes good behavior to the broad popularity and support among neighbors for the midnight leagues. "These games have a high entertainment value in the community. In many of these neighborhoods, movie theaters and other night spots have closed down. Where else can these kids go and perform in front of an audience? Where else can these neighbors gather to watch a free sporting event?" In fact, the rules are adjusted to maximize the pace of the games. Zone

defenses are not allowed, and the clock does not stop for free-throws.

Even with the attention showered on Midnight Basketball during the crime bill debate, funding for the league remains a year-to-year challenge. Each of the 49 chapters has to raise its own budget from local sources to keep going. The national organization, operating on a budget of less than \$200,000 per year, is still searching for funds to develop new sites and to ensure that local chapters meet the league's standards for play and for youth development. Hébert seems genuinely surprised that some members of Congress picked on his program during the crime debate. After all, he notes, even George Bush loved Midnight Basketball. In 1991, Bush went the Hyattsville, Maryland program to anoint it as one of his "thousand points of light." "Here," reporters quoted Bush, "everybody wins. Some may get better at basketball, but everyone gets a better shot at life."

Contact: National Association of Midnight Basketball Leagues, 1980 Mountain Blvd., Suite 214, Oakland, CA 94611; 501/339-1272, FAX 510/339-2864, Stan Hébert.

Photo Courtesy: National Association of Midnight Basketball Leagues