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SUCCESS INSURANCE FOR YOUTH

HOME AND SCHOOL INSURANCE AGAINST FAILURE

A report to Utah from the Youth Enhancement Association

. 5 Prepared by M. Richard Maxfield & Associates

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There are too many Utah youth dropping out of school, getting high on drugs, going to court, and getting pregnant; too many who are undisciplined, are engaging in high-risk behaviors, and are chronically delinquent. Too many are lying, stealing, and cheating, using foul and abusive language, lacking in respect for self, peers, parents and other adults. Too many are unprepared for the world of work, too many in need of mental health treatment or services. Too many are estranged from their families, too many endlessly searching for meaning and importance by rushing into what they perceive to be "adult behaviors." These youth desperately need our help. We also need their help; for without each other, too few will be left to perpetuate a vibrant society. The youth of today are a critical part of the state's tomorrow.

U.S. Department of Justice National Institute of Justice 137646

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Help is available! The latest research indicates the ingredients for success automatically prevent failure. Success versus failure is

what this report is all about.

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And the Utah Board of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Kerry Miller, Chairman Dedicated to the misbehaving and the hard to educate...

includes us all

PREFACE TO THE PREVIEW EDITION

This report should be viewed as a working document in a series of progressive steps for solving the problem of teenage misbehavior. A working draft of this report was disseminated to selected state and local leaders as part of a prereport conference. Participants were requested to respond with suggestions for improving the report and add to the contemplated solution components discussed by the report. The ideas and enthusiasm from the conference respondents were very valuable in bringing the report to this point.

This Preview Edition should be viewed in a similar light. Further suggestions are welcome from all sources since other printings and extensions are planned. Extensions and additions to the solution strategy would be especially welcome, as would research dimensions not covered in the report. The recommended solution strategy leaves latitude for interpretation and addition as new research findings are forthcoming.

The report was prepared for multiple audiences, both lay and professional. Some may feel it misses the mark. Notwithstanding, YEA invites readers to use the contents in personal as well as professional application. It is hoped that this report will raise personal hopes, facilitate family discussion, and enhance agency cooperation and coordination. Spirited confidence and commitment to the success of all youth is at the root of this report.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Appreciation is expressed to the members of YEA, individually and collectively, for their guidance in report preparation. Each gave untold volunteer hours of service to the project under the leadership of Ivan Cendese. The Governor's Board of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention deserves credit for initiating and funding this report. Thanks are extended to people for their roles in this report: Denice Devynck who assisted with the literature search; Marsha Warner, Darlene Holt, and Brian Jones who helped prepare the manuscript; Melinda Mitchell and Valerie Holladay who edited the manuscript; and Betty Harrison, Willard Malmstrom, and Dave Walsh, who facilitated the printing of this edition.

Special thanks is extended to those took time to review draft copies of the report. Many suggestions proved helpful. YEA wishes to acknowledge the contribution of M. Richard Maxfield and Associates to this report. Dr. Maxfield contributed untold time and energy to literature study, design, and creation of a far more extensive product than contract provisions stipulated.

FORWARD

It is clear that Utah, like the nation, is losing ground in its battle against teenage misbehavior. Just who is responsible for teenage misbehavior? Views vary widely. At one end are those who believe that by the time adolescence is reached, children should know better, and hence should bear the burden of blame. At the other end are those who believe kids are merely the product of their upbringing and that society, including the media, is to blame. Still others pin blame on home, school, or peer influence.

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Blame is no longer the issue. New research changes the issue from who is to blame to what is to blame, and from what is the cause to what is the cure.

- Yes, teenagers bear a key responsibility, but one that is difficult to meet without preexisting life supports.
- Yes, society is to blame, but kids can be insulated and inoculated against moral decadence.
- Yes, peers can be a negative influence—one that comes into play largely because the right supports were previously lacking; but successful interventions are available.
- Yes, poor parenting is to blame, but is can be helped and compensated for by good school practice.
- Yes, school practices contribute to misbehavior, even compound the mistakes of others; still, if classrooms implemented known findings, children and youth would find academic as well as behavioral success.

Human nature does not change; only the setting in which it operates changes. The setting in which family and classrooms operate has changed dramatically in the last three decades. Homes, schools, and other institutions have not adopted offsetting practices.

This report does three things. First, it outlines a major problem facing Utah—the success of its youth. Second, the report presents and integrates research summaries which have a bearing on generating good conduct and preventing misconduct. Third, it builds research findings into a solution strategy for preventing misbehavior in youth; also for supporting academic as well as behavioral success.

The report's unique contribution lies in its comprehensiveness and ability to integrate common findings from behavioral, educational, and organizational research into a low-cost prevention and early intervention program. Now all organizations interested in the success of youth can operate from within the same philosophy and with parallel versions of the same ingredients—and thus build on each others' success.

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INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

This report has been prepared in order to improve the odds for childhood success and reduce the odds against home and school failure. Wouldn't it be wonderful if parents could, at the birth of their child, purchase an insurance policy guaranteeing their child's success; or if upon entry into kindergarten, schools could do the same? Wouldn't it be just as wonderful if parents and teachers could purchase insurance against their own failure as well as that of their children?

The purpose of this report is to outline such an insurance policy insofar as it is now possible. Research findings of the last decade have greatly increased the probabilities. The new actuarial data for the policy comes from the latest research literature and its interpretation by experts from many fields.

This report has been prepared in order to improve the odds for childhood success and reduce the odds for home or school failure. No insurance is foolproof; nor does this report provide any magical solutions. Insurance only covers the odds. But odds can be changed. This report has been prepared to improve the odds for childhood success and reduce the odds for teacher or parent failure. The insurance applies to groups of youth as well as the individual child.

The premium for the policy outlined below is not denominated in dollars; it is denominated in parenting and teaching practices; in the climates of homes, schools, and classrooms; and in the quality of interpersonal relationships between adults and children. To a lesser, but no less important extent, it is denominated in simple, new support mechanisms for homes and classrooms, and in revised roles and relationships among social agencies, law enforcement, juvenile courts, churches, community groups, and even neighborhoods.

Definitions

Prevention

Prevention, in its common use in this report, refers to preventing misbehavior of youth and more particularly, patterned misbehavior such as delinquency, drug and alcohol abuse, sexual promiscuity, school truancy, dropout, etc.

Early Intervention

Paraly intervention, as used in this report, means intervention at a time in a child's life when the precursors to patterned misbehavior are first identified. It does not, as some authors have used the term, describe early treatment after the misbehavior becomes evident. The latter is *early treatment*.

Success Success, when used in a childhood sense, refers to childhood maturational success, including the acquisition of skills before adulthood which will empower the person to lead a capable, productive, and responsible life.

Failure Failure, when used in a childhood sense, refers to either the emergence of patterned misbehavior during adolescence or maturational flaws, leading to the failure to obtain those skills leading to capable, productive, and responsible adulthood.

Format Helps Used in this Report

Together the margin notes, boxes, and highlighted contents serve as an extended summary of the report. They also serve as a visual index and table of contents for the reader as the report is perused.

Margin notes provide pertinent facts, quotes, key points, and conclusions contained in the body of the report.

For the professional and the lay reader

The chief use of this report is expected to be by agency leaders and field professionals. Hence, the body of the report is sometimes detailed and documented. However, the report contents are of significant worth to parents and other lay readers. A format designed to help both groups has been used. Highlights help readers peruse the report for key points and zero in on pertinent aspects of the report. Frequent headings assist the reader in pinpointing the contents of the report and add interest. Obviously, if such "insurance" were not needed, not available, not consistent with the research, and not practical and affordable, this report would not have been published.

Beginning with the question of need, this report is designed to answer the following questions.

- Is Utah's "youth-at-risk" population sufficiently large to be of major concern? Do children need more help? Is a major prevention effort needed in Utah?
- Is enough known about how to prevent "at-risk" behavior to justify a full-blown effort?
- 3. Is enough known about how to develop successful children to tie prevention and development together?
- 4. What are the unique characteristics of Utah which can contribute to a collective solution? What are the Utah realities within which the solution must fit?
- 5. Does Utah have the dollar and human resources necessary to successfully implement a major prevention program?

6. Given satisfactory answers to the above questions, what are the requirements for formal implementation and how are responsibilities shared?

The facts on teenage misbehavior contained in this report, and the number of ways in which teens are "at risk," send a startling message and challenge to Utah citizens. Added to the realities of teenage misbehaviors are the fears associated with them. The fears associated with teenage and young adult misbehavior are not easily documented, but they are there and they are growing. Additionally, parents increasingly harbor fears that their children might fail their "teenage years."

Whether from real or imagined sources, teenagers are commonly feared by both older citizens and younger children. Teenagers frequently fear each other. Many secondary school teachers acknowledge that they occasionally fear for their safety. And with good reason-more than 125,000 teachers are physically assaulted each year. The fears about teenage misconduct are real and so are the increasing numbers of incidents that cause them. According to available data, the teenage failure rate is slowly, but steadily increasing.

For the already misbehaving teenager, the concerns are doubly justified, for many of the misdeeds of adolescence and

Both the facts and fears of teenage misbehavior must be dealt with. 4

Major fears are justified, for many of the misdeeds of young adults are fatal to their future, if not their life. young adulthood are fatal. Lifestyle deaths lead all other categories for these age groups. The fears over teenage misconduct must be attended to as well as the stark realities of both its existence and its increase.

The fear of AIDS and its relationship to sex and drugs, and in turn, the newfound relationships between sex, drugs, and school climates could soon bring unprecedented pressure on the schools to deal with at-risk behavior. That pressure might represent the toughest challenge schools have ever faced because the chief component will be "fear." Fear of the future is hard to deal with because the unknown cannot be controlled. However, the unknown can be explored just as the future can be prepared for. This report is designed to help with both.

Eighty-seven percent of adults in the U.S. perceive a steady and alarming increase in the rate of serious juvenile crime.

Galvin and Polk

After-the-fact pressure will be difficult for the schools to address because treatments of teenage misbehaviors are only marginally successful. They are also more costly than educational resources will allow.

Utah's youth problems are outpacing both program capabilities and current pocketbook. Given these limitations, Utah has no choice but to turn to what it may be best suited for-prevention.

Effective prevention begins with effective teachers and parents—and ends with other social institutions.

Prevention must reach beyond the home

Prevention, of course, begins with the home but must go further. Any successful effort to curb teenage and young adult misbehaviors must look beyond the family, for causes now extend beyond the home. If the causes, then also the cures must now extend beyond the home.

This by no means implies giving up on the home. However, the pervasiveness of the problem, and the inability of homes to deal with their problems in isolation, suggests that successful prevention requires support to *all* children from *all* homes. For that kind of access, the only possibility is for school participation. One cannot go very deep into prevention literature before coming face-to-face with school involvement. The school-home connection

Most parents want more than prevention; they want success. In schools, for example, where very few students are officially "failed," large numbers do not achieve success, let alone acquire its prerequisites. Parents also want their children to acquire a foundation for economic success. Global economic competition coupled with the U.S.'s comparatively poor academic standing with students from other countries raises doubts.

What is the connection between behavioral success and academic success? The connection may be stronger than previously thought. This report covers that connection and incorporates it into the proposed solution strategy covered in Chapter 14.

The necessity of school involvement does not mean that educators must own the whole burden of prevention or that other public and social agencies cannot be heavily involved. It only means that schools *must* be involved.

Just what is the challenge of teenage misconduct?

Are the misbehavior trends of youth a temporary reaction to dramatic social changes, a permanent response seeking a new level, or part of a self-feeding, never-ending expansion? Chapter 2 gives part of the answer. Later chapters suggest that, to a large measure, the answer might be up to us.

What do we know about prevention?

Arguments have continued for centuries on the causes of misbehaving youth. No agreement has been reached on how to influence human behavior. What new light does the latest research shed on the subject? Does it give more complete answers than "Spare the rod and spoil the child?" This report covers the question from various angles.

How much research on causes and cures of misbehavior must be accumulated before parents, the school, and the community can act with confidence to intervene? The conclusions contained in Chapter 13, which are drawn from the research reported in Chapters 4 through 12, give some insightful answers to this question.

In support of a stronger school-home connection, new techniques of mutual support are included in this report.

Danger signs precede most maladaptive behavior by several years. -

6

This report looks at the role of-

Social forces

Changes in social conditions are often used to explain the increases in teenage and young adult misbehavior. What are the real differences between today's world of growing up and that of previous generations? Chapter 2 summarizes those differences. Are social forces the cause of patterned misbehaviors? And if they are, why are some youth so successful at resisting those forces? Chapter 6 looks at causal relationships and insulating factors.

Family

School

Home-school spillover

Families get a lot of blame for teenage misconduct. Who else is proportionately to blame? Why do "near perfect" families frequently produce failures? Chapters 4, 5, and 6 on correlates, predictors, and causes address those interesting questions. What kind of parent-child relationships produce the most socially responsible youth? Chapters 7 and 9 address that question directly, both from different perspectives. Given the answers to more successful child rearing, are the skills easily enough acquired to be practical? A section in Chapter 7 reviews those skills.

How much effect do schooling practices have on student success or failure? Are schools really to blame for much of the misbehavior within their walls? How much do schools add or detract from parenting practices? Chapters 6, 7, and 8 cover these topics. Are the newer teaching practices teaching good behavior as effective in teaching academics? Are the school operation practices that make students more effective the same ones that make teachers more effective? See Chapters 11 and 12.

What do the latest teaching practices and parenting practices have in common? Can one compensate for the other? Are there any simple techniques which teachers and parents can use to magnify each other's efforts? Why are the correlations between academics and behavior so high? Why are there no inverse correlations? Chapter 13 draws some surprising conclusions to these questions. Can schools and other community resources compensate for a bad home? Chapters 15 and 16 answers this.

Peers

When does peer influence start? What induces it? Can it be prevented or compensated for, or must it be combatted? How is peer influence affected by home and school operating procedures? Answers to these questions require bits and pieces gleaned from all parts of this report.

Development of character and social responsibility

What has been learned recently about character development? Is the development of social responsibility achievable through the schools? Chapter 9 gives the latest thoughts on the question. What are the latest ideas on successful child development? Do we know as much about the social-psychological development as we do about academic development in children? How are the two related? Chapter 10 covers this topic and includes the latest insights on successful child rearing.

Effective intervention begins with observant teachers and parents and ends with support from other social institutions.

Early intervention

What can be done when teachers, as they so often do, notice that a child is offtrack and headed for future trouble? Who can parents and teachers go to? Are workable interventions known and available? How much misbehavior can be avoided before it even shows up? Chapters 14 and 15 give answers to these questions.

Achieving success vs. avoiding failure

Success requires avoiding failure. The child must also acquire certain necessary skills and talents. Success comes in a series of advancements, but failure can come in one activity and undo dozens of successes. What are the relationships between acquiring success and avoiding failure? Chapters 11, 12, and 13 explore those relationships in detail, including a surprisingly high number of common ingredients.

What's in it for schools?

If schools and other community agencies get excited about preventing "at-risk" behaviors, how do they stand to benefit? Chapters 11 and 12 explain why, try as they might, schools cannot become highly effective without the key ingredients of prevention. These chapters also tell how attention to a student's behavior critically increases academic success. Chapter 11 explains why the classroom techniques of prevention require no more work than current methods do.

"The strong connection between difficulty in school and involvement in juvenile court can no longer be ignored by the educational community." Judge John Farr Larsen



Chapter 14 explains the critical ingredients to a statewide prevention effort.Chapter 15 tells how, by using the YEA-recommended strategy, social and community agencies will be able to serve more clients than they do currently. The strategy also explains how to identify the real needs of youth and link them to available help from appropriate agencies in a systematic and timely way.

The adult connection

Children cannot find success independent of capable adults. What kind of adult-child relationships and interactions are most productive? Chapters 9 and 10 give the answers, and Chapter 11 tells how those answers can help schools. Chapter 15 builds them into the recommended prevention strategy.

Unexpected and helpful research findings

The commonalities found in the research from six different fields open new vistas for childhood growth and development. Armed with that information, the report tells how a single prevention program built on the right ingredients can substitute for numerous programs targeted to specific misbehaviors (drugs, pregnancy, suicide, delinquency, dropout, etc.).

A synergistic solution

Synergism results in an effect that is greater than the sum of the parts. The package of research ingredients built into the YEA-recommended prevention strategy creates a synergistic effect. So does the early intervention strategy linking multi-agency efforts. A third benefit comes from magnifying the effectiveness of current efforts. Chapter 15 shows how current foundations and compatible techniques can prevent up to 80 percent of all patterned misbehaviors.

The Utah fit

Other than finances for planning and start—up training, no new resources are required. Chapters 14, 15, and 16 examine how this is possible. How closely does the Utah setting match the requirements for successful prevention? Chapter 14 answers that question. Chapter 17 tells how a family, classroom, school, or any institution or organization can get started.

Who is Behind the Publication of This Report?

The Youth Enhancement Association (YEA), and more importantly, its members and the organizations behind them, are the real publishers of this report.

Who is YEA?

YEA is a nonprofit corporation made up of key, state-level leaders from all of the agencies and organization who have a vested interest in the behavior of youth. It also includes professionals invited from several related fields. It was formed as a spinoff from the *Governor's Board of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention* to give full attention and focus on prevention and early intervention efforts. They felt this ever increasing problem needed the time and attention of not only agency and organizational leaders, but the combined talents of professionals from all the fields related to child behavior. Current members of YEA and the organizations or professions they represent are listed on the back of the title page.

Who supports this report?

It is important for the reader to realize that the organizations behind YEA fully support this report and endorse its contents. The comprehensive support behind this report should give courage to other organizations as well as individuals to adopt its findings and recommendations.

This report is about teenage and young adult misbehaviors, including school failures, and how to prevent them from occurring. More importantly, the report is on how to develop capable, productive, and responsible youth, and on how to ensure home and school and student success. Like all insurance, it cannot guarantee success, but it can reduce the losses and at a very affordable rate. Ivan Cendese, President, YEA



THE NEED FOR PREVENTION

Utah produces some of the very best youth in the world. However, far too many youth in Utah are not succeeding. This places them "at risk." Others are at risk for specific failures. This chapter addresses how Utah and its youth are at risk. More particularly, it addresses the three parts of the first question asked in the introductory chapter:

- Is Utah's "youth-at-risk" population sufficiently large to be of major concern?
- Do children need more help?
- Is a major prevention effort needed in Utah?

Educationally "At Risk"

Approximately twentvfive percent of children who enter the public schools of Utah fail to graduate. Approximately twenty-five percent of children who enter the public schools of Utah fail to graduate. About 18 of every 100 who enter high school drop out (Utah State Office of Education figures). Utah's dropout rates, while slightly lower than the nation as a whole, are well above those of many other states and countries.

Many students who do not drop out have serious problems with school. This results in gaps and missing links in their education. The Committee on Economic Development (CED), a national group of business and education leaders, estimates that for every ten dropouts, there are seven functional illiterates "who will merely mark time in school and receive their diplomas but will be as deficient in meaningful skills and work habits as most dropouts" (CED, 1987, p. 3).

CED labels as "educationally disadvantaged" the "30 percent facing major risk of educational failure and lifelong dependency" (Ibid., p. ix). The report laments the fact that current educational reforms have largely by-passed this group of students.

CED report says:

"Currently, fewer than 50 percent of high school seniors read at levels considered adequate for carrying out even moderately complex tasks, and 80 percent have inadequate writing skills.... Not only are our public schools failing to develop basic skills, they are also failing to develop the higher--order skills needed for the new information age.... It makes no economic sense to educate half of our young people so poorly" (Ibid.).

> While no documented figures exist for Utah on those having problems at school, most educational statistics for Utah are not far from national figures. That means that when student needs are considered as a whole, up to 50 percent or more of Utah's children are not finding adequate success in school.

Contrary to popular belief, girls drop out of school in approximately the same numbers as boys.

Female Dropouts: A New Perspective National Association of State Boards of Education

"Dropouts are a symptom of something wrong, and that symptom has become more acute for middle— and upper—class patrons of public schooling as the school—failure population enlarges to include their own children." M.D. LeCompte, Ed. Week., May 13, 1987

> The consequences of undereducation are devastating for the individual: both socially, psychologically, and economically. As a group, the undereducated profoundly affect society as well as themselves.

12

"The United States is creating a permanent underclass of young people for whom poverty and despair are life's daily companions. These are youths who cannot hold jobs because they lack fundamental literacy skills and work habits. They feel alienated from mainstream society, and they seldom participate in the democratic process. They cannot attain the living standard of most Americans because they are trapped in a web of dependency and failure."

CED report on educationally disadvantaged children

Education has a direct link with our economic future. In

Utah, relatively few students get job training in high school. About one half of all high school students get no post — high school training for the world of work. In today's globally—linked economy, the vocationally untrained are economically placed at risk.

Financially "At Risk"

Nationally, less than one out of four who enter college will graduate.

The risk is growing. High school graduation no longer guarantees a job which pays a family-sustaining level of income. Nationally, less than one out of four who enter college graduate. In Utah, it means that one-half of the work-force gets little or no formal training and most of the other half gets only half-trained.

The lack of training will affect the future more than the present. Fortunately, a high school diploma pays. At least it did in 1979, the last year for which such figures were available for Utah. The following charts illustrate that worth.

EFFECTS OF EDUCATION ON INCOME IN DOLLARS ^{1,2}

High School Grad.	4.593	4,333	5,890
Some College	5,753	5,367	5,890
College Grad.	7,849	8,781	11,928
Post Grad.	9,600	10,021	12,802

FEMALES	UTAH	MT.STS.	<u>U.S.</u>
Some High Sch.	324	476	900
High Sch. Grad.,	2,336	1,966	3,904
College Grad.	4,878	4,367	5,961
Post Grad.	6,435	6,544	7,704
Each Add. Yr.	727 [·]	644	. 713

"Edunomics"-The link between education and the economy

Someone has coined the term "edunomics" to define the study of the link between education and the economy. The link's long arms join hands with other problems. The economic burdens placed by many dropouts on society are growing. Many second and third generation welfare families exist. More and more families are headed by an unmarried female, skyrocketing the proportion of children raised in poverty to over one-third in many urban areas.

National data suggests an unmarried 15-year-old mother "will cost taxpayers \$18,130 per year over the following 20 years." That totals over \$360,000.

James Bule, Education Week, April 8, 1987 (p. 32)

The jobs open to the vocationally untrained are mostly limited to lower paying service-sector jobs. In fact, because production jobs are being sent overseas, these low-level jobs are being created over five times faster than production-sector jobs. A recent study by the Conference Board, a national business research group, says service industries will provide more than 85 percent of the new jobs in 1988, compared with only 15 percent from the goods-producing areas (Conference Board, 1987). That represents a one hundred percent reversal of the job creation patterns of thirty years ago.

- "If the nation cannot compete, it cannot lead."
- "If we continue to squander the talents of millions of our children, America will become a nation of limited human potential."

CED report on educationally disadvantaged children

Production-sector jobs are being sent overseas. As job flight continues and lower paying jobs increase, the tax base shrinks as do standards of living. Spending for schools and other public services is squeezed. First, quality is threatened, and then services are cut. Thus, at the very time more education is needed, less of it can be provided.

Chemically "At Risk"

The students of Utah are being placed at risk, partly because of their own behavior, and partly because of the behavior of others.

Through drugs and alcohol

Over the past 10 years, parents have consistently rated drugs and alcohol as one of their top two concerns about public schools. The students of Utah are being placed at risk, partly because of their own behavior, and partly because of the behavior of others. One of the best summaries of the problem is, "What Works: Schools Without Drugs." This publication, by the U.S. Office of Education under Secretary William J. Bennett, lays the problem on the line and says it must be dealt with.

From What Works: Schools Without Drugs.

