NEIGHBORHOOD AND DELINQUENCY: RESIDENT MOBILIZATION AND THE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF YOUTH

Readings from
the Neighborhood Crime Prevention Component of
the Violent Juvenile Offender Research and
Development Program

Final Report:
Grant 85-MU-AX-C001

September 1988

Submitted to:

National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention
Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention
U.S. Department of Justice
Washington DC

Submitted by:

The URSA Institute
San Francisco, California

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Neighborhood Crime Prevention Program was part of the Violent Juvenile Offender Research and Development Program, an effort that unfolded in the early part of this decade and continued through 1986. Its birth was due to the concerted efforts of people from all walks of life, working together toward shared goals of neighborhoods where poverty, crime, and hopelessness could be defeated. The burden of translating the vision of neighbors working together to address the causes of juvenile violence by their children fell to a dedicated core of neighborhood-based organizations and volunteers from the surrounding areas. These organizations received grants which were small relative to the tasks at hand, and were asked to execute a complex program plan to strengthen the formal and informal social institutions which comprise the fabric of their neighborhoods.

There were few paid staff, and the salaries were minimal. Volunteers contributed not just their time and efforts, for these residents themselves often faced poverty and the demands of caring for children. One lesson we learned was the limits of voluntary work for people for whom participation was more than a sacrifice. Nevertheless, they learned and mastered new skills -- the skills of survey research, analysis of crime problems, action planning, political and social advocacy, and youth work. They devised strategies to tackle social problems whose origins dated back to migration patterns which began over a century ago and the economic changes which have transformed American cities in the past 25 years. They mobilized residents to conduct surveys door to door with their neighbors, mediate disputes between gangs and stand between warring gangs, lobby schools and child welfare agencies, and to create opportunities for neighborhood youths to participate in mainstream social routines. They attended endless organizing meetings to urge their neighbors to join in these efforts, and spent countless hours analyzing data and designing strategies to begin the change process. The fruits of their efforts are described in the second chapter of this volume, and the knowledge generated by their efforts is reflected in the other chapters.

We are grateful for their efforts. The neighborhood organizations were: The Northwest Bronx Community-Clergy Coalition, the Belafonte TACOLCY Youth Services in Miami, FL., St. Marks Community Center in the Treme neighborhood of New Orleans, the West Dallas Community Centers, the Better Boys Foundation of Chicago, the Black and Chicano Federations of San Diego, and SEY YES of Los Angeles. The staffs who worked on this effort supported neighborhood efforts through training residents in organizing tactics, data collection and analysis, and planning for action. Robert Brown, Robert Coates, Bonnie Wood, and Julia Phillips devised the training strategies and worked with the groups to bring these ideas to reality. The research team also worked with the neighborhood groups, and provided the tools and training for residents to analyze and tackle the problems that beset their youths and neighborhoods. This team included Jeffrey Fagan, James Deslonde (1943-1987), Edward Campana, Patricia Kelly, and Michael Jang. Yu-Teh Cheng designed the data analysis systems which translated surveys into information for strategy development at all the sites. Barbara Tatem Kelley, Frank Smith, Pamela Swain and Douglas Dodge of OJJDP provided leadership for the program through rough waters over a lengthy implementation period.

JF

September 1988

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

In the 1970s, urban communities witnessed a revival of interest in the role of neighborhood groups in crime prevention. Residents of neighborhoods with high rates of serous and violent crime, or where residents have the greatest fear of crime, increasingly became involved in community problem-solving approaches to reduce crime. The involvement of neighborhood residents in responses to crime draws on a longstanding tradition which ties community life to crime.

Under federal sponsorship, these responses ranged from neighborhood block watches to marking of property and even citizen surveillance of known or suspected offenders. Of interest here is the mobilization of neighborhood residents and volunteers, through indigenous leadership, to solve their own problems. However, such "target-hardening" approaches focused on short-term solutions to the reduction of crime. They tended to view neighborhood organizations as enhancements to the traditional law enforcement mission, where citizens were asked to "help out" in the police fight against crime. Thus, community crime prevention programs, while calling for citizen participation and innovative approaches, limited community involvement to a small set of proscribed activities aimed at deterring criminal activity in their neighborhoods.

Unfortunately, these approaches were only partially successful, for three reasons. First, because prevention activities were limited, citizen involvement and resident mobilization were neither sustained nor accepted as a community norm. Second, resident groups tended to view crime as one part of a complex set of neighborhood problems. This perspective conflicted with the more limited focus of "traditional" crime prevention strategies. Dan Lewis, in *Reactions to Crime*, called this the "victimization" perspective, where concern is directed away from *why* people commit crimes and toward specific behaviors and the environments which spawn them. The goals and methods of early federal crime prevention programs incorporated this perspective. A consequence of this conflict was the dissipation of resident interest and involvement. Third, these short-term strategies were successful while they lasted, but were not designed to address other interrelated neighborhood problems which gave rise to crime and delinquency. Once the federally funded prevention funds were withdrawn, the problems returned, together with the fear and indignation of neighborhood residents

In the 1980s, community crime prevention returned to the classical analyses of the relationship of neighborhood and crime. This perspective, which had been eclipsed by the dominant victimization perspective of the 1960s and 1970s, offers a unique contribution which blends the short-term goals of crime control with the longer-term goals of social control and the integration of neighborhood residents with their social institutions. This perspective originated in Chicago in the 1920s. Clifford Shaw found that the greatest concentration of delinquents occurred in areas of marked social disorganization. Writing in 1925, he noted that:

> . . . in the process of city growth, the neighborhood organizations, cultural institutions and social standards in practically all of the areas adjacent to the central business district and the major industrial centers are subject to rapid change and disorganization. The gradual invasion of these areas by industry and commerce, the continuous movement of the older residents out of the area and the influx of newer groups, the confusion of many divergent cultural standards, the economic insecurity of the families, all combine to render difficult the development of a stable and efficient neighborhood organization for the education and control of the child and the suppression of lawlessness*

The neighborhood studies of Shaw and his associates documented the association between social disorganization and crime, and gave rise to the Chicago Area Project. While there is a strong suspicion that the informal social control through neighborhood cohesion promoted by CAP reduces delinquency or the fear of crime, the evidence is slim. Nevertheless, public policy for the prevention of violent crime by young people has turned once again to the practical lessons of the 40 years of experience of CAP.

The Violent Juvenile Offender Research and Development Program tested the theories and principles of CAP in contemporary urban America. In the tradition of CAP, neighborhood residents mobilized under indigenous leadership to pursue both short- and long-term solutions to violent delinquency. The VJO programs not only worked to stop violent juvenile crime through crisis intervention, but they also strove to strengthen neighborhood socializing institutions and thereby rebuild local social control for youth in the neighborhood. These efforts to enhance neighborhood integration were expected to provide a more positive socialization for youth and reduce a child's chance of becoming delinquent.

---

*National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, *Report on the Causes of Crime*, Vol. 2, No. 13 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1931), p. 387.

Unlike previous community crime control programs, the strategies to achieve these goals were not proscribed. Rather, the programs worked with schools, employers, churches, justice system agencies, and other social institutions to create a neighborhood environment where institutional responses contributed to positive social integration and development. The VJO program analyzed the contribution of these institutional responses to reductions in serious and violent delinquency in target neighborhoods.

A central activity in the program was the analysis, targeting and strategizing by neighborhood organizations of key socializing institutions. By following a rigorous crime analysis system and action-planning model, the VJO programs identified the issues and problems in each social institution, determined objectives for improving the responses of these institutions, and planned strategies to influence these institutional behaviors. This process was repeated three times annually, as conditions changed and new problems and solutions were identified. The overall goal was to improve social development for youth and thereby reduce violent delinquency.

This volume is a compendium of the knowledge developed through the research and development effort. Throughout the course of the program, the information developed through the programs' survey and data collection efforts was analyzed and returned to the neighborhood-based organizations. It provided the basis for the development of their action plans and strategies to reduce violent juvenile crime and strengthen formal and informal social controls in their neighborhoods. However, it also provided a unique body of empirical knowledge from to examine and understand the dynamic social processes within inner city neighborhoods with high juvenile crime rates. The conceptual framework for the program emphasized the ecological effects of relative deprivation and social isolation of inner city neighborhoods, and the effects of this isolation on the social controls which shaped youth behaviors.

Accordingly, data collection and analysis efforts specifically focused on each of these sources of influence on neighborhood and youths. Information was gathered on the social and economic conditions that isolated these neighborhoods from the cities that surrounded them. Surveys with adult residents and youths showed how the neighborhoods and its social institutions and controls were perceived. The social development of youths was analyzed to determine how the outcomes of these socialization processes effected delinquency and other youth behaviors.

The papers in this compendium summarize the knowledge developed by examining these processes among a sample of the nation's most troubled neighborhoods--the Northwest Bronx, the Treme neighborhood in New Orleans, Liberty City in Miami, West Dallas, the west side of Chicago, South-Central Los Angeles, South Phoenix, and University and Logan Heights in San Diego. Within each area, neighborhood groups surveyed samples of residents, youths in high schools and those who had dropped out, and gang members to gauge their perceptions of their social areas and to estimate the extent and seriousness of the juvenile crime problem. Volunteers also collected data from schools, economic data, and criminal justice system indicators to further understand and pinpoint the sources of juvenile crime. Each of the papers in this volume offer perspectives on the interaction of these factors as they contribute to the problems of violent juvenile crime and social development in inner city areas.

The first paper is an historical analysis of the origins of this prevention program, dating back to the early efforts in this century to show how social disorganization in interstitial areas of cities were fertile ground for delinquency, and natural targets for prevention efforts. Historically, the paper shows how thinking about prevention has come full circle since the early days of the Chicago Area Project, through prevention efforts which emphasized social work or mental health approaches, and later to deterrent tactics such as "target hardening" and neighborhood surveillance, and finally current thinking which seeks to strengthen neighborhood social controls through resident efforts.

The second paper describes the neighborhood mobilization effort, the theory underlying the program and the specific strategies undertaken to prevent violent delinquency, and summarizes the impacts which occurred in several of the sites. The results show how these projects, relying heavily on volunteers and small budgets, mobilizing residents who themselves often were crime victims, made small tactical gains which were focused on specific youth violence problems. These gains, made after much effort over considerable time, illustrate the difficulty of undoing over 50 years of social and economic isolation and its effects on neighborhoods. But the results also offer positive directions for building from a series of small victories to larger gains that strengthen neighborhoods and their social controls.

The third and fourth papers begins the process of analyzing the factors which contribute to inner city youth crime. The third paper examines the social and economic

factors which distinguish "high crime" neighborhoods from the urban *milieux* which surround them. It illustrates the relative deprivation that confronts inner city neighborhoods, and shows that the greater the social and economic isolation, the more serious also are the youth crime problems. The marginalization of high crime social areas is amply illustrated here. The fourth paper shows that although serious crime rates of juveniles in inner city areas are higher than general adolescent behaviors, the factors that contribute to crime are no different than for youths elsewhere. The conclusion, then, is that if the explanatory factors are similar but the rates higher for inner city youths, the sources of the higher rates must lie in the overall social and economic conditions of these urban areas. Indeed, multi-city research (Sampson, 1986) has shown how weak informal and formal social controls are associated strongly with crime rates for both juveniles and adults.

The final four papers analyze specific themes about violent juvenile crime. They assess the correlates of adolescent violence from several perspectives, each unique to one dimension of the juvenile crime problem. The comparison of correlates across eight cities illustrates the stability of explanations of youth crime across otherwise unique cities. The analysis of victimization shows the importance of the recursive processes which contribute to adolescent crimes, and how violence begets violence. The analysis of school dropouts and gang members shows how several different forms of youth behavior -- school leaving, gang membership, violence, drug use -- appear to be different manifestations of a general pattern of deviance in inner city areas, behaviors that share common explanations in the larger ecological context of the neighborhoods, and in the adolescent socialization processes which ensue in these areas.

THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF JUVENILE CRIME PREVENTION IN INNER CITIES

Elizabeth Piper Deschenes
University of California at Los Angeles

March, 1988

This research was supported in part by Grant 85-MU-CX-0001, from the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention to the URSA Institute. The opinions are those of the author.

I. INTRODUCTION

> Further research into the origins of juvenile delinquency and of related symptoms of social and personal malfunctioning amoung our youth is not likely to produce much knowledge relevant to prevention and rehabilitation measures. What is needed now is a carefully recorded, analyzed and evaluated trial and error method, using various approaches in various combinations in various conditions, learning all the while -- unlearning and learning (Rosenfeld, 1956: 147)

Over fifty years of research and experimental studies have focused on delinquency prevention and control. Every decade renewed concern with the crime problem leads social policy makers to advocate new techniques. Despite these efforts, the problem of juvenile delinquency remains. And, if current statistics are accurate, the seriousness of juvenile delinquency has rapidly increased and shows little decline. Since the Attorney General's appointment of a Task Force on Violent Crime (1981), renewed efforts are underway to tackle the problem of serious juvenile delinquency.

The federal government has been involved in delinquency prevention and control for the last twenty years which began with the passage of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act in 1968 and the creation of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA). Millions of dollars have been spent , but the federal government's programs have largely failed.

> In sum, we have found that as a function of pre-experimental research designs, subjective evaluation, and reliance upon empirically unsupported assumptions, the majority of the delinquency prevention projects reported in the literature did not permit reliable assessment of results. In the small number of projects where design and measurement techniques permit more reliable assessment of results, it is clear that there were no differences between the experimental and control groups. As a consequence, it appears unlikely that any of these projects prevented delinquent behavior (Lundman, McFarlane and Scarpitti, 1976:306).

The problem remains and social policy analysts continue to make recommendations for the future.

Most analysts suggest that in order to prevent delinquency we must understand its causes. However, it may be more effective to launch new and different strategies of prevention and control. Many programs have been tried in the twenty years after Rosenfeld's comments were written, but few have been successful. However, many programs have not been properly evaluated (Wright and Dixon, 1977: Lundman, McFarlane and Scarpitti, 1976).

The report by Weis and Sederstrom (1981), "The Prevention of Serious Delinquency: What to Do?" calls for a major public policy change based on a new integrated model of delinquency. This models adds to the social development model (Weis and Hawkins, 1979) and combines concepts from social control and cultural deviance theories. According to their theory, the process of socialization (developing bonds) occurs within a community context.

> The community context is the ecological anchor of first, the community organization which impacts opportunities for delinquency and the community delinquency rate, second, the operation and effectiveness of the major social control or socializing institutions -- of family, school, peers, and law, and third, the extent and magnitude of delinquent peer influence. The relationship among these three factors determine the community delinquency rate and the fate of individual youths within the community. (Weis and Sederstrom, 1981: 33)

The history of juvenile delinquency prevention and control policies has now come full circle and returned to a focus on the community.

This chapter is a review of the history of delinquency prevention and experimental programs from some of the earliest studies in the 1920's and 1930's to current efforts by federal government agencies. One purpose is to examine the relationship between criminology theory and delinquency preventin efforts. A second purpose is to search for reasons for the failure of earlier programs. And, a third purpose is to determine what type of future recommendations might be successful.

II. OVERVIEW OF TRENDS IN CRIME PREVENTION

Crime prevention philosophy and techniques closely parallel crime etiology theories. Policy and theory reflect the normative ideology of the social structure. Historically, the roots of criminological theory can be traced back to the Age of Enlightenment. Philosophers such as Jean Jacques Rousseau (1762) and John Locke had a humanistic view of life, freedom, family, reason, and law. Social order was based upon the social contract and the principles of democracy -- liberty and equality. Within the community there was a "general will" for the collective good. The normative structure of society was implicit in individual's social relations. Morality had no meaning outside of society.

The Classical school of criminology dates back to Beccaria (On Crimes and Punishments, 1764). According to this perspective, a crime is an act against the public good committed by an individual of free will. Such an act is punishable by law.

According to the classical school crime prevention is interpreted as deterrence.

> It is the common interest not only that crimes not be committed, but also that they be less frequent in proportion to the harm they cause society. Therefore, the obstacles that deter men from committing crimes should be stronger in proportion as they are contrary to the public good, and as the inducements to commit them are stronger. There must, therefore, be a proper proportion between crimes and punishments. (Beccaria, 19??: 212)

The social fabric of society was strong enough to prevent the majority of persons from deviation. During this time period social control and crime prevention were part of the system of norms holding society together.

During the colonial period when America was a Gemeinschaft-type of society law and order were under local community control and norms were enforced by the members of the community. Wayward youth, deviant men and women were treated in the same manner; they were perceived as evil and punished for their wrongdoings, sometimes by torture. The social response and stigmatization of the deviant is well depicted in Erickson's Wayward Puritans. Erikson (1966) believes that the three crime waves in the 1600's -- the Antimonian controversy, the Quaker persecutions, and the Witchcraft hysteria --- were attempts by the Puritans to redefine the boundaries of their community. Deviant acts perform the function of maintaining boundaries. When the deviant violates the rules of conduct held by the commuity, people express their outrage and develop tighter bonds. The job of the agencies of control is to keep deviance within bounds. Severe punishment was seen as a deterrent.

The first beginnings of crime prevention and law enforcement were the town watch and the "bobby" both patterned after the English system. Later, policing became a branch of city government with three functions:

1) the maintenance of public order;

2) the prevention and detection of crime; and

3) the correction of manners and morals. (Johnson, 1981:14)

Although law and order was still maintained within the community, there were speicalized agents of social control.

In the mid 1800's urbanization and the Industrial Revolution greatly changed the social order.

> Power was divided between the state and the federal government, with most of the everyday problems of maintaining law and order reserved to the states. (Johnson, 1981: 73)

With increasing specialization and the division of labor, government became more centralized and America became a Gesellschaft society. The scientific study of society developed under the influence of Comte and Durkheim. The social system was seen as an organism, each part playing a different function. According to the Positivist school of criminology, an individual's action was determined by the social structure. Criminology theory, however, began with biological and psychological determinism which focused on defects within an individual (Lombroso, 1911; Dugdale, 1895; Goddard, 1920; Healy and Bronner, 1926; Estabrook, 1915.) One could not prevent crime and delinquency, but one could treat the individual. According to Aichorn (1925, 1935) the individual's inherited predisposition to delinquency is brought out by his environment.

> The treatment of the delinquent is a matter of reeducation. . . . Our task is to remove the cause rather than to eliminate the overt behavior. (Aichorn in Jaccoby, pg. 123).

Thus, criminology theory began to shift from a focus on the individual to the environment, the social order.

With the social change which occurred along with immigration sociologists concentrated upon the social problems as they related to urbanization. W.I. Thomas and Dorothy Thomas (1928) document the social change in that era: (pg. 153 Bennett).

> As a result of rapid communication in space, movements of population (concentration in cities, immigration), changes in the industrial order, the decline of community and family life, the weakening of religion, the universality of reading, the commercialization of pleasure, and for whatever other reasons there may be, we are now witnessing a far-reaching modification of the moral norms and behavior practices of all classes of society. Activities have evolved more rapidly than social norms. This unstabilization of society and of behavior is probably no more than a stage of disorganization preceding a modified type of reorganization. When old habits break down, when they are no longer adequate, there is always a period of confusion until new habits are established; and this is true of both the individual and society. At present, however, it is widely felt that the demoralization of

> young persons, the prevalence of delinquency, crime, and profound mental disturbances are very serious problems, and that the situation is growing worse instead of better. (The Child in America, 1928, Introduction)

The main emphasis of social structural theories is that crime and delinquency are determined by the environment. Some criminologists pointed to the problems of immigration and the conflict of cultural norms (Sellin, 1927). Park and Burgess who were prominent figures in the Chicago school which shaped criminolgy theory developed an ecological perspective. They argued that crime was a result of social disorganization or the weakening of social norms. Int heir study of Chicago Shaw and McKay (1929) found areas in the city, which corresponded to Thrasher's (1927) "interstitial areas", which had higher rates of delinquency. Shaw and McKay placed criminology theory and crime prevention in the hands of the community with the beginnings of the Chicago Area Project.

In the 1930's and on into the 1950's, spearheaded by the seminal work of the Gluecks, criminology theory focused on the role of institutions -- the family, the school, religion -- in socialization. According to the "medical model", criminals could be treated, and hopefully cured, through rehabilitation. Crime prevention shifted from attempts to change the environment to treatment of delinquents and criminals.

Merton's (1938) theory of social structure and anomie provided the foundation for subcultural and social strain theories in criminology. One of the trends in criminological theory was subcultural theory. Following the model of social structure and anomie posited by Merton (1957), Cloward and Ohlin (1960), Miller (1958), Cohen (1959) and others, these criminologists suggested that social strain or anomie, resulting from imbalances in the social structure, created conditions favorable to delinquency and crime. A major factor in this model is poverty and class structure. According to this theory the inability to access the legitimate means to acquire specific goals led to frustration. Along with the formation of gangs and subcultures, groups of persons with similar goals and similar culture, these gangs had illegitimate access to desired goals. Consequently, delinquency prevention strategies focused on changing the institutional fabric of society. According to subcultural theory, delinquent values are learned through association with peers. Whereas social strain theorists argue that youth were denied access to legitimate means, consequently they joined gangs who had access to illegitimate means. The social programs of the 1940's offerred social services and activities which aimed at teaching dominant values and providing legitimate means. Crime prevention policy, thus, focused on changing the delinquent by changing the environment and providing opportunities.

Social process theorists focused on the interaction of individual's learning delinquent behavior. One group holds that the social control mechanisms based in the major social institutions (family, school, religion, peers) which prevent delinquency have broken down. Others believed delinquency was learned through differential association. Crime prevention efforts turned to providing services to the social institutions of family, education, health, employment, religion. Social control theory and differential association theory also flourished in the 1950's. These social process theories focused on interaction.

With the advent of the 1960's the social problems of poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, and crime were rampant. State and federal governments played a greater role in crime control. The increase in bureaucratization led to the formation of numerous social agencies. A major step in the politicization of crime prevention and control began with the federal programs of Kennedy and Johnson. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice was established by Johnson in 1965. In their report, the Commission (1967) correlated delinquency with poverty and social conditions in slum areas. Crime prevention and control was to focus on providing opportunities to legitimate activities -- education, recreation, employment, family life. A Special Task Force on Juvenile Delinquency was also established in 1967. Further Federal efforts focused on the problem of Violent Crime (National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence). In both of these task force commission reports the causes of juvenile delinquency are attributed to social inequalities in the Great Society. As in the earlier federal reports crime prevention is comprised of efforts to provide more services and greater opportunities. A plethora of federally funded programs followed.

The social and political unrest of the late 60's, the problems of racial inequality and the immorality associated with the injustice of the Vietnam war led to distrust of the federal government. Conflict theory and societal reaction theory focus on the juvenile justice system and the process by which an individual becomes labelled as a delinquent. These theorists contend that delinquency can be prevented by changing the juvenile justice system. Individuals are to be diverted from the official process and referred to community treatment programs.

Political change and disenchantment with current policies fueled by the failure of federal programs led to renewed public concern and federal intervention in the mid 1970's. The 1974 Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act sought to improve the juvenile justice system. The goal was to prevent detention of youths in jails and training schools. In addition, the American Bar Association and the National Council on Crime and Delinquency have developed standards for juvenile justice. The 1976 Report of the Task Force on Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

gives a high priority to delinqeuncy prevention, reflecting the need to decrease the threatening rise in serious and violent delinquency. The report states:

> In recent years there has been a procession of prevention approaches disseminated at the national level to the States and communities which have produced little in the way of useful results. (1976:27)

Some of the reasons for the failures have been: (1) underbudgeting, (2) poorly designed programs, (3) questionable results of programs, and (4) public officials and citizens demanding higher levels of results.

The new philosophy of the Task Force recommends further research and a local neighborhood or community approach.

Currently, no one school of thought predominates criminological theory. Some criminologists espousing neoclassical ideas suggest a return to the policies of deterrence and incapacitation. Others, using an integrated social development model combining social structure and social process theories, focus on crime prevention and control within the community.

Thus, the last ten years since the Task Force on Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention have seen a myriad of changes. In the first half of the decade criminologists researched the problem of increasing severity of delinquency. Social policy aimed at tertiary prevention with proposals for "target hardening" and "selective incapacitation." At the same time, juvenile justice efforts turned to diversion, deinstitutionalization, and community treatment programs. Experimental delinquency prevention programs based within the community have only surfaced in the latter half of the decade.

III. CRIME PREVENTION AND STATISTICS

As has been said throughout the years, in order to develop a crime prevention policy we need accurate knowledge of the extent of delinqeuncy and we must understand the causes. The first part ofthis effort requires statistical information, the second requires etiological theories of crime and delinquency.

The Positive school has greatly influenced scientific measurement of crime beginning with crime prevention strategies. Actual and perceived increases in the frequency and seriousness of juvenile delinquency have spurred greater efforts towards prevention and control.

For example, research by Shaw and McKay in Chicago in the late 1920's and early 1930's identified areas with high delinquency rates using official police records. Recognizing that the areas with high rates were "interstitial areas" characterized by

conflict of norms and social disorganization. Shaw and McKay ... revitalization of these areas.

The 1967 Presidential Commission used statistics from both the of 1967 Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) and National Crime Survey (NCS) to document the disproportionate involvement by youth in serious crimes. Evidence from self-report surveys they showed that a great amount of delinquency was going undetected by the police.

The most recent plea for new crime prevention strategies is based on evidence of the increase in serious delinquency. UCR Statistics indicate a large increase and sustained level of violent crime during the 1960's and into the 1970's. However, the NCS data show greater stability and even a slight decline in the level of violent crime during the same time period. In addition, the NCS rates are 3 or 4 times higher than the UCR rates. Research into the causes of delinquency points to inequalities in the social system.

> Examination of the demographic characteristics of persons arrested for violent crime has yielded a distinctive and consistent picture: violent crimes have been committed mostly by young male members of socially, economically, and politically disadvantaged minority groups (1985:34).

Thus, research and statistics play an important role in crime prevention.

IV. PHASE BY PHASE DESCRIPTION

A. Social Reformers - Social Welfare Approach

The early attempts at treatment of biological and psychological defects were unable to cure the problems of crime and delinquency. Thus, social reformers of the 1920's and 1930's tried to solve social problems using a social welfare approach. The root causes of poverty, unemployment, crime and delinquency, were founded in the social disorganization wrought by urbanization, the Depression, and inmigration. Nonetheless, these reformers relied heavily on the medical model; these problems were to be cured by treating the individuals.

> Juvenile delinquency, like tuberculosis is a product of civilization. Like that disease, it can be prevented, arrested, controlled, but, in the present economic and social order, never entirely eradicated. (1936:398)

The general attitude of participants in a 1930's symposium on crime prevention was that an increase in the effectiveness of certain social agencies, i.e. the state, the community, the home, schools, churches, welfare agencies, and recreational centers, could be of major importance in reducing crime.

The Glueck's recognized the primacy of the community or neighborhood as a cultural entity (1936:13) and emphasized its place in crime prevention.

> The removing of criminogenic combustibles depends upon community and societal planning in the social and economic realms. (1936:3)
>
> The essence of a coordinated community program seems to be the recognition of the interrelationship of the various elements in community life, their reformulation according to some desirable standard of communal soundness, the strengthening of constructive elements and weakening or removal of others, and the guidance of the community's growth, under appropriate leadership, toward the realization of wholesome values in the lives of the community and its citizens. (1936:13)

Basically, the task was to more effectively coordinate social welfare programs and community agencies.

The Gluecks advocated a trial and error method of designing a crime prevention program. The first steps required a survey of the problem to determine the source of criminogenic influences and canvassing the possible resources. Subsequently, it would be necessary to organize community efforts to attack the problem with specific programs in schools and in the community. In the schools, special classes could be provided for students with mental, physical, or behavioral problems. Recreational centers could provide facilities and clinical guidance for problem youths. And, police could teach children to respect the law. Several features make their CCP distinctive:

(1) that it be experimental;

(2) that predelinquents can be identified early in childhood; and

(3) that community agencies -- the police, schools, rec centers can provide the needed services.

The Glueck's were very optimistic about the possiblity of success in preventing crime.

Exemplary programs described during the symposium included coordinated community programs, school programs, police programs, intra-mural guidance programs, extra-mural programs, and recreation programs. Regardless of the specific type of program , all concentrated on providing individuals within the community with better opportunities. The general tenor of these articles reflected a social welfare attitude of correcting maladjustment in children's lives. It was believed that children are capable of learning new patterns. These programs were also based on the

assumption that citizens would get involved in crime prevention and support community programs.

A major problem with these programs was the fact that they were premised upon the medical model. The efforts at community involvement treated the symptoms and could not reach the causes of juvenile delinquency -- the social and economic problems. Furthermore, the efficacy of these programs was never scientifically tested.

B. Community Treatment

Another experimental program based on community intervention was the Chicago Area Project (CAP). The CAP, unlike many of the earlier programs outlined above, was based upon scientific study and criminological theory. Research studies completed between 1929 and 1933 by Shaw and McKay identified urban areas with high delinquency rates. Shaw and McKay hypothesized that delinquency rates were higher in certain communities which had experienced population change along with disruption of the economic and social order.

> The common element (among the social factors highly correlated with juvenile delinquency) is social disorganization or the lack of organized community effort to deal with these conditions. If so, the solution for juvenile delinquency and these related problems lies in community organization. Juvenile delinquency, as shown in this study, follows the patterns of the physical and social structure of the city, being concentrated in areas of physical deterioration and neighborhood disorganization. Evidently, then, the basic solution of this and other problems of urban life lies in a program of the physical rehabilitation of slum areas and the development of community organizations. (Burgess: 1942:xi)

In the introduction to the revised edition in 1969 Short pointed out the fact that the social conditions which are correlated with delinquency vary with historical change. In turn, there are new problems which the community must face. The conditions of social life in these areas were such that juveniles adapted to the environment by learning delinquent values.

> The theory on which the CAP is based is that, taken in its most general aspect, delinquency as a problem in the modern metropolis is principally a product of the breakdown of the machinery of spontaneous social control. (Kobrin, 304)

The intent of the CAP, therefore, was to help residents take constructive action in establishing social control mechanisms within the community. The program was based on the conviction

that residents in the local community could organize its resources and plan programs to prevent delinquency.

> The strength of the CAP as a social movement lies in the fact that its program is oriented toward the encouragement of participation in neighborhood and community life by the persons who live in the problem areas; by its efforts to help these persons increase the educational, recreational, and occupational opportunities of children and young people; and by its efforts to encourage and help local residents to reach the offender through the efforts of those who know his problems and his world. (Shaw and McKay, 1969:388)

The success or failure of the CAP in preventing delinquency has never really been determined. Although great emphasis was placed on research and statistical analysis before the program was implemented, there were no procedures for scientific evaluation. In 1960 McKay wrote that the combined influence of three types of delinquency prevention programs (individually oriented programs, programs to modify the social order, and natural processes) held only fair prospects for controlling delinquency in inner city urban areas. After twenty-five years Sorrentino, who was the administrative director for many years, noted that the CAP faced three problems -- the extent of participation, the exploitation of citizens, and urban mobilization. However, Sorrentino applauded the ideals of the program and gave credit to the local residents for their efforts.

Although some contend the CAP did not change delinquency rates, others suggest that the incorporation of the project as an instutional form at the governmental level is indicative of success. Kobrin's (1959) assessment of CAP after twenty-five years is quite positive. He concludes that specific achievements were probably made in reducing delinquency. The CAP demonstrated the feasibility of creating youth welfare organizations. It was the first program to use outreach workers to help boys learn acceptable norms. In addition, the CAP tempered the impersonality of social control machinery by having community residents work with the social agencies. Persons with primary relations with delinquents collaborated with teachers, police, social workers, and court officials to create plans to supervise children. (Kobrin, 1959; see Jaccoby p. 310) Thus, the implementation of the CAP appears to have been a success even though its results in preventing delinquency have not been measured.

It has been reported (Newton, 1978) that McKay conceded the futility of the Chicago Area Project because the businessmen who were board members did not understand that the conditions they were trying to correct were caused by themselves. Shaw also expressed reservations about CAP because the delinquents were no worse off than the businessman.

Other experiments in delinquency prevention during the 1950's followed the CAP model. In studying two neighborhoods in Cambridge, MA., Maccoby, Johnson and Church (1958) found that a different factor contributing to the success of a community program is the neighborhood pattern of social isolation of families. They concluded that community integration is a crucial variable in social control.

A "total community" delinquency project instituted in Boston between 1954 and 1957 was based on Miller's (1962) research with delinquent gangs. The Midcity Project attempted to improve community cooperation with professional agencies -- church, school, police -- to bring together various services. An important element of this project was the detached worker who engaged in intensive interaction with gang members. Family services were also provided. Miller evaluated the impact of the program in reducing delinquency rates and court appearance rates. Although the program had increased the neighborhood social organization, it did not reduce delinquency.

In evaluating the effectiveness of CAP and similar programs Witmer and Tufts (1954) were not enthusiastic about the success of these programs.

Other attempts at delinquency prevention and control during the 1950's focused on early childhood and the relationship between parent and children. The Cambridge-Somerville study, begun in 1937, was designed as an experiment. Youths were selected according to a teacher's evaluation of the likelihood of delinquency based on exhibited behavioral problems and then divided into two matched groups. The experimental group youths and their families were to receive intensive supervision by a caseworker for ten years. In measuring the impact of the program Powers and Witmer (1951) found certain conditions might account for the study's success or failure: (1) the degree of emotional maladjustment in the home; (2) the desire for help with this problem; and (3) the counselor's skill. The McCord's (19??) found that those in the experimental group actually had higher delinquency rates than did those in the control group but the crime seriousness was lower. Years later in a follow-up study McCord (1979) found that parental behavior was a greater predictor of adult criminality than prior juvenile records.

The Gluecks were pioneers in projects aimed at the early identification of delinquents (1950). In a study of 500 delinquents and nondelinquents in Boston, matched according to age, intelligence, ethnicity, and neighborhood conditions, boys were compared on 400 traits. The Gluecks identified five factors in the family backgrounds which differentiated between the two groups: (1) discipline by father, (2) supervision by mother, (3) affection of father, (4) affection of mother, and (5) cohesiveness of family.

The Glueck Social Prediction Table was tested for ten years in New York by the Youth Board starting in 1952. Craig and Glick (1963) report that the five factor table was accurate in two-fifths of the cases but actually overpredicted delinquency. After five years, the social prediction table was modified to include only three factors: (1) supervision by mother, (2) discipline by mother, and (3) cohesiveness of family, which yielded better prediction results.

In evaluating the Cambridge-Somerville study and the New York Prediction Study, Toby (1965) pointed out a major reason for the failure of these projects. He suggests that these researchers did not assess the effect of neighborhood, ethnic background or socioeconomic status on the accuracy of their prediction which might affect predisposing personal and family factors. By matching groups on these factors, both studies neglected to allow for the interactive effect of social structure and the family on delinquency.

C. Social Services

In the 1960's the effects of increasing bureaucratization and centralization began to appear in social policy statements. The first major intervention by the federal government was the passage of the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act in 1961. Before that time there were few preventive efforts based on delinquency theory and little evaluation of success or failure. (QUOTE) Although there was little theory to support their position, the President's Committee believed that delinquency results from the failure of the community to provide services and conditions which enable a person to participate in society. The programs supported by the Presidential Commission were divided into educational services, employment opportunities and community organization.

An example of the programs in the 1960's was the Mobilization for Youth which was based on Cloward and Ohlin's delinquency and opportunity theory. This project had 30 programs in education, employment, community, and group service, such as the "Urban Youth Services Corps" which provided work skills and experience and the "Homework Helper," a tutoring program for elementary school students using secondary school youths. The group service section provided services to delinquent gangs. Despite the major services provided to the community, there is no evaluation of this multi-faceted program.

Martin (1961) identified three approaches to deliquency prevention, the first being to change the social structure, the second to change the environment (as in the Chicago Area Project) and the third to provide probation and parole services to children. Martin's suggestion seems to be to change the social structure, but he emphasizes the need for community and local involvement.

The Report to the Presidential Commission Task Force on Crime (1967) notes that the Federal Government was already involved in delinquency prevention through the Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, funding research and demonstration projects. The types of projects included employment and job training, education for school dropouts, community action. These efforts aimed at attacking the problem of poverty and slum conditions, assumed to be the causes of delinquency. Among the other programs funded by federal government were Neighborhood Youth Corps, Job Corps, Youth Opportunity Centers, Manpower Development and Training Act, Head Start and Elementary/Secondary Education Act.

In the comprehensive Task Force Report on Juvenile Delinquency (1967) two essays by special consultants present concise evaluations and recommendations. Burns and Stern (1967) note that limitations must be set for prevention. The authors maintain there must be a proper balance between individual rights and the protection of society. They note the lack of knowledge and practice in the field, and the ineffectiveness of earlier programs, yet paucity of evidence. Burns and Stern connect crime and delinquency to other pathologies in the urban environ. They point out the marginality of youth in society and their cohesion in a subculture. It is suggested that one solution may be greater self-actualization of youth and greater responsiblities which will give them meaningful lives.

> Prevention programs are frequently similar to those required to correct other social imbalances. Successful prevention programs, many of which will not be specifically against crime, will have multiple payoffs, providing visible benefits in other areas as well. Not only will they reduce the cost of corrections and rehabilitative programs; they will equip individuals for more effective social and economic performance, and they will upgrade the capacity of many of our Nation's most significant institutions to deliver a share in the Great Society to all young people (1967: 355).

The authors describe a few programs in schools, recreation, family therapy, etc., and note the lack of evaluation in most of the programs. They summarize:

> What causes a youth to become delinquent is usually a complex network of factors relating to his own personality, his friends,his family, his community. . .In summary, we believe, first, that social institutions, especially those in the inner city, need to change and adapt in a flexible manner to the upheavals in the society around them. . . Second, and a corollary to the above point, the youth population should be given a special share and stake in society by making available to them useful, constructive, creative,

and interesting opportunities to find themselves, their role, and their contribution to society. (1967: 407)

In their review of earlier social service programs Wheeler, Cottrell, and Romasco (1967) saw two responses. One group supported opportunity theory yet pointed to problems with implementation of this model. Critics of these programs believed they did not target the delinquency-prone juveniles. The authors suggest that the long-term efforts of delinquency prevention continue. They also outline four areas for concentrated effort:

1) clarification of the different types of delinquency and the most appropriate prevention techniques for each;

2) use of modern technology to change the immediate environment;

3) improving the school's ability to work with troublesome youths; and

4) experimentation with youth employment programs.

Further, Wheeler, Cottrell and Romasco (1967) point out problems with the juvenile justice system and rehabilitation efforts. They suggest that there be better coordination of these services. There is also a need for improved relations between the correctional systems and the community. Furthermore, the authors point out the desperate need for theoretical research as a basis for action programs and evaluation of alternative programs of prevention and control. Finally, it is noted that special efforts must be made in coordination of services, in the organization of delinquency prevention and control.

Keeping in line with current and former trends in delinquency prevention, another suggestion given by Polk (1968) and ???? , and supported by federal government initiatives, was the Youth Service Bureau. Polk reiterates the major concern with the problem of delinquency and points out the limited success of rehabilitation and treatment programs. The basic premise behind the Youth Service Bureau is that of a community based referral center which creates links between youths and services, develops new resources. There are different models by which the Youth Service Bureau can operate depending on the agency which coordinates the system. Polk points out that the Youth Service Bureau can function to develop community responsiveness, increase the involvement of youth (youth advocacy) in the community, and develop non-legal procedures. The Youth Service Bureau is designed to provide community services for youth. A current example of this type of program is the California Youth Authority which handles prevention and control of delinquency. Although there have been few evaluations of this agency, it's long-term presence suggests it has been fairly successful.

The Federal Government's increased efforts for Crime Control are evidenced in the 1969 Presidential Task Force -- the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. The tone of the final report of the Commission emphasizes the coercive power of law enforcement needed for social control given conditions in today's pluralistic society (1969:140). The Violence Commission cites findings from the Moynihahn report which suggest that poverty and the social isolation of minority groups in cities are the most serious problems facing society. It also points to the ineffectiveness of urban government and the lack of balance between social and economic forces. Besides increasing federal support, the Commission makes specific recommendations for law enforcement to control violent crime:

1) increase day and night foot patrols of interracial police teams;

2) increase police community relations;

3) experiment with methadone programs;

4) identify violence prone individuals for treatment; and

5) license handguns. (1969: 46)

In the same report, the Commission presents recommendations for "challenging our youth" which range from involvement in the political process, e.g. lowering the voting age to 18, to creating opportunities for inner-city youth and dealing with the drug problem. However, along with traditional organizations such as Boys' Club, Police Athletic Club, etc., the examples of programs given by the Commission include a gang's film-making project and a street clean-up project. The Commission recommends federal funding for innovative programs. Decreasing the penalties for possession and use of marijuana to more than a misdemeanor was also recommended by the Commission. Finally, the Commission recommended greater understanding of the "Generation Gap". In sum, beyond emphasizing the increased involvement of youth in violent crime and the need to deal with this problem since the youth of today will be adults tomorrow, the Violence Commission gives few recommendations on how to realistically decrease the violent crime rate by young. Although there is some support for the continuation of programs aimed at creating opportunities for inncer city youths, the Commission seems more interested in challenging the non-delinquent youth population and controlling the drug problem and the youth rebellion.

Research and evaluation reports of delinquency prevention programs were more abundant in the 1970's. One of the better known experiments in delinquency prevention was the project by Reckless and Dinitz (1972) which actually began in 1955. What makes this project different is the fact that it was based on criminological theory and the evaluation was based on scientific

evidence. Like other theorists before them, Reckless and Dinitz point to a breakdown in the traditional social control mechanisms, cultural lag and social disorganization as causes of delinquency. They suggest that delinquency prevention requires substantial alterations in the social structure. However, unlike others, Reckless and Dinitz develop their own experiment in delinquency prevention based upon their research and theory. They suggest:

> prevention of juvenile delinquency in modern America must be geared to overcoming the lack of a meaningful role structure for young people as well as overcoming the trend toward alienation and revolt. The creation of a more meaningful role structure will have to evolve from appropriate changes in the social system. (1972:33)

Reckless and Dinitz designed their experiment to change the individual's self-conception. By the presentation of educational supplementals they hoped to give pre-delinquent youths better role models so that they would internalize better models of behavior. The project divided a group of 1,726 youths in grades 7 to 10 into experimental or control groups which received education programs for one year. These youths had been nominated by their teachers as delinquency prone. At the end of their study Reckless and Dinitz found no difference between the experimental and control groups on any of the outcome variables and no significant attitude change. Several reasons were given for the failure of the project, including:

1) poor evaluation of teachers,

2) the lack of effective role models,

3) the need to intensify the role model presentation,

4) the need to develop valid instruments to measure behavior change. (1972:162)

Although the statistical results were negative, the authors report that the experimental group was favorable to the program, and teachers perceived the program as effective amd saw improvement by youth.

The emphasis of societal reaction theorists was to change the juvenile justice system. According to these theorists, youth are labeled delinquent by the agencies which deal with problem youth. Many proponents of this school of thought suggest that a key to delinquency prevention and control is to increase the civil rights of youth (Kassebaum, 1974; Schwendingers, 19). In addition, societal reaction theorists suggest a cutback in correctional and treatment sanctions. Deinstitutionalization and community treatment programs have been tried in many states.

In the California Community Treatment Program (Palmer, 1971; Warren, 1966), an experimental rehabilitation program, intensive treatment took place in the community. The experimental group had a much lower parole violation rate than did the controls, implying success. However, Lerman (1975) contends that the offense rates for the experimental and control groups did not differ and that it was the reaction of the parole officer which determined the rates.

In other programs, for example Provo and Highfields, the main focus was rehabilitation and the prevention of recidivism. Although many of the treatment programs were more carefully evaluated than were the prevention programs, they also showed limited success (Lipton, Martinson and Wilks,). Nonetheless, community treatment became the preferred method.

D. Youth Advocacy Programs

Following the 1974 Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act greater interest was shown in evaluating delinquency prevention programs. Lundman, McFarlane and Scarpitti (1976) surveyed the literature and found 1,000 citations. Using specific criteria -- that the reports be professionally published reports with independently interpretable information on the nature and results of the project, they examined 127 reports and ended with 40 projects with sufficient information. Too many of the projects did not permit reliable assessment of results due to pre-experimental research designs, subjective evaluation, and reliance upon empirically unsupported assumptions (1976:306). For those projects that were evaluated Lundman et al. (1976) found that few were successful -- there were no differences between experimental and control groups. They conclude:

> In sum, we believe that delinquency prevention programs have been largely unsuccessful because of inadequate data, inaccurate or incomplete theories, and uncompromised intervention strategies. We believe, therefore, that the solutions include direct field observation of delinquents, construction of integrated theories which reflect those field data, and assessment of the constraints which currently compromise provention efforts (1976:308).

Lundman et al.(1976) also mention the problem of children's rights. They suggest that until a clarification of the legality of intervention into children's lives occurs, prevention programs are likely to be compromised.

Based on their review of the literature, Lundman and Scarpitti give specific recommendations for future projects . They found that, despite the great number of projects, many were unsuccessful and many unsuccessful programs were not reported. Further, they suggest that earlier program relied too often on psychological understandings and frequently did not measure the prevention of delinquency on the indicators were unreliable. Lundman and Scarpitti recommend the use of self-report measures and experimentation with groups other than inner city, working class, minority males. Otherwise, there is very little reason to repeat earlier efforts at delinquency prevention.

1) Researchers should expect future projects to be unsuccessful.

2) Researchers should publish the results of all projects.

3) Future delinquency prevention programs must be sensitive to and protect the rights of the juvenile subjects involved.

4) The theoretical foundations of future delinquency programs should be expanded to include sociological as well as psychological understandings of the causes of delinquency.

5) Future delinquency prevention programs should focus primary attention on preventing delinquent behavior.

6) In all future delinquency prevention programs, delinquency and other indicators of prevention effects should be objectively measured.

7) Researchers involved in future delinquency prevention programs should explore the possiblity of employing additional and more sensitive indicators or measures of delinquent behavior.

8) Researchers involved in future delinquency prevention programs should consider using different types of subjects in the projects.

9) All future delinquency prevention programs should be experimental in design. (1978:210-219)

The plethora of largely unsuccessful delinquency prevention programs since 1965 is also documented by Wright and Dixon (1977). Over a ten year period they found over 6,600 abstracts of delinquency prevention programs, yet they reviewed only 96 reports which contained empirical data on community delinquency prevention. The projects were divided into several categories based on the type of program. Group counseling was found to be effective in reducing the number of weeks on probation, but not the recidivism rate. Individual counseling was not effective. Social casework and street corner workers also failed. In comparison, area and youth service projects, educational programs, and vocational programs have been somewhat more successful. Community intervention has been shown to be at least as effective as intervention and less costly (See for example, Empey and Erikson, Provo and Silverlake, 1972).

Wright and Dixon's report includes tertiary prevention techniques, e.g. treatment programs for delinquents, as well as primary and secondary prevention programs. Consequently, it is difficult to assess the relative success of delinquency prevention programs, in comparison to treatment programs. Wright and Dixon point to both political and methodological considerations which affect programs such as the possibility that evaluations have political implications. In addition, the authors suggest that lack of treatment or success may be due to poor implementation or a failure to operationalize theory.

> The results showed that the evaluation literature is low in both scientific validity and policy utility, and that no delinquency prevention strategies can be definitively

> recommended. We conclude that changing or preventing certain kinds of behavior is a difficult task, that positive results are probably related to quality and quantity of intervention, that any one intervention strategy is probably going to be differentially effective given a heterogeneous population, that theory-based strategies are going to be in a better position to profit from evaluations than are atheoretical strategies, and that sound research design is needed if we wish to be able to attribute changes in delinquency rates to prevention efforts. (1977:60)

E. Other Alternatives

Some of the more innovative proposals for delinquency prevention were products of the 1970's. Jeffery (1977) attacks our modern criminal justice system for being antequated. He also points out the failure of the federal government, despite several initiatives and large sums of money, to effectively deal with the crime problem. In reviewing the philosophical foundation of the criminal justice system -- classical school, positivism, and the neoclassical justice model, Jeffery suggests that we do not have a theory of behavior which will permit treatment. However, he adds, we do have the capability to create such a theory. Jeffery argues that (1) a crime-control model must depend on a scientific theory of behavior; and (2) it must be prevention-oriented, not punishment or treatment-oriented. The program Jeffery suggests is based on the environment and the interaction between the "organism" and his environment (1977:28). Many criminologists have rejected Jeffery's biosocial approach.

Newman (1972) has been credited with an innovative approach to crime prevention through his concept of defensible space. Newman maintains that it is the architecture of urban areas which adds to the anonymity and lack of social structure thereby enabling criminal behavior. His solution is to change the architecture of our buildings and public places to create a safer environment.

Other efforts directed at crime prevention deal with law enforcement. For example, experiments have been conducted to determine the effectiveness of police patrol in various neighborhoods. Operation identification, neighborhood team policing, citizen crime reporting projects, and community crime prevention programs are a few of the modern attempts. Although they have increased public awareness of the crime problem, these efforts have largely failed to reduce crime.

F. Community Programs

The 1976 Report of the Task Force on Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Commission details specific standards and recommendations for delinquency prevention as well as guidelines for police roles and responsibilities in juvenile justice and

delinquency prevention and general standards for juvenile justice.

(1) Action should be based upon knowledge.

(2) A local or community approach is best in developing prevention programming.

(3) Prevention efforts should permit maximum community and citizen involvemnt in all aspects of program planning, implementation and evaluation.

(4) Clearly identifiable structure should be established for the organization and planning of prevention efforts. (1976: 28)

In the most recent literature on delinquency prevention, after a review of the past failures, there is a suggestion for an integrated theoretical approach (Weis and Sederstrom, 1980). Delinquency prevention is considered to include all three levels -- primary, secondary, and tertiary, or, as Weis and Sederstrom suggest, preclusive and corrective prevention. The creation of the National Center for the Assessment of Delinquency Behavior and its Prevention (NCADBIP), funded by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP), has pioneered comprehensive and systematic assessment of theory, research, prevention and evaluation in the field of delinquency. The Delinquency Prevention Research and Development Project is testing several prevention strategies within the school and within the community.

The comprehensive model underway in Seattle is a community based approach with modifications for high delinquency neighborhoods. Aspects of the project include: a community committee and a youth committee, parenting training, family crisis intervention services, parent support groups and surrogate families, personalized instruction in the school, interpersonal skills training, cross-age tutoring, alternative schools, peer leadership groups, gang crisis intervention, and integrated school/work programs, along with intensive vocational training and job placement. The importance of the comprehensive delinquency prevention program is not the services which are offered to youths, but the community involvement.

Some of the most successful results in treatment and prevention of delinquency have been reported recently in community areas. In reviewing public policy from the 1930's to the present Woodson (1981) concludes that current policy should focus on the neighborhood.

> Professionals have earnestly sought to bring services into the community area. During the past decade, however, in spite of significant reforms and many

> important research efforts, providers and consumers have not been satisfied. . . . In part, these shortcomings stem from a lack of knowledge concerning how different groups of people solve problems and cope with crises. . .The efficacy of service delivery programs depends largely on understanding the context in which it operates. (1981:121)

Woodson suggests that what is needed is the involvement of all concerned sectors in a city and a pluralistic approach.

> Citizens determine their own resource needs quite subjectively, using criteria that differ from those of the professional. In assessing needs, citizens are guided by two interrelated principles -- equity and self-sufficiency. (1981:122)

The policy recommendations given by Woodson (1981) are based on his review of crime control policies and are strongly influenced by projects such as the highly successful House of Umoja in Philadelphia. Woodson suggests that mediating structures (informal networks) have the strength to solve a range of social problems and that policy should protect these structures. Outside assistance should strengthen existing social and kinship ties, social conventions and cooperative networks (Woodson, 1981:130).

A note of pessimism combined with some optimism is reflected in Lundman's (1984) review of the prevention and control of delinquency. He recommends that traditional delinquency prevention efforts be abandoned because we can not reliably identify juveniles headed for trouble and prevention projects which rarely affect the correlates are overly expensive and intervene in people's lives. Secondly, Lundman recommends a diversion policy as the first response to minor offenders, since it has been shown to be fairly effective. Third, he recommends routine probation as the most frequent sentencing option of juvenil court judges. Fourth, abandoning efforts to scare juveniles straight is recommended. More importantly, Lundman recommends expanding community treatment programs for chronic offenders and that institutionalization be used as the last resort. In sum, Lundman seems to reject most of the traditional approaches to delinquency control and opt from community treatment of the problem.

Thus, the 1980's have led to a return to community crime prevention and control at the neighborhood level. Two decades of highly unsuccessful programs funded by the federal government have led some to divert attention from target-hardening and selective incapacitation propositions. The failure of treatment and rehabilitation programs and the continual rise in serious delinquency have called for more research and certainly better evaluation of future programs.

V. CONCLUSION

Looking back over almost sixty years of delinquency prevention and control programs we have seen definite shifts in public policy which coincide with social changes and have a reciprocal relationship with criminology theory. Crime prevention has evolved full circle from community control in colonial America to community and neighborhood mediating structures in the 1980's. In colonial America the community determined the boundaries of social control. The cultural norms of the society were maintained through simple repressive mechanisms.

The disruptions of the Industrial Revolution, immigration, urbanization, and the Depression led to great change in the social order. In analyzing the great social change that occurred, social scientists proposed a social structural model. According to this viewpoint, society was an integrated organism whose different institutions served various functions. Social problems were symptoms of social disorganization and breakdown of the institutions. Crime prevention and control were directed towards healing the institutions. These social services models provided opportunities for youths. However, these programs were ineffective because they treated the symptoms and not the causes of delinquency.

Another point of view which emerged suggested that social problems were a result of conflict. Cultural conflict created different sets of norms. The lower classes were seen as oppressed by the ruling majority. The methods for crime prevention and control were based on youth advocacy models extending individual's rights. These programs also failed because they treated the individual and did not change the social structure.

Finally, after the failure of previous approaches, crime prevention and control has returned to the community. The focus is on provision of opportunities through mediating structures. Control has been decentralized to the community groups which provide effective support systems. There is still hope for successful delinquency prevention programs. Evaluation of the current programs should provide useful information to future social policy planners.

REFERENCES

Amos, William E. and Charles F. Wellford, eds. Delinquency Prevention, Theory, and Practice. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1967.

Berleman, William C. 1979. Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Experiments: A Review and Analysis. National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, U.S. Department of Justice. Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Berleman, W. C. and G.W. Steinbauer. "The Execution and Evaluation of a Delinquency Prevention Program." Social Problems 14 (Spring): 413-23, 1967.

Bibb, Marylyn. 1967. "Gang-related services of mobilization for youth." In Malcolm W. Klein (ed.), Juvenile Gangs in Context. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall.

Bickman, L. and P.J. Lavrakas. "Community Crime Prevention Phase II Recommendations. Chicago: Loyola University. 1976.

Bird, Thomas. 1980. Draft Working Paper for School Based Delinquency Prevention Research and Development Programs. Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, U.S. Department of Justice.

Cloward, Richard A. and Lloyd E. Ohlin. 1960. Delinquency and Opportunity. New York: The Free Press.

Craig, Maude M. and Selma J. Glick. 1963. "Ten years' experience with the Glueck Social Prediction Table." Crime and Delinquency 9: 249-261.

Elliott, Delbert S., Suzanne S. Ageton, and David Huizinga. 1978. The National Youth Survey. Project Report No. 8 (Revised) Self-Reported Delinquency Estimates by Sex, Race, Class, and Age. Boulder Colorado: Behavioral Research Institute.

Famiglietti, Joseph, Donald E. English, and Richard L. Janvier. 1980. An Assessment of Evaluations of Family-Strengthening Programs. National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, U.S. Department of Justice.

Hackler, James C. "Boys, Blisters & Behavior -- The Impact of a Work Program in an Urban Central Area." Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency III (July 1966):155-164.

Hall, Janet B., Charles Williams, Denise Lishner, and Elizabeth Carey. 1981. Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Program Models: II. National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice.

Hawkins, J. David and John S. Wall. 1979. Alternative Education: Exploring the Delinquency Prevention Potential. National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice.

Hawkins, J.David, Paul A. Pastor, Jr., Michelle Bell, and Sheila Morrison. 1979. A Typology of Cause-Focused Strategies of Delinquency Prevention. National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice.

Hawkins, J. and Joseph G. Weis. 1980. The Social Development Model: An Integrated Approach to Delinquency Prevention. National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice.

Hindelang, Michael J., Travis Hirschi, Joseph G. Weis. 1981. Measuring Delinquency. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Hirschi, Travis. 1969. Causes of Delinquency. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Janvier, Richard L., David R. Guthmann, and Richard F. Catalano, Jr. 1979. An Assessment of Evaluations of Drug Abuse Prevention Programs. National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice.

Jeffrey, C. Ray. Crime Prevention through Environmental Design. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1971.

Juvenile Delinqeuncy Prevention in the U.S. Children's Bureau. Department of Health and Welfare, Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office. 1965.

Kaminski, F. D.P. Rosenabaum, and P.J. Lavrakas. "Community Crime Prevention: Fulfilling its Promise. Police Chief, Feb. 1983.

Klein, Malcolm. 1969. "Gang cohesiveness, delinquency and a street-work progarm." Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency 6(2): 135-166.

Klein, Malcolm. 1971. Street Gangs and Street Workers. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall.

Kobrin, Solomon. 1959. "The Chicago Area Project -- A 25-year assessment." The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 322 (March): 19-29.

Krisberg, Barry. 1979. Preliminary Findings of a National Evaluation of Delinquency Prevention Programs. San Francisco: National Council on Crime and Delinquency.

Lane, Roger. Policing the City. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967.

Lavrakas, P.J. "Citizen Self Help." In Curtis, L. (ed). American Violence and Public Policy. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985, pp. 87-116

Lavrakas, P.J. and E.J. Herz. "Citizen Participation and Neighborhood Crime Prevention." Criminology 20(3-4): 479-98.

Legins, Peter. 1967. "The field of prevention." In Amos, William E. and Wellford, Charles F. (eds.) Delinquency Prevention: Theory and Practice. Englewood Cliffs, N.J. : Prentice Hall.

Lundman, Richard J. and Frank R. Scarpitti. "Delinquency Prevention: Recommendations for Future Projects." Crime and Delinquency 24 (April 1978): 207-220.

Lundman, Richard J. and Frank R. Scarpitti. "Delinquency Prevention: A Description and Assesment of Projects Reported in the Professional Literature." Crime and Delinquency 22 (July 1976): 297-308.

MacIver, Robert. The Prevention and Control of Delinquency. N.Y.: Atherton Press, 1966.

Martin, John. "Three Approaches to Delinquency Prevention: A Critique." Crime and Delinquency 7 (Jan. 1961): 16-24,.

McDermott, M. Joan and Michael J. Hindelang. 1981. Juvenile Criminal Behavior in the United States: It's Trends and Patterns. Analysis of National Victimization Survey Data to Study Serious Delinquent Behavior, Volume I. Washington, D.C. : U.S. Government Printing Office.

Miller, Walter B. 1957. "The impact of a community group work program on delinquent corner groups." Social Services Review 31 (4): 390-406.

1958a "Inter-institutional conflict as a major impediment to delinquency prevention." Human Organization 17: 20-23.

Miller, Walter B. 1958b "Lower class culture as a generating milieu of gang delinquency." Journal of Social Issues 41(3): 390-406.

1959. "Preventative work with street corner groups: Boston Delinquency Project." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences 322: 98-106.

1962. "The impact of a total community delinquency control project." Social Problems 10 (2): 168-191.

1976. Violence by Youth Gangs and Youth Groups as a Crime Problem in Major American Cities. National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice.

1981. Crime by Youth Gangs and Groups in the United States. (Preliminary Version.) National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice.

National Advisory Commission of Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, Community Crime Prevention. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973.

Newton, Anne M. 1978. "Prevention of crime and delinquency." Criminal Justice Abstracts June: 245-266.

Ohlin, Lloyd and Richard Cloward. 1963. "The prevention of delinquency subcultures." In Martin S. Weinberg and Earl Rubington (eds.) The Solution of Social Problems pp. 186-199. N.Y.: Oxford University Press.

Polk, Kenneth. "Delinquency Prevention and the Youth Service Bureau." Criminal Law Bulletin 7 (July-Aug.): 490-511, 1971.

Powers, Edwin and Helen Witmer. 1951. An Experiment in the Prevention of Delinquency. New York: Columbia University Press.

President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. 1967a. The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society. Washington D.C. : U.S. Government Printing Office.

President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. 1967b. Task Force on Juvenile Delinquency. Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Reckless, Walter C. and Simon Dinitz. The Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency: An Experiment. Columbus: Ohio University Press, 1972.

Schaps, Eric, Russell Dibartolo, Carol S. Palley, and Shoshana Churgin. 1978. "Primary prevention evaluation reserarch: A review of 127 program evaluations." Walnut Creek, CA: Pyramid Project, Pacific Institute for Research and Evaluation.

Shaw, Clifford. R. 1929. Delinquency Areas. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Shaw, Clifford and Henry D. McKay. 1942. Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Shorr, David N., Donald E. English, and Richard L. Janvier. 1979. An Assessment of Evaluations of School-Based Delinquency Prevention Programs. National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice.

Sorrentino, Anthony. "The Chicago Area Project After 25 Years." Federal Probation 23 (June): 40-45, 1959.

1977. Delinquency Prevention: How to Organize Community-Based Programs. Chicago: The Illinois Commission on Delinquency Prevention.

Stratton, John R. and Robert M. Terry, eds. Prevention of Delinquency Problems and Programs. N.Y.: Macmillan, 1968. National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice.

Strasburg, Paul A. 1978. Violent Delinquents. New York: Monarch Press.

Suttles, Gerald D. 1968. The Social Order of the Slum. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Tait, C. Downing and Emory F. Hodges. 1962. Delinquents, Their Families, and the Community. Springfield Ill.: Thomas.

Task Force on Juvenile Delinquency. 1967. Juvenile Delinquency and Crime. Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Task Force to Develop Standards and Goals for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. 1977. Preventing Delinquency, Volume I. Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Task Force on Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention of the National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals. 1977. Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. Washington D.C. : National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals. U.S. Government Printing Office.

Tefferteller, Ruth S. 1959. "Delinquency prevention through revitalizing parent-child relations." The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences 322: 69-78.

Toby, Jackson. "An Evaluation of Early Identification and Intense Treatment Program for Predelinquents." Social Problems 13(Fall 1985): 100-175.

Wall, John S. and J. David Hawkins. 1979. Delinquency Prevention Through Alternative Education. National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice.

Wall, John S., J.David Hawkins, Denise Lishner, and Mark Fraser. 1979. Juvenile Delinquency Prevention: A Compendium of Thirty-Six Program Models. National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice.

Washnis, George W. 1976. Citizen Involvement in Crime Prevention. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

Weis, Joseph G. and J. David Hawkins. 1979. Background Paper for Delinquency Prevention Research and Development Program. National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice.

Weis, Joseph G. and J. Sederstrom. "The Prevention of Serious Delinquency: What to Do?" Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1981.

Weis, Joseph G., Richard L. Janvier, and J. David Hawkins. 1980. Project Overview: Delinquency Prevention Research and Development Projecrt of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice.

Wheeler, Stanton L., S. Cottrell, Jr. and A. Romasco. "Juvenile Delinquency: Its Prevention and Control. President's Commission on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967.

Witmer, Helen L. ed. "Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 322 (1959).

Witmer, Helen L. and Edith Tufts. "The Effectiveness of Delinquency Prevention Programs. Children's Bureau Pub. #350. Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1954.

Woodson, Robert L. 1981a. A Summons to Life: Mediating Structures and the Prevention of Youth Crime. Cambridge, MA: Ballinger.

1981b. Youth Crime and Urban Policy: A View from the Inner City. Washington, D.C. : American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research.

Wright, W.E. and M.C. Dixon. "Community Prevention and Treatment of Juvenile Delinquents." Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency 14 (January): 35-67, 1977.