- Research shows that drug use among children is 10 times more prevalent than parents suspect (p. 3).
- From 1962 to 1982 the percentage of 13-year-olds who have used marijuana jumped from less than one percent to over 16 percent (p. 2).
- Although drug trafficking is controlled by adults, the immediate source of drugs for most students is other students (p.3).
- In the decade between 1975 and 1985, the percentage of high school seniors who have used cocaine doubled (p. 5).
- The percentage of students using drugs by the sixth grade has tripled over the last decade. Now, one in six 13-year-olds have used marijuana (p. 5).
- The U. S. has the highest rate of teenage drug use of any industrialized nation. It is ten times higher than in Japan (p. 5).
- "Research tells us that students who use marijuana regularly are twice as likely as their classmates to average D's and F's, and we know that dropouts are twice as likely to be frequent drug users as graduates" (p. v).
- * "The foremost responsibility of any society is to nurture and protect its children" (p. v).

Related Quotes

 "It is a sad and sobering reality that trying drugs is no longer the exception among high school students. It is the norm."

Cal. Attorney General John Van De Kemp, Los Angeles Times, April 30, 1986, (in Bennet, intro.)

- When asked to list the biggest problem facing youth today, "drugs" leads the list for 13–18 year olds. "Four out of five teens believe current laws against both the sale and the use of drugs (including marijuana) are not strict enough." The Gallup Youth Surveys, 1985 and 1986
- "Did you know...that one-third of all Americans over age 18 cannot function effectively in society." sound-Off, Utah PTA, Nov, 1986, (p. 8)
- "Given the limitation of official or clinical records, self-reports may be the best single measure of adolescent drug use." Martin et al., (p. 262)

"Drugs threaten our children's lives, disrupt our school, and shatter families. Drug-related crimes overwhelm our courts, social service agencies, and police. This situation need not and must not continue."

William Bennett (p. 41)

"Each year a survey of high school seniors is conducted by the University of Michigan for the National Institute of Drug Abuse....These national data provide a comparison for the Utah survey."

High School	U.	. S.	UI	'AH
Seniors	Ever	Past mo.	Ever	Past mo.
Semons	21.01	A 1150 MICI	2101	1 450 11101
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Alcohol	92.6	67.2	55.8	34.3
Cigarettes	69.7	29.3	44.2	11.8
Marijuana	54.9	25.2	33.6	16.2
Cocaine	16.1	5.8	10.3	4.8
				•

1984 Drug and Alcohol Use Comparison*

* Martin, Thomas K., Tim B. Heaton, Stephen J. Bahr, eds., Utah in Demographic Perspective, Signature Books, 1986, (p. 264)

The "ever" use figures for Alcohol in Utah dropped from 65.9% in 1972 down to 55.8 percent for 1984. The largest increases of drug use occur between the seventh and tenth grades (Ibid., p. 269). "The differences are not large, but males typically use more alcohol and marijuana than females" (Ibid., p. 269).

Compared to the nation as a whole, most Utah high school seniors avoid drug use. Recent trend data also looks good for Utah. A disconcerting question arising from the chart figures is why more Utah students use marijuana than cigarettes? For marijuana use, the "ever" use figures are up from 27.0 percent in 1972 to 33.6 percent in 1984.

Delinquently "At Risk"

Of those turning 18 years of age in 1985, 44 percent had one or more contacts with the court while minors. Another measure that indicates large numbers of youth are at risk is shown by the Utah juvenile courts. Of those turning 18 years of age in 1985, 44 percent had one or more contacts with the court while minors (1985 Annual Report of the Juvenile Court of Utah, p. 15). Many of these contacts were for status offenses, indicating other behavioral problems besides crime. However, considering that not all crimes are reported, and an even smaller number result in arrest, it is safe to conclude that a larger percentage of Utah youth actually committed criminal offenses than the court records show. Even more tragic is the continual rising rate of court referrals for strictly criminal offenses.

Criminal referrals to the Juvenile Court for the Utah grades 7–12 population increased 70 percent between 1975 and 1985 (Juvenile Court Annual Report, 1985, p. 38).

Juvenile crime in Utah

Trends in Utah juvenile crime over four recent years are shown in the following table:

PERCENTAGE OF THOSE ARRESTED WHO WERE JUVENILES

	1982	1983	1984	1985	
Robbery	24%	28%	27%	27%	
Aggravated Assault	27%	28%	32%	30%	
Burglary	54%	58%	58%	58%	
Larceny/Theft	47%	48%	54%	54%	
Motor Vehicle Theft	58%	62%	64%	64%	
Arson	67%	75%	78%	78%	
Vandalism	74%	73%	73%	74%	
Poss. of Stolen Property	40%	49%	42%	41%	
Liquor Laws	32%	30%	30%	32%	
Juveniles as a % of					
total persons arrested	30%	31%	33%	34%	

Percentage-wise, juvenile participation in most crimecategories is increasing. As can be seen from the chart, juvenile participation in most crime categories is increasing. Note particularly the steady increase in juveniles as a percentage of all arrests. The trend, rather than the rate, is most alarming. While the 1986 report does not contain all of the same information, the trends are the same for the categories included. The 1987 report was not yet available at press time.

"Increases in the ratio of juvenile to adult arrests have also occurred in 7 of the 9 crime areas over the last four years."

Juvanile Court Annual Report for 1985 (p. 13)

The percentage figures should not be compared to national percentages because Utah's population as a whole is the youngest in the nation. Forty-five percent of Utah's population is under 18 years of age. States with older populations would show smaller percentages of juvenile arrests.

The Hard–core "At Risk" The Division of Youth Corrections (DYC) has the responsibility of dealing with the hard-core misbehaving teenagers in Utah. The costs are as follows: Cost of DYC Foster placement, \$14.82/day Proctor placement, \$40/day Group Home, \$53/day Intensive self-contained group home, \$79/ day The average D.Y.C. youth was— 16.1 years old Had 19 prior criminal convictions Had a history of drug and alcohol use Was unemployed and a dropout And yet, DYC is doing something right with these children; 72% were conviction free during a one year follow-up period. That is a far better recidivism rate than for dropouts sent back to the public schools.

Familially "At- Risk"

"Thirty-five years ago, 28 percent of mothers with school age children worked outside the home; today nearly 70 percent do, as do more than half of mothers with preschool children."

> Judith Lichtman, Script Howard News Service, Deseret News, Oct. 31, 1987 (p. 6A)

12.9% of the Utah population is under age 5 compared to7.2% nationally.

Working mothers

Part of the difference between Utah and the U.S. can be accounted for due to the fact that 12.9 percent of the Utah population is under age 5 compared to 7.2 percent nationally. In addition, a higher percentage of working Utah mothers, particularly single working mothers, live in poverty than is true regionally or nationally (Ibid., p. 118). Again, this may reflect a younger state population.

Of Utah women with dependent children, 49.6 percent are in the labor force compared to 53.2 percent nationally; however, 41.4 percent of Utah's working mothers have children under age six compared to 31.4 percent nationally.

Martin et al. (p. 118)

Presently, only 38 percent of children live in homes with both natural parents.

Family structure

Presently, only 38 percent of children live in homes with both natural parents (David Miller, Quest Conference, Salt Lake City, Utah, March 4, 1988). In 1986 only seven percent of families could be described as the 'typical' family that shaped the Great Society legislation of the mid–1960s: a two–parent family in which working fathers and homemaking mothers provided sustenance, structure, and support for school–age children (Wermer, Emmy and Smith, Ruth. <u>Vulnerable but Invincible: A Longitudinal Study of Resilient Children and Youth</u>. N.Y: McGraw–Hill, 1982, in <u>Phi Delta Kappan</u> April, 1987, pp. 578–579). "Families...have changed radically in structure and function in the past three decades and bear scant resemblance to the family for which contemporary school policy is modeled."

PDK April, 87 (p. 578)

"Utah's average family size of 3.66 members leads the nation with one in five Utah families having five or more members. 'Utah is like a Third World country in the middle of the United States', says Peter Francese of American Demographics, a research and publishing firm in Ithaca, New York" (in Utah Juvenile Court Annual Report, 1985, p. 13). The large family size spills over into the general population and makes Utah the youngest state in the nation. Younger workers earn less money, pay less taxes, and send fewer of their children to private schools. All these factors increase Utah's ability to educate itself.

A recent study of delinquent children from the Chicago suburbs revealed that over 95 percent had come from homes where one or both parents had been divorced (B. Fisher, personal communication). "For the past decade, there have been over a million divorces per year in the United States" (National Center for Health Statistics 1986; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract, 1984; in Stephen J. Bahr, <u>Family Formation, Utah in</u> <u>Demographic Perspective</u>, Martin et al., Signature Books, 1986). Utah has not escaped that epidemic.

"We need a critical examination of the nature of the changing contemporary American family. There are more young people [in trouble]. Why?"

Report to the President: The National Coalition of State Juvenile Justice Advisory Groups, 1986 (p. 35)

In Utah, the figure for divorce is 21.6 percent compared to 22.8 percent for the nation. But the current rate of divorce between Utah and the nation is more revealing. "Divorce rates per 1,000 married women," says Stephen Bahr, "revealed sharper and greater differences between Utah and the U.S." (Ibid, p. 124).

"Utah is like a Third World country in the middle of the United States."

"For the past decade, there have been over a million divorces per year in the United States." "In 1970, Utah had 16.6 divorces per 1,000 married women, while the U.S. had 14.9. By 1981, the Utah rate had reached 25.1 and was still higher than the 22.6 nationally."

> Utah in Demographic Perspective, Martin et al., Signature Books, 1986 (p. 124, italics added)

Documentation shows a correlation between divorce and child misbehavior. However, little research dissects the subtle factors between divorce and delinquency. Some experts believe the trauma experienced in divorce carries over into the child's future behavior. Others point to common causes for both divorce and child misbehavior. The lack of interpersonal skills, for example, can contribute to both divorce and delinquency. Parental behaviors which correlate with adolescent misbehaviors will appear in a later chapter of this report.

The divorce data indicates that Utah will not escape the child misbehavior which is related to family breakup.

Spouse skills and parenting skills have a lot in common

Some experts believe the trauma experienced by the

the child's future behavior.

child can carry over into

Single parent families also place Utah children at risk. Numerous studies show a correlation between single parent families and various misbehaviors of youth.

On the issue of single families, Utah fares a little better than the nation. In 1970, single parent families in Utah represented 9.9 percent of the total while the comparative figure for the nation was 14.0 percent. By 1980, the figures had increased to 11.6 percent for Utah and 17.2 percent for the U.S. (Utah in Demographic Perspective, p. 149). However, it should be noted that Utah divorcees tend to remarry faster and more often than their national counterparts.

Whether pre-existing problems contribute to both divorce and child misbehavior, or whether the trauma of divorce and the lack of two parents leads to behavior problems, children from broken families are at risk. It is a risk which is often noted but seldom addressed. Of all of the conditions which place unmarried teenage girls at risk, pregnancy heads the list

Sexually "At Risk"

Of all of the conditions which place unmarried teenage girls at risk, pregnancy heads the list. Many misleading figures are bantered around for Utah. Part of the confusion comes from selective quoting. Teenage fertility rates, abortion rates, pregnancy rates, and sexual activity rates are all part of the picture but are seldom quoted together. It is true that teenage fertility rates (live births) are higher in Utah because of a lower than average marrying age (Chadwick, Bruce A., "Teenage Pregnancy and Out-of-wedlock births," in Utah in Demographic Perspective, Martin et al., Signature books, 1986, pp. 24–25).

In contrast to teenage fertility rates, Utah's teenage abortion rate is lower than most surrounding states and the nation as a whole. Teenage abortion in Utah is only about one-third of that of the nation. However, in looking at trends, Utah's teenage abortion rate increased 43 percent from 1975 to 1982, very close to the 49 percent rate of increase for teenagers nationwide.

Pregnancy data compiled in 1987 by the Institute for Research and Evaluation for the years 1975–85 shows trends similar to the Chadwick data for the 1975–80 years. More important, it shows a gradual decline in Utah's figures from 1980 to 1985, whereas the national figures stay about the same. This gives Utah a slight advantage over the 1975 national comparisons— about 15 less pregnancies per thousand women in the 15–19 year old age group.

Olsen, Joseph, 1987

In teenage pregnancy comparisons between Utah and the nation, Utah teenagers look relatively good. Teenage pregnancy comparisons between Utah and the nation are also often misleading. This is because nonwhites have a much higher pregnancy rate than whites, and fewer nonwhites live in Utah compared to the nation. When this factor is adjusted for, Utah teenagers look relatively good. Comparing the figures for white teenagers, Utah's pregnancy rate per 1,000 women between the ages of 15 and 19 was 64.8 in 1975 and rose to 78.7 in 1980. Nationally, the 1975 figure was 70.2 and the 1980 figure, 80.5 (Chadwick, p. 29). Without the nonwhites, Utah teenager pregnancy rates appear quite comparable with the national figures. However, to be more accurate, the pregnancy rates should be adjusted downward still further to adjust for the legitimate higher fertility rates because of younger marriages.
More important, however, than the comparable rate of teenage pregnancies is the fact that the Utah rate has risen faster than the nation as a whole. Between 1975 and 1980, the rate for white teenager pregnancy in Utah increased 21 percent while the rate for white teenagers nationally increased 14.5 percent.

Chadwick (p. 30)

The latest data on the proportion of Utah teenagers who are sexually active comes from a 1988 study by The Governor's Task Force on Teenage Pregnancy Prevention. In a stratified, random sample of high school students, the survey found "a total of 33 percent who report ever having had sexual intercourse." As an indication of sexual activity, 17 percent reported having intercourse during the past month (p. 17). Also, 20 percent of those who have had sex before had intercourse only once (p. 6).

AIDS is a threat that cannot be ignored. The potential for placing teenagers at risk is real. This risk comes from the fact that AIDS exposure is highest among drug users and the sexually promiscuous. Teenagers and young adults are in the highest categories for both behaviors. The threat of other noncurable sexually transmitted diseases is also growing. Treatment and after—the—fact intervention offer no remedy. Prevention of both drug use and sexual activity is the only acceptable approach to the AIDS threat. Given the levels of sexual activity among Utah teenagers and the associated dangers, there is no doubt that Utah's teenagers are at risk sexually.

Socially "At Risk"

The inability to relate positively to other people places many teenagers at risk. The inability to relate positively to other people places many teenagers at risk. There are many who are shy and withdrawn and lack the confidence to venture into new growth-producing activities. Many grow out of these conditions; many others do not. Some grow up with compulsive fears which hinder them throughout their lives. The sociopathic personality stemming from a combination of authoritative-indulgent parenting is only one example.

Many children grow up without the values to operate successfully in an interdependent society. Some reach adulthood lacking the self-discipline to abide in a self-regulating culture; others are unwilling to extend social responsibilities beyond the family.

Social Changes Placing Children At Risk

Many recent and continuing changes in society place children at risk. The side effects of some of these changes are implied in the above "at-risk" categories. However, several specific social changes are worth mentioning as contributing factors for placing children at risk.

- The age at which children, especially girls, reach puberty has been steadily getting younger. The average female now reaches puberty three years before their grandmother did.
- The age of adulthood (that is the average age at which youth move into traditional adult roles) has steadily been getting older. In the early parts of this century, youths of 17 years commonly entered the adult workforce, married, and assumed the full responsibilities of adulthood. Now the average age of marriage is in the mid-twenties.
- The younger age of puberty and the older age of full transition into adulthood means that the length of adolescence has grown fourfold in two generations.
- The forces of international competition in the last decade have made a traditional high school diploma economically obsolete. The vocational worth and effectiveness of high school is in a nose dive. It no longer guarantees a well-paying job.
- A sense of community or "shared values" is a vanishing foundation for schooling. When home, church, and community had a common set of operational values, schooling was easier because the students were more alike and the curriculums better matched to the needs of the students. A current example is Japan's cultural unity that makes education easier than in "diversified" America. The "me-ism" phenomenon of the U.S. society portends even more pluralism ahead in behavior as well as thought.
- Schools have lost much of their traditional influence as a socializing institution. Part was lost in the shift of "educational power" from a neighborhood school to large school districts and to state and federal levels. Further, court

rulings over "individual values" and "behavioral rights" have forced local schools to abandon or ignore local community standards in favor of national "community standards" as defined by the judiciary.

- Media influence over children has come on like "gangbusters," while the influence of teachers, religious leaders, and even parents has diminished. Fifteen years ago media ranked eighth as an influence on teenagers. Currently it is in second place and battling with parents for first. Teachers, who used to be second, have now dropped to fourth place behind peers.
- The generation gap is real. The current rate of social change places society, as well as its children, at risk. In less affluent times, the extended family lived together and served as a sort of bridge between generations. Small communities and cohesive neighborhoods, in which a majority of people lived, provided stability and continuity. Affluence and communication and transportation advances have removed these "enculturating" influences. No one except the media and peer groups have stepped forward to fill these voids in the lives of many children.
- Children have declined in importance, not only for many parents, but for society at large. Many couples choose not to have children, and those who do have less. For many parents, successful child rearing remains their most important duty. For many others, growing incidents of abandonment, abuse, neglect, and emotional aloofness tell a different story. Social emphasis has shifted from the young to the elderly.
- More children now live in poverty.

"As a group, children are now the poorest segment of the nation's population. They are nearly seven times as likely to be poor as those over sixty-five" (Moynihan, 1986, pp. 52, 95–97, in CED, 1987, pp. 8–9). While children of minorities are more likely to live in poverty, over twenty percent of all children under six, are now living in poverty, two-thirds of whom are white.

"It stands to reason, then, that if modern social forces are pulling apart the traditional family, there will be consequences for serious delinquency."

Gottfredson (p. 36)

Children and poverty and school

"Some children born into poverty have the family support, the role models, and the determination to succeed in school despite their disadvantages; in fact, education has traditionally provided an escape from poverty for many children from poor families. Yet, poverty does correlate closely with school failure, especially where family structure has broken down as well. Poor students are three times more likely to become dropouts than students from more economically advantaged homes" (CED, pp. 5, 8).

"Poverty is most highly pronounced for those children living in single-parent households headed by women. Children of single parents tend to do worse in school than those with two parents living at home, and their dropout rate is nearly twice as high" (Moynihan, p. 93, in CED, 1987, p. 9).

"The nation's public schools have traditionally provided a common pathway out of poverty and a roadway to the American Dream. But, today...the schools are hard pressed to serve the needs of disadvantaged children. Beleaguered by powerful social forces swirling around them, the schools are ill equipped to respond to the multidimensional problems."

> Committee for Economic Development report on educationally disadvantaged children.

"Poor students are three times more likely to become dropouts than students from more economically advantaged homes." The CED report says, "It is not surprising that disadvantaged children, many of whom enter school already damaged intellectually, emotionally, or physically, tend to perform worse than more affluent children on nearly every measure of educational attainment" (p. 10).

The CED report stresses the following three points:

- More than incremental reform is needed.
- School restructuring will be required for early intervention.
- A bottom-up strategy focused at the point of learning holds the most hope.

"We now know how to save about half of the young people who fall prey to illiteracy, unemployment, and teenage pregnancy." The CED report relies on more than wishes in making their recommendations. It refers to twenty years of research which not only points the way but documents successes. Researchers note, "Although we do not yet know how to prevent every disadvantaged child from failing, we do know what works for many" (Ibid., p. 14). More specifically, "We now know how to save about half of the young people who fall prey to illiteracy, unemployment, and teenage pregnancy" (Ibid., p. 19). Compared to recent years, these are high success rates for treatment.

Society has changed; schools have not. This recent conclusion of one study on education could also apply to churches and other socializing institutions. Until homes, neighborhoods, churches, and schools make compensating adjustments for changes in society, they will continue to lose effectiveness as socializing institutions.

"Today's schools build on yesterday's notion of 'family,' both in form and function. Schools as social institutions have become outmoded...because the institutions on which they depend have changed dramatically."

A Child Resource Policy: Moving Beyond Dependence on School and Family. PDK, April, 1987 (p. 576) The latter point may be crucial to understanding the dynamics of the change in teenage misbehavior. Traditional parenting practices interact with new social conditions in new ways. Withdrawal of former reinforcements for good parenting and compensating supports for inadequate practices add to the problem.

It is quite conceivable that teenage misbehavior could expand in spite of unchanged home conditions. Parenting practices, being so closely correlated with how those parents were reared, are probably more resistant to change than other socializing institutions. While parents cannot do a lot to change society, what they can do is inoculate their children against the negative effects of society. Supportive climates and relationships (as discussed in later sections of this report) are the socializing ingredients parents need to focus on. Schools which desire to do likewise should also give more attention to support mechanisms and trusting relationships.

Adult Behaviors Which Place Children "At Risk"

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Misguided parenting and teaching practices

The majority of teenage misbehaviors have been traced to adult misbehaviors. For example, the link between teenage rebellion and adult coercion is well documented as is the link between school misbehaviors and abusive school climates. Adult misbehaviors may have good intentions but nevertheless exact their toll and place youth at risk. In the discussions of research literature contained in later sections of this report, childhood conditions and behaviors which are precursors of later misbehaviors are reviewed.

Many of these misguided adult behaviors are frequently found in Utah's home, school, and other institutional practices. They are a significant factor in placing Utah youth at risk.

More and more experts suggest that the correction of misguided teaching and parenting practices must be part of any comprehensive program designed to prevent at-risk behavior in youth.

Getting a Handle on Causes of Child Failure

Finding the ingredients for success

How much of adolescent misbehavior can be blamed on society at large; on socializing institutions such as home, school, church, and media; on poor parenting and teaching practice; or on the individual child is not the issue. The important issues are-

- What are the required ingredients for rearing successful children and for preventing at-risk behaviors?
- How are those ingredients brought into force?
- Who can activate those ingredients?

All three questions are answered in terms of social climates and interpersonal relationships. These factors serve as a framework for discussing and categorizing much of the research literature which follows in later chapters of this report.



The important topic which this chapter has addressed is the first of five questions listed in the introductory chapter.

1. "Is Utah's 'youth-at-risk' population sufficiently large to be of major concern? Do children need more help? Does Utah need a major prevention effort?"

The conclusions previously shown provide the answer. As to the need for a major prevention effort in Utah, it would be difficult not to answer—

Yes—with regard to the number of teenagers at risk;

Yes—with regard for individual teenagers at risk;

- Yes—in the sense that what we are doing now is not adequate;
- Yes—in the interest of healthy, happy, and productive children;
- Yes—in the name of child equity; and

Yes—in the name of preserving and perpetuating an effective society.

SUMMARY CONCLUSION FOR UTAH

For its vitality as a state as well as for responsible adulthood, Utah needs a major movement to prevent "at-risk" behaviors in children and youth. More importantly, it needs a comprehensive program to develop responsible, capable, and productive youth.



THE QUEST FOR PREVENTION

This chapter describes the approach for this study and its preliminary activities. Any responsible quest begins with a planned strategy.

The Governor's Board of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention had a plan in mind when it requested the formation of the Youth Enhancement Association. It wanted efforts to shift from treatment of misbehaving teenagers and young adults to prevention and early intervention.

In return, YEA formulated a multi-step study strategy which could lead to a statewide prevention and early intervention plan for Utah. Each new step was dependent upon satisfactory answers arising from the previous step.

The contents of this report cover the results of the first four steps of a five-step strategy leading to a prevention program for Utah. Suggestions for completing step five are also included. These five steps are outlined on the next page. The steps were designed to answer the five questions behind the study posed in the introductory chapter.

Five-Step Study Strategy

STEP ONE The first step was a review of research literature to determine whether enough was now known about prevention to justify any type of major prevention effort. A logical preliminary step would have been to determine whether the number of at-risk youth in Utah warranted a major prevention program. However, both the members of YEA and the Governor's Board of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention are top level leaders with firsthand knowledge. They already knew the need and had determined that something more had to be done.

- STEP TWO If the research literature indicated that a successful prevention effort was feasible, the YEA members wanted to know the necessary basic ingredients. Further, they wanted to know whether the ingredients of successful development were known, and if they were, how they related to the prevention ingredients. Their intent was to go beyond prevention and promote successful child development.
- STEP THREE Given that the ingredients for successful development were adequately identified, YEA wanted to translate them to a set of guiding principles that could facilitate parallel efforts of state agencies and other organizations. Such a "guiding philosophy" would have to be practical and capable of fitting into Utah's realities.
- STEP FOUR Based upon solid research and an acceptable guiding philosophy, YEA members wanted a multi-agency strategy developed for prevention and early intervention.
- STEP FIVE If a workable prevention and early intervention strategy could be developed, a state-level action plan would be justified, to be followed by an implementation plan. In order to be successful, the guiding philosophy, the approach strategy, and the state-level action plan would have to be agreed to by the participating agencies and endorsed by others who were involved.