ANNALS, *AAPSS*, **494**, November 1987

Neighborhood Education, Mobilization, and Organization for Juvenile Crime Prevention

By JEFFREY FAGAN

ABSTRACT: From 1981 to 1986, a federally sponsored research and development program to prevent violent juvenile crime was implemented through neighborhood-based organizations in the Bronx, Chicago, Dallas, Los Angeles, New Orleans, and San Diego. Its goal was to reduce such crime in specific locations through resident mobilization to strengthen neighborhood cohesion and make local institutions more responsive. A conceptual framework was based on social control and learning theories. Each local version of the program involved an ongoing needs assessment through which neighborhood resident councils planned and revised their efforts. Each local program was required to include violent-crisis intervention, mediation, family support networking, and youth skills development. After 36 months of planning and implementation, serious juvenile crime decreased in three of the six target neighborhoods, compared to their respective cities. Most of the programs developed means of financial support to carry on all or part of the effort after federal funding ended. Community-led programs that emphasize advocacy and institutional mediation appear to be more effective than traditional social services in mobilizing residents to prevent juvenile crime and violence.

Jeffrey Fagan is a senior research fellow at the New York City Criminal Justice Agency. He directed the Violent Juvenile Offender Research and Development Program from 1981 to 1987. His recent publications concern inner-city youth crime, racial disparities in juvenile justice, family origins of adolescent aggression, and the transfer of juvenile offenders to the criminal court. His research interests include the relationship between drugs and crime, family violence, and the jurisprudence of juvenile crime. He received his Ph.D. from the School of Engineering at the State University of New York, Buffalo, in 1975.

NOTE: This research was conducted under Grant 85-MU-CX-0001 from the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. The opinions are those of the author and do not reflect the policies or views of the Department of Justice. James Deslonde made invaluable contributions to the Violent Juvenile Offender Research and Development Program as well as to the research. The local project staff and the neighborhood residents in the study areas provided expert assistance in collecting the data and bringing the results to life and action.

ASIDE from physical boundaries, the concept of neighborhood resides in actions by people that create a living space that engenders a sense of affinity, pride, comfort, and safety among its residents. In many neighborhoods across the United States, these components seem to have disappeared or they no longer work, giving way to fear, suspicion, family isolation, and a sense of uneasiness about the neighborhood. High crime rates, physical deterioration, family crises, and poverty have invaded many neighborhoods—and they seemingly defy change.[1] In a very broad sense, the federal Violent Juvenile Offender Research and Development Program, described in this article, had these realities as its primary focus.

The early guardians of neighborhoods were the churches, self-supported benevolent groups, local social networks, and, most important, the family. As these institutions have weakened, so, too, have their natural control and ability to teach neighborhood youth. In such circumstances, juvenile crime often has risen. Residents in high-crime neighborhoods have increasingly turned to social institutions or formal agencies to take up the responsibility of maintaining a safe, comfortable community, socializing young people, providing opportunities for growth and respect, and sanctioning misbehavior. Such alternative institutions have included the child welfare system, police departments, schools, individual or group advocates, local and national governmental agencies, and neighborhood-based organizations. These institutions were the second focus of the neighborhood programs described in this article.

1. Dennis P. Rosenbaum, "The Problem of Crime Control," in *Community Crime Prevention: Does It Work?* ed. D. P. Rosenbaum (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1986).

A third focus was organizing and mobilizing neighborhood residents to solve problems associated with juvenile crime. A number of community organization principles were used to reduce juvenile crime. The strategy included an educational component, provided a structure through which planning could occur, assisted with goal setting, and facilitated the necessary processes for social action.

More specifically, the local programs were organized to answer these questions:

1. Can resident mobilization against crime-producing conditions lead to a reduction of violent juvenile crime within a targeted neighborhood?
2. Can neighborhood residents bring about a change in institutional responses to youth in a targeted neighborhood?
3. Can neighborhood residents bring about change in how youth relate to one another and to the neighborhood? How are these changes related to rates and types of juvenile crime?

Although the reduction of juvenile crime was the major intended outcome, the disentanglement of youth problems from the broader neighborhood was virtually impossible. Community residents and institutions, as well as the family, are essentially responsible for the social development of youth. Thus the effort was as much an experiment in community development as in juvenile crime prevention.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The conceptual framework for the local programs has evolved from research sponsored by the federal Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention since 1974. That research led to an explanation of delinquency based

on notions of social control and social learning.[2] These ideas are consistent with many of the principles underlying Argus, Centro Sister Isolina Ferré, Community Boards, and Umoja.

During the development of a youth from childhood to adulthood, the major sources of social control are the family, school, peers, and community. According to several observers, the weakening, absence, or breakdown of control by these socializing agents leads to juvenile delinquency.[3] Delinquent behavior occurs when there are inadequate bonds, or attachments, to parents and school, weak commitment to educational and occupational success, and inadequate belief in the legitimacy and moral validity of the law.

Social learning concepts address the contributions of peers and neighborhood social norms to the development of juvenile delinquency. In disorganized communities where social controls are weak or conflicting, opportunities for exposure to criminal behavior and values exist, and youths are at a greater risk of delinquency than in other places through involvement with delinquent peers.[4] Whereas social control focuses on individual characteristics related to delinquent behavior and the impact of major socializing institutions, social learning accounts for the role of the community in teaching criminal attitudes and behaviors. For the programs that we evaluated, social control and learning concepts were integrated into a social development model[5] (Figure 1).

We predicted that the development of attachments or bonds to parents will lead to attachments to school, a commitment to education, and a belief in conventional behavior and the law. If youths are given adequate opportunities for involvement in legitimate activities, if they are able to acquire the necessary skills with a consistent reward structure, and if they are sanctioned fairly and quickly for misbehaviors, they will develop commitments to the broader society. We predicted that social bonding is less likely to occur in disorganized neighborhoods devoid of support networks and formal and informal controls and with fewer social and economic resources. It is also likely that youths who do not receive adequate support and direction from their families, do not experience success in school, are labeled as failures, and do not receive logical and effective sanctions for their behavior, will be most vulnerable to becoming involved in illegitimate activities and violence. Efforts to reverse these processes and to strengthen the social bonds of youths in neighborhoods with high rates of delinquency should result in a reduction of delinquent behavior, according to the social development model of Figure 1.[6]

This framework specifically envisioned neighborhood residents as a primary source of socialization through their direct contact with youths and indirect contact via social institutions. Accordingly, the framework also assumed that

2. J. David Hawkins and Joseph G. Weis, "The Social Development Model: An Integrated Approach to Delinquency Prevention," *Journal of Primary Prevention*, 6(2):73-97 (1985).

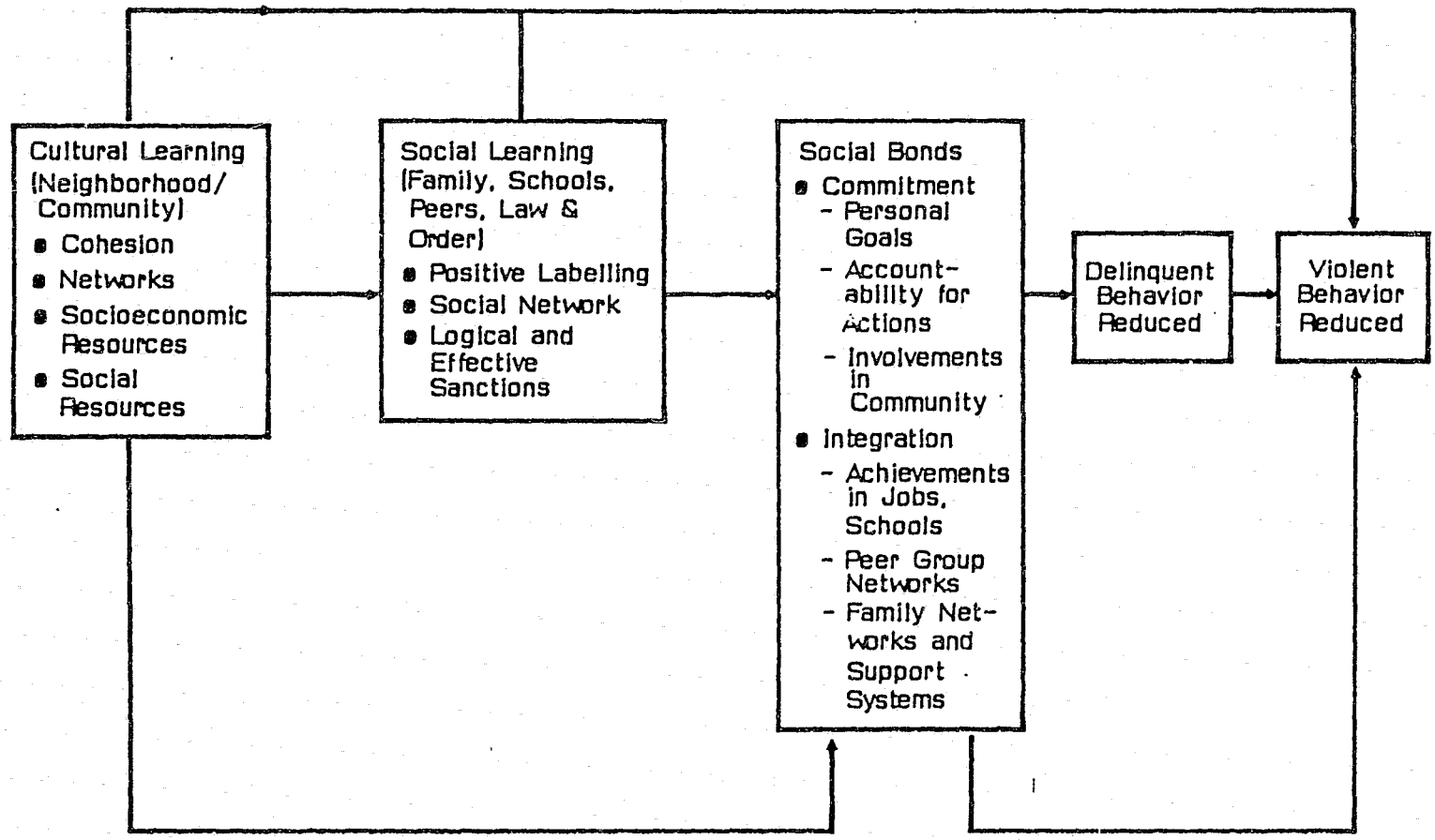
3. Travis Hirschi, *Causes of Delinquency* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969).

4. Rand Conger, "Juvenile Delinquency: Behavior Restraint or Behavior Facilitation?" in *Understanding Crime: Current Theory and Research*, ed. T. Hirschi and M. Gottfredson (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1980).

5. Hawkins and Weis, "Social Development Model."

6. Jeffrey Fagan, Elizabeth S. Piper, and Melinda Moore, "Violent Delinquents and Urban Youth," *Criminology*, 24(3):439-72 (1986).

FIGURE 1
INTEGRATED THEORETICAL MODEL OF VIOLENT DELINQUENCY



—neighborhood disorganization or inadequate coordination of available resources reduces the neighborhood's ability to control and supervise its youth effectively;
—the primary responsibility for preventing youths from engaging in delinquency should rest equally with parents, other neighborhood residents, and local socializing and control institutions; and
—residents can mediate with socializing and control institutions—family, peers, schools, employment or economic structure, and justice system—to increase the ability of those institutions to exercise better control and supervision over youths.

PROGRAM COMPONENTS

The conceptual framework was implemented and evaluated through a neighborhood-based program in the early 1980s in the Northwest Bronx, the West Side of Chicago, West Dallas, south central Los Angeles, the Tremé neighborhood of New Orleans, and University Heights in San Diego. Each of these local efforts had the following mandatory components, which were planned and implemented over 36 months:

1. A neighborhood-based organization had contractual responsibility for implementing the program.

2. Adults, parents, and youths residing in the targeted neighborhood were mobilized and organized for increased supervision over the youths' behavior and liaison with the youths' socializing institutions.

3. Each neighborhood organization had to carry out a violent crime intervention program, institutional mediation with schools and law enforcement agencies, a family support network, and a youth skills development activity.

Neighborhood-based organization

"Neighborhood-based organization" was carefully defined to ensure that natural resident groups would be involved in the prevention efforts. As conceived in this program, neighborhood-based organizations were founded by residents as an organized effort to solve neighborhood problems. They represented the authority and leadership of the neighborhood. In addition, the neighborhood organizations needed past experience in the use of volunteers to conduct their programs and were free from standards imposed by organizations or boards other than that of the residents. Last, the neighborhoods represented by the organizations were in preselected cities that qualified as being high in violent juvenile crime, that is, having a violent juvenile crime arrest rate of at least 100 arrests per 100,000 population.

Community organizing was an essential element. Program activities could not be conducted without large cadres of residents volunteering their efforts. Each funded neighborhood organization was staffed with one or two community organizers, a project data collector, and a project director.

None of the groups had experience with organized research or evaluation. With the exception of two agencies, none of the organizations was a direct service provider or had community-organizing experience. Community organization was carried out through the development of resident mobilization councils—organized bodies of neighborhood leadership. The councils assumed

the responsibility of implementing the program activities. Mobilization continually stressed education of the residents—about juvenile delinquency, motivation to solve the problem, and further involvement of other residents. The councils created change and sought to reduce delinquency through several major steps:

—defining the task;
—determining appropriate leadership;
—orienting leadership toward the goals of resident mobilization;
—developing shared values and common vision among leaders;
—involving other residents;
—orienting and training residents;
—analyzing existing conditions and problems in the neighborhood;
—developing a plan of action, based upon the analysis of problems;
—implementing the action plan; and
—institutionalizing the resulting outcomes and impacts.

The composition of the councils reflected the population of the targeted neighborhoods. Council members included persons familiar with the wide range of neighborhood conditions, particularly those associated with crime and delinquency and the institutions or agencies responsible for supervising youth behavior. Involvement on the councils was extended to nondelinquent youths—as well as to current gang members and other law-violating youth group members.

Ongoing needs assessments

To allow the neighborhood organizations and their resident councils to assess the neighborhood circumstances that contributed to juvenile crime, plan their programs, receive feedback on progress, and modify their initiatives, a considerable amount of information was provided initially and then updated at six-month intervals. The information included levels and trends of youth crime in the target neighborhood and the city as a whole; school policies on discipline, suspension, and expulsion; police policies toward juveniles; employment and economic development trends; and an inventory of neighborhood resources. Staff and council members were trained in how to use this information to plan, set priorities, and reach objectives.

Program activities

Each site was required to test four major program interventions: violent crime intervention, institutional mediation, family support networks, and youth skills development.

Under violent crime intervention, the resident councils developed activities against potentially violent situations in the targeted neighborhood. Potential and real locations of crime were targeted for the reduction of violent or other law-violating activities. The efforts were intended to bring about immediate control of crime-producing conditions in the neighborhood and to defuse volatile situations. The interventions were intended to be short range so that plans for other crime-producing situations could be added during succeeding six-month planning cycles. For example, residents in one neighborhood formed an emergency information network that served as an early warning system when gang conflicts were about to erupt in violence. Relaying news that one group was about to set upon another, the residents intervened through both mediation and involvement of law enforce-

ment to defuse conflict situations that in the past had led to bloodshed or fatalities. In another neighborhood, residents arranged truces and sponsored events where gang members turned in their weapons and pledged nonviolence for specific time periods during which turf conflicts and other disputes could be resolved through negotiation and conciliation. The authority and neutrality of the neighborhood organization made possible the trust and cooperation of gangs who were bitter enemies.[7]

The component of institutional mediation required the resident councils to examine behavioral problems related to the socialization experiences of resident youths, identify those institutions and practices that exacerbated youth violence problems, and develop a partnership between youths, adults, and representatives of local institutions to plan strategies for prevention of violent delinquency. The mediation activities involved schools, police departments, juvenile courts, juvenile probation departments, social service providers, economic development and planning offices, as well as gang leaders. Specific innovations included changes in school curricula, policy changes in law enforcement agencies to concentrate arrests on drug dealers, efforts to increase the number of juveniles arrested as a deterrent to juvenile crime, and mediation with probation officials to alter their responses to technical violations of probation conditions. The diversity of responses and strategies reflected the different conditions in the neighborhoods and the variety of institutional responses to the mandates of youth socialization.

The family support networks were intended to enhance the abilities of families to supervise and control the behavior of their youths by promoting self-help mechanisms for families of violence-prone, high-risk youngsters or for families in crisis situations. This program element proved to be the most difficult to implement. Examples of innovations included parent support, parent effectiveness training programs, and mediation to involve families of students in school affairs. However, families often were marginal in these neighborhoods, and their unique problems left little room to develop program strategies. Economically strapped and often with more than one child but only one parent in the home, families of inner-city youths were burdened by the same difficulties that affected the youths themselves. It was difficult to motivate families to participate in the lengthy developmental process to form networks when they were faced with more immediate, concrete issues: housing, clothing, food, and child care. Some families criticized the concept as too middle-class for its insensitivity to the day-to-day realities that inner-city families face. Ultimately, the federal program relaxed its requirement to develop this program element.

The component of youth skills development was used by the resident councils to plan and promote the development of positive social bonds for neighborhood youths and to provide opportunities for personal reward and achievement. Activities were to focus on building academic and other concrete skills, neighborhood improvement projects, and job-finding techniques. Youth participation on the resident councils was itself a developmental activity. By evaluating the data

7. The House of Umoja as pioneered in such gang-conflict resolution. See David Fattah, "The House of Umoja as a Case Study for Social Change," this issue of *The Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

on neighborhood conditions and planning prevention strategies, youths gained skills in decision making, planning, and analysis. More conventional activities were included also: graffiti-removal projects, neighborhood cleanup, and organizing block parties. But creative innovations also emerged, from senior-citizen escorts, to neighborhood leafleting in order to organize residents to form councils, to mediating disputes between gangs. However, certain aspects of youth skill building did not emerge. For example, we expected to see self-help businesses develop, such as automobile repair or housing rehabilitation. These efforts toward self-sufficiency seemed to program organizers to be more demanding than the apparent level of youth commitment would support. An important lesson was a critical-mass issue: the threshold level of youth involvement needed to launch such efforts exceeded what programs could offer, given the spread of activities across so many program areas.

Figure 2 shows how the four components were designed to reduce violent juvenile crime. Table 1 summarizes what was done in each of the six cities and what the results were.

RESULTS

The programs were active in their communities for nearly four years. In that period, resident mobilization councils were formed, four cycles of the planning process were completed, and program elements were organized and put into action by staff and volunteers from the neighborhood. The planning and analysis system also allowed us to evaluate the programs' impacts, both small and large, on the residents, on the social institutions in the neighborhood, on youths, and on the crime problems and related social processes. This section reviews the program's impacts, providing an overview of the range of outcomes we observed and measured.

The impact of knowledge

Many of the council members had little or no previous knowledge of the information used in planning and how such information could be used to form public policy. The knowledge strengthened their motivation as they organized strategies to reduce violent juvenile crime. The new information helped to formulate clear goals, objectives, and strategies as well as to structure a plan for action. The new-found knowledge often empowered residents with a different sense of themselves, to the extent that some of them used the planning to reorganize their own personal lives. Many became angry when presented with clear evidence of neighborhood deprivation. The seemingly overwhelming problem of neighborhood juvenile crime became more manageable, if not concrete and explicable.

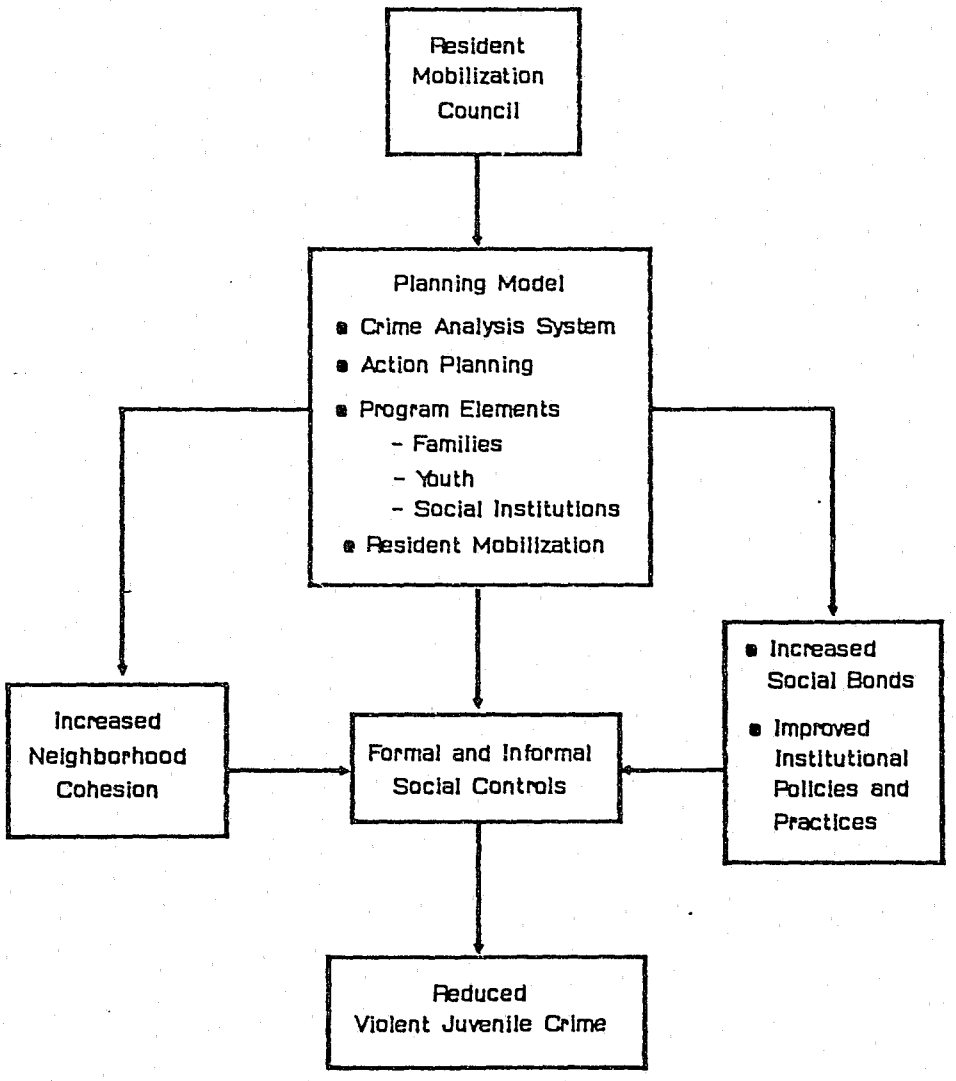
The resident councils

Recruiting neighborhood leadership became the most difficult task in organizing the resident councils. Visible, highly recognized leaders in each of the neighborhoods already had high demands on their time or were committed to other neighborhood problems that did not include juvenile delinquency prevention. Many felt that economic and housing issues were more important, if not glamorous, and drew much of the neighborhoods' natural and strongest leaders. This forced the mobilization effort to recruit and train new generations of neighborhood leadership. More emphasis was required on leadership

TABLE 1
NEIGHBORHOOD PREVENTION STRATEGIES

	Program Elements				
Neighborhood	Police mediation	School mediation	Youth skills development	Family support networks	Violent crisis intervention
Bronx (Northwest Bronx)	Residents instigated increased police enforcement of drug violations	Parent-school efforts to reduce school overcrowding	Summer youth programs to increase summer youth employment	Literacy campaign for parents of school-age youth, family fairs	Work with merchants, police in efforts to stem drug trafficking in the neighborhood
Chicago (Woodlawn)	Police/youth-gang recreational and sports league	School fair to match students' interest with school curricular emphasis	Master apprentice program to train youth in skilled trade occupations	Family support network groups	Neighborhood crime-watch program
Dallas (West Dallas)	Police substation relocated to serve neighborhood	Parent discussion of discipline code enforcement and school crime	Summer youth employment, recreational activities	Family support network groups	Increased police surveillance in high-crime areas, ID marking of household goods
Los Angeles (Compton)	Strengthened efforts of police gang-intervention unit	Orientation program for enforcement of disciplinary codes, parent surveillance of school and neighborhood	Workshops for youth to develop job-finding skills	Block clubs organized around families to reduce gang violence	Reduced gang-related violence in school through parent participation in school surveillance
New Orleans (Tremé)	Police-youth rap groups on neighborhood delinquency	School discussion on school violence and revisions of disciplinary codes	Summer youth employment and training	Family discussions on family crisis situations	Residents of specified areas organized to reduce street crime by street presence
San Diego (University Heights)	Strengthened police responses to youth gangs, crime	School-neighborhood meetings on problems of youth-gang violence in schools	Youth-gang interventions to reduce gang violence (truce meetings)	Family support network groups	Residents organized to reduce crime in selected park and recreational areas through patrols

FIGURE 2
VIOLENT JUVENILE OFFENDER PROGRAM DESIGN



development in the early days of implementation, resulting in councils that varied in composition. The relative lack of experienced neighborhood leadership resulted in councils that differed widely from one city to another. However, the composition of the councils did not seem to be the most important factor related to the success of the organizing efforts.

Data collection

The fact that each program collected needs-assessment information on a continuing basis resulted in extensive in-

volvement of neighborhood residents as volunteer participants. Residents were recruited and trained to administer household victimization surveys, administer and monitor surveys of neighborhood youth, and provide a wide array of contextual information drawn from the neighborhood. These activities required many hours of volunteer time and fairly sophisticated skills.

Volunteerism was difficult to sustain. As with the neighborhood leadership, highly visible and readily accessible neighborhood volunteers were overwhelmed by requests. In addition, many recruited volunteers remained only a short time because there were no immediate benefits for their own life situation. Volunteering for data collection or for the resident councils required the development of a long-range vision and a commitment to long-range change, and it did not have immediate holding power for many of the volunteers recruited. The more immediate short-term problem-solving goals held more promise for partial volunteers.

Action planning and implementation

The culmination of the needs assessment was the resident action plan. The action plan was a blueprint for program design. It set forth a rationale, goals, objectives, extensive descriptions of activities, role delegation, anticipated problems in implementing these strategies, resource persons to help carry them out, evaluation plans, and additional resources needed. As shown in Table 1, the plans ranged in diversity from the reduction of gang violence to the development of family support networks. The implementation of the plans required council members to mobilize more neighborhood residents to help carry out the activities. The violent-crisis interventions also required the targeting of a high-crime spot within the neighborhood. In several cases, criminal activities were deterred or stopped only to be displaced to another neighborhood area. The violent-crisis interventions in several neighborhoods were carried out with the assistance of community relations offices of the local police departments. In these cases, council resident members were assisted in their mobilization efforts by police officers.

The neighborhood organizations and the continuation of programming

The local programs were a radical departure from conventional social services. Neighborhood organization staff members were relatively inexperienced in mobilizing and organizing neighborhood residents. Staffers were even less experienced with helping residents to examine the policies of institutions serving their neighborhoods. However, this approach to social services in four of the organizations was successful in institutionalizing several of the program strategies. One resident council was endorsed by the city and became part of a citywide reduction strategy that used the program's action-planning guide. A resident committee became incorporated into a city-sponsored neighborhood anticrime group. The youth employment activities of another resident committee activity became county funded and continue as of the writing of this article. Still another council incorporated antidrug activities into a neighborhoodwide effort that attracted other funds and continues as a highly successful antidrug initiative. A national foundation has designated

funds to one organization to continue its entire effort. Thus the neighborhood organizations are finding that mobilizing residents to solve neighborhood problems is a viable approach that attracts financial resources as well as becomes a viable alternative to other means of service delivery. For many of the neighborhoods, the effort has clarified the relationship between community organization and social service delivery.

However, the mobilization of volunteers in high-crime neighborhoods still needs rethinking in light of the problems encountered by each organization. The volunteer issue may be linked to the leadership issue. It appears prudent for neighborhood organizations continuously to develop activities that increase the awareness of volunteering as well as provide opportunities for leadership development for residents.

Socializing institutions

Although some of the program activities focused on policy or practices of the neighborhood's youth-serving institutions, such activities were not threatening to most of these preexisting institutions. The self-help approach of the programs was enticing—and often enhanced the efforts of those institutions wanting community outreach. In this context, police departments greatly benefited from any citizen effort to reduce crime.

Schools, however, were an exception. In several of the cities, school officials expressed extreme skepticism at all proposed efforts. Their greatest fear hinged on being publicly recognized as a violent school or as a school district with delinquency and violence problems. In these school districts not only were the neighborhood organizations denied access to students and teachers, but in two extreme cases school officials refused to discuss with neighborhood staff or resident council members the problems of delinquency and crime in the schools. Though some schools were open and frank, others refused to provide data, grant access to students for surveys, or allow teachers to participate in the resident council. On the other hand, officials at the juvenile courts and police departments viewed the organizing as parallel to their own efforts and were most cooperative in granting and assisting with data access.

Juvenile crime

To determine whether the prevention programs actually reduced crime and the fear of victimization, three sources of data were used: self-reports of crime by neighborhood youths, household surveys where residents reported victimizations and perceptions of neighborhood crime, and police reports. Each measure was constructed to replicate well validated reporting and measurement systems. The youth survey used the self-reported delinquency scales of the National Youth Survey,[8] the household survey used the victimization measures of the National Crime Survey, especially the measures of victimization by juveniles,[9] and the reporting categories of the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reports were used as

8. Delbert S. Elliott and David Huizinga, *The Relationship between Delinquent Behavior and Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Problems*, National Youth Survey Report No. 26 (Boulder: University of Colorado, Behavioral Research Institute, 1984).

9. Joan McDermott and Michael Hindelay, *Juvenile Criminal Behavior in the United States: Its Trends and Patterns* (Washington, DC: Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 1981).

official police-based crime-report measures. By triangulating data sources, we created a more reliable and sensitive picture of actual trends in serious juvenile crime in the target neighborhoods.

The results across the six sites provided a complex view of the trends in crime rates, patterns, and locations. There were random fluctuations across reporting periods that likely reflected events unrelated to either actual crime rates or seasonal differences. The observed rates were highly unstable and indicated cyclical patterns where crime was high in some periods but relatively low and stable in others. In annual or seminannual intervals, crime rates were not responsive to the programs' efforts and instead reflected citywide trends. We did observe reductions in highly focused crime-specific areas, which we attributed to the intervention of residents. But these efforts were more likely to affect either specific locations or specific crime types rather than the aggregate crime rates within the neighborhood. The relatively short lives of these projects did not afford sufficient time to determine if the underlying crime-supporting conditions were altered and, in turn, if crime rates were reduced over a longer time interval. Time did not permit us to determine, for example, if improved school conditions affected a generation of youngsters whose adolescent crime rates were lower than in earlier years. Nevertheless, the following examples illustrate the types of impact on crime that the programs were able to achieve.

San Diego. During the summer of 1985, the San Diego resident council sponsored a multidimensional summer program aimed at reducing gang violence in its neighborhood. The program consisted of

—a neighborhood-beautification, graffiti-removal, and cleanup campaign, conducted by neighborhood youth;
—a summer job placement program for neighborhood youth;
—life-skills workshops for neighborhood youth; and
—gang-truce meetings.

For several months prior to the development and implementation of the San Diego program, incidents of violence erupted between rival gang members in the target neighborhood, with individual smaller clashes occurring between the big gang bangs. These incidents left behind several violent deaths and many arrests of other violent offenders. Thus the San Diego program targeted active, rival gang members as a means of reducing gang violence. Nondelinquent youths also were recruited. The City Youth Employment Office, the Police Department, and other institutions were recruited to assist with donations of office space, donations of paint and cleanup materials, creation of jobs, transportation, and other needed assistance.

The intermingling of delinquents and nondelinquents, plus the association with resident council adults and institutional personnel, fostered positive social bonding among the youth. That is, they became more actively involved in social networks and norms that promoted noncriminal styles through personal relationships with nondelinquent peers and adults. The association of delinquent gang members and nondelinquent youths was designed to influence the peer culture in a positive manner. The truce meetings represented efforts to seek lawful, nonviolent approaches to solving gang-related problems.

The program ran approximately three months, in the summer of 1985. During

this period, citywide serious crime rates increased slightly, but there was a decline in serious arrest rates in the target area.

The effort, time, and planning that went into the reduction of crime should not be sporadic. They can only continue to show positive effects if they are sustained over longer periods of time. Unless they are so sustained, the results will only be illusory. At the conclusion of the intervention, juvenile arrest rates in the target neighborhood began a steady upward climb and gang violence returned to earlier levels.

The Bronx. Long before the program was implemented in the Northwest Bronx, residents were concerned about the amount of drug trafficking and the attendant violence. Therefore, the Northwest Bronx resident council targeted a neighborhood area notorious for drug traffic and violent crime. Much of the drug trafficking and crime involved juveniles. The resident council mobilized other residents, garnered the cooperation of the police, and began a campaign to halt or deter drug activity in the neighborhood area.

For New York City as a whole, there was a slight decline in the juvenile arrest rate during program implementation. For the target area, the decline in serious offenses was much more evident—from a high of 70 arrests to fewer than 20 during the campaign. The greatest reduction occurred among those aged 17 and over, the juveniles most involved in the drug activities.

Los Angeles. Guided by feedback reports of high rates of violence in the neighborhood high school, the Los Angeles resident council decided to focus on the school. The overall goal of the resident council was to reduce school violence, vandalism, and delinquency by encouraging and assisting the school to enforce a uniform set of disciplinary policies. During the beginning of school year 1983-84, a committee of neighborhood residents designed a schoolwide orientation program to introduce a simplified school disciplinary code. Using graphics and lively animation, the parent-led orientation encouraged discussion groups among students so that the consequences of misbehavior were thoroughly understood. Similar efforts were conducted among faculty members.

Incidents of violence and vandalism decreased 600 percent during the implementation period of 1983-84, compared to the number of such incidents in 1982-83. However, suspensions and expulsions increased significantly. These increases most likely reflected the application by high school personnel of more strict behavioral checks. The logical progression of continued strict enforcement should eventually result in a reduction of both suspensions and violence or vandalism as the students begin to follow new norms that evolve from stricter disciplinary enforcement.

CONCLUSION

The major issues that the local programs addressed were mobilizing neighborhood residents and reducing youth crime, influencing institutional responses to youths, and changing youth attachments and bonds.

Neighborhood mobilization and youth crime

High crime rates in low-income neighborhoods are often considered the products of a disorganized, depressed neighborhood beset by the symptoms of poverty. However, our experience in six of the United States' toughest high-crime neighborhoods gives ample evi-

dence to rethink this position.

A component of neighborhood disorganization is a lack of stability that feeds into the lack of attachments and bonds to the neighborhood. Information from our household survey illustrates that this association does not exist in the target neighborhoods. Large percentages of the residents surveyed reported residency of more than 10 years. When this group is combined with those reporting residency of 6-10 years, the two categories account for more than 60 percent of the residents. What appeared to happen in these neighborhoods was that many households relocated but not outside the neighborhood. Movement was within the neighborhood. Remaining in the neighborhood was often by choice. Because of this stability, the bonds and attachments of residents to neighborhoods can be a means to mobilize them.

Leadership was a crucial element in the neighborhood. Each of the neighborhoods evaluated had long-standing, experienced leaders residing there. However, the multiple demands upon their time often forced the recognized leaders into a posture of turning down all requests except those of high personal priority. Nor were there sufficient opportunities for leadership development among those eager to participate in the life of the neighborhood but with no previous experience.

The mobilization effort had two sequential goals. The first was to mobilize youth and adult residents from the neighborhood. In each neighborhood, youths were easily mobilized to attend resident council meetings and other activities. In the case of San Diego, conflicting gang members were organized to face each other in the same room—a feat that the San Diego Police Department could not accomplish. Importantly, youth residents in low-income neighborhoods appear to be an untapped resource—and they are easier to mobilize than adults.

Neighborhood cohesion improved when mobilization efforts involved large numbers of residents, as was the case in the Bronx and San Diego. Measures of neighborhood cohesion increased after each program intervention.

It appeared, then, that our neighborhoods were not disorganized in terms of human potential. There was a leadership structure, attachment to neighborhood, and youth potential all untapped by the neighborhood-based organizations. There was a strong propensity among residents to regroup in order to solve neighborhood problems. But these efforts needed a focused leadership-development component—because the old leadership structure was overworked and in high demand.

The real community organization problem in these neighborhoods was that all the neighborhoods were consistently underserved by the social service network and were economically worse off when compared to overall city economic-development indicators. The debilitating effect of these conditions on the neighborhoods put many residents in a double bind—they were victims of the very conditions that needed community reorganization and problem solving. Mobilization in these neighborhoods must instill in residents a new sense of the problem. This rethinking of neighborhood conditions then requires a very strong educational thrust. In the words of an experienced organizer, the mobilization must assist residents to "seek solutions to problems which for the first time become perceived as problems rather than as a condition of existence."[10]

10. Anthony Sorrentino, *Organizing against*

The second mobilization focus was on institutions. It was not as clear or consistent as the resident mobilization issue. Schools were generally unresponsive to resident councils and appeared as closed social systems. School officials in these neighborhoods determined their own responses to delinquency and crime with little or no input from parents or other residents. This response is not surprising; schools have long been analyzed as closed institutions. On the other hand, when a school was cooperative, such as in the Los Angeles project, the benefits of reduced violence and vandalism were an obvious payoff. Police departments were the most cooperative, but little or no change in policy or practice resulted from the joint planning or activities. Police departments saw the resident council efforts as an extension of their community outreach programs or as community education to improve the image of police enforcement. Police departments did not, however, see the programs as an opportunity to interact with residents to change police policy. The reduction in arrests in San Diego occurred as a result of reduced gang violence, not as a result of a change in police policy toward youth gangs. A very dramatic and intense intervention would be required for the community relations staff of police departments to advocate change within police departments.

Local child protective services departments were seemingly so distraught by high case loads, a shortage of professional staff, and disorganized administration that there were absolute refusals to cooperate in any way with the resident councils. Few agency personnel participated in any resident council activities. These agencies were closed and impervious to change.

Juvenile courts were cooperative and open to suggestions. However, the probation departments and, in some cities, the district attorney's offices appeared to be institutional gatekeepers to the courts. None of the resident councils developed activities with the courts, leaving this complex institution still isolated from the communities from which wards were drawn.

In sum, institutions serving low-income neighborhoods can change their responses to neighborhood problems only through the persistent, intense efforts of residents. The real challenge for community organization efforts is to gain entry to the institutions and to open up the relatively closed institutions. In only a few locales were there mobilization efforts aimed at closed institutions such as the schools. Efforts to change such closed social systems would probably have required techniques other than a mediation approach.

The issue of youth bonds is somewhat clarified by the San Diego experience. The intensity and depth of the effort required to reduce gang violence is more than what most social agencies are willing or able to do. The dramatic drop in gang violence is only a preliminary indication that the approach has the potential for altering youth bonds and attachments in the peer group—the gang, in this case. The level of effort required to bring about more lasting nonviolent behavior is difficult to sustain in an experimental program of short duration. But sustained efforts are needed, and they must be flexible both to anticipate and to react to changes in youth culture. More efforts of this kind should become institutionalized within the agencies that traditionally

Crime: Redeveloping the Neighborhood (New York: Human Sciences Press, 1977), p. 209.

serve the neighborhood. These efforts would require that the agencies adopt more advocacy and community organization outreach activities in addition to their social service delivery role.

The concept of crime prevention through neighborhood development is not new. From the early efforts of the Chicago Area Project through the Urban Crime Prevention Program, crime prevention through resident efforts to counteract the debilitating effects of social and economic isolation has had a long and rich history. In each case, the natural strength of informal networks among neighbors has been validated as a means to reweave the social fabric of neighborhoods in order to foster youth socialization.

The six projects described in this article reaffirm the critical linkage between residents and their social institutions, the social infrastructure of the neighborhood. The institutions influence youths, but the residents influence the institutions. The six projects illustrate the critical role of residents in influencing institutional agendas and, in turn, in the social development of youths to reduce youth crime. Efforts that focus only on crime occurrence will not address the developmental sequences that help avoid crime—sequences that occur in families, schools, and youth cultures. The strength of these social institutions depends on both resident mobilization and urban policies that provide the basic resources for sustaining the health, safety, and development of neighborhoods. Policies to control crime must ultimately look beyond criminal justice to support the economic and social structures of neighborhoods.

THE SOCIAL ECOLOGY OF VIOLENT DELINQUENCY

Jeffrey A. Fagan
Patricia F. Kelly
Michael Jang

URSA Institute
San Francisco, California

Presented at the Annual Meeting of the
Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences
Chicago, Illinois

March 28, 1984

This research was supported by Grant 82-MU-AX-0003(S4) to the URSA Institute from the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice. The opinions are those of the authors and do not reflect the views of the Department of Justice. The authors are grateful to the Research Analysts at the eight sites of the Violent Juvenile Offender Prevention Program, without whose tireless efforts this research would not be possible.

THE SOCIAL ECOLOGY OF VIOLENT DELINQUENCY

Jeffrey A. Fagan
Patricia F. Kelly
Michael Jang

ABSTRACT

Recent research on serious delinquency suggests that it is an urban phenomenon with origins in social processes at the ecological level and their influence on youth socialization in the inner city. Relative deprivation in high crime neighborhoods is theoretically linked to strain theory and ultimately to serious and violent juvenile crime, but past research on inequality has been limited to socio-economic factors. The analysis of relative deprivation for several ecological dimensions provides an analysis of the influence of general social conditions on juvenile arrest rates. A disparity ratio was used as an independent variable to measure the difference between neighborhoods and their surrounding areas for a range of ecological factors. Correlation analyses, though limited by sample size, show that disparities in socio-economic factors are associated with concentrations of serious delinquency. Racial heterogeneity is also associated with serious delinquency. Inequalities in other demographic factors and urban spatial form are related to socio-economic inequalities, and thereby indirectly related to serious juvenile crime. The results suggest that social process may be determined by both economics and urban form, which in turn influence the development of serious delinquency.

INTRODUCTION

In the past decade, serious and violent juvenile crime has become a central concern in delinquency policy and criminological research. Considerable attention has been focused on efforts to understand how serious delinquent and criminal careers develop, and accordingly, how they may be prevented and controlled. Naturally, such efforts require a theoretical and empirical understanding of the causes of violent crime. Only recently has delinquency research emphasized efforts to uncover the specific correlates of serious and violent crime, recognizing that earlier unicausal theories of delinquency failed to explain the phenomenon of juvenile violence.

Early attempts to specify theories and causes of violent juvenile crime have been problemmatic. Cohort studies show that violence is often a random occurrence in a pattern of offenses usually including non-violent juvenile

crime (Wolfgang et al., 1972; Hamparian et al., 1978; Shannon, 1980; Rojek and Erikson, 1982). Accurate predictors of either juvenile or adult violence have been difficult to reliably identify (Monahan, 1981), with "false positives" occurring at an unacceptably high rate of over 30 percent (Chaiken and Chaiken, 1982). Violent delinquents appear to have a range of social and behavioral problems which are highly correlated with peer, family, school, and employment influences, as well as experiences in the justice system (Fagan et al., 1983). A youth's prior victimization also contributes to becoming a victimizer (Fagan et al., 1983).

While it has been difficult to pinpoint the sources of these influences, several researchers recently have suggested that they operate simultaneously at the environmental, situational, and individual levels (Fagan and Jones, 1984; Weis and Hawkins, 1980). Fagan et al (1983) found that among violent youths, environmental influences were stronger predictors of the prevalence and length of delinquent careers than individual level or situational variables. Other studies, some using national probability samples, found similar results for serious delinquency (e.g., Elliott and Ageton, 1979). These integrated approaches point to the need for more intensive analyses of the social processes at the ecological level which spawn and sustain serious delinquent behavior.

From a different but related view, serious and violent delinquency appears to be a disproportionately urban phenomena (Kornhauser, 1978). Serious and violent juvenile crime increases with urbanization (Laub, 1983; Laub and Hindelang, 1981). Regardless of the crime measures used, serious delinquency rates increase as the geographical focus approaches the inner city. In other words, urbanism and serious crime, among both youth and adults, are closely related.

However, these associations in turn raise a host of questions regarding the components of urbanism. The concentration of serious delinquency in urban areas may be attributable to differences in demographic, socio-economic and structural composites of urban areas rather than simply to the unique socializa-

tion processes which are characteristic of urban settings. Or, it is possible that urban "form" determines socialization of youths and social behavior in urban areas. This confounding effect may underlie the general reluctance of criminologists to resolve the question of whether higher delinquency rates result from the characteristics of communities or the aggregate characteristics of individuals who cluster in urban areas.

Prior Ecological Research

Since the 1920s, ecological influences on crime rates have been a central theme in criminology. It has long been posited that social dysorganization and economic displacement result in conditions which give rise to high rates of juvenile crime. Shaw and McKay (1931, 1942) demonstrated empirically that the highest delinquency rates were found in the central city areas of Chicago which were marked by "social disorganization." Shaw (1931) noted that:

> "in the process of city growth, the neighborhood organizations, cultural institutions and social standards inpractically all of the areas adjacent to the central business district and the major industrial centers are subject to rapid change and disorganization. The gradual invasion of these areas by industry and commerce, the continuous movement of the older residents out of the area and the influx of newer groups, the confusion of many divergent cultural standards, the economic insecurity of the families, all combine to render difficult the development of a stable and efficient neighborhood organization for the education and control of the child and the suppression of lawlessness."[1]

Shaw and McKay found that these areas were characterized by low socio-economic status, population heterogeneity, and high rates of residential mobility. For several decades, researchers consistently validated the early work of Shaw and McKay (see, for example, Chilton, 1964; Gordon, 1971; and Laub and Hindelang, 1981). In addition to the three factors cited by Shaw and McKay, the more recent studies showed that other urban characteristics were also related to

---

[1]National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, Report on the Causes of Crime, vol. 2, no. 13 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1931), p. 387.

crime rates: population density, area unemployment, and family structure (see, for example, Danzinger, 1976). Weis and Sederstrom (1981) cited weakened social institutions (e.g., school, churches) in high-crime neighborhoods as strong correlates of serious and violent delinquency.

Unfortunately, ecological explanations of crime have not been widely accepted. In the past quarter century, both research and policy have focused on individual explanations of crime, for a variety of reasons. First, ecological explanations were thought to have limited utility in explaining individual behaviors. They do not describe the processes by which juveniles come to engage in delinquent behavior, or whether they continue into adult years (Shannon, 1984). As such, ecological factors serve only as correlates or epidemiological locators of delinquency.

Second, ecological studies have not been useful in "predicting" which individuals from high crime rate neighborhoods actually engage in criminal behavior. This concern has been more urgently stated in recent years as justice system resources become scarcer, and has led to a search for "individual" explanations and predictors of delinquency. Since Robinson (1950), "ecological fallacy" has been a consistent roadblock, both methodologically and substantively, to the application of ecological information in crime control policy. In its simplest form, this concept states that efects observed at the community level do not equally affect all individuals within that community. Laub and Hindelang (1981) suggest that this had artifically separated the study of environmental from situational or individual influences.

Third, ecological factors have generally been poorly conceptualized, and frequently appear to be confounded with the social characteristics of urban populations. For example, urban ecology and race are often confounded in crime analyses. Laub (1983) found that race was a stronger predictor of crime rates than urbanism. Blau and Blau (1982) suggest that race interacts with socio-economic status to account for variations in violent crime rates in urban areas. Messner (1982) showed that poverty was a useful predictor of

urban homicide rates, but only where poverty was concentrated and in sharp contrast to surrounding areas. Also, past ecological research has relied too often on national data for too few variables, limiting the depth of knowledge gained on local context. One must turn to local data to increase the range of indicators, particularly in the realm of housing and land use (i.e., spatial relations).

Fourth, most prior ecological research on crime has utilized official records from police and the courts. Several researchers have noted the instability and pitfalls of official records. Chilton (1982) notes instability over time and across jurisdictions for lesser (i.e., misdemeanor) crimes. Black (1970) and McCleary (1982), among others, have described organizational processes which minimize the validity of cross-jurisdictional analyses of official arrest data. Several researchers have questioned whether official records more accurately reflect the behavior of the justice system or criminal offenders. For ecological analyses in particular, precinct differences may affect arrest data between neighborhoods, since less powerful groups may be disproportionately selected for official processing (see, for example, Chambliss and Seidman, 1971). Recent research has noted differential penetration rates for minority youth in the juvenile justice system (Reed, 1983). Accordingly, ecological correlations may in fact reflect differences in patrol practices for certain neighborhoods rather than the actual diferences in behaviors of people in those neighborhoods.

Recognizing the limitations, some researchers have utilized other data sources, including self-reported crime and victimization data. Weis and Sederstrom (1981), for example, utilized self-report data to analyze "community context" effects, and found correlations between serious delinquency and weak social institutions. Linking these socializing influences to ecological dimensions, they argued that ecological effects were important components of serious and violent delinquency. However, most self-report data has important limitations: the absence of specific questions on both serious crime and ecological influences in the offender's neighborhood. Fagan et al. (1983) addressed

these concerns, but the sample was limited to violent offenders. Nevertheless, that study did find significant environmental influences.

Laub and Hindelang (1981) used victimization data to identify neighborhood characteristics associated with serious and violent delinquency. They found that over a five year period, there were disproportionately high rates of victimization and offending in neighborhoods characterized by high residential mobility, high structural density, high unemployment, and a high percentage of black populations. An important finding was that the ecological associations using victimization data were the same as those found by other researchers using official records. They concluded that ecological effects were not attributable to justice system influences.

Finally, ecological research has been limited by difficulties in determining the locus of ecological effects. While there is broad agreement on the importance of milieu effects, there is little consensus on an appropriate area size for study purposes. A variety of units have been used, ranging from blocks to "natural areas," census tracts, police grids or precints, neighborhoods, "communities" of several residential neighborhoods, and SMSA's. Ecological studies have relied on either absolute indicators of various spatial or social dimensions in these broadly defined areas, or on measures of dispersion within an area. These conflicting methodologies have often yielded contradictory findings (Messner, 1982).

Shannon (1984) states that only neighborhoods would be sufficiently homogeneous for a definitive test of ecological (or milieu) effects. The U.S. Census Bureau defined neighborhood as "usually contiguous...block groups with a population minimum of 4,000" (Shenk and McInerny, 1978:22). Laub and Hindelang (1981) analyzed neighborhoods defined in this manner, and found them to be "relatively compact, contiguous, and homogeneous areas approximately the size of a census tract" (p. 15).

In sum, it appears that neighborhood offers a convenient and useful concept in which ecological influences on serious delinquency can be empirically analyzed. By isolating these spatial units which spawn and sustain delinquent involvement, we can begin also to understand the social processes within these areas and accordingly establish theoretical linkages between the acts of individuals and the environments in which such behaviors develop. In turn, such information can lead to effective allocation of resources and enlightened crime control policies.

Theoretical Issues

The empirical relationship between urban spatial form and social behavior raises questions regarding the conceptualization of social ecology. The general correlation between urbanization and serious delinquency stands side by side with other urban correlations: poverty, housing, demographics, land use, area economic well-being, and weak social institutions (Gordon, 1976). The prominence of ecological research in criminology has suffered from a general failure to combine findings theoretically at the individual and neighborhood levels (Kornhauser, 1978). Thus, while there is a growing consensus that neighborhood contexts are important features of serious and violent delinquency, there is little understanding of how the characteristics of "high crime" neighborhoods influence individual behavior.

One underlying reason for the secondary importance of ecological research has been its conceptualization and measurement. Consider poverty, a widely accepted component of urban ecology. Though theorists have long suspected that poverty in one form or another influences crime, there remains some disagreement whether it is a direct influence on delinquent behavior (Freeman, 1983). For example, unemployment is only a moderate correlate of crime at the individual level, though it is a dominant influence at the aggregate level. One can argue that unemployment may be a socializing, or indirect, influence on individual behavior, and shows up in data because individual offenders in crime research often are aggregated by neighborhood characteristics.

Whether poverty per se (i.e., absolute poverty) or inequality (i.e., relative poverty) is related to crime is a recent debate. Both conceptualizations have received some support (Messner, 1982). Absolute poverty suggests that when an individual is below a certain standard of subsistence, he or she is more likely to engage in criminal behavior. However, the theoretical linkages between absolute poverty and crime are uncertain, and give rise to the ecological fallacy argument.

More recently, economic deprivation (i.e., relative poverty, or inequality) has been linked to crime (Messner, 1983). Braithewaite (1979) and Blau and Blau (1982) conclude that relative poverty is a stronger predictor than absolute poverty in explaining criminal behavior. Equally important are the theoretical linkages which have been established by the inequality argument, linkages which establish the nature of the process and influence (i.e., motivation) of ecology on crime. Messner (1983), citing Merton's (1968) classic anomie theory, suggests that relativity is an important factor in creating strain when poverty exists in conflict with larger cultural contexts of economic success. He states that:

> "If economic success goals are defined universalistically, then economic deprivation is likely to be highly frustrating because it implies the failure to obtain culturally prescribed goals. Such frustration, in turn, is likelt to generate criminal motivations (p. 479)."

In sum, economic deprivation is especially crimonogenic when it occurs in contrast to norms and expectations of success. In these conditions, people in relative economic deprivation are subject to strain and are likely to abandon their commitments to societal norms and values. Strain, in turn, has been well established as a condition under which crime ensues as a condition under which crime ensues (e.g., Matza, 1964). Other cultural mediators provide a process through which criminal behavior is then internalized.

An important research question is whether we can extrapolate from poverty to relative deprivation for a variety of ecological indicators to further enhance our understanding of crime, inequality, and ecology. Though the linkages

between poverty, urbanization, and serious delinquency are well established, the strength and magnitude of these relationships are still uncertain. Prior research has focused on the independent effects of various neighborhood characteristics, overlooking the rich interplay among several ecological dimensions. Perhaps through the simultaneous exploration of these dimensions we may begin to develop more powerful and descriptive models of the ecological origins of serious delinquency. These origins can in turn locate those social processes which spawn and sustain serious and violent delinquency.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

This study examines the relationship between the social ecology of "high crime" inner city neighborhoods and official rates of serious and violent delinquency. There is widespread agreement that the highest rates of juvenile crimes occur in neighborhoods with few services, high population density, low incomes, poor housing, and a variety of other social and economic inequalities with their surrounding urban settings. Relative inequalities between these neighborhoods are analyzed for a variety of ecological indicators. The relationship between relative deprivation for these ecological dimensions and inequalities in juvenile arrest rates is determined. The use of a range of delinquent offense types, from violent crimes to misdemeanors, will help identify whether ecological associations differ according to crime severity. Several research questions are addressed.

Research Questions

The paper will examine several related research questions:

- Do rates of serious, violent, and other delinquency vary in neighborhoods as a function of population factors, poverty and unemployment, land use, housing and other features of urban and social ecology?
- Do the effects of ecological factors vary for serious, violent, or other offense types?
- To what extent do locales with similar ecological features have different rates of delinquency?

- Are there unique ecological features (or combinations) which are stronger predictors of different types of delinquency?
- Which ecological factors explain the differences in crime rates between high-crime neighborhoods and their larger metropolitan contexts?
- Do metropolitan areas with homogeneous ecological characteristics across neighborhoods have fewer "high crime" neighborhoods (i.e., more homogeneous crime rates across neighborhoods)? And, do locales where urban ecology across neighborhoods is not homogeneous (i.e., have strong divergences) have homogeneous delinquency rates? Which other factors might explain these divergences?

DATA AND METHODS

Data for the study were obtained from the Violent Juvenile Offender Research and Development Program, a prevention initiative with sites in eight target (inner-city urban) neighborhoods in seven states[2]. Dependent variables were juvenile crime data obtained from UCR listings both for "target" neighborhoods and citywide. Arrest data for January - June, 1983, were extrapolated to calculate an annual arrest rate (arrests per 10,000 youth population). Data were disaggregated by severity of offense into four categories: violent, serious, serious property, and misdemeanors[3]. Total arrests were also calculated.

Independent variables were ecological indicators gathered in several domains: demographic information, housing patterns, land use, educational attainment, labor market, and income. Data sources included 1980 Census data, city planning records, state employment department records, and housing department research studies. Indicators were compiled for target areas, generally defined by census tracts, and city wide for all census tracts. The

---

[2]Bronx, Phoenix, Miami, New Orleans, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Diego, and Dallas.

[3]Violent offenses include UCR "Index Offenses." Serious offenses include weapons offenses and felony drug arrests. Serious property offenses are felony property offenses (e.g., burglary, grand larceny, auto theft). Status offenses are excluded.

utilization of standard plus local (or area) data for a wide range of ecological indicators presents a richer data base than in earlier studies relying solely on census data or other national data sets.

For both variable sets, both relative and absolute measures were used. Relative measures were computed using a disparity ratio. A ratio of 1.00 indicates no difference between neighborhood and city wide rates. A ratio greater than 1.00 indicates that the target area rates exceed the city wide rate, while a ratio approaching zero indicates that the city wide rate exceeds the neighborhood rate. This ratio provides a unique measure of milieu effects, focusing on the relative deprivation or inequality of a particular spatial unit. It is a departure from previous ecological research which relied on either absolute or measures dispersion across a larger spatial unit (e.g., SMSA). Accordingly, this ratio operationalizes relative deprivation at the spatial unit at which ecological effects are thought to be most powerful.

RESULTS

The raw data for ecological and crime rate variables are presented in Appendix A. There is extensive variation across cities for each indicator, both between neighborhood and city as well as across cities and neighborhoods. The wide range of neighborhood and urban characteristics provides fertile ground for identifying neighborhood and city typologies. Of particular interest are the variations in racial mix, number of female-headed households, median housing proces, employment (economic) factors, and crime rates. Juvenile arrest rates (per 10,000 youths) show not only cross-site variation, but inconsistency by crime type.

Relative Inequalities: Cities and Neighborhoods

Tables 1-4 show the disparity ratios for each variable set. These ratios standardize neighborhood/citywide disparities across sites, but do not standardize the absolute rates across sites. For example, disparities in substandard housing in high crime neighborhoods in Los Angeles can be compared

with similar housing in Dallas, though property values are nearly 100% higher. Most neighborhoods have a greater share of youth, black population, and female-headed households. There are fewer differences in the elderly populations between cities and high-crime areas. The hispanic and white populations in the neighborhoods vary considerably by locale, though white populations are consistently lower than in the surrounding cities.

INSERT TABLE 1

Table 2 shows the disparity ratios for socio-economic factors. All neighborhoods have higher concentrations of households below poverty level and unemployment rates are nearly twice as high as in the surrounding city. Median household income levels are consistently below citywide levels. Also, the percentage of the population not graduating from high school is consistently higher in these neighborhoods. Table 2 provides strong evidence of relative deprivation for poverty indicators in these neighborhoods. The disparity ratios appear to be sensitive indicators of relative deprivation and economic well-being of neighborhoods within their surrounding contexts.

INSERT TABLE 2

Housing and land use disparities are shown in Table 3. Renter-occupied housing is between 10 and 20% higher in neighborhoods. Housing values are consistently lower in the neighborhoods, by as much as 86% in Miami. Recreational land use is also consistently lower. Population density, an important factor in urban anonymity and crime (Gordon, 1976), is higher in half the study sites. In the other sites, higher rates of business land use suggests underutilization of land.

INSERT TABLE 3

Crime disparities vary also by site and crime type. The disparity ratios in Table 4 provide measures of the crime problems in inner cities relative to

their surrounding areas. Most locales show higher rates of serious and violent juvenile crime in their inner cities. This is consistent with previous research on urbanism and crime using victimization as well as arrest data. The disparity ratios for misdemeanors reveal a more varied trend, where some neighborhoods either lead or lag behind the citywide rates.

INSERT TABLE 4

Data for these types of offenses (e.g., disorderly conduct) are particularly more sensitive to variation in police deployment and enforcement patterns, based on selective patrol of lower socio-economic neighborhoods (Chambliss and Seidman, 1971). The actual differences in behaviors of neighborhood populations are quite likely mediated by both policy and organizational variables at the police precinct level (McCleary, 1982). However, Laub and Hindelang (1981) found that victimization data revealed similar trends for urbanism and ecological characteristics as did official arrest data.

Ecology and Crime: The Importance of Inequality

The issue of community context and ecological influences on crime has ben a central theme in criminology, and has received renewed interest in the past decade. Despite consistent findings on the relationship of poverty to crime, the utility of ecological knowledge has been limited by methodological concerns. One reason is an inadequate conceptualization of ecology: too few variables, too broad study areas, reliance on absolute measures or dispersion, and weak theoretical linkages to behavior. However, recent theoretical discussions suggest that the relative deprivation of an area is a more powerful explanation of crime (Messner, 1982). A relative deprivation paradigm isolates a study area and measures its status relative to its surrounding area. It has been linked to strain theory and socialization experiences, and hence to crime.

The data in Tables 5-7 present the results of a series of correlation analyses between inequalities in four types of juvenile arrests and three dimensions of ecological indicators. Again, caution is required in interpreting the results,

since the number of observations (neighborhoods and their surrounding cities) is limited to eight. Though significance levels are reported, the results are highly unstable and sensitive to changes from additional observations. Accordingly, trends are described only for correlations of $\pm$ .60 or more. These results are offered as suggestive of trends and, more significantly, new forms of ecological analysis for further exploration with larger samples.

Table 5 presents the bivariate correlations between crime and socio-economic inequalities. Inequalities in the prevalence of poverty are associated with higher rates of juvenile arrests for all crime types. In other words, neighborhoods with high economic relative deprivation will likely have higher juvenile arrest rates. Only "serious" crimes (e.g., weapons and drug offenses) are unrelated to poverty. Few differences are seen by type of crime. Juvenile arrests for serious property offenses (e.g., burglaries and auto thefts) are observed in neighborhoods with relatively higher concentrations of "blue collar" employment, while violent juvenile crimes (e.g., index offenses) are associated with neighborhoods with higher unemployment rates than their surrounding cities.

INSERT TABLE 5

Table 6 shows the relationships among juvenile crime and housing/land use factors. Neighborhoods with high concentrations of public housing are associated with higher rates of juvenile felony arrests (violent and serious property crimes). However, public housing is likely related to other poverty indicators (see Table 8), and can be seen as a proxy for the aggregate socio-economic status of a neighborhood.

Serious property crimes by juveniles appear to be concentrated in neighborhoods with lower housing values and higher rates of business land usage. Violent juvenile crimes are associated with areas of lower population densities, contrary to earlier research (e.g., Blau and Blau, 1982). However, given the instability of the correlation coefficients, it is difficult to be confident in trends which appear for only one cell. Trends which span crime categories

(such as for public housing) are more revealing of possible underlying relationships.

Table 7 shows the relationship between disparities in demographic factors and disparities in juvenile arrest rates. In neighborhoods with higher black populations than their surrounding cities, juvenile arrest rates for non-violent offenses are also higher. Conversely, in neighborhoods with lower white populations also have higher juvenile arrest rates, but this time for all types of crimes. Violent juvenile crimes are inversely related to neighborhood population--neighborhoods with smaller percentages of the total city population have higher rates of violent juvenile crime. Violent juvenile crime is positively correlated with higher concentrations of female-headed households--usually poverty households (see Table 9 below).

INSERT TABLE 7

The relationship among urbanism, race, and crime is highly controversial. Urbanism, race, and poverty are closely related; it is possible that race interacts with socioeconomic status (i.e., poverty) to account for variations in crime rates (Blau and Blau, 1982). Gordon (1975) suggests that race-crime relationships are confounded by race-urbanism relationships. The interesting relationship in Table 7 is not a race effect per se on crime, but a heterogeneity effect. That is, the concentration of minority populations (or, conversely, the absence of majority populations) appears to be correlated with juvenile arrest rates.

Race and crime are closely linked (see Silberman, 1978, and Laub, 1983 for thorough reviews of this relationship). However, the meaning of the relationship is unclear. Reed (1984) has described differential processing of minority youths in the juvenile justice system. Given data on selective enforcement practices, it is possible that black youths in neighborhoods which differ from their surrounding cities would manifest higher arrest rates. Table 7 shows that differentials for black youths are limited to non-violent offenses, those

where charging is highly discretionary. For neighborhoods with a relative absence of whites, the juvenile arrest rates for all crime types are higher than in the surrounding cities.

These two trends suggest that indeed it is not the higher proportion of blacks, or lower proportions of whites, which is related to serious and violent juvenile crime. Rather, it is the homogeneous nature of these neighborhoods which may be significant. At the ecological level, it may be heterogeneity and not race which influences crime.[4] Together with poverty and population density, the anonymity of a homogeneous neighborhood may establish conditions conducive to juvenile crime.

Toward A Neighborhood Typology

Unlike previous ecological research, which focused on one ecological dimension or neighborhood characteristic to explain crime, this research examined a broad range of ecological indicators across three primary dimensions: housing, economics, and population characteristics. The joint analysis of a variety of indicators of the relative deprivation of a neighborhood's general social conditions affords a new look at the interactive effects of neighborhood characteristics on juvenile crime.

Table 8 shows the bivariate correlations between disparities in socioeconomic and housing/land use dimensions. The results are varied. The concentration of poverty households in a neighborhood is highly correlated with lower housing values and concentrations of public housing. A concentration of blue collar employment is correlated with higher population density, while not surprisingly professional employment is correlated with lower density and higher housing values. Disparities in neighborhood unemployment rates are correlated with public housing concentrations and high business land use. Median income is negatively correlated with several housing factors.

INSERT TABLE 8

[4]The milieu defined here--neighborhood--is ideally suited to measure heterogeneity within a geographical locale.

The consistent relationships across these two dimensions suggest that relative deprivation can be typified not only in economic terms, but also in the spatial relations (e.g., population density, land use) and housing quality (e.g., median sale price, public housing units). Both these dimensions appear germane toward the construction of neighborhood typologies representing relative deprivation and inequalities.

Table 9 analyzes neighborhood/citywide disparities for socio-economic and demographic factors. Here, fewer relationships have strong correlations. Disparities in area unemployment, the percent of high school graduates in the population, and blue collar employment are well correlated with population factors. Disparities in the percentage of female-headed households are highly correlated with several socio-economic factors, suggesting that this is a salient variable for typifying neighborhoods. The strong correlations between higher concentrations of hispanic populations and fewer high school graduates is consistent with studies of the high incidence of dropouts among Latino populations (see, for example, Elliott and Voss, 1974).

INSERT TABLE 9

The correlations between disparities for demographic characteristics and spatial relations are shown in Table 10. As with neighborhood economic inequalities, these data suggest that dimensions of urban spatial form are closely related to disparities in population distributions. Business land use, public housing and rental housing disparities are correlated with neighborhood size and higher concentrations of hispanic populations. Population density is inversely related to higher concentrations of whites and hispanics, but not for blacks. This suggests that spatial relations in the study neighborhoods are similar--generally low density and, in the case of heavily hispanic areas, close by commercially-zoned areas. Disparities in the percentage of female-headed households is indicative of housing economics and quality (i.e., median sales price).

INSERT TABLE 10

It is noteworthy and puzzling that higher concentrations of blacks are associated with non-violent juvenile crime, but not with disparities in area economics or urban form. This again underscores the possibility that race may be a key factor in accounting for disparities in official crime rates within urban areas. The methodological limitations in these analyses can hardly serve as statistical controls to sort out these effects. Nevertheless, the heterogeneity argument from Table 7 becomes murky when the relationships among neighborhood characteristics are introduced--disparities in crime rates increase with racial homogeneity, but disparities in poverty or housing are not associated with racial homogeneity. That is, the relationship between homogeneity and non-violent crime for blacks is not "explained" in these data by poverty or housing/land use factors. Recall that predominantly black neighborhoods have higher rates of non-violent arrests, while "non-white" neighborhoods have higher rates of all types of crime. This suggests that selective patrol practices may occur for black neighborhoods, while homogeneity may also drive total crime rates irrespective of race.

Overall, both sides of the "race or place" argument can find support in these analyses. Relative economic deprivation is strongly correlated with all types of juvenile crime, irrespective of racial heterogeneity. But both heterogeneity and deprivation trends are found; however, these two explanations are themselves not related. Neighborhoods with high black populations do not seem to be necessarily poorer or with substandard housing, but they do show higher arrest rates for non-violent crimes. Conversely, neighborhoods with high hispanic populations have poorer housing conditions, but do not necessarily have higher crime rates. But the absence of majority population is strongly related to higher crime rates, as well as to economic inequality. Apparently, the association between relative deprivation and crime is mediated by race, especially in predominantly black neighborhoods. Other explanations must be sought which account for the nature of these arrests: they are property or misdemeanor crimes, those most vulnerable to discretionary enforcement practices.

As Silberman (1979) has suggested, the relationship between race and crime remains central to criminology but so too is the urban phenomenon central to both race and crime. Perhaps further study of the relationships between urbanism, ecology, race, and delinquency will unravel this web. Equally important is the development of an understanding of the social process and socialization experiences of these neighborhoods, as well as the responses of law enforcement and public policy.

SOCIAL ECOLOGY, SOCIALIZATION, AND DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR

The relationship between ecology and behavior historically has been difficult to study and understand due to both theoretical concerns and problems in the conceptualization and measurement of ecology. The analyses in this paper utilized a broad range of ecological measures, which provides an empirical overview of a neighborhood's general social and ecological conditions. A relative deprivation model, expanded to include this wider view of social conditions, offers a theoretical bridge from ecology to socialization, and hence to behavior. A knowledge gap remains, though, in understanding the social process of relative deprivation. Finally, the use of disparity ratios to determine the relative deprivation of a neighborhood vis-a-vis its surrounding city, provides an index which addresses the shortcomings of absolute measures or measures of dispersion commonly used in earlier ecological work.

The results suggest that there is a strong relationship among poverty, inequality, and delinquency. However, few measures of poverty were associated specifically with serious or violent juvenile crime. If we accept the fact that the individual correlates of violent deliquency differ from other delinquency, then the role of ecological variables may be related more to the process of delinquent socialization than to the cause. Laub (1983) suggests that urbanism may erode the restraints that inhibit delinquency, while Fagan et al. (1983) view environmental conditions as reinforcers of delinquency. These reinforcers are often cast as motivating influences in various social learning paradigms (Conger, 1978). Viewing relative deprivation within an anomie-strain paradigm,

it appears that relative poverty and inequality indeed are factors at the social structural level which are central to the socialization of youths in inner cities.

The apparent relationships among disparities in housing/land use factors, demographics, and socio-economic factors suggest that these may be part of a social process tied to urbanism and urban form. The correlation between racial heterogeneity and juvenile crime may indicate a relationship between social structure and social process in neighborhoods with higher poverty inequality. The apparent relationship between higher proportions of blacks and non-violent delinquency may be explained alternatively by historically differential black experiences in the United States (Silberman, 1978), selective enforcement and social control (Chambliss and Seidman, 1971), or the confounding of urbanism with black population in American cities (Laub, 1983). All these explanations, themselves rooted in social structural variables, hold implications for socialization of urban youths and their apparently higher rates of serious delinquency.

In conclusion, there appears to be a link from ecology to spatial relations and socialization, and ultimately to relative deprivation and delinquency. It may be in this way that ecological and individual attributes combine to influence behavior. The social process likely varies by locale, and no doubt is mediated by unique ecological influences. That ecology is a mediating influence suggests that it acts in concert with individual or situational factors to spawn delinquent involvement and careers in inner city settings.

The nature, meaning, and social process of these mediating influences awaits further study in a variety of settings under a range of relative deprivation conditions. The selection of a milieu of appropriate size is critical to successfully isolating the effects of environment. The use of disparity ratios to represent the inequality of a neighborhood, for several ecological indicators of a neighborhoods general social conditions, should be combined with individual attributes and situational variables to understand the development and continuation of serious delinquent careers.

REFERENCES

Black, D. (1970), "The Production of Crime Rates" in American Sociological Review, 35:733-48.

Blau, J.R. and P.M. Blau (1982), "The Cost of Inequality: Metropolitan Structure and Violent Crime. American Sociological Review, 47:114-129.

Braithewaite, J. (1979), Inequality, Crime, and Public Policy. London: Routledge and Paul.

Chaiken, J. and M. Chaiken (1982), Varieties of Criminal Behavior. Santa Monica: Rand Corporation.

Chambliss, W.J. and R. Seidman (1971), Law, Order, and Power. Boston: Addison-Wesley.

Chilton, R.J. (1964), "Continuity in Delinquency Area Research: A Comparison of Studies for Baltimore, Detroit, and Indianapolis." American Sociological Review, 29:71-83.

Chilton, R. (1982), "Analyzing Urban Crime Data." Criminology, 19(4), 590-607.

Conger, R.D. (1978), "From social Learning to Criminal Behavior," in M.D. Krohn and R.L. Akers (eds.), Crime, Law and Sanctions: Theoretical Perspectives. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

Danziger, S. (1976), "Explaining Urban Crime Rates." Criminology, 14: 291-295.

Elliott, D. and R. Voss (1974), Delinquency and Dropout. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Co.

Elliott, D., S. Ageton, and R. Canter (1979), "An Integrated Theoretical Perspective on Delinquent Behavior." Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 16(1): 3-27.

Fagan, J., K.V. Hansen, and M. Jang (1983), "Profiles of Chronically Violent Delinquents: An Empirical Test of an Integrated Theory." In, J. Kleugal (ed.), Evaluating Juvenile Justice. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

Fagan, J. and S. Jones (1984), "Toward an Integrated Theoretical Model of Violent Delinquency," in R. Mathias (ed.), An Anthology on Violent Juvenile Offenders. Newark: National Council on Crime and Delinquency.

Gordon, D. (1971), "Capitalism, Class, and Crime in America." Review of Radical Political Economy, 3(Summer): 51-75.

Gordon, R.A. (1976), "Issues in the Ecological Study of Delinquency." American Sociological Review, 32: 927-944.

Hamparian, D.M., R. Schuster, S. Dinitz, and J. Conrad (1978), The Violent Few. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Co.

Kornhauser, R.R. (1978), Social Sources of Delinquency. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Laub, J.H. and M.J. Hindelang (1981), Juvenile Criminal Behavior in Urban, Suburban, and Rural Areas. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Laub, J.H. (1983), "Urbanism, Race, and Crime." Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 20(2): 183-198.

Matza, D. (1964), Deliquency and Drift. New York: Wiley and Sons.

McCleary, R., B.C. Nienstedt, and J.M. Erven (1982), "Uniform Crime Reports as Organizational Outcomes: Three Time Serious Experiments," Social Problems, 29(4): 361-372.

Merton, R.K. (1968), Social Theory and Social Structure. New York: Wiley and Sons.

Messner, S.F. (1982), "Poverty, Inequality, and the Urban Homicide Rate." Criminology, 20(1): 103-114.

Messner, S.F. (1983), "Regional Differences in the Economic Correlates of the Urban Homicide Rate." Criminology, 21(4): 477-488.

Monahan, J. (1981), Predicting Violent Behavior: An Assessment of Clinical Techniques. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

Reed, W. (1983), Differential Processing of Minority Youth in the Juvenile Justice System. Washington, D.C.: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice.

Robinson, W.S. (1950), "Ecological Correlations and the Behavior of Individuals." American Sociological Review, 15: 351-357.

Rojek, D.G. and M.L. Erikson (1982), "Delinquent Careers." Criminology, 20(1): 5-28.

Shannon, L.W. (1980), "Assessing the Relationship of Adult Careers to Juvenile Careers: The Transitional Years (16-24)." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology, San Francisco, CA.

Shannon, L. (1984), The Development of Serious Criminal Careers and the Delinquent Neighborhood. Washington, D.C.: National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Behavior, U.S. Department of Justice.

Shaw, C.R. and H.D. McKay (1942), Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Shenk, F. and W. McInerney (1978). "Issues Arising from Applications of the National Crime Survey," cited in Laub and Hindelang (ibid).

Silberman, C.E. (1978), Criminal Violence, Criminal Justice. New York: Random House.

Weis, J. and J. Sederstrom (1981), The Prevention of Serious Delinquency: What to Do? Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Weis, J. and D. Hawkins (1980), The Social Deveopment Model: An Integrated Approach to Delinquency Prevention. Seattle: University of Washington, Center for Law and Justice.

Wolfgang, M.E., R. Figlio, and T. Sellin (1972), Delinquency in a Birth Cohort. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

TABLE 1. RATIO OF TARGET AREA TO CITY: DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

	BRONX	CHICAGO	DALLAS	LOS ANGELES	MIAMI	NEW ORLEANS	PHOENIX	SAN DIEGO
% Population	2.7%	0.5%	2.5%	2.2%	5.8%	4.5%	8.3%	2.7%
% Youth Population	1.12	1.37	1.63	.95	1.64	1.10	1.05	1.58
% Black	0.77	2.45	2.55	4.71	4.08	1.65	3.25	4.33
% Hispanic	1.32	0.07	1.85	0.22	0.02	0.33	4.29	2.60
% White	.85	0.02	0.15	0.08	0.00	0.18	0.59	0.31
% Female Head of Household	1.12	2.17	3.08	0.46	0.98	1.53	2.12	2.43
% Elderly Head of Household	0.95	0.80	1.25	2.25	0.80	0.90	1.50	1.06

TABLE 2. RATIO OF TARGET AREA TO CITY: SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS

	BRONX	CHICAGO	DALLAS	LOS ANGELES	MIAMI	NEW ORLEANS	PHOENIX	SAN DIEGO
% Not High School Graduates	1.04	1.26	2.16	0.84	1.54	M	2.19	2.36
% Household Below Median Income	0.90	0.70	0.41	0.60	0.67	0.55	0.48	0.63
% Household Below Poverty Level	1.19	4.75	3.69	M	2.07	1.62	3.09	3.83
% Professional Employment	0.95	1.05	0.25	0.78	1.04	0.48	0.56	0.29
% Blue Collar Employment	1.00	1.22	2.26	0.78	1.52	1.38	1.92	6.40
Unemployment Rate	1.38	1.85	1.90	1.28	M	1.82	M	2.18

TABLE 3. RATIO OF TARGET AREA TO CITY: HOUSING AND LAND USE FACTORS

	BRONX	CHICAGO	DALLAS	LOS ANGELES	MIAMI	NEW ORLEANS	PHOENIX	SAN DIEGO
% Housing Units Rented	1.13	1.19	1.25	1.08	1.02	1.23	1.89	1.12
Median Sales Price/Housing Unit	0.82	0.56	0.28	0.51	0.86	0.70	0.53	0.47
Public Housing Units	0.01	M	0.25	M	0.16	0.12	0.89	M
% Land Use Residential	1.57	0.94	0.54	1.18	1.12	M	1.58	2.50
% Land Use Business	1.17	0.97	1.17	1.25	0.69	M	3.40	1.67
% Land Use Recreational	0.18	0.88	2.50	0.50	0.92	M	0.05	0.92
Population Density	2.52	0.34	1.68	1.29	0.82	M	2.33	3.02

TABLE 4. RATIO OF TARGET AREA TO CITY: JUVENILE ARREST RATES

	BRONX	CHICAGO	DALLAS	LOS ANGELES	MIAMI	NEW ORLEANS	PHOENIX	SAN DIEGO
Violent Crimes	0.61	4.35	1.96	1.05	M	1.62	M	2.27
Serious Crimes	0.49	2.33	0.09	1.34	M	3.88	M	2.16
Serious Property Crimes	0.62	1.43	1.13	1.34	M	1.15	M	1.95
Misdemeanors	0.05	1.98	0.20	1.23	M	0.77	M	2.08
Total Juvenile Crimes	0.26	2.05	0.59	1.27	M	1.36	M	2.07

TABLE 5. CORRELATION MATRIX: TARGET AREA/CITY DISPARITY IN SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS AND JUVENILE ARRESTS

	% Not High School Graduates	Median Income	% Households Below Poverty Level	% Professional Employment	% Blue Collar Employment	Unemployment Rate
Violent Crimes	.2274	-.1273	.8703*	.1693	.1561	.6593
Serious Crimes	.0160	-.0830	-.0490	-.0200	.0933	.2968
Serious Property Offenses	.5342	-.3503	.7008	-.3974	.7463*	.3372
Misdemeanors	.1681	.0072	.6905	.0713	.4930	.1312
Total Crime	.2335	-.1192	.6403	-.0232	.4701	.3259

* Significant at .05 level

TABLE 6. CORRELATION MATRIX: TARGET AREA/CITY DISPARITY IN HOUSING/LAND USE AND JUVENILE ARRESTS

	% Housing Units Rented	Median Sales Price	# Public Housing Units	% Land Use Residential	% Land Use Business	% Land Use Recreational	Population Density
Violent Crimes	.3390	-.3162	.9503	-.1775	-.2893	.2395	-.5935
Serious Crimes	.1518	.3228	-.1328	.4586	.2266	-.3880	-.2239
Serious Property Offenses	-.2047	-.5177	.8296	.4653	.6096	.1269	.0527
Misdemeanors	-.3259	-.1979	.1573	.4357	.3260	-.2184	-.1999
Total Crimes	-.1352	-.1883	.2555	.3775	.2968	-.1204	-.2347

TABLE 7. CORRELATION MATRIX FOR TARGET/AREA CITY DISPARITY IN DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS AND JUVENILE ARRESTS

	% Total Population	% Youth Population	% Black	% Hispanic	% White	% Female Head/House	% Elderly Head/House
Violent Crimes	-.6367	.4913	.1212	-.1828	-.5822	.5318	-.4354
Serious Crimes	.3535	-.2274	.0788	-.3947	-.3699	-.1276	-.3033
Serious Property Offenses	-.1942	.4450	.8877*	.2830	-.5603	.3321	.0904
Misdemeanors	-.4344	.2028	.6976	-.0476	-.5008	.1005	-.0194
Total Crimes	-.2868	.2131	.6154	-.1064	-.5903	.1654	-.1215

* Significant at .05 level

TABLE 8. CORRELATION MATRIX: TARGET AREA/CITY DISPARITY IN SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND HOUSING/LAND USE FACTORS

	% Not High School Graduates	Median Income	% Households Below Poverty Level	% Professional Employment	% Blue Collar Employment	Unemployment Rate
% Housing Units Rented	.4688	-.4680	.1415	-.2888	-.0395	.7852*
Median Sales Price	-.5045	.6996*	-.7377*	.6973*	-.3743	-.3876
# Public Housing Units	.7509	-.5504	.6113	-.3227	.5646	.8634*
% Land Use Residential	.3150	.2986	-.1167	-.2543	.7235*	-.1482
% Land Use Business	.5078	-.4129	.0773	-.4102	.1871	.6294
% Land Use Recreational	.3804	-.5369	.4064	-.4928	.1974	.2148
Population Density	.4879	.0224	-.2943	-.6209	.6104	.0092

* Significant at .05 level

TABLE 9. CORRELATION MATRIX: TARGET AREA/CITY DISPARITY IN SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

	% No. High School Graduates	Median Income	% Households Below Poverty Level	% Professional Employment	% Blue Collar Employment	Unemployment Rate
Total Population	.4152	-.3262	-.3975	-.1225	-.0356	.5631
% Youth Population	.5251	-.1297	.4364	-.1840	.5128	.3768
% Black	.3806	-.2314	.4523	-.2888	.6972*	-.0495
% Hispanic	.7466*	-.3544	.1810	-.5603	.4694	.6206
% White	.0560	.3987	-.4464	-.0505	.0465	-.0131
% Female Head of Household	.7997*	-.5102	.7702*	-.6389*	.5160	.7997*
% Elderly Head of Household	-.2145	-.3437	.1714	-.1786	-.1573	-.3423

* Significant at .05 level

TABLE 10. CORRELATION MATRIX: TARGET AREA/CITY DISPARITY IN HOUSING/LAND USE AND DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

	% Housing Units Rented	Median Sales Price	# Public Housing Units	% Land Use Residential	% Land Use Business	% Land Use Recreational	Population Density
% Total Population	.6581*	.2652	.8034*	.1827	.6820*	-.3512	.2612
% Youth Population	-.3561	-.1865	-.2915	-.0822	-.4392	.7272	-.1178
% Black	-.1446	-.3170	.4843	.5348	.1045	.0295	.1908
% Hispanic	.7906*	-.4050	.8874*	.4597	.9015*	-.1472	.7454*
% White	.4060	.2150	.1615	.4593	.4917	-.5124	.7454*
% Female Head of Household	.3810	-.6946*	.4303	-.0326	.2774	.6038	.2317
% Elderly Head of Household	.1969	-.4231	.8656*	-.0597	.3211	-.1628	.0892

* Significant at .05 level

APPENDIX A: NEIGHBORHOOD AND CITY DATA

TABLE A1. DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

	BRONX		CHICAGO		DALLAS		LOS ANGELES		MIAMI		NEW ORLEANS		PHOENIX		SAN DIEGO	
	Target Area	City	Target Area	City	Target Area	City	Target Area	City	Target Area	City	Target Area	City	Target Area	City	Target Area	City
Total Population	31,352	1,168,972	14,106	3,005,072	22,321	904,074	64,062	2,966,850	20,126	346,865	25,196	557,515	60,510	729,444	23,774	875,538
Youth Population[a]	10,224	341,334	5,494	852,864	9,816	244,099	15,218	745,738	7,003	74,094	7,997	160,332	18,857	217,267	9,039	211,432
% Youth Population	32.6	29.2	38.9	28.4	44.0	27.0	23.8	25.1	35.0	21.4	31.7	28.8	31.2	29.8	38.0	24.1
% Black	23.0	30.0	98.0	40.0	74.0	29.0	80.0	17.0	98.0	24.0	91.0	55.0	13.0	4.0	59.0	9.0
% Hispanic	45.0	34.0	1.0	14.0	13.0	7.0	6.0	27.0	1.0	56.0	1.0	3.0	30.0	7.0	39.0	15.0
% White	29.0	34.0	1.0	43.0	9.0	62.0	4.0	48.0	0	19.0	7.0	40.0	51.0	87.0	22.0	69.0
% Female Head of Household	47.0	42.0	39.0	18.0	37.0	12.0	16.0	35.0	40.0	41.0	29.0	19.0	13.0	6.0	17.0	7.0
% Elderly Head of Household	21.0	22.0	8.0	10.0	20.0	16.0	9.0	4.0	20.0	25.0	19.0	21.0	21.0	14.0	18.0	17.0

a. Ages 0-18 years

TABLE A2. SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS

	BRONX		CHICAGO		DALLAS		LOS ANGELES		MIAMI		NEW ORLEANS		PHOENIX		SAN DIEGO	
	Target Area	City	Target Area	City	Target Area	City	Target Area	City	Target Area	City	Target Area	City	Target Area	City	Target Area	City
% Not a High School Graduate	51.0	49.0	53.0	42.0	67.0	31.0	27.0	32.0	60.0	39.0	--	--	57.0	26.0	52.0	22.0
Median Income	9,855	10,947	10,741	15,301	6,677	16,227	13,004	21,714	10,491	15,638	9,390	17,122	8,642	17,729	10,413	16,409
% Household Below Poverty Level	31.0	26.0	38.0	8.0	48.0	13.0	--	--	27.0	13.0	42.0	26.0	34.0	11.0	23.0	6.0
% Professional Employment	19.0	20.0	21.0	20.0	5.0	20.0	35.0	45.0	27.0	26.0	12.0	25.0	15.0	27.0	10.0	35.0
% Blue Collar Employment	35.0	35.0	27.0	22.0	59.0	26.0	14.0	18.0	32.0	21.0	55.0	40.0	48.0	25.0	64.0	10.0
Unemployment Rate	12.7	9.2	19.8	10.7	12.4	6.5	10.0	7.8	10.3	--	13.8	7.6	13.1	6.0	--	--

TABLE A3. HOUSING AND LAND USE FACTORS

	BRONX		CHICAGO		DALLAS		LOS ANGELES		MIAMI		NEW ORLEANS		PHOENIX		SAN DIEGO	
	Target Area	City	Target Area	City	Target Area	City	Target Area	City	Target Area	City	Target Area	City	Target Area	City	Target Area	City
% Housing Units Rented	96.0	85.0	74.0	62.0	64.0	51.0	65.0	60.0	62.0	61.0	74.0	60.0	66.0	35.0	57.0	51.0
Median Sales Price/Houses	39,300	48,100	26,300	47,200	16,876	60,433	58,272	113,421	36,000	42,000	35,328	50,600	29,923	56,300	49,803	106,000
No. of Public Housing Units	233	41,826	M	M	1,357	5,339	M	3,218	970	6,000	1,704	13,964	1,576	1,776	M	M
% Land Use Residential	33.0	21.0	30.0	32.0	26.0	48.0	80.0	68.0	73.0	65.0	M	13.0	41.0	26.0	55.0	22.0
% Land Use Business	7.0	6.0	28.0	29.0	14.0	12.0	15.0	12.0	9.0	13.0	M	6.0	17.0	5.0	10.0	6.0
% Land Use Recreational	4.0	22.0	7.0	8.0	25.0	10.0	3.0	6.0	11.0	12.0	M	6.0	1.0	20.0	23.0	25.0
Population Density	106.0	42.0	6.9	20.5	6.4	3.8	17.3	13.4	18.0	22.0	M	5.3	6.3	2.7	17.5	5.8

TABLE A4. JUVENILE ARREST RATES (Per 10,000 Youths)

	BRONX		CHICAGO		DALLAS		LOS ANGELES		MIAMI		NEW ORLEANS		PHOENIX		SAN DIEGO	
	Target Area	City	Target Area	City	Target Area	City	Target Area	City	Target Area	City	Target Area	City	Target Area	City	Target Area	City
Violent Crimes	34.2	56.2	95.6	22.0	53.0	27.0	23.7	22.6	M	M	102.5	63.2	M	M	40.9	18.0
Serious Crimes	33.3	67.4	40.5	17.4	7.1	77.9	34.8	25.9	M	M	146.3	37.7	M	M	67.5	31.2
Serious Property Crimes	59.6	96.5	103.3	72.5	132.4	116.9	67.0	50.0	M	M	125.0	100.9	M	M	125.0	64.2
Misdemeanor Crimes	17.6	336.1	325.8	164.7	31.6	158.7	29.6	24.1	M	M	117.5	152.5	M	M	234.5	112.5
Total Crimes	144.6	556.1	565.2	276.5	224.1	380.5	155.1	122.5	M	M	482.7	354.3	M	M	468.0	226.0

VIOLENT DELINQUENTS AND URBAN YOUTHS*

JEFFREY FAGAN, ELIZABETH PIPER, AND MELINDA MOORE
URSA Institute

Violent juvenile crime is disproportionately concentrated in urban neighborhoods, and accordingly an understanding of the sources of serious delinquency is confounded by components of urbanism. These milieus usually have high rates of absolute poverty and relative economic deprivation, as well as weak social institutions. The persistent findings of delinquent peer contributions to delinquency have yet to be tested under conditions where social class and milieu effects are controlled. There is little empirical evidence to determine how adolescents in high-crime neighborhoods avoid delinquency despite frequent contact with delinquent peers. The differences between violent delinquents and other youths from comparable neighborhoods are little understood. This study contrasts a sample of chronically violent male juvenile offenders with the general male adolescent population (students and school dropouts) from inner-city neighborhoods in four cities.

Violent delinquents differ from other male adolescents in inner cities in their attachments to school, their perceptions of school safety, their associations with officially delinquent peers, their perceptions of weak maternal authority, and the extent to which they have been victims of crime. Peer delinquency and drug "problems" predict the prevalence of three delinquency offense types for both violent offenders and neighborhood youths. Among violent delinquents, there appear to be different explanatory patterns, with one type better described by internal controls (locus of control), a developmental measure. Overall, there is strong support for integrated theory including control and learning components, and similar associations exist among inner-city youths as in the general adolescent male population. Despite the generally elevated rates of delinquency in inner cities, the explanations of serious and violent delinquency appear the same when subjects are sampled at the extremes of the distribution of behavior.

* An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 1985 annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology. This research was prepared under Grant #85-MU-AX-C001 from the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice, to the URSA Institute. The authors wish to thank Michael Jang for his assistance in analyzing the data and the research staff in the Violent Juvenile Offender Program who collected much of the data for this study. The opinions in this paper are those of the authors and do not reflect the policies or views of the Department of Justice.

For decades, society has feared its young (Gilbert, 1986). To the observer of contemporary delinquency policy, it appears that the modern era is no exception. Though adolescents have always committed a disproportionate share of crime, responses today have departed from earlier views that adolescent offenders are neither criminal nor "responsible" for their acts. Now, young offenders are more often regarded as adults, subject to the full penalties of the criminal law, and confined for longer terms, in harsher conditions. Arguably, these trends are related to the public's fear of violent juvenile crime and its belief that there is little to be done about it.

In the past decade, these fears have focused on serious and violent juvenile crime. Policy and research have sought to understand how serious and delinquent criminal careers develop and, accordingly, how they may be prevented and controlled. Naturally, such efforts require a theoretical and empirical understanding of the causes of violent behavior, as well as of how delinquents and other adolescents differ. Yet, despite the considerable advances of the past two decades in delinquency research, only recently has delinquency research emphasized the specific correlates of serious and violent youth crime.

There are some basic facts about violence by juveniles which are widely accepted. First, cohort studies show that violent juvenile crime[1] is often a random occurrence in a pattern of offenses usually including nonviolent offenses (Wolfgang, Figlio, and Sellin, 1972; Hamparian, Schuster, Dinitz, and Conrad, 1978; Shannon, 1980; Rojek and Erikson, 1982; Piper, 1983). Even among chronically violent delinquents, career patterns include a wide repertoire of serious and nonserious criminal behaviors (Hartstone and Hansen, 1984). Second, like most crime, violent crime is the province of the young (Zimring, 1979; Strasburg, 1984). UCR data show that young adults (ages 18-24) and older juveniles (ages 15-17) are disproportionately responsible for acts of criminal violence (Weiner and Wolfgang, 1985). Third, self-reports and official records agree that male adolescents commit more violent and serious crimes than their female counterparts (Elliott and Huizinga, 1984; Weiner and Wolfgang, 1985).

Also, juvenile violence is primarily an urban phenomenon (Kornhauser, 1978). Serious and violent juvenile crimes increase with urbanization (Laub and Hindelang, 1981; Laub, 1983). Regardless of the crime measures used, serious delinquency rates increase as the geographical focus approaches the inner city. In other words, urbanism and serious crime, among both youths and adults, are closely related. In addition, minority adolescents living in inner-city neighborhoods are at greater risk for both general and serious

1. Studies of serious delinquency are generally concerned with the crimes of homicide, aggravated assault, armed robbery, sexual assault, burglary, auto theft, and kidnap. These are the crimes reported by the FBI as "Part I" crimes or felonies.

delinquency than adolescents living in more affluent areas (Wolfgang et al., 1972; Strasburg, 1984; Comer, 1985). Yet, self-report surveys find fewer differences between black and white youths in urban areas (Hindelang, Hirschi, and Weis, 1981). McNeeley and Pope (1981) suggest that the methodological biases in each measurement source render any conclusions incomplete.

Other common assumptions about juvenile violence are in dispute. The relationship between social class and crime is a central debate in criminology and full of contradictory evidence. Conventional wisdom assumes (and research using official records shows) an inverse relationship between social class and criminality. But, using self-reported delinquency, Tittle, Villemez, and Smith (1978), Johnson (1980), and Krohn and Massey (1980) all reject meaningful social class influences on delinquency. Others (Braithwaite, 1981; Elliott and Ageton, 1980, 1983) argue to the contrary. Elliott and Huizinga (1983) found that class differences were more pronounced for serious and violent delinquency, irrespective of race. However, these are minority opinions. Thornberry and Farnworth (1984) differentiate between social class and social status and find that status and adult crime are indeed related, but not so for serious delinquency.[2] Moreover, they found social status and race to be interactive with respect to criminality, with the relationship between status and crime strongest for adult blacks.

These associations in turn raise a host of questions regarding the components of urbanism and their bearing on an empirical understanding of serious delinquency. The concentration of serious delinquency in urban areas may be attributable to differences in demographic, socioeconomic, and structural composites of urban areas rather than simply to the unique socialization processes which are characteristic of urban settings. Or, it is possible that urban "form" determines socialization of youths and social behavior in urban areas. This confounding effect may underlie the general reluctance of criminologists to resolve the question of whether higher delinquency rates result from the characteristics of communities, the aggregate characteristics of individuals who cluster in urban areas, or the combined effects of poverty, urbanization, individuals' social status, and individual factors. There have been few studies of the specific correlates of serious juvenile offenders in "high crime" neighborhoods to provide empirical evidence to sort out these influences. In addition, the lack of support for theoretical models of serious delinquency can be attributed both to weaknesses in the model and in the empirical data. Although research has uncovered many of the correlates of delinquency, there has been little explanation of the causes.

2. The most important dimensions of status as defined by Thornberry and Farnworth are those that refer to the individual's own social position and not to his social status background. Their data suggest that, for adults, educational attainment is the dimension most strongly related to criminality, while unemployment is most strongly related to official criminality.

INNER-CITY YOUTH CRIME AND VIOLENT BEHAVIOR

Despite the recognition of the urban concentration of serious delinquency, there is little systematic information on the correlates and explanatory factors of serious delinquency in inner cities. There have been few attempts to understand how delinquent minority youths differ from nondelinquents in the same neighborhoods where the high rates of serious and violent juvenile crime are observed. Laub and Hindelang (1981) used victimization data to identify neighborhood characteristics associated with serious and violent delinquency, but they did not study the backgrounds of young offenders. Their analysis showed that poverty rates, housing characteristics, and demographic distribution were elements of urbanism strongly associated with serious juvenile crime. Shannon (1984) also studied milieu effects on individual rates of offending and the development of criminal careers. Here, too, the focus was on similar ecological factors as correlates or epidemiological locators of delinquency.

While the literature identifies poor and minority youths as being at higher risk for serious delinquency, the large majority avoid criminal sanction. Dunford and Elliott (1984) found that among 90 youths with 200 or more self-reported offenses in one year, the probability of arrest was less than 1 in 5. Also, many adolescents in high delinquency areas actively manipulate their environment to avoid situations leading to delinquency (Anderson and Rodriguez, 1984). Yet, there is little information which describes those inner-city adolescents who resist delinquency, or explains why or how those with the same attributes as high-rate offenders (for example, broken families or poverty) are not affected in the predictable ways (Dembo, Allen, and Vette, 1982).

Much of what is known about serious and violent delinquency comes from studies of "clinical" samples of youths with the behaviors of interest, or general population studies which isolate chronic offenders[3] from others in a probability sample. Moreover, what is known offers few clues to distinguish violent delinquents from other "high-rate" juvenile offenders. Violent delinquents also appear to have a range of social and behavioral problems which are highly correlated with peer, family, school, and employment influences (Strasburg, 1978; Fagan, Hansen, and Jang, 1983; Hartstone and Hansen, 1984). Fagan et al. (1983) also found that a youth's prior victimization also contributes to becoming a violent offender. These studies also cite the high

3. Several studies have used a threshold of five or more offenses, regardless of whether officially or self-reported, to characterize "chronic" offenders. These include Wolfgang et al. (1972), Hamparian et al. (1978), and Shannon (1980) among cohorts based on official records, and Elliott and Huizinga (1984) and Dunford and Elliott (1984) from the National Youth Survey self-reports.

rate of justice system contacts for these offenders, although Elliott and Huizinga (1984) report that only 14% of the serious offenders in their national sample had an arrest record. Chronic violent delinquents tend to be disproportionately represented among nonwhite, lower social class males, and to have started their criminal careers at an early age (Piper, 1986).

Several researchers have cited the dominant role of delinquent associates in the development of careers of serious delinquency and drug use (compare Akers, 1977; West and Farrington, 1977; Kandel, Kessler, and Marguilies, 1978; Elliott and Huizinga, 1984; Elliott, Huizinga, and Ageton, 1985). Recent longitudinal research suggests that the strength of the association to delinquent peers is mediated by several factors, especially conventional bonds to family, peers, norms, and institutions. Accordingly, the dominant paradigm at this time suggests that all adolescents are at risk for associations with such antisocial influences, but are restrained by conventional associations. In other words, poor interaction with family members, schools, legal institutions, or employers presents opportunities and motivation to associate with delinquent peers, which in turn leads to serious delinquency. And these events appear to be the outcome of a developmental sequence beginning in the family and proceeding through school, peer, and community influences (Hawkins and Weis, 1980).

However, the social reality of "association with delinquent peers" in inner-city environs may be more complex than these studies suggest. Mancini (1981), Moore (1978), and Edelman (1984) all used ethnographic methods to identify more varied and contradictory explanations of "bonds" to delinquent peers. Some youths affiliate with delinquent peers for protection, but never engage in crime. Others pursue economic opportunities or social status through these associations. What appears to be lacking in the more simplified notions of delinquent associates is the "black box" assumptions of how delinquent norms are enforced, particularly in inner-city neighborhoods (Anderson and Rodriguez, 1984). There are subjective definitions of "illegal activity" which influence the reported rates of delinquency, which in turn may be related to the opportunity structures unique to high-crime neighborhoods.

Still others suggest that the origins of serious and violent juvenile crime can be located earlier in childhood developments than when these associations take place. That is, there may be individual psychological or psychosocial factors which precede the weakening of conventional bonds. For example, Loeber and Stoudthamer-Loeber (1986), Loeber and Dishion (1983), and Patterson (1979) suggest that composite measures of family supervision and discipline techniques, early childhood conduct problems, parental criminality, and poor academic performance during childhood are the most promising predictors of delinquency. However, their measures were not restricted to serious and violent delinquents, and concentrated on global dimensions of

antisocial activities. Lewis, Shanok, Pincus, Grant, and Ritvo, (1979, 1984) offer evidence from clinical studies that psychiatric variables are salient predictors of adolescent violence. Yet, accurate predictors of either juvenile or adult violence have been difficult to identify reliably (Monahan, 1981), with "false positives" occurring at an unacceptably high rate of over 30% (Chaiken and Chaiken, 1982). Moreover, these propositions have yet to be tested with cohorts of minority or inner-city families, or under conditions which allow for adequate control over the social status/race/crime confounding.

The ecological traditions argue that the concentration and high rates of delinquency in urban neighborhoods result from social disorganization at the neighborhood level. Fagan et al. (1983) found that among violent youths, environmental influences were stronger predictors of the prevalence of violence and the length of the career than either individual or situational variables. Weis and Sederstrom (1981) cited weakened social institutions (for example, schools, families, churches) as strong correlates of serious and violent delinquency. Linking these socializing influences to ecological dimensions, they argued that ecological effects were important components of the socialization process in urban areas—that is, that they contribute to the weakening of "conventional bonds" discussed earlier. Shannon (1984) argues that these influences have in the past been poorly understood due to measurement problems in determining the locus of effects. He argues that only neighborhood[4] is a sufficiently homogeneous locus for a definitive test of milieu effects. Alternatively, sampling at the neighborhood level may be the only way to adequately control for milieu effects when analyzing the causes and correlates of serious delinquency. What remains unknown are the processes by which ecological influences mediate behavior, and as in the classic "fallacy," affect some but by no means all youths in a neighborhood.

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Empirical knowledge on serious and violent delinquency is based primarily on one of two sources—either small clinical samples of violent or serious juvenile offenders, or general population studies of probability samples of adolescents. However, neither strategy is a practical or realistic strategy for locating chronic or serious juvenile offenders for systematic study. On the one hand, the processes which explain the relatively trivial offenses in general population studies are not likely to explain serious delinquency. The small number of serious or violent offenders in general population samples tend to

4. Though there is no single accepted definition, the consensus of recent researchers working with ecological variables is that neighborhood is best defined as a small contiguous group of residential and/or commercial units with a minimum population of 4,000 and approximately the size of a census tract.

be concentrated in urban areas, and accordingly explanations are confounded with influences associated with urbanism and urban socialization processes. Also, it is possible that the most serious juvenile offenders may be well known to the authorities and already institutionalized, thereby underestimating their prevalence in the adolescent population and biasing the model parameters from the otherwise careful longitudinal research. On the other hand, the limitations of "clinical" samples are well known.

Accordingly, current knowledge of violent and serious delinquency is limited by several factors: small sample sizes in general population studies with strong external validity but undersampling of serious delinquents, confounding of urbanism and social class/status factors with other explanatory factors in serious delinquency, and reliance on the traditions of clinical studies of small samples. Also, despite measurement advances to differentiate serious from minor delinquents, recent advances in theory have only begun to address the specific developmental processes which underlie aggression and differentiate it from other delinquent behavior. For example, Fagan et al. (1983) suggest that while violent delinquents are diversified in their offense histories, there are salient differences among offender types, with the extent and primacy of violence greater for certain youths. Other researchers have noted differences in the nature of violent behavior among juveniles—suggesting that there may be unique explanations of homicide, sexual crimes, robbery and other instrumental acts, and impulsive or expressive acts of aggression (Sorrells, 1977, 1980; Megargee, 1982; Berkowitz, 1979). To the extent that the causes and correlates of infrequent or minor delinquents differ from those of chronic or serious juvenile offenders, both theory and research should be interested in the extremes of the distribution of adolescent behaviors.

The understanding of serious youth crime gained from comparisons across heterogeneous groups or within small homogeneous groups is incomplete. There are major gaps in delinquency research in testing the applicability of current theory and knowledge across adolescent groups who develop under widely varying socioeconomic and ecological conditions, and whose behaviors range from the most minor transgressions of codified law to lethal acts. If one recognizes first that rates and severity of delinquency vary by urbanism, and second that current theory cannot adequately explain why most youths in "high-crime" areas avoid the predictable effects of social and family conditions, then one must also recognize the limitations in the generalizability of the current knowledge to the entire range of adolescents. What are the factors which differentiate serious delinquents from others in "high-crime" neighborhoods? Are the processes and correlates of delinquent activity similar for urban youths as for the general youth population? This study takes some initial steps in filling the current void in delinquency research by analyzing the differences between violent delinquents and general youth populations

in urban locales, and comparing explanatory models of serious delinquency among urban male adolescents with the prevailing empirical knowledge from general population studies.

THE THEORETICAL MODEL

An integrated theory, based on previous integrations of control, strain, and learning theories (for example, Elliott, Ageton, and Canter, 1979; Hawkins and Weis, 1980) is applied to examine differences between violent delinquents and urban youths. It includes both psychological and sociological explanations, incorporating both individual and social process factors. Control theory suggests that when social controls to prevent deviance are weak or inadequate, delinquent conduct will occur. Two types of bonds form these controls: integration, or external bonds, and commitment, or internal bonds. Integration includes such factors as social roles and attachments (involvements with and emotional ties to conventional groups). Social skills are also part of integration, including communications, social networks, and perceived roles. Commitment includes beliefs and expectations from conventional activities and beliefs in the norms of society, especially its legal mores. Personal skills such as decision making and problem solving are also part of commitment. Psychological measures such as locus of control (a measure of impulse control and internal moral development) and early childhood development factors (such as childhood exposure to violence) are also components of the model.

The causal paths hypothesized in the model have recently been refined to assume reciprocal effects—that is, delinquency may disrupt social bonds (Thornberry and Farnworth, 1984) and lead to problems in the family or at school. Other researchers suggest that the locus and sequencing of bonds may be age-specific. That is, integration and commitment may develop first in the family and is modified through school, peer, and neighborhood interactions. The importance of learning theory as the process by which prosocial bonds weaken and others replace them also has been noted in previous integrations (Conger, 1978; Fagan and Jones, 1984).

Recent studies have validated integrated theory for serious juvenile offenders (Elliott and Huizinga, 1984; Dunford and Elliott, 1984). However, as noted above, the small sample sizes in these groups pose problems both in their confounding with the urban characteristics of most serious juvenile offenders, and in developing sufficient knowledge to describe the behaviors and causal processes beneath them. The present study builds on the previous work of Elliott et al. (1985) by analyzing cross-sectional data from a general population sample from inner-city, high-crime neighborhoods, thereby controlling for the aggregate effects of social class. Finally, comparisons of general urban youths in high-crime neighborhoods with institutionalized violent

offenders from similar social areas provide data to differentiate between violent delinquents and those youths who avoid delinquency. The empirical evidence of the correlates of avoidance of delinquency will provide further validation for the integrated theory.

DATA AND METHODS

SAMPLES AND DATA COLLECTION

Data are from two samples, both part of a research and development program on violent delinquency.[5] The violent delinquent sample includes (n = 203) male adjudicated delinquents from four urban juvenile courts over a three-year period.[6] They were selected based on the offense criterion of a committing offense for a Part I index felony, and a prior adjudication for a "major" felony.[7] Subjects were identified from juvenile court records at the time of the adjudication for the committing offense.

Field researchers completed an inventory of the court records for prior offense histories, corrections history, child welfare actions in the courts, and involvement in the mental health system for each violent juvenile upon adjudication and prior to placement in a corrections program. Face-to-face interviews were conducted in detention facilities, though some youths were living at home. Interviews with the subject's primary caretaker were also conducted. (See Appendix B for demographic data on the samples.)

The general urban youths sample included both high-school students and dropouts from four inner-city, high-crime neighborhoods.[8] Student and dropout surveys were conducted at two time intervals to avoid seasonal effects. The student samples were identified from classrooms randomly selected in high schools in the target areas. The survey items were read aloud by the research staff while the subjects read them on the survey form. In addition, four to five proctors per class from local neighborhood organizations walked through the classrooms to answer students' questions, provide

5. The Violent Juvenile Offender Research and Development Program was initiated in 1980 to develop prevention programs for violent delinquency in "high-crime" urban neighborhoods, and treatment methods for chronically violent juvenile offenders. Both components utilized variants on integrated theory as described by Elliott et al. (1979) and Hawkins and Weis (1980). For a complete description of the program origins and design, see Background Paper for the Violent Juvenile Offender Research and Development Program—Parts I and II (Washington: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention).

6. Boston, Massachusetts; Newark, New Jersey; Memphis, Tennessee; and Detroit, Michigan.

7. Homicide, aggravated assault, armed robbery, kidnap, rape, or sodomy were the committing offenses. The prior offenses included the committing offenses plus burglary, auto theft, felonious robbery or assault, and grand theft.

8. Bronx, New York; Dallas, Texas; Miami, Florida; and Chicago, Illinois.

other assistance, and randomly spot check for such errors as out-of-range codes. Surveys were completed by 403 male and 351 female students in grades 10-12.

School dropouts were included in the study as a separate sample because they represented a significant proportion of the adolescent population in inner-city neighborhoods, and were not participants in the student surveys. Dropouts were selected by means of a "snowball" sampling procedure (Biernacki and Waldorf, 1981). This methodology was used when it was discovered that none of the school districts maintained records of school dropouts. It is especially useful when the dimensions of a population are not fully known. The population of dropouts could be ascertained only by comparing school registration lists for consecutive years, a procedure whose cost and time needs were beyond the study. Instead, field researchers in each city initiated sampling "chains" beginning with agencies and individuals in groups known to include high proportions of school dropouts: pregnant adolescents, probationers, working youths, and gang members.

Once initial contacts had been made in each dropout group, a nomination process was used to obtain referrals for further interviews. Respondent were asked whether they knew "someone like you who had also dropped out of school." Close friends were not interviewed whenever possible to avoid biased estimates of peer associations. The chains were "managed" in that the samples were monitored to insure that the chains were adequately represented, decisions reviewed to terminate a chain, and also to determine if new "chains" could be identified which were not included in the original typology. The face-to-face interviews were read to respondents by the interviewers while subjects simultaneously read the questions. The dropout interview lasted about 45 minutes and contained identical explanatory and behavioral variables (see below) as the school survey. But, special questions on the reasons for dropping out were added. Subjects received $5 in cash, coupons, or a gift of equivalent value. A total of 257 male and 251 female dropout interviews were conducted in the same time periods as the student surveys. Appendix B provides demographic data to describe the male adolescents in the three samples.

MEASURES

The interview items for all samples included explanatory and behavioral measures corresponding to the integrated theory. The self-reported delinquency items (SRD) were derived from the National Youth Survey items (Elliott and Ageton, 1980; Elliott, Knowles, and Canter, 1981) and included questions on delinquent behavior, alcohol and drug use, and other "problem" behaviors. The original 47-item scales were modified in two ways. First,

since the surveys were designed for youths in high-crime, inner-city neighborhoods, adjustments to eliminate trivial offenses were necessary. Many behaviors in inner-city areas may be law violations, but would either evoke no official action or are not perceived by local youths as illegal (Anderson and Rodriguez, 1984). For example, removal of pipes from an abandoned building is not considered illegal activity in several urban areas, and is viewed as a legitimate economic opportunity. These adjustments resulted in the refinement and specification of items regarding weapons use, specification of victims (that is, teacher, student, other adult), and elimination of items such as "ran away from home" or "made obscene phone calls." The items modified and retained were those which measure "high consensus" deviance (Thio, 1983) and include only acts which harm, injure, or do damage.

Second, at the request of the school officials, certain items in the original scales were eliminated, modified, or collapsed for the school survey only. For example, items on family violence and other items deemed by school principals or research bureaus to be "sensitive" or "intrusive" were eliminated. Others, such as varying degrees of theft or minor assault, were collapsed to shorten administration time, again at the request of school officials. Still others were eliminated due to their reference to "excessive" violence or self-incrimination for capital offenses: homicide and sexual assault. However, these items were retained in the violent delinquent sample.

Prevalence of SRD items within the past 12 months was measured dichotomously, and incidence was measured simply by asking those who reported "yes" how many times they had committed that act. Summary scales were constructed for narrow homogeneous offense types, patterned after Elliott and Huizinga (1983). The scale measures were derived by summing the reported prevalence scores for the items within the scale. Also, broader offense types were also scaled by type of behavior, although with greater variability for seriousness. These general scales, such as Violence or Property, capture broader behavioral trends while retaining validity with respect to type of behavior. Finally, General scales were constructed as summary scales for all types of behavior. Appendix A shows the item-scale sets which match items to behavioral domains.

Explanatory variable sets were derived from the integrated theory described earlier. Scales measuring commitment and integration bonds within each salient domain (that is, school, family, work, peers, and community) were constructed. Measures of the social environment were also constructed for the same domains, representing the perceived social learning contingencies of the respondent's social world. Additional variables were included to measure psychosocial domains such as locus of control (that is, internal-external impulse control) and parental discipline. Finally, a scale measuring the youth's prior victimization experiences was included.

These measures are shown under a variety of sampling conditions to have

strong explanatory power in both cross-sectional and longitudinal studies of violent delinquency. However, they have yet to be thoroughly tested under conditions with oversampling at the extremes of the distribution of SRD behaviors or where social status is controlled at the ecological level. Elliott and Huizinga (1983) suggested that serious and violent offenses are disproportionately present in lower social class youth, but failed to test the explanatory power of their predictor variables controlling for social class. This study addresses those shortcomings, albeit with cross-sectional data.

It is important to note that each of these variables is measured from the viewpoint of the adolescent, and no cross-validation was attempted. However, Fagan and Wexler (1984) analyzed interviews with families and youths from the violent delinquent sample in this study and found that reports of family conflict, violence, and normlessness were underreported by the adolescents when compared to both parental reports and official records. Accordingly, the estimates of family contributions are likely to be conservative. Moreover, the net effects of family are likely to be observed in the attenuated bonds among delinquent youths within an adolescent population of this age (Patterson and Dishion, 1985).

METHODS

This study is designed to explain group differences between violent delinquents and general youth populations, both from inner-city environments. The aggregation of groups is justified by their similarity in both demographic characteristics and social milieux (see Tables 1 and 2). Accordingly, comparisons of group differences on dependent measures can determine with validity their differences on independent variables. The analytic methods (ANOVA, discriminant functions) are designed to examine differences between classes of subjects.[9] To ensure validity in cross-sample comparisons, the interview instruments and measures were identical (see Appendix A).

RESULTS

SOCIAL AREA CHARACTERISTICS

Preliminary analyses were conducted to determine the homogeneity of each urban area with respect to its ecological characteristics. This procedure was necessary, first, to correct the problem in prior research with general adolescent population samples of confounding urbanism and other social area

9. The appropriateness of these techniques may be questioned in discriminating groups that are already distinct by nature of sample selection. However, these analyses were necessary in order to proceed with subsequent model construction. Furthermore, these methods are similar to meta-analyses which compare research results from studies, often with dramatically different research methods and samples.

characteristics and, second, to determine whether the samples could be aggregated. The census tract for each respondent's neighborhood was recorded, and 10 variables were extracted from 1980 census data. These variables represented the domains identified by Laub and Hindelang (1981) as sources of social area effects explaining differences in serious juvenile crime: demographic, labor force, poverty, and housing characteristics. The violent delinquent sample included subjects from 89 census tracts in four cities, while the student and dropout samples resided in 33 census tracts in four different cities.

Table 1. Sociodemographic and Economic Characteristics of Neighborhood Milieus (Census Tract Characteristics)

Census Tract Characteristic	Violent Delinquents	In-School Youth and Dropouts
Total Population	3,618	4,245
Adolescent (10 - 19 yrs) Population	19.3%	20.0%
Percent Female-Headed Households	21.7%	20.4%
Percent Households Below Poverty[a]	30.5%	40.8%
Median Household Income[a]	$10,565	$8,450
Percent Unemployed[a]	18.0%	9.9%
Housing Density (# persons/room)[a]	1.06	2.52
Percent Female-Headed Households < Poverty	62.8%	63.9%
Percent Black Population	71.9%	81.3%
Household Size	2.95	2.86

[a] $p < .05$

Overall, the social area characteristics for the two samples were comparable for 6 of 10 variables (Table 1). Results of ANOVA comparisons for each variable showed that the student and dropout samples resided in poorer neighborhoods with lower median incomes and higher priority rates and housing density. But the violent delinquent sample resided in areas with higher unemployment. Accordingly, the differences suggest that absolute deprivation was slightly more pronounced for the general inner-city population than for the violent delinquent sample, though both samples resided in poor, crowded conditions. Moreover, poverty varied by measure. For the present study, the salient issue is whether there are significant differences in social area characteristics between the violent delinquent and in-school youth samples which might confound the relationship between behavior and social class. In other words, if violent delinquents lived in conditions of greater

poverty than the delinquent in-school youth, the relationship between delinquency and social class may be confounded. But in this study, the general population sample resides in lower social class neighborhoods as measured by poverty level and income. Overall, the poverty indicators suggested equivalent rates of poverty in the neighborhoods for each sample. Thus, social area effects are minimized and, if present at all, their influence is in a direction which would understate their effects.

DELINQUENCY PREVALENCE ESTIMATES

The analyses of SRD prevalence reveal significant differences between groups in the prevalence of individual SRD items and offense-specific SRD scales. As anticipated, the violent delinquent sample reports considerably more involvement in delinquency than the general male adolescent population for every behavior (Table 2). This finding also obtains for offense-behavior types measured in summary scales (that is, violence, property, and general delinquency) as well as for offense-specific (seriousness) scales (Table 3). Additionally, it obtains both for the prevalence of each behavior or scale and for the mean scale scores.

Although the prevalence estimates for violent delinquents are much higher overall than those for general urban youth (in-school and dropouts), the estimates for the most serious offense types are quite high among all three groups. For example, 1 male youth in 12 reported shooting someone in the past year, 1 in 7 "beat someone so badly they had to see a doctor." Similar rates were found for property destruction. Moreover, more than 1 in 5 bought stolen goods, while 1 in 8 sold stolen goods. And, in comparing the rank order of prevalence estimates among violent delinquents and urban youths, there are few differences. Damaging school property, buying stolen goods, threatening an adult, beating someone badly, buying and selling stolen goods, and carrying a weapon were the most prevalent offense types among all groups. Furthermore, serious violence is common among general urban youths: the prevalence rate for Felony Assault is high (21.8%).

In comparison to the prevalence rates for working-class male adolescents reported by Elliott and Huizinga (1983), the rates for the urban samples are only slightly higher. One explanation for the elevated SRD rates in urban areas may lie in the limited access to legitimate opportunities for urban adolescents. Poor urban neighborhoods with limited material resources appear to provide ample access to illegitimate opportunities, consortium with the social status and poverty levels of neighborhoods as described in Table 1. Currie (1985) points out that the evidence for the relationship between poverty and delinquency is overwhelming. The simultaneous effects of both neighborhood social disorganization and limited access to other than the "secondary" labor market may have direct contributions to the observed trends (Anderson and Rodriguez, 1984). Whether the predictors of serious

Table 2. Prevalence of Self-Reported Delinquency Behaviors (Percent Males Reporting "Ever. . .")

SRD Behavior	Violent Delinquents (N = 203)		In-School Students (N = 403)		School Dropouts (N = 257)	
	Percent	Rank	Percent	Rank	Percent	Rank
Used Drugs	36.0	15	5.7	21	16.7	14
Sold Drugs	25.1	20	4.7	26	12.5	23
Drank Hard Liquor	53.2	5	22.1	1	37.7	1
Drove High	27.1	19	7.7	18	17.9	11
Attended School While High	43.3	9	8.2	16	28.4	2
Damaged Other Adult's Property	24.6	22	13.4	7	14.0	17
Damaged School Property	46.3	6	12.7	9	13.6	19
Bought Stolen Goods	53.7	4	15.6	3	23.7	4
Grabbed Purse	20.7	25	5.5	22	10.9	24
Stole Something Worth More Than $50	35.0	16	5.5	22	18.3	9
Stole From Wallet or Purse	31.0	17	9.2	12	13.6	19
Stole From Family	17.2	26	10.2	11	14.0	17
Stole at School	24.6	21	13.9	6	18.3	9
Broke Into Car	36.5	14	8.9	13	18.7	8
Took a Car	40.9	11	5.5	22	13.6	19
Broke into Building	39.9	12	5.2	22	16.0	15
Threatened for Profit	38.9	13	8.9	13	17.9	11
Threatened an Adult	54.2	3	14.6	4	19.8	7
Threatened an Adult With a Weapon	42.9	10	26.5	20	13.6	19
Hit an Adult	23.2	23	13.2	8	17.9	11
Beat Someone Badly	45.8	7	14.1	5	23.0	5
Used Physical Force To Get Something	29.6	18	7.9	17	10.9	24
Carried a Weapon in a Fight	55.2	2	20.1	2	28.0	3
Used Weapons To Get Something	44.8	8	6.7	19	14.4	16
Shot Someone	23.2	23	8.7	15	8.9	26
Sold Stolen Goods	63.1	1	12.4	10	22.2	6

delinquency in the general youth population differ from urban youth in conditions of material deprivation is examined later on. Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that the results show important differences between the most serious offenders in the general population and the "normal" youth in urban areas.

Comparisons between in-school youths and dropouts show that dropout status has a positive relationship with the prevalence of self-reported crime. The differences are less pronounced for the global scales (Violence, Property, General) than for the offense-specific scales. For Minor Theft, Property Damage, and Minor Assault, differences between students and dropouts were small. But for more serious offenses as well as for Illegal Services, Weapons offenses, Drug Sales, and Substance Abuse, dropouts are significantly more involved in crime than students who remain in school. The similarity of SRD

Table 3. Percent and Mean SRD Prevalence Scale Scores by Type of Sample (Males)

SRD Prevalence Scale	Violent Delinquents (N = 203)	In-School Youths (N = 403)	School Dropouts (N = 257)
Felony Assault[a]	.98 (61.1)	.31 (21.8)	.43 (28.4)
Minor Assault[b]	.23 (23.2)	.13 (13.2)	.18 (17.9)
Robbery[a]	.95 (58.1)	.20 (13.9)	.36 (21.0)
Felony Theft[a]	2.06 (81.8)	.41 (23.6)	.90 (37.0)
Minor Theft[a]	.73 (48.3)	.33 (22.3)	.46 (26.1)
Property Damage[a]	.71 (53.7)	.26 (20.3)	.28 (19.8)
Substance Abuse[a]	1.60 (76.8)	.44 (27.5)	1.01 (44.7)
Drug Sales[a]	.25 (25.1)	.05 (4.7)	.12 (12.5)
Extortion[a]	1.81 (73.4)	.37 (21.3)	.66 (29.6)
Weapons[a]	1.43 (70.0)	.33 (23.3)	.56 (32.7)
School Crime[a]	1.14 (68.0)	.35 (26.1)	.60 (35.8)
Illegal Services[a]	.88 (67.5)	.17 (15.1)	.35 (26.1)
General (Summary)[a]	9.75 (95.6)	2.67 (58.6)	4.64 (56.0)
Violent Crime (Summary)[a]	3.53 (83.3)	.94 (33.3)	1.48 (40.9)
Property Crime (Summary)[a]	3.50 (89.2)	1.00 (40.0)	1.64 (42.8)

Significance of group mean differences on SRD prevalence scores (univariate f-tests)
[a] $p < .001$ [b] $p < .01$

scores between dropouts and students for minor offenses may reflect the opportunity structures and behavioral norms in the study neighborhoods. However, the differences in serious acts and in the offense-specific School Delinquency scale may reflect other processes which separate these two groups. One hypothesis is the possible effects of delinquent associates on dropping out, which in turn suggests that delinquency may precede dropout. Whereas in a general population these differences between students and dropouts are observed for all types of behavior, they are reflected only in seriousness for the urban sample.

Thornberry et al. (1985) found that dropping out of school is significantly involved in subsequent criminal activity, including populations similar to this sample. The findings here suggest that these processes may begin early. Dropouts report considerably higher rates of School Delinquency than their counterparts who remain in school. Since age is controlled in this sample, delinquency in school apparently preceded dropping out. What is not understood are the possible reciprocal effects of delinquency on dropping out and other antisocial or problem behaviors. Further longitudinal study is needed, controlling for prior delinquent involvement and its contribution to the attention of social and personal bonds.

Finally, the differences is SRD prevalence scores and rates between the violent delinquents and the general urban youth samples also are informative with respect to threshold questions on juvenile justice system sanctioning. Violent delinquents are more often involved in all types of offenses, and report two and three times the involvement of their counterparts in the community. Since the differences persist for *all* types of behavior, one cannot say that it is the more serious crimes which provoke a system response.

EXPLANATORY VARIABLES

The above results show that, compared to general urban youth populations, violent delinquents in inner-city milieus have significantly higher delinquent involvement for all types of offenses. In analyses of general adolescent populations, predictor variables derived from integrations of control and social learning theories had strong explanatory power in understanding how serious and other delinquents differed (Dunford and Elliott, 1984). A central question in this study is whether these relationships persist for inner-city adolescents.

Using univariate f-tests, samples were compared for explanatory variables including social bonds (integration), personal bonds (commitment), and social environment variables. Nearly all the scale scores were significantly different, in the expected directions (Table 4). The differences between violent delinquents and in-school youths tend to be in the expected direction. For example, School Integration was highest for in-school youths, where SRD scores were lowest. Victimization is higher for the violent delinquents than the in-school youths. These are also some unexpected findings. For example, the mean score for Attitudes Towards Violence is higher for in-school youths than for violent delinquents. Self-reported Peer Delinquency is also higher for in-school youths than violent delinquents, though official peer delinquency (Peer Juvenile Justice System Experiences) is highest for violent delinquents. The explanatory variables which appear to differentiate between violent delinquents and in-school youths are School Integration, Peer JJS Experience, and Victimization. Only Locus of Control, Mother Attachment, and Gang Member did not significantly differ across the three groups.

There appear to be factors which differentiate dropping out as a separate phenomenon from violent delinquency. Among dropouts, there is extensive overlap between dropouts and violent delinquents in several explanatory domains. Yet dropouts also resemble students in several others. Thornberry et al.'s (1985) finding on social control explanations of dropout and delinquency suggest that separate analytic treatment of the dropout group may be warranted. Moreover, dropouts may occupy a theoretical "middle ground" in their overlap between two ostensibly opposite adolescent groups.