Areas of Literature Review

The purpose of the YEA literature search was to ascertain the feasibility of a state—wide prevention effort. The purpose of the YEA literature search was not to identify and document all the research related to prevention. The purpose was to ascertain the feasibility of a statewide prevention effort. Therefore, it was more important that the search be comprehensive than exhaustive. For this reason, the query focussed on summaries of research and other documents or articles which synthesized research findings. It also looked at books and other materials which summarized experts' review of the available research.

Numerous experts from multiple fields were interviewed preliminary to and as part of the literature search to identify some of the materials utilized, provide a feel for the degree of consensus among experts, and pinpoint factors in prevention of teenage misbehaviors.

When research was lacking, overlapping agreement among the experts was deemed sufficient to justify inclusion. Both published and unpublished summaries were used. Where duplicative summaries of research existed, the more comprehensive one was used unless significant differences were found. Differences are often noted in the report. When the research was lacking in a particular area or where summary articles were not found, overlapping agreement among the experts was deemed sufficient to justify inclusion.

About one-half of the literature reviewed for this report was suggested by one or more of the experts interviewed. Because there was no lack of material to survey, it was felt that expert opinion would be the best way of paring down the material to be included. This proved to be a better and more up-to-date source of related and pertinent material than did computer searches or general bibliographies. However, the approach suffers from any bias held by those interviewed.

Other than for illustrative purposes, individual research articles are rarely included in this report. They are too numerous and were beyond the scope of the review. More important, single research projects in the behavioral sciences are difficult to interpret because of the large number of uncontrollable variables that occur when dealing with human subjects. The single research projects quoted in this publication are used to illustrate general findings and to add interest rather than to justify action.

Many citation references for individual research projects are included in this report to point the serious reader to primary source materials.

> Much of the latest prevention research includes school-related factors, and several authors refer to overlapping findings with the "effective schools" research. Because of this overlap, this review includes a few summaries of the effective school. A growing number of suggestions for schools come from the prevention experts; they are also included in this report.

Subject Matter Areas Included from the Reviews Studied:

Juvenile delinguency and crime Substance abuse Dropout prevention Medical connections to misbehavior Child abuse connections to misbehavior Character and moral education Effective schools Effective classrooms Effective organizations Research on teaching Tutoring and mentoring interventions Peer assistance Special education Child development Productive personality literature General prevention strategies

Does Utah have the answers to prevention? One could conclude from the data in the previous chapter that Utah does not have the answers. However, that is not necessarily the case. Applying what is known is always more difficult than merely knowing it.

Interviews Conducted

YEA felt it important to sample the prevention related knowledge of top level youth professionals in Utah as well as nationally. Doing so fulfilled four needs:

- First, to tap the expertise within Utah.
- Second, to find out how well versed key personnel were in the prevention and early intervention literature.
- Third, to determine if any major differences in philosophy existed between the Utah and national experts. This knowledge would prove valuable in any Utah development.
- Fourth, to determine the degree of compatibility within Utah agencies and organizations. The latter was deemed of particular import in designing a multi-agency prevention strategy and developing a state-level plan.

Conferences Attended

The following conferences were attended to gain access to the latest materials, establish contacts, and interview presentors and participants.

- National Conference on Juvenile Justice, New Orleans. National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges & National District Attorneys Association in Cooperation With the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinguency Prevention.
- National Character Education Conference, Washington D.C. National School Boards Association and U.S. Office of Education.
- "Youth-at-risk" Conference, Portland, Oregon. Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory.
- Troubled Youth Conference, Salt Lake City, Utah.
- National Conference on Gifted and Tallented, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Solution Guidelines

There are usually multiple solutions to every problem. But some solutions are more practical or realistic than others. The following national advice was used to guide the quest for a workable strategy.

National advice

Should not "reason replace politics as the strategy of choice?" The National Coalition of State Juvenile Justice Advisory Groups in their 1986 report to President Reagan plead for a sounder approach to prevention. They ask that "reason replace politics as the strategy of choice" (cover letter). The report also notes the lack of research and data to support much of what is going on.

The coalition calls for more formative research and the use of research results to guide program activity. The report says, "Even at the most practical levels, programs and policy changes driven by research would be helpful.... Most importantly, there must also be action research projects that are short term, practical and helpful to those who must make policy" (pp. 23-24).

Other specific concerns or recommendations in the Coalition report helped guide the YEA quest:

- Improved techniques needed in screening for risk (p. iv)
- Avoid lack of continuity in policy and programs (pp. 16–17)
- Use of the latest research and field findings to guide program development and operation (p. 20)
- Need for "integrated strategy for action" at multiple levels of government (p. 25)
- Programs that move beyond knowing what needs to be done and into the how to get it done (p. 27)
- Need to find new ways to correct and reform rather than looking for "new ways to punish" misbehavior (p. 34)
- Need to know what programs are working and why (p. 35)

Juvenile Justice programs must move beyond "good intentions" and become "results–driven." The report stresses that "Juvenile Justice" and "Chapter I for the Handicapped" are the most fully funded of Federal programs. But, we still do not know what works best and why. This is because programs are still driven by undocumented personal beliefs and traditions established in early the days of the program.

The latest research is not being taken advantage of. This confirms the notion that the nation is not getting what is should for its money. Programs must also move beyond "good intentions" and become "results-driven." As the Juvenile Justice report notes, "Objective-driven strategies lend themselves to evaluation, modification, and even abandonment when appropriate" (p. 59).

The report acknowledges a broader social dilemma which needs to be dealt with. It concludes: the "agenda concerning America's youth is too important to be ignored" (p. 37).

The cautions and recommendations in the Juvenile Coalition report, in addition to giving direction on the prevention quest, also lend perspective for reviewing the summaries of research contained in this report.

Overlapping information in this report

The approach used in this report addressed the questions on which the study was based. They are discussed in order. Hopefully, the following explanation will alleviate any discomfort to the reader.

Two elements become apparent as the chapters of this report (dealing with the research literature) are read. One is the repetition; the other is a certain amount of inconsistency. Repetition occurs for three reasons. First, much overlap is found between various research summaries from the same field. Second, overlap exists between research findings from different fields. Third, several of the major reports quoted in this publication mix research findings and prevention recommendations. In a practical sense, the sections on solutions of necessity must include some research findings. These have been kept to a minimum and have only been included where they are integral to understanding the solutions suggested by the various authors.

When reading this report, readers will note a degree of inconsistency. Experts read the literature differently. Where differences occur, alternative points of view have often been included. Different interpretations of the research are particularly sharp when experts recommend specific elements from the research to be emphasized in prevention programs. On some issues, the reader will have to decide which elements from the research should receive emphasis in the prevention strategy recommended in this report.

YEA Members' Self-imposed Constraints Based Upon Utah Realities

Task force members wanted to overcome the weaknesses of earlier prevention programs. The YEA members, operating as a task force, outlined several parameters for the preparation of a successful prevention and early intervention strategy. Task force members wanted to overcome the weaknesses of earlier prevention programs. More important, the YEA group wanted a prevention strategy that fit the realities of Utah. They noted that for Utah, a successful prevention strategy must—

- Require no add-on programs; prevention must be a by-product of regular operation of existing agencies.
- Work within existing financial and staff resources.
- Not entail heavy in-service training requirements to begin.
- Be compatible with or able to connect with existing thrusts of statelevel agencies.
- Must involve the schools.
- Must, for any links beyond the school, be simple, self-evident, and practical.

These criteria constrained YEA from directly utilizing most of the prevention programs operating nationally, for almost all prevention programs to date are add—on programs requiring additional staff and dollar resources.



CORRELATES OF MISBEHAVIOR

Home, school, and peers are the triad upon which most research findings on misbehavior have focused.

Judgement of Experts Still Required

Many research projects which study similar factors differ in important ways. Research designs differ. Control variables differ. Even study variables with the same name are defined differently. Therefore, the authors of research summaries must draw their conclusions from a patchwork of clues.

Even authors from the same field weigh and interpret the facts differently, depending upon their own experience. For this reason, the reader should not be disturbed at noting some seemingly contradictory interpretations from different authors quoted in this report.

Home, school, and peers act as the triad upon which most research findings on misbehavior have focussed. That is why these three factors are reported first in this chapter.

Home Climate and Relationship with Parents

The type of climate developed and fostered in the home appears repeatedly as one of the most important elements in later misbehavior of children. The type of climate developed and fostered in the home appears repeatedly in the research as one of the most important elements in later misbehavior of children. Many experts consider it to be the most important variable. Others view the quality of the relationships fostered between parent and child to be the dominant factor. Certainly the home climate sets the framework within which relationships between child and parent are developed. These two variables of climate and relationship conveniently fit together much of the research findings on the effects of both home and school upon misbehavior of children. However, that categorization is overly general for use in organizing the research findings contained in this chapter. It was therefore not used.

Degree and type of supervision

Poor and inconsistent family management practices deserve much of the blame for delinquency of all types. The data is now substantial. Catalano and Hawkins recently summarized dozens of research reports which make that a safe conclusion. "Children raised in families with lax supervision, excessively severe or inconsistent disciplinary practices, and low communication and involvement between parents and children are at high risk for later delinquency...,and substance abuse."

"Positive family relationships appear to discourage youths" initiation into drug use." They add, "Excessively severe, physically threatening, and physically violent parental discipline have been associated with aggressive and destructive acts of delinquency suggesting a link between parental child abuse and delinquency" (Catalano and Hawkins, p. 8). The opposite has also been found true. For example, "positive family relationships appear to discourage youths' initiation into drug use" (Catalano and Hawkins, p. 8).

Catalano and Hawkins (p. 6)

Family example

Children from families with parents or siblings characterized by antisocial, criminal, or drug abuse activities are at much higher risk than when these factors are not present. For example, "a consistent correlation between adolescent drug abuse and parents' use of alcohol and other legal drugs has been shown."

Catalano and Hawkins (p. 9)

"It is conflict between family members that appears more salient in the prediction of delinquency than family structure per se."

"Both learning disabilities and child abuse have been empirically linked to delinquency."

Inner family conflict

Catalano and Hawkins explored the relationship between broken homes and delinquency and drug use. They state, "Though parental discord may lead to family breakup, it is conflict between family members that appears more salient in the prediction of delinquency than family structure per se.... Thus children raised in families with high rates of conflict appear at risk for both delinquency and illicit drug use" (pp. 9-10). In addition, "there is evidence that children reared in circumstances of extreme social and economic depravation are at elevated risk of chronic delinquency" (p. 10).

Aggressive children

Several authors note the connection between aggression and serious teenage misbehavior. At the Oregon Research Institute, Patterson, Reid, Janes, and Conger studied that link in detail.

> "Our observation studies suggest that aggressive boys are likely to come from families in which all members demonstrate high rates of aggressive behaviors." Patterson et al., 1975 (p. 4)

Their interesting list of child behaviors related to family aggression and the developmental relationships leading to them are covered in the chapter on causes.

Mistreatment

"Both learning disabilities and child abuse have been empirically linked to delinquency" (Sandberg, p. 40). The focus on child maltreatment as a cause of chronic acting-out children is given impetus by "a small but harmonious body of research indicating that child abuse is present in anywhere from 50-100 percent of delinquent populations." Such a high rate "is what leads researchers to conclude that a 'significant' relationship exists between child abuse and delinquency" (Ibid., p. 42).

Multiple family factors

Dr. Vincent Fontana, a pioneering physician in the child abuse field, observes: "The teenage delinquents, alcoholics, drug addicts, and prostitutes on our streets are for the most part products of multi-problem homes where they suffered abuse and neglect" (in Sandberg, p. 36).

"It stands to reason, then, that if modern social forces are pulling apart the traditional family, there will be consequences for serious delinquency."

Gottfredson (p. 36)

"Children in trouble often have few family resources upon which to draw."

The evidence is consistent that those children **who care** about their parents are much less likely to be delinquent than their counterparts. "The official records of delinquency document that children in trouble often have few family resources upon which to draw. No love or respect between the two" (Gottfredson, 1987, p. 36).

In one Florida court jurisdiction, children from nonintact homes were two and one half times as likely to have court referrals as children from intact homes. "Thus, whereas 17 percent of the children in the jurisdiction's population were from nonintact homes, such children represented 40 percent of the court referrals."

Gottfredson, 1987 (p. 38)

Greater quarrelling, lack of joint activities, expressive hostility, and so forth, are found repeatedly by researchers in the homes of delinquents (Gottfredson, p. 39).

Parent-child relationships and bonding

The evidence is consistent that those children who care about their parents, who are knowledgeable about and interested in their parents' expectations, and children who are strongly attached emotionally to their parents are much less likely to be delinquent than their counterparts (See Empey, 1982, in Gottfredson, p. 40). Empey narrowed down the importance of parental relationships in his summary of research. He says, "The presence or absence of parents is less relevant to an understanding of delinquency than the quality of the parent-child relationship.... Whether based on official or self-reported data, virtually all studies suggest that the juveniles who are most likely to be delinquent...are those whose attachment to their parents is weak.... Conversely, the stronger their attachment, the greater their conformity."

Empey, 1982, p. 270 (in Gottfredson, p. 40)

Parental monitoring of children's whereabouts

When Hirschi asked the youths in his large sample whether their mother knew whom they were with when they were away from home, those who said 'no' were five times more likely to be delinquent than those who said 'yes."

Hirschi, 1969 (in Gottfredson, pp. 39-40)

It may be that a student's perception that parents and teachers know "where they are in their schooling" might be an important indicator of future school performance. This fascinating and important finding raises the interesting question of whether there is a school parallel in academic delinquency. *Should parents monitor "academic whereabouts"* of students? Given the above finding, it may be that a student's perception of the degree to which parents and teachers know "where they are in their schooling" might be an important indicator of future school performance.

Is there a parallel for school relationships?

Given the importance of these home-related "relationship" factors, one must ask, "Are there parallels for school-related relationships?" The answer seems to be yes. Those parallels are covered in the effective school research reviewed later in this report.

Can a good school compensate for a bad home?

Given the importance of supportive climates and close interpersonal relationships in prevention, perhaps schools that provide these ingredients can have a similar impact on child development. If so, a good interpersonal climate in school may partially compensate for a lack in the home, and visa versa. This may explain why the predictive data is weaker when only school or home is studied. No research was noted that studied home and school "interpersonal relationship" climates in combination.

The relevant question is how much a good school can compensate for incomplete parenting. Given the social assaults on the family, the question is beginning to receive a great deal of attention. Ghetto schools of New York City, Chicago, and Los Angeles are currently testing the concept. Early results look promising. This report will later deal with this topic with more depth.

SCHOOL CONNECTIONS TO DELINQUENCY

It is well established that a good share of a child's misbehavior at school can be traced to the home. Is the opposite true to any degree? Some researchers now say yes.

"In the Kandel's study, by far the best predictor of illicit drug use was the school the subject attended, suggesting that the school climate is a major contributing influence on children's drug-using behavior."

Kandel et al., 1978 (in Baumrind, p. 17)

"Eighty percent of the children parading through my court room are anywhere from two to four years academically retarded." Judge Regnal W. Garff, 1985

School achievement

Due to the close correlation between home factors and child difficulties, the general assumption used to be that poor academic performance could be attributed to either low ability or poor parenting. Research now suggests that academic performance may be an independent factor correlating with later misbehavior. "At the individual level, academic achievement appears to be a predictor of delinquent behavior that transcends social class and ethnicity." Hawkins and Weis summarize: "At the individual level, academic achievement appears to be a predictor of delinquent behavior that transcends social class and ethnicity." This conclusion is supported by Call (1965), Jensen (1976), Polk and Halferty (1966), and Stinchcombe (1964) (in Hawkins and Weis, p. 84).

Speaking of the school factor, Catalano and Hawkins conclude, "Whether measured by self-report or by police records, delinquency is related to academic performance at school." Also, "those who fail in school beginning in the late grades of elementary school are more likely to engage in disruptive classroom behavior and delinquency."

Catalano and Hawkins (p. 11)

As noted in numerous other studies, Robins (1980) characterizes drug users as having average or better IQ's but being underachievers.

in Catalano and Hawkins (p. 11)

These studies seem to indicate that academic failure itself does relate to delinquency. According to several earlier studies, the school achievement component of delinquency and drug use seems to be interrelated with race and social class. If so, academic difficulties may not be independent of other factors. However, Catalano and Hawkins reviewed numerous studies which controlled for class and race (p. 11).

Gottfredson says the research so consistently shows that poor school performance is associated with delinquency that the leading text in the field summarizes the research directly: "The lower the academic achievement, the greater the delinquent behavior."

Empey, 1982, p. 289 (in Gottfredson, p. 24)

Still, poor school achievement may itself be caused or related to home factors. Catalano and Hawkins refer to Kandel (1982) who "suggests that low school performance does not itself lead to drug use, but that the factors leading to poor school performance are related to drug involvement" (in Catalano and Hawkins, p. 12). More importantly, it may be that the familial factors associated with adolescent problems may be more prevalent in the homes of minorities and lower socioeconomic levels (which were the variables controlled for in some of the studies). If that is true, then child rearing and schooling practices, rather than race or socioeconomic status, should be the focus of further research.

Educational commitment

Another school factor related to delinquency is commitment to academic or educational pursuits (Elliot and Voss, 1974; Hirschi, 1969, in Hawkins and Weis, p. 84). This is especially true for those who do not like school (Hawkins and Weis, 1985, p. 84).

"In one study, students who responded that they disliked school were five times more likely than students who reported liking school to be engaged in serious delinguency."

Hirschi, 1969 (in Gottfredson, p. 28)

"Negative relationships have been reported between delinquency and commitment to educational pursuits, participation in school activities, achievement orientation and educational aspirations, and caring about teachers' opinions" (Catalano and Hawkins, p. 13). The findings are similar for drug abuse. One longitudinal study "showed that the effects of seventh grade school bonding variables were more consistent and pronounced for serious regular marijuana use than for occasional or experimental use of marijuana in 9th grade" (Catalano and Hawkins, p. 14).

The data suggests that "educational innovations which encourage students to feel part of the school community and to become committed to educational goals hold promise for preventing delinquency."

Hawkins and Weis, 1985 (pp. 84-5)

However, it should be noted that "little prospective longitudinal research has been conducted to assess school commitment during elementary grades as possible predictors of later delinquency and drug abuse."

Catalano and Hawkins (p. 14)

Another school factor related to delinquency is commitment to academic or educational pursuits.

School climate

The Catalano and Hawkins survey of the correlates of teenage misbehavior lead them to say that, "School structural arrangements and practices appear to be associated with rates of school failure, alienation, dropout, isolation from prosocial peers, school misbehavior, and delinquency." These findings hold even after controlling for neighborhood and student attributes (p. 15).

"High crime schools generally are characterized by ability tracking, high rates of corporal punishment, high staff turnover, and custodial or authoritarian climate." Rutter, 1973 and Reynolds et al., 1976 (in Catalano and Hawkins, p. 15)

One of the critical school factors is "lack of soundness" of administration. Gottfredson (1984) suggests one of the critical school factors is "lack of soundness" of administration indicated by "poor teacher/administrator cooperation, teacher emphasis on control in classes rather than instructional objectives, ambiguous sanctions, and student perceptions that rules are not clear or fair" (in Catalano and Hawkins, p. 15).

It should be noted, says Catalano and Hawkins, that "school arrangements and practices appear to have considerably greater effects on behavior in school than on individual delinquent behavior outside of school" (Catalano and Hawkins, p. 15).

Other School Correlates with Delinquency

To the potential dropout, "school is seen as hostile and threatening. They experience alienation and have little or no room to maneuver successfully." Fenwick (p. 58)

An excellent summary of the precorrelates of delinquency has been recently compiled by Michael R. Gottfredson in a National Center for Juvenile Justice publication. Research findings constantly confirm the importance of the factors that follow.

- School grades are consistently related to delinquency, whether delinquency is measured by self-reports or official records (Gottfredson, p. 24).
- Schools are the primary setting for much of the serious delinquency that occurs in contemporary society (p. 24).
- IQ is also related to delinquency. The full connection between IQ and academic achievement as it contributes to delinquency has not been explored. Given the clue that the worse a student does, the more likely to engage in delinquent behavior, it follows that the disparity between academic IQ and actual grades predicts delinquency more accurately than grades alone, or IQ alone (Ibid., p. 24).

Teacher bonding is important. "Students who responded that they did not care what their teachers thought of them were three times more likely to be seriously delinquent as were students who cared what teachers thought of them" (Hirschi, 1969, in Gottfredson, p. 28).

School operation

"At the same time school experiences are leading *some* youth into delinquency, the school and schooling are increasing in importance in American society," concludes Gottfredson. He says, "This creates a greater segregation due to extended schooling" (p. 29). He maintains this growing dichotomy has important implications for school structure, organization and operating philosophies.

Gottfredson says that school practices affect victimization rates for students and teachers as well as student aggression. He then points out that interpersonal aggression is related to delinquency (p. 27). He notes the two-way nature of the problem when he says, "Not only are school experiences implicated in acts of delinquency but the school is an increasingly important *setting* for violence and theft" (p. 30).

Peer Factors

Peer associations and copy cat behavior

Peers and media are two important influences for drug use. "To fit in with others," is an important reason given by all age groups (Bennett, p. 7).

Peers and media are two important influences for drug use. "Association with delinquent peers during adolescence is among the strongest correlates of adolescent delinquency...including drug abuse," note Catalano and Hawkins. "Perceived use of substances by others is also a strong predictor of use."

Catalano and Hawkins (p. 16)

Probably one of the most significant findings related to peer influence is referenced by Hawkins and Weis. "It has been reported that frequent users of marijuana have a greater orientation toward friends than parents, and greater perceived support and models for use (see Jessor et al., 1980). Use of marijuana is strongly associated with use by closest friends and perceived support for use. The Jessors found that perceived environmental predictors (such as friends as models for use) accounted for twice the variance in drug use as compared to personality factors" (Ibid., in Hawkins, p. 85; see also Catalano and Hawkins, p. 16).

While the data relationship is strong, the peer causal link is not so clear. Catalano and Hawkins note that since most delinquency is committed in groups, it is difficult to ascertain the influence of various factors (p. 16). The longitudinal study of the National Youth Panel (Elliot et al., 1985) found that "strong bonds to family and school decrease the likelihood of involvement with drug using and delinquent peers" (in Catalano Hawkins, p. 17). This may help explain why only some members of the same peer group are influenced by the misbehavior of others in the group.

"It is not known at what point peer associations become important in predicting delinquency and substance abuse" (Catalano and Hawkins, p. 17). However, it is known that social maladjustment is a significant predictor of antisocial behavior later in life (p. 17). Catalano and Hawkins note that "several studies show that unpopularity at an early age is a significant predictor of subsequent delinquency and mental health problems" (p. 17).

See Catalano and Hawkins (p. 18 for references)

"It has been reported that frequent users of marijuana have a greater orientation toward friends than parents."

"Strong bonds to family and school decrease the likelihood of involvement with drug using and delinquent peers."

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Other Correlates of Misbehavior

Social bonding

Individual attitudes and beliefs are related to substance use and delinquency. A social bond between the individual and society has been shown to be effective in inhibiting both delinquency and drug use. The strongest elements of this affective bond are "attachment to parents, commitment to school and education, regular involvement in church activities, and belief in the generalized expectations, norms, and values of society" (Catalano and Hawkins, p. 18, includes references).

Value framework helps bonding

Enough research is now available to conclude that "alienation from the dominant values of society...[is] positively related to drug use and delinquent behavior." Similarly, "high tolerance of deviance, resistance to traditional authority, a strong need for independence...have all been linked with drug use.... All these qualities would appear to characterize youths who are not socially bonded to society" (see Catalano and Hawkins, p. 19 for references).