To further understand the differences between violent delinquents and in-school youths or dropouts, discriminant analyses were conducted using the

Table 4. Mean Scale Scores for Integrated Theory Variables (ANOVA)

Explanatory Variables	Violent Delinquents (N = 203)	In-School Youth (N = 403)	School Dropouts (N = 287)
School Integration[a]	2.88	4.28	2.39
Student Delinquency[a]	2.30	5.43	6.38
Work Integration[a]	1.78	1.44	1.14
Quality of Work Experience[a]	3.30	3.59	2.70
Drinking Problems[b]	.25	.15	.27
Drug Problems[a]	.34	.13	.39
Peer Integration[a]	2.50	2.19	2.20
Peer JJS Experience[a]	1.55	.51	.81
Peer Delinquency[a]	.97	2.05	2.33
Locus of Control[a]	2.46	2.47	2.24
Attitude to Law[b]	2.83	2.73	2.36
Attitudes Found Violent[a]	2.88	3.24	3.87
Victimization[a]	3.48	2.00	1.85
Conventional Values[a]	8.99	9.14	7.55
Father Attachment[a]	.97	1.00	.55
Father Authority[a]	.22	.45	.25
Mother Attachment	1.43	1.38	1.28
Mother Authority[a]	.48	.59	.52
Family Violence[c]	.26	.34	.67
Gang Member	1.34	1.23	1.32

[a] $p < .01$ [b] $p < .001$
[c] Nonequivalent scales

explanatory variables from Table 4 as candidate discriminators. Three models were developed. First, social bonds (integration) and personal bonds (commitment) were entered separately. Then, a combined set was entered. Each model was constructed first comparing violent delinquents with in-school youths only, and second comparing violent delinquents to the aggregated sample of in-school youths and dropouts. The results are shown in Tables 5 and 6.

All three discriminant models were significant, though the social bonding variables correctly classified a greater percentage of cases. There were virtually no differences in the models when the dropout sample was included with the in-school sample. The strongest contributors to the social bond model include peer influences and school-related variables. For the personal bond model, strong contributors included attitudinal variables (attenuated beliefs in the law and violence) and personal victimization. Perhaps most important

Table 5. Discriminant Function Coefficients for Violent Delinquents and Urban Youth (Including School Dropouts) by Types of Developmental Bond

Personal Bonds	Coefficients		Social Bonds	Coefficients	
	Students Only	Students and Dropouts		Students Only	Students and Dropouts
Drinking Problems	−.032	−.165	School Crime Environment	.637	.595
Drug Problems	.200	.435	Peer JJS Experience	−.702	−.716
Locus of Control	−.023	−.139	Peer Delinquency	.503	.411
Attitudes toward the Law	−.028	—	Peer Integration	−.201	.197
Attitudes toward Violence	−.522	−.409	Father Authoritarianism	.268	.232
Conventional Values	−.096	−.175	Father Attachment	−.268	−.131
Victimization	.882	.859	School Integration	.172	.207
			Work Integration	−.470	−.410
			Work Opportunity Environment	.371	.323
Percent Cases Correctly Classified	68.6%	69.14%	Percent Cases Correctly Classified	88.1%	89.1%
Wilkes Lambda	.857	.830	Wilkes Lambda	.478	.403
Chi Square	117.39	100.33	Chi Square	562.46	468.14
P	.000	.000	P	.000	.000

is that the combined model did not provide a more efficient explanation of the differences between the three groups. The model based on social bonds provides the strongest classification scores with comparable Lambda statistics to the combined model. Apparently, the addition of attitudinal and belief variables to an explanatory model does little to enhance its discriminating power.

The standardized discriminant coefficients in Table 6 are shown for the combined model. The model correctly classifies more than five in six cases. The highest coefficients are obtained for School Delinquency Environment, (negative) Peer Delinquency, and Peer Justice System Experience.[10] The model suggests that violent delinquents have lower peer delinquency but

10. The results show that violent delinquents report significantly lower peer delinquency than their counterparts in school or among dropouts. This contradicts the peer justice scales, where violent juveniles report significantly higher contacts with the authorities. This seemingly contradictory finding is consistent with previous self-report studies (Hindelang et al., 1981). Underreporting may be due to ignorance of their friends' activities, deliberate falsification, or normative perceptions of "crime" and what constitutes deviance. The direction of the findings minimizes bias in these findings, but raises an issue for further research.

higher peer contacts with the authorities. It also suggests that their school environments had lower delinquency than the other groups. The model also includes contributions for Work Integration and Work Environment.

Table 6. Discriminant Function Coefficients for Violent Delinquents and Urban Youths (Including School Dropouts) for Integrated Model

Variable	Coefficients	
	Students Only	Students and Dropouts
School Crime Environment	.579	.557
Peer JJS Experience	−.687	−.673
Peer Delinquency	.537	.416
Victimization	−.317	−.347
Attitudes Toward Violence	.140	.215
Work Opportunity Environment	.443	.301
Work Integration	−.436	−.368
School Integration	—	.217
Father Authoritarianism	—	.233
Percent Cases Correctly Classified	86.2%	89.77%
Wilkes Lambda	.478	.367
Chi Square	563.72	535.95
P	.000	.000

Overall, the factors which separate violent delinquents from others in similar neighborhoods can be located in the familiar territory of peers, work, and schools. On the one hand, avoidance of associations with officially delinquent peers may be a threshold for avoidance of violent conduct. On the other hand, violent delinquents apparently went to safer schools and had comparable school bonds. Apparently, going to "tough" schools is not a discriminator of violent delinquency, yet school attachment may influence the decision to remain in school. The perception of school, especially in terms of its safety and opportunity potential, seems to best determine those youths who remain there and commit fewer crimes while enrolled.

These findings are consistent with the general trend on the age-specific importance of social control variables. The importance of these variables is strongest for midadolescent youths (LaGrange and White, 1985). In cross-sectional analyses, control theory variables such as parental attachment peak at midadolescence and decline thereafter. The samples in this study fall well

within that age range. It appears that, among urban youths, control theory variables associated with peers are strong discriminators of violent delinquency, especially for those youths who evoke the most severe official responses. School variables appear to separate institutionalized youths from students and dropouts, while school variables also separate dropouts and students. The narrow age range of these samples is also a limitation on the generalizability of the results. Further study with younger samples is needed to sort out the temporal order of these influences.

COMPARATIVE MODELS OF URBAN DELINQUENCY

To further understand the contributors to serious delinquency in urban youths, regression analyses were conducted to determine whether these samples differed in the explanatory variables contributing to the prevalence of self-reported delinquency. Dependent measures were the three offense-summary scales of Violence, Property, and General. These measures were highly correlated with the offense-specific scales and afford a sensitive measure of behavior to examine the correlates within and across groups. The explanatory variables included in the analyses were the same set as in the previous analyses. Separate models were constructed for each sample.

The regression equations are all significant and explain between 40% and 53% of the variance in each SRD measure. Moreover, there are striking similarities between groups as well as some important differences. Also, the models are similar within samples in explaining seemingly different behaviors. This confirms the diversity of adolescent behaviors and the lack of specialization either in their behaviors or in the explanatory variables.

Nonetheless, among the violent delinquents, there appear to be important differences in the predictors of their offense-specific behaviors. The models for General and Property delinquency are quite similar, and share several features with the Violence model. However, there are also differences with conceptual implications. Drug Problems and Locus of Control dominate the Violence model, whereas School Integration is a weak contributor to this offense type. Conversely, Victimization does not contribute to Violence, but bears strongly on the other two behaviors. Drug Problems is a measure of the respondent's ability to avoid fights, school failure, and family conflicts associated with their drug use. Locus of Control is a measure of internal impulsivity. Together, the contributions of these variables to Violence but not to the other offense scales suggest stronger correlates associated with psychosocial development, decision-making skills, and behavioral control. Drug or alcohol use alone do not explain differences between violent delinquents and other inner-city youths. The contributors to Property and General delinquency in this sample represent more classical control theory variables—social attachments. The added contributions of psychosocial variables to explain Violence

Table 7. Standardized Regression Coefficients for SRD Prevalence Scores for Three Samples

	Violent Delinquents (N = 203)			In-School Youths (N = 403)			School Dropouts (N = 257)		
Explanatory Variables	General	Property	Violence	General	Property	Violence	General	Property	Violence
Drug Problems	.29	.22	.31	.25	.29	.18	—	—	.08
School Integration	−.24	−.26	−.14	—	—	—	—	—	—
Peer Delinquency	.13	.16	.10	.26	.26	.23	.42	.40	.39
Mother's Authority	−.18	.17	−.16	—	—	−.09	—	—	—
Victimization	.20	.29	—	.07	.09	—	—	—	
Attitudes to Law	−.15	−.09	−.18	−.14	−.13	−.11	−.14	−.16	−.13
Locus of Control	.18	—	.23	—	—	—	.09	—	—
Attitudes to Violence	.15	.10	.18	.09	.09	.08	.16	.10	.21
Quality of Work Experience	−.11	−.09	−.11	.14	—	—	—	.17	—
Conventional Values	−.07	−.08	−.09	—	—	—	—	—	—
Drinking Problems	—	—	—	.23	.15	.23	.27	.24	.26
Peer JJS Experience	—	—	—	.14	.08	—	.17	—	.12
Work Integration	—	—	—	.18	—	—	.08	—	—
R^2	.529	.460	.406	.525	.454	.377	.504	.409	.419
F	12.19	9.26	6.99	23.61	20.05	14.58	14.28	11.11	11.60
P	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001

Coefficients less than .02 are not reported.

may be associated with the multiple types of violence and their competing explanations.

Accordingly, there may be underlying differences in the types of violent delinquents, perhaps illustrating the motivational components of violence: instrumentality, impulsivity, and expressivity. Overall, these models suggest that explanations of violent behavior among violent delinquents may vary. The prevalence of violence, and the degree of harmfulness within a sample of violent youth, may be related to different etiological processes. That is, violent delinquents may not be a homogeneous group. There may be different behavioral patterns within this sample, reflecting possible differences in the underlying motivations or meaning of violence.

The models for the student and dropout samples show several trends. First, they share predictable similarities with the violent delinquent sample and with each other in the presence of peer influences. But they also differ from the violent delinquent sample in the contributions of Victimization, School Integration, and Locus of Control. Apparently, social bonds, impulsivity, and personal victimization experiences do not differentiate among delinquent behaviors for adolescents in neighborhood settings.

Second, they depart from each other in several notable ways. Drug Problems and Victimization are strong predictors of all offense types for students but not for dropouts. The social skills to avoid such problems seem to predict avoidance of delinquency. Conversely, Drinking Problems are present in both samples. Also, there are few differences within samples by offense types, unlike the violent delinquent sample. Third, school variables appear to be unimportant in explaining delinquency within each sample, but Table 6 shows that they may also explain avoidance of serious delinquency by different groups. Though dropouts report higher SRD scores, the underlying contributions of school to self-reported delinquency may not differ for the two groups. This further suggests that delinquency may be reciprocal with dropout, and that it may actually precede dropout. Again, further study of the temporal ordering of these behaviors and their mutual contributions is needed.

Comparing Tables 6 and 7, there are important differences among models based on between-group differences and those which explain scaled behaviors within samples. Critical variables in Table 6, such as School Delinquency Environment and Peer JJS Experience, are unimportant in the regression models in Table 7. But useful information is obtained by both methods. In general, the importance of peer associations and school variables as correlates of avoidance of violent delinquency are shown. The consistent contributions of peer delinquency in seemingly distinct groups suggest the normative involvement of youths in poor neighborhoods with delinquent associates. And while dropouts resemble students in the contributors to delinquency, dropouts seem to occupy a "middle ground" in their resemblance to both

groups. The involvement of dropouts in delinquency but their avoidance of institutionalization suggests that dropout may be a behavioral outcome, temporally confounded with delinquency and accordingly sharing many comparable explanations. But there also appear to be psychological processes in violent delinquents which may also explain their difference from other urban youths. The now familiar finding of "bonding" to delinquent peers seem to apply equally well among inner-city youth and general population groups. Control theory appears to be salient for urban neighborhoods with few material resources. However, the specific focus on violence suggests that important exceptions may exist to explain this group of offenders.

CONCLUSIONS

Despite the disproportionate concentration of violent and serious juvenile delinquency in inner-city neighborhoods, most adolescents living in conditions of relative deprivation avoid the predictable consequences of peer, family, and social influences with respect to criminality. The factors which explain violent and serious delinquency for inner-city youths validate the associations found in longitudinal studies of the general adolescent population. While the explanations remain the same, the prevalence rates of serious delinquency are considerably higher than among general populations. Apparently, social and economic conditions in inner cities amplify the social processes which contribute to delinquency.

Laub (1983) suggests that urbanism erodes the restraints that inhibit delinquency. Fagan et al. (1983) suggest that social environment contributes to the erosion of social bonds and reinforces involvement in delinquency. In either case, the relationship between relative deprivation and socialization acts in concert with individual and situational factors to spawn delinquent involvement. In this study, the increased opportunities for illegal activities and the attenuation of bonds with schools are likely results of these processes. The study neighborhoods are limited in their material resources, with the result that social institutions and cohesion among residents are weakened, and the "natural" social controls of family, school, and neighborhood exert less influence than in middle-class or high-income areas.

Many of the processes observed in this study may be reciprocal with delinquency. Delinquency among dropouts often preceded their leaving school. School crime may attenuate bonds with school, suggesting that dropping out is perhaps a midpoint in a longer delinquent career. The contributions of weak school attachments for violent delinquents converge with the self-reports of school crime of dropouts. The combination of limited opportunities in the neighborhood and weakened schools suggest that dropping out may be the result of similar processes which contribute to serious delinquency.

Still other processes may be mediated by the economic conditions of the neighborhoods. The association of weakened maternal authority with the violent delinquents points to the impact of poverty on the family. The absence of material resources in inner-city neighborhoods will naturally weaken the ability of single parents (predominantly mothers) to control and socialize adolescents. Family composition of the violent delinquents often includes an adult other than birth parent or stepparent. While the relationship between family composition and delinquency is still unclear, these data suggest that family process and resources are attenuated by the neighborhood resources.

The correlates of delinquency are familiar. School attachments and weakened family influences separate violent delinquents from others. Associations with delinquent peers do not alone add to an understanding of the factors which separate violent youths from others in the community. Recent ethnographic work suggests that the meaning of these associations is complex. Current delinquency control policy which removes youths from family and community may be aggravating the separation of this group. Community programs should strive to repair bonds to family through interventions which reinforce family resources and authority. Violent delinquents appear to be a heterogeneous group and, for some, interventions focused on behavioral restraint or control may be necessary.

Complex social, economic, and political factors are contributing to the creation of a vast new class of poor persons who are younger, more poorly educated, and more likely to give birth sooner. One of the predictable consequences of this phenomenon is the continuing isolation of inner-city communities and a hardening of the processes observed among these samples. Delinquency policies which do not simultaneously account for these processes are likely to have little impact on the origins of serious delinquency. These findings suggest that delinquency policy should be linked with economic development policy. The infusion of material and social resources into inner-city neighborhoods may strengthen social institutions including schools and families and alter the familiar correlates of serious delinquency by providing for the natural controls which characterize lower-crime neighborhoods.

REFERENCES

Achenbach, Thomas M. and Craig Edelbrock

1979 The child behavior profile: II—boys aged 12-16 and girls aged 6-11 and 12-16. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology 47: 223-233.

Akers, Ronald L.
1977 Deviant Behavior: A Social Learning Perspective. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Akers, Ronald L., Marvin Krohn, L. Lonza-Kaduce, and Marcia Radosevich
1979 Social learning and deviant behavior: A specific test of a general theory. American Sociological Review 44: 636-655.

Anderson, Nancy and Orlando Rodriguez
1984 Conceptual issues in the study of Hispanic delinquency. Research Bulletin, Hispanic Research Center, Fordham University 7: 2-5.

Berkowitz, Leonard
1979 The Meaning of Aggression. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Biernacki, Patrick and O. Daniel Waldorf
1981 Snowball sampling: Problems and techniques of chain referral sampling. Sociological Methods and Research 10: 131-163.

Braithwaite, John
1981 The myth of social class and criminality reconsidered. American Sociological Review, 46: 36-57.

Chaiken, Jan and Marcia Chaiken
1982 Varieties of Criminal Behavior. Santa Monica: Rand Corporation.

Comer, James P.
1985 Black violence and public policy. In Lynn Curtis (ed.), American Violence and Public Policy. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Conger, Rand D.
1978 From social learning to criminal behavior. In Marvin D. Krohn and Ronald L. Akers (eds.), Crime, Law, and Sanctions: Theoretical Perspectives. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Currie, Elliot
1985 Confronting Crime. New York: Pantheon.

Dembo, Richard, N. Allen, and H. Vette
1982 The non-delinquent in a high crime area: Theoretical and research perspectives. Presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology.

Dunford, Frank W. and Delbert S. Elliott
1984 Identifying career offenders using self-reported data. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency 21: 57-86.

Edelman, Mark
1984 Exploratory study on delinquency and delinquency avoidance in the south Bronx. Research Bulletin, Hispanic Research Center, Fordham University 7: 11-14.

Elliott, Delbert S. and Suzanne Ageton
1980 Reconciling race and class differences in self-reported and official estimates of delinquency. American Sociological Review 45: 95-110.

Elliott, Delbert S., Suzanne Ageton, and Rachelle Canter
1979 An integrated theoretical perspective on delinquent behavior. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency 16: 3-27.

Elliott, Delbert S. and David Huizinga
1983 Social class and delinquent behavior in a national youth panel. Criminology 21: 149-177.
1984 The relationship between delinquent behavior and ADM problems. National Youth Survey Report No. 26. Boulder, CO: Behavioral Research Institute.

Elliott, Delbert S., David Huizinga, and Suzanne Ageton
1985 Explaining Delinquency and Drug Use. Lexington: Heath.

Elliott, Delbert S., Brian A. Knowles, and Rachelle J. Canter
1981 The epidemiology of delinquent behavior and drug use among American adolescents. National Youth Survey Report No. 14. Boulder, CO: Behavioral Research Institute.

Elliott, Delbert S. and Harlan Voss
1974 Delinquency and Dropout. Lexington, MA: Heath.

Fagan, Jeffrey A., Karen V. Hansen, and Michael Jang
1983 Profiles of chronically violent delinquents: An empirical test of an integrated theory. In James Kleugel (ed.), Evaluating Juvenile Justice. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Fagan, Jeffrey A. and Sally Jo Jones
1984 Toward an integrated theoretical model of violent delinquency. In Robert Mathias, Paul DeMuro, and Richard S. Allinson (eds.), An Anthology on Violent Juvenile Offenders. Newark: National Council on Crime and Delinquency.

Fagan, Jeffrey A. and Sandra Wexler
1984 Family origins of violent delinquents. Presented at the Second National Family Violence Research Conference. Durham, NH: University of New Hampshire.

Gilbert, James
1986 A Cycle of Outrage: America's Reaction to the Juvenile Delinquent in the 1950s. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hamparian, Donna M., Richard Schuster, Simon Dinitz, and John Conrad
1978 The Violent Few. Lexington, MA: Heath.

Hartstone, Eliot and Karen V. Hansen
1984 The Violent Juvenile Offender: An Empirical Portrait. In Robert Mathias, Paul DeMuro, and Richard S. Allinson (eds.), An Anthology on Violent Juvenile Offenders. Newark: National Council in Crime and Delinquency.

Hawkins, J. David and Joseph G. Weis
1980 The Social Development Model: An Integrated Approach to Delinquency Prevention. Seattle, WA: University of Washington, Center for Law and Justice.

Hindelang, Michael, Travis Hirschi, and Joseph G. Weis
1981 Measuring Delinquency. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Johnson, Robert E.
1979 Juvenile Delinquency and Its Origins. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kandel, Denise B., Ronald C. Kessler, and Rebecca Z. Marguilies
1978 Antecedents of adolescent initiation into stages of drug use: A developmental analysis. In Denise B. Kandel (ed.), Longitudinal Research on Drug Use. New York: Wiley.

Kornhauser, Ruth
1978 Social Sources of Delinquency: An Analytic Appraisal of Models. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Krohn, Marvin D. and James L. Massey
1980 Social control and delinquent behavior: An examination of the elements of the social bond. Sociological Quarterly 21: 529-544.

LaGrange, Rudy L. and Helene R. White
1985 Age differences in delinquency: A test of theory. Criminology 23: 19-46.

Laub, John H.
1983 Urbanism, race, and crime. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency 20: 183-198.

Laub, John H. and Michael J. Hindelang
1981 Juvenile Criminal Behavior in Urban, Suburban, and Rural Areas. Washington, D.C.: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

Lewis, Dorothy O., Shelly S. Shanok, J.H. Pincus, Madeline Grant, and Eron Ritvo
1979 Violent juvenile delinquents: Psychiatric, neurological, psychological, and abuse factors. Journal of American Academy of Child Psychiatry 18: 307-319.
1984 Homicidally aggressive young children: Neuropsychiatric and experiential correlates. In Robert Mathias, Paul DeMuro, and Richard S. Allinson (eds.), An Anthology on Violent Juvenile Offenders. Newark: National Council on Crime and Delinquency.

Loeber, Rolf and Thomas J. Dishion
1983 Early predictors of male delinquency: A review. Psychological Bulletin 94: 68-99.

Loeber, Rolf and Magda Stoudthamer-Loeber
1986 Models and meta-analyses of the relationship between family variables and juvenile conduct problems and delinquency. In Norval Morris and Michael Tonry (eds.), Crime and Justice: An Annual Review of Research; Vol. 7. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

McNeeley, R. Louis and Carl E. Pope
1981 Socioeconomic and racial issues in the measurement of criminal involvement. In R. Louis McNeeley and Carl E. Pope (eds.), Race, Crime, and Criminal Justice. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Mancini, James K.
1981 Strategic Styles: Coping in the Inner City. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England.

Megargee, Edward I.
1982 Psychological determinants and correlates of criminal violence. In Marvin Wolfgang and Neal Weiner (eds.), Criminal Violence. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Monahan, John
1981 Predicting Violent Behavior: An Assessment of Clinical Techniques. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Moore, Joan
1978 Homeboys. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Patterson, Gerald R.
1979 Children who steal. In Travis Hirschi and Michael Gottfredson (eds.), Understanding Crime: Current Theory and Research. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Patterson, Gerald R. and Thomas J. Dishion
1985 Contributions of families and peers to delinquency. Criminology 23: 63-80.

Piper, Elizabeth S.
1983 Patterns of violent juvenile recidivism. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.
1986 Violent recidivism and chronicity in the 1958 Philadelphia cohort. Journal of Quantitative Criminology 1: 319-344.

Rojek, Dean G. and Maynard L. Erikson
1982 Delinquent careers. Criminology, 20: 5-28.

Shannon, Lyle W.
1980 Assessing the relationship of adult careers to juvenile careers: The transitional years (16-24). Presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology.
1984 The Development of Serious Criminal Careers and the Delinquent Neighborhood. Washington, D.C.: National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

Sorrells, James M.
1977 Kids who kill. Crime and Delinquency 23: 312-320.
1980 What can be done about juvenile homicide? Crime and Delinquency 19: 152-161.

Strasburg, Paul
1978 Violent Delinquents. New York: Monarch.
1984 Recent national trends in serious juvenile crime. In Robert Mathias, Paul DeMuro, and Richard S. Allinson (eds.), An Anthology on Violent Juvenile Offenders. Newark: National Council on Crime and Delinquency.

Thio, Alex
1983 Deviant Behavior (2nd ed.). Boston: Houghton-Miflin.

Thornberry, Terence P. and Margaret Farnworth
1984 Unemployment and criminal involvement: An investigation of reciprocal causal structures. American Sociological Review 49: 398-411.

Thornberry, Terence P., Melanie Moore, and R.L. Christenson
1985 The effect of dropping out of high school on subsequent criminal behavior. Criminology 23: 3-18.

Tittle, Charles R., Wayne J. Villemez, and Douglas A. Smith
1978 The myth of social class and criminality. American Sociological Review 43: 643-656.

Weis, Joseph G. and John Sederstrom
1981 The Prevention of Serious Delinquency: What to Do? Washington, D.C.: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

Weiner, Neal A. and Marvin E. Wolfgang
1985 The extent and character of violent crime in America, 1969-1982. In Lynn Curtis (ed.), American Violence and Public Policy. New Haven: Yale University Press.

West, Donald J. and Donald P. Farrington
1977 The Delinquent Way of Life. London: Heinemann.

Wolfgang, Marvin E., Robert M. Figlio, and Thorsten Sellin
1972 Delinquency in a Birth Cohort. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Zimring, Franklin E.
1979 American youth violence: Issues and trends. In Norval Morris and Michael Tonry (eds.), Crime and Justice: An Annual Review of Research. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Jeffrey A. Fagan is Director of the Center for Law and Social Policy at the URSA Institute. His recent publications include profiles of violent delinquents, transfer of violent delinquents to adult court, the relationship between drug abuse and criminality, and family conflict and abuse. He is currently principal investigator on a research and development program for treatment interventions with violent delinquents. His research interests include the causes of delinquency, juvenile corrections, drug abuse, and family violence.

Elizabeth S. Piper is a Senior Research Analyst at the URSA Institute. Her recent publications include criminal careers of violent delinquents and social area effects on rates of violent delinquency. Her research interests include violent delinquents, adolescent socialization, and the effects of sanctions on criminal careers.

Melinda Moore is a Policy Analyst at the URSA Institute. Her research and policy interests include delinquency prevention, school violence interventions, and aging. Her recent publications include waiver of violent delinquents to criminal court and perceptions of teacher quality in California schools.

Appendix A. Offense-Specific and Offense-Type Scales

Felony Assault
- Beat someone up so badly they probably needed a doctor
- Used physical force to get money, drugs, or something else from someone
- Shot someone

Minor Assault
- Hit another adult

Robbery
- Grabbed a purse and ran with it
- Used physical force to get money, drugs, or something else from someone

Felony Theft
- Bought stolen goods
- Taken things from a store worth more than $50
- Broken into a car to get something
- Broken into a building and taken something
- Taken a stranger's car without permission

Minor Theft
- Taken something from somebody's wallet or purse
- Stolen money from parents or other family members
- Stolen something at school

Property Damage
- Purposely damaged or destroyed property belonging to your school
- Purposely damaged or destroyed property not belonging to you or your family or your school

Substance Abuse
- Used angel dust (PCP), downers (barbiturates), speed (amphetamines), coke (cocaine), or heroin
- Drunk whiskey, gin, vodka, or other hard liquor
- Driven a car while high or drunk
- Gone to school high or drunk

Drug Sales
- Sold weed (marijuana), angel dust, downers, speed, coke, or heroin

Extortion
- Threaten to hurt someone unless given something
- Threaten an adult
- Threaten an adult with a weapon
- Used a weapon to get something from someone

Weapons

Carried a weapon with the intention of using it in a fight
Threatened an adult with a weapon
Used a weapon to get something from someone

School Crime
Gone to school high or drunk
Purposely damaged or destroyed property belonging to your school
Stolen something at school

Illegal Services
Sold angel dust, downers, speed, coke or heroin
Sold something you had stolen
Bought stolen goods

General
Used angel dust, downers, speed, coke, or heroin
Sold angel dust, downers, speed, coke, or heroin
Drunk whiskey, gin, vodka, or other hard liquor
Driven a car while high or drunk
Gone to school high or drunk
Damaged a neighbor's property
Purposely damaged or destroyed property belonging to your school
Bought stolen goods
Grabbed a purse and ran with it
Sold something you had stolen
Taken something from someone's wallet or purse
Taken things from a store worth over $50
Broken into a building and taken something
Taken a stranger's car without permission
Broken into a car to get something
Stolen money from your parents or other family members
Stolen something at school
Threatened to hurt someone unless given something
Threatened an adult
Hit an adult
Beat someone up so badly they probably needed a doctor
Used physical force to get money, drugs, or something else from someone
Carried a weapon with the intention of using it in a fight
Threatened an adult with a weapon
Used a weapon to get something from someone
Shot someone

Appendix B. Comparisons of Violent Delinquents, In-School Youths, and Dropouts by Social and Demographic Characteristics

Social and Demographic Characteristics	Total Sample		Violent Delinquents		In-School Youths		School Dropouts	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Total Sample	863	100	203	23.5	403	46.7	257	29.8
Ethnicity[a]								
White	49	5.8	30	16.0	7	1.8	12	4.7
Black	570	67.8	144	76.6	259	65.1	167	65.5
Hispanic	185	22.0	10	5.3	103	25.9	72	28.2
Asian	7	0.8	0	0	6	1.5	1	.4
Native American	15	1.8	1	.5	12	3.0	2	.8
Other	15	1.8	3	1.6	11	2.8	1	.4
Family Composition[a]								
Birth Parents	204	23.6	38	18.7	114	28.3	52	20.2
Parents & Stepparents	98	11.4	30	14.8	35	8.7	33	12.8
Single Parent	465	53.9	91	44.8	225	55.8	149	58.0
Other Adult	96	11.1	44	21.7	29	7.2	23	(8.9)
Age[a]								
13	13	1.5	10	5.1	—		3	1.2
14	85	10.0	22	11.2	45	11.4	18	7.0
15	163	19.2	30	15.2	98	24.9	35	13.7
16	186	22.0	50	25.4	98	24.9	38	14.8
17	193	22.8	54	27.4	83	21.1	56	21.9
18	102	12.0	27	13.7	44	11.2	31	12.1
19 or older	195	12.4	4	2.0	26	6.6	75	29.3
Parent Employment[a]								
None	279	32.3	75	36.9	110	27.3	94	36.6
Mother Only	100	11.6	9	4.4	42	10.4	49	19.1
Father Only	139	16.1	55	27.1	59	14.6	25	9.7
Both	345	40.0	64	31.5	192	47.6	89	34.6
Parent Education[a]								
LT High School Graduate	460	53.5	133	65.6	175	43.4	152	59.1
High School Graduate	239	27.7	70	34.5	114	28.3	55	21.4
College or More	164	19.0	—		114	28.3	50	19.5
Youth's Work Experience								
None	364	50.1	106	52.2	108	38.0	150	62.8
Some Work Experience	362	49.9	97	47.8	176	62.0	89	37.2

[a] $p = < .001$

AN ASSESSMENT OF DELINQUENCY CORRELATES OF URBAN YOUTH IN EIGHT HIGH CRIME NEIGHBORHOODS

James L. Deslonde and Jeffrey A. Fagan
URSA Institute
San Francisco, California

Presented at the 1986 Annual Conference of the National Association of Blacks in Criminal Justice, Washington, D.C.

This study was prepared under Grant 85-MU-AX-C001 from the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice to the URSA Institute. The opinions in this paper are those of the author and do not reflect the policies or views of the Department of Justice.

AN ASSESSMENT OF DELINQUENCY CORRELATES OF URBAN YOUTH IN EIGHT HIGH CRIME NEIGHBORHOODS

Introduction

In the past decade, serious and violent juvenile crime has become a central concern in delinquency policy and criminological research. Considerable attention has been focused on efforts to understand how serious and delinquent criminal careers develop and accordingly, how they may be prevented and controlled. Naturally, such efforts require a theoretical and empirical understanding of the causes of violent behavior, as well as how delinquents and other adolescents differ. Despite the considerable advances of the past two decades in delinquency research, and the recent spotlight on violent crimes committed by young offenders, only recently has delinquency research emphasized efforts to uncover the specific correlates of serious and violent crime. Unfortunately, the growth of empirical knowledge on juvenile violence has not kept pace with the growth of public concern and legislative interventions.

Reflective of this concern is that the Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) has for the past four years supported the Violent Juvenile Offender Research and Development Program (VJOPII). This program has attempted to field test a theoretical model encompassing community-based approaches to the prevention of violent juvenile delinquency in high crime neighborhoods. The OJJDP model tests a set of theoretical assumptions about and interventions on juvenile crime by use of an extensive range of empirical data on juvenile crime. Community-based groups were assisted in utilizing these data sources to plan and implement the VJOPII model. The data analyzed in this report is a preliminary analysis of one of several VJJOPII data sets.

Inner City Youth Crime

Despite the recognition of the urban concentration of serious delinquency, there is little systematic information on the correlates and explanatory factors of serious delinquency in inner cities. There have been few attempts to understand how delinquent minority youth differ from non-delinquents in the same neighborhoods where the high rates of serious and violent juvenile crime are observed. Laub and Hindelang (1981) used victimization data to identify neighborhood characteristics associated with serious and violent delinquency, but they did not study the backgrounds of young offenders. Shannon (1984) also studied milieu effects on individual rates of offending and the development of criminal careers. Here too the focus was on ecological factors as correlates or epidemiological locators of delinquency.

While the literature identifies poor and minority youth as being at higher risk for serious delinquency, the large majority avoid criminal behavior. For example, Wolfgang et al (1972) found that 35% of the 1945 birth cohort had at least one contact with the police. However, among the minority youth, 50% had one or more contacts with the police. Hamparian et al (1978) and Shannon (1984) found similar results. Dunford and Elliot (1984) found that among 90 youth with 200 or more self-reported offenses in one year, the probability of arrest was less than one in five (.19).

On the other hand, many adolescents in high delinquency areas actively manipulate their environment to avoid situations leading to delinquency (Anderson and Rodriguez, 1984). Most youth in environments with poor schools, dilapidated housing, or high adult criminality avoid delinquency. However, the non-delinquent youth in general has received little attention, especially in criminological research. There is little information which describes those inner city adolescents who resist delinquency, or explains why or how those with the same attributes as high rate offenders (e.g., broken families or poverty) are not affected in the predictable ways (Dembo et al, 1982).

Although it has been shown that a large proportion of violent offenders are also chronic offenders (Piper, forthcoming) and that "chronics" commit 66% of all injury offenses (Wolfgang et al 1972), few factors have been found which differentiate between different types of "high rate" offenders. Chronic violent delinquents tend to be disproportionately represented among nonwhite, lower social class males, and to have started their criminal careers at an early age (Piper forthcoming). Violent delinquents also appear to have a range of social and behavioral problems which are highly correlated with peer, family, school, and employment influences (Strasburg, 1978; Fagan et al, 1983; Hartstone and Hansen, 1984). Fagan et al (1983) also found that a youth's prior victimization also contributes to becoming a violent offender. These studies also cite the high rate of justice system contacts for these offenders, although Elliot and Huizinga (1984) report that only 14% of the serious offenders in their national sample had an arrest record.

Several researchers have cited the dominant role of delinquent associates in the development of careers of serious delinquency and drug use (cf., Akers et al, 1977; West and Farrington, 1977; Kandel et al, 1978; Elliot and Huizinga, 1984; Elliot et al, 1985). Recent longitudinal research suggests that the strength of the association to delinquent peers is mediated by several factors, especially conventional bonds to family, peers, norms, and institutions. Accordingly, the dominant paradigm at this time suggests that all adolescents are at risk for associations with such antisocial influences, but are restrained by conventional associations. In other words, poor interaction with family members, schools, legal institutions, or employers presents opportunities and motivation to associate with delinquent peers, which in turn leads to serious delinquency. And these events appear to be the outcome of a developmental sequence beginning in the family and proceeding through school, peer, and community influences (Hawkins and Weis, 1980).

However, the social reality of "association with delinquent peers" in inner city environs may be more complex than these studies suggest. Mancini (1981), Moore (1978), and Edelman (1984) all used ethnographic methods to identify more varied and contradictory explanations of "bonds" to delinquent peers. Some youth affiliate with delinquent peers for protection, but never engage in crime. Others pursue economic opportunities or social status through these associations. What appears to be lacking in the more simplified notions of delinquent associates is the "black box" assumptions of how delinquent norms are enforced, particularly in inner city neighborhoods (Anderson and Rodriguez, 1984). There are subjective definitions of "illegal activity" which influence the reported rates of delinquency, which in turn may be related to the opportunity structures unique to high crime neighborhoods.

Ecological traditions argue that the concentration and high rates of delinquency in urban neighborhoods result from social disorganization at the neighborhood level. Fagan et al (1983) found that among violent youth, environmental influences were stronger predictors of the prevalence of violence and the length the career than either individual or situational variables. Weis and Sederstrom (1981) cited weakened social institutions

(e.g., schools, families, churches) as strong correlates of serious and violent delinquency. Linking these socializing influences to ecological dimensions, they argued that ecological effects were important components of the socialization process in urban areas--that is, contributing to the weakening of "conventional bonds" discussed earlier. Shannon (1984) argues that these influences have in the past been poorly understood due to measurement problems in determining the locus of effects. He argues that only neighborhood is a sufficiently homogeneous locus for a definitive test of milieu effects. Alternatively, sampling at the neighborhood level may be the only way to adequately control for milieu effects when analyzing the causes and correlates of serious delinquency. What remains unknown are the processes by which ecological influences mediate behavior, and as in the classic "fallacy", affect some but by no means all youth in a neighborhood.

In sum, the empirical knowledge on serious and violent delinquency is based primarily on one of two sources--either small clinical samples of violent or serious juvenile offenders, or general population studies of probability samples of adolescents. However, neither strategy is a practical or realistic strategy for locating chronic or serious juvenile offenders for systematic study. On the one hand, the processes which explain the relatively trivial offenses in general population studies are not likely to explain serious delinquency. For example, the National Youth Survey permits generalizations about delinquency among all American adolescents. However, the small number of serious or violent offenders in that sample--67 of 1,494, or 4.5%-- afford too few cases for a complete understanding of their differences from other youth. Moreover, they tend to be concentrated in urban areas, and accordingly explanations are confounded with influences associated with urbanism and urban socialization processes. Also, it is possible that the most serious juvenile offenders may be well known to the authorities and already institutionalized, thereby underestimating their prevalence in the adolescent population and biasing the model parameters from the otherwise careful longitudinal research. On the other hand, the limitations of "clinical" samples are well known. Like the citizen who loses some coins at night and looks only "under the streetlamp", criminologists have tended to focused on only violent offenders to understand the causal processes which lead to juvenile aggression.

The understanding of serious youth crime gained from comparisons across heterogenous groups or within small homogeneous groups is incomplete. There are major gaps in delinquency research in testing the applicability of current theory and knowledge across adolescent groups who develop under widely varying socio-economic and ecological conditions. If we recognize first that rates and severity of delinquency vary by urbanism, and second that current theory cannot adequately explain why most youth in "high crime" areas avoid the predictable affects of social and family conditions, then we must also recognize the limitations in the generalizability of our current knowledge to the entire range of adolescents. What are the factors which differentiate serious delinquents from others in "high crime" neighborhoods? Are the processes and correlates of delinquent activity similar for urban youth as for the general youth population? This study attempts to take initial steps in filling the current void in delinquency research by analyzing the differences between urban, minority youth and general now urban populations characterized by the acting empirical knowledge from general population studies.

Survey Design

The VJOPII Youth Survey was designed as a pencil and paper group questionnaire. The items are grouped into eight sections--background information, school, work experiences, delinquent and nondelinquent behaviors, friends, thoughts (attitudes),

neighborhood and family. The section on delinquent and nondelinquent behaviors are primarily composed of 28 self-reported delinquency items similar to those employed in the longitudinal national Youth Survey on delinquency and drug abuse among American youth from 1976-1980. The attitudinal questions assess several conventional attitudinal scales used in a variety of other youth studies. The other sections employ a variety of variables which constitute the environmental measures.

Sample Identification

In the spring of 1984, eight VJOPII II project staffs administered the Youth Survey to two samples of youth residing in the target neighborhoods in which the VJOPII II initiative is being implemented. One sample was drawn from youth currently attending high school and the other sample was drawn from school dropout youth. In addition, four of the project sites also surveyed a third sample of active youth gang members residing in the target neighborhood. The in school samples consisted of 200 youth in each city. Half of the samples (800) were randomly selected from neighborhood high schools, with the exception of Phoenix, which drew a sample from a neighborhood junior high school. The other half of the in school sample was identified through the referral sampling technique; the entire national sample of dropouts and gang youth were also referral samples. Thus, the national cross site sample consists of 1600 in school youth, 400 school dropout youth and 200 active gang members. This section of the Youth Survey analysis examines the 1600 in school youth sample. Constructing the sample in this manner controls for the different environmental effects that are likely to exist among in school, dropout, and gang member youth.

Characteristics of the Sample

In five of the cities--New Orleans, Los Angeles, Chicago, Miami and Dallas--the samples are predominantly Black (98%). In New York and San Diego, the samples are mixed: Black, Hispanic (Mexican American), Latin American and Puerto Rican. The total national sample is approximately half female and half male; the age range of respondents is 14-20 years old.

Reported educational levels of parents are presented in Tables 1 and 2. One fourth of the fathers and almost one third of the mothers finished high school with 28% of the mothers and 26% of the fathers with less than a high school education. However, given the large number of "don't know" responses, it is possible that the total group of mothers and fathers with less than a high school education would range between 27-40%. Reports on national census data shows the VJOPII II target area educational level of 50-60 % less than high school education. Thus, this subsample represents slightly better educated households than the general population pool from which the samples were drawn.

The occupational backgrounds of parents as reported by the respondents are shown in Tables 3 and 4. For the general population of the resident neighborhoods, unemployment rates vary from 10-14%. For the Youth Survey sample, unemployment rates range from 1 -4% for fathers and from 2-5% for mothers. However, these figures may be underreported due to "don't know" and blank responses. Yet, as with educational background, this sample probably comes from slightly more advantaged homes than the general population of the neighborhood. It is interesting to note that unemployment rates

reported by this sample show Chicago with the highest combined rate among mothers and fathers; in addition, Chicago has the highest overall unemployment rate for the target neighborhood populations of all eight cities (19%).

Neighborhood Characteristics

The neighborhoods in which the respondents reside and the high schools which they attend are remarkably similar on several characteristics. All of the neighborhoods are experiencing high juvenile crime* rates and high unemployment rates among adults and youth, and the high schools which they are attending reflect similar patterns of delinquency**.

In addition, there are other transition and stability factors that should be noted which do not appear in any of the VJOPII II youth survey data. In New Orleans and Miami, youth workers and VJOPII II staff have noted germinal characteristics of youth gangs. Tightly knit youth groups are beginning to roam the streets and schools, claiming names, colors, and territories, and indulging in minor delinquent acts. The prevalence of these groups most likely influences responses on some of the Youth Survey measures. In Phoenix, large numbers of families were relocated from their traditional neighborhood because of expansion by the airport, and, a few months before this survey was administered, the one remaining neighborhood high school was closed. The neighborhood high school youth are now scattered in high schools throughout Phoenix. In Los Angeles, rival gangs continuously participated in violent encounters in the neighborhood and the high school from which the sample was drawn continuously experiences gang activities, unlike the rest of the VJOPII II high schools. In New York, the target neighborhood is just beginning to stabilize after several years of heavy influxes of Latin and, to a lesser extent, Asian, immigrants, the sale of street drugs and adequate housing dominate neighborhood concerns there. In Dallas and Chicago, the target neighborhoods are very stable yet extremely poverty stricken, having the highest poverty level percents of all the other VJOPII II sites. In Chicago, well-formed gangs with long histories of violence are beginning to retain their leadership among the old veterans who no longer leave the gangs for a noncriminal life style, thus exerting a very different sphere of influence over the peer youth culture of the target neighborhood.

Youth Perceptions of Neighborhoods

Against these neighborhood contexts, most youth report that they "like" their neighborhoods, and that they are either "somewhat" or "very satisfied" with their neighborhoods (see Table 6). Neighborhood attachments are reflected by the responses:

- o friends live here (85-61%);
- o family live her (95-83%);

---

*Eligibility for the VJOPII grants was a minimum city rate of 100 per 100,000 violent juvenile crime. The eight VJOPII cities al have a 300 per 100,000 violent juvenile crime rate. (Violent Juvenile Crime Research and Development Program, Request for Proposal, Department of Justice, 1982.)

**From previous VJOPII analysis reports

- school is here (88%-59%,N.Y.,32%);
- church is here (66%-32%);
- know many people in neighborhood (89%-70%);
- been here all my life (50%-27%); and
- other family nearby (74%-49%).

Even though neighborhood attachments seem to be strong, most respondents still want to see improvements in their neighborhoods as noted in the responses below. The respondents would make their neighborhoods better by:

- improving schools (94%-87%);
- providing more recreation (91%-75%);
- improving police relations (86%-69%);
- providing more shopping (86%-66%);
- organizing to improve neighborhood (93%-77%); and
- improving housing (96%-79%)

School Environment

The respondents were asked a series of questions about their schools. The School Satisfaction Scale was derived from items which ask about school attendance, liking or disliking their teachers, caring about what the teacher thought of them, respect for their teachers, the importance of getting good grades, how hard they try in school, whether school is discussed with friends or parents, and overall satisfaction with school. The mean scores are derived from a possible high score of eight. As noted in Table 7, females report more school satisfaction than males; however, males also report high levels of satisfaction with school. Both males and females in New Orleans report the lowest levels of school satisfaction, while the males and females in the Miami sample report the highest levels of school satisfaction.

The Teacher-Student Interaction Scale was derived from items which ask the respondents how frequently they talk to their teachers about the progress of their school work, their own goals and interest, trouble with school work, what they do well in the classroom, their feelings about the class, and their personal feelings in general. With the exception of Phoenix and Los Angeles, females report slightly more interaction with teachers than males. However, the collectively low scores (maximum scale score = 6) for both males and females indicate limited teacher student interaction in all of the schools from which the national sample was drawn.

Victimization

This section of the survey reports the level of victimization among the respondents. The items assess whether or not in the past year the respondent has been a victim of a property crime (stolen car, bicycle, books, motorcycle, jewelry, etc.) or victim of a personal assault (attacked with a knife, gun, bottle, beaten up, etc.). The mean scores in Table 8 were derived from a maximum score of three for each type of victimization. As noted in Table 8, males are more often victims of property and violent crimes than females; in some sites, the rates are twice as high for males as the rates reported by females. It is of interest to note that both males and females in Los Angeles report the highest levels of victimization of any of the other males or females in the national sample. This may be caused by the rather high level of gang violence reported in other Los Angeles delinquency data. On the other hand, the somewhat high levels of property victimization reported by both males and females throughout the national sample indicates that property crime is a serious problem for youth living in urban, inner city areas, attending neighborhood schools.

Work Environment

An assessment of the youth work environment in many ways is reflective of the general work environment of the neighborhoods in which the youth reside. Table 9 shows several socioeconomic factors of the target resident neighborhoods. With unemployment rates ranging from 13.8% to 10% among the youth population, unemployment should be even higher. As expected, 42% of the youth respondents in this sample reported that they were unemployed during the year preceding and at the time of the survey. The Los Angeles and Bronx samples reported the lowest employment rate and the Miami sample reported the highest (77%) employment rate. In addition, those employed within the last year also gave the following responses about their work situations:

- o got along well with supervisor (very well, 62-51%);
- o respected the people worked with (all of them, 58-43%);
- o friendly with the people worked with (all of them, 55-38%0; and
- o satisfied with my job skills (very much, 54-31%).

Thus, for this sample there is a very large rate of unemployment; however for those working, the benefits are generally positive with slightly less positive assessment of job skills resulting from employment.

Delinquency: School, Self, and Others

Several sections of the survey were devoted to assessing the respondents' perceptions about delinquency in their schools and the delinquent behaviors of others. Other sections asked the respondents to report on their own delinquent behaviors. The survey also asked the respondents a series of questions regarding their friendships and their thoughts or attitudes about violence or other delinquency related issues. (Tables 10, 11, and 12 display means for three of these scales: Attitudes Toward Violence, School Delinquency and Self Reported Delinquency.)

Friendship patterns among the respondents do not vary substantially from one city to another. Slightly more than half say that they "hang out with their friends" almost every day, "respect their friends a lot" and are "satisfied" with their current friends. Twenty-six percent report that some or nearly all of their friends have been picked up by the police, and 22% report that they have friends on probation. Also, 32% do not find it difficult to have friends who commit violent offenses. The San Diego youth sample reports the highest percentages of delinquent friends and friends on probation, and the highest percentages who say they have no difficulty with friends who commit violent acts. Interestingly enough, the high school which the San Diego youth attend also has the most violent profile of all the VJOPII II target schools. During the year this survey was administered, San Diego gangs were involved in several severe incidents of violence in the target neighborhood and high school.

The Attitudes Toward Violence Scale is comprised of several items which ask the respondent to agree or disagree with such statements as "it is all right to physically beat up people who call you names". The highest possible score for this scale is nine, indicating high support for and tolerance of violent behavior. As noted in Table 10, males express more attitudes supporting the use of personal violence to solve problems than females. The Chicago male sample expressed more violent attitudes than other males in the national sample. The San Diego female sample expressed more attitudes toward violence than other females in the national sample.

The School Delinquency mean score is derived from scoring items which ask the respondent to tell how many students in their school perform each of a series of delinquent acts such as "taking drugs" and "come to school high," "carry weapons," or "steal other students' possessions." The response of "nearly all" or "some" students in this school was scored one point, with a maximum score of thirteen. As noted in Table 10, females perceive as much or more delinquency in their school as males. In three schools the females reported higher levels of delinquency than the males--Chicago, Dallas, and Miami. The Phoenix female sample exceeds their male counterparts in reporting delinquent behaviors in their schools.

Table 13 summarizes the specific delinquent behaviors reported by each subsample in the total national cross site sample. Each scale mean score was derived from the following maximum scores:

Delinquency Scale	Maximum Score
Student Drug Use	2
Student Drug Sales	1
Student Extortion	3
Student Theft	1
Student Weapons	1
Student Violence	3
Student Vandalism	2
Total Student Delinquency	13

Los Angeles students reported the highest levels of drug use and drug sales, as well as the use of weapons. Student extortion is exceptionally high in the Bronx, Chicago, Los Angeles and Miami, with the Miami subsample reporting the highest level of student theft. Student violence was highest in the Bronx, with the Chicago subsample reporting the highest level of student vandalism. Across the entire national sample; the Bronx, Chicago, Los Angeles and Miami Total Student Delinquency mean scores indicate that close to half of the respondents in these subsamples report that nearly all or some of the students in their schools participate in the array of delinquent acts measured by the seven school delinquency scales.

Table 14 summarizes the school environment measures. Whereas school satisfaction was generally high across all subsamples, the Miami subsample reported the highest level of school satisfaction. The Bronx and Chicago respondents report the lowest levels of teacher-student interaction. Chicago, Los Angeles, San Diego, and Phoenix respondents report high levels of condoning the use of violence as a problem solving tool, with the Los Angeles respondents reporting the highest levels of victimization.

In summary, it appears that heavy drug use and sales as in the case of the Los Angeles subsample is also accompanied by other violent related behaviors such as weapons use and high levels of victimization among the student body. In addition to creating a violent atmosphere, factors such as drug use, sales, student weapon use and high levels of student victimization maintain and lend support for the general acceptance of violence in the every day school culture. This is evidenced by the high levels of acceptance of violence in the schools with the highest reported drug and violence problems--Los Angeles, the Bronx, Chicago and Miami. The seemingly incongruent high levels of school satisfaction may be reflective of the strong peer culture in these schools as well as the lack of a basis of comparison with other schools.

Delinquency and Environmental/Attitudinal Correlates

The next set of tables attempt to examine whether or not there are any relationships that exist between delinquency and any of the environmental and attitudinal measures discussed above. In Tables 4A-H, the correlation coefficient has been calculated for each scale within the Self-Reported Delinquency measure against selected environmental and attitudinal measures. These analyses are intended to examine the extent to which various environmental or attitudinal characteristics are related to self-reported juvenile crime measured through SRD. The correlation coefficient expresses how much variance the two scales share. In other words, a very high positive correlation (***) coefficient indicates that as scores on one scale increase (or decrease) the scores on the other scale increase or decrease in the same direction. Thus, the correlation coefficient is a measure of association between two variable or whether or not one variable is the predictor of another variable.

Table 15-A-Vandalism

For five of the subsamples, School Integration is a strong negative predictor of Vandalism, e.g, low scores on School Integration are strongly associated with high scores on the SRD Vandalism measure. The measure of Attitudes Toward the Law is a moderately strong negative predictor of the SRD Vandalism, except for the Miami subsample where Attitude Toward the Law is a strong negative predictor of Vandalism. Neighbor Attachment has weak, nonsignificant negative association with Vandalism.

Strong positive associations with Vandalism are Peer Delinquency and Victimization. Peer Delinquency has this relationship for all the subsamples except Los Angeles, and the positive association of Victimization holds for Bronx, Chicago, Dallas, and Los Angeles.

Table 4-B-School Delinquency

School Integration is a strong negative predictor for six of the subsamples and moderately strong for the San Diego subsample. Other negative associations with School Delinquency are shown with Attitude Toward the Law-strongly associated for New Orleans, moderately associated for the Bronx and weakly associated for Chicago, Los Angeles, San Diego and Miami. Neighborhood Attachment is also negatively associated with School Delinquency but not significant. There is a strong positive association between Peer Delinquency and School Delinquency for all the subsamples, e.g., high Peer Delinquency scores predict high School Delinquency scores. Neighbor Quality is a moderately positive predictor of School Delinquency for Chicago and less so for New Orleans. Victimization is a strong predictor of School Delinquency for Chicago, Dallas and New orleans respondents.

Table 4-C- Extortion

School Integration is a strong negative predictor of the SRD measure of Extortion for the Bronx, New Orleans, San Diego and Miami; it is a moderate negative predictor for Chicago, Dallas, and Los Angeles. Attitudes Toward the Law and Neighborhood Attachment are also negatively associated with Extortion but neither are significant. Peer Delinquency is a strong positive predictor for Extortion for Chicago, Dallas, New Orleans, San Diego and Miami, and a moderate predictor of Extortion for the Bronx, and Los Angeles. Attitudes Towards Violence is a strong positive predictor for the Dallas, Los Angeles and New Orleans subsamples. The Victimization measure is a strong positive predictor for the Miami subsample and a moderate predictor for the New Orleans subsample.

Table 4-D-Weapons

The SRD items which comprise the Weapon scale ask the respondents if they "have ever carried a weapon with the intention of using it in a fight," whether they "have ever threatened an adult with a weapon" and whether they "have ever used a weapon to get something." As with the previous SRD scales, School Integration is also a strong negative predictor of positive responses to the weapons scale items for the Bronx, Los Angeles, San Diego and Miami respondents. It is less of a predictor the Chicago and Dallas subsamples. Attitude Toward the Law is a strong negative predictor of Weapons for the Bronx and Miami, and a moderate predictor of Weapons for the Chicago subsample. Victimization is a strong positive predictor of Weapons for Dallas and New Orleans and a moderate predictor for the Chicago, Los Angeles and San Diego subsamples.

Table 4-E-Drug Use

School Integration, again, is a strong negative predictor of Drug Use across all sites except Dallas, where significance is slightly less than the other sites. Attitudes Toward The Law is also a strong negative predictor of Drug Use for the Chicago and New

Orleans subsamples and less strongly associated with Drug Use for the Bronx and Miami. Locus of Control is negatively associated with Drug Use for the subsample from the Bronx, Chicago and New Orleans. Peer Delinquency is a strong positive predictor of Drug Use for all of the subsamples except for the Bronx . Attitudes Toward Violence, as with Drug Sales is a strong positive predictor of Drug Use for the Chicago, Dallas, and New Orleans subsamples and showed a weak positive association for the Miami respondents For the Neighborhood Quality measure,the respondents were asked to agree with statements such as "my neighborhood isn't safe, too much crime", "there are no good schools", "there are police hassles", etc. This measure is a moderate positive predictor of Drug Use, that is, agreement with the statements is associated with reports of drug use on the SRD measures. This same association holds for the New Orleans subsample but less so for the Chicago subsample. However, Victimization is a stronger predictor of Drug Use for Chicago, Dallas, New Orleans, San Diego and Miami.

Table 4-F-Drug Sales

Fewer of the respondents reported involvement in drug sales than the other SRD behaviors, however, for those who do report involvement in drug sales they also frequently report being less integrated into the school environment; this association is strong for the Chicago subsample and there is a moderate association for the Los Angeles, New Orleans and Miami subsamples. Attitudes Toward the Law measure is only weakly and negatively associated with the report of being involved with drug sales. Peer Delinquency is a strong positive predictor of Drug Sales for the Chicago, Los Angeles, New Orleans, San Diego and Miami subsamples. Attitudes Toward Violence is a strong predictor of Drug Sales for the Chicago, and New Orleans subsamples and slightly less so for San Diego and Miami, that is, the more the respondent agrees to the use of violence to solve problems the more likely they report involvement in drug sales. The San Diego subsample shows a strong positive relationship between reports of being victimized and involvement in drug sales; the same associations are shown at a lesser level for Chicago, Los Angeles and New Orleans.

Table 4-G-Robbery

For those respondents who report being involved in robbery they frequently report less involvement in school. This negative association between School Integration and Robbery is strong for the San Diego, New Orleans, and Miami subsamples. The same but weaker association is found for the Bronx and Chicago subsamples. Attitudes Toward the Law is also negatively associated with Robbery to a moderate extent for Chicago, New Orleans and Miami. The same association holds for the Bronx and San Diego but the association is weak. There is a strong positive relationship between Peer Delinquency and Robbery for the Chicago, Dallas, New Orleans, San Diego and Miami subsamples. That is, the more the respondents in these cities report that their peers are delinquent, the more they report robbery as a self reported delinquent behavior. Attitudes Toward Violence is also positively associated Robbery, especially for the Chicago and New Orleans subsamples, moderately for Los Angeles and San Diego, and weakly associated for the Dallas and Miami subsamples. Victimization seems to be moderately associated with Robbery only for the New Orleans and San Diego subsamples.

Table 4-H-Total Delinquency

Total Delinquency is an additive score from responses on each of the SRD scales. As noted from the tables, the School Integration measure is consistent across all sites, it is a strong negative predictor of Total Delinquency. Attitudes Toward the Law is also a strong negative predictor of Total Delinquency for The Bronx, Chicago, New Orleans and Miami subsamples and a moderate negative predictor for Los Angeles and San Diego. It is interesting to note that the subsample in Dallas on this measure is different from all other subsamples. Locus of Control and Neighborhood Attachment have very weak, non significant negative relationships with Total Delinquency. Peer Delinquency is a consistent predictor of Total Delinquency. It is strongly and positively associated with Total Delinquency. The Victimization measure approaches the same consistency, it is a strong, positive predictor of Total Delinquency for the Chicago, Los Angeles, New Orleans,San Diego and Miami subsamples and a moderate predictor for the Dallas subsamples.

Summary

Policy and program planning for urban youth in high crime neighborhoods are often based upon assumptions which isolate these youth from their non-urban peers. Whereas, some of these assumptions may be valid, this study demonstrates that a rethinking of the policy and planning process might include an emphasis on environmental correlates of delinquency which may or may not distinguish urban and non-urban youth. On the Self Reported Delinquency (SRD) measures the national sample in this study apear to be no different than their non-urban peers reported on other SRD studies such as the National Youth Study; urban youth only report higher rates on the SRD measures.

These types of studies form a strong rationale to look beyond individual personality characteristics to envirionmental correlates for interventions or policy input. Several areas in this study merit further attention especially for inschool youth.

- Teachers who are the most accessible role models in urban schools appear to have very little interaction with their students' social development and attitudinal issues.

- It appears that for students who report less integration into the social, cultural and academics of the school, the more delinquency activity is reported. Alienation from the general schol environment apear to substantiate and support efforts to improve the overall climate of urban schools.

- Urban youth in this study report unusually high rates of property and assault victimization. These youth in turn seem to report high rates of delinquency activities in the schol. This seems to be compelling justification to create a safe school environment as high priority for urban schools and neighborhoods.

- Surprisingly large numbers of youth in this sample reported attitudes of acceptance of violence as a means of solving problems. In turn these students report higher SRD activities. This would justify curricular efforts or other planned school activities that focus on human relations and problem solving skills.

- Large percentages in this sample report a disregard for the law; these in turn, report higher SRD activities. Curricular and instructional efforts to explore law and its functions in their school, neighborhood and wider environment would seem to be justified in these schools.

Delinquency prevention efforts that rely heavily on altering personality or psychological dimensions may be self defeating if environmental artifacts of urban schools and neighborhoods are left unattended.

REFERENCES

Akers, R.L., 1977. Deviant Behavior: A Social Learning Perspective. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth

Anderson, N., and O. Rodriguez, 1984. "Conceptual Issues in the Study of Hispanic Delinquency." Research Bulletin, Hispanic Research Center, Fordham University, 7(1-2):2-5.

Dembo, R., N. Allen, and H. Vettes, 1982. "The Non-Delinquent in a High Crime Area: Theoretical and Research Perspectives". Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Toronto.

Dunford, F.W., and D.S. Elliot, 1984. "Identifying Career Offenders Using Self-Reported Data." Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 21(1)57-86.

Edelman, M., 1984. "Exploratory Study on Delinquency and Delinquency Avoidance in the South Bronx." Research Bulletin, Hispanic Research Center, Fordham University, 7(1-2):11-14.

_____, and D. Huizinga, 1984. "The Relationship Between Delinquent Behavior and ADM Problems, National Youth Survey Report No. 26." Boulder, CO: Behavioral Research Institute.

_____, and S. Ageton, 1985. Explaining Delinquency and Drug Use. Lexington: D.C. Heath.

Fagan, J.A., K.V. Hansen, and M. Jang, 1983. "Profiles of Chronically Violent Delinquents: An Empirical Test of an Integrated Theory." In J. Kleugal (ed.), Evaluating Juvenile Justice. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Hartstone, E., and K.V. Hansen, 1984. "The Violent Juvenile Offender : An Empirical Portrait." In R. Mathias et al (eds.), Op. Cit.

Hawkins, J.D., and J.G. Weis, 1980. The Social Development: An Integrated Approach to Delinquency Prevention. Seattle, WA: University of Washington, Center for Law and Justice.

Kandel, D.B., R.C. Kessler, and R.Z. Margulies, 1978. "Antecedents of Adolescent Initiation into Stages of Drug Use: A Developmental Analysis." In D.B. Kandel (ed.), Longitudinal Research on Drug Use, pp. 73-100. New York: John Wiley.

Laub, J.H., and M.J. Hindelang, 1981. Juvenile Criminal Behavior in Urban, Suburban, and Rural Areas. Washington DC: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

Mancini, J.K., 1981. Strategic Styles: Coping in the Inner City. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England.

Moore, J., 1978. Homeboys. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Piper, E.S. forthcoming. "Violent Recidivism and Chronicity in the 1958 Philadelphia Cohort." Journal of Quantitative Criminology.

Shannon, L.W., 1980. "Assessing the Relationship of Adult Careers to Juvenile Careers: The Transitional Years (16-24)." Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Society of Criminology, San Francisco, California.

Strasburg, P., 1978. Violent Delinquents. New York: Monarch.

West, D.J., and D.P. Farrington, 1977. The Delinquent Way of Life. London: Heinemann.

Wolfgang, M.E., Figlio, R.M., and T. Sellin, 1972. Delinquency in a Birth Cohort. Chicago; University of Chicago Press.

Table 1. Educational Background of Fathers:

1984 VJOP II Youth Survey

	Chicago	Dallas	Los Angeles	Miami	New Orleans	New York	Phoenix	San Diego	$\bar{X}$
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Finished College	8	9	22	11	16	15	13	15	11
Some College	5	6	19	10	14	9	6	19	12
Finished High School	23	31	30	22	28	24	18	27	25
Some High School	14	13	5	12	9	13	15	19	12
8th Grade or Less	21	14	6	9	3	7	17	9	14
Don't Know	29	27	18	35	35	31	31	11	27

Table 2. Educational Background of Mothers:

1984 VJOP II Youth Survey

	Chicago	Dallas	Los Angeles	Miami	New Orleans	New York	Phoenix	San Diego	$\bar{X}$
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Finished College	6	7	27	15	21	13	12	15	10
Some College	10	11	28	10	11	13	13	15	16
Finished High School	27	37	26	35	34	30	22	31	30
Some High School	17	24	8	21	8	18	14	20	14
8th Grade or Less	20	9	5	7	4	11	15	10	14
Don't Know	20	12	6	18	30	16	24	8	16

Table 3. Occupational Background of Fathers:

1984 VJOP II Youth Survey

	Chicago	Dallas	Los Angeles	Miami	New Orleans	New York	Phoenix	San Diego	$\bar{X}$
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
High Professional	6	1	3	4	5	2	2	2	3
Professional	0	6	14	7	16	5	4	3	7
Sales/Small Business	13	6	33	16	6	9	19	5	13
Clerical	12	4	22	18	3	7	14	14	12
Skilled Labor	43	53	23	42	50	15	39	6	34
Semi-Skilled Labor	13	9	1	4	15	4	1		6
Unskilled		3		1	1	2	6		1
Unemployed	6	3	3	3	3	1	3	3	4
Retired	6	6	1	0	3	1	11	1	4
Don't Know						56		66	

Table 4. Occupational Background of Mothers:

1984 VJOP II Youth Survey

	Chicago	Dallas	Los Angeles	Miami	New Orleans	New York	Phoenix	San Diego	$\bar{X}$
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
High Professional	0	2	1	1	1		0	1	1
Professional	0	13	25	16	25	8	6	7	13
Sales/Small Business	3	10	22	18	9	6	22	5	12
Clerical	31	18	28	23	19	11	23	10	20
Skilled Labor	16	6	3	2	8	2	9	3	6
Semi-Skilled Labor	22	12	1	9	12	2	10	1	9
Unskilled	0	5	1	1	4	2	2		2
Unemployed	9	2	4	11	4	5	2	2	5
Housewife/Retired	19	32	15	18	20	10	26	10	19
Don't Know						55		61	

Table 6. Neighborhood Attachment:

1984 VJOP II Youth Survey

	Friends Live Here	Family Live Here	School Is Here	No Hassles/ Safe Streets	Know Many People	Church Is Here	Other Family Nearby	Been Here All My Life
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
CHICAGO								
True	76	95	67	35	80	53	73	37
False	24	5	33	65	20	47	27	63
DALLAS								
True	85	93	88	44	89	66	74	47
False	15	7	12	56	11	34	26	53
LOS ANGELES								
True	61	88	62	42	71	32	61	39
False	39	12	38	58	29	68	39	61
MIAMI								
True	70	90	59	53	84	42	65	40
False	30	10	41	47	16	58	35	60
NEW ORLEANS								
True	74	92	62	44	70	55	49	42
False	26	8	38	56	30	45	51	58
NEW YORK								
True	78	88	32	35	75	53	53	27
False	22	12	68	65	25	47	47	73
PHOENIX								
True	78	86	71	38	79	32	55	32
False	22	14	29	62	21	68	45	68
SAN DIEGO								
True	81	83	72	47	80	53	80	50
False	19	17	28	53	20	47	20	50
AVERAGE								
True	75	89	64	42	79	48	64	39
False	25	11	36	58	21	52	36	61

Table 7. Mean and Sample Sizes for School Satisfaction and Teacher-Student Interaction: 1984 VJOP II Youth Survey

	School Satisfaction				Teacher-Student Interaction			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	$\bar{X}$	(N)	$\bar{X}$	(N)	$\bar{X}$	(N)	$\bar{X}$	(N)
Bronx	4.64	(137)	5.02	(42)	1.79	(137)	2.50	(42)
Chicago	4.92	(95)	5.26	(100)	1.76	(95)	1.90	(100)
Dallas	5.23	(93)	5.81	(79)	2.28	(93)	2.57	(79)
Los Angeles	4.63	(98)	4.71	(101)	2.34	(98)	2.06	(101)
Miami	5.28	(78)	5.94	(120)	2.14	(78)	2.55	(120)
New Orleans	4.14	(81)	4.61	(121)	1.94	(81)	2.39	(121)
Phoenix	4.44	(149)	5.24	(147)	2.22	(149)	2.18	(147)

Table 8. Mean Values for Property and Assult Victimization:

1984 VJOP II Youth Survey

	Property				Assault			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	$\bar{X}$	(N)	$\bar{X}$	(N)	$\bar{X}$	(N)	$\bar{X}$	(N)
Bronx	1.10	(137)	1.05	(42)	0.99	(137)	0.48	(42)
Chicago	1.29	(95)	0.87	(100)	1.03	(95)	0.44	(100)
Dallas	1.68	(93)	1.51	(79)	0.95	(93)	0.50	(79)
Los Angeles	1.97	(98)	1.50	(101)	1.38	(98)	0.84	(101)
Miami	1.44	(78)	1.60	(120)	0.88	(78)	0.63	(120)
New Orleans	1.36	(81)	0.88	(121)	0.84	(81)	0.42	(121)
Phoenix	1.36	(149)	1.29	(147)	0.81	(149)	0.56	(147)
San Diego	1.55	(106)	1.21	(106)	1.05	(106)	0.72	(106)

TABLE 9. SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS

	BRONX		CHICAGO		DALLAS		LOS ANGELES		MIAMI		NEW ORLEANS		PHOENIX		SAN DIEGO	
	Target Area	City	Target Area	City	Target Area	City	Target Area	City	Target Area	City	Target Area	City	Target Area	City	Target Area	City
% Not a High School Graduate	51.0	49.0	53.0	42.0	67.0	31.0	27.0	32.0	60.0	39.0	--	--	57.0	26.0	52.0	22.0
Median Income	9,855	10,947	10,741	15,301	6,677	16,227	13,004	21,714	10,491	15,633	9,390	17,122	8,642	17,729	10,413	16,409
% Household Below Poverty Level	31.0	26.0	38.0	8.0	48.0	13.0	--	--	27.0	13.0	42.0	26.0	34.0	11.0	23.0	6.0
% Professional Employment	19.0	20.0	21.0	20.0	5.0	20.0	35.0	45.0	27.0	26.0	12.0	25.0	15.0	27.0	10.0	35.0
% Blue Collar Employment	35.0	35.0	27.0	22.0	59.0	26.0	14.0	18.0	32.0	21.0	55.0	40.0	48.0	25.0	64.0	10.0
Unemployment Rate	12.7	9.2	19.8	10.7	12.4	6.5	10.0	7.8	10.3	--	13.8	7.6	13.1	6.0	--	--

Table 10. Mean Values for Attitudes Toward Violence: 1984 VJOP II Youth Survey

	Male		Female	
	$\bar{X}$	(N)	$\bar{X}$	(N)
Bronx	3.04	(137)	2.86	(42)
Chicago	3.95	(95)	2.89	(100)
Dallas	3.04	(93)	2.92	(79)
Los Angeles	2.05	(98)	1.66	(101)
Miami	2.99	(78)	2.81	(120)
New Orleans	3.31	(81)	2.36	(121)
Phoenix	3.54	(149)	3.00	(147)
San Diego	3.78	(106)	3.67	(106)

Table 11. Mean Values for School Delinquency: 1984 VJOP II Youth Survey

	Male		Female	
	$\bar{X}$	(N)	$\bar{X}$	(N)
Bronx	6.59	(137)	5.04	(42)
Chicago	5.54	(95)	6.10	(100)
Dallas	3.81	(93)	3.85	(79)
Los Angeles	6.22	(98)	5.86	(101)
Miami	5.19	(78)	5.51	(120)
New Orleans	5.26	(81)	3.81	(121)
Phoenix	3.51	(149)	3.66	(147)
San Diego	4.02	(106)	3.92	(106)

TABLE 12
MEANS AND SAMPLE SIZES FOR SCHOOL DELINQUENCY:

VJOP II 1984 YOUTH SURVEY

Crime Category	BRONX		CHICAGO		DALLAS		LOS ANGELES		NEW ORLEANS		SAN DIEGO		MIAMI		PHOENIX	
	$\bar{X}$	(N)	$\bar{X}$	(N)	$\bar{X}$	(N)	$\bar{X}$	(N)	$\bar{X}$	(N)	$\bar{X}$	(N)	$\bar{X}$	(N)	$\bar{X}$	(N)
Student Drug Use	1.44	179	1.43	198	1.06	179	1.74.	200	.99	203	1.15	215	1.48	198	.79	302
Student Drug Sales	.35	179	.53	198	.17	179	.59	200	.32	203	.36	215	.26	198	.12	302
Student Extortion	1.54	179	1.25	198	.81	179	1.26	200	.99	203	.80	215	1.30	198	.88	302
Student Theft	.73	179	.65	198	.55	179	.51	200	.55	203	.39	215	.76	198	.47	302
Student Weapons	.72	179	.55	198	.41	179	.74	200	.39	203	.33	215	.54	198	.41	302
Student Violence	1.04	179	.81	198	.54	179	.78	200	.71	203	.56	215	.76	198	.60	302
Student Vandalism	.42	179	.62	198	.23	179	.45	200	.43	203	.33	215	.28	198	.35	302
Total Student Delinquency	6.23	179	5.84	198	3.77	179	6.05	200	4.37	203	3.92	215	5.38	198	3.63	302

TABLE 13 MEAN VALUES OF SELF REPORTED DELINQUENCY BEHAVIOR FOR EIGHT YOUTH SAMPLES

	Vandalism		School/ Delinquency		Extortion		Robbery		Weapons		Drug Use		Drug Sales		PROPERTY CRIME	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
	X N	X N	X N	X N	X N	X N	X N	X N	X N	X N	X N	X N	X N	X N	X N	X N
CHICAGO	.27 (95)	.05 (100)	.48 (95)	.11 (100)	.21 (95)	.03 (100)	.20 (95)	.03 (100)	.55 (95)	.15 (100)	1.08 (95)	.44 (100)	.09 (95)	.01 (100)		
DALLAS	.23 (93)	.06 (79)	.26 (93)	.10 (79)	.20 (93)	.09 (79)	.15 (93)	.05 (79)	.40 (93)	.15 (79)	.83 (93)	.44 (79)	.05 (93)	.00 (79)		
LOS ANGELES	.14 (98)	.08 (101)	.36 (98)	.39 (101)	.10 (98)	.08 (101)	.05 (98)	.01 (101)	.37 (98)	.23 (101)	.91 (98)	1.0 (101)	.04 (98)	.02 (101	1.04 (98)	.56 (101)
MIAMI	.61 (78)	.08 (120)	.35 (78)	.19 (120)	.24 (78)	.02 (120)	.19 (78)	.02 (120)	.35 (78)	.23 (120)	.77 (78)	.54 (120)	.04 (78)	.02 (120		
NEW ORLEANS	.16 (81)	.12 (121)	.41 (81)	.27 (121)	.19 (81)	.05 (121)	.09 (81)	.02 (121)	.21 (81)	.07 (121)	1.01 (81)	.58 (121)	.06 (81)	.02 (121		
NEW YORK	.25 (137)	.10 (42)	.31 (137)	.10 (42)	.07 (137)	.14 (42)	.04 (137)	.05 (42)	.39 (137)	.07 (42)	.42 (137)	.14 (42)	.01 (137)	.00 (42)	.90 (137)	.31 (42)
PHOENIX	.66 (149)	.45 (147)	.46 (149)	.21 (147)	.20 (149)	.08 (147)	.17 (149)	.04 (147)	.67 (149)	.07 (147)	.78 (149)	.45 (147)	.09 (149)	.01 (147)		
SAN DIEGO	.53 (106)	.33 (106)	.61 (106)	.35 (106)	.54 (106)	.29 (106)	.47 (106)	.27 (106)	1.04 (106)	.48 (106)	1.42 (106)	.98 (106)	.18 (106)	.09 (106)	2.99 (106	1.81 (106)

TABLE 14
MEANS AND SAMPLE SIZES FOR SCHOOL ENVIORNMENT,
ATTITUDE TOWARD VIOLENCE AND VICTIMIZATION ; 1984
VJOP II YOUTH SURVEY

Attitudinal and Environmental Categories	BRONX		CHICAGO		DALLAS		* LOS ANGELES		NEW ORLEANS		SAN DIEGO		MIAMI		** PHOENIX	
	$\bar{X}$	(N)	$\bar{X}$	(N)	$\bar{X}$	(N)	$\bar{X}$	(N)	$\bar{X}$	(N)	$\bar{X}$	(N)	$\bar{X}$	(N)	$\bar{X}$	(N)
School Satisfaction	4.73	179	5.08	198	5.41	179	4.66	200	4.43	203	4.14	215	5.68	198	4.84	302
Teacher-Student Interaction	1.96	179	2.12	198	2.36	179	2.19	200	2.22	203	2.88	215	2.39	198	2.22	302
Attitudes Toward Violence	2.99	179	3.43	198	2.98	179	3.33	200	2.74	203	3.72	215	2.88	198	3.29	302
Victim of Violent Crime	.87	179	.75	198	.80	179	1.12	200	.59	203	.89	215	.73	198	.68	302
Victim of Property Crime	1.09	179	1.08	198	1.60	179	1.74	200	1.07	203	1.39	215	1.54	198	1.31	302
Total Victimization	1.96	179	1.83	198	2.41	179	2.85	200	1.66	203	2.27	215	2.26	198	1.99	302

* LOS ANGELES SURVEY WAS NOT ADMINISTERED TO NINTH GRADE
** PHOENIX SURVEY ADMINISTERED TO 6,7 & 8th GRADES

TABLE 15, A

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS OF SELF REPORTED DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR WITH SELECTED ENVIRONMENTAL AND ATTITUDINAL SCALES

V A N D A L I S M

	Bronx	Chicago	Dallas	Los Angeles	New Orleans	San Diego	Miami
School Integration	-.1665 ***	-.2363 ***	-.1877 **	-.2487 ***	-0.17 **	-.2913 ***	-.3002 ***
Peer Delinquency	.4232 ***	.3916 ***	.3322 ***	.1546 *	0.27 ***	.3934 ***	.2764 ***
Locus of Control	-.0423	.0734	.0669	-.0763	-0.00	-.0346	-.0794
Attitudes Toward the Law	-.1663 **	-.1485 *	.0150	-.1884 **	-0.19 **	-.1879 **	-.2922 ***
Attitudes Toward Violence	.1330 *	.3200 ***	.2650 ***	.2001 **	0.18 **	.0758	.1369 *
Neighborhood Attachment	-.0159	.0343	.1071 *	-.0241	-0.07	-.0867	.0049
Neighborhood Quality	.0455	.1391 *	.0857	.0742	0.13 *	.1096	-.0349
Victimization	.2335 ***	.2527 ***	.2467 ***	.2393 ***	0.11	.1135 *	.1766 **

Significance Level
* = .05
** = .01
*** = .001

TABLE 15 B

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS OF SELF REPORTED DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR WITH SELECTED ENVIRONMENTAL AND ATTITUDINAL SCALES

SCHOOL DELINQUENCY

	Bronx	Chicago	Dallas	Los Angeles	New Orleans	San Diego	Miami
School Integration	-.2744 ***	-.2519 ***	-.2714 ***	-.3035 ***	-0.26 ***	-.1897 **	-.3024 ***
Peer Delinquency	.3584 ***	.4467 ***	.2708 ***	.2712 ***	0.35 ***	.3776 ***	.2474 ***
Locus of Control	-.0496	.1445 *	.0739	-.0579	-0.06	-.0392	.0257
Attitudes Toward the Law	-.2140 **	-.1315 *	.0428	-.1472 *	-0.25 ***	-.1430 *	-.1248 *
Attitudes Toward Violence	-.0715	.3606 ***	.2363 ***	.1150	0.20 **	.0784	.1551 *
Neighborhood Attachment	-.0991	-.0097	-.0489	-.0633	-0.08	-.0600	-.0224
Neighborhood Quality	.0188	.1634 **	.1166	.0609	0.13 *	.0494	-.0032
Victimization	.1232 *	.2149 ***	.2673 ***	.0926	0.22 ***	.0951	.1513 *

Significance Level
* = .05
** = .01
*** = .001

TABLE 15 C

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS OF SELF REPORTED DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR WITH SELECTED ENVIRONMENTAL AND ATTITUDINAL SCALES

EXTORTION

	Bronx	Chicago	Dallas	Los Angeles	New Orleans	San Diego	Miami
School Integration	-.2503 ***	-.1773 **	-.1659 **	-.1748 **	-0.21 ***	-.2577 ***	-.2244 ***
Peer Delinquency	.2069 **	.3327 ***	.3177 ***	.2025 **	0.39 ***	.3762 ***	.2252 ***
Locus of Control	.0278	-.0435	.0619	-.0006	-0.13 *	-.0576	-.0595
Attitudes Toward the Law	-.1471 *	-.1185 *	-.0932	-.0106	-0.17 **	-.1416 *	-.1754
Attitudes Toward Violence	.1045	.1350 *	.2546 ***	.2248 ***	0.26 ***	.1410 *	-.0949
Neighborhood Attachment	-.0548	.0997	-.0189	-.0173	-0.04	-.1031	-.0016
Neighborhood Quality	.0090	.0943	.0736	.1509 *	0.02	.0505	.0970
Victimization	.0946	.0323	.1388 *	.0982	0.20 **	.1384 *	.2179 ***

Significance Level
* = .05
** = .01
*** = .001

TABLE 15 D

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS OF SELF REPORTED DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR WITH SELECTED ENVIRONMENTAL AND ATTITUDINAL SCALES

W E A P O N S

	Bronx	Chicago	Dallas	Los Angeles	New Orleans	San Diego	Miami
School Integration	-.2227 ***	-.1394 *	-.1827 **	-.2348 ***	-.08	-.2695 ***	-.2331 ***
Peer Delinquency	.3319 ***	.4015 ***	.4229 ***	.3543 ***	0.25 **	.3529 ***	.4630 ***
Locus of Control	-.1458 *	.0379	.0476	-.1139	-0.05	-.0353	.0374
Attitudes Toward the Law	-.2603 ***	-.2041 **	-.0721	-.0676	-0.06	-.1388 *	-.2250 ***
Attitudes Toward Violence	.1206	.2973 ***	.2189 ***	.2305 ***	0.22 ***	.0971	.2137 ***
Neighborhood Attachment	-.0841	.0863	.0613	-.0404	0.07	-.1585 **	.0735
Neighborhood Quality	.0962	.1715	.0321	.1309 *	0.01	.0043	.0570
Victimization	.1302 *	.1834 **	.2670 ***	.1950 **	0.30 ***	.2006 **	.1023

Significance Level
* = .05
** = .01
*** = .001

TABLE 15 E

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS OF SELF REPORTED
DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR WITH SELECTED ENVIRONMENTAL AND
ATTITUDINAL SCALES

D R U G U S E

	Bronx	Chicago	Dallas	Los Angeles	New Orleans	San Diego	Miami
School Integration	-.2406 ***	-.2160 ***	-.2174 **	-.3415 ***	-0.42 ***	-.1954 ***	-.2996 ***
Peer Delinquency	.1106 *	.3906 ***	.2668 ***	.2683 ***	0.42 ***	.4923 ***	.4053 ***
Locus of Control	-.1304 *	-.1586 **	.0284	-.0638	-0.15 *	-.0122	-.0302
Attitudes Toward the Law	-.2038 **	-.2109 ***	.0188	-.0878	-0.25 ***	-.1348 *	-.1893 **
Attitudes Toward Violence	-.0309	.3324 ***	.2114 **	.0341	0.40 ***	.0545	.1251 *
Neighorhood Attachment	-.1050	.0307	.0420	-.0138	-0.01	.0377	-.1537 *
Neighborhood Quality	.0121	.2064 **	.1009	.0345	0.16 *	.0420	.0351
Victimization	-.0300	.1562 **	.1904 **	.1476 *	0.17 **	.2133 ***	.2033 **

Significance Level
* = .05
** = .01
*** = .001

TABLE 15 F

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS OF SELF REPORTED DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR WITH SELECTED ENVIRONMENTAL AND ATTITUDINAL SCALES

D R U G S A L E S

	Bronx	Chicago	Dallas	Los Angeles	New Orleans	San Diego	Miami
School Integration	.0174	-.2154 ***	-.0671	-.1633 **	-0.20 **	-.1307 *	-.2160 **
Peer Delinquency	-.0573	.3145 ***	.0219	.2160 ***	0.34 ***	.1548 **	.1813 **
Locus of Control	-.0415	.0354	-.0926	-.0084	-0.13 *	-.0956	.0403
Attitudes Toward the Law	-.1314 *	-.1327 *	-.1273 *	-.0370	-0.06	-.1658 **	-.1228 *
Attitudes Toward Violence	-.0863	.2739 ***	-.0331	-.1207 *	0.22 ***	.1461 **	.1603 **
Neighorhood Attachment	-.1011	.0982	-.1282 *	.1948 **	0.03	.0391	-.0431
Neighborhood Quality	.0269	.2009 **	-.0295	-.0069	0.12 *	.1013	.1507 *
Victimization	-.0570	.1287 *	-.0824	.1370 *	0.19 *	.2030 ***	.1005

Significance Level
* = .05
** = .01
*** = .001

TABLE 15 G

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS OF SELF REPORTED DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR WITH SELECTED ENVIRONMENTAL AND ATTITUDINAL SCALES

R O B B E R Y

	Bronx	Chicago	Dallas	Los Angeles	New Orleans	San Diego	Miami
School Integration	-.2176 **	-.1614 **	-.0910	-.1469 *	-0.23 ***	-.2044 ***	-.3283 ***
Peer Delinquency	.0649	.3466 ***	.3491 ***	.1050	0.24 ***	.3636 ***	.3522 ***
Locus of Control	.0949	-.0555	.0418	-.1494 *	-0.21 ***	-.0587	-.0740
Attitudes Toward the Law	-.1261 *	-.1609 **	.0199	-.0606	-0.17 **	-.1320 *	-.2011 **
Attitudes Toward Violence	.0529	.2170 ***	.1613 *	.1957 **	0.22 ***	.1731 **	.1401 *
Neighborhood Attachment	-.0555	-.0478	.0136	-.0209	-0.01	-.0946	-.0683
Neighborhood Quality	.0740	.0548	-.0020	.1360 *	0.05	.0029	.0576
Victimization	.1130	.0954	.0954	.0600	0.17 **	.1800 **	.1460 *

Significance Level
* = .05
** = .01
*** = .001

TABLE 15 H

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS OF SELF REPORTED DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR WITH SELECTED ENVIRONMENTAL AND ATTITUDINAL SCALES

T O T A L D E L I N Q U E N C Y

	Bronx	Chicago	Dallas	Los Angeles	New Orleans	San Diego	Miami
School Integration	-.2833 ***	.2518 ***	-.2801 ***	-.4011 ***	-0.39 ***	-.2729 ***	-.3626 ***
Peer Delinquency	.4427 ***	.5351 ***	.4292 ***	.4209 ***	0.52 ***	.4981 ***	.4493 ***
Locus of Control	-.1222 *	.0881	.0389	-.0067	-0.16 *	-.0616	-.0124
Attitudes Toward the Law	-.3149 ***	-.2399 ***	-.0692	-.1728 **	-0.27 ***	-.1813 **	-.2755 ***
Attitudes Toward Violence	.0949	.4159 ***	.2804 ***	.2411 ***	0.40 ***	.1188 *	.2183 ***
Neighorhood Attachment	-.0900	.0571	.0260	.0066	-0.04	.0941	.0188
Neighborhood Quality	.0868	.2455 ***	.1212 *	.1251 *	0.15 *	.0658	.0552
Victimization	.1512 *	.2530 ***	.2178 **	.2512 ***	0.28 ***	.2064 ***	.2812 ***

Significance Level
* = .05
** = .01
*** = .001

0091-4169/87/7803-586
THE JOURNAL OF CRIMINAL LAW & CRIMINOLOGY Vol. 78, No. 3

Printed in U.S.A.

CRIMINOLOGY

CONTRIBUTIONS OF VICTIMIZATION TO DELINQUENCY IN INNER CITIES*

JEFFREY FAGAN**
ELIZABETH S. PIPER***
YU-TEH CHENG****

INTRODUCTION

The relationship between victimization and criminality has been widely cited in recent years. Early thinking and public perceptions about crime intuitively presumed that criminals were distinct from their victims. Crime control policies resulted which promoted the physical separation of victims from predatory offenders through "target hardening" and "defensible space."[1] Such distinctions, however, ignored the empirical evidence on the considerable overlap between offender and victim profiles[2] and distorted the reality of events in which persons are labelled as victims or victimizers based only on the consequences of the event. Given the homogeneous relation between victim and offender, theories of crime that treat

* This research was supported by Grant 85-JN-AX-C001 to the URSA Institute from the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice. The opinions are those of the authors. The authors are grateful for the cooperation of the four neighborhood organizations in the conduct of this survey research.

** Senior Research Fellow, New York City Criminal Justice Agency. Ph.D., State University of New York at Buffalo, 1975; M.S., State University of New York at Buffalo, 1971; B.E., New York University, 1968.

*** Research Associate, UCLA Public Health Study, Department of Psychology, University of California at Los Angeles. Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania, 1983; M.A., University of Pennsylvania, 1979; B.A., Colby College, 1975.

**** Senior Research Associate, Center for Law and Social Policy, URSA Institute, San Francisco, California. M.S., University of California at Berkeley, 1983; B.S., National Taiwan University, 1980.

[1] Singer, *Homogeneous Victim-Offender Populations: A Review and Some Research Implications*, 72 J. CRIM. L. & CRIMINOLOGY 779 (1981).

[2] Reiss, *Foreward: Towards a Revitalization of Theory and Research on Victimization by Crime*, 72 J. CRIM. L. & CRIMINOLOGY 704 (1981).

victimization and offending as independent behaviors may have inherently weaker explanatory power.

Recent evidence has suggested that the experience of being victimized increases the propensity for offending. Being a victim of crime has been shown to contribute to violent juvenile crime,[3] adult criminality,[4] and adult violence toward family members, including wives and children.[5] Singer found that self-reported victimization is a significant predictor of the seriousness of an adult career and that being shot or stabbed is the best predictor of serious violence.[6] Among juveniles, victimization appears to discriminate chronically violent offenders from general urban youth.[7] In a comparison of victims and offenders, it appears that they may have homogeneous characteristics and that the characteristics of victimization are also associated with the correlates of offending.[8]

Given the similarities between victims and offenders, Reiss pointed to social, situational, and environmental explanations of both victimization and crime.[9] Prior research has suggested that victims and offenders tend to have similar social, structural, and demographic characteristics, including age, sex, race, and income level. The survey conducted by the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence found that "[t]he victims of assaultive violence in the cities generally have the same characteristics as the offenders: victimization rates are generally highest for males, youths, poor persons, and blacks."[10] Fifteen years later, the 1983 Report to the Nation on Crime and Justice found that in victimization surveys "men, blacks, and young people face the greatest risk of violent crime by strangers."[11]

Accordingly, the link between victimization and offending may

---

[3] Fagan, Hansen & Jang, *Profiles of Chronically Violent Delinquents: An Empirical Test of an Integrated Theory*, in EVALUATING JUVENILE JUSTICE, (J. Kleugal ed. 1983).

[4] McCord, *A Forty Year Perspective on Effects of Child Abuse and Neglect*, 7 CHILD ABUSE & NEGLECT 265 (1983); Singer, *Victims of Serious Violence and Their Criminal Behavior: Subcultural Theory and Beyond*, 1 VICTIMS & VIOLENCE 61 (1986).

[5] Fagan & Wexler, *Family Origins of Violent Delinquents*, — CRIMINOLOGY — (1987)(forthcoming).

[6] Singer, *supra* note 4.

[7] Fagan, Piper & Moore, *Violent Delinquents and Urban Youths*, 24 CRIMINOLOGY 439, 442 (1986).

[8] Gottfredson, *On the Etiology of Criminal Victimization*, 72 J. CRIM. L. & CRIMINOLOGY 714, 726 (1981).

[9] Reiss, *supra* note 2, at 711.

[10] National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, *Violent Crime: Homicide, Assault, Rape, Robbery*, in TO ESTABLISH JUSTICE, TO INSURE DOMESTIC TRANQUILITY 17, 24 (1969).

[11] Bureau of Justice Statistics, REPORTS TO THE NATION ON CRIME AND JUSTICE 21 (1983).

be confounded by the convergence of correlates of criminal events and offenders in urban areas. The probabilities of both victimization and criminal behavior increased with urbanization and the concentration of social structural factors associated with higher rates of violent and property crime.[12] "High risk coordinates" in which victimization is likely to occur have been identified in prior studies. For example, Braithwaite and Biles found that victim and offender characteristics reflected the demographic and socio-economic makeup of "high crime" neighborhoods, with high concentrations of youth, poverty, and minority populations.[13]

Despite the consistency in these findings, previous research has not described the processes by which persons become victims or offenders. Residents of high crime neighborhoods were routinely and non-randomly exposed to the risks of victimization based on the amount and type of interactions within these neighborhoods.[14] Cohen and Felson argued that routine activities bring victims and offenders into close and frequent interaction.[15] Jensen and Brownfield tested the routine activities approach to victimization and offending among high school students and found that involvement in criminal activity was related to victimization, but not to non-criminal routine activities.[16] Also, Jensen and Brownfield related victimization to non-criminal routine activities. They concluded that

> [e]ven without a demonstration of a causal order, we can propose that the relations between background characteristics such as gender and personal victimization can be explained by the same variables that explain the relationships between these characteristics and offense behavior. Moreover, . . . [w]e can propose that for personal victimizations, those most likely to be the victims of crime are those who have been most involved in crime; and the similarity in characteristics of victims and offenders reflects that association.[17]

Block suggested that what are actually precautionary behaviors to prevent victimization and victim reactions to their experiences may

---

12 M. HINDELANG, M. GOTTFREDSON & J. GAROFALO, VICTIMS OF PERSONAL CRIME: AN EMPIRICAL FOUNDATION FOR A THEORY OF PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION 259 (1978).

13 Braithwaite & Biles, *Victims and Offenders: The Australian Experience*, in VICTIMIZATION AND FEAR OF CRIME: WORLD PERSPECTIVES 3 (R. Block ed. 1984).

14 Gottfredson, *supra* note 8.

15 Cohen and Felson, *Social Change and Crime Rate Trends: A Routine Activity Approach*, 44 AM. SOC. REV. 588 (1979).

16 Jensen & Brownfield, *Gender, Lifestyles and Victimization: Beyond Routine Activity*, 1 VIOLENCE & VICTIMS 85 (1986).

17 *Id.* at 97-98 (emphasis omitted).

instead be seen as criminal events.[18] Anderson and Rodriguez found that juveniles in high crime neighborhoods become affiliated with gangs in response to or in anticipation of victimization.[19] This included criminal activity as well as protective measures such as carrying a weapon. In other words, there may be attributes of victims' behaviors which contribute to their exposure to victimization or even place them in contexts in which the risks of harm are normative. Black viewed some violent acts as responses to victimization—a form of social control.[20]

To date, the homogeneity of victims and offenders has been tested only by Singer.[21] Analyzing data from the Philadelphia Cohort Follow-Up Study of 1945, Singer determined the probability of self-reported and official crime among those reporting victimization as an adult or juvenile. He found that victims of serious assaults were likely to become offenders and that the propensity of violent crime increased for victims.[22] Singer's retrospective study, however, did not establish causal linkages. Furthermore, the age of the interviewees in the study was 26, thus requiring the subjects to recall victimization events that occurred as juveniles (before age 18) and as adults (ages 18-25). Thus, the probability of respondent error increased.

The analyses combined data from several social milieux and thus risked confounding the social structural and routine activities lifestyles of their residents. Finally, Singer's analysis used a binary measure of criminality to assess the probability (log odds) of being an offender if one was or was not a victim. Singer overlooked important distinctions between one-time and persistent offenders, despite their obvious theoretical importance.[23] In sum, though Singer's research supported the notion of homogeneity between victim and offender, it did not explain why that homogeneity existed.

Because neither victimization nor offending are normally distributed across the general population, theoretical propositions about the relationship between victimization and offending should be tested with samples in which exposure to the risks of crime and

---

[18] Block, *Victim-Offender Dynamics in Violent Crime*, 72 J. CRIM. L. & CRIMINOLOGY 743 (1981).

[19] Anderson & Rodriguez, *Conceptual Issues in the Study of Hispanic Delinquency*, 7 RES. BULL. 2 (Hispanic Research Center, Fordham University 1984).

[20] Black, *Crime as Social Control*, 48 AM. SOC. REV. 34 (1983).

[21] Singer, *supra* note 1.

[22] *Id.* at 785.

[23] *See, e.g.*, D. HAMPARIAN, R. SCHUSTER, S. DINITZ, & J. CONRAD, THE VIOLENT FEW: A STUDY OF DANGEROUS JUVENILE OFFENDERS (1978); L. SHANNON, ASSESSING THE RELATIONSHIP OF ADULT CAREERS TO JUVENILE CAREERS (1981).

the urban correlates of offending are normative. In other words, sampling from urban neighborhoods will determine whether the association is spurious. To sort out these effects, however, research should examine the social context of interactions between victims and offenders. Prior studies have merely reinforced the association of victimization experiences with offending, with each type of event measured over the subject's lifetime. Few studies have examined the victimization and offending patterns in the same cohort, controlling for neighborhood influences in "high risk" areas. Furthermore, there is little empirical evidence of the patterns of victimization among offenders, and the relative contributions of victimization and other presumed causal factors to subsequent offending. Though victim and offender characteristics may be isomorphic, there is little evidence to determine whether similar social processes contribute to both behaviors. The primary purpose of this Article, accordingly, is to strengthen recent theoretical advances by including victimization as an explanatory construct.

II. Victimization and Crime: Explanations and Theories

The homogeneity of victim and offender characteristics has generated a variety of explanations. The causal mechanisms to link victimization and criminal behavior derive from competing theories, as well as from separate disciplines. The contemporary explanations of the relationship between victimization and subsequent offending include routine activities approaches, a subcultural theory, and theories of aggression.

A routine activities or "lifestyle exposure" model may explain victimization and support a hypothetical link to offending.[24] The conducting of basic activities in areas with high crime rates increases the probabilities of coming into contact with situations that have a high victimization risk. This is equally true for victims and offenders and exposes offenders to the same risks of crime as non-offending victims. People with these characteristics spend time in public places. Accordingly, they are exposed to risks more frequently than others who maintain privacy through a restricted schedule of routine activities. Gottfredson suggested that the social processes that enhance or decrease exposure to crime may be similar to the processes which explain criminality.[25] If victim and offender popu-

[24] *See* M. Hindelang, M. Gottfredson & J. Garofalo, *supra* note 12, at 241-74; Braithwaite & Biles, *supra* note 13; Gottfredson, *supra* note 8.

[25] Gottfredson, *supra* note 8.

lations are isomorphic, then the influence of these processes may also occur for subsets of these groups.

Subcultural theory also supports the phenomenon of victim-offender homogeneity.[26] Studies of subcultures and gang delinquency show that gang members and their victims are a product of a similar lower class culture and the same environment and often have similar values. Delinquency theories lend support to the notion that victims and offenders can be similar. For example, Shaw and McKay found that certain sections of urban areas are characterized by lower social class groups and high delinquency rates.[27] They suggested that diverse systems of values exist in these areas and that youth are exposed to delinquent as well as conventional activities. Delinquency, therefore, may be transmitted from one generation to the next, and crime is viewed as the means to acquire idealized economic and social values.

That violence and criminality are learned in subcultural settings and reinforced is a consistent theme in criminology. The idea that behavior is learned from a particular environment has been elaborated in the differential association theory[28] and further refined by Burgess and Akers as social reinforcement.[29] Each contended that criminal behavior is learned through interaction with others, though the precise mechanisms may vary. Braithwaite and Biles suggested that the characteristics of victims and offenders are associated with specific behavior patterns and attitudes, such as a propensity to risk-taking, a propensity to violence, and alcohol consumption.[30] On the other hand, it is possible that the experience of victimization teaches and reinforces criminal behavior.[31] According to Short and Strodtbeck, the victimization-offending relationship is a reciprocal pattern which is a part of the social ecology of high crime neighborhoods, and criminality is often an anticipatory or protective measure within peer groups.[32]

Some studies have applied social learning theories to explain intergenerational family violence patterns. Researchers investigating domestic violence have found that victims of child abuse often

---

[26] M. Wolfgang & F. Ferracutti, The Subculture of Violence 95-185 (1967).

[27] C. Shaw & H. McKay, Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas (1942).

[28] E. Sutherland & D. Cressey, Principles of Criminology (1966).

[29] Burgess & Akers; *A Differential-Association-Reinforcement Theory of Criminal Behavior*, 14 Soc. Prob. 128 (1966); *see also* M. Wolfgang & F. Ferracutti, *supra* note 26; J. Short & F. Strodtbeck, Group Processes and Gang Delinquency (1965).

[30] Braithwaite & Biles, *supra* note 13.

[31] Burgess & Akers, *supra* note 29.

[32] *See* J. Short & F. Strodtbeck, *supra* note 29, at 199-216.

abuse their own children or spouses.[33] Walker has proposed a "cycle of violence" theory,[34] and other researchers have documented higher rates of violent delinquency among persons who have been victims of abuse or exposed to domestic violence.[35] According to Walker[36] and Steinmetz,[37] evidence supports the utility of a "cycle of violence" theory. Specifically, the use of physical punishment by parents has been related to higher rates of child abuse as adults, and marital violence in later years has been found to be related to an experiencing of violence as a teenager.[38]

Finally, sociopsychological theories have also suggested that violence may be learned through experiencing it as a victim.[39] Megargee set forth an "algebra of aggression" in which he explained aggressive behavior in terms of four components: instigation (internal motivations), habit strength (patterns of violent behaviors), inhibitions against aggression, and stimulus factors or environmental factors which facilitate or impede aggressive behavior. Aggression resulted from the complex interplay of these dynamics. Situational factors are elements in the environment which may influence the situation; these factors include the availability and presence of weapons, the behavior of peers, the behavior of persons in the situations, and architecture. For present purposes, it is important to note that Megargee's theory supported a notion that aggressive or violent behavior can be learned either through personal or vicarious experience or through observation. Such events have relatively high probabilities of occurrence within neighborhoods with high crime rates and concentrations of the socioeconomic correlates of violent delinquency.

In sum, complementary theories support explanations of the relationship between victimization and delinquency. Subcultural and learning theories suggest that offending may be a strategic decision motivated by either observation or experience with violence. This

---

33 *See, e.g.*, M. PAGELOW, FAMILY VIOLENCE (1984).

34 L. Walker, THE BATTERED WOMAN 55-70 (1979). The "cycle of violence" theory finds a casual connection between parental violence and subsequent violence by children which creates a never-ending cycle.

35 *See, e.g.*, Fagan, Hansen & Jang, *supra* note 3, at 117; Lewis, Shanok, Pincus & Glaser, *Violent Juvenile Delinquents: Psychiatric, Neurological, Psychological, and Abuse Factors*, 18 AM. ACAD. CHILD PSYCH. 307 (1979).

36 L. Walker, *supra* note 34.

37 S. Steinmetz, THE CYCLE OF VIOLENCE: ASSERTIVE, AGGRESSIVE, AND ABUSIVE FAMILY INTERACTION (1977).

38 White & Straus, *The Implications of Family Violence for Rehabilitation Strategies*, in NEW DIRECTIONS IN THE REHABILITATION OF CRIMINAL OFFENDERS 255 (1980).

39 Megargee, *Psychological Determinants and Correlates of Criminal Violence*, in CRIMINAL VIOLENCE 81-170 (1982).

motive will most likely operate in situations such as gang warfare and domestic violence. The individual may wish to retaliate against the offender or may displace his anger onto someone else. Theories of aggression have also suggested that being a victim of crime may lead to a desire for revenge. Another possible explanation for the relationship between victimization and delinquency is the learning of the use of violence as a means of interaction with others through repeated victimization or exposure to victimization. This theory could apply to domestic violence as well as to general delinquency. The risk exposure model suggests that similar processes which place an individual in situations in which the risk of victimization is high may also produce criminal offending.[40] An understanding of the processes of victimization may lead to a better comprehension of the processes of becoming delinquent.

A. PRESENT STUDY

Current theories have overlooked the possible reciprocal relationship between victimization and offending. Crime may precede victimization and lead to a reciprocal process in which participation in crime leads to exposure to victimization. In such instances, the restraints on crime may also limit exposure to victimization. This Article will examine the prevalence and incidence of victimization and offending in a general youth population in four high-crime neighborhoods. The central hypothesis will assume that the populations of victims and offenders are isomorphic and that the social psychological correlates of victimization resemble the correlates of offending within the sample. Accordingly, the restraints on offending will also appear as the restraints on victimization.

The theoretical framework is an integration of control and social learning theories.[41] Control theory supports the proposition that the weakening of social bonds such as attachment to family and school and/or work integration and involvement in conventional activities or beliefs in conventional values, and the influence of peer delinquency leads to delinquency.[42] Control theorists also suggest that victimization is less likely if social and personal bonds remain strong, since this would reduce individuals' exposure to victimization by minimizing interactions with people and the situations in which crimes occur.[43] Conversely, interactions with delinquent

---

[40] Gottfredson, *supra* note 8.

[41] *See, e.g.*, Elliott, Ageton & Canter, *An Integrated Perspective on Delinquent Behavior*, 16 J. RES. CRIME & DEL. 3 (1979).

[42] T. Hirschi, CAUSES OF DELINQUENCY 3, 16 (1969).

[43] Gottfredson, *supra* note 8.

peers increase opportunities for victimization. This study will examine the hypothesis that association with delinquent peers contributes both to delinquency and victimization. Social learning theorists assert that violence is learned through repeated victimizations (e.g., child abuse or peer experiences) or exposure to violence (e.g., spouse abuse, high crime neighborhoods).[44] Both conceptual frameworks lead to another hypothesis: that victimization should be a strong contributor to the frequency and severity of delinquent behavior.

III. Data and Methods

A. Samples and Data Collection

Data were collected as part of a federally sponsored research and development program on violent delinquency.[45] A general urban youth sample was drawn from students in four inner city, high crime neighborhoods.[46] Students were chosen from randomly selected classrooms from all grades in each school. The survey questionnaire, which included demographic items, delinquency measures, victimization items, and attitudinal measures, was administered in the spring of 1983 and the fall of 1984. The survey items

---

[44] M. Pagelow, *supra* note 33; Burgess & Akers, *supra* note 29.

[45] The Violent Juvenile Offender Research and Development Program was initiated in 1980 to develop prevention programs for violent delinquency in "high crime" urban neighborhoods and treatment methods for chronically violent juvenile offenders. Both components utilized variants on the integrated theory described by Elliott, Ageton & Canter, *supra* note 41. For a complete description of the program origins and design, see Fagan & Jones, *Toward an Integrated Theory of Violent Delinquency*, in Violent Juvenile Offenders: An Anthology 53 (1984).

[46] Bronx, New York (northwest Bronx); Dallas, Texas (West Dallas); Miami, Florida (Liberty City); Chicago, Illinois (North La ndale). Preliminary analyses were conducted to determine the homogeneity of each urban area with respect to its ecological characteristics. This procedure was necessary to correct the problems in prior research with general adolescent population samples of confounding urbanism and other social area characteristics. It was also necessary in order to determine whether samples from different cities could be aggregated. The census tract for each respondent's neighborhood was recorded, and ten variables were extracted from 1980 census data. These variables represented the domains identified by Laub and Hindelang, Juvenile Criminal Behavior and Its Relation to Neighborhood Characteristics, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office (1981), as sources of social area effects which explained the differences in serious juvenile crime: demographic, labor force, poverty, and housing characteristics. Two validation checks were made. First, the results of analysis of varients (ANOVA) comparisons for each variable showed that the social area characteristics for the two samples were comparable for six of every ten variables; subjects resided in poorer neighborhoods with lower median incomes, higher poverty rates, and housing density. Overall, the poverty indicators suggested equivalent rates of poverty in the neighborhoods for each sample. The results were reported in detail by Fagan, Piper & Moore, *supra* note 7, at 450-62.

were read aloud by the field researchers while the subjects read them on the survey form. In addition, four to five proctors per class from local neighborhood organizations walked through the classrooms to answer students' questions, provide other assistance, and randomly spot check for errors such as out-of-range codes. Surveys were completed by 342 male students and 324 female students in grades ten through twelve. Sample characteristics are set out in Appendix C.[47]

B. MEASURES

The interview items for all samples included explanatory and behavioral measures corresponding to the integrated theory. The self-reported delinquency (SRD) items were derived from the National Youth Survey items[48] and included questions about delinquent behavior, alcohol and drug use, and other "problem" behaviors. The original forty-seven-item scales were modified in two ways. First, because the surveys were designed for youths in high crime, inner city neighborhoods, adjustments to eliminate trivial offenses were necessary. Many behaviors in inner city areas may be violative of the law, but would either evoke no official action or are not perceived by local youth as illegal.[49] For example, the removal of pipes from an abandoned building is not considered illegal activity in several urban areas and is instead viewed as a legitimate economic opportunity. These adjustments resulted in the refinement and specification of items regarding weapons use, the specification of victims (i.e., teacher, student, other adult), and the elimination of items such as "ran away from home" or "made obscene phone calls." The modified and retained items were those which measured "high consensus" deviance[50] and only included acts which harm, injure, or do damage.

Second, at the request of the school officials, certain items in the original scales were collapsed, eliminated, or modified. For ex-

---

[47] The sample excluded dropouts, though dropping out may be related to both victimization and delinquency. However, Fagan, Piper & Moore, *supra* note 7, analyzed data including dropouts together with these samples and found that self-reported victimization did not differ significantly, nor did the victimization coefficient in combined student-dropout models have stronger explanatory power than student-only models in discriminant analyses comparing violent delinquents and other youth. Accordingly, the exclusion of dropouts from the sample did not alter the relative contributions of victimization and other variables in explaining violent behavior.

[48] *See generally*, Elliott & Ageton, *Reconciling Race and Class Differences in Self-Reported and Official Estimates of Delinquency*, 45 AM. SOC. REV. 95 (1980); Elliott & Huizinga, *Social Class and Delinquent Behavior in a National Youth Study*, 21 CRIMINOLOGY 149 (1983).

[49] Anderson & Rodriguez, *supra* note 19.

[50] A. Thio, DEVIANT BEHAVIOR (2d ed. 1983).

ample, items on family violence and others deemed by school administrators to be "sensitive" or "intrusive" were eliminated. Others, such as varying degrees of theft or minor assault, were collapsed to shorten administration time, again at the request of school officials. Still other items were eliminated due to their reference to "excessive" violence or self-incrimination for capital offenses: homicide and sexual assault.

The prevalence of SRD items within the past 12 months was measured dichotomously, and incidence was measured simply by asking those who reported "yes" how many times they had committed that act. Offense-specific scales were constructed for narrow homogeneous crime types parallel with Uniform Crime Reports categories, patterned after Elliott and Huizinga.[51] The scale measures were derived by summing the reported prevalence scores for non-overlapping items within the scale. Also, offense-summary scales were constructed to measure broader categories of behavior. These scales increased the range of seriousness of each domain and preserved the homogeneity of behavior. These general scales, such as violence or property, capture broader behavioral trends and retain validity with respect to type of behavior. Finally, general scales were constructed as summary scales for all types of behavior. Appendix A sets out the item-scale sets which matches items to behavioral domains.

In addition, a typology of delinquent involvement was developed for further analyses of the contributions of victimization to the severity of delinquent involvement. The typology is a hierarchy based on increasing severity of delinquent behaviors. The categories range from petty acts (e.g., going to school "high" or drunk) to multiple index felonies. The types are similar to those from recent validated efforts in delinquency typology construction.[52] The categories include:

- *multiple index offenders*—those reporting at least three index offenses (felony assault, robbery, or felony theft) within the past year;
- *serious delinquents*—those reporting one or two index offenses (felony assault, robbery, or felony theft) within the past year or three or more incidents in the past year of extortion or weapons offenses;
- *minor delinquents*—those reporting no index offenses and one or two

51 Elliott & Huizinga, *supra* note 48.

52 *See, e.g.*, D. ELLIOTT & D. HUIZINGA, THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR AND ADM PROBLEMS, 26 National Youth Survey Report (Behavioral Research Institute 1984); B. JOHNSON, E. WISH, J. SCHMEIDLER & D. HUIZINGA, THE CONCENTRATION OF DELINQUENT OFFENDING: THE CONTRIBUTION OF SERIOUS DRUG INVOLVEMENT TO HIGH DELINQUENCY RATES (National Institute of Justice 1986); Dunford & Elliott, *Identifying Career Offenders Using Self-Reported Data*, 21 J. RES. CRIME & DEL. 57 (1984).

incidents in the past year of extortion or weapons offenses or four or more incidents in the past year of minor theft, minor assault, vandalism, or illegal services (buying or selling stolen goods, selling drugs);

- *petty delinquents*—those reporting no index offenses and three or fewer incidents in the past year of minor assault, minor theft, vandalism, or illegal services (buying or selling stolen goods, selling drugs).

The distribution of victimization within each type was analyzed separately and in conjunction with other explanatory variables. To measure victimization experiences, a scale was constructed based on self-reported victimization experiences within the past year (see Appendix B). Respondents were asked whether they had been victims of each of four property crimes and three violent acts. The truncated recall period did not examine incidents more than one year in the past, but minimized recall errors which may have biased previous studies in this area.[53] Thus, while the information on victimization may represent an incomplete history, estimates of the contributions of victimization to delinquency are likely to be conservative, due to the minimal measurement. Whether subjects were victimized in childhood or early adolescence is beyond the scope of this study, and the prospective contributions of early victimization experiences have not been analyzed. The contributions of recent victimizations to current behaviors and their reciprocal patterns are the focus of this study. This is consistent with the theoretical interpretation of the similar processes underlying both delinquency and victimization.

Explanatory variable sets were derived from the integrated theory described earlier. Scales measuring internal (personal) bonds and external (social) bonds within each salient domain (i.e., school, family, work, peers, and community) were constructed. For example, social bonds within school were measured as school integration, while social bonds to friends were measured as peer integration. Internal bonds included constructs such as attitude toward violence and conventional values. Measures of the social environment were also constructed for the same domains and represented the perceived social learning contingencies of the respondent's social world. For example, measures of family supervision practices included maternal supervision, and normative crime or violence within families was measured by neighborhood family violence. Peer delinquency included associations with delinquent peers. Additional variables were included to measure psychosocial domains,

[53] *See, e.g.*, Singer, *supra* note 4.

such as locus of control (i.e., internal-external impulse control), problematic substance use, and social competence.

These measures have been shown to have strong explanatory power in both cross-sectional and longitudinal studies of serious delinquency under a variety of sampling conditions.[54] However, the measures have yet to be thoroughly tested under conditions with oversampling at the extremes of the distribution of SRD behaviors or in social milieux in which the correlates of serious delinquency are concentrated. Elliott and Huizinga suggested that serious and violent offenses are disproportionately present in lower social class youth, but they failed to test the explanatory power of their predictor variables controlling for social class.[55] This study will address the limitations in prior samples, albeit with cross-sectional data.

It is important to note that each of these variables is measured from the viewpoint of the adolescent, and no cross-validation was attempted. Fagan and Wexler analyzed interviews with families and youth from the violent delinquent sample in this study and found that reports of family conflict, violence, and normlessness were underreported by the adolescents when compared to both parental reports and official records.[56] Accordingly, the estimates of family contributions are likely to be conservative. Moreover, the net effects of family are likely to be observed in the attenuated bonds among delinquent youth within an adolescent population of this age.[57]

IV. Results

A. The Prevalence of Victimization

Table 1 shows the prevalence of victimization among high school students in the inner city neighborhoods. For violent crimes, approximately half of the males and three of every eight females have been victimized in the past year. The patterns were consistent across age groups. For property crimes, females were victims more often than males (72% compared to 64%), and, again, no age-specific patterns were detected. Both males and females reported a high prevalence of victimization for any crime (71% and 77% respectively), with some variation by age. The trend, however, reverses for victimization by both types of crime. As in violent

54 *See, e.g.*, Dunford & Elliott, *supra* note 52; Fagan, Piper & Moore, *supra* note 7.

55 Elliott & Huizinga, *supra* note 48, at 159.

56 Fagan & Wexler, *supra* note 5.

57 Patterson & Dishion, *Contributions of Families and Peers to Delinquency*, 23 Criminology 63 (1985).

crime, males reported a higher victimization rate for both types (43%, compared to 32% for females).

TABLE 1
PREVALENCE OF VICTIMIZATION IN PAST YEAR BY AGE AND SEX
(N=666)
(PERCENT VICTIMIZED)

	Age									
	14 or less		15		16		17+		Total	
Victimization	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		
Violent Crime	52.1	34.3	56.6	41.8	41.0	34.6	52.3	36.8	50.6	37.0
Property Crime	64.6	71.4	68.7	75.9	60.2	71.2	62.5	69.8	63.7	71.9
Any Crime	66.7	74.3	80.7	81.0	63.9	77.9	71.9	72.6	71.3	76.5
Both Types	50.0	31.4	44.6	36.7	37.3	27.9	43.0	34.0	43.0	32.3
N	48	35	83	79	83	104	128	106	342	324

The fact that these rates of victimization are so high suggests that these youths live in high crime neighborhoods and are probably subject to higher risks of victimization at school. Victimization rates appear to be slightly higher in the early adolescent years. The general attrition of school dropouts after the ninth and tenth grades may account for the reduced victimization rates in the older groups. Overall, though, there is little difference in victimization patterns on the basis of a respondent's age. It would seem, therefore, that these youths may be victimized at any time during their adolescent years.

The incidence of delinquent behaviors among victim groups and the prevalence and frequency of each type of behavior for those reportng each type of victimization are analyzed in Table 2. Of the 244 males (71% of the sample) reporting at least one victimization experience, 59% reported committing at least one delinquent act in the past year, with an average of 15.10 acts each. For females, 248 (77% of the sample) were victimized, and 45% committed at least one delinquent act, though with a far lower average of 6.65 acts. Non-victims (98 males and 76 females) reported lower incidence and prevalence of total SRD, with 40% of the males and 28% of the females committing at least one delinquent act. The incidence and prevalence rates varied by type of delinquency. School crimes were the most prevalent and frequent type for both females and males, and robbery was the least frequent offense type. Sex differentials were consistent for all delinquent behaviors except weapons: more female victims reported carrying weapons.

The prevalence of SRD types varied little by type of victimiza-

tion, but the incidence rates were generally higher for victims of violent crime. This trend was especially evident for juveniles who had been victims of robbery, minor assault, and felony theft. This pattern is shown for both females and males. For less serious offenses, the type of victimization mattered little in the SRD rates. Being a victim of both types resulted in little difference in SRD rates.

The results illustrate the general association between victimization and delinquency. Among non-victims, prevalence rates were consistently lower than for victims, but incidence rates were consistently higher, though among males only. Only for vandalism (property damage, which is generally a school-based crime for adolescents) did this trend vary. In general, therefore, it appears that violent victimization is related more to violent delinquency than it is to property delinquency.[58] One interpretation of this result is that there is a small group of high-rate offenders who avoid victimization through their own aggressive behaviors and who raise the incidence rates for each crime type. Victims are more likely than non-victims to engage in each type of delinquent behavior, but they do not necessarily do so more often.

B. SOCIAL CONTROL AND LEARNING THEORY EXPLANATIONS OF VICTIMIZATION AND DELINQUENCY

If victimization and criminal behaviors are the results of similar social processes, their correlates should overlap. This hypothesis was tested with ordinary least squares regression models of both SRD and victimization. The offense-summary SRD scales in Table 2 served as measures of the frequency of each domain of behavior. In the previous analyses, victimization was a dichotomous variable. In the following analyses, however, it is a scalar based on a summative score of the items in Appendix B. Accordingly, victimization in these analyses represents the types of victimization experienced by respondents over the past twelve months. Separate models were constructed for the total sample and for males only, the latter because of the higher rate of violent victimization among males.

The explanatory variables weakly predicted victimization for both the total sample and males only. None of the models explained more than 13.2% of the variance. The models for males consistently had slightly stronger explanatory power, but the rela-

[58] Due to the nature of the data collection for this study, it is impossible to make causal interpretations of the relationship between delinquency and victimization. Also, the results have been analyzed retrospectively, not causally (e.g., we determine how many self-reported delinquents there were, how many have been victimized).

TABLE 2

PERCENT VICTIMIZED WHO COMMITTED OFFENSE-SPECIFIC SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCY AND MEAN NUMBER OF OFFENSES IN PAST YEAR BY TYPE OF VICTIMIZATION AND SEX

Self-Reported Delinquency		Type of Victimizatione: Any Crime		Violent Crime		Property Crime		Both Types		Non-Victims	
		%	(Mean)	%	(Mean)	%	(Mean)	%	(Mean)	%	(Mean)
Felony Assault	M	13.3	(.41)	12.9	(.42)	14.0	(.44)	13.8	(.46)	7.4	(2.90)
	F	6.6	(.18)	7.8	(.25)	6.6	(.18)	7.9	(.24)	4.1	(.06)
Minor Assault	M	7.0	(.40)	8.1	(.27)	6.0	(.11)	6.8	(.12)	12.6	(2.22)
	F	3.2	(.06)	4.2	(.08)	3.4	(.06)	4.8	(.09)	5.4	(.20)
Robbery	M	7.4	(.44)	9.3	(.60)	5.5	(.23)	6.8	(.32)	5.3	(3.84)
	F	2.9	(.05)	3.4	(.06)	3.1	(.05)	3.9	(.06)	1.4	(.08)
Felony Theft	M	7.0	(.51)	8.1	(.64)	6.9	(.27)	8.2	(.31)	5.2	(4.12)
	F	4.0	(.05)	6.7	(.08)	4.3	(.05)	7.6	(.09)	0	0
Minor Theft	M	18.2	(1.16)	20.5	(1.03)	19.4	(1.25)	22.8	(1.14)	8.3	(7.46)
	F	12.2	(.53)	14.3	(.62)	12.6	(.55)	15.4	(.68)	5.5	(.20)
Property Damage	M	17.3	(2.37)	20.9	(2.62)	18.4	(2.32)	23.3	(2.60)	8.3	(2.46)
	F	6.5	(.52)	10.8	(1.00)	6.4	(.55)	11.4	(1.13)	2.8	(.05)
Extortion	M	13.6	(.84)	15.7	(1.13)	12.9	(.72)	15.1	(1.00)	11.6	(4.58)
	F	6.6	(.26)	8.5	(.36)	6.6	(.27)	8.8	(.40)	2.7	(.03)
Weapons	M	13.9	(2.09)	13.3	(2.27)	14.2	(2.23)	13.6	(2.50)	9.5	(1.26)
	F	15.4	(.82)	17.6	(.76)	16.0	(.87)	19.2	(.86)	8.2	(.18)
School Crime	M	20.2	(3.66)	21.6	(3.19)	21.6	(3.65)	24.1	(3.09)	12.0	(7.01)
	F	11.6	(1.33)	3.0	(.99)	12.3	(1.42)	14.9	(1.14)	5.6	(.48)
Total SRD	M	58.6	(15.10)	59.5	(13.73)	60.6	(14.96)	62.6	(13.28)	39.8	(41.07)
	F	45.2	(6.65)	49.2	(7.28)	46.4	(7.00)	52.4	(8.13)	27.6	(1.56)
Total Victimized	M	244		173		218		147		98	
	F	248		120		233		105		76	

tive contributions of predictor variables were consistent for both males and the total sample. The total victimization model had stronger explanatory power than either of the models for specific types of victimization. In addition, the explanatory variables varied between the models of violent and property victimization.

In the violent victimization model, peer delinquency and neighborhood family violence (which is a measure of perceived conflict and violence within families living nearby) were strong contributors. For property victimization, additional predictors included: maternal supervision, law-abiding attitudes, and weak attachments to peers. The model for total victimization incorporated explanatory variables from both the violent victimization and the property victimization models.

In Table 3, comparisons between the theoretical predictors for violent and property victimization suggest that the factors which ex-

plain victimization vary slightly by the type of victimization. Social learning influences seem to be stronger contributors to violent victimization, while both learning and control influences contributed equally to property victimization. Regardless of the strength of the relationship between the explanatory variables and the dependent variables, the explained variance of these models is relatively weak. Obviously, there are most likely other factors which are more relevant to the explanation of victimization.

TABLE 3
STANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS FOR VICTIMIZATION

(Total Sample and Males Only) a,b,c

Social Development Variable	Type of Victimization: Violent		Property		Total	
	Beta	r	Beta	r	Beta	r
Peer Delinquency	.23 (.21)	.25 (.22)	.16 (.14)	.17 (.16)	.23 (.21)	.25 (.22)
Neighborhood Family Violence	.10 (.19)	.13 (.21)	.15 (.16)	.19 (.20)	.15 (.20)	.20 (.24)
Maternal Supervision			.12 (.18)	.16 (.21)	.08 (.16)	.11 (.19)
Attitudes Toward Law			.10 (.12)	.13 (.14)	.09	.11
Peer Integration			(−.15)	(.14)		
Drinking Problems	(−.12)	(−.08)			(−.11)	(−.07)
R square	.071 (.095)		.085 (.126)		.103 (.132)	
F	25.5	(11.8)	15.3	(9.7)	19.0	(12.8)
P	.000	(.000)	.000	(.000)	.000	(.000)

a. Coefficients for Males only in parentheses
b. Blank coefficients indicate variable did not enter equation
c. N (total) = 666, N (males) = 342

The regression models for SRD are shown in Table 4. Overall, the models for the total sample and for males only are weak. The models do not have stronger explanatory power than the victimization models in Table 3; they explain no more than 10.7% of the variance for the total sample and explain less for the males. As in the victimization models, peer delinquency is the strongest contributor to each SRD type. Drinking problems, which are indicators of alcohol-related problems at home, in school, or in social interac-

tions, contribute modestly to the property and general models. Several other variables contribute weakly to individual models.

TABLE 4
STANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS FOR OFFENSE CATEGORY SRD FREQUENCIES, CONTROLLING FOR VICTIMIZATION

(Total Sample and Males Only) a,b,c

Social Development Variables	Self-Reported Delinquency: Violence		Property		General	
	Beta	r	Beta	r	Beta	r
Peer Delinquency	.13 (.14)	.12 (.12)	.13 (.15)	.18 (.17)	.17 (.18)	.20 (.18)
School Integration					−.11	−.17
Social Competence	.10	.09				
Drinking Problems			.10	.13	.16 (.16)	.23 (.21)
Drug Problems					.10 (.11)	.20 (.18)
Attitude Toward Law			−.11 (−.12)	−.13 (−.13)		
Conventional Values	−.08	−.07				
Victimization	−.06 (−.09)	−.03 (−.06)	−.05 (−.05)	(.04) (.01)	−.02 (−.06)	.03 (−.02)
R squared (w/o Victimization)	.029 (.015)		.055 (.043)		.107 (.082)	
R squared (Victimization)	.003 (.007)		.002 (.002)		.002 (.003)	
R squared (Total)	.032 (.022)		.057 (.045)		.109 (.085)	
F	5.47*** (3.88)*		9.58*** (5.03)**		15.83*** (7.83)***	

a. Coefficients for Males only in parentheses
b. Blank coefficients indicate variable did not enter equation
c. N (total) = 666, N (males) = 342
* $p<.05$
** $p<.01$
*** $p<.001$

The contributions of problematic substance use to self-reported delinquency are consistent with earlier studies of general adolescent populations.[59] These factors were thought to represent deficits in social development related to situational decision making or the disinhibiting influence of drugs or alcohol. Their presence,

[59] *See, e.g.*, Elliott & Huizinga, *supra* note 48.

in conjunction with weaker social bonds and normative influences which reinforce delinquent behaviors, appears to be the strongest contributor to the incidence of a broad range of severity of both violent and property crimes. In general, by examining the patterns across different behavioral domains, the balanced contributions of social bonds (e.g., school integration), personal bonds (e.g., conventional values), social environment influences (e.g., peer delinquency), and developmental influences (e.g., problem substance use) illustrate the validity of an integration of control and learning theories.