Neighborhood bonding and mobility

"Attachment to neighborhood also has been recognized as a factor in the inhibition of crime" (Catalano and Hawkins, p. 19). Neighborhoods with high bonding, active participation in informal surveillance, and lower rates of residential mobility have less crime. The latter factor results in higher victimization rates even after accounting for racial and age differences (p. 19). Peers who are more mobile also seem to be more prone to deviant behavior (p. 21).

Sensation seeking

Another correlate of delinquency and drugs is "sensation seeking." "A need for stimulation or change underlies experimentation with a large number of substances" according to Catalano and Hawkins (p. 22). One study (Ahmed et al., 1984) "discovered that two measures of risk-taking, willingness to risk injury and willingness to risk illness, predicted expectations to use and actual use of alcohol and cigarettes" (in Catalano and Hawkins, p. 22). Sensation seeking, the authors hypothesize, could be an "attempt to compensate for low levels of nervous system arousal" (p. 23).

Misbehaviors build on other misbehaviors

Criminal behavior and drug use often occur together. "In a study of substance abuse among juveniles adjudicated for violent crimes, half reported that they used alcohol or drugs prior to their violent behaviors and 40 percent reported using drugs immediately prior to their committing offense (Hartstone and Hansen, 1984, in Catalano and Hawkins, p. 2). There can be little doubt that drugs are a contributing factor in crime. Some have argued that they are a direct cause.

Miscellaneous factors

Low verbal ability has also been found to correlate with delinquency. It may come into play in several ways. It increases the likelihood of school failure and likelihood of aggressive behavior.

Catalano and Hawkins (p. 24)

Dr. Patricia J. Bush has studied substance abuse as it relates to role model, health perceptions, and expectations. In summarizing from a series of reports, she says, "The results...confirmed the importance of **environmental factors** to the development of children's expectations and use of medicines and abusable substances" (Bush, p. i, Executive Summary, emphasis added).

Mothers may have better perception about their children than about themselves. Bush says, "Mother's perceptions of their children's beliefs and behaviors explained more variance...than mothers' beliefs and behaviors relative to themselves" (Ibid., p. ii).

Bush also found perception of locus of control and mother expectations to relate to substance use as did use by other members of the family. She notes, "Peer use and family salience...increased the probability of a child's use or expectations to use cigarettes and alcohol" (p. ii, emphasis added). In her study sample, "Forty-three percent of children have alcohol at least once a year with parents' permission" (p. vi). She says, "Alcohol use positively related to risk-taking and with a more internal health locus of control" (Bush, p ii, Executive Summary, emphasis added).

Mothers tend to underestimate peer influence. Bush found that "children are more likely to report that they have friends who smoke or drink than their mothers believe," Also, "children report more pressure to smoke cigarettes or marijuana or to drink alcohol than mothers believe they have." Bush (p. iii, Executive Summary)

"Peer use and family salience...increased the probability of a child's use or expectations to use cigarettes and alcohol."

Adult role model influence

"Ten percent of children say they think the adult they admire the most smokes marijuana; 46 percent believe the admired adult smokes cigarettes, and a third of children say the admired adult drinks beer, wine, or liquor. Seventy-three percent say they have seen a family member drunk."

Bush (p. vi)

Susan W. Ahmed and her associates make the same observation. Regarding cigarettes, alcohol and marijuana, "the most important [factors] were salience of the substance at home and among peer classmates, and risk taking propensity" (Ahmed et al., 1984, pp. 9-10). These authors quote others, e.g. O'Connel et al. (1981), Dielman et al. (1982), and Levitt and Edwards (1970) who "found family and peers to be the major factors influencing children's smoking behavior" (in Bush, p. vi).

Users underplay own usage

"As with older children (Glynn 1981), the child is more likely to see his or her peers as more likely to engage in these behaviors than him or herself" (Ahmed et al., 1984, p. 10). No one has explained the latter phenomenon. Perhaps it is a moral rationalization that "as long as I'm a little better than others, it's okay." This rationalization may come from the coping propensity (originally born of sense of fairness) to compare one's self with other people rather than with an independent standard.

Experimentation versus abuse

Ahmed and her associates say, "Like Baumrind (1984) and Kellam (1980) we have found that some characteristics that are often encouraged and admired in children (in our study, autonomy and risk-taking), are also those that predict willingness to experiment with abusable substances. Like Baumrind, we also believe that we must be careful to distinguish between experimentation and use and abuse." Ahmed, et al., 1984, p. 10, (in Bush, p. vi)

"The most important [factors] were salience of the substance at home and among peer classmates, and risk taking propensity."

Special Categories of Misbehavior

Several new classifications of behavior disorders are now used to describe educational efforts for persons with handicaps. While the research is not as extensive as for other types of misbehavior, it has provided new insights for viewing old problems.

Unfortunately, intervention methods that only address the misbehavior of these children cannot solve the problem.

Behaviorally disordered children

A relative latecomer to the research arena has been an effort to study a special handicapped classification of youngsters categorized as "behaviorally disordered." Many of these behaviorally disordered children lack either necessary academic or social skills (Brenda K. Scott and James E. Gilliam in Steve Kucik papers, p. 35). Unfortunately, intervention methods which only address the misbehavior of these children cannot solve the problem. While they might temporarily contain the misbehavior, only after the necessary skills are developed will the misbehavior be self-correcting.

The clues from the Boys Town research of learning disabilities include "such related factors as short attention span, being extremely overactive (or underactive), a quick temper, and a tendency to be impulsive. Such clues are also associated with child maltreatment." Sandberg (p. 36)

Chronic Acting-out Children

Some children, including the hyperactive, are now officially labelled as "Chronic Acting-out Children" (CAC). Because their symptoms are often misunderstood, Sandberg says, "We are...interested in getting systems people (including schools) to fully appreciate the extent of these children's difficulties which make productive learning and acceptable behavior so hard" (p. 37).

Not all behaviors are evident in any one student. "Also, adolescent CACs are apt to exhibit more of these factors than those who are preadolescent" (Sandberg, p. 37).

Learning Disabled Children

Another special group of misbehaving students are what are now labelled as "Learning Disabled" (LD). These children, for one or more reasons, have difficulty learning right from the start even though the intellectual capacity is present. The National Center for State Courts has summarized their research findings based on a study of nearly 2,000 youths.

- Adolescents [who are] handicapped by LD are 'at high risk for delinquency.'
- Young LD males have over twice the rate of adjudication as non-LD males.

 Between 30-50 percent of all officially adjudicated juvenile delinquents nationally are learning disabled.

Criteria for Identifying High Risk Students

The Utah State Office of Education has compiled a list of criteria to identify high risk students. Their list includes the following factors (Gubler, 1987):

 Underachieving Poor grades Personal and social behavior problems Learning style different from conventional instructional process/demands Nonconforming students Learning disabilities Creative, artistic emphasis, and daydreaming Low self-esteem Attendance and tardiness problems Discipline problems Other school and teacher-related problems School organization, staffing patterns, policies, and environment Inadequate tracking and follow-through 	 of student progress Family and socioeconomic factors Children of minority or low income families Parents have low educational levels and educational commitment Number of siblings Dating and social patterns and attitudes Habits behavior as relates to automobiles, drugs, and alcohol Peer group associations and reinforcements Limited, nonexistent, or inaccurate communication with parents, teachers, and other adults Language and cultural barriers
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SUMMARY

When the growing number of correlates of teenage misbehavior are viewed as a whole, a multiplicity of factors are implicated. Most of the correlates come from studying groups of adolescents as contrasted to individual youth. Similarly, many more studies on status factors have been done than on interactive factors (which are implicated in the latest research).

The result of these research patterns has been to identify secondary factors more than primary causes of misbehavior. For example, the social factors identified from the findings of the National Center for Educational Statistics (1985) of the characteristics of dropouts are: "usually male, live in a single-parent home, lack basic skills, have low self-esteem, and believe they have little control over the future, have serious behavior problems,...have few meaningful ties to their schools and typically experience life in families which are continuously moving" (Fenwick, p. 57). None of these explain the dynamics of cause and effect.

The past research on static social correlates has led many community leaders to focus on social cures by attempting to change social conditions. The YEA—imposed economic constraints stipulated for a successful solution forced this study to search further. For that reason the next chapter looks at early predictors and the dynamics behind misbehavior.



EARLY PREDICTORS OF MISBEHAVIORS

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Antisocial Behaviors

"Serious conduct disorders in childhood appear to be virtually a prerequisite for serious antisocial personality problems in later life."

Catalano and Hawkins give repeated documentation that "problematic conduct early in life continues for certain children" (Catalano and Hawkins, pp. 5–6). Among other findings, they note:

- Early antisocial behavior has been found to predict adolescent substance use.
- Correlations between first grade male aggressiveness coupled with shyness and substance abuse ten years later.
- Trends from fighting to other antisocial behavior, such as theft.
- Family factors rather than antisocial factors as more important in determining female drug use.

How early can predictions be made?

According to Catalano and Hawkins, "Stable predictions of behavior have been found from the age of school entry, but not before" (Rutter and Giller, 1983; Robins, 1979, in Catalano and Hawkins, p. 6). "First-grade teacher ratings of antisocial behaviors are good predictors of later drug abuse and delinquency."

The implied developmental flow that Hawkins draws from Spivack's work as well as others is as follows: antisocial behavior and maladaptive coping > academic difficulty > misconduct and delinquency. It is similar to Hirschi's causative links of misbehavior. Hirschi illustrates the school failure—delinquency relationship as follows: Academic impairment > Poor school performance > Dislike of school > Rejection of authority > Delinquent behavior (Sandberg, p. 61).

"It is possible that social adjustment is more important than academic performance in the early elementary grades as a predictor of later delinquency and drug abuse." Hawkins says that, "First-grade teacher ratings of antisocial behaviors are good predictors of later drug abuse and delinquency." These findings suggest that social, not academic, adjustment is more important in the first grade as a predictor of later drug abuse. Academic performance emerges in importance as a predictor some time after the first grade. It is possible that early antisocial behavior in school predicts both academic underachievement in later grades as well as later drug abuse.

Academic predictors follow social predictors

Academic predictors showing up later than social predictors. Says Hawkins:

"This suggestion is consistent with Spivack's (83) results regarding the role of school failure in the prediction of delinquency. While early academic failure (first grade) did not predict delinquency in Spivack's study, academic failure beginning in grade five did predict subsequent community delinquency among males. Spivack found that antisocial and maladaptive coping behaviors in earlier school grades contributed to academic failure in late elementary grades which, in turn, contributed to subsequent misconduct and delinquency. Spivack concluded that academic failure in the late elementary grades exacerbates the effects of early antisocial behavior."

Catalano and Hawkins (p. 12)

Catalano and Hawkins conclude that it is not clear from existing research at what grade level school achievement becomes "salient as a possible predictor of drug use" (p. 12). Research findings are confusing in this regard. One study (Fleming et al., 1987) "found that children who scored high on first grade readiness and IQ tests exhibited earlier and more frequent use of alcohol and marijuana. These students were more than twice as likely to become frequent users" (Catalano and Hawkins, p. 12).

Catalano and Hawkins surmise, "It is possible that social adjustment is more important than academic performance in the early elementary grades as a predictor of later delinquency and drug abuse. Early antisocial behavior in school may predict academic failure in later grades, later delinquency and drug abuse. Academic failure in late elementary grades may be caused by or exacerbate the effects of early antisocial behavior and/or contribute independently to delinquency and substance abuse" (Catalano and Hawkins, p. 13 includes references).

"Continuity of antisocial behavior appears stronger for those youths identified by parents, teachers, and peers as extremely antisocial "

Loeber and Dishion, 1983 (in Catalano and Hawkins, p. 6)

Predictions are not conclusive!

"While serious conduct disorders in childhood appear to be virtually a prerequisite for serious antisocial personality problems in later life, less than one-half of the children with identified serious childhood behavior problems will manifest serious chronic delinquency."

> Robins, 1978; Famington, 1978, 1979; Ghodsian et al., 1980; Shannon, 1978; Werner and Smith, 1977 (in Catalano, p. 6)

Early use of drugs tends to be associated with antisocial behavior, while later drug use tends to not have that link. Not all adolescent misbehaviors are linked to antisocial characteristics. Catalano and Hawkins explored the differences between risk factors for serious delinquent and chronic drug users. They note, for example, that "different etiological paths may be associated with early versus late initiation of antisocial behavior including drug use" (p. 7). They base their observation on the fact that early use of drugs tends to be associated with antisocial behavior, while later drug use tends to not have that link.

Other Predictive Behaviors

Lack of social bonding not only accompanies misbehavior, it is one of the best early predictors of it. David Hawkins, in one of the finest summaries of early correlates of drug abuse, makes the following point. Rebelliousness and nonconformity to traditional values, high tolerance of deviance, resistance to traditional authority, a strong need for independence, and "normlessness…have all been linked with substance use. All these qualities would appear to characterize youths who are not socially bonded to society." Such children also score lower on personal competence and social responsibility measures, such as "obedience, diligence, and achievement orientation."

Hawkins (pp. 86-87, references included)

Clausen has also summarized the evidence regarding the early correlates of later drug abuse. He says, "One surmises that the identification of those who will be precocious in drug behavior might well be possible in terms of early signs of rebelliousness or precocity" (Clausen, p. 247, in Hawkins, p. 79).

Hawkins concludes: "In summary, the evidence of a positive relationship between childhood antisocial behavior and subsequent drug abuse is relatively consistent." Therefore, he says, "If the goal of prevention is to prevent serious maladaptive behavior associated with drug abuse in adolescence, then it may be desirable from an etiological perspective to focus prevention efforts on those youth who manifest behavior problems, including aggressive and other antisocial behaviors during the elementary grades" (p. 80).

The predicting variables of chronic offenders

The Rand research summary includes the following as predicting variables of chronic offenders.

- 1. Lack of family parenting skills.
- 2. Biological or physical defects.
- 3 Use of incorrect parenting skills.
- 4. Acting-out behavior (early teens-daring, disobedience, lying, wandering, excessive aggression, truancy; or later teens-heavy drinking or smoking, drug use, promiscuous sex, and fighting).
- 5. Accumulated record of criminal acts to date (Rand, p. ix).
In summary, interpersonal factors predict better than personality factors.

"Generally, with the exception of rebelliousness and alienation, personality factors have been found to be less predictive of substance use than behavioral or interpersonal factors."

Hawkins (p. 87)

The Link Between Misbehaviors

Because of common precursor factors, more and more experts are now arguing that delinquency and drug abuse are different behavioral manifestations of a "deviance syndrome" that results from common etiological factors and processes (Donovan and Jessor, 1984; Elliott et al., 1985; Jessor and Jessor, 1977; Kandel, 1980; in Catalano and Hawkins, p. 2).

Most work has been done in identifying the risk factors associated with the serious offender. Severe or chronic delinquency is the area that Catalano and Hawkins have focused on. Caution should be used in extrapolating the data from the serious to the occasional juvenile offenders. However, little is noted in the research to argue against common but less severe precursor factors for the occasional offender as contrasted to the frequent offender. (As noted below, the one exception might be youths with high risk-taking propensities who belatedly engage in various misbehaviors.) In other words, the precursor correlates of serious offenders still give the most consistent clues to precursors of all misbehavior, minor as well as severe.

Misbehavior syndrome

Studies of patterned misbehavior of all types are turning up similar precursor ingredients. Also, that the more serious misbehaviors have high correlations with each other would indicate some common causal factors. Baumrind noted the lack of certain success producing ingredients as showing up in a multitude of teenage misbehaviors. She concludes that the similarities suggests a "syndrome" cause, rather than separate causes for most "at-risk" behavior.

The precursor correlates of serious offenders still give the most consistent clues to precursors of all misbehavior, severe or otherwise.

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Baumrind concludes that the similarities suggest a "syndrome" cause, rather than separate causes for most "at-risk" behavior. Catalano and Hawkins generally note the same thing, although they have identified a separate cause for the juvenile who occasionally or temporarily commit crimes or uses drugs.

"Epidemiological statistics also suggest that the occasional use of drugs by most adolescents is a different phenomenon from drug abuse which is associated with a deviance syndrome or antisocial personality."

Catalano and Hawkins (p. 3)

The case for a separate cause for low or occasional users is made because drug use among high school students is higher than the rate of chronic antisocial behavior. The problem with this conclusion, however, is that it does not take into account that both drug use and criminal behavior occur along a continuum, with only the most severe labeled as "antisocial." To try to separate the etiology of one from the other may be trying to artificially divide the continu am of cause as well as the continuum of behavior.

The case for a common cause

One of the best evidences of a common cause syndrome is that most teenage and young adult misbehaviors correlate with a number of earlier behaviors or conditions in a child's life. The premise is that these causal ingredients lead to maladaptive coping behavior that can take many forms. Out of the same causal factors, one child may resort to crime, another may try drugs, still another may rebel. Some withdraw, others turn to blind obedience as a "safe" way of coping with an otherwise hopeless situation. While not fully tested, the explanation is gaining support from research findings.

The clues to such a syndrome come from a variety of sources. The Jessors (1978), for example, "found that one could predict transitions of school aged children into drinking, loss of virginity, marijuana use, and delinquency about equally well from whichever behavior appears first, and concluded that similar antecedents foster a wide range of problem behaviors" (in Hawkins et al., p. 79).

Hawkins notes that Spivack found such antecedents for a variety of delinquent behaviors. He says, "Spivack's longitudinal

Whether it is called a "deviance" syndrome, a "maladaptive behavior" syndrome, or an "antisocial" syndrome is unimportant. The important point is the wide scope of misbehaviors which exhibit the same precursors and thus imply a common cause. study of high risk [and] early signs of delinquency...revealed that conduct disturbances in adolescence could be predicted from kindergarten and first grade signs of acting out, overinvolvement in socially disturbing behaviors, impatience, impulsivity, and acting defiant and negative" (Spivack, 1983, in Hawkins et al., p. 79).

Turning to other evidences of a syndrome factor, Robins (1980) proposes that "drug misuse can be viewed as a manifestation

Finding "antecedents of a wide range of problem behaviors" simplifies early intervention and prevention. Intervening with one causal malady is much more cost effective than having to treat numerous symptom maladies. of a deviance syndrome" (Hawkins, pp. 87-88).

Hawkins says, "Kaplan and associates (1982) regard deviant responses, including drug abuse, as motivated by the development of self-rejecting attitudes in the course of norma-

tive interactions. Deviant patterns are seen as alternatives to conventional means of achieving self-esteem and avoiding self-devaluing experiences" (Hawkins, pp. 87-88).

The next chapter will cover these causes. Before looking at causes one might ask, What are the predictors of good behavior and how do they relate with the predictors of bad behavior?

Early Predictors of Good Behavior

While much less research has been conducted on early predictors of good behavior, clues suggest that they are closely related to early predictors of misbehavior.

Diana Baumrind has conducted a series of long-range follow-up studies to pinpoint the family antecedents of good behavior as well as misbehavior. What is most interesting about her research is that she found parent behavior, rather than child behavior, as the precursor element. She contrasts the behavior of children coming from calls "authoritative" versus "authoritarian" versus "permissive" homes. Authoritative parents exercised firm control, but in a context of "contingent warmth." Authoritarian parents also exercised control, but in a detached and less warm manner. Permissive parents, while warm, were non-controlling and nondemanding.

Baumrind (pp. 19-20)

The interesting thing in the Baumrind studies is not the identification of the individual familial traits that correlate with good and bad behavior, but the combination is required to produce later good behavior. Since her research has such powerful implications for prevention, it is reviewed in more detail in a later section of this report dealing with solutions.

Baumrind found that "restrictive, nonrational discipline was associated with withdrawn, dependent, and disaffiliative behavior in both boys and girls, whereas authoritative, rational discipline was associated with socially mature preschool behavior."

Baumrind (pp. 19-20)

The permissive parent "behaves in an affirmative, acceptant, and benign manner towards the child's impulses and actions...but not as an active agent responsible for shaping and altering ongoing and future behavior."

Ibid. (p. 21)

"The more socially mature and competent children are more likely to be involved in illicit marijuana use." Children from authoritarian homes ended up far less socially responsible (Baumrind, pp. 21–22). However, Baumrind did not find utopia in parental characteristics. She says, "The parental correlates of illicit drug abstention do not generally coincide with the parental correlates of optimal competence." For example, "restrictiveness is related negatively to boys' social assertiveness at age nine, but positively to abstention from illicit drug use in early adolescence." Also, "the more socially mature and competent children are more likely to be involved in illicit marijuana use" (p. 29).

While Baumrind found nothing in her longitudinal data to "suggest that the early intrapersonal coping strategies of adolescent substance users [were] deficient," (p. 33) this is not true for delinquency. On the other hand, Baumrind found social deterrents both persuasive and coercive (p. 33).

However, the dual track into drug use (experimentation versus precursor misbehaviors) may mask the effect of weak intrapersonal coping strategies as a predictor—as it is for other types of delinquency.

Home, school and social bonding

"Generally, a constellation of attitudes and beliefs indicating a 'social bond' between the individual and conventional society has been shown to inhibit both delinquency and drug use" (See Hirschi ,1969; Hindeland, 1972).

Hawkins (p. 86)

"The elements of this affective bond which have been shown most consistently to be inversely related to drug use are attachment to parents, commitment to school and education, and belief in the generalized expectations, norms and values of society. Conversely, alienation from the dominant values of society and low religiosity have been shown to be positively related to drug use."

Hawkins (p. 86)

Lack of social bonding to home and school appeared frequently in the literature as correlates to both misbehavior and social success. "Both social and academic success at school appear to be prerequisites for bonding to school," says Hawkins (p. 88).

Home and school factors affect peer choices

Based on his interpretation of the research, Hawkins suggests "The formation of social bonds to family and school will decrease the likelihood that youths will develop early attachments to drug abusing peers in early adolescence." This, he says is because "we postulate that the behaviors rewarded in family and school and those likely to be rewarded by drug abusing youths are not compatible" (p. 90).

"Formation of social bonds to family and school will decrease the likelihood that youths will develop early attachments to drug abusing peers in early adolescence." 64

"It appears reasonable from the evidence reviewed on childhood predictors of early initiation and abuse that adolescent drug abuse should be viewed from a developmental perspective.... Early antisocial behaviors, early experiences in the family, later experiences in school, and finally, interaction with peers all appear to be implicated in the etiology of drug use and abuse.... If the process of developing a social bond to prosocial others and prosocial activities has been interrupted by uncaring or inconsistent parents, by poor school performance, or by inconsistent teachers, youths are more likely to be influenced by peers who are in the same situation and are also more likely to be influenced by such peers to engage in drug use."

Hawkins (p. 88)

If developmental flaws are implicated in later misbehavior, then early prevention is called for rather than later intervention.

Developmental causes suggest early prevention

If developmental flaws are implicated in later misbehavior, then early prevention is called for rather than later intervention. "A developmental perspective on drug use suggests that preventive interventions which seek to address only the peer/drug use linkage and which wait to intervene until adolescence may be misspecified" (Hawkins, p. 88).

"Looking more specifically,...positive family relationships, involvement, and attachment appear to discourage youths' initiation into drug use.... According to Kandel, three parental factors help to predict initiation into drug use: parent drug–using behaviors; parental attitudes about drugs; and parent–child interactions. The latter factor is characterized by lack of closeness, lack of maternal involvement in activities with children, lack of, or inconsistent parental discipline, and low parental educational aspirations for their children."

Hawkins (pp. 81-82)

Self-esteem may be overemphasized

Many writers have suggested that good self-esteem would prevent most misbehaviors. Unfortunately, "Contradictory findings or weak correlations have been found for self-esteem, locus of control, sensation seeking, and other personality dimensions" (Hawkins, p. 87, includes references). "Programs which seek to prevent drug abuse by improving self-esteem do not appear strongly supportable by etiological research."

Hawkins (p. 96, includes references)

"Findings suggest that strategies which attempt to improve self-esteem prior to the onset of drug use may, at best, delay the onset of use among nonusers."

Hawkins (p. 96)

Most important is the identification of root causes for the antisocial behavior.

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What is behind early antisocial behavior?

More important than either the correlation between early antisocial behaviors and later misbehavior or the inhibitors of antisocial behavior is the identification of root causes for the antisocial behavior.

Overinvolvement by one parent and disengagement by the other has been shown to be a relevant factor in homosexuality.

Kaufman and Kaufman, 1979 (in Hawkins, p. 82)

Is there a "healthy behavior" syndrome?

The startling implication of the existence of common root causes for good behavior as well as bad behavior is that a healthy behavior syndrome may exist as well as a maladaptive behavior syndrome. While less studied, a good deal of justification exists in the research literature for this as an approach to prevention. The argument hinges on the increasingly common finding that the presence or absence of child rearing ingredients signals both success and failure, respectively. Contemplating the opposites of the precursors of maladaptive behavior has potential value toward developing successful children.

The argument hinges on the increasingly common finding that the presence or absence of child rearing ingredients signals both success and failure, respectively.

SUMMARY

Less research exists on early correlates of later misbehavior than on contemporary correlates because longitudinal studies covering many years are required. Therefore, longitudinal studies are generally regarded as a stronger evidence of cause.

The early correlates of later misbehavior are organized in a smaller number of categories. This narrows the number of variables to be dealt with in addressing prevention. However, being less extensive, follow-up research could still uncover additional relevant variables.

It is generally believed that early, rather than later, correlates of misbehavior come closer to the causes of misbehavior and consequently to offering clues for successful prevention. Cause and effect is difficult to prove in human research. To stress that point, it is noted that over 5,000 studies were accumulated before the causal relationship between clgarette smoking and lung cancer became generally accepted.

The causes of misbehavior are explored in the next chapter. Understandably the causes are closely related to both precursors and early predictors. Therefore, some overlap with this chapter is unavoidable.



CAUSES OF MISBEHAVIOR

Care must be taken not to assume that one correlate causes the other.

Prior chapters covered many research variables which correlate with teenage misbehavior. This section serves the purpose of discussing various correlates as possible causes of misbehavior. However, care must be taken not to assume that one correlate causes the other. There is always the possibility that a third factor not even included in the study causes both of those correlates. For example, increased alcohol consumption in the U.S. correlates with the increase in the number of ministers. False reasoning might suggest that ministers are turning into alcoholics when, in reality, population increases account for both.

Aware of research limitations, most experts are willing to interpret the data and give their best interpretations on causal factors. That makes this section of the report possible.

This section serves the purpose of discussing various correlates as possible causes of misbehavior. The relationship between variables and their interactive effect is also important in understanding the causal dynamics. The prevention clues which follow in the next two chapters make sense only in this context.

Family Factors

Family factors are fingered more than any other ingredients as having causal relationships to misbehavior. Several of the important relationships are covered in the following material. 68

"The observational data collected in the natural home settings of identified aggressive children suggested a behavioral pattern typical of a normal three year old."

Aggressive children

"Our observation studies," says Patterson and his colleagues, "suggest that aggressive boys are likely to come from families in which all members demonstrate high rates of aggressive behaviors" (Patterson et al., 1975, p. 4).

These authors continue, "The observational data collected in the natural home settings of identified aggressive children suggested a behavioral pattern typical of a normal three year old. In effect, these children's socialization appeared to be severely slowed. Such children do not learn the social skills required to obtain and maintain satisfying social contacts" (Ibid.).

These authors then point out what experienced treatments specialists have often noted. "Peer groups tend to reject the aggressive child. Such children tend to receive three times as much punishment from their social environment as do nonproblem children. Additionally, socially aggressive children tend to acquire academic skills at a slower pace than nonaggressive children. And what is most discouraging is the finding in other studies that such highly aggressive children are unlikely to outgrow this problem," even in adulthood (Ibid.).

14 Noxious Behaviors

Patterson and his colleagues identified 14 noxious behaviors which identified aggressive boys.

- DisapprovalNegativism
- Noncompliance
- Teasing
- High Rate Behavior that if carried on for a long period of time would be aversive (e.g., running back and forth in the living room, jumping up and down of the floor)
- Physical Negative (attacking or attempting to attack another person)
- Yelling
- Whining
- Destructiveness

- Humiliation
- Crying.

 Command Negative (in which immediate compliance is demanded and aversive consequences are implicitly or actually threatened if compliance is not immediate; additionally, a kind of sarcasm or humiliation directed at the receiver)

- Dependency (requesting assistance in doing a task that a person is capable of doing himself)
- Ignoring others

"All of the 14 socially aggressive behaviors described above are viewed as being variations on a theme involving pain control techniques among family dyads." Patterson labels this behavioral process as "coercive."

Patterson, 1975 (p. 4)

Patterson and his coauthors explain the interactive cause. "Thus an aggressive child teaches his siblings and his parents to accelerate their rates of coercive behaviors. In effect, the entire family system becomes disrupted" (Patterson, et al., 1975, p. 6).

"Parents of socially aggressive children tend to use the same punishments such as scolding, nagging, threatening, yelling, or spanking as used by parents of nonproblem children," the Patterson team notes. "However, when parents of aggressive children apply these consequences to their child, matters are likely to get worse. When they punish the child, he is even more likely to immediately repeat the behavior." The authors note the need for parents "to use more useful punishing consequences" and to "use them more consistently. That is, instead of threatening the child when he misbehaves, the parent is trained to use other kinds of punishment, primarily withdrawal or reinforcers such as a loss of points, a loss of TV privileges, or time out (isolation from the social environment)" (Patterson et al., 1975, pp. 6–7).

An important point made by the authors is that, "When parents obtain appropriate control over their child's behavior, they also stop using negative labels to describe the child. In addition, they become more approving of the child's behavior."

Patterson et al., 1975 (p. 7)

This, they add, improves the child's self-concept and the child begins to perceive his own behavior more positively.

The following statement by Patterson and colleagues raises the question of whether feelings and behavior are connected in both directions. That is, can positive feelings change negative behaviors, or must action come first? Are feelings a by-product of purposeful action or do they lead to action? Researchers take differing points of view. The question is similar to the well known, "Which comes first—the chicken or the egg?"

Instead of threatening the aggressive child when he misbehaves, the parent should be trained to use other kinds of punishment, primarily withdrawal or reinforcers.

Can positive feelings change negative behaviors, or must action come first?

Double Jeopardy

"The problem child becomes an unwitting victim of his own machinations in that while he was effective initially in shaping his environment to meet each whim, almost imperceptibly the system changes and begins to neutralize his effectiveness. Very soon he tends to get punished more than other family members. Amazingly, our observation data show that parents of aggressive children punish them more than do parents of nonproblem children, even when they behave in acceptable ways.

"Surely this unfair treatment will contribute to the child's feeling that he is not wanted, is rejected, or is being continually put down. Also, other adults such as teachers and neighbors as well as peers tend to label him as bad or mean, contributing to negative feelings or self-concepts. Eventually such children tend to get blamed for things which they did not even do. These events, plus the child's failure to form friendships and develop academic skills lead to the development of an extremely negative view of himself as a person. He will describe himself as not liked by parents, siblings or peers. He is likely to see himself as unhappy and sad. Others describe him as tense, irritable, or walking around with a chip on his shoulder.

"If there is a positive connection between behavior and feelings, it is our view that aversive behaviors would tend to cause negative or bad feelings and that by changing the negative behaviors to more positive forms of social interaction, the negative feelings will in turn change to more positive self-concepts for the child and more positive feelings or descriptions assigned to the child by aduits and peers."

Patterson et al., 1975 (p. 7)

Earlier speculation suggested that behavior arises from feelings. As Patterson, et al. note, research is now demonstrating that feelings arise from behavior. In many ways actions are more easily influenced than feelings. That valuable clue may be worth remembering when intervention strategies are being designed.

Developmental causes

Baumrind explains drug use in adolescents from a child development perspective. In drug abuse, for example, she stresses the developmental difference between regular drug use and experimentation based on risk-taking behavior which she says is characteristic of competent adolescents but which, viewed from an adult perspective, is "troublesome and deviant." She also stresses that "in early adolescence, the peer group becomes increasingly significant relative to the family as a socializing context" (Baumrind, p. 15).

"In early adolescence, the peer group becomes increasingly significant relative to the family as a socializing context." The antecedents of experimental or light marijuana use on nondelinquent populations include such positive attributes as independence, friendliness, self-confidence, and intelligence.

> Baumrind similarly distinguishes health compromising risk-taking from growth-enhancing limit-testing, and also errant behavior from pathological behavior. In support of these distinctions she quotes renowned investigators such as Jessor and Jessor who show that the antecedents of experimental or light marijuana use in nondelinquent populations include such positive attributes as independence, friendliness, self-confidence, and intelligence (Baumrind, pp. 17–18).

Regarding self-esteem, Baumrind notes that it declines as self-awareness is developing during puberty. She says, "The low point in self-esteem in early adolescence coincides with entry into the larger and more impersonal world of middle school, which threatens the special status conferred by the family to the younger child by virtue of family membership alone."

Baumrind (p. 16)

Diminished home & society support means...

"In the past two decades, dependency on peers relative to

parents for security and approval has increased as a result in part of withdrawal by parents from the lives of their youngsters" (Bronfebrenner, in Baumrind, p. 15). In prior generations parental withdrawal was not as catastrophic because similar support systems were available through school, church, and community. Even the remaining support systems are no longer mutually reinforcing. The inconsistencies between inside and outside the home may be contributing to the problem.

... Drug abuse here to stay

"Abuse of substances, licit and illicit, is so widespread in our present societal context that we might well ask why some adolescents abstain, rather than why most do not." Baumrind (p. 33)

The support systems in a child's life are no longer mutually reinforcing. Baymrind concludes that drug use among adolescents is not going to go away. Her reasons are as follows:

- * "Today the gap between puberty and psychosocial maturity is wider than ever before, resulting in a prolonged status of being-in-limbo, which is conducive to all kinds of social experimentation."
- "All social roles are in rapid transition.... Without a normatively sanctioned way to negotiate the transition to adulthood, many adolescents may choose a regressive identity based on rejection of adult roles."
- "The social role of women has been permanently altered with two possible consequences for drug use: first, to the extent that maternal presence in the home is an essential part of traditional upbringing, the countervailing force exerted by traditional upbringing will be less prominent; and second, young women are likely to engage in increasingly greater risk-taking and adult-disapproved behavior, making them as likely candidates as their male peers for drug use."
- "As a society, the illicit status of an act has lost much of its value as either a moral or a practical deterrent. Thus, in probing interviews, only four of our subjects gave the fact that marijuana was against the law as a personal deterrent. Abuse of substances, licit and illicit, is so widespread in our present societal context that we might well ask why some adolescents abstain, rather than why most do not."

Baumrind (p. 33)

Extended puberty, unclear sex roles, incongruous support systems, the loss of much traditional nurturance, and confused moral expectations combine to place today's youth in jeopardy of life and limb.

Causes of suicide uncertain

The rate of suicides among young people has tripled since 1950 and doubled since 1960 (Education Week, April 8, 1987, p. 20).

The numbers have appeared to stabilize since 1980. Preventive measures have fallen short of answers. Dr. Pardes of Columbia University says, "There is a great deal to be learned and a great deal we don't know" (Ibid.). He says there are no consistent studies of cause and effect.

Pardes says there are no generally accepted suggestions except to watch for the warning signs: in a student's creative writing assignments that reveal a death wish, extended periods of depression, the giving away of possessions, the recent suicide of a friend or relative, running away, major personality changes, and other emotional symptoms. Education Week quoted Dr. Pardes' warning to people to avoid "deifying" suicide victims, or "giving them a fame in death that they never had in life." Most experts agree that students should be given information on where teenagers can go for professional help in dealing with their problems. (For example, information is available from the Youth Suicide National Center. 1825 I St. N.W. Suite 945, Wash, D.C. 20006.)

Education as a Causal Factor

Sandberg reports Marge Csapo of British Columbia "found that school failure was a major causative factor of delinquency in youth." He says, "Thus, like the ACLD project in the United States..., she concluded that changing the educational approach to predelinquent or delinquent youth is a key to delinquency reduction" (Sandberg, p. 61).

In addition to the combined effects of antisocial and academic difficulties in school, Hawkins adds another school related factor. As noted in Chapter 4 he says, "A second school factor related to drug use is a low degree of commitment to education. Students who are not committed to educational pursuits are more likely to engage in drug use and delinquent behavior." Also, substance use is lower for students who plan to attend college (Hawkins, p. 84).

"Factors such as how much students like school, time spent on homework, and perception of the relevance of coursework also are related to levels of drug use, confirming a negative relationship between commitment of education and drug use."

Hawkins (p. 85)

Because of consistent findings on the perceived relevance of school, many treatment and intervention programs have included vocational training and job experience as key components. Some say teachers should illustrate the vocational relevance of all secondary school subjects.

The most that can be said at this time is that school is a secondary causal factor, albeit an important one. Its role may be more important as an additive factor to primary factors.

"Those who fail in school beginning in the late grades of elementary school are more likely to engage in disruptive classroom behavior and delinquency." Catalano and Hawkins, p. 11 "There is a persistently found correlation between the amount of time spent watching violence on television in the early years and later aggression."

The open issue is which home-related factors must be present in addition to viewing violence in the media to make a student susceptible.

In Nettler's view, the media offers too many messages counter to the moral teachings of society.

Media Factors

The media has frequently been accused of being a causal factor in several kinds of delinquencies. Because there are so many variables involved, research in this area has been difficult. Gottfredson says, "Although controversial, there does seem to be a fair amount of consensus from this literature" that violence in films and TV can induce aggression in children. He also says, "there is a persistently found correlation between the amount of time spent watching violence on television in the early years and later aggression" (Gottfredson, p. 51).

The additional question that comes to mind is how much of the cause is attributable to violence on the media and how much is due to home conditions which make the child susceptible (i.e., lack of supervision over T.V. watching, violent behavior in the home, use of negative or reactionary coping skills, etc.). The open issue is which home-related factors must be present in addition to viewing violence in the media to make a student susceptible.

Few studies of the long-term damaging affects of media exist, although it has been suggested. Nettler (1978) describes the "criminogenic conditions" of the mass media. In his view, the media offers too many messages counter to the moral teachings of society, "messages which may come back to haunt us" (p. 341, in Gottfredson, p. 52).

The evidence shows the media as a contributing agent more than a causal agent. Gottfredson says, "The most reasonable summary of the research literature at this stage of our knowledge is probably to infer that the effect of the media on serious delinquency is very modest when compared to other important causes" (Gottfredson, 1987, p. 53).

Social Factors

While many authors blame social conditions for much of the teenage misbehavior, the social variables are so numerous that productive research on cause and effect is difficult. However, given the evidence on the importance of social bonding and assuming that social conditions inhibit clarity of expectation of children, a causal case can be made for social factors. The head of the Carnegie Foundation also feels social conditions cause misbehavior. He says, "There are a variety of major indicators showing that...we are failing to provide avenues for the affirmation of fundamental needs to large numbers of adolescents."

David Hamburg, head of the Carnegie Corporation

The Carnegie report says, "Drastic social and cultural changes have outrun our understanding and institutional capacity to adapt. There is an urgent need to improve our capabilities for dealing with adolescent problems." The report quotes several trends which have "drastically changed the experience of adolescence."

- Earlier age of puberty,
- End of adolescence postponed,
- Increased gap between biological and social development,
- "More ambiguity and complexity about what constitutes preparation for effective adulthood than was ever the case before," and
- "Weakening of family and social support networks."

Carnegie Report on Teaching (introduction)

The cause, implies the Carnegie Report, is the lack of "reliable and predictable relationships, a group sense of belonging, and a sense of worth as a person," all for youth to get through adolescence.

It must be concluded that professional judgement, more than proof, implicates social conditions as a major cause of teenage and young adult misbehavior. With that, it must also be noted that professional judgment, more than proof, is behind all practice in the behavioral sciences, including education.

Home, School, and Social Bonding

When children get treated at school the way they don't like to be treated at home, they have two choices—give up or fight back. Either choice distances them from adults. The separation turns them either to peers or a make-believe world. It may be safe to conclude that if bonding to home, school, and community prevents misbehavior, then the lack of it causes misbehavior. The evidence for this conclusion is substantial. "Strong bonds to family and school decrease the likelihood of involvement with drug using and delinquent peers.... The strength of bonding to family and school is determined before exposure to drug using peers in adolescence." Also, "the extent to which youths have become bonded to family and school is likely to be a factor in the selection of prosocial or drug-using companions in early adolescence (Kandel et al., 1976, 1978; Elliot et al., 1982, in Hawkins).

Relationship With Children May Be More Important Than Example

Hawkins says, "Importantly, Tec found that parental drug use in a rewarding family structure only slightly promotes extensive marijuana use, while in an unrewarding context there is a clearer association between drug use by parents and their children" (in Hawkins, p. 82). This may mean that the home climate, including relationship with and between parents, is more important than even parental example.

As an example, overinvolvement by one parent and disengagment by the other has been shown to be a relevant factor in drug abuse (Kaufman and Kaufman, 1979, in Hawkins, p. 82). Elsewhere in this report it is noted that overinvolvement by a mother who is demeaning of the father can lead to homosexuality. Similarly, regarding nonintact families, "family structure appears to be less important as a predictor of delinquency than attachment to parents" (Hawkins, p. 83).

"The search for independence and autonomy has led a frightening number of adolescents to disengage from home and school by the end of the middle grade years. They have moved beyond the sphere of influences which the majority of students have found to provide some measure of stability and security.... They are found skating along the thin edge of the 'academic ice' with minimum performance and maximum confrontation with authority figures. The standards and norms of 'street-smart' peers dominate their behavior patterns. Accountability and responsibility have meaning primarily in terms of their peer group loyalties as opposed to the values and norms of parents or teachers.... The urgency of addressing the needs of these students lies not only in salvaging their lives for moral, ethical, and educational reasons, but also for the sake of the nation's economic and social well-being."

Ferwick (p. 57)

Confused Male and Female Sex Roles

James Fenwick reviewed the research and authored the recent California Report on Middle Grades. He identifies confused sex roles in today's adolescents as one cause of school failure. "Male sex role norms have become perverted through emphasis upon dominance, toughness, aggression, and violence." This perverted role is counterproductive with the role which is expected of males in most classrooms, Fenwick notes (p. 54).

The danger of confused sex roles cannot be overemphasized, Fenwick says because, "The working out of male and female sex role norms becomes a driving priority among students in the middle grades." He concludes, "It is little wonder that research clearly indicates that the academic and intellectual goals for students at this age level are consistently compromised in favor of personal-social agendas."

Fenwick (p. 54)

"Rape is the fastest growing crime in America."

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"Buried within present normative sex role distinctions are the roots of some of the most fundamental reasons for the massive dropout problem in American Schools." Fenwick notes that "male dominance extends to sexual relationships, the family, the school, the work place, the streets, the seats of government and the battlefield." He drives home the importance of the "perverted sex role" problem: "Rape is the fastest growing crime in America" (p. 58).

Sex role problems compound school problems

The problems of sex role identification compound themselves. These false sex role norms, says Fenwick, become all the more powerful in the life of young adults who "live in the shadows of poverty and crime, disillusioned and powerless.... Buried within present normative sex role distinctions are the roots of some of the most fundamental reasons for the massive dropout problem in American Schools. It is no accident that the largest percentage of dropouts is male and that they leave school hard on the heels of the middle school years. These youths have typically identified with the male values that glorify toughness and aggressiveness. These are not the values which are rewarded in the classroom. They represent the antithesis of values held by white, middle class, orderly and authoritarian teachers" (Fenwick, p. 60). "Educators must consider the range of personal tragedies related to inadequate sex role norms."

Sex role education

"Given the transcendence of the issue...it is deeply troubling that curriculums in the middle grade years remain essentially silent on the topic of sex role norms" (Fenwick, p. 58). "Educators," says Fenwick, "must consider the range of personal tragedies related to inadequate sex role norms which later surface in the form of broken marriages, spouse abuse, child abuse, homosexuality, and other aberrations which sociologists tell us are tearing the fabric of society" (Fenwick, p. 58).

In later parts of this report, two psychologists draw similar conclusions from their reading of the research about sexual identity (see Chapters 9 and 10).

Peers

As earlier noted, "Strong bonds to family and school decrease the likelihood of involvement with drug using and delinquent peers.... The strength of bonding to family and school is determined before exposure to drug using peers in adolescence. However, the extent to which youths have become bonded to family and school is likely to be a factor in the selection of prosocial or drug using companions in early adolescence." Catalano and Hawkins (p. 17), see Kandel et al., 1976, 1978; Elliot et al., 1982

"Adolescent drug abuse appears to be embedded in a history of family conflict, school failure, and antisocial behavior." "Questions regarding the possible role of childhood peers in predicting adolescent drug use also relate to the question of the desired outcome of prevention efforts," says Hawkins. He adds, "Adolescent drug experimentation can be seen as a peer-supported phenomenon reflecting the increasing importance of peers during adolescence. On the other hand, adolescent drug abuse appears to be embedded in a history of family conflict, school failure, and antisccial behavior" (Hawkins, p. 85).

How childhood associations with antisocial peers or, conversely, childhood isolation, may be possible predictors of drug abuse is not clear. Further research is needed on the relationship between peer association prior to adolescence and subsequent drug use and abuse (Hawkins, p. 86). "At what point do peers become important in predicting adolescent substance use?"

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Hawkins says, "The strength of bonding to family and school as contrasted to peers raises an important question regarding the role of peers in the etiology of adolescent drug abuse, which has not been adequately addressed in existing studies. At what point do peers become important in predicting adolescent substance use?... Little research has focused on preadolescent peer associations as possible predictors of subsequent drug initiation or abuse.... The strength of the relationship between peer factors and adolescent drug use clearly supports the need of further research on the nature and etiology of peer influences prior to adolescence as these relate to drug initiation, use, and abuse" (Hawkins, pp. 85–86).

Once adolescence is reached, the evidence suggests peers are a contributing factor in drug abuse and other misbehaviors. However, the evidence suggests that except for "experimental users," adolescent peers are not an independent causal factor. Other variables must be present before peers have an effect.

A New Cause of Misbehavior — The Hurried Child

Since stress has been confirmed by others as a cause of misbehavior, it is worth considering some of the origins of stress in children's lives. David Elkind, a long time child psychologist, has written two books which combine his experience and knowledge of youth problems, their causes and cures. He feels he has identified a growing problem stemming from major changes in our society and the subtle pressures growing out of those changes. Elkind focuses on misbehavior which grows out of undue parental pressures.

"What I realized was that I and other child professionals were no longer dealing with spoiled children. Rather, these children seemed to have too much pressure to achieve, to succeed, to please. It was not the lack of pressure of earlier generations, but a new pressure to hurry and grow up.... [To] grow up too fast."

Elkind, 1981 (p. xii)

Since research confirms stress is a cause of misbehavior, it is worth considering some of the origins of stress in children's lives. In focussing on stressful pressures as a cause of misbehavior, Elkind is rather generic. But since research confirms stress is a cause of misbehavior, it is worth considering some of the origins of stress in children's lives. Elkind's examples are poignant and illustrate[°] the way in which variables can interact. They also illustrate possible causal dynamics. A later chapter incorporates a more detailed description of those dynamics.

Fear of forced failure

Elkind concludes that, "Just as, at bottom, spolled children were stressed by the fear of their own power, hurried children are stressed by the fear of failure – of not achieving fast enough or high enough."

Elkind, 1981 (p. xii)

Elkind claims children are harmed when they are forced to grow up too fast. He titled his book <u>The Hurried Child: Growing</u> <u>Up Too Fast Too Soon</u>. An example is the giving of formal reading instruction before children have the requisite mental abilities; another is the giving "curriculum–disabled" children unteachable and unlearnable curriculum materials (Elkind, 1981, p. xii).