To examine the additional explanatory power of victimization experiences for SRD, partial regressions were constructed by introducing victimization on the last iteration of the regression model. Table 4 shows that victimization adds little (less than 1% of the variance) to explained variance for the models. The models remain generally unimpressive.

By comparing the victimization and delinquency models, it appears that peer delinquency contributes both to victimization and delinquent behavior. This lends partial support to the hypothesis that similar social processes contribute to offending and being a victim. The parallel contributions of delinquent peers to each set of models supports explanations based on social learning and control factors. However, the victimization and SRD models have comparably poor explanatory power. The hypothesis that social control and learning theories explain both victimization and delinquency is not supported by the results. The overall weakness of the SRD and victimization models, together with the introduction of additional explanatory factors in the SRD models, discourages conclusions that victims and offenders are participants in reciprocal social processes or even shared social networks. Factors unrelated to this social control framework contribute to both SRD and victimization since the explained variance for each is quite low. Moreover, victimization is only weakly correlated with these measures of offending. It may be that victimization and the incidence of delinquency are neither the result of similar processes nor overlapping in theoretical explanation.

These results also may be due to the measurement of delinquent behaviors. The offense-summary scales reflect the frequency of a broad range of serious and non-serious behaviors within a sample, irrespective of their relative seriousness. Accordingly, a respondent who engages in numerous minor fights will weigh higher on this scale than a one- or two-time armed robber. It may be more appropriate to conclude that victimization only weakly explains the

frequency of delinquent behaviors. These SRD scales measure the incidence of each behavior type within the sample or the incidence of individuals' tendencies to commit various crime types. They do not examine the relationship between victimization and the patterns or severity of individuals' involvement in delinquency. To determine this relationship, a typology of delinquent behavior based on a hierarchy of severity must be examined.

C. CONTRIBUTIONS OF VICTIMIZATION TO THE SEVERITY OF DELINQUENCY

Singer suggested that violent crime is best predicted by violent victimization and that the overrepresentation of blacks in violence is a result of their higher victimization rates.[60] Yet, the patterns of victimization within delinquent types, as distinguished by their severity of delinquent involvement, is still unknown. Table 5 shows the incidence and prevalence of victimization within the four delinquent types.

TABLE 5
INCIDENCE AND PREVALENCE OF VICTIMIZATION BY SRD TYPE

	Delinquent Type							
	Petty		Minor		Serious		Multiple Index	
Type of Victimization	Mean	%	Mean	%	Mean	%	Mean	%
Violent#,+	0.59	(35.9)	0.90	(55.0)	0.94	(56.9)	1.41	(64.9)
Property#,+	1.12	(61.2)	1.51	(78.6)	1.69	(81.4)	1.84	(70.3)
Total#,+	1.71	(67.7)	2.41	(83.2)	2.63	(84.9)	3.24	(83.8)
N (%)	412	(61.9%)	131	(17.7%)	86	(12.9%)	37	(5.3%)

Incidence: ANOVA $p < .000$

\+ Prevalence: Chi Square $p < .000$

Both the incidence and prevalence (victimizations in the past year) of each type of victimization increase with the severity of delinquent involvement. The incidence rate of violent victimizations was more than two times higher for multiple index offenders than for petty delinquents. For property victimizations, incidence rates also increased with more serious delinquent involvement. But the rates differed little between minor and serious delinquents for both types

[60] Singer, *supra* note 4.

of victimization. Differences in prevalence rates were highest between petty delinquents and all others.

Although victimization is related to delinquency, the more important factor in explaining the severity of delinquent involvement is the frequency or severity of victimization. This distinction, however, may be a function of the generally high rate of both delinquency and victimization in the study milieu. Nearly two of every three petty delinquents, including many non-delinquents, were victims of property crime. The differential results for property and violent victimization suggested that the social experience of violent victimization has different and stronger associations with delinquent involvement than does more commonplace theft. Also, the ability to avoid violent victimization has stronger implications for avoidance of serious delinquency than does immunity from property crimes.

The contributions of victimization and other theoretical control factors to differences between delinquent types is reflected in the figures in Table 6. Discriminant analyses were used to determine the contributions of victimization to the severity of delinquent involvement.[61] The three models compare petty delinquents with all others (any delinquent involvement), petty and minor delinquents with all others (minor versus serious delinquency), and multiple index offenders with all others (involvement in chronic serious delinquency).[62]

The three models suggest that the importance of victimization in explaining delinquency decreases for more serious delinquent involvement. The models are strong and significant (at least 70% classification success). In the models using only males, victimization is the strongest contributor in the model which compares petty delinquents with others. For the total sample models, however, victimization contributes almost equally with peer delinquency. For the other models, the factors associated with delinquent subcultures—peer delinquency and attitudes toward law— are consistently stronger contributors. These trends are even stronger for males only.

The models suggest that the discriminants of delinquent involvement differ in a comparison of minor and more serious types. Drinking and drug problems distinguish petty delinquents from others but not from more serious delinquents. Maternal supervi-

---

[61] W. Cooley & P. Lohnes, Multivariate Data Analysis (1971); W. Klecka, Discriminant Analysis (1980).

[62] The three models discriminate between any delinquent involvement (petty vs. others), minor vs. serious delinquency (petty and minor vs. others), and involvement in chronic serious delinquency (multiple index v. others).

TABLE 6
DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION COEFFICIENTS FOR SRD TYPOLOGY DIFFERENCES

	(Total Sample and Males Only) (a,b)					
	Petty Delinquents vs. Others		Petty & Minor vs. Others		Multiple Index vs. Others	
Peer Delinquency	.56	(.47)	.65	(.68)	.51	(.73)
Victimization	.46	(.52)	.35	(.35)	.41	(.33)
Peer Integration	.22	(.38)	.21	(.40)	.20	(.18)
Attitude Toward Law	−.30	(−.32)	−.39	(−.46)	−.31	(−.37)
Attitude Toward Violence	.14	(.19)		(.19)		
Drinking Problems	.22	(.23)	.14	(.20)		
Conventional Values						(−.24)
School Integration	−.25	(−.31)			−.37	
Social Abilities	.20		.24	(.17)	.39	(.38)
Neighborhood Family Violence			.14			
Maternal Supervision				(−.14)	−.24	
Drug Problems		(.20)				
Group Centroids: (c)						
Group 1	−.38	(−.47)	−.22	(−.31)	−.09	(−.11)
Group 2	.61	(.56)	.98	(1.05)	1.47	(1.30)
Wilkes Lambda	.81	(.79)	.82	(.76)	.89	(.87)
Canonical Correlation	.43	(.46)	.42	(.49)	.33	(−.36)
Classification Success (%); (c)						
Group 1	75.5	(73.3)	77.5	(78.9)	79.8	(78.4)
Group 2	62.6	(67.1)	63.4	(71.4)	81.1	(74.1)
Total	70.6	(70.5)	74.9	(77.2)	79.9	(78.1)

a. Coefficients for males only in parentheses
b. Blanks indicate variable did not enter equation
c. Group 1 is the group with fewer serious (index) offenses

sion contributes to the most serious delinquent involvement, but not to other group differences. Also, the models for males differ in several areas.

The results suggest that the contribution of victimization to explaining the severity of delinquency is greater in distinguishing less serious delinquents from others. Whereas the prevalence rate of victimization is similarly high for minor, serious, and multiple index offenders, it is much lower for petty delinquents (83%-85% vs. 68%). For distinguishing more serious delinquent involvement, victimization is only one of several factors which typically constitute a portion of subcultural explanations. Thus, it appears likely that the victimization experience itself may differ across groups. For more serious delinquents, victimization may be a consequence of their delinquent activities or even a response to contingent events (e.g., an assault). For petty or minor delinquents, victimization may be a ran-

dom occurrence, but not necessarily part of a sustained pattern of events and behaviors. Moreover, the avoidance of victimization appears to occur with the avoidance of serious delinquency. The impact of victimization on delinquent behavior is weaker for more serious and injurious delinquency, in which other explanations contribute more to understanding criminal behavior.

V. Conclusions

The results of this study support some of the hypotheses derived from prior studies, yet they also reflect the need for causally oriented research. In particular, future research should focus on the contextual aspects and situational factors which might explain the relationship between victimization and delinquency. Victimization appears to be a significant factor in relation to the severity of delinquency, but the direction of this relationship is uncertain. Although the data show that victimization rates are exceedingly high in inner cities, victimization does not contribute to the explanation of delinquency rates.

The results indicate that even though the characteristics of victims and offenders overlap, the social processes which produce both events are not identical. The results suggest that, contrary to the hypothesis of Jensen and Brownfield,[63] the processes which produce adolescent victims and offenders may differ substantially. The isomorphism between victims and offenders may be due to the aggregate characteristics of the neighborhoods where each group concentrates or to normative social processes among inner city youth. Thus, etiological theory should more closely examine the sequences of events and the intervening effects of exogenous events such as victimization on normative developmental processes.

Subcultural and control theories offer partial explanations of victimization rates. The lack of support for the hypothesized homogeneity of victims and offenders, however, attacks the credibility of some of the subculture of violence proposition.

Strong bonds do not appear to reduce the risk of exposure to victimization. However, victimization risk is increased through association with delinquent peers. On the other hand, subcultural and control theories are supported by the data on the severity of delinquent involvement. Moreover, the effects of violent victimization are stronger than other victimization events, thereby lending support to explanations of deliquency, which combine learning and control perspectives. The data here cannot establish causal links be-

[63] Jensen & Brownfield, *supra* note 16.

tween victimization and crime. Further development of theories which specify the role of victimization in delinquency should describe the situational contexts in which victimization occurs, the circumstances and actions of victim and offender, and the social significance of the actions in the normative context of the neighborhood.

Finally, the results of this research provide future directions for delinquency prevention and control policies. Because violent victimization is related to serious delinquency, it would appear that reducing rates of victimization and responding to young victims to offset the adverse consequences of victimization may lessen the severity of crime in central cities. However, reducing victimization rates cannot be approached using principles of social learning and social control theory. Social policy must look to the causes of victimization which may be related to social ecology or urbanization. Delinquency prevention and control strategy should rely not only on social control and social learning influences on individual offending, but also on the reduction of victimization of individuals who otherwise are disposed to deliquency.

APPENDIX A
OFFENSE-SPECIFIC AND OFFENSE-TYPE SCALES

Felony Assault
- Beat someone up so badly they probably needed a doctor
- Shot at someone

Minor Assault
- Hit an adult

Robbery
- Grabbed a purse and ran with it
- Used physical force to get money, drugs, or something else from someone
- Used a weapon to get something from someone

Felony Theft
- Bought stolen goods
- Taken things from a store worth more than $50
- Broken into a car to get something
- Broken into a building and taken something
- Taken a stranger's car without permission

Minor Theft
- Taken something from somebody's wallet or purse
- Stolen money from parents or other family members
- Stolen something at school

Property Damage
- Purposely damaged or destroyed property belonging to your school
- Purposely damaged or destroyed property not belonging to you or your family or your school

Drug Abuse
- Smoked marijuana
- Used angel dust (PCP), downers (barbiturates), speed (amphetamines), coke (cocaine), or heroin

Alcohol use
- Drunk whiskey, gin, vodka, or other hard liquor
- Driven a car while high or drunk
- Gone to school high or drunk

Drug Sales
- Sold weed (marijuana), angel dust, downers, speed, coke, or heroin

Extortion
- Threaten to hurt someone unless given something
- Threaten an adult

Weapons
- Carried a weapon with the intention of using it in a fight
- Threatened an adult with a weapon
- Used a weapon to get something from someone

School Crime
- Gone to school high or drunk
- Purposely damaged or destroyed property belonging to your school
- Stolen something at school

Illegal Services
- Sold angel dust, downers, speed, coke or heroin
- Sold something you had stolen
- Bought stolen goods

General
- Used angel dust, downers, speed, coke or heroin
- Sold angel dust, downers, speed, coke or heroin
- Drunk whiskey, gin, vodka or other hard liquor
- Driven a car while high or drunk
- Gone to school high or drunk
- Damaged a neighbor's property
- Purposely damaged or destroyed property belonging to your school
- Bought stolen goods
- Grabbed a purse and ran with it
- Sold something you had stolen
- Taken something from someone's wallet or purse
- Taken things from a store worth over $50
- Broken into a building and taken something
- Taken a stranger's car without permission
- Broken into a car to get something
- Stolen money from your parents or other family members
- Stolen something at school
- Threatened to hurt someone unless given something
- Threatened an adult
- Hit an adult
- Beat someone up so badly they probably needed a doctor
- Used physical force to get money, drugs or something else from someone
- Carried a weapon with the intention of using it in a fight
- Threatened an adult with a weapon
- Used a weapon to get something from someone
- Shot someone

APPENDIX B
VICTIMIZATION ITEMS

"Sometimes bad things happen to a person. Please tell us if any of the following things happened to *you* or to *anyone you know* in the past year".

Has anyone tried to take something by force or by threatening to hurt you?

Has anyone attempted to steal a bicycle, motorcycle, or car from you?

Has anyone taken any of your things from a car, motorcycle, or bicycle (such as hubcaps, books, packages, clothes)?

Have any of your things been stolen from a public place (such as a school cafeteria or park)?

Have you been attacked with a weapon (such as a gun, knife, bottle, or chair) by someone who is *not* your relative (not your mother, father, brother, sister, cousin)?

Have you been beaten up (or threatened with a beating) by someone who is not your relative?

Has anyone broken into your home?

APPENDIX C

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS BY DELINQUENT TYPE (α)

Demographic & Socio-Economic Characteristics	Total Sample		Delinquent Type: Petty		Minor		Serious		Multiple Index	
	M	%	M	%	M	%	M	%	M	(%)
Sex###										
Male	342	(51.4)	187	(45.4)	78	(59.5)	50	(58.1)	26	(72.2)
Female	324	(48.6)	225	(54.6)	53	(40.5)	36	(41.9)	10	(27.8)
Ethnicity										
Anglo	11	(1.7)	5	(1.2)	3	(2.3)	2	(2.3)	1	(2.9)
Black	459	(69.5)	272	(66.5)	96	(73.8)	66	(76.7)	24	(70.6)
Latino	157	(23.8)	109	(26.7)	25	(19.2)	14	(16.3)	9	(26.5)
Other	33	(5.0)	23	(5.6)	6	(4.6)	4	(4.7)	0	0.0
Age										
LE 14	83	(12.5)	49	(11.9)	11	(8.4)	14	(16.3)	8	(22.2)
15	162	(24.3)	100	(24.3)	30	(22.9)	23	(26.7)	9	(25.0)
16	187	(28.1)	122	(29.6)	39	(29.8)	18	(20.9)	8	(22.2)
GE 17	234	(35.1)	141	(34.2)	51	(38.9)	31	(36.0)	11	(30.6)
Family Composition										
Birth Parents	189	(28.4)	127	(30.8)	32	(34.4)	21	(24.4)	8	(22.2)
Parent/Step-Parent	57	(8.6)	28	(6.8)	13	(9.9)	11	(12.8)	5	(13.9)
Single Parent	372	(55.9)	223	(54.1)	83	(63.4)	47	(54.7)	19	(52.8)
Other	48	(7.2)	34	(8.3)	3	(2.3)	7	(8.1)	4	(11.1)
Parent Employment#										
None	178	(26.7)	120	(29.1)	35	(26.7)	16	(18.6)	7	(19.4)
Either	178	(26.7)	109	(26.5)	42	(32.1)	15	(17.4)	12	(33.3)
Both	310	(46.6)	183	(44.4)	54	(41.2)	55	(64.0)	17	(47.2)
Parent Education										
LT HS Grad	289	(43.4)	186	(45.1)	55	(42.0)	29	(33.7)	19	(52.8)
HS Grad	194	(29.1)	125	(30.3)	40	(30.5)	22	(25.6)	6	(16.7)
Some College	183	(27.5)	101	(24.5)	36	(27.5)	35	(19.1)	11	(30.6)

Chi Square: p <.001
Chi Square: p <.01
Chi Square: p <.05
(a) Percentages do not equal 100% due to rounding.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF DELINQUENCY AND SUBSTANCE TO SCHOOL DROPOUT

Jeffrey Fagan
John Jay College of Criminal Justice

Edward Pabon
Graduate School of Social Service

September, 1988

Please address all correspondence to:

Jeffrey Fagan
Criminal Justice Center
John Jay College of Criminal Justice
City University of New York
899 Tenth Avenue
New York NY 10019

and 85-JU-CX-0001,
This research was supported by Grants 87-JN-CX-0012 from the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice, to the New York City Criminal Justice Agency. The opinions are those of the authors and do not reflect the views of the Department of Justice. The authors wish to thank the staff and volunteers from the six neighborhood organizations who facilitated the surveys of inner city youths. We also are grateful to James Deslonde, Ph.D. (1943-1987), who was Co-Principal Investigator for the neighborhood surveys.

ABSTRACT

Although students have left prior to graduation since the beginning of compulsory public education, the rates of school dropout have increased sharply in inner cities in the past decade. Empirical knowledge on problem behaviors among school dropouts is limited, despite evidence that dropouts have higher crime rates while in school and after leaving school. The association between delinquency and substance use suggests that substance use rates also may be higher among school dropouts, and that substance use may contribute to the process of dropping out. Data from a survey of students and dropouts in six inner-city neighborhoods (N=2467) are analyzed to determine the tri-distributions of these problem behaviors and their shared or separate explanations. Although delinquency and substance use are more frequent and serious among school dropouts, knowledge of these behaviors does not increase the explanatory power of models of school dropout based on an integration of control and learning theories. Moreover, the results suggest that school related problems alone do not adequately explain school dropout. There appear to be multiple paths to leaving school, as well as several types of school dropouts. The interaction between school-based and non-academic factors in contributing to school dropout suggests that schools should broaden their role in the lives of students outside the classrooms.

I. Introduction

Since the inception of compulsory public education, some students have left school prior to graduation. In the past decade, however, the rates of school dropout have increased sharply. Nearly half of the projected 1986 New York City high school graduates either dropped out before graduation or took more than four years to obtain their degrees (New York City Board of Education, 1988).[1] Other studies found dropout rates as high as 54 percent (Task Force on the NYS Dropout Problem, 1988; Fiske, 1988). Such high rates of school dropout contribute to both individual and collective social and economic disadvantage. For example, school dropouts often have lower status occupations, tend to participate less in social institutions such as voting, and have lower personal income (Steinberg, Blinde, and Chan, 1984). A male dropout is likely to earn $260,000 less during his working years (18 to 65 years) than a male completing exactly 12 years of school (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1979). School dropout also has been associated with increased participation in costly employment and training programs (McDill, Natriello and Pallas, 1987).

The social costs of school dropout also may include higher rates of adolescent problem behaviors such as serious delinquency and substance use. However, the role and contributions of school dropout in delinquent involvement and illicit substance use, and their joint occurrence among school dropouts, has not been examined. Yet there are ample reasons to do so. Early behavior problems in primary school grades, school failure during later grades, low educational interest and aspirations, and truancy, are shared risk factors for school dropout, serious delinquency and adolescent substance use (Bachman, O'Malley and Johnston, 1978; Elliott and Voss, 1974; Loeber and Dishion, 1983; Rutter and Giller, 1983; West and Farrington, 1977). School dropout also has been associated with consistent and strong predictors of serious delinquency and substance use, such as the selection of delinquent or drug using friends in early adolescence (Elliott, Huizinga and Ageton, 1985; Kandel, Kessler and Margulies, 1978).

Other studies show a positive association between dropout and both drug use and delinquency. High school dropouts comprised about half the sample (51 percent) of a 1945 Philadelphia male birth cohort, yet they were responsible for over 71 percent of the cohort's criminal offenses (Wolfgang, Thornberry and Figlio, 1988). Thornberry, Moore and Christenson (1985) analyzed the same data and found a causal relationship between school dropout and both adolescent and adult crime. There has been relatively little systematic research on substance use among school dropouts (Clayton, 1986), despite the obvious importance of early school-leaving to adolescent problem behaviors. Nevertheless,

dropouts appear to use drugs more frequently and to require treatment more often than their school-attending peers (Select Committee on Narcotic Abuse and Control, 1986). Cross-sectional research on adolescents in inner cities (Fagan, Piper and Moore, 1986) found that male dropouts had greater involvement than other male adolescents in self-reported delinquency, juvenile justice system contacts, drug use and drug selling.

Recent research on the relationship between substance use and delinquency (Elliott, Huizinga and Ageton, 1985; Fagan, Weis and Cheng, 1987; White, Pandina and LaBouvie, 1987) offers few comparisons between students and dropouts, despite the concentration of the social correlates of delinquency among school dropouts and students in the process of dropping out (Elliott and Voss, 1974; Weis and Sederstrom, 1981). Yet there is empirical evidence that the drug-delinquency relationship may be stronger for school dropouts. For example, among violent delinquents, nearly half are school dropouts, 40% report drug problems in school, and dropouts were more likely to have used drugs immediately prior to their violent behaviors (Fagan, Hansen and Jang, 1983). Studies of adolescent problem behaviors (Elliott and Huizinga, 1984; Fagan, Weis and Cheng, 1987; Jessor and Jessor, 1977; Kandel, Simcha-Fagan and Davies, 1986) consistently show that drug use and school problems are well correlated with each other and with delinquent involvement. Despite these indications, there have been no efforts to determine whether the drug-delinquency relationship is similar for students and school dropouts, and to examine the contributions of adolescent problem behaviors to school dropout.

The significant advances over the past two decades in empirical research on adolescent drug use and delinquency rarely have focused on the inner city areas where adolescent problem behaviors and their social correlates are concentrated. The major studies of adolescent drug use and delinquent behavior have relied on general population samples (Elliott, Huizinga and Ageton, 1985; White, Garrison and LaGrange, 1985), student samples (Bachman, O'Malley and Johnston, 1978; Johnston, O'Malley and Bachman, 1985), or "clinical" samples of youngsters in clinical (Lewis, Shanok, Pincus and Glasser, 1979) or correctional (Fagan, Hansen and Jang, 1983) settings. These research strategies are neither practical nor realistic for locating "high risk" populations for systematic study. For example, school dropouts are systematically excluded from annual high school student surveys (Clayton, 1986), leaving an incomplete picture of adolescent substance use. Similarly, general population studies undersample "serious" offenders (Fagan, Piper and Moore, 1986; Cernkovich, Giordano and Pugh, 1985), who often include significant numbers of school dropouts clustered in inner city areas. This poses problems both in describing the diversity of behaviors in these groups and the social processes which explain them. Also, "high risk" youth such as school dropouts tend to be concentrated in

urban areas, where the unique and complex processes of their urban backgrounds and social milieux contributes to their behaivors. This paper addresses these limitations through empirical research on patterns of drug use and other delinquent behaviors among students and school dropouts in six inner city neighborhoods.

II. Social Explanations of School Dropout

Who Drops Out of School

Despite recent increases in school dropout rates among inner city youths (Task Force, 1988), there has been little systematic study of the reasons for, and processes of, leaving school. Adolescents leave school for a variety of reasons. The Citizens Policy Center (1984) studied school dropout behaviors in California and found four major types of dropouts: pregnant female adolescents or male students whose partners are expecting children, working youths, minority or foreign-born youth, and delinquents. Obviously, there will be important differences in substance use and delinquency patterns among these groups, both before and after dropping out of school. Further, what role drug use and other delinquent behaviors play in the decision to drop out, the process of dropping out, or the behavioral sequences which follow dropping out, are likely to vary by dropout type.

Research on the correlates leaving school or motives of dropouts has focused on a narrow range of school-related factors (Wehlage and Rutter, 1987). Theory and research have concentrated on the characteristics of dropouts in the school setting that distinguish them from students who completed high school. Similar theories have been applied in research on the role of the school in delinquency prevention (Gottfredson, 1987). Four national studies have generated much of the current knowledge on high school dropouts: Project TALENT (Combs and Cooley, 1968), The Youth in Transition (Bachman, Green and Wirtane, 1971; Bachman; O'Malley and Johnston, 1978), National Longitudinal Survey of Youth Labor Market Experience (Rumberger, 1983), and High School and Beyond (hereafter, HSB) (Peng, 1983).

HSB provided the most comprehensive data on school dropouts, and echoed many of the significant findings of the other studies. HSB analyzed the relationship between adolescent growth and development and student school experiences among a stratified probability sample of about 30,000 high school sophomores from approximately 1,000

public and private high schools nationwide in 1980. Fifteen percent of all students who were sophomores in 1980 did not complete high school two years later, though nearly 25 percent of Black students dropped out. Students who later became dropouts differed significantly in several ways as early as their sophomore year from those who remained in school: (a) higher educational achievement and test scores, (b) lower incidence of school-related disciplinary problems such as classroom disruption, (c) greater involvement in out of school activities, (d) higher educational aspirations, and (e) more positive attitudes toward self and society (Ekstrom, Goertz, Pollack and Rock, 1987). Dropouts did less homework and reported more academic problems in school. Dropouts, as well as their friends, also were more alienated from school, spent more time "riding around," had lower self-concept, and were more likely to feel that their destiny was out of their hands.

However, problem behaviors and poor grades were determined in part by students' home education support systems. The mother's educational aspirations for the student, the number of study aids in the home, parental involvement in curriculum choice, and the provision of opportunities for nonschool learning all affected school academic performance and/or deportment. Dropouts tended to come from homes with weaker educational supports such as (a) fewer study aids present in their homes, (b) fewer opportunities for non-school related learning, (c) the absence of one or both natural parents living at home, (d) mothers with lower levels of formal education, (e) mothers with lower educational expectations for their children, (f) mothers who were more likely to be working, and (g) parents who were less likely to be interested in or to monitor both in-school and out-of-school activities. Students who cut classes, had disciplinary problems, had been suspended, and/or had trouble with the police were much more likely to drop out.

Unfortunately, HSB excluded other variables beyond the school domains which may influence school achievement among youths who are poor risks for school graduation. Home educational supports are just one part of a system of social integration and bonding between parents, children, and community that affects adolescent growth and development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Omitting these sources of school dropout may have skewed interpretations of the etiology of school dropouts. Thus, for example, Ekstrom and colleagues recommended that interventions be directed toward students who perform poorly because they are dissatisfied with the school environment (1987). However, if family involvement and commitment are critical variables in precipitating school dropping out, such program strategies are likely to have little impact.

Delinquency among School Dropouts

Similar biases are evident in research on the role of the school in delinquency prevention. The relationship between school failure and delinquent behavior is a recurring theme in theories of delinquency (Elliott and Voss, 1974; Fagan and Jones, 1984; Hawkins and Lam, 1985; Kelly and Pink, 1971; Weis and Hawkins, 1981). Dropouts have far higher rates of delinquency during high school than do graduates (e.g., Elliott and Voss, 1974). However, there is conflicting evidence on the effects of dropping out of high school on subsequent delinquent and criminal behavior.

Elliott and Voss (1974) followed 2,617 students from the ninth grade until the "usual date for graduation from high school." They hypothesized that dropping out should reduce school-related frustrations and alienation and thereby lower the motivational stimulus for delinquency. Official delinquency rates for dropouts were both higher and increased more rapidly than those for graduates throughout the school years. Indeed, for the dropouts, delinquency was highest just before leaving school and thereafter declined sharply, regardless of the age at which the student dropped out. Thus, they concluded that "the basic proposition that the school is the critical social context for the generation of delinquent behavior." Other researchers have found similar results (e.g., Phillips and Kelly, 1979). However, these studies were limited by short post-graduation follow-up periods, and also were confounded by the age distribution of crime. Most dropouts leave school after age sixteen or seventeen, an age which coincides closely with a precipitous drop in criminal behavior at these same ages (Greenberg, 1977; Hirschi and Gottfredson, 1986).

Thornberry, Moore and Christenson (1985) reevaluated the association between dropout status and later delinquent/criminal involvement, examining both short- and long-term effects, controlling both for age and post-school experiences. They analyzed longitudinal data from a 10 percent sample of the 1945 Philadelphia birth cohort (Wolfgang, Figlio, and Sellin, 1972). Follow-up interviews were conducted with 62 percent (n=605) of the followup sample, and record checks were completed for the total sample through 25 years of age. Annual arrest rates were calculated for all high school dropouts, three sub-groups based on the age at dropout, and two groups of high school graduates.

Overall, the age distribution of criminality was similar for all groups, rising during early adolescence, peaking at 16-17 years of age, and then declining throughout the early twenties. In contrast to Elliott and Voss (1974), Thornberry and colleagues reported that dropping out of school had no short-term dampening effect on criminal behavior; dropping out showed a positive relationship to adult criminal involvement. For those who

dropped out at sixteen and eighteen years of age, the mean number of arrests were higher in the years following dropout than in the preceding years. Since criminal behavior declined for all groups throughout their early twenties, the increases for dropouts contradicted the general dampening influence of age. Thus, early school leaving was positively related to criminal involvement, even when controlling for the general decline in crime rates by age. Moreover, the basic finding of the impact of dropout status on criminal involvement was evident even when postschool experiences, such as unemployment and martial status, were held constant.

Thornberry and colleagues contradicted the theoretical argument that in-school factors (e.g., stress, frustrations or strain) explain the linkage between dropping out and delinquent behavior while in school or its cessation after leaving school. At the same time, the results indirectly questioned the relationship between in-school factors and dropout status since it eliminated the foundation for the premise that in-school frustrations/strain/stress alone explain crime in school and subsequent dropout status.

Farrington, Gallagher, Morley, Ledger and West (1986) also questioned the link between school experiences, delinquency and dropout status. They examined the official crimes rates of 411 males in London, England, from their 14th birthday until an interview at a median age of eighteen years and seven months, according to whether they were at school, in full time employment, or unemployed. Proportionally more crimes were committed by youths during periods of unemployment than during periods of employment. Moreover, there were few differences between crime rates just before leaving school and just afterwards in full time employment. However, unemployment and crime were positively associated in the years just after leaving school. Since leaving school and obtaining a full time job had a negligible effect on crime rates, the perceived link between school leaving and criminal involvement had to be examined beyond the "dropout status" to include the social and economic circumstances of school dropouts after leaving school.

Evidence of the relative importance of school and "extra-school" social factors to the dropout status was illustrated by Gutierrez and Montalvo (1984). They examined links between dropping out and delinquency in a longitudinal study of (n=505) male and female Puerto Rican tenth grade students in Philadelphia. Dropouts had higher rates of official and self-reported delinquency. Analyses suggested that three primary social systems contributed to prevent or facilitate delinquency, as well as dropping out: family, peers, and formal social controls, particularly schools. Delinquency was found to reflect a specific imbalance of formal and informal social controls. In turn, parental influence was eroded, increasing the influence of delinquent peers in adolescent socialization processes.

Dropping out was significantly associated with having dropout friends, a history of school-based difficulties, low maternal cross-cultural competence, families who exhibit lack of organization and rituals, and somewhat lower socio-economic status, including less employment for fathers.[2] The school not only proved inadequate to compensate for the family's weak socialization influences, but also aggravated related social problems.

This Study

Research suggests that explanations of school dropout should move beyond a narrow range of in-school variables to a broader framework including school-based and other social and personal factors. However, the natural histories and underlying explanations of dropping out, drug use, and delinquency among inner-city youth rarely have been systematically studied. Dropouts have been undersampled in surveys of self reported behaviors among general adolescent populations, including nationwide samples (Elliott, Huizinga and Ageton, 1985; Bachman, Green and Wirtane, 1971), statewide samples (White, Pandina and LaBouvie, 1987), and local urban samples (Cernkovich, Giordano and Pugh, 1985; Hindelang, Hirschi and Weis, 1979; Hirschi, 1969). And, while there has been important ethnographic work on inner city youths (Feldman, Agar and Beschner, 1979; Feldman, Mandel and Fields, 1985; Sullivan, 1987), systematic research on inner city adolescents remains a major gap in our understanding of the epidemiology and explanations of youth behaviors which are concentrated in urban *milieux*. By studying adolescents in inner city areas, we can examine dropping out, drug use, and delinquency patterns in conditions of concentration of the social and economic correlates of these behaviors: poverty, social disorganization and weak formal and informal controls, and generally weaker social and economic institutions (Weis and Sederstrom, 1981; Sampson, 1986).

Studies of adolescent problem behaviors consistently show that drug use and school problems are well correlated with each other and with delinquent involvement (Jessor and Jessor, 1977, Elliott and Huizinga, 1984). A variety of social, psychological and economic factors have been found to be associated with delinquency, drug use, and dropping out, and the overlap between the three behaviors suggests common correlates and etiological paths. Although there is extensive knowledge about each of these separate problems, relatively little is known about their tri-distributions or whether these problems are causally related to one another. A "spurious" explanatory framework suggests that the linkages between dropping out and delinquency/drug use may be coincident and occur as part of a common set of adolescent problem behaviors (Jessor and Jessor, 1977). A

corollary to this hypothesis is that the behaviors are unrelated but are explained by a common set of factors. If the relationship between dropping out and delinquency or drug use is "spurious," theoretical explanations should apply equally to the separate behaviors as well as their joint or three-way occurrence. Conversely, if the behavior patterns have different explanations, then the relationship is not spurious, but the patterns have differential meanings and explanations. This study examines patterns of delinquency and substance use among students and dropouts, and analyzes theoretical factors to determine whether dropout is part of a general pattern of deviance and, consequently, shares common explanations.

III. Theoretical Framework

Social control and social learning have been prominent, if not dominant, theories of deviance for nearly two decades. Control theory has been tested under a variety of sampling and measurement conditions for delinquency (Hirschi, 1969; Wiatrowski, Griswold and Roberts, 1981) and drug use (White, Johnson and Garrison, 1985; Kaplan, Smith and Robins, 1984). Social learning theory also has been tested for both delinquency (Burgess and Akers, 1966) and substance use (Johnson, Marcos and Bahr, 1987; Jensen and Brownfield, 1983). Recent integrations of control and learning theory have been applied to both delinquency (Elliott, Ageton and Canter, 1979; Weis and Hawkins, 1981), drug use (Kandel, Simcha-Fagan and Davies, 1986; Johnson, Marcos and Bahr, 1987), and the joint behaviors (Elliott, Huizinga and Ageton, 1985; White, Pandina and Labouvie, 1987). Although these studies disagree on the primacy of constructs from one theory or the other in understanding behavior, they agree that an integration of social learning and social control perspectives is superior to either in isolation (Johnson, Marcos, Bahr, 1987).

This particular theoretical integration has rarely been applied to explain the decision and process of dropping out, and has never been tested under the sampling conditions found in this study. Yet there are good reasons to do so. First, sampling within inner-city neighborhoods provides a natural control for social structural effects, which may mediate the strength of theoretical relationships or confound them in studies across social areas. Tests of theory under these sampling conditions may provide evidence of the mediating effects of ecological factors on theoretical relationships. Second, empirical evidence from separate studies of delinquency and adolescent drug use consistently has identified common correlates between them derived from these theories. For example, family attachments, peer associations, and educational attachments, are constructs

associated with the bonds of control theory and the reinforcement processes of learning theory that also are correlates of both drug use and delinquency.

Accordingly, an integration of control and learning theories provides a testable set of hypotheses to examine the relationship between dropping out and delinquency and substance use. Since the lack of explanatory differentiation in integrated models based on social control and learning theories suggest that delinquency and drug use may be spuriously related (White, Pandina and LaBouvie, 1987; Fagan, Weis and Cheng, 1987), we may hypothesize "spurious" relationships between the three problem behaviors, suggesting a pattern of general deviance (Osgood, Bachman, Johnston, and O'Malley, 1988).

Control theory proposes that when social controls are weak, deviant conduct is more likely to occur. That is, when the moral bond that ties people to each other and to social norms is broken, restraints on antisocial behavior are ineffective. In its original formulation, Hirschi specified four elements of the bond (attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief) which Elliott et al. redefined as integration (external bonds) and commitment (internal bonds)(Hirschi, 1969, Elliott, Ageton and Canter, 1979). Integration includes such factors as involvement with and emotional ties to conventional groups. Commitment includes expectations linked with conventional activities and beliefs in the norms and laws of society.

Early criticisms of control theory questioned how delinquent behavior develops once bonds are weakened or broken. Integrations of control and social learning theories attempt to explain the processes that strengthen or weaken social bonds, and in turn, facilitate the "learning" of criminal values and behaviors. Johnson et al. (1987), for example, regard social learning constructs as necessary to explicate fully the role of deviant peers in adolescent misbehavior. Conger (1979) suggests that these learning processes provide instrumental value or meaning to behavior (acquisition of behavior definitions), opportunities for practice (imitation) and reinforcement, and exposure to definitions. Learning processes leading to deviance may occur in associations with deviant peers, the reinforcement of negative experiences in conventional activities, or the context of social disorganization which disrupts conventional social groups and activities. This describes a socialization process where weak social bonds are developed and delinquent socialization becomes the strongest learning influence.

Recent theoretical integrations specify both the domains of socialization and the temporal sequence of their influence. Weis and Hawkins (1981) suggest that the social bond develops incrementally in the milieux where the most salient socialization occurs: family, school, peer associations, and community. Johnson et al. (1987) add religious influence as an early influence in social development. Fagan and Jones (1984) suggest

that both positive and negative bonds can develop through socialization experiences in family or school, among peers, and in the community. For example, family supervision practices can shape conventional behaviors, while adolescents whose families use drugs or commit crimes are exposed to definitions and values conducive to deviant behaviors. The temporal sequence suggests that there is a cumulative effect of positive and negative bonding across domains. Thus, positive socialization in the family influences bonding to school and, later, toward acceptance of law- supporting attitudes and selection of peers. The causal paths hypothesized in the model have recently been refined to include reciprocal effects--that is, delinquency may disrupt social bonds and lead to problems in the family or at school (Thornberry and Christenson, 1984). Therefore, bonding may alternately be a predictor and an outcome of deviance, or have reciprocal effects on the bonding-behavior relationship (Thornberry, 1987). Other researchers suggest that the locus and sequencing of bonds may be age-specific.

The theoretical model in this study proposed that the elements of the social bond are strengthened or weakened through socialization experiences in each domain, the family, school, peer groups, and the community. It further proposes that this process of strengthening and weakening bonds has impact on the issue of "dropout status." The elements of the bond are specified as positively related to the decision and process of dropping out of school. For example, the theoretical model to be tested argues that early experiences in the family are likely to influence social bonding to the family, school, and self control, as well as impact upon subsequent experiences in school and the likelihood that social bonds of attachment to school and commitment to education will develop (Hawkins and Lam, 1987). Similarly, school experiences themselves are likely to influence the extent to which a youth will develop social bonds of attachment and commitment to prosocial others and activities. If the process of developing social bonds to prosocial others and activities has been interrupted by uncaring or inconsistent parents, by poor school performance, or by inconsistent teachers, youths are more likely to come under the influence of peers who are in the same situation and are also more likely to be influenced by such peers to engage in delinquent activities or to drop out of school. Bonding to school and commitment to education is conditioned by the extent to which social bonds to the family have developed by the time the child enters school as well as the extent to which the child is rewarded for skillful performance at school. The lack of opportunities for involvement, skills, and reinforcements in school, as well as in prosocial activities and interaction with prosocial others, increases the vulnerability of the at-risk child for dropping out of school. These conditions also are likely to contribute to other deviant behaviors. Accordingly, school dropouts will exhibit more frequent and serious substance

use than students. Also, among dropouts, patterns of deviant behaviors are likely to vary according to the reasons for leaving school and the extent of social and personal difficulties outside school.

IV. Methods

Samples and Data Collection

The surveys of student and dropouts were part of a research and development program on violent juvenile crime.[3] A general adolescent sample was constructed in six inner city neighborhoods from A- and b-level SMSA's.[4] The research design employed two samples: a multi-stage cluster sample of high school students in each city, and a purposive, theoretical ("snowball") sample of high school dropouts (Biernacki and Waldorf, 1981). Samples included 200 student surveys per school each iteration, and 50 dropout surveys per study neighborhood, with two iterations: Spring 1985, and Fall 1985. Efforts were made in student and dropout surveys to avoid any repeat participants. Respondents ranged in age from 13-20, were predominantly Black and Hispanic, and included both males and females. Appendix A provides details on the sample characteristics.

High school student samples were chosen from classrooms randomly selected from all classes in the school which served youths from the target neighborhoods.[5] Grades 9-12 were included in the survey. A random school day was selected within a two-month period for survey administration.

Ethnographic samples of school dropouts were recruited from chain referral methods ("snowball") samples within known dropout groups. The dropout sampling parameter, 25%, reflected a consensus of the high school principals in the six inner city neighborhoods, though the reported rates varied from 15% to 45% across the cities. This strategy was used since systematic sampling of dropouts was not feasible. None of the school districts kept accurate or comprehensive records of dropouts to allow specific sampling of individuals, or even to develop sampling parameters to inform the construction of dropout samples (Hammack, 1987). The strategy was flexible in targeting, locating, and reaching all known dropout groups within and across communities. Because so little is known about the nature and prevalence of dropouts, this strategy insured that no known or emerging dropout strata was either over- or underrepresented.

Chains were initiated through local contacts--local social service agencies or intermediary community-based organizations--to recruit dropouts from among known dropout populations: pregnant teens, working-class youth, non English speaking or foreign-

born youth, and "official" (labelled) delinquents. Once chains were initiated in each city, two recruitment processes were used. First, dropout respondents were asked to refer others they knew. Recruitment often involved referrals within chains, where the respondents were encouraged to refer or bring with them "people just like you." At the conclusion of their participation, respondents were asked to refer anyone "that also is a school dropout, comes from the same neighborhood, and is the same age and sex." A short screening interview determined eligibility. Second, referrals were sought from social agencies which routinely dealt with dropouts. Advertisements were distributed through channels likely to reach them. For example, notices were posted and distributed in family planning clinics to teenage females who had sought services or advice. Similar outreach occurred through unions (for working youth), community-based counseling or drop-in centers for drug use prevention, alternative schools, and other agencies or locale where dropouts are likely to gather. The chains were monitored to insure that none of these groups was overrepresented among the dropouts, and to incorporate any new (unanticipated) dropout groups which were discovered.

Both student and dropout respondents received a stipend for their participation in the form of either coupons from local record stores or T-shirts. These nominal stipends were both incentives as well as compensation for their time and participation. The surveys were described as voluntary and anonymous. Neither names nor identifiers were requested anywhere on the survey forms.

Student and Dropout Survey Procedures

Student surveys were conducted in classrooms, or alternately, after school hours. In three of the six high schools, surveys were held during regular study periods. Students convened in an auditorium or large classroom capable seating the 200 students. In the other schools, scheduling problems required that surveys be conducted immediately after school hours in the same facilities. This procedure risked several sources of bias, from exclusion of working youths to self-selection of participants with different motivations and interests. To estimate biases between the two survey conditions, analyses compared relationships between explanatory and behavioral variables for the in- and after-school samples (see Measures, below). Multiple regression analyses of delinquent involvement and substance use showed that the explained variance, univariate F-tests, and order of entry of explanatory variables were comparable for the two survey procedures.[6]

Dropout surveys were conducted in small groups of 10-15 youth in neighborhood facilities, with several scheduled time slots to accommodate youths with other

commitments. To avoid repeats, proctors from the community groups, familiar with neighborhood youth, monitored attendance and selected out repeaters. Together with members of the research staff, they kept informal logs of the number of each type of youth participating in the surveys. Decisions on management of the chains were made by the research staff in consultation with the intermediary organizations.

The survey schedule included demographic items, self reported delinquency and drug use/sales measures, victimization items, and measures tapping social learning and control variables. In addition, dropouts were asked about their reasons for dropping out, their school experiences (e.g., suspensions and expulsions, attendance, problems in school), and the pressures and supports they received from family and community during the process of dropping out.

For both student and dropout surveys, items were read aloud by research staff while respondents followed along on the survey form. The researchers also held up large displays of the response sets for sequences of items (e.g., self reported delinquency items). In addition, four or five proctors per session from local neighborhood organizations walked through the classrooms or facilities to answer respondents' questions, provide other assistance, and randomly spot check for such errors as out-of-range codes.

Measures and Constructs

Self reported delinquency (SRD) and substance use items were derived from the National Youth Survey items (Elliott, Knowles and Canter, 1981), and included questions on delinquent behavior, alcohol and illicit drug use, and other "problem" behaviors. The original 47-item scales were modified in two ways. First, since the surveys were designed for adolescents in inner-city neighborhoods with high crime rates, adjustments were necessary to eliminate trivial offenses. Many behaviors in inner city areas may be law violations, but either would evoke no official action or are not perceived by local youth as illegal (Anderson and Rodriquez, 1984).[7] The items modified and retained were those which measure "high consensus" deviance (Thio, 1983), and included only acts which harm, injure, or do damage. .Second, at the request of school officials, certain items in the original scales were eliminated, modified, or collapsed.[8] Other items, such as varying degrees of theft or minor assault, were collapsed to shorten administration time, again at the request of school officials.

The response set was a categorical set of frequencies, ranging from "never" to "once a year to monthly" to "2 to 3 times a week." To calculate annual incidence rates, the median frequency within the value was computed and recorded. Though information is

lost in the truncated categories, other analysts using similar procedures report high correlations between categorical responses and open-ended frequency estimates (Elliott and Huizinga, 1984).[9] Similar to the National Youth Survey, the recall period was 12 months, from "Christmas a year ago to this past Christmas" for spring surveys, and from "Labor Day a year ago until this past Labor Day." Such anchoring techniques are consistent with other studies attempting to reconstruct behaviors for even trivial offenses (Anglin and Speckart, 1988).

Three sets of scales were constructed to measure homogeneous behavior groupings and to distinguish serious and trivial behavior. For SRD items, offense-specific scales, such as ROBBERY or FELONY THEFT, were constructed for narrow homogeneous crime types parallel with UCR categories, patterned after Elliott and Huizinga (1983). The scale measures were derived by summing the reported incidence scores for non-overlapping items within the scale. Second, offense-summary scales were constructed to measure broader categories of behavior. These scales increased the range of seriousness of each domain while preserving homogeneity of behavior. These general scales, such as VIOLENCE or PROPERTY, capture broader behavioral trends while retaining validity with respect to type of behavior. GENERAL scales were constructed as summary scales for all types of delinquent behavior.[10]

Third, an index of delinquent involvement was constructed, called INDEX. Similar to ordinal scales developed and validated by Dunford and Elliott (1984) and Fagan, Weis and Cheng (1987), INDEX included dimensions of both severity and frequency of delinquent acts over the previous 12 month period. INDEX is an hierarchical typology in that less serious behaviors have been committed by those in successively more serious categories of offenders. Specific alcohol use, drug use, or drug selling behaviors and incidents of intoxication are not considered in the typology. The categories range from petty acts (e.g., going to school "high" or drunk) to index felonies.[11]

The questions and response sets for alcohol and drug use items followed the same format and response sets as the SRD items. DRUG SALES was included as a SRD item, as was "driving while drunk or high" and "attending school while drunk or high." Questions about personal use of substances were included in separate items. Two alcohol items (beer or wine; whiskey, gin, vodka, or other liquor) and seven illicit drugs (marijuana, cocaine, heroin or opiates, hallucinogens, amphetamines, or "speed," barbiturates, or "downers," and inhalants or "glue-sniffing") were asked. The general format also asked "how often in the past year, from (time anchor) a year ago until this past (time anchor) did you...?" Categorical response sets again were employed.

Drug-specific scales involved the frequencies of use of each substance. These scales were not collapsed in estimating frequencies of particular drug use types. Instead, the individual substances were retained to capture what ethnographic data suggest are distinct drug use patterns by youth network and locale (Feldman, Agar and Beschner, 1979). An index of the severity of drug involvement was constructed as well, based on dimensions of the severity and frequency of drug use. Called DRUGTYPE, the scale specifies non-experimental use (three times or more in the past year) of cocaine, opiates, or PCP as the most serious, with experimental use (less than three times) as the next level, followed by chronic use of marijuana or alcohol (more than 12 times per year) and other trivial use of marijuana or alcohol as the least serious category.

Explanatory variable sets were derived from the integrated theory described above. Sources of social development were hypothesized in three areas: social bonding to conventional norms and beliefs, social environments which influence the strength and direction of bonds and which may directly influence behavior, and psycho-social development of cognitive skills.

Social and Personal Bonds. Scales measuring internal (personal) bonds and external (social) bonds within each social domain (i.e., school, family, work, peers, and community) were constructed. In general, these variables tap the strength and extent of the youth's interactions with, attachments to, and involvement with the contemporary social institutions presumed to be influential in anchoring adolescents to mainstream social functioning and behavior.

ATTITUDES TOWARD LAW and ATTITUDES TOWARD VIOLENCE measure approving attitudes in each area: both law-violating and law-supporting attitudes are assessed, as are attitudes supporting the use of violence for instrumental gain or to exert personal power. CONVENTIONAL VALUES is an index of conformity based on the personal importance of attainment of social status (occupational, informed citizen) and material goods. Social bonds include attachments within school, peer, and family domains. SCHOOL INTEGRATION measures participation in school activities, achievement and performance, and relationships with teachers and other students. PEER INTEGRATION represents the strength of the respondents' immersion in a peer group and personal involvement with his or her peers. FATHER ATTACHMENT and MOTHER ATTACHMENT directly measure the strength of bonds to primary caretakers: respect and emulation of parent figures, and involvement of parent figures in respondents' emotional and social well being (e.g., talking about school or personal problems).

Social Environment. Measures of the social environment were constructed for the social domains of school, family, peer interactions, and neighborhood. These constructs

represent the perceived social learning influences in the important domains of respondents' social world. In this model, social learning variables which may weaken pro-social bonds include criminal behavior, anti-social values, and other deviant behaviors perceived in the family, school, and in the neighborhood. Prosocial or law-conforming influences were assessed for schools and within families. Parental supervision practices (MOTHER AUTHORITY, FATHER AUTHORITY) measure the disciplinary and rule-setting practices in the home. Patterson and Dishion (1985) have established the importance of these contingencies as family contributors to, and restraints on, delinquent behavior.

The contributions of crime and violence in the neighborhood were measured in several domains. Violence among neighborhood families in the same block or building (NEIGHBORHOOD FAMILY VIOLENCE), crimes in school by other students (STUDENT DELINQUENCY), and in the neighborhood by peers (PEER DELINQUENCY). Substance use among peers was measured simply by items on the number of friends using beer, wine, or liquor (PEER ALCOHOL), and marijuana or other illicit drugs (PEER DRUG USE). Two measures of labeling were included: peer involvement in the juvenile justice system (PEER JJS INVOLVEMENT) and neighbors' criminal justice involvement (NEIGHBORHOOD CJS INVOLVEMENT).

GANG PERCEPTION measured the extent to which respondents' perceived gangs in the neighborhood to exert social influence and control: the extent to which gangs dominate social interactions in school or on the streets, threaten youth, provide control opportunities for social status among youth, and establish behavioral norms for other youth. VICTIMIZATION measured respondents' self reported victimization experiences within the past year. Respondents were asked whether they had been victims of each of four property crimes and three violent acts. The truncated recall period does not examine incidents more than one year in the past, but minimizes recall errors which may have biased previous studies in this area (e.g. Singer, 1986). Specific types of victimization included VICTIMIZATION/VIOLENCE and VICTIMIZATION/PROPERTY. In addition, respondents' perceptions about victimization of neighbor was also measured (NEIGHBORHOOD VICTIMIZATION).

Psychoscial Development. Additional variables were included to measure psychosocial domains such as LOCUS OF CONTROL (i.e., internal-external impulse control). SOCIAL SKILLS assesses the respondents' basic social skills such as filling out a job application or balancing a checkbook.

Drug and Alcohol Problem Behavior. The use of self reports of problem behaviors was intended to directly measure their prevalence in the urban youth population. Clinical records and official records have several weaknesses. The lack of standardization in

definitions, inconsistent quality control in record thoroughness and access, practical issues in privacy and access plus consistency with survey procedures, and lack of representativness or validity all point to using self reports (Jessor and Jessor, 1977). Moreover, they are direct reports, not interpreted reports from clinicians or measurement tools which raise validity and relability questions for the urban youth sample.

Drug and alcohol problem scales were patterned after similar items in Jessor and Jessor (1977), Elliott and Huizinga (1984) and White, Pandina and LaBouvie (1987). These scales (DRUG PROBLEMS, DRINKING PROBLEMS) each included six items, reflecting negative social and personal consequences of alcohol or drug use. Each scale asked if the respondent "ever felt you had a drug [or alcohol] problem?" Also, separate items asked whether in the past year, "you have had a problems with your (family, friends, girl friend or boy friend, in school, with the police) because of your drug use (or drinking)." Additional items asked if the respondent had gotten into fights or been arrested "because of drinking (or drug use)." Finally, respondents were asked if he or she had sought treatment, been in treatment, or been told to seek treatment for drinking or drug use in the past year.

Overall, these measures have strond explanatory power in both cross-sectional and longitudinal studies of serious delinquency, under a variety of sampling conditions. Fagan, Piper and Moore (1986) validated these measures with samples of institutionalized and general population male adolescents from inner-city neighborhoods, while Fagan, Piper and Cheng (1987) validated the items with both males and females in inner-city neighborhoods. Validity analyses specifically examined the relationship between the SRD and drug use scales and internal predictors.

Finally, validity was confirmed through selected bivariate correlations with theoretical variables whose independent relationships with drug use and delinquency also are well established. For example, involvement with delinquent peers is strongly associated with several deviant behaviors, under various sampling and measurement conditions (Hirschi, 1969; Wiatrowski, Griswold and Roberts, 1981). According, the Pearson correlation coefficients for PEER DELINQUENCY and several SRD scales were compared, controlling for gender and school status. The correlation coefficients were all significant and in the correct directions. Reliability analyses included calculation of consistency measures (Cronbach's Alpha) for each scale, and again for theoretically important subgroups: males and females, students and dropouts, and site-specific calculations. In general, reliabilities were at least adequate (Alpha=.70) or excellent (Alpha=.90) for the total sample and for four delinquent types.

V. Results

Analyses first examined the factors which influence dropouts to leave school. The reasons for leaving school are reported, and differences in how students and dropouts experience and perceive school are analyzed. Next, the relationships between drug use and delinquency are compared for students and dropouts. The final section analyzes the contributions of social development factors, delinquency, and drug involvement to dropping out of school.

Dropping Out: Perceptions and Experiences in School

Dropouts were asked to indicate which of several factors might have contributed to their decision to leave school. The results are shown in Table 1. Males reported two primary reasons for leaving school: lost interest in school, and needing a job. There were no differences by race. Males as well as females reported pregnancy as a reason for leaving school (between eight and 33 percent, depending on race).[12] Between 20 and 30 percent reported general problems in school or at home, or health problems as contributing to their decision. Few males reported that drug or alcohol problems influenced their decision. This does not suggest that they were not using drugs, only that they did not report having problems. Drug or alcohol involvement may have influenced their loss of interest in school, despite the few reports of problem use.

INSERT TABLE 1 HERE

Although there were negligible differences between Black and Hispanic males in reported reasons for leaving school, there were several notable differences for females. Most females also reported that they had lost interest or needed a job. The few white females limit comparisons with Black or Hispanic females. However, Black females more often reported pregnancy as a reason for leaving school than did Hispanic females, though Hispanic females more often reported problems at home and health problems. Black females more often reported problems with homework and trouble with other students. Overall, the primary reasons for leaving school, lost interest in school or needing a job, were consistent regardless of race and sex.

Comparisons of self-reports of suspensions and expulsions suggested differences between males and females and by race. Nearly half of the small sample of white males reported having been suspended, compared to just over one in four Black or Hispanic

males. More Black females reported having been suspended, consistent with their reports of various problems in school. Nevertheless, whites more often report suspension or expulsion, while minorities disproportionately reported problem behaviors at school.

Elliott and Voss (1974) suggest that delinquency in school disrupts school experiences and weakens conventional educational attachments, leading to a decision to leave school. Other studies suggest that leaving school results from problems in school not associated with delinquency or other deviant behaviors such as drug use. These competing explanations are examined in Table 2, comparing students and dropouts on their perceptions of and experiences in school. ANOVA routines compared students and dropouts, controlling for sex, on several indicators. Multiple classification analyses (MCA) provided estimates of the explained variance for each indicator.

INSERT TABLE 2 HERE

The results illustrate several differences in how students and dropouts experience school. SCHOOL INTEGRATION, a measure of school attachment and involvement, is predictably lower for dropouts than students. The interaction of dropout status by sex shows that male dropouts in fact have the weakest school attachments. Similar results were obtained for self-reports of the quality of teacher-student relationships. Again, male dropouts had significantly poorer school experiences than females. School strain (ASPIRATION VS. REALITY), a measure of the extent to which students feel blocked in their efforts to achieve educational goals, also was higher for dropouts than students. Here, female dropouts indicated the highest strain or blocked educational opportunities. The explained variance (25.1 percent) also was highest for this comparison.

To examine the Elliott and Voss hypothesis, two aspects of school crime were compared: perceptions of crime and violence by other students, and self-reported delinquent acts in the past year in school. Student and dropout reports of drug and alcohol use, weapons possession, or violence did not differ. Sex-specific patterns varied, although overall male dropouts perceived more criminal behaviors than did students or female dropouts. Female dropouts perceived significantly lower rates of substance use. However, male dropouts perceived significantly higher rates of drug sales, extortion, theft, weapons possession and vandalism.

Reports of their own behaviors revealed similar patterns. Male dropouts experienced school more negatively than did female dropouts or other students. Male dropouts reported higher rates of their own drug problems in school, more often attended school high or drunk, and had higher school crime rates.[13] They also attended school less regularly. Male dropouts respected teachers less, and less often "tried hard" in school,

although both main and interaction effects were evident. Female dropouts closely resembled female students in their school experiences. They perceived crime comparably to female students, and reported similar rates of drug or alcohol problems. Their school attachments (i.e., attendance, respect for teachers, level of effort) were slightly lower than female students. Although their substance use and criminality in school were higher than female students, the rates were far lower than male dropouts.

The overall school experiences of dropouts in their last year in school, especially males, describe their disengagement from school and their patterned involvement in problem behaviors. Since these school experiences preceded the formal dropout decision, there is no indication that their disengagement from educational activities preceded the decision to leave school or was reciprocal with other school behaviors. The differential involvement of male dropouts in school crimes, and their exposure to other crimes, reflects gender differences in delinquency similar to research with other adolescent samples (Canter, 1982; Hindelang, Hirschi and Weis, 1981). The systematic differences between male students and dropouts differed from the selective differences between female dropouts and students. Male and female dropouts also differed in their educational attachments, their exposure to and involvement in school crime, but reported similar reasons for leaving school. Accordingly, the process of leaving school may be generic, with specific gender differences reflecting only the general gender differences in delinquent behaviors. There also appear to be differences among female dropouts by race, but not for males, which further illustrate the variability in the decision to leave school.

Substance Abuse and Delinquency Among Students and Dropouts

Comparisons of self-reported crimes in school showed that male and female dropouts had the highest rates in their last year in school. In fact, female dropouts reported higher rates of school crime than did male students. In this section, analyses of the specific substance use and delinquent behaviors of students and dropouts both inside and outside school further show the disparity between students and dropouts. Table 3 compares both frequencies (annual rates) and severity of involvement for self-reported substance use and other delinquent behaviors.

Self-Reported Delinquency. Both male and female dropouts have more serious involvement in, and higher rates of, self-reported delinquency than male and female dropouts. Using the INDEX typology, over 40 percent of male dropouts are multiple index offenders, and fewer than 40 percent occupy the least serious delinquent category. Male students have far less serious delinquent involvement, with fewer multiple index

offenders (16.1 percent) and more petty offenders (54.6 percent). Female students and dropouts have minor differences. Slightly more female dropouts are multiple index offenders (1.0 percent vs. 8.4 percent), while slightly more female students are petty delinquents (71.6 percent vs. 63.6 percent). Female dropouts are less seriously involved in self-reported delinquency than male students.

INSERT TABLE 3 HERE

Comparisons of the frequency of self-reported criminality show similar patterns to the Index typology which combines frequency and severity dimensions. However, analyses of offense-summary categories suggest that the rates of violent and property offenses among female dropouts are the lowest of the four groups, well below the rates for female students. Female dropouts report very infrequent violence, compared to the other groups. The majority of crimes reported by female dropouts seem to be non-specific behaviors such as attending school while high, carrying weapons, or making threats. Accordingly, their delinquent involvement as serious and mulitple index offenders does not imply frequent violent behaviors. The 10 percent of female dropouts who are multiple index offenders apparently are involved in serious property offenses, not violent behaviors.

Substance Use and Dealing. Again, both male and female dropouts have more serious and frequent involvement in substance use. Using the typology of drug involvement, over one in three male dropouts used serious substances over three times in the past year, nearly three times more than male students. Serious involvement among female dropouts was twice as high (22 percent) as among female students (11 percent). Although male and female dropouts differed on the severity of substance involvement, male and female students had nearly identical rates of serious involvement and non-involvement. Female dropouts were more seriously involved in substance use than either male or female students. Analyses of the rates of substance use showed similar patterns. Female dropouts more often used all types of substances than did either male or female students. Male dropouts had the highest rates of use for all types of substances.

Involvement in specific types of substances, as well as drug selling, is shown in Table 4. Comparisons of "regular" use (once a month or more often) illustrates the diversity of substances used by adolescents, and variations between students and dropouts by substance. Regular use of alcohol and marijuana is similar to earlier analyses. However, "regular" cocaine use actually is higher among females than males, and highest for female students. Regular PCP, heroin, barbiturate, tranquilizer, and inhalant use was

highest for male students. Male dropouts more often reported "regular" amphetamine use. Male students and dropouts reported similar rates of amphetamine use.

INSERT TABLE 4 HERE

Apparently, female dropouts are rarely involved in "regular" use of serious substances other than cocaine,[14] while male dropouts and both male and female students evidence variable drug use patterns. Male students are the least "regular" marijuana and cocaine users, and more often involved in several types of serious substances. The results show the typical rare involvement in heroin use among adolescents, other than the male students. The results illustrate the highly variable drug use behaviors among distinct adolescent networks (Feldman, Agar and Beschner, 1979; Schwendinger and Schwendinger, 1985). Also, they may illustrate distinctive patterns by ethnicity (Feldman, Mandel and Fields, 1985). Accordingly, the specific type of drug use may be determined by the unique social processes within parallel but independent adolescent networks, local custom or ethnicity. However, the aggregated substance use categories in Table 3 reveal patterns more familiar in other studies of adolescent substance use, and suggest the generic differences between males and females, and students and dropouts.

Finally, drug selling also differed by gender, dropout status, and type of drug sold. Unlike drug use or delinquency, male students more often sold drugs than did male dropouts, and female students sold drugs more often than did any other group. Dropouts reported infrequent sales of PCP, amphetamines, or pills, compared to students, while "regular" marijuana sales were reported by over 10 percent of all four groups. The sale of drugs other than marijuana by students but not dropouts may reflect the differences in use patterns between these two groups. Student diversity in use patterns is mirrored in their sales of several types of drugs. Perhaps students sell among themselves, and the market for diverse drugs is reflected in the selling rates. The results also suggest that dropouts do not often sell among students, which in turn may reflect their participation in different social networks.

Explanations of Dropping Out: Social and Behavioral Contributions

In this section, we determine the relative contributions of social development factors, substance use and delinquent behaviors to dropping out. Analyses examine whether dropouts and students can be distinguished by the theoretical factors derived from an integration of strain, control and learning theories. Previous analyses of delinquent involvement (Fagan, Piper and Cheng, 1987) and the joint relationship between

delinquency and substance use (Fagan, Weis and Cheng, 1988) have validated the explanatory power of this theoretical integration in discriminating among categories of groups of behaviors. Delinquency and substance abuse share theoretical explanations, and also are more prevalent among school dropouts. Accordingly, we can expect these theoretical factors to discriminate among students and dropouts. However, if the relationship between dropping out, delinquency and substance use is spurious, we would expect the marginal contributions of deviant behaviors to social explanations of school dropout to be minimal.