The push toward adulthood

Society as well as parents are to blame, says Elkind, noting the extreme social temptations placed on children to engage in adult activities. He talks of today's pressure on children to become "miniaturized adults" in dress, competitive sports, media, engaging in sex, wearing of adult cloths, adult language, and interpersonal strategies. The result is stress.

"Today's child has become the unwilling, unintended victim of overwhelming stress—the stress borne of rapid, bewildering social change and constantly rising expectations."

Elkind, 1981 (p. 3)

Even role models have changed in this respect. As an example, Elkind observes, "Single parents who are dating provide a very different model for children.... With single parents, chil-

Children are harmed when they are forced to grow up too fast. "Hurrying our children has contributed to the extraordinary rise in suicide rates among young people over the past decade."

"Cult membership is [one way] in which young people adopt a group identity rather than an individual one."

"Children do not learn, think, or feel in the same way as adults....To treat them differently from adults is not to discriminate against them but rather to recognize their special estate." dren may witness the romantic phase of courtship—the hand-holding, the eye-gazing, the constant touching and fondling. This overt sexuality, with all the positive affection it demonstrates, may encourage young people to look for something similar" (Elkind, 1981, p. 13).

Adult substitutes

The result of this "hurried" pressure is that youths go looking for their own solution. "Hurrying our children has," Elkind believes, "contributed to the extraordinary rise in suicide rates among young people over the past decade." Others find a solution in cults. Elkind says, "The cults, in effect, provide an accepting family that does not demand achievement in return for love, although cults do demand obedience and adherence to a certain moral ethic. Even rebellious young people find it easy to adhere to these rules in the atmosphere of acceptance and lack of pressure and competition offered by the cult group. Cult membership is another form of negative identity in which young people adopt a group identity rather than an individual one" (1981, p. 17).

Children: Are they equal with adults?

A major factor in the problem is the social phenomenon of equality and its translation into practices which treat children as adults. Elkin says, "To treat them differently from adults is not to discriminate against them but rather to recognize their special estate.... Recognizing special needs is not discriminatory; on the contrary, it is the only way that true equality can be attained.... Children do not learn, think, or feel in the same way as adults. To ignore these differences, to treat children as adults, is really not democratic or egalitarian" (1981, pp. 21–22).

Parental stress

The beginning of the solution, says Elkind, is to recognize the additional stresses parents themselves are under in a social climate of rapid change. He notes at least four kinds of stresses related to parenthood: that of being more afraid, more alone, more professionally insecure, and more self-centered. All of these stresses increase the dilemmas of parenting and extract their toll in parenting practices.

Continuing this theme, Elkind notes the tendency to be "too wrapped up in our own illness, fear, or depression. Thus with our children; it is as objects or symbols-not as full subjects-that 82

we hurry them....Symbols thus free the parent from the energy consuming task of knowing the child as a totality, a whole person" (1981, p. 28).

"Basically, people under stress are not only self-centered, they also lack energy for dealing with issues apart from themselves," notes Elkind. "People under stress," he says, "tend to see other people in the shorthand of symbols, not the often hard-to-decipher longhand of personhood. Under stress, we see others as certain obvious, easily grasped stereotypes and abstractions."

Elkind, 1981 (p. 32)

"Adult intervention interferes with the crucial learning that takes place when children arrange their own games."

One of the dangers of single mother stress is for such mothers to treat their children as confidants.

Filling needs through children

Elkind says he sees more and more parents attempting to fill their needs through their children. As one example he uses competitive sports and says, "Generally it is parent need, not a child's authentic wish, that pushes children into team sports at an early age. School-age children need the opportunity to play their own games, make up their own rules, abide by their own timetable. Adult intervention interferes with the crucial learning that takes place when children arrange their own games" (1981, p. 31).

"It is a unique characteristic of contemporary society that we burden preschoolers with the expectation and anxieties normally (if wrongly) visited upon high school seniors."

Elkind, 1981 (p. 37)

Single mothers/fathers

The stress encountered of many single mothers is particularly noted by Elkind. "In sum," he says, "needing to support children financially and emotionally, without yourself enjoying those kinds of support, is perhaps the most severe stress encountered by a female in our society" (1981, p. 41).

One of the dangers of single mother stress, Elkind mentions, is for them to treat their children as confidants. Whether by single fathers or by single mothers, Elkind points out, "children are hurried into mature interpersonal relations because the parent is under stress and needs a symbolic confidant" (1981, p. 42).

Hurried schools

Elkind says, "hurrying" schools are as guilty as homes. They must also face change, he says. Referring to their use of the factory model, he emphasizes that, "Our schools are out of sync with the larger society and represent our past rather than our future" (1981, p. 47).

Elkind decries assembly line learning with its testing references to peer norm groups. "Tests are now determining school curriculum, and the conduct of teaching is [looking] more and more like that of a factory foreman than that of a true teacher" (1981, p. 53).

"Creative teachers employ various instructional techniques so that children can integrate subject matter into their lives."

" It is my contention that the practice of hurrying children, in any of the ways described ... is a stessor." "The problem with the factory management system," he says, "is that it pushes children too much and puts them into a uniform mold. The child-centered systems, in contrast may not push children enough.... Creative teachers," Elkind observes, "employ various instructional techniques so that children can integrate subject matter into their lives" (1981, p. 52).

What does Elkind suggest? He refers to Henry M. Brickell, President of Policy Studies in Education and his conclusions from a broad survey of educational research: "The three most important ingredients in the [school] setting are the student, the teacher, and the length of time they are together. Brickell suggests that these three factors form the significant variables among all teaching methods" (Brickell, p. 618, in Elkind, 1981, p. 54).

The consequences of stress

After reviewing additional ways in which children are hurried, Elkind says, " It is my contention that the practice of hurrying children, in any of the ways described...is a stessor. Whether we are hurrying children from babysitter to nursery school, or to do well on tests, or to deal with issues such as adult problems of sexuality, we are putting children under stress." And finally, "It is clear that conflict is a major cause of emotional distress. And to the extent that hurrying causes conflict, which it often does, it is also a cause of distress" (1981, pp. 141–142).

Regarding stress, Elkind subscribes to the concepts articulated by neurophysiologist Hans Selye of Montreal's McGill University who says that stress is related to energy levels in the "Our bodies have a very specific way of calling upon and utilizing our energy reserves. Selye calls this the 'stress response." individual. There is only so much energy that can go into "adaptation, which stress calls for." Stress, then, can drain the natural energy level of a person. The natural energy of each person is different. This leaves some at a disadvantage in coping with stress. "We tend to organize our lives in keeping with our relative energy levels" says Elkind. "Fatigue is our cue to low energy levels.... Our bodies have a very specific way of calling upon and utilizing our energy reserves. Selye calls this the 'stress response'" (1981, pp. 143–144).

"Anxiety and worry burn up energy," notes Elkind. That is partly why anxious people eat more. Some overcompensate by overeating (1981, p. 145). How people respond to stress that is the critical factor. When stress goes unrelieved, stress reactions can occur. "How we perceive stressful situations is apparently as important to our well-being as...the stress situation itself" (1981, p. 147).

"These findings suggest the many different ways that the free—floating anxiety associated with the stress of separation and divorce appears in children's school behavior." The results of stress from one-parent homes manifest themselves in many subsequent evidences. Children from one-parent homes score lower in school achievement, have more tardies and absences, more visits to the health clinic, have more referrals for discipline, and more suspensions than children from two-parent homes. "These findings suggest the many different ways that the free-floating anxiety associated with the stress of separation and divorce appears in children's school behavior" (1981, p. 167). Remember, as Elkind reminds, that these are averages and do not hold for every child who has experienced separation and divorce.

When schools compound stresses brought from the home, the child is in double trouble. Elkind gives examples of common school stressors for some children: discipline based on fear, inappropriately sized learning groups, multiple uncoordinated events and interactions, labels, no sense of completion, dull routines, meaningless activities, and boring presentations.

Learned helplessness

Learned helplessness is one patterned reaction to stress. "Much research has now been done to show that when some people experience situations over which they have no control, they tend to give up and not perform well." After reviewing specific research findings, Elkind says, "Apparently, students who have been put in a helpless position carry that attitude over to other situations.... Many children acquire learned helplessness at school when they are confronted with learning tasks that are too difficult for their level of ability"(1981, pp. 175–6).

Major Theories of Crime Causation

There is no generally accepted theory of criminology. Lack of general agreement on its causes often leaves the preventionist in a political arena of good intentions and divided opinion. Some of the major theories of criminal misbehavior are briefly described below (Rand, p. 7):

- Social learning theory (Bandura, etc.) suggests that behavior is acquired and maintained through processes of direct observation, experimentation, and positive and negative reinforcement. Behaviors are copied and then encouraged or discouraged depending on whether they result in positive or negative reinforcement. Social learning theory explains how inadequate or incompetent parenting contributes to later delinquency.
- Psychoanalytic theory (Freud) suggests that parental behavior during the earliest stages of the child's development can lead to apparently aberrant behavior. It emphasizes the continuing effects of stressful incidents or trauma experienced in early childhood on the unconscious mind.
- 3. **Biological theories** (Mednick and Volavka) describe how various physical endowments or deficits may interfere with normal socialization or learning processes. To some extent, biological and physical endowments are inherited from parents and further influenced by the strength of these influences. (Examples: correlation with their father's criminal record even if the child is adopted; low birth weights correlated with lower academic performance.)
- 4. Criminal personality theory (Yochelson and Samenow) describes the cognitive processes that may contribute to continuing criminal behavior.... Because none of the theories that assign the cause of crime to early socialization processes or physical endowments comes near to explaining all of the variation in criminal behavior, individual cognitive processes must play an important role in the continuation or cessation of criminal activity.

The Rand study lists five groups of causal characteristics: family characteristics, opportunity and experience, familial experience, physical characteristics, and predelinquent behavior flags.

Medical Causes

Chronic acting—out behavior has several causes: medical, home, and school. Dr. David Sandberg summarized the research on medically related misbehavior.

- Attention Deficit Disorder (ADD). "ADD is generally considered to be primarily linked to neurological/genetic factors. However, poor parenting (e.g. faulting, punishing or beating a child for hyperactive behavior) greatly exacerbates the ADD condition." ADD is described as an organic "brain dysfunction primarily characterized by a short attention span." Sandberg says, "There is good evidence that ADD children do not mature out of their condition unassisted" (pp. 9–10).
- Conduct Disorder (CD) children are first and foremost rulebreakers, calloused toward the needs and rights of others. Among other things, they are very much at risk for later adult personality disorders including sociopathy (p. 10).
- At least 50 percent of CACs [Chronic Acting-out Children] are conduct disordered, so estimates Dr. Rowen Hochstedler. "As their condition worsens in adolescence, their demeanor and behavior tend to increasingly provoke those in authority to punish them.... The result is a downward spiral.... Nonspecific interventions will not suffice with the conduct disordered child" (p. 11).

Sandberg's solution: "What is required is a comprehensive intervention plan which first limits the acting—out behavior, then addresses through counseling the multiple factors that originally gave impetus to the behavior as well as any related trauma such as ADD which often includes a learning disability" (p. 11).

The Sandberg summary of research presents a solid case that medical or genetic factors are a cause of some misbehaviors.

Sandberg (p. 7)

Acting out the stress

Sandberg explains the dynamics of acting out behavior. "It is important to understand that acting out is a coping mechanism for children who have a limited response repertoire. Acting out is a coping mechanism in the sense that when stress mounts, the acting out releases it. Other people react to stress through flight, withdrawal, and/or disassociating. Why one child reacts one way, and another facing...the same stressors reacts another way is unclear. However, the remedial task is the same: to enlarge the child's repertoire—with language development being a key—and to attack the sources of stress" (p. 13).

Acting out blocks a student from learning. "S/he does not have enough remaining psychic energy to concentrate and therefore to learn."

Sandberg (p. 13)

Acting-out students "are indicative of major stress, pain, and anger. They comprise a defense against vulnerability, fear of closeness, low self-esteem, insecurity, and even suicidal ideation. They suggest a serious breakdown in the child's ability to communicate his/her needs in more accepted ways. They are attention getting or 'flagging' acts intended to alert us to a child in distress. All of these are part of a vicious cycle; each feeds on the other, all too frequently creating self and school fulfilling prophecies of failure" (p. 14).

The evidence suggests stress fits somewhere in the causal link to most misbehavior.

Abuse and Misbehavior

Abuse appears to cause some misbehaviors. Unfortunately, says Sandberg, "At this juncture, we still know little about treating abuse victims, perhaps because research has not had time to precisely assess the long-term effects of abuse." We do know about "delays in motor, social, cognitive, and speech development as common to abused children, such that many of these children enter school with 'distinct disadvantages'"; other problems include lingering "neurological abnormalities," "developmental delays in language," and "short attention spans, and difficulty in concentrating" (Sandberg, pp. 15–16).

"The research evidence," says Sandberg, "would seem to make a convincing case that child maltreatment leads to all manner of developmental retardants. The problem...is that nearly all the research that has been done suffers from one or more methodological flaws which make it impossible to conclude that

Acting-out students "are indicative of major stress, pain, and anger....They are attention getting or 'flagging' acts intended to alert us to a child in distress."

"The research evidence would seem to make a convincing case that child maltreatment leads to all manner of developmental retardants." " All types of chronic actingout children, including delinquents, have high rates of learning disabilities."

> Child abuse is present in more than half of the delinquent population.

Maltreated children, whatever the form, suggests "a pattern of developmental delays." abuse alone causes specific outcomes. Given the multi-problem nature of most abusive families, it is difficult to control for other individual, family, and socioenvironmental factors that adversely affect a child's development" (Sandberg, p. 17).

Abuse and delinquency

"Both learning disabilities and child abuse have been empirically linked to delinquency" (Sandberg, p. 40). Delinquency is merely one type of chronic acting-out behavior. All types of chronic acting-out children, including delinquents, have high rates of learning disabilities (p. 41). The point is that much delinquency research may apply to other forms of chronic acting-out, even though all chronic acting-out children will not become delinquent.

Does abuse cause delinquency? It can, but not always. Sandberg cites research indicating child abuse is present in more than half of the delinquent population (p. 42). Certainly not all abused children become delinquent; however, delinquency may be one common form that child abuse takes.

"Virtually all researchers in child abuse and delinquency issues are convinced that both child abuse and delinquency have multiple origins."

Sandberg (p. 43)

Consequences of neglect and abuse

Whether intentional or unintentional, child abuse is a documented cause of misbehavior. Maltreated children, whatever the form, show "a pattern of developmental delays (especially in the critical area of language facility), inability to concentrate, repeated acting out, and school failure. Their presence does not prove that child abuse is involved, but the anecdotal and research data suggest it is a probable attendant factor" (Sandberg, p. 17).

Understanding the connections between punishment and behavior is essential, "if the children involved are to be properly assessed and treated. Elsewise, the prevailing tendency is for educators to make increasingly punitive responses, such that by the time these children reach junior high school they are often viewed almost exclusively as disciplinary problems. We Whether intentional or unintentional, child abuse is a documented cause of misbehavior. would...conclude that when child abuse and neglect is present, it is a major impediment to...children getting themselves sufficiently under control to succeed academically" (Sandberg, pp. 17–18).

Unfortunately, some teachers seek to meet their own need to control disruptive behavior, but do not take the more important step to help the disruptive child to succeed academically (Sandberg, p. 18).

Dr. Ralph Welsh, a Bridgeport, Connecticut psychologist who is both a researcher and practicing psychologist is so convinced of the relationship between physical abuse and violent delinquency, he "makes a public offer of \$100 to anyone who can produce a recidivist delinquent who has not been hit with a belt, board, extension cord, fist or similar object. Most important about Welsh's work is empirical debunking of the notion that delinquency is a product of parental permissiveness." Sandberg (p. 44)

Most abused children will adopt some form of maladaptive behavior.

Missing answers

Relatively few direct causal relationship studies have been done. For the most part, direct relationships have not yet been identified between certain types of abuse and certain types of acting out. One exception is the high rate of sexual abuse among teen prostitutes (Sandberg, p. 43). Another is the higher rates of physical abuse among those reported for violent crimes (Ibid.). Copycat behavior is at least implicated.

Little work has been done to test the syndrome concept as it relates to child abuse, that is, that most abused children will adopt some form of maladaptive behavior. This means that "when one begins with a group of physically abused children and follows their development, it is clear that some will act out violently, some nonviolently (i.e. truant, runaway) and others not at all. No one seems to have studied why or how some abused children escape maladaptive behavior (Sandberg, p. 43). After reviewing the research, James Garbarino in an unpublished paper entitled "Child Maltreatment and Juvenile Delinquency: What Are The Links?" concludes that there is persuasive evidence of an important, yet vexing relationship between child abuse and delinquency. He further points out that, notwithstanding common misunderstanding, national reporting data reveals approximately 40 percent of all reported abuse subjects are adolescents. "This in turn, raises a question about how much a youth's acting—out behavior including delinquency leads to abusive treatment by parents and institutional caregivers, further complicating the overall cause—effect analysis."

Garbarino, in Sandberg (p. 45)

The ACLD has strongly held that labeling youngsters as "uneducable, behavior problems, underachievers, etc." continues to plague the development of children with learning disabilities.

Labeling

The Association for Children with Learning Disabilities (ACLD), located in Pittsburgh, has strongly held that labeling youngsters as "uneducable, behavior problems, underachievers, etc." continues to plague the development of children with learning disabilities. "Their all-important point is that these children are doubly at-risk: first, because of their handicapping condition, and, second, because of their related behavior which begins to attract the lion's share of people's attention resulting in increasingly punitive responses. Fortunate is the LD child who does not respond to his/her condition by acting out" (Sandberg, p. 46).

Garbarino concludes: "There undoubtedly is no simple cause-effect mechanism operating here.... Unraveling the connections is complicated by the possibility that the links are different for different types of maltreatment and different types of proscribed adolescent behavior.... Finally, of course, are basic individual differences such as temperament and sex, even height and weight, that personalize any general equations describing [the relationship]" (Garbarino, in Sandberg, p. 45).

Labels which follow children have consistently been shown to effect how others view and treat them. In this sense it is a contributing factor to misbehavior.

Sandberg's conclusion: "Delinquent children have uncommonly high rates of child abuse. This in itself is sufficiently compelling to warrant significant policy changes in how judicial, mental health and educational personnel handle these youth."

Sandberg (p. 45)

Neuropsychiatric Links to Delinquency

Dr. Dorothy Otnow Lewis and colleagues performed research for over 10 years focusing on neuropsychiatric factors in delinquents. Such examples of minor neurological impairments include the inability to skip, abnormal reflexes, and abnormalities in coordination. They found:

- 1. Delinquents suffer a disproportionate number of head and face injuries as young children. The more violent the youth is, the more apt he/she is to have experienced such trauma.
- 2. Delinquents have significantly more hospitalizations than nondelinquents over the course of childhood. Hospital contacts were highest when these children were age 0-4 and 14+, suggestive of the ameliorative role of schools.
- 3. Major neurological problems, such as seizures, electroencephalographic abnormalities and abnormal Babinski sign, were present in nearly 50 percent of the most aggressive boys studied.
- 4. Seventy-five percent of the violent youth had been brutally physically abused vs. 33 percent of the nonviolent delinquents studied. Moreover, 78 percent of the former group vs. only 20 percent of the latter had witnessed extreme acts of violence against other people, usually in their own homes.
- 5. A much higher frequency with which damage to the central nervous system and related sequela such as learning disabilities, attention deficit disorders and impulsivity are present among delinquent youth, especially those who are violent.
- 6. WISK (I.Q. test) results indicated no significant differences in I.Q. between violent and nonviolent delinquents.
- 7. The violent delinquents rarely perceived themselves as provocateurs. Instead, they interpreted personal encounters as threats leading to their having to defend themselves.

Sandberg's conclusion: "There is ample reason for professionals to always consider neuropsychiatric factors and histories of violence when evaluating very aggressive, hostile children." Nevertheless, "these children are capable of remediation."

Sandberg (pp. 49--50)

Physiological Connections to Misbehavior

Historically, delinquency theorists have focused on personality factors and parental factors as primary causes. However, in recent years increasing attention is being given to relationships between learning disabilities such as attention span, sequencing problems, visual and auditory discrimination, and antisocial behaviors (Sandberg, p. 52). Key findings referenced by Sandberg include—

- "Dr. Melvin Levine and several others recently identified significant differences among delinquents and nondelinquents in visual processing and auditory-language function. Almost half of the delinquents had at least one area of developmental lag" (Sandberg, p. 51).
- "A central concern with central nervous system (CNS) damage is a child's diminished control over impulses" (Sandberg, p. 52).
- "Attention Deficit Disorder, hyperactivity and LD are disorders that may reflect pervasive vs. minor CNS injury" (Sandberg, p. 52).
- "Nearly 10 percent of the total child abuse cases in England each year result in some level of brain damage. Many of these children experience academic learning difficulties stemming primarily from deficits in perceptual abilities and perceptual motor skills" (Sandberg, p. 55).
- "Children who are different often invite neglect and abuse of various forms. The connection between abuse and learning difficulties is bi-directional" (Sandberg, p. 56).

"The connection between abuse and learning difficulties is bi-directional."

Runaways—from what behavior?

Sandberg summarizes the research on runaways. "Research conducted over the past fifteen years consistently indicates that more than half the nation's 1,000,000 annual runaways leave because of physical abuse or neglect. One-third leave because of sexual abuse (some studies suggest the rate may be as high as 60-80 percent).... Other runaways are actually 'throwaways,' offspring who have been pushed out of the home or abandoned. Recent federal government statistics reveal that the median age for runaways is 15.... The government estimates that one-third of all runaways are victims of maltreatment" (Sandberg, p. 58). "Reports by runaway youth centers indicate a growing proportion of youth arriving at the centers with multiple and complex problems. Substance abuse by youth, sexual abuse or physical abuse by the adults, conflicts in school or with peers, and problems of teen pregnancy, prostitution and suicide all seem to be on the increase in youth appearing at centers.... Most runaways are from 'middle and upper class' backgrounds. In this sense, runaway behavior may resemble substance abuse.... At the least, running away is always symptomatic of a serious problem regardless of the type of child involved." Sandberg (p. 59)

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Miscellaneous Causes

Hawkins lists 12 presumed causes of antisocial behavior. They range from perceptual to personality factors (p. 92):

- Physical Abnormality/illness
- Psychological disturbance disorder
- Weak attachments to others
- Criminal influence
- Powerlessness
- Lack of useful worthwhile roles
- Unoccupied time
- Inadequate skills
- Conflicting environmental demands
- Economic necessity
- Low degree of risk/difficulty
- Exclusionary social responses (redefine delinquency downward)

Stealing

Regarding the misbehavior of stealing, Miller and Klungness note, "Nonconfrontative stealing in children is a difficult behavior to diagnose and treat because of its relatively low rate of occurrence, intermittent reinforcement history, and the potential legal and ethical dilemmas it poses to school and mental health professionals. Moreover, the continuation of this behavior is closely tied to the child's home and community environments" (pp. 24–30). "Given the rising concern regarding juvenile stealing behavior and the fact that excessive stealing behavior has been shown to be highly predictive of later delinquency, the paucity of treatment research for juvenile stealing is surprising."

Miller and Klungness, (pp. 31-32)

"Thus, it is of utmost importance for school staffs to adopt clear standards of expected behavior as well as consistent procedures to consequate illegal behavior."

> The "utilization of preventative strategies can help to restructure the social systems that can operate to promote deviant behaviors."

"Other behaviors such as truancy, peer aggression, deception, and so forth may all pose similar diagnostic and treatment problems," note Miller and Klungness. With hope they add, "Among professionals there is a general consensus that treatment success is critically dependent on consistent [addressing] of all suspected or known stealing episodes." They say this should take place by all of the significant adults in a child's life. "Thus, it is of utmost importance for school staffs to adopt clear standards of expected behavior as well as consistent procedures to consequate illegal behavior" (p. 33).

These authors call for a rule system developed with "extensive input by parents and legal officials." These rules should be "widely publicized and promoted both in school and in the community by status individuals. In addition, the importance of families in the treatment process must not be overlooked. Family intervention must become an integral part of any school treatment program.... Finally, schools could adopt system wide preventative strategies such as increasing the availability of a reinforcing participation in prosocial alternative school activities" (Miller and Klungness, p. 33).

"Clearly there is a need for further investigations of school-based approaches for modifying nonconfrontative stealing behavior in school-aged children." The "utilization of preventative strategies can help to restructure the social systems that can operate to promote deviant behaviors" (Miller and Klungness, p. 33).
No single cause of misbehavior

"No one factor has ever been shown to be the primary explanation for delinquent conduct nor likely ever will," says Sandberg. "However, years of delinquency research has pointed to a number of factors that show up in study after study: race, low socioeconomic status, large families, severe parental discipline, and poor educational experiences. More recent research has shown an unusually high prevalence of child abuse and learning disabilities among delinquent children."

Sandberg (p. 39)

An interesting question is how many of the commonly found correlate factors of misbehavior are linked to poor parenting practices.

Determining causes of teenage misbehavior is made more difficult because each correlate can in and of itself be considered a symptom or a problem requiring, in turn, a new analysis of an earlier cause.

More answers needed

Little research has been done on patterned experiences outside of the home. While one traumatic experience may trigger repeated misbehaviors or even a pattern of misconduct, most patterned misbehaviors stem from a series of earlier experiences.

An interesting question is how many of the commonly found social correlates of misbehavior (race, low socioeconomic status, neighborhood, school attended, families size, etc.) are linked to poor parenting practices. The research hints at the fact that parenting practice may explain many of the correlations between social conditions and misconduct. The next chapter covers the topic of family dynamics in more detail.

It would appear, absent any organic cause, the best prevention known is good parenting practice. That and other facts from the research, speak clearly for a program of "the school in support of the family." The ideal, as one person expressed it, would be to have the first two years of school a joint parent-child experience where, as a by-product, parents hone their parenting skills by helping their child at school.

Determining causes of teenage misbehavior is made more difficult because each correlate can in and of itself be considered a symptom or a problem requiring, in turn, a new analysis of an earlier cause. For example, low socioeconomic status, as a correlate of delinquency, can have its own precursors including broken families, low educational commitment, or other factors. Similarly, since every precursor behavior in children seems to have its antecedents, which antecedent should be labelled "a cause" and receive the primary attention? Also, are there common hierarchical causal structures among these antecedents? Finding the cause of misbehavior is doubly difficult when multiple correlates exist. The aim of this report is to get as close as possible to primary causes, rather than secondary ones. Finding the cause of misbehavior is doubly difficult when multiple correlates exist, and still harder when the relationships between correlates have not been adequately explored. Part of the difficulty can be understood by considering the difference between primary and secondary causes. For example, there is a lot of data that suggests when certain fundamental ingredients of prevention are missing, other factors develop. Should these be considered causes or only contributing factors to the missing ingredients?

To illustrate, when good home and school bonding are not in place, peers yield much greater influence. When peer influence does contribute to misbehavior, which should be labeled the cause: peer influence—or lack of family and school bonding? The same question could be asked about TV and other social influences.

There are more unanswered questions about causes of misbehavior than there are answers. The aim of this report is to get as close as possible to primary causes, rather than secondary ones. A later section of this report will deal with this issue more completely. Even without all of the answers on cause, a great deal is now known about prevention. The next two chapters cover prevention in more detail as it relates to family life and life outside the family.

In spite of what precursors are identified as a cause of later misbehavior, there is a high probability that another, still earlier cause exists.



FAMILY RELATED PREVENTION CLUES

To provide perspective for prevention and early intervention, a brief review of treatment solutions is first presented. Both this chapter and the next, present suggestions from the research for prevention and early intervention. This chapter covers the family; the next chapter deals with solutions external to the family. Families can do much to support social institutions and visa versa. The two chapters should be read in tandem. Pertinent clues from recognized experts are included for illustrative purposes when compatible with the material from the research summaries.

It is helpful to look at prevention and early intervention from the perspective of current efforts at treatment. For that reason a brief review of the status of treatment solutions is first presented. It serves as a frame of reference for introduction to both this chapter and the next one.

Treatment vs. Prevention

"The chronic offender research literature shows that criminal behavior can be traced to incompetent or inattentive and inconsistent parenting, combined with inadequate schools."

Can already "at-risk" youth be salvaged?

The Institute for Educational Leadership, in Washington D. C. reviewed the research on successful school completion. They claim that enough is known to "reclaim the most severely damaged youngsters," but "a long, costly, multidimensional response" may be required. The report calls for "a comprehensive, integrated strategy" combining social services, remedial assistance, year-round schooling, increased parental involvement, and counseling. The report also says the "case is made for coordinated longitudinal monitoring and individual management of at-risk children throughout their years in public [school]. It also calls for

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One of the most frequent questions asked in the prevention literature is whether all chronically misbehaving adolescent youth can be salvaged.

The more important point is that if hard-core misbehavior can be successfully treated, then enough must be known to treat misbehaviors when they first begin. "heightened accountability of the public education system for atrisk students and dropouts at all levels of schooling" (Hahn and Danzberger, 1987).

One of the most frequent questions asked in the prevention literature is whether all chronically misbehaving adolescent youth can be salvaged. So far, it is more of a quest than a question. Researchers line up on both sides of the issue. While the evidence is contradictory, the answer, for many misbehaviors, seems to be yes, given enough time and money.

For many who say no, it is the time and cost effectiveness which discourages them. That the required treatment cannot be given to all within the limitations of today's resources is now freely admitted. One trend is to shift from costly treatment to less costly custodial care for the toughest problems. More important, the emphasis is shifting from treatment to prevention and early intervention. However, far more money is still currently spent on redemptive efforts than on preventive efforts.

The more important point is that if hard-core misbehavior can be successfully treated, then enough must be known to treat misbehaviors when they first begin. The question is, do the principles of success identified in treatment efforts have applicability to prevention efforts before misconduct begins. If so, prevention could be accomplished with more assurance and with less time, money, and heartache. No one seems to have studied the question of relevance of treatment variables as prevention variables. Most have merely made that assumption. The question is relevant.

Does "After-the-fact" Treatment Work?

Rand (p. viii)

The debate continues

"One of the most widely accepted and influential conclusions drawn from criminal justice research over the past two decades is that rehabilitation programs do not work."

But...

The shift away from habilitation toward custodialism in juvenile corrections "is premature, cost ineffective, and non-prescriptive" says Goldstein and Glick. They say this even though they admit, "Study after study reports an apparent failure of habilitation" (p. 6).

For a supporting perspective, Goldstein and Glick quote Giller who addressed the controversy:

"Though the relevant literature is immense, most reviews have ended with essentially negative conclusions—"no delinquent prevention [treatment] strategies can be definitely recommended... With few and isolated exceptions the rehabilitative efforts that have been reported so far have had no appreciable effect on recidivism. To be sure, delinquency intervention research—as with most intervention research—suffers from very substantial methodological faults.... That the relevant research is weak is clear; what is less clear is why a strong conclusion—that habilitation does not work—should follow from weak research" (Goldstein and Glick, p. 7).

Public school success at improving the academics and behavior of children from inner cities offers new hope for treatment. One source of evidence (that rehabilitative efforts can work) is provided by recent findings concerning the effectiveness of public schools in improving the academic achievement of children from lower income families (Rand, p. 35).

The difficulty of treatment, as noted in the Rand report, is born of reality. Its authors acknowledge, "Based on our review of the literature and on our own observations and interviews with delinquent youths, we are well aware of the social and emotional deficits from which many of these youths suffer" (Rand, p. 36).

Components of school plan for treating high risk students

In his book "Discipline in the Secondary Classroom," Randall S. Sprick outlines a schoolwide plan for salvaging high-risk students. The plan includes-

- a one-on-one mentor and advocate
- behavioral expectation plans including written contracts and definition of new skills
- daily monitoring including signatures verifying behavior
- planning and follow-up meetings with parents, including the determination of home and school reinforcers
- coordination and cooperation among multiple teachers and other involved adults

Sprick (pp. 66-89)

"If parents are unable or unwilling to deal with the predelinquent adverse behavior of their children, the only other acceptable institution for doing so is the schools."

Prevention and Early Intervention Within the Family

Overview

At best, treatment efforts are costly and only marginally effective. Does prevention offer a better alternative? Most of the experts are now saying yes. Prevention ideas and suggestions take many forms. They come from individual research variables, from combinations of variables, and from the insights of experienced researchers or field professionals. Additional solution ideas come following the formulation of theories devised to explain the research to date. Some are even "gut-level" feeling and "hunches" born of long experience.

This section of the report contains elements from all of the above sources. Together they form a milieu out of which a successful prevention and early intervention strategy for Utah must be forged.

In addition to suggestions built around key agencies, many solutions relate to developmental support factors that can be applied by those personally involved with the child. It is also interesting that many of the recommended solutions do not mention who is responsible to implement them, nor do they address the attendant factors such as the climate or setting in which they should be used.

Other recommended solutions focus on the child and not the delivering agency. While some would focus on stopping what is harmful, others would concentrate on what will most likely be helpful to a child.

YEA established a guideline that the home would not be by–passed in any solution strategy nor would parental responsibilities be abrogated.

Solutions Involving Parents

It is interesting that far more suggestions for prevention and early intervention are given for the schools than for the home. The next most frequent category of solutions center around multiple social agencies working together. Only part of the multiple agency solutions mention the home. Perhaps the reason the home is often ignored in solution suggestions is the general feeling that the home cannot be changed, but the school and other societal institutions can. YEA felt otherwise, and for their prevention quest established a guideline that the home would not be by-passed in any solution strategy, nor would parental responsibilities be abrogated. The research already reviewed in this report substantiates the wisdom of that hope.

Consider also the following-

- After reviewing the research, Hawkins and Weis say, "There is sufficient evidence to conclude that strong attachments between youths and their parents inhibit delinquency."
- Family structure appears to be less important as a predictor of delinquency than is attachment to parents.*

Hirschi, 1969; Nye, 1958; Reckless et al., 1956; (in Hawkins and Weis, 1985, p. 82) Nye, 1958; Sederstrom, 1979; Weis et al., 1980; Wilkinson, 1974 (in Hawkins and Weis, p. 82)

"Parenting training should seek to teach parents effective family management and child rearing skills."

How to communicate thoughts, feelings, and values should be part of parent training. Hawkins and Weis also suggest that parents have a role in formal prevention programs. They say, "Parent training for delinquency prevention is one vehicle for achieving [it]. Parenting training should seek to teach parents effective family management and child rearing skills" (p. 82).

Children should have "participatory roles in the family as contributors to family functioning," says Hawkins and Weis. Parents should communicate effectively including thoughts, feelings, and values (1985, p. 82). This builds stronger attachment (Hirschi, 1979; Krohn, 1974; in Hawkins and Weis, 1985, p. 83). Parents should also define clear and consistent expectations and sanctions for family members. Fairness and impartiality of discipline appears related to family attachment and family control (Bahr, 1979; Hischi, 1969; Nye, 1958; Stanfield, 1966; in Hawkins and Weis, 1985, p. 83).

"Given the consistency of these findings," conclude Hawkins and Weis, "family management, communication and role modeling represent risk factors which should not be ignored in developing theories of the etiology of adolescent drug initiation and abuse or in prevention research" (p. 83). In a summary-type statement, Hawkins and Weis note, "It would appear that interventions seeking to prevent either substance abuse by adolescents or the early onset of substance use should include a focus on family factors during preadolescence." Hawkins and Weis (p. 83)

Parent training

Many delinquent youths who go on to become chronic offenders are first identified as troublesome youngsters by their teachers, parents, and even their peers when they are between the ages of 6 and 12. Training of parents in techniques for monitoring and changing their children's bad behavior has proven effective.

With such an approach, the Oregon Social Learning Center, achieved an average 63 percent reduction in the mean rate of deviant behavior of children of the trained parents. However, not all parents learned the techniques. In the Oregon program, effective training includes not only specific behavior modification skills, but negotiation skills to resolve conflicts and personal problems (Wilson, 1983).

Parental discipline techniques

Much of parental training suggestions focus on the mechanics of discipline. Examples from the literature include things such as the following:

- "Consistent parental discipline also appears to increase the likelihood of belief in the moral order" (Bahr, 1979, in Hawkins and Weis, 1985, p. 83).
- "Sanctions should be moderate and inclusionary and imply no rejection or ostracism of the child" (Hawkins and Weis, 1985 p. 83).
- "Parents should be consistent in modeling" the behavior they want to teach (Hawkins and Weis, 1985, p. 83).
- Parents should set limits and give children meaningful consequences in lieu of punishment for unacceptable behavior (Sandberg, p. v).

Training of parents in techniques for monitoring and changing their children's bad behavior has proven effective.

Authoritarian vs. Authoritative vs. Permissive Parents

NOTE: This material by Baumrind fits in earlier sections dealing with correlates or precursors of misbehavior and could have been placed there. However, since it has such powerful implications for prevention, it was felt more appropriate to locate it in this section.

> Baumrind's studies "firmly established the positive effects on preschool children of firm parental control in a context of contingent warmth."

Baumrind's longitudinal studies on youth and the development of competence relate to the parental traits that lead children toward or away from future teenage misbehavior. "Parents of the children who were the most socially responsible and independent were themselves controlling and demanding; but they were also warm, rational, and receptive to the child's communication.... This unique integration of high control and positive encouragement of the child's autonomous and independent strivings" is labelled by Baumrind as "authoritative" parental behavior. In contrast, "Parents of the children who, relative to the others, were discontent, withdrawn, and distrustful, were themselves detached and controlling, and somewhat less warm than other parents" were described as "authoritarian." A third group of parents, "having the least socially responsible and independent children were themselves noncontrolling, nondemanding, and relatively warm" were described as either "permissive" or "nonconforming," a special variant of permissive parents (p. 19).

Dr. John Gilmore, whose analysis of the research is covered in the child development section of this report, draws the same conclusions from other research as Baumrind does from hers. Material from his summary will be presented in the chapter on child development.

Control within warm climate

Baumrind feels her studies "firmly established the positive effects on preschool children of firm parental control in a context of contingent warmth." Further, "parental practices that were stimulating and even tension producing...were associated in the young child with assertiveness." On the other hand, "restrictive, nonrational discipline was associated with withdrawn, dependent, and disaffiliative behavior in both boys and girls, whereas authoritative, rational discipline was associated with socially mature preschool behavior" (pp. 19–20).

Baumrind followed these children into early years of

"Authoritative parents attempt to direct the child's activities in a rational, issue-oriented manner....[They] use reason, power, and shaping by regimen and reinforcement to achieve objectives."

"Permissive and nonconforming parents are less controlling than they are warm and autonomygranting." schooling and found similar results. "Authoritative parents attempt to direct the child's activities in a rational, issue-oriented manner. They encourage verbal give-and-take, share with the child the reasoning behind a policy, and solicit objections when the child refuses to conform. Both autonomous self-will and disciplined conformity in children are valued by authoritative parents. They exert firm control at points of parent-child divergence, but do not hem the child in with restrictions intended to prevent the child from engaging in stage-appropriate behavior. Authoritative parents use reason, power, and shaping by regimen and reinforcement to achieve objectives and do not base their decisions on group consensus or the individual child's desires" (p. 21).

In the early grades of school, "Children from authoritative homes were consistently and significantly more competent than other children. For girls, authoritative parental behavior was associated with purposive, dominant, and achievement--oriented behavior, and for boys, with friendly, cooperative behavior" (Baumrind, p. 21).

By contrast, "Permissive and nonconforming parents are less controlling than they are warm and autonomy-granting." The permissive parent "behaves in an affirmative, acceptant, and benign manner towards the child's impulses and actions and is available to the child as a resource to be used as the child wishes, but not as an active agent responsible for shaping and altering ongoing and future behavior." The nonconforming parents "were more responsive than they were demanding or restrictive but, by comparison with permissive parents, nonconforming parents were less passive, made higher maturity demands, and had better formulated a world view" (Baumrind, p. 21).

Creating social responsibility

"Children of permissive and nonconforming parents were not lacking in social responsibility. However...daughters of permissive parents were markedly less assertive and independent than daughters of authoritative parents, and daughters of nonconforming parents were neither independent nor achievement-oriented. Also sons of permissive parents were markedly less achievement-oriented than sons of either authoritative or nonconforming parents."

Baumrind (p. 21)

"Authoritative parents combining...both firm control and encouragement of autonomy...[showed] positive impact...on the development of socially responsible and independent behavior." "Authoritative parents combining high levels of both firm control and encouragement of autonomy were unique in the consistent positive impact of their child rearing practices on the development of socially responsible and independent behavior in both boys and girls" (Baumrind, p. 21).

Girls exposed to nonnegotiated discipline (other than authoritative homes) "appear to react against, rather than conform to their parents' demands for conformity" (Baumrind, p. 22).

"For boys, there are strong positive associations between socially responsible behavior and authoritative parenting.... Traditional parenting (mothers warm and fathers controlling and conservative) by contrast with either authoritarian or rejecting parenting also enhances boys' socially responsible behavior.... The children who are both highly prosocial and highly assertive generally come from authoritative families. When parents are highly demanding, but less responsive than authoritative parents, children tend to be socially assertive but not socially responsible" (Baumrind, p. 22).

Family Factors in Prevention

In the analysis of data from her longitudinal studies, Diana Baumrind found that certain parental antecedents can predict non-

drug use. Baumrind found that "family traditions, family intactness, self-awareness, monitoring, and firmness appear to shield youngsters against illicit drug use."

Baumrind (p. 29)

It should be noted, however, that none of these variables by themselves account for a large amount of the variance in adolescent substance use. Also, as noted elsewhere in this report, Baumrind did not find utopia in parental characteristics. She and others have found that "the parental correlates of illicit drug abstention do not generally coincide with the parental correlates of optimal competence." For example, "restrictiveness is related negatively to boys' social assertiveness at age nine, but positively to abstention from illicit drug use in early adolescence." Also, "the more socially mature and competent children are more likely to be involved in illicit marijuana use" (Baumrind, p. 29).

"The parental correlates of illicit drug abstention do not generally coincide with the parental correlates of optimal competence." "The pathways to becoming an experimental user, a recreational user, and a habitual substance abuser may be quite different."

Adolescents' natural desire and movement toward independent behavior has important implications for prevention programs. This unusual correlation between maturity level and marijuana use is only noted in the literature for drug experimentation (and to a lesser degree for sex experimentation) as contrasted to drug abuse. This in no way invalidates the findings of common precursors for maladaptive drug use and deviant behavior in general.

This dichotomy between good parenting and drug experimentation leads Baumrind to conclude, "The pathways to becoming an experimental user, a recreational user, and a habitual substance abuser may be quite different" (Baumrind, p. 31).

Autonomy and relationships

Baumrind states that, "Parental practices that change in the direction of greater independence–granting will be beneficial to the development of competence following puberty, since such practices take into account adolescents' new capacities" (p. 15).

Baumrind makes a strong point that the developmental stage of "adolescents" includes a natural desire and movement toward independent behavior. She says this has important implications for prevention programs. "While unilaterally dictating a set of rules and firmly enforcing them may be appropriate for young children," she says, "it is not a viable long–range strategy for adolescents in our culture who will eventually have to fill responsible adult roles requiring independent judgment. While at all ages a control attempt by one person towards another results in conflicting psychological forces both to comply and to resist, the forces to resist do reflect a stage–appropriate drive in adolescence towards independence" (Ibid.).

"Young children are not able to differentiate between legitimate and illegitimate authority," Baumrind says. "On the other hand, adolescence is a period where that distinction is heightened." Baumrind concludes that authority which is viewed by adolescents as illegitimate will "have adverse effects on their self-esteem, competence, and identity, as well as on their compliance."

Baumrind (p. 35)

Baumrind calls for a more "reciprocal, symmetrical relationship in which the adolescent's mature accomplishments are acknowledged and their criticisms assimilated."

Baumrind's prevention program would also include social reinforcement by high—status role models.

"When a child misbehaves and an adult is present and does not express disapproval, nonreaction is interpreted by the child as approval." During adolescence, Baumrind calls for a more "reciprocal, symmetrical relationship in which the adolescent's mature accomplishments are acknowledged and their criticisms assimilated." In contrast to authoritarian control, she notes that authoritative control is viewed by adolescents as legitimate and relatively "well accepted" (p. 35).

Role models and values

In contrast to being "conforming" or "law abiding," attributes not valued more than "pleasure-seeking and peer-approved activities," Baumrind says, "attributes that adolescents do value highly include honesty, self-assertion, independence, self-regulation, stamina, intellectual competence, and physical health." She suggests building on these attributes in prevention programs (p. 33).

Baumrind's prevention program would also include social reinforcement by high-status role models. She believes "well-accepted social learning principles suggest that a permissive stance by adults, who in their role as authorities would be expected to disapprove of adolescent drug use, will contribute to its use." She also documents that high status role models of the wrong kind are a key contributor in drug use among adolescents. She found "her earliest abusers were introduced to unhealthy substances by trusted adults" (Baumrind, p. 34).

"The rational abstainer capable of critiquing peer mores represents a minority of drug abstainers, most of whom are less socially mature than their peers who have chosen to experiment."

Baumrind (p. 37)

Along these lines, Baumrind quotes other authors who have also "found that when a child misbehaves and an adult is present and does not express disapproval, nonreaction is interpreted by the child as approval and the future incidence of such behavior is increased" (Baumrind, p. 34).

The same applies to the school. She says, "by the same token, it is reasonable to hypothesize that *teachers who provide* adolescents with information on drug consequences in a complacent manner which appears to be value-free are perceived by Baumrind's contention that value-free teaching is interpreted by adolescents as condoning of misbehavior has serious implications. adolescents to condone drug use and to discount its possible health hazards" (Baumrind, p. 34, emphasis added).

Little work has been done on values and drug use and the dynamics of how related values should be taught and how they come into play. Nevertheless, Baumrind's contention that value-free teaching is interpreted by adolescents as condoning the behavior under discussion has serious implications for current practices in schools and other teaching environments.

Practical Helps in Developing Successful Children

From the work of Alfred Adler, Rudolph Dreikurs, and others¹

It is easier to identify the ingredients of success than to implement them. Successful implementation requires a foundational philosophy or direction to guide the task. One such philosophy upon which several successful development programs have been based originated with psychologist Alfred Adler. During the1950s and the 60s, Rudolph Dreikurs developed Adler's philosophy into a practical program for developing children. Several student discipline and child development models have recently been based on the work of Adler and Dreikurs. Stephen Glenn's "Developing Capable Young People" and Jane Nelsen's "Positive Discipline" are two such examples of programs being used in Utah.

While not having much of an empirical base over and above clinical observation, Dreikurs' and Adler's ideas are surprisingly consistent with the latest behavioral research. It is all the more surprising that their recommended solutions agree with the latest educational research.

In the book, <u>Children the Challenge</u>, Dreikurs with Vicki Soltz outline practical helps for parents. A companion volume, <u>Psychology in</u> <u>the Classroom</u> is a parallel manual for teachers. Dreikurs' guiding principle is this: "What parents [and teachers]² have to learn is how to become a match for their children, wise to their ways and capable of guiding them without letting them run wild or stifling them" (Dreikurs, p. viii).

¹ This material comes from clinical, as contrasted with, empirical research. It is consistent with it, but is couched in a practical format. For that reason it is offered as an illustration of what form some of the ingredients from the research literature might take in practice.

² It is left to the reader to draw the teacher parallels in the material which follows.

Special Help Section for Parents

Dreikurs believes that parents have to understand children and their needs and the mistaken forms their goals take. He outlines four easily recognized, mistaken goals and clues to identify them. Dr. Betty Harrison of Brigham Young University has adapted them and placed them in chart form.