To determine the salient dimensions of the integrated theory, factor analyses with varimax (orthogonal) rotations were used to analyze patterns of covariation and reduce the 33 theoretical measures. Factor scores for each respondent were retained and used as explanatory variables to compare students and dropouts. The principle components analysis suggests a social ecology which shapes the perceptions of social processes and community among inner city youths, and identifies the influences of its primary institutions which nurture or compromise pro-social development.

The factor analysis yielded nine factors which explained 62.2 percent of the variance. Appendix B shows the factor loadings and explained variance. The factors show convergence of individual and social environmental influences within specific social domains. That is, factors for family, peers, and neighborhood combine in single domains measures of both attachment and commitment, as well as their perceptions of social norms for that domain. Separate factors were derived for SCHOOL INTEGRATION (attachments to school) and perceptions of school environment (SCHOOL CRIME). SOCIAL NETWORKS represents respondents' immersion in friendship networks and their participation in social activities. Other factors were derived for VICTIMIZATION, CONVENTIONAL VALUES (i.e., attitudes toward law, attitudes toward violence), and SUBSTANCE ABUSE PROBLEMS (fights, family conflict and other problems which respondents attribute to substance use).

SCHOOL CRIME, VICTIMIZATION and SUBSTANCE ABUSE PROBLEMS are the strongest factors, explaining 36.8 percent of the variance. The independent explanatory power of these factors in distinguishing between students and dropouts is shown in Table 5. Analyses of variance compared factor scores for students and dropouts, controlling for gender.

INSERT TABLE 5 HERE

Factors scores differed significantly for students and dropouts, for all factors other than VICTIMIZATION. All scores are in the expected directions, indicating the validity of the factor scores. Male dropouts again reveal their social distance from the other

groups. Their factors scores are highest for SCHOOL CRIME, SUBSTANCE ABUSE PROBLEMS, PEER DELINQUENCY, and perceptions of NEIGHBORHOOD VIOLENCE. Their scores also indicate the weakest FAMILY INTEGRATION, SCHOOL INTEGRATION, and SOCIAL NETWORKS. Female dropouts differ from female students in several areas, but in some ways appear to have stronger social bonds than the students. For example, female dropouts report lower scores for SUBSTANCE ABUSE PROBLEMS, and higher CONVENTIONAL VALUES and SCHOOL INTEGRATION (despite their dropout status). But they also were the least socially integrated and had the weakest family bonds. There were several differences between males and females within groups, which may reflect specific differences in the processes of leaving school or their involvement in other behaviors.

Similar to the findings for delinquency and drug use behaviors, female dropouts differ from males on several social factors. Distinctions between students and dropouts were shared between males and females for perceptions of NEIGHBORHOOD VIOLENCE, as well as FAMILY, SCHOOL and SOCIAL INTEGRATION. However, several differences were unique to either male or female dropouts. Males and females differed from other groups for SUBSTANCE USE PROBLEMS (males had more problems), PEER DELINQUENCY (female dropouts generally avoided such associations), and perceptions of SCHOOL CRIME (males generally perceived school as a more dangerous place). Overall, there appear to be several shared explanations of dropout between males and females, but also other explanations which are gender-specific.

The relative contributions of social development factors, delinquency and substance abuse in distinguishing students and dropouts were analyzed using logit analyses (Aldrich and Nelson, 1984). Models were constructed to determine the marginal contributions of substance use problems, delinquent involvement and severity of substance use to models based only on social development factors. This was accomplished by controlling the order of entry into the models and comparing the overall goodness-of-fit of the model as well as the standardized coefficients. The social development factors were divided into two groups -- social bonds (FAMILY and SCHOOL INTEGRATION, SOCIAL NETWORKS, CONVENTIONAL VALUES) and social environmental influences (SCHOOL CRIME, PEER DELINQUENCY, VICTIMIZATION, NEIGHBORHOOD VIOLENCE). Alcohol and drug use problems were introduced as separate dimensions, as more refined measures of the distinct contributions of each type of substance. The INDEX and DRUGTYPE variables were included as measures of the severity of delinquency or substance use.

Model I included only social bonds. Model II added social environmental influences, Model III incorporated substance use problems, and Model IV included delinquent involvement and severity of substance use. To examine gender differences,

MALE was added as a dummy variable in each model. To control for ethnicity, Model IV was repeated for Blacks and Hispanics.[15] Table 6 summarizes the results of the different models.

INSERT TABLE 6 HERE

Models I and II were significant, indicating the validity the theoretical model of school dropout for inner city adolescents. Within the two significant models, social bonds appear to be stronger predictors of school dropout than are respondents' perceptions of their social environment. Model II, which adds variables associated with perceptions of social environment, does not change the relative contributions of individual-level social bonds. Although there may be reciprocity between these two domains of social influence, the results suggest that dropout is a function of specific social bonds and not the perceived contingencies in the neighborhood milieu. FAMILY INTEGRATION and SOCIAL NETWORKS were the strongest contributors. The coefficients indicate that weak family bonds and relative social isolation are the strongest contributors to school dropout.

However, models which included problematic substance use and delinquent involvement were not significant. The change in significance when substance use and delinquency measures are included in the models suggests more complex explanations of early school leaving which may involve other relationships among these behaviors. The relatively small standardized coefficients for the four problem behaviors, together with the results of the specific model for Black youths, suggests possible interactions between the theoretical variables, ethnicity and the problem behaviors. The regression coefficients for MALE declined from -.30 to -.19 for the four models, suggesting that the explanatory models were only partially specific to males. Accordingly, although school dropout, delinquent involvement, and severity of substance use are correlated, their relationship in a linear model appears to be mediated by ethnicity. Similar to the relationship between substance use and delinquency, the three-way relationship also seems to be spurious and theoretical explanations are only partially shared.

Controlling Model IV for ethnicity, it approaches significance for Blacks (p=.077) but is not significant for Hispanics. Moreover, the standard errors increased in the models for Hispanic youths. Thus, there appear to be race-specific explanations of school dropout. The influence of SOCIAL NETWORKS was far stronger for Hispanics, as were the contributions of PEER DELINQUENCY and severity of drug involvement (DRUG TYPE). Delinquent involvement (INDEX) was a weak contributor among both Hispanics and Blacks. DRUGTYPE also had a stronger contribution for Hispanics than either of the other models, though problematic substance use had lower coefficients.[16] PROBLEMATIC DRUG and

ALCOHOL USE were stronger influences for Blacks. SCHOOL INTEGRATION is a moderate contributor to school dropout for each group, although perceptions of school crime was a stronger contributor for Blacks.

The results of the model for Hispanics indicate that factors beyond those suggested by the theoretical model contribute to school dropout among Hispanic adolescents. For Black youths, the results suggest a valid explanatory model of leaving school. Overall, weak family bonds and social isolation are strong contributors to school dropout among inner city adolescents. For Hispanics, association with delinquent peers and serious substance use also contribute to leaving school, but in a weak model. Although dropouts had weak school bonds, other social factors were stronger contributors in a linear model in explaining school dropout. Delinquent involvement had a weak association to leaving school for all youths, and the severity of substance use was a moderate contributor only for Hispanic youths.

VI. Conclusions

Although delinquency and substance use are more frequent and serious among school dropouts, knowledge of these behaviors adds little to explanations of school leaving among inner city adolescents. An integration of social control, social learning and strain theories provided a valid explanatory framework to distinguish those who leave school from students who remain. The addition of other problem behaviors added little explanatory power to these models, despite the validity of the same theoretical constructs to explain delinquency or substance use independently. Accordingly, there seems to be a spurious relationship between substance use, delinquent involvement and school dropout. Moreover, the cross-sectional design offers no clues to the sequencing of factors which contribute to school dropout nor the likely reciprocal relationships between them.

Results differed for race-specific models, suggesting that the theory has differential validity for Blacks and Hispanics. Factors beyond those tested in this study are necessary to adequately explain school dropout among Hispanic adolescents in urban areas. The results suggest that for Hispanic youths, weak family bonds and negative peer influences play a significant role in school dropout. Further research should examine comparatively the processes of peer group approval, and social network influences in distinct ethnic groups.

Weak family support systems and isolation from social networks characterized school dropouts, regardless of ethnic background. These results stand in contrast to the familiar correlates of delinquent behavior, especially the contributions of weak ties to

school, involvement with delinquent peers, victimization experiences, and perceptions of a dangerous school environment with few academic opportunities and little social or economic meaning. School factors in general were relatively weak contributors in distinguishing dropouts. Self-reports from dropouts suggested that school experiences were part of a complex set of factors which influenced their decision to leave school. The correlates of substance abuse and delinquent involvement were evident only partially in explanations of school dropout.

Nevertheless, dropouts experienced school differently from those who remained, reporting more school problems but also several types of other problems unrelated to school. However, school problems may have been influenced by problems experienced in domains other than school, particularly economic problems and other troubles at home. These results suggest that school-related problems alone do not explain school dropout. There appear to be multiple paths to leaving school as well as several types of school dropouts. These patterns are differentiated by gender, ethnicity, problems in social domains other than school and involvement in other types of problem behaviors.

The results provide both theoretical and practical directions for developing strategies to reduce and prevent school dropout. Responses to indicators of risk for dropout should anticipate a diversity of both school and other problems, and address the variety of patterns of school dropout. Substance use and delinquency may influence dropout directly for some youths, but may also be symptomatic of other social problems contributing to dropout. The explanations of school dropout span a wide range of social, personal and cultural problems which inner city youths are likely to encounter. Focusing exclusively on strengthening school ties or avoiding substance use to prevent school dropout may overlook contributing factors from social domains other than the school, particularly family supports for socialization or education, which contribute to problems in school and a weakening of school bonds. Accordingly, efforts to prevent drug use or delinquency among students will bear on some, but not all, of the correlates of leaving school. Moreover, even students not at risk for problem behaviors may leave school for other reasons.

The interaction between school-based and non-academic factors in contributing to school dropout suggests that schools should broaden their role in the lives of students outside the classroom. Social development theory states that the locus of socialization shifts from the family to the school as students enter developmental phases when dropout risks become salient (Weis and Hawkins, 1981). Yet, early experiences in the family are likely to continue influencing social bonding to the school and self control, as well as impact upon subsequent experiences in school and the likelihood that social bonds to

school and commitment to education will develop. If family supports for socialization or education are weak, or if economic problems lessen the salience of education, school bonds are likely to be attenuated, with predictable consequences for the school-based risk factors for dropping out. As schools become the center of both educational and social activities for children, they are strategically placed to intervene in the processes both within and outside the school which contribute to dropout. Just as the schools have assumed a leadership role in drug education, nutrition, after-school care, and other features of adolescent development, they logically are strategically placed to address the non-school factors which underly the decision to leave school.

Organizational strategies should encourage interaction between schools and other public and private social institutions to respond to social problems which may be related only indirectly to school concerns. For example, the introduction of family support networks within schools (e.g., parent education classes and parent support groups), and the involvement of parents in schools can foster parent perceptions of schools as part of the larger social ecology of the community (Kagan, Powell, Weissbourd, and Zigler, 1987). A major priority of schools should be to recognize their role as in-loco parents in the lives of many inner-city children. As expressed by the Chancellor of the N.Y.C. school system, "We are in a situation now where 12,000 of the 60,000 kindergartners have mothers who are still in their their teen-age years and where 40 percent of our students come from single-parent households" (Fiske, 1988). An important element in the promotion of the in-loco parentis concept is an expansion of early childhood education programs (Berreuta-Clement, Schweinhart, Barnett, Epstein, and Weikert, 1984).

In addition, strategies which provide economic incentives for students to complete school, address the economic tensions of inner city families which diminish the immediate importance of school, and attend to the individual circumstances which lead to poor achievement or non-school problems, are necessary to respond to the diverse patterns of school dropout. Scholarship programs may respond to students with adequate skills, but other programs are necessary for those whose career opportunities do not include further academic work. These strategies suggest approaches such as mentoring of students through teams of school personnel (counselors or case managers) and community members whose involvement sustains throughout the first school years when early predictors of dropout often emerge. Also, specific strategies for Hispanic students, and other culturally distinct groups, are indicated to allow schools to address the unique factors which influence dropouts for these groups.

Research to examine the social processes of dropping out is needed both to determine the sequence of events leading to dropout decisions, and to test strategies to

address the causes of leaving school. Specific research designs are to address ethnic and gender differences. Successful efforts to reduce dropout should be reinterpreted in the theoretical terms of this study to advance the design of interventions which bridge school and other social contributions to leaving school. Longitudinal research with early childhood, primary grade, and pre-adolescent cohorts can determine how academic and non-school factors contribute to school dropout. In turn, empirical knowledge can inform strategies to reduce the pressures to leave school while increasing its value and salience for inner city adolescents.

Notes

1. Of the high school freshman in Fall 1981 (class of 1986), 30.7 percent dropped out prior to reaching their senior year in the Fall 1985.

2. This is in stark contrast to a recent statement by ASPIRA in response to a New York City Board of Education report identifying the dropout rate as highest for Hispanic Teen-agers. According to an ASPIRA spokesman, "Hispanic students were having such a difficult time because of several factors, including lower teacher expectations for the students, more segregation of Hispanic students from the rest of the student body, not enough bilingual teachers and guidance counselors, and rules that pushed students out of the bilingual program before they are ready."

3. The Violent Juvenile Offender Research and Development Program was initiated in 1980 to develop prevention programs for violent delinquency in "high-crime" urban neighborhoods, and treatment methods for chronically violent juvenile offenders. Both components utilized variants on integrated theory as described by Elliott, Ageton and Canter (1979) and Hawkins and Weis (1985). For a complete description of the program origins and design, see: Background Paper for the Violent Juvenile Offender Research and Development Program--Parts I and II (Washington: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention).

4. A-level metropolitan areas have populations greater than 1,000,000; b-level areas have populations of 250,000-1,000,000. The cities and neighborhoods were: Bronx NY (University Heights), New Orleans LA (Treme), Dallas TX (West Dallas), Chicago IL (Wicker Park), Los Angeles CA (South Central), and San Diego CA (University Heights).

5. To determine whether controls were needed for inter-city differences in explanatory or dependent measures, regression analyses were conducted for each of the six city samples. The analyses compared models for two alternate dependent measures with a subset of six predictor variables chosen based on their known correlations with delinquency and their validity in other research (Fagan, Piper and Moore, 1986; Elliott, Huizinga and Ageton, 1985). The results revealed little variation in the overall explanatory power of the models across sites, the predictor variables entered each of the equations, and the same three variables had the highest standardized coefficients in each model. Accordingly, survey data from the six cities were aggregated for analyses.

6. Explained variance for delinquent involvement was 20.2 percent for the in-school sample and 20.1 percent for the after-school samples. For substance abuse involvement, explained variance was 9.9 percent for the in-school sample and 11.1 percent for after-school sample.

7. For example, removal of pipes from an abandoned building is not considered illegal activity in several urban areas, and is viewed as a legitimate economic opportunity. These adjustments resulted in the refinement and specification of items regarding weapon use, specification of victims (i.e., teacher, student, other adult), and elimination of items such as "ran away from home" or "made obscene phone calls.

8. For example, items on family violence were deemed by school administrators to be "sensitive" or "intrusive" and were eliminated. In their place, items were developed to measure respondents' perception of violence among "neighbors' families." Still others were eliminated due to their reference to "excessive" violence or self incrimination for capital offenses: homicide and sexual assault

9. These procedures are particularly important for high rate offenders due to the psychometric properties of open-ended versus categorical response sets, making them particularly well suited for theoretical tests

10. Item and scale construction are described in Fagan, Piper and Moore (1986)

11. The categories include:

- Multiple-index offenders--those reporting at least three index offenses (felony assault, robbery or felony theft) within the past year.

- Serious delinquents--those reporting one or two index offenses (felony assault, robbery or felony theft) in the past year; or, three or more incidents in the past year of extortion or weapon offenses.

- Minor delinquents--those reporting no index offenses and one or two incidents in the past year of extortion or weapon offenses; or four or more incidents in the past year of minor theft, minor assault, vandalism, or illegal activities (buying or selling stolen goods, selling drugs).

- Petty delinquents--those reporting no index offenses and three or fewer incidents in the past year of minor theft, minor assault, vandalism, or illegal activities (buying or selling stolen goods, selling drugs).

Obviously, definitions and criteria of "severity" of behavior contribute significantly to perceptions of the concentration of minor and serious juvenile crime within a sample. The use of this scheme is not intended to reify these categories. Rather, it is intended as a heuristic to illustrate empirically the relationship between substance use and delinquent behaviors.

12. However, the correlation between "pregnancy" and "needing a job" was insignificant, undermining the obvious interpretation of a link between dropping out of school because of pregnancy and related economic reasons.

13. This was a composite index of specific school-based crimes: theft at school, assaults on teachers, and vandalism against -- school property.

14. Several researchers have defined "serious" substances to include most illicit drugs or prescription drugs other than marijuana or alcohol. See, for example, Elliott, Huizinga and Ageton (1985); Johnson et al. (1986); and, Clayton (1986).

15. Since there were only 35 whites in the sample, analyses were completed only for Blacks and Hispanics.

16. This suggests that Hispanic youths may not define their substance use as problematic, despite involvement in more serious substances or chronic use.

References

Aldrich. J. and Nelson, F.
1984 *Linear Probability, Logit and Probit Models*, Newbury, CA.: Sage Publications,

Anderson, N. and Rodriquez, O.
1984 "Conceptual Issues in the Study of Hispanic Delinquency," *Research Bulletin*, Hispanic Research Center, Fordham University, 7: 2-5.

Anglin, M.D., and Speckart, G.
1988 "Narcotics Use and Crime: A Multisample, Multimethod Analysis," *Criminology* 26(2): 197-234.

Bachman, J., Green, S., and Wirtane, I.
1971 Dropping Out-Problem or Symptom?, Youth in Transition Series, Ann Arbor, MI: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan.

_____, O'Malley, P., and Johnston, J.
1978 Adolescence to Adulthood-Change and Stability in the Lives of Young Men, Ann Arbor, MI: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan.

Berreuta-Clement, J., Schweinhart, L., Barnett, W., Epstein, A., and Weikert, D.
1984 "The Effects of the Perry Preschool Program on Youths Through Age 19," Monographs of the High Scope Educational Research Foundation, No. 8, Ypsilanti, MI.: High Scope Press

Biernacki, P. and Waldorf, O.
1981 "Snowball Sampling: Problems and Techniques of Chain Referral Sampling," *Sociological Methods and Research*, 10: 131-163.

Bronfenbrenner, U.
1979 *The Ecology of Human Development*, Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press.

Burgess, R. and Akers, R.
1966 "A Differential Association-Reinforcement Theory of Criminal Behavior," *Social Problems*, 14: 128-147.

Canter, R. J.
1982 "Sex Differences in Self-Reported Delinquency," *Criminology* 20: 373-394.

Carmody, D.
1988 "Hispanic Dropout Rates Puzzling," *New York Times*, p. B12, August 17.

Cernkovich, S., Giordano, P., and Pugh, M.
1985 "Chronic Offenders: The Missing Cases in Self-Reported Delinquency Research," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 76: 684-704.

Citizens Policy Center
1984 School Dropout in California Cities. Oakland CA: Citizens Policy Center.

Clayton, Richard
1986 "Drug Use among Children and Adolescents" (unpublished) Washington, D.C. Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

Conger, R.
1979 "Juvenile Delinquency: Behavior Restraints or Behavior Facilitation?, in Hirschi, T. and Gottfredson, M., *Understanding Crime*, Newbury Park, CA.: Sage Publications.

Combs, J. and Cooley, W.
1968 "Dropouts in High School and After High School," *American Education Research Journal*, 5: 343-363.

Dunford, F. and Elliott, D.
1984 "Identifying Career Offenders Using Self-Reported Data," *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 21: 57-86.

Ekstrom, R., Goertz, M., Pollack, J., and Rock, D.
1987 "Who Drops Out of High School and Why? Findings from a National Study," In Natriello, G.(ed.), *School Dropouts: Patterns and Policies*, New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University.

Elliott, D. and Voss, H.
1974 *Delinquency and Dropout*, Lexington, MA.: D.C. Heath & Company.

_____, Ageton, S., and Canter, R.
1979 "An Integrated Perspective on Delinquent Behavior," *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 16: 3-27.

_____, Knowles, B., and Canter, R.
1981 The Epidemiology of Delinquent Behavior and Drug Use Among American Adolescents, National Youth Survey Report, No. 14. Boulder, CO: Behavioral Research Institute.

_____, and Huizinga, D.
1984 The Relationship Between Delinquent Behavior and ADM Problems, National Youth Survey Report No. 28. Boulder, CO.: Behavioral Research Institute.

_____, Huizinga, D., and Ageton, S.
1985 *Explaining Delinquency and Drug Use*, Newbury Park, CA.: Sage Publications.

Fagan, J., Hansen, K., and Jang, M.
1983 "Profile of Chronically Violent Delinquents: An Empirical Test of an Integrated Theory of Violent Delinquency," in Kleugel, J. (ed.), *Evaluating Juvenile Justice*, Newbury Park, CA.: Sage Publications.

_____, and Jones, S.J.
1984 "Toward a Theoretical Model for Intervention with Violent Juvenile Offenders," in Mathias, R., DeMuro, P., and Allinson, R.(eds.), *Violent Juvenile Offenders: An Anthology*, San Francisco, CA.: National Council on Crime and Delinquency.

_____, Piper, E., and Moore, M.
1986 "Violent Delinquents and Urban Youth," *Criminology* 24: 439-466.

_____, Piper, E., and Cheng, Y.
1987 "Contributions of Victimization to Delinquency in Inner Cities," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 78: 586-613.

_____, Weis, J., and Cheng, Y.,
1987 "Delinquency and Substance Abuse Among Inner-city Students," *Journal of Drug Issues*, in press.

Farrington, D., Gallagher, B., Morley, L., Ledger, R. & West, D.
1986 "Unemployment, School Leaving, and Crime," *British Journal of Criminology*, 26: 335-356.

Feldman, H., Agar, M., and Beschner, G.(eds).
1979 *Angel Dust: An Ethnographic Study of PCP Users*, Lexington, MA.: D.C. Heath and Company.

_____, Mandel, J., and Fields, A.
1985 "In the Neighborhood: A Strategy for Delivering Early Intervention Services to Young Drug Users in Their Natural Environments," in Friedman, A. and Beschner, G.(eds.), *Treatment Services for Adolescent Substance Abusers*, Rockville, MD: National Institute on Drug Abuse, pp.112-128.

Fiske, E.
1988 "Dropout Rates Higher for Hispanic Students," *New York Times*, August 22, B2.

Gottfredson, G.
1987 "American Education: American Delinquency," *Today's Delinquent*, 6: 5-70.

Gutierrez, M. and Montalvo, B.
1984 Dropping Out and Delinquency Among Puerto Rican Youths: A Longitudinal Study, Philadelphia: ASPIRA, Inc.

Hammack, F.
1987 "Large School Systems' Dropout Reports: An Analysis of Definitions, Procedures, and Findings," in Natriello, G.(ed.), *School Dropouts: Patterns and Policies*, New York: Columbia University Teachers College Press, pp.20-37.

Hawkins, J. and Lam, T.,
1987 "Teacher Practices, Social Development, and Delinquency," in Burchard, J. and Burchard, S. (eds.), *Prevention of Delinquent Behavior*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, pp.241-274.

Hindelang, M., Hirschi, T., and Weis, J.G.,
1981 *Measuring Delinquency*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Hirschi, T.,
1969 *Causes of Delinquency*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Jensen, G. and Brownfield, D.
1983 "Parents and Drugs: Specifying the Consequences of Attachment," *Criminology*, 25: 543-554.

Jessor, R. and Jessor, S.
1977 *Problem Behavior and Psychosocial Development: A Longitudinal Study of Youth*, New York: Academic Press.

Johnson, R., Marcos, A., and Bahr, S.
1987 "The Role of Peers in the Complex Etiology of Adolescent Drug Use," *Criminology*, 25: 323-340.

Johnston, L., O'Malley, P., and Bachman, J.
1985 Use of Licit and Illicit Drugs by American High School Students: 1975-1984, Washington, DC: National Institute on Drug Abuse.

Kagan, S., Powell, D. Weissbourd, B., and Zigler, E. (eds.)
1987 *America's Family Support Programs*, New Haven: Yale University Press

Kandel, D., Kessler, R.C., and Margulies, R.S.
1978 "Antecedents of Adolescent Initiation into Stages of Drug Use: A Developmental Analysis." *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 7: 13-40.

_____, Simcha-Fagan, O., and Davies, M.
1986 "Risk Factors for Delinquency and Illicit Drug Use Among Adolescents to Young Adulthood," *Journal of Drug Issues*, 16: 270-289.

Kaplan, H., Smith, S., and Robins, C.
1984 "Pathways to Adolescent Drug Use: Self Derogation, Peer Influences, Weakening of Social Controls, and Early Substance Use," *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 25: 270-289.

Kelly, D. and Pink, W.
1971 "School Commitment and School Careers," *Youth and Society*, 3: 224-235.

Laub, J. and Hindelang, M.
1981 Juvenile Criminal Behavior in Urban, Suburban, and Rural Areas: The Effects of Neighborhood Characteristics, Washington, DC: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

Lewis, D., Shanok, S., Pincus, J., and Glasser, G.
1979 "Violent Juvenile Delinquents," *Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry*, 18: 307-322.

Loeber, R., and Dishion, T.
1983 "Early Predictors of Male Delinquency: A Review." *Psychological Bulletin*, 93: 68-99.

McDill, E., Natriello, G. and Pallas, A.
1987 "A Population at Risk: Potential Consequences of Tougher School Standards for Student Dropouts," in Natriello, G.(ed.), *School Dropouts: Patterns and Policies*, New York: Columbia University Teachers College Press, pp.106-147.

New York City Board of Education
1988 Chancellor's Report. Brooklyn: New York City Board of Education.

Orfield, G.
1988 "School Segragation in the 1980s." Unpublished. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Patterson, G. and Dishion, T.,
1985 "Contributions of Families and Peers to Delinquency," *Criminology*, 23: 63-80.

Peng, S.
1983 High School Dropouts: Descriptive Information from High School and Beyond, Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics.

Phillips, J. and Kelly, D.
1979 "School Failure and Delinquency: Which Causes Which?," *Criminology* 17: 194-207.

Rumberger, R.
1983 "Dropping Out of School: The Influences of Race, Sex, and Family Background," *American Educational Research Journal*, 20: 199-220.

Rutter, M., and Giller, H.
1983 *Juvenile Delinquency: Trends and Perspectives.* New York: Penguin Books.

Sampson, R.
1987 "Urban Black Violence: The Effects of Male Joblessness and Family Disruption," *American Journal of Sociology*, 93: 348-382.

Schwendinger, H., and Schwendinger, J.
1985 *Adolescent Subcultures and Delinquency*, New York: Praeger Publishers.

Select Committee on Narcotic Abuse and Control
1986 Drugs and Dropouts, Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Singer, S.
1986 "Victims of Serious Violence and Their Criminal Behavior: Subcultural Theory and Beyond," *Violence and Victims*, 1: 61-70.

Steinberg, L., Blinde, L., and Chan, K.
1984 "Dropping Out Among Language Minority Youth," *Review of Educational Research*, 54: 113-132.

Sullivan, M.
1987 *Youth Crime and Unemployment in Three Urban Neighborhoods.* New York: Cornell University Press (in press).

Task Force on the New York State Dropout Problem
1988 Dropping Out of School in New York State; The Invisible People of Color, Albany, N.Y. State University of New York

Thornberry, T. and Christenson, R.
1984 "Unemployment and Criminal Involvement: An Investigation of Reciprocal Causal Structures," *American Sociological Review*, 49: 398-411.

_____, Moore, M. and Christensen, R.
1985 "The Effect of Dropping Out of High School on Subsequent Criminal Behavior," *Criminology*, 23: 3-18.

_____,
1987 "Toward an Interactional Theory of Delinquency," *Criminology*, 25: 863-892.

U.S. Department of Commerce,
1979 Lifetime Earnings Estimates for Men and Women in the United States: 1979, Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Wehlage, G. and Rutter, R.
1987 "Dropping Out: How Much Do Schools Contribute to the Problem?," in Natriello, G.(ed.), *School Dropouts: Patterns and Policies*, New York: Columbia University Teachers College Press.

Weis, J. and Hawkins, J.D.
1981 Preventing Delinquency: The Social Development Approach, Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

_____ and Sederstrom, J.
1981 The Prevention of Serious Delinquency, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

West, D.J., and Farrington, D.P.
1973 *Who Becomes Delinquent?* London: Heinemann.

White, H., Johnson, V., and Garrison, C.
1985 "The Drug-Crime Nexus Among Adolescents and Their Peers," *Deviant Behavior*, 6: 183-204.

_____, Pandina, R., and LaBouvie, E.
1987 "Longitudinal Predictors of Serious Substance Use and Delinquency," *Criminology* 25: 715-740.

Wiatrowski, M., Griswold, D., and Roberts, M.
1981 "Social Control Theory and Delinquency," *American Sociological Review*, 46: 525-541.

Wolfgang, M., Figlio, R., and Sellin, T.
1972 *Delinquency in a Birth Cohort*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

_____, Thornberry, T., and Figlio, R.
1987 *From Boy to Man, From Delinquency to Crime*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Table 1

Reasons for Dropping Out of School by Race and Sex

Reasons[a]	Males			Females		
	Black	Hispanic	White	Black	Hispanic	White
N	176	52	15	100	28	5
Lost Interest	54.0	44.0	60.0	53.0	53.0	40.0
Too Much Homework	29.5	32.6	26.6	36.0	17.8	0
Getting Along With Teachers	23.2	21.1	33.3	19.0	10.7	0
Health Problems	29.5	36.5	33.3	27.0	39.2	20.0
Pregnancy	7.9	17.3	33.3	31.0	7.1	20.0
Trouble at Home	31.2	26.9	13.3	26.0	35.7	0
Need a Job	57.9	57.6	40.0	52.0	50.0	20.0
Trouble With Students	23.2	13.4	13.3	28.0	7.1	0
Drug or Alcohol Problems	2.8	1.9	0	7.0	3.5	20.0
Other Reasons	12.5	15.3	13.3	13.0	7.1	20.0
Suspended (percent)	27.2	26.9	46.6	31.0	21.4	0
Expelled (percent)	10.7	1.9	20.0	9.0	7.1	0

a. Multiple responses were requested. Percent reporting "yes" to each item indicated.

Table 2

Perceptions of School Experiences by
School Status and Race (Scale Scores)

	Students		Dropouts			Significance[a]		
					R^2			Status x
	Males	Females	Males	Females		Status	Sex	Sex
Educational Experiences								
School Integration	4.70	4.98	2.16	3.50	.178	a	a	a
Aspiration vs. Reality	.32	.36	1.18	1.48	.251	a	c	c
Teacher Relationships	2.31	2.56	1.27	2.07	.035	a	a	c
Incidence of School Crime								
Drug or Alcohol Use	1.32	1.35	1.42	.99	.001	ns	ns	a
Drug Sales	.39	.38	.59	.32	.009	a	c	a
Extortion	1.15	1.03	1.47	.97	.009	b	a	b
Theft	.55	.58	.66	.55	.002	c	ns	c
Weapons	.53	.50	.62	.45	.004	ns	c	b
Violence	.74	.78	.81	.86	.001	ns	ns	ns
Vandalism	.42	.41	.53	.44	.002	c	ns	ns
Self-Reported School Behaviors								
Alcohol Problems in School	1.06	1.05	1.13	1.08	.003	c	ns	ns
Drug Problems in School	1.08	1.06	1.24	1.19	.015	a	ns	ns
Attend School High or Drunk	1.60	1.52	1.85	1.84	.047	a	b	ns
Commit Crimes in School	5.85	4.71	19.21	6.29	.023	a	b	a
Attend School Regularly	4.73	4.76	3.18	3.88	.275	a	a	a
Respect Teachers	2.75	2.84	2.22	2.63	.108	a	a	a
"Try Hard" in School	2.74	2.80	2.08	2.53	.133	a	a	a

a. R^2 =Multiple classification analysis
Significance: a=p<.001, b=<.01, c=p<.01

Table 3

Delinquent And Substance Abuse
Involvement By School Status and Sex

	Students		Dropouts	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
N	993	1076	255	143
DELINQUENCY				
Severity (%)				
Petty	54.6	71.6	39.2	63.6
Minor	14.9	10.7	7.4	12.5
Serious	14.4	9.3	11.3	13.9
Multiple Index	16.1	8.4	42.1	10.0
Frequency (Rate)				
Violent	5.95	4.55	15.64	1.15
Property	9.68	7.13	25.86	4.66
Total	55.55	42.39	175.16	50.69
SUBSTANCE USE				
Severity (%)				
Non-User	62.0	67.0	37.6	44.3
Alcohol	4.7	4.8	5.0	7.0
Marijuana	20.5	17.2	20.8	26.7
Cocaine, Heroin, PCP	12.8	11.0	36.6	22.0
Frequency (Rate)				
Alcohol	8.42	6.80	32.83	11.29
Marijuana	7.37	5.88	25.27	13.20
Cocaine, Heroin, PCP	5.29	4.71	19.34	6.51
Total	21.06	17.38	77.45	31.00

a. Significant differences ($p<.001$) obtained for all four measures, by both school status and sex (percent: chi-square; rate: ANOVA).

Table 4

Percent Reporting "Regular" Drug Use By
School Status and Sex (1985 Survey Only)*

"How Often in the Past Year Did You Use..."	Students		Dropouts		Significance**	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Status	Sex
Hard Liquor	38.6	30.6	52.3	42.9	a	a
Marijuana	13.6	22.4	40.9	30.6	a	a
Psychadelics	22.7	22.4	6.8	6.1	a	a
Tranquilizers	15.9	16.3	6.8	8.2	a	a
Amphetamines	15.9	2.3	18.4	0	a	a
Barbituates	20.5	22.4	4.5	6.1	c	ns
Cocaine	13.6	22.4	18.2	20.4	a	c
PCP	20.5	16.3	11.4	8.2	a	c
Heroin	20.5	8.2	4.5	2.0	a	a
Inhalants	18.2	0	14.3	0	ns	a
"How Often in the Past Year Did You Sell.."						
PCP, Speed, Pills	9.1	14.3	2.3	0	ns	a
Marijuana	13.6	14.3	13.6	10.2	a	a

* Once a month or more often

** Significance: p(Chi square) a=p<.001, b=p<.01, c=p<.05

Table 5

Social Development Factor Scores
By School Status and Sex

Social Development Factor	Students		Dropouts		Significance*	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Status	Sex
School Crime	-.03	-.02	.24	-.09	b	ns
Substance Abuse Problems	-.12	-.15	1.00	.09	a	a
Victimization	.22	-.17	.01	-.23	ns	a
Peer Delinquency	.11	-.15	.26	-.11	b	a
Family Integration	.08	.24	-.78	-.89	a	a
Neighborhood Violence	-.10	.00	.30	.15	a	ns
Conventional Values	-.15	.07	.12	.30	a	a
School Integration	.01	.09	-.54	.22	a	a
Social Networks	.12	.22	-.66	-1.25	a	c

* Significance: a=p<.001, b=p<.01, c=p<.05, d=p<.10

Table 6

Logit Analysis of Dropout Status by Social Factors
Controlling for Race (Standard Errors in Parentheses)

	Model					
Social Factors	I	II	III	IV	Blacks	Hispanics
Constant	3.90 (.05)	3.81 (.06)	3.60 (.07)	3.46 (.08)	3.54 (.09)	3.16 (.25)
Male	-.30 (.07)	-.27 (.08)	-.19 (.08)	-.20 (.09)	-.20 (.09)	-.20 (.22)
Social Bonds						
Family Integration	-.59 (.04)	-.63 (.04)	-.68 (.04)	-.68 (.04)	-.70 (.05)	-.68 (.12)
Conventional Values	.16 (.03)	.17 (.03)	.20 (.04)	.23 (.04)	.21 (.05)	.25 (.10)
School Integration	-.25 (.04)	-.28 (.04)	-.32 (.04)	-.31 (.04)	-.29 (.05)	.35 (.12)
Social Networks	-.63 (.04)	-.67 (.04)	-.68 (.04)	-.68 (.04)	-.61 (.05)	-1.29 (.17)
Social Environment						
School Crime	--	.13 (.03)	.10 (.04)	.09 (.04)	.10 (.05)	-.10 (.11)
Neighborhood Violence	--	.26 (.04)	.27 (.04)	.24 (.04)	.24 (.05)	.25 (.11)
Peer Delinquency	--	.08 (.03)	-.01 (.04)	-.07 (.04)	-.11 (.05)	.24 (.10)
Victimization	--	-.05 (.04)	-.09 (.04)	-.11 (.04)	-.12 (.05)	-.12 (.10)
Problem Substance Use						
Alcohol Problems	--	--	.15 (.05)	.12 (.05)	.14 (.06)	.02 (.13)
Drug Problems	--	--	.19 (.04)	.16 (.04)	.13 (.05)	.05 (.12)
Delinquency and Drug Use						
Index	--	--	--	.12 (.04)	.09 (.05)	.09 (.11)
Drug Type	--	--	--	.05 (.04)	.03 (.05)	.28 (.11)
Chi square	2974	3193	1895	1932	1829	457
df	2388	2384	2382	2380	1744	469
p	.000	.000	.914	.788	.077	.652

APPENDIX A

Demographic and Socio-Economic Characteristics
of Student and Dropout Samples

Demographic and Socio-Economic Characteristics	Total Sample	Students		Dropouts	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
N	2467	993	1076	255	143
Age					
14 or less	7.2	8.5	7.5	3.6	21.6
15	19.1	21.4	21.3	12.1	8.3
16	27.2	28.9	31.5	17.2	12.5
17 or more	46.5	41.2	39.7	67.1	74.1
Race					
White	2.0	1.2	1.8	6.0	3.5
Black	74.0	72.1	76.0	72.6	75.7
Hispanic	20.4	21.6	18.9	21.4	20.0
Other	3.6	5.1	3.3	0.0	0.8
Last Grade in School[a]					
8th or less	6.8	1.7	1.4	30.1	52.6
9	13.0	16.2	10.6	13.1	7.6
10	25.3	24.8	27.4	21.5	17.8
11	26.5	25.1	29.1	26.5	14.4
12 or some college	28.4	32.2	31.5	8.8	7.6
Living with:					
Birth Parents	27.1	30.0	27.2	19.6	20.2
Parent/Stepparent	9.7	10.4	8.6	13.3	6.2
Single Parent	54.4	51.6	56.4	56.8	54.5
Other Adult/Independent	8.8	8.0	7.8	10.3	19.1
Parents' Employment					
None	26.8	24.3	26.0	35.7	33.1
Mother Only	14.8	12.6	15.0	20.0	19.5
Father Only	14.2	16.0	13.9	9.4	12.5
Both Parents	44.2	47.1	45.1	34.9	34.9
Parents' Education					
Less than H.S. Graduate	37.0	34.3	33.1	58.0	48.9
H.S. Graduate	25.9	26.6	26.0	20.1	30.0
College/Graduate	37.1	39.1	40.9	21.9	21.1

a. Some dropouts were recruited from GED Programs, and had completed high school.

APPENDIX B

ROTATED COEFFICIENTS FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT SCALES

Social Development Scales	FACTOR 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
School Integration	-0.029	-0.31	-0.014	-0.166	-0.188	-0.075	0.132	0.569	0.253
Educational Aspiration/Reality	-0.001	0.125	-0.068	0.033	-0.238	0.181	0.328	0.31	-0.509
Teacher-Student Relationship	0.02	-0.01	0.041	-0.005	0.114	-0.046	-0.16	0.746	0.12
Students Attend School High	0.666	0.019	-0.009	0.042	0.029	0.222	0.119	-0.03	0.228
Students Sell Drugs in School	0.644	0.073	-0.034	0.081	0.02	0.176	-0.013	-0.03	0.072
Extortion by Students	0.818	0.071	0.037	0.03	-0.004	-0.052	-0.046	-0.031	0.02
Theft by Students	0.663	-0.031	-0.006	-0.01	0.025	0.024	0.115	-0.019	0.023
Students Carry Weapon	0.692	0.035	0.073	0.041	-0.021	0.126	0.062	-0.051	0.138
Violence by Students	0.758	-0.012	0.077	0.057	0.04	-0.121	-0.141	0.098	-0.15
Vandalism by Students	0.706	0.063	0.012	-0.035	-0.003	-0.147	-0.145	0.065	-0.163
Alcohol Problems	0.004	0.727	0.108	0.221	0.045	-0.037	-0.138	0.031	-0.039
Alcohol Behaviors	0.077	0.854	0.019	0.063	-0.088	-0.001	-0.032	-0.13	0.074
Drug Use Problems	0.029	0.756	0.085	0.266	-0.026	0.069	-0.045	0.024	-0.069
Drug Use Behavior	0.092	0.838	-0.024	0.084	-0.125	0.055	0.004	-0.147	0.052
Social Involvement	0.076	0.113	-0.024	-0.116	0.02	0.014	0.109	0.344	0.598
Peer JJS Involvement	0.02	0.197	0.159	0.535	-0.075	0.119	-0.293	-0.031	-0.06
Gang Involvement	0.267	0.109	0.044	0.27	0.025	0.345	-0.031	-0.028	0.367
Peer SDR: Arson	0.014	0.135	0.03	0.69	-0.037	-0.038	0.001	0.01	0.02
Peer SDR: Theft	0.063	0.16	0.111	0.849	-0.035	0.074	-0.043	-0.061	-0.059
Peer SDR: Violence	0.078	0.123	0.152	0.842	-0.039	0.097	0.008	-0.052	-0.001
Locus of Control	-0.009	-0.027	0.031	-0.012	0.107	0.06	0.755	0.038	-0.037
Attitude Toward Law	-0.003	-0.149	0.051	-0.171	0.171	-0.055	0.667	0.073	0.095
Social Skills	-0.034	-0.244	0.057	0.012	0.425	0.019	0.238	0.227	0.388
You Victim: Violence	0.042	0.107	0.823	0.161	-0.026	0.118	0.003	-0.029	0.022
You Victim: Property	0.033	0.004	0.837	0.092	0.101	0.202	0.039	0.034	0.003
You Victim	0.043	0.058	0.959	0.142	0.05	0.189	0.027	0.007	0.013
Neighbor Victim: Violence	0.063	0.038	0.294	0.1	0.069	0.826	0.025	0.014	0.001
Neighbor Victim: Property	0.064	0.009	0.256	0.052	0.12	0.839	0.016	0.015	-0.036
Personal Values	0.034	-0.244	0.057	-0.012	0.425	0.019	0.238	0.227	0.388
Father Attachment	-0.025	-0.001	0.039	0.008	0.774	0.008	-0.098	0.132	-0.124
Father Authority	0.017	0.019	0.015	-0.07	0.783	0.063	0.125	0.039	-0.095
Mother Attachment	-0.009	-0.136	0.042	-0.003	0.709	0.011	0.064	0.117	0.242
Mother Authority	0.054	-0.05	0.01	-0.091	0.622	0.122	0.239	-0.057	0.208
Eigenvalue	5.08	3.88	3.18	1.97	1.57	1.4	1.29	1.1	1.03
Percent of Variance	15.4	11.8	9.6	6	4.8	4.2	3.9	3.3	3.1
Cumulative Variance	15.4	27.2	36.8	42.8	47.5	51.8	55.7	59	62.2

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF DRUG USE AND DRUG DEALING AMONG URBAN GANGS

Jeffrey Fagan
John Jay College of Criminal Justice

July, 1988

Address all correspondence to:

Jeffrey Fagan
Criminal Justice Center
John Jay College of Criminal Justice
444 West 56th Street
New York NY 10019

This research was supported by Grants 85-MU-CX-C001 and 87-JN-CX-0012, from the U.S. Department of Justice. The views expressed are those of the authors and do not represent the opinions or policies of the Department of Justice. The authors are grateful to Alex Cohen and Romualdo Arriola for their assistance in data analysis, and to the residents and volunteers in the four neighborhood organizations whose dedication made possible the Urban Youth Survey. James Deslonde was Co-Principal Investigator for this research.

ABSTRACT

Youth gangs are an important part of the urban landscape. Gang members always have been more likely to be involved in both collective and individual violence, and in recent years, in drug use and drug dealing. Involvement in drug dealing has recently been associated with increased violence among gangs. However, variation in affiliation, organization and cohesion among gangs suggests that there also will be variation in drug-crime relationships among gang members. Analyses of (N=151) interviews with gang members in three cities yielded four types of gangs. Gang types were consistent across cities. All gang types had high involvement in drug use, but drug dealing varied. Drug use occurred both jointly and independently with crime and violence, but gang crime did not occur independently of drug use. Drug dealing occurred among gangs with both high and low involvement in crime. Involvement in cocaine, opiates and PCP occurred among both violent and nonviolent gangs, as well as among gangs with different involvement in drug dealing. Drug dealing also varied even when gang violence was high. The results suggest that the drug-crime relationship is skewed and spurious for gang members, similar to relationships among general urban youths. Social organization was slightly more formal and cohesion moderately stronger among violent gangs, independent of drug use and dealing. Violence is not an inevitable consequence of involvement in drug use or dealing for gang members. Research and policy should emphasize reciprocal relationships between formal and informal social controls, opportunity structures and the social functions of the gang in its milieu to explain and control gang violence.

I. Introduction

Youth gangs have been part of the American urban landscape for nearly two centuries. In the modern era, Thrasher's (1936) classic study found more than 1,300 gangs in Chicago alone in the 1920's. Chicano and Mexican gangs have persisted in most Latino communities in California since the large waves of immigration began after the Mexican revolution. Gang formations have continued to be a cultural institution in Latino communities, from the "Pachucos" of the World War II era who were involved in the infamous "Zoot Suit" riots, to the "Vato Loco's" who inhabit the streetcorners of East Los Angeles and several other southwestern cities. In Black communities, gangs have long established their presence in American cities (Suttles, 1968). Thrasher's classic study noted the consistency of gang formation and social processes in a spectrum of immigrant groups.

The extensive literature on gangs has too often distorted popular and social scientific understanding of gang phenomena. Early studies (Thrasher, 1936; Shaw and McKay, 1943; Bogardus, 1943; Whyte, 1943) cited pervasive social disorganization in immigrant or minority communities as one underlying source of gangs. Yet subsequent research uncovered persistent evidence of gang formations in social areas which were socially cohesive and well integrated into mainstream economical and cultural institutions (Dolan and Finney, 1984), including "stoners," "punks," White Supremacist groups, motorcycle gangs, and crime prevention gangs such as the Guardian Angels.

The terms "gang" and "violence" often appear together in both the popular and social scientific literature. Gang research has emphasized violence by gang members, despite empirical evidence that violence is prevalent but infrequent among gang members, and has different origins and subjective meanings across social and situational contexts (Horowitz, 1983; Klein and Maxson, 1987; Vigil, 1988; Hagedorn, 1988). The "Ayres Report" on gangs by the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department in the 1940's, for example, argued that Chicano youth gang violence was due to Aztec blood lust (cited by McWilliams, 1949). Yablonsky (1963) found violence to be the driving organizational force and normative behavioral fabric for street gangs. Yet Miller (1975) found that while violence did occur in and among gangs, it was perhaps the least prevalent of all major gang-specific behaviors. Keiser's (1969) ethnographic research on the Vice Lords of Chicago reports that "gang-bangs" or street fights between gangs were the most infrequent occurrence of Vice Lord gang life. More recently, Moore (1978) in East Los Angeles and Horowitz (1983) in Chicago found that gang violence among Latino gangs served a variety

of specific functions for gangs, ranging from organizational maintenance to social control.

In this decade, gang violence increasingly has been linked to drug use and especially drug dealing (Klein, 1985; Goldstein, 1985; Mieczkowski, 1986). The relationship between drug use and serious youth crime is consistently strong under a variety of sampling and measurement conditions. But gangs are diverse, complex, and shifting organizations whose members participate variably in crime and drug use (Klein and Maxson, 1987; Hagedorn, 1988; Spergel, forthcoming). Accordingly, this study examines the extent and nature of the interaction between drug use, dealing, and violence among gang members in large cities.

Dimensions of Gang Social Organization

Definitions

Research on gangs reflects a lack of consensus on the basic definitions of gangs and their descriptive features. Klein (1971) found gang membership to be a transitory phenomenon which atrophied as gang members approached adulthood, though the upper age range of gang membership may have increased in recent years (Klein and Maxson, 1988). Moore's (1978) more recent study of the same communities found, to the contrary, that gang membership and identity often extend well into adulthood and that gang activities continue in prisons and through illicit drug trade long after members fade from view as streetcorner youths. But the length of affiliation with gangs is likely to reflect both the motivation for initial affiliation with the gang, the cohesiveness of the particular gang, and specific social or personal circumstances which may influence an individual's lifestyle decisions during the transition to adulthood.

Moreover, the definition of "gang crime" varies across jurisdictions, depending on the interests of the definer. The distinctions between youth groups and gangs have varied over the years, as have the distinctions between gang crimes and nongang delinquent acts. For example, law enforcement agencies disagree on whether any crime committed by a "known" gang member should be labelled as a gang crime, regardless of the specific context or meaning the event. Definitions of gangs in the 1950s and 1960s reflected etiological interests as well as the attributes of the social areas where gangs were most visible. Klein and Maxson (1987) suggest that the definition has evolved in consort with changes in social policy on how to control gangs, specifically emphasizing violent behaviors and more recently, drug involvement. Spergel (forthcoming) cites extraordinary

variability in gang-related homicides in Chicago and Los Angeles which he suggests are attributable to the criteria for labelling an event as "gang related." Obviously, such definitional issues will bear on methodological decisions in gang research, on empirical knowledge of gangs, and accordingly on the resulting theories and policies.

Perspectives on Gang Affiliation and Violence

There also is a lack of consensus on theoretical perspectives which explain gang affiliation and both collective gang behavior and individual behavioral variation within gangs. Gang studies often fail to distinguish these two features of gang life, and until recently assumed homogeneity of motivation and behaviors among gang members. Two theoretical perspectives have dominated prior gang research: subcultural explanations, and labelling theories. Subcultural theory has evolved primarily from the study of Hispanic gangs and gang activity among immigrant groups (Klein and Maxson, 1987). Subcultural theories, particularly related to violence (Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967), also are prominent in the gang literature. Erlanger (1979) suggests that these perspectives can be integrated if we view violence as a cultural response to social and economic isolation from conventional society. Labelling theories suggest that gangs form and cohere based on conflicts with the police and other institutions of authority which defined their behavior as disruptive and criminal (Klein and Maxson, 1987; Hagedorn, 1988). While subcultural theory has received considerable attention in the delinquency and gang literatures, labelling perspectives on gang formation rarely have been studied.

Beyond the initial decision to affiliate with a gang, other perspectives are necessary to explain the social organization of gangs and the maintenance of gang culture.

Territoriality plays an important role in explaining gang formation. Gangs historically been associated with the protection of territory. In fact, territoriality is critical in explaining gang affiliation as well as gang behaviors. Criminologists have almost universally regarded turf wars between rival gang members as a central form of social pathology associated with youth gangs. For example, Thrasher (1936) noted the attachment of gangs to local areas which they regarded as their own. In Los Angeles, neighborhood, or "'hood," has replaced the term "gang" and is used interchangeably by Black gangs to refer to gang members and gang territory (Baker, 1988). Moore (1978) noted similar dual uses of the term "barrio" among Chicano gangs.

Beating the System. Short and Strodtbeck (1965) and Cloward and Ohlin (1960) first reported that gang members perceive fewer legitimate economic opportunities than

non-gang members. Gang subcultures frequently define the "system" as oppressive and biased, and they often take some pride in hustling and other criminal skills which allow them to create illegitimate opportunities and to "beat the system." However, conventional success in mainstream cultures is greeted with often conflicting responses. Some view it as a betrayal of the gang or community, and a rejection of the principles of commitment to the collective well being of its members (Vigil, 1988). Yet Moore (1978) reports that among Chicano gangs, great pride often is felt by and about members who succeed within the Anglo system. Obviously, within gangs, there is heterogeneity regarding the gang members' perspectives on conventional values and commitments to gang *coda*. Conventional values seem to exist along side deviant ones.

Gang Ideology. Keiser (1969) reports that the "brotherhood ideology" of Chicago's Vice Lords requires members to offer their physical support to all other members in any conflict situation. While such bonds and obligations can facilitate gang fights and other violent acts, they also provide important avenues for social immersion and reinforcement. Several studies of gang participation suggest that such interactions with gang members strengthen bonds to gangs through intimate friendship, solidarity, loyalty, and a sense of shared fate. Moreover, the same sense of brotherhood obligates members to share scarce resources (e.g., wine, housing, transportation) equally with all other members regardless of their individual contributions. Similarly, the concepts of courage ("having a heart" among the Vice Lords, or being unafraid and willing accept the full consequences of one's actions) is prized in more contexts simply than gang fights. Although "heart ideology" has undoubtedly contributed to their willingness to fight or otherwise engage in criminal activities, it simultaneously expresses similar values of responsibility, maturity, and bravery, which also appear in similar, conventional contexts, particularly the military. Once again, what in one context is a conforming and admirable quality is in the gang context a trait supportive of violence.

The Social Organization of Gangs. The diversity of gang structures and social processes is well established in the literature. Researchers have attempted to classify gangs by structural features such as race or behavioral orientation (e.g., motorcycle gangs, "soccer hooligans"), as well as by organizational characteristics. For example, Thrasher (1936) classified gangs by their cohesion (diffuse or solidified), as well as their criminal orientation (conventional or "criminalized"). Miller (1981) differentiated between "law violating youth groups" and gangs, as well as among types of gangs (e.g., "fighting gangs," "turf gangs").

Thrasher (1936) noted the changing nature of gang social organization, with

leadership and defining processes constantly in flux. Klein and Maxson (1987) note the transience of gangs, and their generally weak cohesiveness. They cite the "spontaneous" nature of gang formation, the relatively short periods of their existence, and their quick disintegration. Some gang researchers have noted the similarity of gangs to adult criminal organizations (Shaw and McKay, 1943), while others note their reflections of extended family structures (Moore, 1978). Gang structures include both horizontal "alliances" with several affiliated divisions of gangs, and vertical or "area" gangs whose membership is intergenerational and intrafamilial or otherwise "ingrown," and is concentrated within one ethnic group and neighborhood.

The horizontal alliances mimic other confederations or multi-group criminal organizations. They tend to be concerned more with income-generating activities (Spergel, forthcoming). Vertical gangs often reflect the ethnic, neighborhood and family structures described by Moore (1978). Their activities are characterized by what typically is thought of as "gang crime," primarily territorial conflicts. Klein and Maxson (1987) suggest that vertical gangs probably account for most gang crime. Gangs appear to be either independent or solitary structures, not unlike the myriad adolescent social networks described by Schwendinger and Schwendinger (1985) whose processes and behaviors are parallel but independent. For example, Baker (1988) notes the frequent violence within the numerous Crips gangs in Los Angeles. When affiliations among gangs occur, they tend to be loose confederations which interact through separate leaderships.

The attitudinal and behavioral properties of gangs may vary significantly, with differentiation by frequency and severity of violence, age stratification, participation and roles of women, cohesiveness and discipline, and the centralization and authority of leadership. Also, it is conceivable that different motives for participation and involvement suggest varying participation in violence and other gang activities. Gang members may have individual careers within gangs which entail stages (from initiation to ascendance in the gang leadership structure to desistance), identity, negotiation, commitment and participation or involvement. If so, then both an individual's commitment to a gang and the gang's propensity toward crime and violence should be seen as contingent on situational factors. Troublesome aspects of gang behavior are not determined or inevitable features of gang membership, but rather are contingent outcomes of both internal gang processes and community influences.

The complexities of gang organization and social processes have not been studied in relation to the collective and individual behaviors of gang members. In particular, there has been little systematic research on the influence of gang organization, social

processes, and cohesion on gangs' collective involvement in delinquency and drug use/dealing. Though criminal activities of gangs have dominated gang research since the earliest studies, the existence of conventional values alongside deviant ones and diversity of roles or affiliation suggest new dimensions for the conceptualization of gang organization and process.

Gangs as Social Control. These gang beliefs and behaviors illustrate the duality of gang social processes. While territoriality and gang ideology may be considered problematic, they mirror conventional social processes and in fact may be socially valuable features of gang life. Matza (1964) long ago demonstrated that the norms of delinquent subcultures include most of those of conventional cultures, and that indeed, the two are not nearly as distinct as both popular and social-scientific stereotypes would suggest. Gang norms include, for example, strong respect for family, community elders, and those youths who avoid gang life (Moore, 1978; Horowitz, 1983, 1987). Popular conceptions of gang culture simplify and perhaps overstate its violent dimensions at the expense of important emphases on family and community dimensions, and its role in the attainment of competence, dignity and respect. Moreover, the violent acts which do occur are most often not "senseless," unprovoked attacks on weak victims or strangers. Most violence occurs between peers or, when strangers are victims, it is the result of violence between gangs or peers. Violence often is a means to maintain honor, protect family and community or territory, and to reinforce identity and social status, much like the violence between tribes and nations.

These neglected, often positive features of gang culture, may actually mitigate against violence and crime outside the gang context. Most gangs are perceived as menacing threats to social institutions. Yet the protective and order-maintenance functions of gangs also serve important social control functions. For example, Black (1983) cited the ironic form of crime as "self-help" in establishing and maintaining social controls within socially and economically isolated communities.

Drug Involvement of Gangs and Gang Members

There is great diversity among gangs and gang members in the nature of affiliation, the social organization of gangs, and the roles of delinquency and violence in gang membership and gang activities (Bookin-Weiner and Horowitz, 1983; Spergel, 1984; Dolan and Finney, 1984; Klein and Maxson, 1987). Drug use also is a diverse phenomenon in gangs, as are the contributions of drug use to gang violence (Strumphauzer, Veloz and

Aiken, 1981). There is ample evidence that the rates and severity of substance use and involvement in drug trafficking may be higher in gangs.

Drug Selling. Whether to finance their own drug use, as an avenue to gang affiliation or social status, or as a means of income, the calculus of drug sales for inner city youth is apparent. Spergel (1984) and Klein and Maxson (1987) both suggest that gang members may be involved more often in drug trafficking than other adolescents. In the 1970's, most gang studies suggested that gang involvement in drug trafficking was minor, and confined generally to "soft" drugs such as marijuana. Notable exceptions were Spergel (1966) and Moore (1978), who found close connections between gang membership and both drug use and selling.

Recent evidence suggests that gang members may have greater involvement in drug distribution than other adolescent youths, increasingly for "hard" drugs. Analyses of gang and non-gang homicides (Maxson, Gordon and Klein, 1985), and gang involvement in rock cocaine trafficking (Klein and Maxson, 1988), suggest that Los Angeles gangs increasingly are involved in drug selling. Mieczowski (1986) reported on adolescent heroin sellers in Detroit, while Cooper (1987) described Detroit youth gangs organized around crack cocaine distributions. In several Chicago neighborhoods, gangs control drug sales to juveniles (Chicago Tribune, 1984; Spergel, 1984). Dolan and Finney (1984), among many, clearly show the economic lure of drug sales for gang members, relative to other economic opportunities. Klein (1985) suggests that the sudden emergence of "rock" or "crack" cocaine provided unique economic opportunities which Los Angeles gangs quickly took advantage of.

Drug selling offers several roles for gang members. Moore (1978) showed how the drug trade was an entry-level job for adolescents at the early stage of gang affiliation. For younger adolescents, minor roles in drug trade may be entry level jobs, while older gang members have more "important" roles in directing drug trafficking activities. For others, drug involvement may be both job and one form of social "glue" which binds them to the gang in pursuit of drugs and the money to finance drug use. For some gangs, drug distribution provides economic support for other gang activities, while in other gangs, drug selling provides income for individual gang members.

Drug Use Among Gang Members. Drug use among gang members has been noted consistently in gang research. However, until recently, there has been little distinction made regarding patterns of drug use among gangs and the relationship between drug use, gang cohesion, and gang activities. Stumphauzer et al. (1981) noted that patterns of drug use varied within and among Los Angeles gangs. Dolan and Finney (1984) and Campbell

(1984) illustrated the commonplace role of drug use in gang life among both males and females. Vigil (1988) described a variety of meanings and roles of drug use among Chicano gang members in East Los Angeles, from social "lubricant" during times of collective relaxation to facilitator for observance of ritual behaviors such as *locura* acts of aggression or violence. In these contexts, drug use provided a means of social status and acceptance as well as mutual reinforcement, and was a natural social process of gang life.[1]

Feldman, Mandel and Fields (1985) observed three distinct styles among Latino gangs in San Francisco, styles which in part were determined by the role and meaning of drug use in gang social processes. The "fighting" style included males in gangs who were antagonistic toward other gangs. They aggressively responded to any perceived move into their turf by other gangs or any outsider. Drug use and selling were evident among these gangs, but was only situationally related to their violence through territoriality. Violence occurred in many contexts unrelated to drug use or selling, and was an important part of the social process of gang affiliation. The "entrepreneurial" style consisted of youths who were concerned with attaining social status by means of money and the things money can buy. They very often were active in small scale illegal sales of marijuana, pill amphetamines, and PCP. While fighting and violence were part of this style, it was again situationally motivated by concerns over money and/or drugs. The last style was evident in gangs whose activities were social and recreational, with little or no evidence of fighting or violence.

Drug use also is disallowed in some youth gangs, regardless of the gang's involvement in drug selling. Chin (1986) found that drug use was rejected entirely by Chinese gangs in New York City, despite their involvement in heroin distribution. They used violence to protect their business territories from encroachment by other gangs, and to coerce their victims to participate in the gang's ventures. These gangs were heirarchically organized with strict codes and violent consequences for rule violations by members. Cooper (1987) described organizations of adolescent crack sellers in Detroit who prohibited drug use among its members. Leaders in these groups were wary of threats to efficiency and security if street level sellers were high, and to the potential for cooptation of its business goals if one of its members became involved with consumption of their goods. The gangs were organized around income, and saw drug use as detracting from the selling skills and productivity of its members. Expulsion from the gang resulted from breaking this rule, but other violent reprisals also were possible.

Mieczkowski (1986) studied adolescent heroin runners (street dealers) in heroin dealing organizations, also in Detroit, and found a rejection of heroin use by members of

the runner organization. However, these gangs accepted recreational use of other drugs by members, primarily marijuana and cocaine in social situations not involved with dealing. They particularly found danger in being high on any drug while on the job, and superiors in the gang enforced the prohibition against heroin use while working by denying runners their consignment and, accordingly, shutting off their source of income. Violence was occasionally used by superiors (crew bosses) to enforce discipline. Gang members looked down on heroin users, their customers, despite having tried it at some point in their lives, which in part explains the general ideology of disapproval of heroin use.

The discovery of diverse patterns of criminality and drug involvement among gang members and gangs suggests that there are factors in the social organization of gangs and processes of affiliation and cohesion which either encourage or discourage these patterns. Such diversity also exists among general adolescent populations (Schwendinger and Schwendinger, 1985; Fagan, Weis and Cheng, in press), and suggests that gangs reflect patterns of affiliation and collective behavior similar to other adolescent subcultures. Accordingly, violence and drug involvement, which historically have been taken as defining features of gangs, may more accurately be conceptualized as contingent behaviors which vary by factors that have not been given adequate theoretical or empirical attention.

Despite this diversity, there has been little research to examine whether patterns of drug involvement among gangs are influenced by the social organization of gangs, their cohesion or affiliation patterns, or their involvement in other non-drug crimes. That gangs have specific social structures which vary by gang and locale has been well validated (see Klein and Maxson, 1987, for a review of this literature). Their diversity extends also to the coexistence of conventional and deviant values. The ethnographic literature on gang involvement strongly suggests that gangs have a natural social structure, are well stratified, and appear to undergo developmental sequences not unlike other social groups or organizations. Moreover, the reasons for gang affiliation are quite varied, ranging from social status to protection from other gangs to economic opportunity (Anderson and Rodriguez, 1984). These motivations in turn may lead to quite different levels of involvement in drug use or sales and criminal activities.

Methodological Issues in the Study of Gangs

The study of gangs is complicated by several methodological concerns. The

definitional issue, discussed earlier, together with the large number of gangs in urban areas such as Los Angeles and Chicago, presents sampling problems and challenges the comparability of various studies. Not only the does the definition of gang membership vary, but the determination of a "gang-related offense" is a subjective process and likely to vary by city and agency (Klein and Maxson, 1987). The traditional gang, with its unstable membership, shifting leadership, and fluid norms, presents sampling difficulties. Short and Strodtbeck (1965) conclude that it is difficult if not impossible to develop probability samples of gangs and gang members due to the constant change in gang membership and identity.

Gang research generally has utilized two strategies: ethnographic studies of gangs and gang members, and analysis of official records from law enforcement and other social agency on gangs, gang activity and gang members. There have been few efforts to systematically study gang members using survey methods with random or theoretical samples. The nature of the gang poses some difficulties, as well. They tend to conceal their own activities or not be aware of the activities of others. To overcome suspicion about researchers and problems of access to the concealed aspects of gang life, ethnographic research has been the dominant mode of gang research.

The measurement and theoretical advances of the past decade in delinquency research (Hindelang, Hirschi and Weis, 1981; Elliott, Huizinga and Ageton, 1985) have not been applied to gang research. Klein and Maxson (1987), among others, noted the paradigm shift in the past decade from etiological research on gang formation and behaviors to crime control and suppression, and blamed it for the limited advances in theory and knowledge about gangs since the late 1970s. One consequence has been the inability to answer important and basic questions on the gang formation, or to compare gang and nongang youths, gangs of different behavioral orientations, or the variation in gang processes and behaviors in different social contexts.

The Present Study

The present study examines patterns of individual and collective crime, drug use and drug dealing among gangs and gang members in three cities. First, variation among gangs in their patterns of drug involvement and other criminal activity are determined empirically from a theoretical sample of gangs and gang members. Second, whether social organizational features and subcultural processes within gangs mediate these patterns, is analyzed from gang members' self-reports on gang structures and processes.

The relationship between drug use and youth crime is well established in several studies of adolescents (Elliott, Huizinga and Ageton, 1985; Johnson et al., 1985), while Goldstein (1985) has described the different ways that drug involvement contributes to violence. Among gang members, there is a positive correlation between group crimes and violence (Tracy and Piper, 1985; Klein and Maxson, 1987). However, there also appear to be discrete behavioral patterns within gangs on these dimensions (Dolan and Finney, 1984; Feldman, Mandel and Fields, 1985). Also, Fagan, Weis and Cheng (in press) show that drug use occurs among both violent and nondelinquent youths, while violence occurs in the presence or absence of drug involvement. Accordingly, it seems that while drug involvement contributes to patterns of violence, the relationship is contingent on unique factors in what appear to be parallel but independent subcultures.

The diversity of gang structures and criminal activities in earlier studies suggests that drug involvement also will vary in its contributions to other criminal activity, particularly violence. Whether organizational features of gangs influences their drug involvement has not been studied. The extent to which violence and drug use among gang members and gangs are spuriously related or reflect the natural variation in gang structures or their subcultures, has been neglected in theory and empirical research. Gang research has illustrated the relationship between gang violence and social organizational factors such as cohesion and heirarchy. This suggests that distinct subcultural processes or differences in the social organizations of youth networks may mediate the occurence and severity of these behaviors within discrete social networks of youths (Schwendinger and Schwendinger, 1985).

The interaction between drug involvement, gang violence and other crime, and gang social organization are examined in this study. If drug involvement is spuriously associated with violence among inner city adolescents,2 then variation also can be expected among gang members from similar neighborhoods where gangs are active. That is, crime and violence among gangs should occur independent of substance use. However, if violence and gang cohesion are associated, then the co-occurence of drug use and violence will be dependent on the social organization of the gang. That is, since violence and drug use are associated, as are gang cohesion and violence, then serious drug involvement among gangs should occur for those gangs with more formal structures and processes.

II. Methods

Surveys of gang members were conducted simultaneously in "high crime" neighborhoods in three cities in 1984-5. Respondents ranged in age from 13-20, were predominantly minority, and only males. The locales were selected as representative of "high crime" neighborhoods in "high crime" cities. Sampling procedures involved special efforts to reach gang members, with purposive samples designed to represent the known gang populations within these cities. By studying gangs in inner city areas, we avoid confounding with ecological factors and instead examine the behaviors and processes of interest in areas with the highest concentrations of the correlates of these behaviors: poverty, social disorganization, weak formal and informal controls, and generally weaker social and economic institutions.

Samples

The survey of gang members in inner cities was part of a research program on violent juvenile crime.[3] Samples were constructed in three inner city, high crime neighborhoods[4], from A- and B-level SMSA's[5]. The cities and neighborhoods had extensive gang problems: South Central Los Angeles, the University Heights section of San Diego, and the Woodlawn neighborhood on the west side of Chicago. Gang problems in all three cities have been extensively documented (Spergel, 1984; Maxson and Klein, 1983; Pennell and Curtis, 1982).

The sampling procedure employed purposive, theoretical "snowball" samples of gang members (Biernacki and Waldorf, 1981). This is an optimal choice, given the difficulty of identifying a gang universe from which to randomly sample. The design called for approximately 50 gang interviews per site.[6] The sampling strategy selected was flexible in targeting, locating, and reaching the known universe of gangs within the three communities. Because the dimensions of the gang population were not fully known, this strategy was selected to ensure that no known or emerging gang types were overrepresented. Because part of the "snowball" process involves a nomination procedure where respondents suggest other respondents and also identify other possible "chains" of respondents, the likelihood of exclusion of specific gang types was minimized.

Accordingly, the strategy aimed for a broad representation of gangs and gang members in each neighborhood. Chains were initiated through intermediary organizations -- neighborhood-based organizations and agencies -- to recruit gang members. These

included gang intervention programs, social service organizations, or neighborhood advocacy groups. These types of organizations were chosen because of their detailed knowledge of local gang scenes, their neutrality with respect to intra-gang conflicts or conflicts with law enforcement, and their access to a variety of gang members with different types of gang affiliation and activity. Specific chains or "snowballs" of known dropout groups were initiated for gangs who were active in each area, and who met the definition used by Klein (1971):

> "...we shall use the term [street gang] to refer to any denotable...group [of adolescents or young adults] who (a) are generally perceived as a distinct aggregation by others in the neighborhood, (b) recognize themselves as a denotable group (almost invariably with a group name), and (c) have ben involved in a sufficient number of [illegal] incidents to call forth a consistent negative response from neighborhood residents and/or enforcement agencies (Klein, 1971)."

This definition restricted the eligible gangs and members to those involved in illegal activities. While most gang members and even members of street corner groups or youth groups are involved in some minor delinquency (including drug use), this leaves out the unknown percentage of youth groups or gangs who do not commit illegal acts. Accordingly, the Guardian Angels, an anti-crime gang, would not meet this definition, nor would a Chinese secret society (Chin, 1986), but some college fraternities would qualify.

Once chains were initiated in each city, two recruitment processes were used. First, gang members were asked to refer others within their gang, or gangs which they knew but which were not actively in conflict with them. A short screening interview, administered by volunteers from the intermediary organization, determined their eligibility. Second, referrals were asked from other social agencies which routinely dealt with gang members.

Recruitment often involved referrals within chains, where respondents were encouraged to refer "people from your gang." Sampling activities and selections were closely monitored. Decisions on management of the chains were made by the research staff in consultation with staff from the intermediary agencies. The chains were managed to ensure that no specific gang was overrepresented, and to incorporate any new (unanticipated) gangs which were discovered during the nomination part of the interview. Care was taken to avoid inadvertant contact between rival gangs, mainly through scheduling and use of a facility on "neutral" turf for contacts.

The management of the gang chains also allowed us to stratify by age and sex.

Both factors are important, especially age, in their correlation to specific roles within gangs (Klein and Maxson, 1987). Because of the heirarchical structure of the gangs in these areas, we did not use the usual chain referral nomination procedure of "someone just like you." Instead, we solicited gang members as groups, with special attention to the age-sex stratification.

Survey Procedures

The surveys were conducted in groups of 10 youths in the facilities of the intermediary organizations, with several scheduled time slots to accommodate working youth and those with other commitments. The surveys were voluntary and anonymous. To avoid repeats, proctors from the community groups, familiar with neighborhood youth, monitored attendance and selected out repeaters. Together with the researchers, they kept informal logs of the number of participants from each gang in the surveys.

In each case, the surveys were described as voluntary and anonymous. Neither names nor identifiers were requested anywhere on the survey forms. Participants received a stipend for their participation. Stipends included coupons from local record stores or T-shirts or caps (donated in connection with the prevention efforts, see fn. 3). These nominal stipends were both incentives as well as compensation for the hour (plus any travel time) for participation. Stipends were handed out at the completion of the session.

Survey items were read aloud by research staff while respondents followed along on the survey form. The proctors also held up large displays of the response sets for sequences of items (e.g., delinquency or drug use items). In addition, two to three volunteers per session from local neighborhood organizations were stationed in the rear of the rooms to answer respondents' questions and provide other assistance as needed. Care was taken that volunteers neither knew nor recognized the gang members. The volunteers were selected to be older than the gang members (usually, over 25 years of age), and were residents of the neighborhood. Both male and female volunteers were used.

Measures and Constructs

The survey included demographic items, self-reported delinquency and drug use/sales measures, items on respondents' perceptions of how many members of their gang participated in various types of gang activities (both legal and illegal), their involvement

in school or work, and their family life. Questions on family approval for or participation in the gangs also were posed. Gang members were asked about gang structures and roles, gang activities and organization (e.g., recruitment, enforcement of gang discipline), and about other gangs in the area (e.g., colors, turf, conflicts, activities). Items on gang relations with law enforcement and other social agencies also were asked.

Self-reported delinquency (SRD) and gang delinquency items included questions on specific acts which reflected "high consensus" deviance (Thio, 1983), and include primarily acts which harm, injure, or do damage. A 27-item scale included behaviors which, with the exception of homicide and sexual assault, included all UCR Part I offenses and any Part II offenses. The categorical response set for self-reports ranged from "never" to "several times a year" for the past year. Similar to other studies (e.g., Elliott, Huizinga and Ageton, 1985), the recall period was 12 months, from "Christmas a year ago to this past Christmas." Such anchoring techniques allow respondents to reconstruct behaviors for even trivial events. For reports of gang activities, responses asked only for how many members of the gang were involved (from "none" to "all or nearly all"). Scales were constructed from aggregations of homogeneous behaviors to consistent with UCR categories, using a procedure similar to Elliott, Huizinga and Ageton (1985). The scale scores were derived by summing the reported incidence scores for non-overlapping items within scales.

The questions and response sets for alcohol and drug use items followed the same format and response sets as the SRD items. Drug sales was included as a SRD item. Questions about personal use of substances were included in separate items. Two alcohol items (beer or wine; whiskey, gin, vodka, or other liquor) and seven illicit drugs (marijuana, cocaine, heroin or opiates, hallucinogens, amphetamines or "speed," barbiturates or "downers," and inhalants or "glue sniffing") were asked. Individual substances were retained to capture what ethnographic data suggest are distinct drug use patterns by youth network and locale (Feldman, Agar and Beschner, 1979).

Gang structure and process measures were specified for several key conceptual areas, including recruitment and initiation processes, enforcement of gang hierarchy and leadership forms, and the range of legitimate and illegitimate activities by gang types. "Natural social controls" within gangs also were described, including various forms of leadership, assessments of their strength (from the unanimity of gang members' responses), and the diversity vs. concentration of leadership.

Validity and Reliability. Overall, these measures have strong explanatory power in both cross-sectional and longitudinal studies of serious delinquency, under a variety of

sampling conditions, including samples of male institutionalized and general population male adolescents and self-identified gang membersfrom inner city neighborhoods (Fagan, Piper and Moore, 1986), while Fagan, Piper and Cheng (1987) validated the items with both males and females in the same inner city neighborhoods. Validity analyses specifically examined the relationship between the SRD and drug use scales and internal predictors.[7]

Reliability analyses included calculation of consistency measures (Cronbach's Alpha) for each scale, and again for theoretically important subgroups: males and females, students and dropouts, and site-specific calculations. In general, reliabilities were at least adequate (Alpha=.70) or excellent (Alpha=.90) for the gang samples, both within and across cities.

III. Results

Incidence and Prevalence of Delinquency and Drug Use by Gang Members

The concentration on violence in gang research over the past decade has produced little information on the range of nonviolent and nongang crimes by gang members. Thinking about gang violence has changed since the early gang research of Thrasher (1936) and Shaw and McKay (1931) in the Wickersham report. Spergel (forthcoming) surveyed gang research published as late as 1976, which suggested that gang violence was infrequent and generally confined to fighting within the gang or against other gangs. There also is little specific information on drug involvement, both sale and use, among gang members (Klein, 1985). For example, Spergel's (forthcoming) comprehensive analysis of empirical research on gangs rarely mentions drug selling.

More recent studies suggest that violence has increased among gang members in the past decade. Recent studies have focused on gang violence in a small number of cities, and cite homicide statistics as indicators of the serious increase in violence (Klein and Maxson, 1987; Miller, 1975, Spergel, 1984; cf., Vigil, 1988; Hagedorn, 1988; Horowitz, 1983). Gang involvement in drug trafficking was feared to result in an increase in gang violence, though there still is no empirical evidence to confirm these fears. The primacy and severity of gang violence appear to vary by city, ethnic group and setting. However, there has been little use of survey methods to determine crime patterns among gang members. Participant observation has been the dominant model for the study of gang

members. Though critical in explaining the social processes and contexts of gang life, these studies leave open the extent and patterns of delinquency among gang members.

Table 1 shows the percentage of gangs involved in each type of behavior in the past year, the percentage of gang members reporting any involvement in that behavior (prevalence) during that time, and the expected frequency of those behaviors for each gang member reporting at least one act in this interval (incidence). Reports on collective behaviors of gangs were based on reports by individual members about their gangs. Because gang members were carefully sampled with quotas for maximum participation from any individual gang, redundancy was minimized.[8]

INSERT TABLE 1 HERE

Prevalence. The generally high rates for both collective and individual acts suggest widespread gang and individual member involvement in both drug use and non-drug crimes. There also is general concordance in respondents' reports of the prevalence of gang involvement in each crime type and their own involvement. Both violent and nonviolent crimes are common behaviors within gangs and among their members. Felony theft (theft of property or goods worth more than $100) was the most prevalent crime type for both individual and collective behaviors. Drug selling also was common among these gangs, but were not the most prevalent behaviors among their members. Alcohol and marijuana use were the most prevalent drugs used collectively and individually. The rates for other drugs also are quite high. Heroin use, generally infrequent among adolescents, was used in over 40 percent of the gangs, and by a similar percentage of gang members.

The individual prevalence rates for both drug use and delinquency were higher for gang youths than for general adolescent populations in inner cities. Fagan, Piper and Moore (1986) reported that 23.6 percent of the males in a general adolescent sample were involved in felony theft, and 13.9 percent were involved in robbery in the past year. The prevalence of felony robbery, marijuana use, and felony theft, and drug sales among gang members generally are closer to prevalence rates for institutionalized juvenile offenders than other inner city male adolescents (Fagan, Piper and Moore, 1986; Cernkovich, Giordano and Pugh, 1986). For example, among the institutionalized delinquents in the Fagan, Piper and Moore (1986) sample, 81.6 percent were involved in felony theft and 58.1 percent in robbery.

Frequency. Table 1 shows that the frequency of participation declines for all individual acts. For most behavior categories, "regular" involvement was reported by half

the percentage who reported any involvement. "Frequent" involvement also declined, though at a slower rate than the decline from "any" to "regular" involvement. The decline in "regular" and "frequent" participation was highest for these violent crimes and drug sales, and these were the least frequent self-reported behaviors. Overall, the decline in frequency is greater for non-drug behaviors than for drug use. The rates of frequent marijuana and alcohol use declined more slowly than did other drugs. Frequent cocaine and heroin use were reported by small percentages, though these reports still exceed most general adolescent population estimates.

Violent acts and drug sales were the least frequent behaviors among the gang members. While there are few violent offenders among gang members, nearly twice as many are chronic violent offenders than in other adolescent samples (e.g., Wolfgang et al., 1972). Frequent violence appears to be a marginal activity, even among gang members. The involvement of a relatively small percentage of gang members in "frequent" violence, together with higher participation in frequent nonviolent crime, suggests that gang violence still is a relatively infrequent behavior for gang members. But the differences with nonviolent crimes are not so great as to discount its importance among gang behaviors.

Finally, table 1 affords a comparison of frequent crime participation between gang and nongang youths. The percentages involved in "frequent" serious delinquency exceed those reported using similar scales in both the National Youth Survey (Elliott, Huizinga and Ageton, 1985) and general inner city adolescent samples (Fagan, Piper and Moore, 1986), where between five and nine percent "multiple index offenders" reporting three or more serious or violent behaviors in the past year. For virtually all crime types and drug categories, frequent participation by gang members exceeds similar involvement among nongang youths. In fact, the percent reporting three or more incidents was higher in virtually all categories than among samples of institutionalized male delinquents (Fagan, Piper and Moore, 1986; Cernkovich, Giordano and Pugh, 1986).

Typologies of Drug Involvement among Gangs

Typologies were developed to classify gangs on the naturally occurring patterns of their drug use, selling, and other criminal behaviors. Gang members were asked to report simply whether gang members were involved in each of the drug use and delinquency behaviors comprising the scales. Each offense-specific scale includes several items, so that scale scores varied by the number of behaviors which members reported for their gang.[9]

There are two choices for identifying dimensions for basing typologies--either accept the original behavioral measures, or use transformed scores. The latter promises to reconcile anomalies within the raw data and root out sampling artifacts. But transformations, such as log linear models or factor analytic procedures, have their own implicit biases and assumptions which may introduce new meaning into the distributions.[10] Accordingly, the raw scores were used to avoid biases inherent in the transformation procedures. This selection seemed appropriate given the categorical response sets, and the unique sample construction procedures.

Typology development used the 11 offense-specific scales and the 10 drug use scales described earlier. A non-heirarchical cluster analytic solution was used to identify patterns of drug use, drug sales and criminality of the gangs as reported by the gang members. Euclidean distance (Ward's centroid method) was used as the similarity measure (Aldenfelder and Blashfield, 1984).[11] The validation procedures rely on interpretation plus the face validity and internal consistency of the aggregate behavioral characteristics of each group and the overall sample classification. The results are shown in Table 2.

INSERT TABLES 2 AND 2A HERE

Table 2 shows cluster membership and the mean scale scores for each of the cluster dimensions. ANOVA tests for all scale scores were significant ($p<.001$). The results are summarized in Table 2a -- with relative degrees of gang involvement for each dimension of gang behavior. Four gang types were identified:

- Type 1 (28%) is involved in few delinquent activities and little drug use other than alcohol and marijuana use. They also have low involvement in drug sales (most likely to finance their own drug use). This is basically a social group whose patterns of use reflect general adolescent experimentation in drug use and delinquency. We may call them a "social gang."

- Type 2 (7%) is similarly a very low prevalence group other than several types of drug use, drug sales, and one type of delinquency -- vandalism, which most likely reflects graffiti rather than property destruction. Their drug sales, in the absence of other forms of crime, most likely is supportive of their own drug use. Their extensive involvement in drug use suggests that their gang cohesion is based on mutually supportive patterns of drug use and dealing to support group and individual drug use. We might call this simply a "party gang" who otherwise manifest several of the subcultural and organizational features of gangs.

- Type 3 (37%) is a group of serious delinquents, with extensive involvement in several types of delinquent acts, both serious and nonserious, and violent and property offenses. Their involvement in drug sales, however, is far lower than the "stoners," as is their use of serious substances (cocaine, heroin, amphetamines

and PCP). The absence of extensive involvement in serious drug use and drug sales suggests that drugs play a secondary role in their criminal activities, and is most likely recreational or social in nature (Vigil, 1988). This group resembles serious delinquents identified in other studies of inner city adolescents, and we might call them, simply, "serious delinquents."

- Type 4 (28%) differs only from the third group in their extensive involvement in serious drug use and higher rates of drug sales. We might speculate that their criminality and drug sales are linked, and rather than social drug use, their drug use and selling reflects a systemic relationship with other criminal acts. As we shall see later on, this is a highly cohesive and organized type, and probably at the highest risk for becoming a more formal criminal organization. At this stage, they appear more to be an incipient criminal organization. We might call them "young organizations."

The typology suggests that the complex relationship between substance use and dealing and delinquency among inner city adolescents (Fagan, Weis and Cheng, forthcoming) also applies to gang members. Drug use is a defining feature of gang life only for gangs who otherwise are involved marginally in nondrug crimes. Drug selling is evident among both violent and nonviolent gangs, and also is absent among one gang type which is very violent. But the "party gangs" suggest that drug selling is not a determinant of violence among gangs, though it may be systemically related to gang violence. Violence occurs among gangs with significantly different involvement in serious substances. But involvement in serious drug use occurs together with higher rates of drug selling.

It is misleading to assume that gang involvement in drug use and dealing determines violence -- we observed strong involvement in violence among gangs with both strong and weak involvement in drug selling and also with different levels of involvement with serious substances. One must look to factors other than drug involvement to explain violence among gang members. On the other hand, Table 2 shows that a strong relationship exists between violence, serious crime, drug use and drug dealing among gang members, just as there is among other inner city adolescents. The relationship between gang violence, other crimes, drug selling and drug use is complex. Violence occurs in gangs with distinctly different drug use patterns, but rarely among gangs that also are not involved with drug use and drug selling.

Variation in gang violence by city is well established (Spergel, forthcoming). Whether this represents variation in ecological and community stability factors, historical processes of gang formation, police responses, ethnic differences and acculturation processes, or other factors is unknown. It is possible that the gang types simply represented city differences or ethnic variation within the sample. Accordingly, gang

types were compared by city to determine if the types were sampling artifacts or valid representations of natural variation among gangs in different ecological settings.

INSERT TABLE 2B HERE

Table 2b shows that differences were evident, though not statistically significant (p=.078). There was higher representation of "social" gangs in City B, and lower representation of "young organizations" also in City B. There may have been some validity problems in City B, due to the complex role of the intermediary group and its perceived independence of the police, leading to underreporting of gang involvement in violent acts. Nevertheless, the consistency between Cities A (a large midwestern industrial city) and C (a mid-size western city), together with the minor differences with City B (a large western city) for types 2-4, support the generalizeability of the gang types across disparate urban settings. Also, ethnic differences seem to be unrelated to gang type. Respondents in Cities A and B primarily were Black gang members, while in City C, they were Chicano and Asian gangs. The similarity in distributions between cities in Table 2a suggests that ethnic differences between gangs do not significantly alter the distribution of gang types.

Core and Marginal Involvement in Gang Delinquency and Drug Use

Membership in gangs varies by role, reason for affiliation, and also extent of participation in delinquent activities. Gang membership and roles also shift over time, as members move in and out of various roles. Membership lengths vary, as does the length of time for members to move up from less important to more visible roles. Dropping back from leadership also is not uncommon (Moore, 1978; Vigil, 1988). Roles within gangs also may vary according to the nature of the activity -- leaders for drug selling may differ from leaders or soldiers in "gangbanging." Spergel (forthcoming) refers to these as "floaters." Despite the diversity and fluidity of gang affiliation and roles, there is consensus that core members are more involved in various delinquent activities than fringe or situational members. However, the extent and nature of this diversity, and variation by overall level of gang involvement in delinquency, have not been examined.

Table 3 shows the percentage of respondents within gang types who reported "regular" substance use or delinquency in the past year -- that is, those who reported more than "a few" (three or more) occasions in that time.[12] The behavior categories are the

same ones used to construct the gang typology. All comparisons across gang types were significant. The results show that "regular" participation by individuals increases with the seriousness of collective gang acts. That is, peripheral membership or occasional participation is less frequent for more seriously delinquent gangs. The percentage of gang members involved in "frequent" crimes increases with the seriousness of collective gang acts. The percent of members of serious delinquent gangs and "young organizations" who report "regular" participation in most categories of delinquency and drug use is greater than for other gang types.

INSERT TABLE 3 HERE

There are exceptions, though. Assault and robbery rates are as high for individuals in the social gang as in the "serious delinquents" or the "young organizations", though overall gang involvement is lower. Also, drug use and drug selling participation is lower for members of the party gang than the social gangs. The small size of this gang type (10 gangs) leaves it more vulnerable to sampling error than other types. Whether this is an artifact of the gang members selected or an anomaly of the design is not clear.

Nevertheless, there is variation in the extent and nature of individual participation in collective gang acts -- marginal involvement exists alongside core involvement. For all gang types and non-drug crimes, less than half of the respondents report more than three acts in the past year. There also appears to be little specialization. For the more serious gang types, violence occurs slightly less often than property crimes, but enough to portray a diverse pattern of behaviors. Only for alcohol, marijuana and PCP use among the two most serious gang types does regular participation exceed half of the respondents. This further illustrates the significance of drug use in gang life of more violent gangs. Finally, these trends did not vary by gang role. There were no significant differences between self-reported leaders and others in their self-reported "regular" involvement in drug use or delinquency.

The participation of members of social gangs in a range of delinquent acts also illustrates diversity within gangs. Respondents in type 1 show low level individual involvement in most crimes, despite low overall gang involvement. These acts may occur as part of a gang act or independently. This trend reflects patterns of general adolescent "experimentation" in both drug use and delinquency, particularly in inner cities (Fagan, Weis and Cheng, forthcoming).

Social Organization

Current wisdom (Moore, 1978; Dolan and Finney, 1984; Feldman, Mandel and Fields, 1985; Vigil, 1988; Hagedorn, 1988) suggests that drug use and dealing is inimical to gangs. However, these studies also reveal covariation between the extent or severity of gang crime and drug involvement. Economic opportunity, normative adolescent experimentation and developmental progressions, presumed causal linkages with criminality, and specific gang and ethnic traditions are competing explanations of drug involvement by gangs. There has been little effort to explain variation among gangs, and virtually no studies linking gang cohesion or organization to drug involvement or joint drug-crime behaviors. Accordingly, we turn to analyses of the relationship between the social organization and cohesion of gangs and its influence on the severity of gang violence, other delinquency and drug use. Gang members were asked to report several features of gang social process and organizational structure. The results are reported in Table 4.

INSERT TABLE 4 HERE

A range of structural and process dimensions were compared by gang type. The overall pattern suggests that "serious delinquents" and "young organizations" have the highest degree of formal organizational structure. Members from these types more often reported having established leaders, rules or codes, formal roles, age stratification for roles, and roles for girls. Social and party gangs had more frequent meetings, and initiation more often occurred at a younger age (less than 13 years). Since "meetings" most likely was interpreted as meaning both hanging out and more organized discussion of activities, these differences have mixed meaning with respect to gang cohesion and process. There were no significant differences for gang identifiers (i.e., symbols, etc.).

Reports of specific roles for females in the gang may indicate a formal structure among more active delinquent gangs. Researchers from Thrasher (1936) to Campbell (1984) identified roles for women in gangs which confer status and offer excitement, such as provocation of fights, infiltration and spying on rival gangs, carrying messages, and carrying weapons. The latter occurs both for strategic and protective reasons, to avoid arrest of male gang members. Campbell (1984) reports that females often are involved actively in drug use and sales by the gang. Girls are a distinct minority within gangs, and research has not been conclusive on the formality of female gang structures, or whether their participation in gang process and behaviors is auxiliary or integral to the

gang's primary activities. The reports of specific roles for females in the "serious delinquents" and "young organizations" suggests that female roles may be more formal and integrated among more active and violent gangs, and auxiliary among less cohesive and non-criminal gangs.

Formality in structure and process seems to be associated with collective gang involvement in serious crime and substance use, irrespective of the extent of drug selling. There were few differences between "serious delinquents" and "young organizations" in these characteristics, despite their different involvement in drug sales. But there is little support here for the hypothesis that systemic drug selling by gangs implies a formal organizational structure. The "party gangs," with significant involvement in drug sales, had an overall weak organizational structure and loose social processes. Formal organization exists for both "serious delinquents" and "young organizations", despite their distinct patterns of drug use and differences in their involvement in drug selling. These patterns are typical of gang variation even within homogeneous social areas. What we simply may be seeing in these data are two distinct patterns of violence and drug involvement among cohesive gangs: the "fighting" gang, for whom drug use is an accompaniment to gang life, and the gang whose violence may be systemically related to their drug selling and use.

Table 4 also illustrates how conventional values exist alongside deviant ones within gangs regardless of their orientation toward crime and drug involvement. Members of both "serious delinquents" and "young organizations", as well as the "social gangs," frequently express interest in work, though many (over 40 percent) were unemployed for the past six months. Most respondents from these three gang types value school. While most individuals value work, few think that the gang values work. There are mixed reports on the importance of school. And, while they report little gang value in work, the gang apparently values education. Their departure from gang norms on work either reflects their marginal participation in the gang, or simply the gang's realistic view of the limited work opportunities in these neighborhoods. Their desire to work reflects either a social bond or an economic imperative.

Ironically, the "party gang," the strongest drug subculture but the least delinquent gang type, seems to be the most socially isolated in terms of conventional social values and beliefs. For all gang types, parents are a negligible influence in their lives as gang members or as adolescents. Others have found similar weaknesses in parental influence over inner city youths (Fagan, Piper and Moore, 1986). While this may reflect the later developmental stages of respondents, where parental influence naturally is limited, it also

may reflect the general limitations on families in inner cities (Edelman, 1987; Wilson, 1987). Finally, these results are unequivocal about the absence of intergenerational parental influence on gangs.

Social Processes

The results in Table 4 suggest an association between gang organization and their involvement in violence and drugs. The social processes within gangs to maintain the influence of these structures and cohesion among its members are examined in Table 5. Like many other facets of gang life, the maintenance of cohesion involves complex social processes. Spergel (forthcoming) suggests that gang leaders use delinquent activities to mobilize the gang and sustain group cohesion. Klein (1971) views gang cohesion and delinquency as interactive, though cohesion often preceded delinquent activities and may be associated with collective and individual gang delinquency. Others argue that delinquency is related to status conflicts within gangs, and that gang delinquency may serve to restore cohesion which is threatened by conflict (Short and Strodtbeck, 1965). Unfortunately, there has been little critical review in gang research of the measurement of cohesion and process. Table 5 examines differences between gang types for four social processes which reflect gang cohesion.

INSERT TABLE 5 HERE

Four processes were examined: process and reason for getting involved in the gang, the types of rules violations which provoke sanctions, and the types of sanctions for breaking rules. The processes and reasons for getting involved in gangs showed little consistent pattern. The reasons for, and processes of, joining the gang reflect the generally informal social processes of gang affiliation. Members of "young organizations" more often articulated their rationale for joining the gang, though no particular reason was most often cited. Also, initiation has various meanings as well, ranging from formal rites of initiation (e.g., fighting other gangs, running a gauntlet, participating in a shooting) to simply hanging around and being accepted by key members of the gang. Specific questions about processes of initiation revealed no significant differences across gang types. Drafting or formal recruitment was rare for all types.

However, the fourth group, with consistently higher scores for each of the "reasons," suggests that the attractions of gang life for the most seriously criminal youths in a neighborhood reflect the weakness (or absence) of conventional social institutions in

those social areas, and conversely, the strength of gangs as institutions of social control and opportunity. The social immersion of its members within the gang is much greater. The gangs seem to fulfill the basic social needs which more formal social institutions and processes fulfill elsewhere.

In general, the processes for joining gangs and reasons for getting involved describe a haphazard process which perhaps reflects simply the opportunities for adolescent social interaction than any formal recruitment process or motivating influence. Joining the gang may be a calculated act by some youths for protection, status, or economic opportunity. It also may simply be a normative process of adolescent development in specific neighborhoods with strong gang activity. For others, gangs may offer social supports and roles missing from their daily routines outside gang life. Researchers have long cited reports from gang members of the strong social and personal pleasure they derive from the "family feeling" of gang solidarity (e.g., Keiser, 1969). These processes of initial involvement were evident across gang types.

The use of force as punishment for violating gang codes was more often reported among the two more violent gang types. Of the possible violations listed, over 50 percent of the gang members reported that most of these acts would provoke a sanction within each of these gang types. For the other gang types, fewer than half the acts would provoke a response by more than a minority members. Similar trends were found for the specific sanctions. Violent sanctions were reported more often by the two more violent gangs, though by less than half of the members. Sanctions in general, violent or not, were rarely reported among the two less violent gangs.

The general trend suggests that gang cohesion was evident only in the existence of formal rules or norms which might provoke a sanction. Norms were in strongest evidence among "young organizations" and "serious delinquents". Overall, the attractions and processes for maintaining cohesion were strongest within the more violent gangs, and accordingly, these may be the most cohesive groups among a cohort of loosely affiliated gangs.

Social Control and Conflict

Most theory on gang formation stresses two competing explanations -- subcultural and labelling theories. Whether labelling processes contribute to gang delinquency and drug involvement were examined in this study. Gang members were asked to report their perceptions of and conflicts with the police and their neighbors. The results are shown in

Table 6.

INSERT TABLE 6 HERE

There were few differences among gang types in positive perceptions of the police, but the serious delinquent and "young organizations" consistently reported more negative views of the police across a range of police behaviors and attitudes. They more often reported harassment of neighborhood youths and police indifference to crime, and felt that police might take bribes. They differed little from other gangs in their views of police on wrongful or selective arrest, police concern only for property (they generally disagreed with this statement), or general police indifference toward the neighborhood. None of the four types reported more than "a little" respect for the police, nor did they feel that police helped the neighborhood. There were few differences between gang types in their reported conflicts with neighbors.

There is weak support here for an association between the severity of gang violence or other delinquency, their drug involvement, and conflict or labelling perspectives. The factors or processes which determine gang delinquency or drug use do not appear to involve their interactions with police or formal social institutions. What makes some gangs more violent than others is a question that continues to elude gang researchers, regardless of paradigm. Whether violence occurs because of the aggregate characteristics of the youths who cluster in violent gangs, the mutual affinity between violent youths who gather in gang structures, larger ecological factors in gang neighborhoods (Curry and Spergel, in press), or intergenerational traditions whose origins are lost in the current conflicts, remains unknown. Etiological research on gangs has been eclipsed in this decade by efforts to prevent and control gang violence (Klein and Maxson, 1987). Further methodological and theoretical development must precede advances in this area.

IV. Conclusions

The complexity of the drug-crime relationship among gang members is typical of its equally complex relationship among inner city youths (Fagan, Weis and Cheng, forthcoming). The patterns of drug use and crime among gangs suggest a skewed and spurious relationship. There is a positive association between drug involvement and serious collective gang acts, again similar to nongang urban youths. Drug use is

widespread and normative among gangs, regardless of city, the extent or nature of collective violence, or their organization or social processes. Serious and violent behaviors occur among a majority of the gangs. However, drug use occurs both independent of other crimes and also as part of a general pattern of deviant behaviors. Gang delinquency did not occur in the absence of drugs. The factors which shape and influence gang membership may result in joint patterns of drug use and violence, but also in drug use which is not accompanied by collective gang violence.

Patterns of drug selling also reveal a complex relationship. Serious crime and violence occur regardless of the frequency of drug dealing. While all gangs were involved to some extent in drug dealing, it was most frequent among gangs who were involved more heavily in PCP, heroin and cocaine, regardless of their involvement in violence. Thus, involvement in use and sales of the most serious substances does not necessarily increase the frequency or severity of violent behavior. And there remains a small group of gangs who are heavily involved in drug use and dealing but avoid collective violence. (They do however, report individual violence).

The complexity and ambiguity of the joint patterns of delinquency and drug use or selling patterns suggest that the drug-crime relationship among gangs is spurious, just as it appears to be among general adolescent populations in inner cities (Fagan, Weis and Cheng, forthcoming). The high risk among adult males of systemic violence from involvement in drug trafficking (Goldstein, 1985) does not appear to apply equally to all gang types or members. While some incidents no doubt are precipitated by disputes over drug sales or selling territories, the majority of violent incidents do not appear to involve drug sales. Rather, they continue to be part of the status, territorial, and other gang conflicts which historically have fueled gang violence.

The patterns of delinquent and drug use behaviors among gang members are consistent with patterns observed among institutionalized delinquents, and also the most serious and chronic offenders in general population studies. The similarities across three different cities also suggests some generalized social processes supportive of gang behaviors in urban areas. Thus, the important comparison of gang delinquency to nongang delinquency reaffirms the disproportionate involvement of gang members in delinquency. But it also suggests that gangs are a marginal population in their neighborhoods, just as the institutionalized and multiple offenders in other studies represented a small proportion of the adolescents in other social areas. This is not surprising -- most urban youths do not join gangs (Baker, 1988),[13] and among those who describe themselves as gang members, their involvement ranges from fringe to core.

Fagan, Piper and Moore (1986) found that about one male in three from four inner city neighborhoods considered themselves gang members. It is likely that only a small percentage of these are "core" members (Klein and Maxson, 1987; Spergel, forthcoming). Thus, core gang members, with the highest rates and severity of violence, are a marginal group within an already marginal population.

Social organization and other processes of gang cohesion offer only partial support to explain why gangs differ in violence or drug involvement. The transience of membership, leadership cliques and continuation suggest further that gang cohesion may have limited influence on behaviors. Curry and Spergel (forthcoming) suggest that ecological factors including residential transience also are important influences on gang activity for Chicago gangs. Baker's (1988) interviews with Los Angeles black gang members offer important clues to how urban form shapes gang cohesion and conflicts. The proliferation of gangs in urban areas with haphazard turf lines, routine activities which place gang members in frequent contact with other gangs and also on others' territory, access to weapons and income from crimes, all contribute to increases in different types of conflicts and opportunities for violence. The frequent contacts between gangs create frequent occasions for both prolonged organized assaults by one group of gang members, or "gangbangs," and less organized attacks by individual gang members settling individual conflicts. Conflicts over drug territory are only one part of the varied circumstances leading to collective gang violence.

In addition to urban topography, the social ecology of urban areas influences gang participation and patterns of violence. The marginality of social areas with highest rates of gang conflict suggests that these also are areas with the weakest social institutions. Thrasher (1936) noted nearly half a century ago that gangs could arise under conditions of social disorganization which in turn created social instability. Curry and Spergel (forthcoming) linked these processes to residential mobility as well as poverty and economic variables. Several recent studies (Weis and Sederstrom, 1981; Laub, 1983; Shannon,1984; Sampson,1986, 1987) have linked social ecological factors with weakened formal and informal social controls, and higher rates of violence. Thrasher noted the isolation from the surrounding society of "interstitial areas" where weak social institutions failed to provide effective social controls. Accordingly, variation in gang violence may reflect the extent of their social embedment in ecological areas which are cut off from normative social and economic influences.

Social isolation of gangs from legitimate economic opportunity, routine interactions with mainstream society, and the limited influence of viable social controls may lead to

gangs developing and ossifying in a closed social system. In this context, the socialization of adolescents becomes skewed toward processes which sustain gangs as the dominant sources of social status and values, economic opportunities, affiliation, protection and social control. Gang members in such areas may become innured to violence and also lose sight of other social norms or cultures. Lacking formal or informal social controls or opportunities, gangs become the primary social influence. The undue reliance of inner city youths on gang structures for basic social roles and opportunities may establish the gang as the dominant social institution and in turn neutralize other normative influences. Accordingly, one plausible explanation for variation in gang violence may lie in the relative social isolation and the specific influence of social and legal controls and economic and crime opportunities within smaller social milieus. Violence within gangs may reflect both the marginalization of gang members, as well as the marginalization of the neighborhood itself.

Policy which emphasizes social processes within gangs or specific gang behaviors may be less effective than efforts to reintegrate gangs and their neighborhoods within the larger social processes of the community. Research is needed to identify the social ecological factors associated with higher rates of gang violence in small urban units. The results can inform social reinvestment policies to strengthen formal and informal social controls, reduce the isolation of both youths and their neighborhoods, and promote social interactions with the larger community to neutralize the exclusive influence of gang traditions and norms.

Notes

1. Vigil notes that these patterns are confined to substances which enhance gang social processes--alcohol, marijuana, PCP and crack cocaine. There is a sanction against heroin use among Chicano gangs. Heroin involvement is seen as a betrayal of the gang and the barrio: one cannot be loyal to his addiction and the addict ("tecato") culture while maintaining loyalty to the gang.

2. That is, though these behaviors share common etiological processes, they are equally likely to appear independently or together.

3. The Violent Juvenile Offender Research and Development Program was initiated in 1980 to develop prevention programs for violent delinquency in "high crime" urban neighborhoods, and treatment methods for chronically violent juvenile offenders. Both components utilized variants on integrated theory as described by Elliot et al (1979) and Hawkins and Weis (1985). For a complete description of the program origins and design, see: Background Paper for the Violent Juvenile Offender Research and Development Program--Parts I and II (Washington: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention).

4. A pool of eligible cities was constructed based on their reported crime rates, and the rates of juvenile arrests (from 1980 UCR data). The cities, and accordingly the specific high-crime neighborhoods within them, were selected based on further evidence of the concentration of juvenile crime in those neighborhoods. Final selection reflected the programmatic plans of these cities in the federal research and demonstration program. Six cities finished the three year program.

Preliminary analyses were conducted to determine the homogeneity of the urban areas with respect to their ecological characteristics. This procedure was necessary first, to correct the problem in prior research with general adolescent population samples of confounding urbanism and other social area characteristics; and second, to determine whether samples from different cities could be aggregated. The census tract for each respondent's neighborhood was recorded, and 10 variables were extracted from 1980 census data. These variables represented the domains identified by Laub and Hindelang (1981) as sources of social area effects explaining differences in serious juvenile crime: demographic, labor force, poverty, and housing characteristics. Two validation checks were made. First, results of ANOVA comparisons showed that the social area characteristics for the samples were comparable for six of 10 census variables. Overall, the poverty indicators suggested equivalent rates of deprivation in the neighborhoods for each sample. The results were reported in detail by Fagan et al (1986). Second, two comparability checks were conducted to determine the homogeneity of samples across sites. Chi-square analyses of demographic and socio-economic variables compared sample characteristics. The results were not statistically significant. Also, means for selected explanatory and demographic variables were compared for each site versus the pooled sample from the remaining sites. Thus, we determined if the exclusion of any site affected the pooled distribution of the inner city sample.

5. A-level metropolitan areas have populations greater than 1,000,000; B-level areas have populations of 250,000-1,000,000.

6. Approximately 100 gang and 100 dropout surveys were targeted over the two iterations: Spring 1985, and Fall 1985. Though these sampling quotas were met, only the 1985 results are reported....

7. First, comparisons by obvious social status factors (e.g., gang membership, school dropout status, gender) confirmed the validity of responses compared to previous studies showing well established trends for these groups. Second, internal consistency was established by constructing an index of the severity of delinquent involvement (see, Fagan and Piper, 1987, or Dunford and Elliott, 1984, for examples of nearly identical typologies) and comparing individual scale incidence and prevalence scores against typology membership. Thus, for example, those reporting three or more index felonies in the past year (e.g., felony assault or robbery) also reported higher rates of minor assaults or minor property offenses.

8. Regrettably, the extent of collective gang participation was not asked. This decision was intended to guard respondents against reprisals from other gangs, and to minimize their disclosure of information which might attract the attention of law enforcement and accordingly, discourage truthful reporting.

9. See Fagan, Piper and Moore (1986) for an item-scale mapping.

10. In other words, the loss of critical information from truncating positively skewed distributions may alter the actual meaning and interpretation of this unique feature of delinquency data (see: Elliott and Huizinga, 1983).

11. The non-heirarchical centroid method is less useful than the heirarchical models as a heuristic tool, since it displays neither agglomerative nor divisive linkages. However, this weakness is addressed by running several sequential solutions which specify cluster sizes from two to N. The behavior of the new cluster profiles can be charted and comparisons of each successive iteration can approximate a divisive heirarchical analysis.

12. This is the threshold used by Dunford and Elliott (1984), Fagan, Piper and Cheng (1987), Fagan, Weis and Cheng (forthcoming), and Elliott and Huizinga (1984) to classify "multiple index" offenders from others in typological schemes using self-reported annual frequencies.

13. Baker (1988) cites Los Angeles Police Department intelligence that estimates the gang population among black males at 25,000, or 25 percent of the county's estimated population of 100,000 black males between the ages of 15-24.

References

Aldenderfer, Mark S., and Roger K. Blashfield
1984 Cluster Analysis. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications

Anderson, Nancy and Orlando Rodriguez
1984 "Conceptual Issues in the Study of Hispanic Delinquency," Research Bulletin. New York: Hispanic Research Center, Fordham University 7:2-5.

Baker, Robert
1988 "Homeboys: Players in a Deadly Drama." Los Angeles Times, June 26.

Biernacki, Patrick, and O. Daniel Waldorf
1981 "Snowball Sampling: Problems and Techniques of Chain Referral Sampling," Sociological Methods and Research, 10(2):141-163.

Black, Donald
1983 "Crime as Social Control," American Sociological Review 48: 34-45

Bookin-Weiner, Hedy, and Ruth Horowitz
1983 "The End of the Youth Gang: Fad or Fact?" Criminology 21(4)585-602.

Campbell, Anne
1984 The Girls in the Gang. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Cernkovich, Stephen A., Peggy C. Giordano, and Meredith D. Pugh
1986 "Chronic Offenders: The Missing Cases in Self-Report Delinquency Research," Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology 76: 684-704.

Chicago Tribune
1984 Newspaper series on youth gangs in Chicago, William Recktenwald and Nathaniel Sheppard, Jr., authors.

Chin, Ko-Lin
1986 Chinese Triad Societies, Tongs, Organized Crime, and Street Gangs in Asia and the United States. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.

Clayton, Richard R
1986 "Drug Use among Children and Adolescents" (unpublished). Washington DC: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

Cloward, Richard, and Lloyd Ohlin
1960 Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs. New York: Free Press.

Cohen, Albert K.
1955 Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang. New York: The Free Press.

Cooper, Barry M.
1987 "Motor City Breakdown," Village Voice. December 1: 23-35.

Curry, G. David, and Irving A. Spergel
1988 "Gang Homicide, Delinquency and Community," Criminology 26 (in press).

Dolan, Edward F., and Shan Finney
1984 Youth Gangs. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Dunford, Franklyn W., and Delbert S. Elliott
1984 "Identifying Career Offenders Using Self-Reported Data," Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency 21: 57-86.

Edelman, Marian W.
1987 Families in Peril. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Elliott, Delbert S., Suzanne Ageton, and Rachelle Canter
1979 "An Integrated Perspective on Delinquent Behavior," Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency 16: 3-27.

Elliott, Delbert S., and David Huizinga
1984 The Relationship Between Delinquent Behavior and ADM Problems. National Youth Survey Report No. 28. Boulder CO: Insitute for Behavioral Studies, University of Colorado.

Elliott, Delbert S., David Huizinga, and Suzanne Ageton
1985 Explaining Delinquency and Drug Abuse. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Erlanger, Howard S.
1979 "Estrangement, Machismo and Gang Violence," Social Science Quarterly 60(3): 235-248.

Fagan, Jeffrey A., Elizabeth S. Piper, and Melinda Moore
1986 "Violent Delinquents and Urban Youth," Criminology 23: 439-466.

Fagan, Jeffrey A., Elizabeth S. Piper and Yu-Teh Cheng
1987 "Contributions of Victimization to Delinquency in Inner Cities," Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology 78(3): 586-613.

Fagan, Jeffrey A., Joseph G. Weis, and Yu-Teh Cheng
1988 "Drug Use and Delinquency among Inner City Students," Journal of Drug Issues (in press).

Feldman, Harvey. W., Michael Agar, and George Beschner (eds.)
1979 Angel Dust: An Ethnographic Study of PCP Users. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

Feldman, Harvey W., Jerry Mandel, and Allen Fields
1985 "In the Neighborhood: A Strategy for Delivering Early Intervention Services to Young Drug Users in their Natural Environments." In Alfred S. Friedman and George Beschner (Eds), Treatment Services for Adolescent Substance Users. Rockville MD: National Institute of Drug Abuse.

Goldstein, Paul J.
1985 "The Drugs-Violence Nexus: A Tri-Partite Conceptual Framework," Journal of Drug Issues 15: 493-506.

Hagedorn, John
1988 People and Folk: Gangs, Crime and the Underclass in a Rustbelt City. Chicago: Lake View Press.

Hindelang, Michael, Travis Hirschi, and Joseph G. Weis
1981 Measuring Delinquency. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

Horowitz, Ruth
1983 Honor and the American Dream: Culture and Identity in a Chicano Community. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

1987 "Community Tolerance of Gang Violence." Social Problems 34(5): 437-450.

Johnson, Bruce D., Paul J. Goldstein, Edward Preble, James Schmeidler, Douglas Lipton, Barry Spunt and Thomas Miller
1985 Taking Care of Business: The Economics of Crime by Heroin Abusers. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath

Klein, Malcolm W.
1969 "Gang Cohesiveness, Delinquency, and a Street-Work Program," Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency 6: 135-166.

1971 Street Gangs and Street Workers. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

1985 "Gang Involvement in Cocaine Rock Trafficking." Grant application to the National Institute of Justice. Los Angeles: University of Southern California, Social Science Research Institute.

Klein, Malcolm W., and Cheryl Maxson
1987 "Street Gang Violence." In Marvin E. Wolfgang and Neil A. Weiner (eds.), Violent Crime, Violent Criminals. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

Kornhauser, Ruth R.
1978 Social Sources of Delinquency: An Appraisal of Analytic Models. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Laub, John
1983 "Urbanism, Race and Crime," Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency 20:183-198.

Mancini, James K.
1981 Strategic Styles: Coping in the Inner City. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England.

Matza, David
1964 Delinquency and Drift. New York: Wiley.

Maxson, Cheryl L., and Malcolm W. Klein
1983 "Gangs: Why We Couldn't Stay Away." In James Kleugal (ed.), Evaluating Juvenile Justice. Beverly Hills: Sage (p. 149-155).

Maxon, Cheryl L., Margaret A. Gordon, and Malcolm W. Klein
1985 "Differences between Gang and Non-Gang Homicides," Criminology 23(2): 209-222.

Mieczkowski, Thomas
1986 "Geeking Up and Throwing Down: Heroin Street Life in Detroit," *Criminology* 24: 645-666.

Miller, Walter B.
1975 Violence by Youth Gangs and Youth Groups as a Crime Problem in Major American Cities. Report to the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. Washington DC: U.S. Department of Justice.

1981 Crime by Youth Gangs and Groups in the United States. Report to the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. Washington DC: U.S. Department of Justice.

Moore, Joan W.
1978 Home Boys. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Moore, Joan W., James Diego Vigil, and Robert Garcia
1983 "Residence and Territoriality in Chicano Gangs," Social Problems 33(1): 1-12.

Pennell, Susan, and Christine Curtis
1982 Juvenile Violence and Gang-Related Crime. San Diego: San Diego Association of Governments.

Piper, Elizabeth S.
1985 "Violent Crime by Juveniles: The Lone Wolf or the Wolfpack?" Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology, San Diego CA.

1985 "Violent Recidivism and Chronicity in the 1958 Philadelphia Cohort," Journal of Quantitative Criminology 1(4): 319-344.

Sampson, Robert J.
1986 "Crime in Cities: The Effects of Formal and Informal Social Control." In Albert J. Reiss, Jr. and Michael Tonry (Eds.), Crime and Justice: An Annual Review of Research -- Vol. 8, Communities and Crime. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

1987 "Urban Black Violence: The Effect of Male Joblessness and Family Disruption," *American Journal of Sociology* 93(2): 348-382.

Schwendinger, Herman and Julia Schwendinger
1985 Adolescent Subcultures and Delinquency. New York: Praeger Press.

Shannon, Lyle W.
1984 The Development of Serious Criminal Careers and the Delinquent Neighborhood. Washington DC: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice.

Shaw, Clifford R., and Henry D. McKay
1931 "Male Juvenile Delinquency as Group Behavior." In Report on the Causes of Crime, Volume II. Wickersham Commission Report, New York, No. 13: 191-199.

1943 Juvenile Delinquency in Urban Areas. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Short, James F., and F.L. Strodtbeck
1965 Group Process and Gang Delinquency. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Spergel, Irving A.
1984 "Violent Gangs in Chicago: In Search of Social Policy," Social Service Review June: 199-226.

in press "Youth Gangs: Continuity and Change." In N. Morris and M. Tonry (Eds.), Crime and Justice: An Annual Review of Research, Volume 12. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Stapleton, W. Vaughn, and Jerome Needle
1982 Police Handling of Youth Gangs. Washington DC: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

Strumphauzer, Jerome S., Esteban V. Veloz, and Thomas W. Aiken
1981 "Violence by Street Gangs: East Side Story?" In Robert B. Stuart (ed.), Violent Behavior: Social Learning Approaches to Prediction, Management, and Treatment. New York: Brunner-Mazel (68-82).

Suttles, Gerald D.
1968 The Social Order of the Slum. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Thio, Alex
1983 Deviant Behavior (2nd Edition). Boston: Haughton-Miflin.

Thrasher, Frederick M.
1936 The Gang: A Study of One Thousand Three Hundred Thirteen Gangs in Chicago (2nd. revised edition). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Tracy, Paul E., and Elizabeth S. Piper
1984 "Gang Membership and Violent Offending: Preliminary Results from the 1958 Cohort Study." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Cincinnatti OH.

Vigil, James Diego
1985 "The Gang Subculture and Locura: Variations in Acts and Actors." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Society of Criminology, San Diego CA.

1988 Public and Private Violence. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Weiner, N.A. and M.E. Wolfgang
1985 "The Extent and Character of Violent Crime in America, 1969 to 1982." In Lynn Curtis (ed.) American Violence and Public Policy (p. 17-40). New Haven: Yale University Press.

Weis, Joseph G., and J. David Hawkins
1981 Preventing Delinquency: The Social Development Approach. Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Weis, Joseph G. and John Sederstrom
1981 The Prevention of Serious Delinquency: What to Do? Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Whyte, William F.
1943 Street Corner Society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wilson, William J.
1987 The Truly Disadvantaged. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wolfgang, Marvin E. and Franco Ferracuti
1967 The Subculture of Violence: Toward an Integrated Theory in Criminology. London: Tavistock

Wolfgang, Marvin E., Robert M. Figlio, and Thorsten Sellin
1972 Delinquency in a Birth Cohort. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Yablonsky, Lewis
1963 The Violent Gang. New York: MacMillan.

Table 1

Prevalence and Frequency of Collective and Individual Behaviors of Gang Members(a)

Self-Reported Offense-Specific Behaviors	Gang Acts	Individual Acts		
	Prevalence	"Any Involvement"	"Regular Involvement"	"Frequent Involvement"
Felony Assault	55.6	53.0	27.8	14.8
Minor Assault	45.7	45.5	16.9	8.9
Robbery	59.6	57.8	35.8	22.0
Felony Theft	67.5	64.2	37.6	22.0
Minor Theft	58.3	56.4	35.4	23.6
Vandalism	55.0	59.8	34.0	19.7
Illegal Services	53.0	48.3	27.6	15.5
Weapons	53.6	58.6	34.4	18.9
Extortion	57.6	67.5	36.0	21.1
Drug Sales	62.9	51.3	23.8	14.1
Alcohol	72.8	79.2	50.4	40.8
Marijuana	67.5	73.6	44.8	33.6
PCP, Psychedelics	53.6	51.4	32.7	22.4
Speed, Barbiturates	51.0	48.1	26.9	17.3
Cocaine	53.6	48.2	35.0	13.4
Heroin, Other Opiates	41.7	40.8	16.5	12.6

a. Gang prevalence is the percentage reporting that "a few" or more gang members were involved in that behavior in the past year. For individual behaviors, "any involvement" is the percentage reporting at least one act, "regular involvement" is the percentage reporting three or more acts, and "frequent involvement" is the percentage reporting at least one act per month in the past year.

Table 2

Gang Behaviors by Type of Gang (a)

Gang Behaviors	Gang Type 1	2	3	4
(N)	43	10	56	42
Felony Assault	.09	.00	1.36	1.48
Minor Assault	.00	.00	.63	.81
Robbery	.05	.00	2.02	2.38
Felony Theft	.09	.00	4.00	4.40
Minor Theft	.00	.00	1.73	2.31
Vandalism	.00	1.50	1.18	1.48
Illegal Services	.07	.00	.75	.88
Weapons	.02	.00	1.93	2.52
Extortion	.02	.00	.77	.86
Drug Sales	.16	1.50	1.07	1.67
Alcohol	.44	1.50	1.55	1.67
Marijuana	.23	.80	.84	.88
Cocaine	.02	.70	.66	.86
Heroin	.00	1.50	.34	1.36
PCP, Psychedelics	.09	2.10	.64	2.45
Speed, Barbiturates	.09	2.60	.57	2.60

a. Scale scores are mean prevalence scores for ordinal measures of gang members participation in each behavior in the past year. ANOVA tests for gang type differences were significant ($p<.000$) for all scales.

Table 2a

Drug and Alcohol Use, Drug Dealing
and Other Behaviors by Type of Gang (Summary)

	Gang Type			
Behaviors	1	2	3	4
(N)	43	10	56	42
Violent Crime	Low	Low	High	High
Felony Property Crime	Low	Low	High	High
Other Property Crime	Low	High	High	High
Weapons	Low	Low	High	High
Drug Sales	Low	High	Medium	High
Alcohol	Low	High	High	High
Marijuana	Low	High	High	High
Cocaine, Heroin, PCP	Low	High	Medium	High

Table 2b

Gang Type by City
(percent)

City	Gang Type 1	2	3	4	N
A	22.0	4.0	36.0	38.0	51
B	38.0	12.0	36.0	14.0	50
C	25.5	3.9	39.2	31.4	50
N	43	10	56	42	151
Percent	28.5	6.6	37.1	27.8	100

Chi square = 11.38
p=.078

Table 3

"Regular" Self-Reported Substance Use and Delinquency
by Type of Gang (a)

Self-Reported Behaviors	Gang Type 1	2	3	4	Significance p(Chi square)
Felony Assault	12.0	33.3	28.9	35.9	.04
Minor Assault	4.4	33.3	15.6	27.5	.001
Robbery	4.3	50.0	40.9	47.2	.001
Felony Theft	4.6	16.7	48.9	47.2	.001
Minor Theft	10.1	16.7	37.7	51.4	.000
Vandalism	8.7	16.7	37.6	47.4	.004
Illegal Services	4.4	28.6	29.8	38.4	.004
Weapons	8.0	33.3	41.3	43.6	.002
Extortion	12.5	33.3	38.6	47.5	.004
Drug Sales	16.0	16.7	26.7	37.1	.056
Alcohol	29.6	14.3	58.9	60.0	.000
Marijuana	26.0	14.3	54.9	50.0	.026
PCP, Psychedelics	12.0	16.7	29.0	52.7	.000
Speed, Barbiturates	4.1	0	30.8	42.8	.000
Cocaine	4.1	0	22.7	44.7	.000
Heroin, Other Opiates	4.4	0	12.8	31.4	.000

a. Respondents reporting "a few times" or more often in the past year.

Table 4

Social Organization and Conventional Values by Gang Types

Percent Reporting:	Gang Type 1	2	3	4	Significance p(Chi square)
Social Organization					
Initiation at <13 years	65.9	20.0	38.9	41.1	.02
Initiation processes	54.8	30.0	65.5	59.0	.20
Established leaders	23.7	10.0	47.9	52.8	.01
Regular or frequent meetings	64.9	75.0	40.8	51.3	.03
Rules or Codes	31.6	20.0	63.8	61.5	.000
Roles	33.3	20.0	52.9	65.0	.001
Age stratification of roles	27.8	20.0	52.8	40.5	.057
Gang has symbols, colors	66.7	100	88.9	79.2	.42
Roles for girls	25.7	11.1	62.3	54.1	.001
Conventional Values *					
School is important to you	46.5	22.2	67.3	38.1	.051
Gang values school	58.1	44.4	81.8	63.4	.061
Work is important to you	52.5	14.3	72.0	57.1	.13
Gang values work	20.5	0	34.0	15.2	.15
Worked in the past 6 months	40.5	0	42.9	41.0	.18
Want to work	87.9	55.6	88.9	88.2	.059
Parents influence gang members	24.3	0	7.5	12.8	.10
Parents supervise me	53.5	40.0	25.0	28.6	.05
Parents involved with gang	13.5	0	9.8	13.5	.72

* Percent reporting "somehat" or "very much"

Table 5

Social Processes and Codes within Gangs
by Type of Gang

*	Gang Type			
Percent Reporting:	1	2	3	4
Process of Getting Involved				
Friends in the gang	30.8	70.0	56.4	53.8
Recruited by leaders	2.6	10.0	9.1	10.3
Partied with gang members	12.8	30.0	21.8	30.8
Hung out with gang members	51.3	20.0	45.5	38.5
Had business with gang members	17.9	20.0	20.0	12.8
Reason for Joining Gang				
Status and Identity	20.5	10.0	26.9	32.5
Protection from other gangs	28.2	20.0	21.2	35.0
To have friends	15.4	20.0	17.3	27.5
Family feeling	33.3	10.0	17.3	30.0
Protect neighborhood	28.2	50.0	17.3	27.5
To meet girls	7.7	30.0	15.4	30.0
Violations Which Provoke Sanctions				
Take someone's woman	19.5	11.1	21.4	42.5
Insult a neighbor or homeboy	12.2	0	14.3	27.5
Rip off a gang member	48.8	77.8	50.0	65.0
Use another gang's name, etc.	39.0	44.4	53.6	55.0
Snitch on a gang member	56.1	33.3	80.4	60.0
Chicken out in a fight	34.1	33.3	64.3	57.5
Fight with a neighbor or homeboy	4.9	0	16.1	20.0
Sanctions for Breaking Rules				
Nothing happens	61.1	55.6	24.5	35.0
Leader decides sanction	13.9	11.1	28.3	40.0
Defend the gang's name	11.1	11.1	24.5	27.5
Steal something for retribution	8.3	22.2	7.5	20.0
Fight someone	11.1	22.2	28.3	47.5
You get beat up by the gang	16.7	0	32.1	40.0

* Percentages exceed 100% due to multiple responses within items

Table 6

Gang Conflict with Neighbors and Police
by Type of Gang

Percent Reporting:*	Gang Type 1	2	3	4
Perceptions of Police -- Positive				
Teach young kids about the law	26.5	22.2	29.8	18.9
Help settle disputes	14.7	22.2	36.2	37.8
Protect neighbors from outsiders	20.6	66.7	23.4	18.9
Protect neighbors from crime	32.4	88.9	48.9	40.5
Arrest criminals or drug dealers	50.0	44.4	63.8	18.9
Perceptions of Police -- Conflict				
Harass neighborhood kids	51.3	30.0	66.7	69.0
Turn their backs on crime	28.2	20.0	46.3	42.9
Don't care about neighborhood	28.2	50.0	40.7	38.1
Only care about property	28.2	20.0	29.6	23.8
They take bribes	17.9	40.0	37.0	40.5
Arrest selectively	51.3	50.0	57.4	54.8
Arrest innocent people	66.7	70.0	77.8	73.8
Respect for Police**	10.3	11.1	20.4	9.5
"Do Police Help Neighborhood?"**	20.5	11.1	38.1	26.2
Conflict with Neighbors				
Neighbors feel gang protects them	63.4	37.5	78.8	78.0
Neighbors fear gang	67.6	77.8	42.6	43.2
Neighbors are annoyed by gang	67.5	90.0	56.4	56.4

* Percentages exceed 100% due to multiple responses within items

** Percent reporting "somewhat" or "a lot"