CHILD'S GOAL	PARENT FEELING	HOW TO HANDLE
Attention getting	Annoyed, tend to remind and coax.	Ignore misbehavior, attend to positive behavior when child is not bidding for it.
Effort to control	Angry, provoked, feel challenged, tend to fight or give in.	Withdraw from conflict, appeal for child's help, enlist cooperation. To fight or give in increases the desire for power.
Revenge	Deeply hurt, want to retaliate and get even.	Avoid being hurt, avoid pun- eishment and retaliation. Build relationship, communi- cate love and acceptance.
Passive escape- Inadequacy	Despair, want to give up, convinced child is unable.	Eliminate all criticism. En- gage and recognize any at- tempt. Don't pity and don't give In.

Some of Rudolph Dreikurs' key operational principles and their explanations follow. They are taken from his book, <u>Children the Challenge</u>.

The fallacy of punishment and ...

"The 'obey me, or else,' needs to be replaced by a sense of mutual respect and cooperation."

 "We must realize the futility of trying to impose our will upon our children. No amount of punishment will bring about lasting submission.... Confused and bewildered parents mistakenly hope that punishment will eventually bring results, without realizing that they are actually getting nowhere with their methods.... The use of punishment only helps the child to develop greater power of resistance and defiance" (Dreikurs, pp. 69-70).

• "We need to arrange learning situations without showing a lack of respect for the child or for ourselves. And we can do all this without a show of power, for power incites rebellion and defeats the purpose of child-raising" (p. 71).

... the fallacy of reward

"The system of rewarding children for good behavior is as detrimental to their outlook as the system of punishment. The same lack of respect is shown. We 'reward' our inferiors for favors or for good deeds. In a system of mutual respect among equals, a job is done because it needs doing, and the satisfaction comes from the harmony of two people doing a job together" (p. 72).

- "Children don't need bribes to be good. They actually want to be good. Good behavior on the part of the child springs from his desire to belong, to contribute usefully, and to cooperate. When we bribe a child for good behavior, we are in effect showing him that we do not trust him, which is a form of discouragement."
- Inner "satisfaction comes from a sense of contribution and participation—a sense actually denied [in a system of rewards]."

Use natural and logical consequences

"If logical consequences are used as a threat or 'imposed' in anger, they cease being consequences and become punishment. Children are quick to discern the difference. They respond to logical consequences; they fight back when punished" (p. 79).

- "When we use the term 'logical consequences,' parents so frequently misinterpret it as a new way to impose their demands upon children" (p. 79).
- "I do have the obligation to guide and direct my child. I do not have the right to impose my will—but I do have the obligation not to give in to his undue demands" (p. 85).

Be firm without dominating

"Firmness without domination requires practice in mutual respect. We must respect the child's right to decide what he intends to do. Respect for ourselves is gained by our refusal to be placed at the mercy of the unruly child" (p. 87).

- "Respect for a child's needs...is essential. We need to develop sensitivity to recognize the difference between his needs and his whims. The needs of the total situation can be our guide" (p. 88).
- "Firmness is our refusal to give in to the undue demands of the child or to indulge him in his every whim. Once we have made a decision in line with order, we must maintain it. The child soon catches on" (p. 89).

Show Respect for the child

"If only one person in a relationship is granted respect, there is not equality [of worth]."

• Respect "requires sensitivity in reaching a balance between expecting too little and expecting too much" (p. 91).

"Respect for the child means that we regard him as a human with the same rights to make decisions as we have. But similar 'rights' does not mean that the child may do what the adults do. Everyone in the family has a different role to play----and each has the right to be respected in that role" (p. 95).

Induce respect for order

"A child has no respect for order if he is shielded from the results of disorder" (p. 96).

 "Children need to experience order as a part of freedom. Where there is disorder, there is loss of freedom for all" (p. 98).

Induce respect for the rights of others

Respect for the rights of others displays respect for their right to make a decision.

 There is a "subtle line between being a dictator and demanding one's own rights." One is a defense of one's own rights and the other is an offense against the rights of others (p. 104).

Eliminate criticism and minimize mistakes When we pay constant attention to mistakes, we discourage our children. We cannot build on weakness – only on strength" (p. 107).

- "We are constantly correcting, constantly admonishing. Such an approach shows lack of faith in our children; it is humiliating and discouraging" (p. 107).
- "We all make mistakes. Very few are disastrous....Making a mistake is not nearly as important as what we do about it afterward" (p. 108).
- "We must have the courage to be imperfect and to allow our children also to be imperfect" (p. 108).
- Take time to find out what was behind the mistake (p. 112).

Win cooperation

"We are inclined to take very bright children, treat them like little idiots, and raise them to be stupid adults!" (p. 131).

 "When we speak of training children to cooperate, we presuppose our own cooperation.... There should be a sense of all moving together in harmony toward a desired goal" (p. 131).

Refrain from overprotection

"We cannot protect our children from life. Nor

should we want to. We are obligated to train our children in courage and strength to face life" (p. 188).

- "Under the pretext of concern for their v/elfare, we keep our children helpless and dependent so that we may appear big and powerful and protective, in the eyes of the child as well as our own. It places us in a superior dominant position and keeps our children submissive" (p. 188).
- "Certainly we don't abandon a child to his fate, nor do we let him experience the full impact of life all at once." Instead, "we are constantly on the alert for opportunities to step back and allow our child to experience his strength" (p. 191).

Stimulate Independence

"Never do for a child what he can do for himself." "Never do for a child what he can do for himself." "Never do for a child what he can do for himself." "This rule is so important that it needs to be repeated many times" (p. 193).

- "Whenever we do something for a child which he can do for himself, we are showing him that we are bigger than he: better, more capable, more deft, more experienced, and more important. We continually demonstrate our assumed superiority and his supposed inferiority. Then we wonder why he feels incapable and becomes deficient!" (p. 194).
- "Doing for a child what he can do for himself is extremely discouraging, since it deprives him

of the opportunity to experience his own strength. It shows our complete lack of faith in his ability, courage, and adequacy, robs him of his sense of security, which is based on the realization of his own capacity to meet and solve problems, and denies him of his right to develop self-sufficiency.... Thus we show an immense lack of respect for the child as a person" (p. 194).

"From their earliest infancy, our children show us that they want to do things for themselves.... He may need help, supervision, encouragement, and training. These we must supply" (p. 197).

Stay out of fights

"Homes where children do not fight *are* possible. When they fight, there is something wrong in the relationships. No one can honestly feel good while fighting" (p. 201).

- "Parents can help their children only if they discontinue...undue attention and let the children work out their problem. If the behavior of the children at the table disturbs the peace of the family, the parents can refuse to eat with them until they are willing to make dinner time pleasant" (p. 209).
- "When left to their own devices, children establish far more equal and just relationships than we can provide for them. They learn by the impact of reality to develop diplomacy, equality, fair play, justice, consideration, and respect for each other" (pp. 213–214).

Sidestep the struggle for power

Autocratic Society Authority figure Power Pressure Demanding Punishment Reward Imposition Domination Children to be seen, not heard You do it because I said to Prestige-centered Personal involvement Democratic Society Knowledgeable leader Influence Stimulation Winning cooperation Logical consequences Encouragement Permit self-determination Guidance Listen! Respect the child We do it because it is necessary Situation-centered Objective detachment

·Dreikurs (p.153)

 "One can, and should, have a friendly discussion about fighting, without the least hint of finger-pointing or of moralizing, and work out with the children the ways and means of settling difficulties" (p. 214).

Be unimpressed by fear

"Betty possesses fear, and she uses it to control her mother. The fact that she creates it for herself does not make it any less real. It is no pretense, but very real, indeed" (p. 215).

- "Fear implies the assumption that we are unable to control a situation. And when we are afraid that we cannot do something, we paralyze ourselves so that we can't" (p. 216).
- "All of us have experienced fear, and all of us recognize that we cannot function when we are frightened. Therefore it would seem that fear is a luxury we can ill afford" (p. 216).
- "If parents do not respond to fears, their children will not develop them, and parents and children alike will be free from the resulting torture and suffering" (p. 221).

Mind your own business

"Individual relationships between two people belong to the two involved" (p. 225).

- "It is not [mother's] business to control the relationship between Arthur and his father: that belongs to them" (p. 226).
- "It is only natural that both parents, as distinctive individuals, have different ideas about many things. It is nice if they can agree about the way children should be raised. But such an agreement is not necessary. The child makes up his own mind about what he will accept and what he will reject from each person within his environment. And because of the child's own active part in any relationship,...the child is not confused by different treatment he receives from mother, father, grandparents, or other relatives" (p. 226).
- "We find a peculiar correlation between a mother's confidence in her ability to deal with the child and her resentment of the treatment he receives from others. The less she feels able to cope with the problems her child presents, the more sure she is about how others should manage him" (pp. 226-227).
- "No doubt the relationship between Madalen and her teacher is poor. But it is not Mother's business to change the teacher" (p. 232).

• "Traditionally many teachers still ask parents to see to it that the children do their homework assignments. However, if we approach the problem head-on, we invite a power contest. If, however, we consult with the children and establish together with them the time when they will study and then help maintain this order, we may provide the stimulus required" (p. 233).

Don't feel sorry

"Our children will learn to take disappointments if we avoid pity." (p. 238).

- "Children are extremely sensitive to adult attitudes even if they are not openly expressed. Therefore, if we pity a child, he thinks he has the right to pity himself. His misery becomes more intense if he feels sorry for himself" (p. 237).
- "When mother assumes that disappointments are much too difficult for Claude to bear, she shows her disrespect for her son." Claude then makes false assumptions (p. 237).
- "A child who is physically handicapped...easily becomes the object of pity.... But in so doing, we only add to their handicap.... Instead, [we] should stimulate the child to be proud of each accomplishment under difficulties" (pp. 239-240).
- "Adopted children make an issue of being adopted only if their parents do" (p. 243).
- The loss of a parent is no reason for pity. "It is a reason for all the sympathetic support possible from everyone around them. The very last thing they need is pity" (p. 245).
- "Pity is a negative emotion—it belittles the individual, weakens his self-reliance, and destroys his faith in life. Death is part of life. It must be accepted as such" (p. 245).
- "We cannot protect our children from life. The strength and courage with which we meet the blows of life in adulthood are built during childhood.... This in no way means that we abandon the child to his trouble. On the contrary—we rally to support him just as we do to an adult in trouble" (p. 246).
- "It is not difficult to distinguish between sympathy and pity. Sympathy implies, 'I understand how you feel, how much it hurts, or how difficultitis for you. I am sorry about it and will help you to overcome the hardships of your situation.' Pity implies a rather subtle, patronizing, superior attitude toward the one pitied" (pp. 246-247).

Make requests reasonable and sparse

"Reasonable requests are characterized by respect for the child and a recognition for order" (p. 249).

• "A parent who becomes frantic because a child won't 'do as I say' probably makes unreasonable requests and merely attempts to 'control' the child. This usually provokes a power struggle. Adult superiority is no longer accepted; therefore, the child is determined to be disobedient as a matter of principle, to escape domination. A child who feels imposed upon or 'bossed' will retaliate with disobedience. We can avoid these conflicts if we make only reasonable and necessary requests in a non-authoritative manner" (p. 249).

Follow through—Be consistent

"Children learn through experience, not from sermons." (p. 252)

- If "mother talks too much and doesn't act, [if] she makes a request and doesn't follow through, [her child] is being trained in disobedience." (p. 252)
- "Consistency is really a part of order, and as such helps to establish boundaries and limitations that provide the child with the sense of security" (p. 256).
- "We cannot possibly expect our training methods to be effective if we apply them haphazardly. This only bewilders the child. On the other hand, the child will feel certain and secure if we are consistent and if we follow through with our training program. He learns respect for order and knows exactly where he stands" (p. 256).

Put them all in the same boat

"When we stimulate competition among our children we fortify their mistaken goals" (p. 253).

- "Since it is impossible for anyone to win constant approval, getting approval must be recognized as a false goal" (p. 258).
- "We can overcome the existing intense competition and its damaging effects if we treat all the children as a group—by putting them all in the same boz, so to speak.... It can accomplish something that had been a Biblical ideal but has lost its impact on modern society: Man is his brother's keeper" (p. 258).
- "Jealousy becomes useless if the parents fail to be impressed. But how many parents can remain unimpressed?" (p. 259).
- The effect of mutual responsibility deprives a child of his attention getting misbehavior, for

all now share in the attention (p. 260).

Listen

"It is part of our general prejudice against children that we are inclined to assume that we know what they mean without really listening to them. We keep our own mouths so busy that we fail to hear what comes out of theirs" (p. 262).

- "Many times we need to listen to the meaning behind the words the child uses" (p. 264).
- "Children are amazingly frank with each other," they will be with us if we give them the opportunity (p. 264).

Watch your tone of voice

"When we speak to our children they frequently hear more in our tone of voice than in the words we use. It would pay us to listen to ourselves." (p. 266)

Take it easy (don't try to live your child's life)

"So much of our worry and concern over our children is needless.... Our best refuge is to have confidence in our children and to take it easy until such time as our talents for coping with disaster are really called upon" (p. 271).

- "It is amazing how many things we find to be concerned about in our children.... Instead of finding out how a given situation appears to them, we assume that we know how they feel about it... We behave almost as if we believed that children were born bad and had to be forced to be good" (p. 273).
- "We spend a tremendous amount of time and energy trying to live our childrens' lives for them" (p. 273).

Downgrade "bad" habits

"The more fuss we make over 'bad' habits, the orse they get."

- "The acts of lying or stealing are [often] symptoms of deeper underlying rebellion" (p. 289).
- "When a child swears or uses a 'bad' word, he depends on its shock value. If we respond as he wishes and are shocked or make an issue of the matter, we encourage his further use of these words. We can take our sails out of his wind by playing dumb. 'What is that word you used? I don't understand. What does it mean?'" (p. 279).
- "Stop and think a moment. Really, now—will he still suck his thumb or wet his bed when he is in high school?" (p. 280).

"It is so much easier for a child to be good that he has no need to be bad unless he has met obstacles in his environment that have caused him to become discouraged and turn to misbehavior as t way out of his difficulty" (p. 291).

Don't moralize

While not a formal rule of Dreikurs, the phrase "Don't moralize" fits his model. He fits it under the category of "Use Religion Wisely." To moralize brings the child again into the adult's world, or imposes it upon him. It shows as much lack of respect as does forced dependence.

• "Wherever moralizing is used to stimulate good behavior, we find children with false fronts. They attempt under all circumstances to appear in the best moral light. They develop a horrible fear that their true worthlessness (their false self-concept is very real to them!) will show through the front. The more energy they spend on 'appearances' and upon fear, the less they have for true growth and development" (p. 292).

Have fun together

"It is tragic to see so many of today's families so split that the children have their fun apart from parents, with the latter supplying the means, but no participation" (p. 282).

- "Another factor is the loss of common interests between parents and children, which springs from the child's rejection of the adult world and the parents' inability to enter the child's world as an equal" (p. 282).
- "When a state of undeclared warfare exists in the home, it is impossible to have fun together" (pp. 282–283).
- "It is easy to play with a baby, but when the child is older we seem to lose the knack of playing with him" (p. 283).
- "There are all sorts of projects that can become a family affair" (p. 284).

Meet the challenge of TV

"We cannot protect our children from television nor from the impressions that they receive. However, we can help the child to develop resistance against bad taste and poor judgment. This cannot be done by preaching to him!"

Talk with them, not to them

"The tragic outstanding difficulty between teens and adults is the absence of communication. These doors can be kept open during adolescence if a sympathetic relationship has been established while the child is young. Much of this depends upon our ability to respect the child, even when we disagree with him" (p. 294).

- "We want to mold his character, his mind, his personality, as if he were a bit of soft clay and our action should 'shape' him. From the child's point of view, this is tyranny—and so it is" (p. 295).
- "We can learn much by watching the behavior of our children and discovering its purpose; we can learn more if we are willing to find out what they think" (p. 295).

Hold family councils

"A family council is...a meeting of all members of the family in which problems are discussed and solutions sought.... [It] is one of the most important means of dealing with troublesome problems in a democratic manner" (p. 301).

- "Each member has the right to bring up a problem. Each one has the right to be heard. Together, all seek for a solution to the problem" (p. 301).
- "After the meeting, the course of action decided upon takes place and no further discussion is permitted until the following meeting" (p. 301).
- If the prior solution "did not work out so well, a new solution is sought, always with the question, 'What are we going to do about it?' And again, it is up to the whole group to decide!" (p. 302).
- "It is not a family council meeting if the parents are the only ones who present problems and offer solutions" (p. 304).
- "The secret of the success of the family council lies in the willingness of all members of the family to approach a problem as being a family problem" (p. 305).

Parents who finally master all of Dreikurs' principles will have grey hair...

... and grandchildren



SCHOOL AND SOCIAL AGENCY PREVENTION CLUES

School–Based Solutions

It is no surprise that school-related suggestions for prevention and early intervention outnumber all the rest. General agreement exists that no other institution exists which can cover the broad array of ingredients needed for success. Also, no other institution has access to all the "at-need" children and youth.

Dr. David Sandberg, in the Boston University research summary, says, "What stands out most [is] the desirability of doing major intervention at the elementary school level. A close second is our feeling of bewilderment that the nation still does not have a comprehensive intervention system to serve failing, chronic acting-out children."

Sandberg (p. vi)

"When one looks...to identify community agencies that might deal with troublesome, but not yet delinquent youth, public schools are the only game in town."

7

Other than a series of suggestions, Sandberg does not propose a strategy for comprehensive intervention. However, in addition to justifying the emphasis on the elementary school level, Sandberg says, "Responses have to be made at every educational level because students are acting out in elementary, junior and senior high school." In view of many children's acting—out behavior beginning in elementary school and "given the added difficulties of intervening during the adolescent years, we especially favor strengthened efforts at the elementary school level" (p. v). "Changes in delinquency were not significantly related to changes in academic achievement. Instead, it was the youths' change in attitude about school that corresponded very strongly with delinquency reduction."

> Solve a child's school problems and you have solved most of their others.

Sandberg gives a research example from learning disabled youths. He says after individual instruction in the area of their greatest academic deficiency (approximately 55 hours) "academic achievement improved dramatically and delinquent activity fell abruptly." The same is true of highly individualized instructional programs. "All stress the need for the earliest possible intervention 'before they get into the viciously escalating cycle of school failure and peer ridicule"" (Sandberg, p. 45).

Emphasis on academic achievement is not enough, says Sandberg. Only when they feel good about school will their behavior change. In support of that idea, Sandberg quotes the National Center for State Courts' longitudinal study of nearly 2000 youths: "Changes in delinquency were not significantly related to changes in academic achievement. Instead, it was the youths' change in attitude about school that corresponded very strongly with delinquency reduction" (p. 48).

If a child's school problems are solved, you will know most of their other problems are solved because chilren have a hard time leaving their problems at the schoolhouse door. What Sandberg seems to be saying is that most childhood problems are interrelated. Problems outside of school will reflect on school work and problems at school will be reflected elsewhere. Since most problems will show up at school, that is a good place to begin.

What Sandberg and his colleagues want educators to do:

- 1. Become more knowledgeable about behavioral problem children.
- 2. When maltreatment is present to become more involved than just reporting a case.
- 3. To recognize chronic acting—out children as being handicapped much as physically disabled children are and avoid punishing them for their handicaps.
- 4. To recognize that even the most destructive CACs [chronic acting—out child] can learn, and they usually want to, given an appropriate school environment.
- 5. To do an honest appraisal of their own contribution to the problem.

Sandberg (p. vi)

"Seeking to improve a child's chances for educational success is a more defensible objective."

The use of an educational intervention strategy as the best behavioral prevention strategy makes a lot of sense. It is consistent with the research and offers the best of both worlds—academic and behavioral success. Sandberg says the purpose behind educational involvement is "to decrease the number and frequency of adverse developmental experiences for chronic acting-out children, and to increase these children's opportunity for a positive educational experience. Although reducing the incidence of later delinquency is a motivating factor for us, individual interventions are not well-grounded in delinquency prevention as there is no certainty that a particular child will otherwise become delinquent. Seeking to improve a child's chances for educational success is a more defensible objective.... Because not all chronic acting-out children are maltreated, it is sounder policy to base the intervention of a 'known' (i.e. educational failure) keeping in mind that maltreatment may be a paramount underlying factor" (Sandberg, p. vi).

Sandberg's rationale is a valuable and important one if schools are to be involved in prevention and early intervention. Few major problems in a child's life do not spill over into school work. Intervention in the interest of a child's current school success is far more justifiable than intervening in behalf of future misbehavior. And yet, the results will be close to the same. This means more than subject matter success.

Sandberg's rationale can be logically expanded. The use of an educational intervention strategy as the best behavioral prevention strategy makes sense. It is consistent with the research and offers the best of both worlds, educational success and behavioral success.

Anxiety blocks learning

Sandberg says, "Studies of learning patterns show that in order to learn, students must be sufficiently free from discomfort and conflict to channel their energies into comprehension. Yet the abused or neglected child may be expending this valuable energy on merely coping with the home situation. Only through treatment—the relief of this pressure—can the child be freed to take full advantage of the learning opportunities available. By detecting the abuse or neglect and facilitating such treatment, the teacher enhances the child's ability to learn" (p. 5).

In order to learn, students must be free from conflict so their energies can be channeled into comprehension.

Students learn best when the material being learned is personally meaningful.

> "Teenagers may be unprepared cognitively to deal with philosophies of human sexuality which promote premature sexual activity."

"There is something about combined permanence, authority and love that characterizes the formal family, [and] uniquely makes possible performance of such a teaching enterprise."

Cognitive Solutions Do Not Work Alone

Olson and his colleagues, looking at sexual misconduct, point out why discussions designed to cognitively prepare students to avoid future mistakes and misdeeds do not generally work. They provide several arguments, interspersed with references from other sources to back them up (Kohlberg, Piaget, Boyce and Jensen, Jorgensen and Alexander, and Hafen).

"Teenagers may be unprepared cognitively to deal with philosophies of human sexuality which promote premature sexual activity. The very philosophies of sexual expression to which teenagers are exposed in their peer group and in the mass media may be barriers to the solution of the problems such as adolescent pregnancy. Such philosophies cannot be ignored or treated 'objectively'—as if they were not potentially negative influences toward teenage decision-making. It is imperative to show how some philosophies undermine responsible decision-making" (Olson, p. 84).

"Fortunately," say Olson and his colleagues, "adolescents also ask questions about the meaning of such concepts as justice and integrity and could be taught criteria by which to ponder such concepts. These same criteria could be applied by teenagers to their general decision-making in educational, financial, and relational contexts, including sexual decision-making."

Olson (p. 84)

"However," they caution, "these discussions cannot be conducted objectively—in a moral vacuum of objective detachment where every available choice is presented as if it were equal to every other available choice. Such an approach would imply that there is no particular importance to any value; that values really do not embody worth as professed and would obscure the very kind of knowledge students need to make responsible value judgments. Insights from such discussions need to be taken home to the parents by the teenager where a blending of responsible values can take place." Hafen (83) explained, "There is something about combined permanence, authority and love that characterizes the formal family, [and] uniquely makes possible performance of such a teaching enterprise" (Hafen, 1983, p. 477, in Olson et al., p. 84).

Joint School - Parent Solutions

Citing the work of Joyce Epstein and others at the Johns Hopkins' Center for Social Organization who have studied home-school cooperation, Dr. James Fenwick makes several points:

- "Research conducted at Johns Hopkins University shows that teachers rarely ask parents to help students with school homework. And when they do ask for assistance, it is mostly in nonacademic activities where parents' help seldom translates into improved student achievement" (p. 54).
- "Students' reading scores and study habits, in particular, improve when parental help is given at home" (Johns Hopkins U. Center for Social Organization, in Fenwick, p. 54).
- There is an uneasy tension between the home and the school and it gets worse as the years progress." These findings "should signal a serious reassessment by those who work professionally with middle grade students.... The fact of diminished parental influence should not mean a breakdown in communication between home and school. The underlying message is that young adolescents are seeking independence. This ideally means new risk-trust relationships with adults, not alienation from them" (p. 54).
- "When the home and school form a partnership with students at this critical time in their lives, the consequences are predictable in the form of reduced emotional anxiety and enhanced academic achievement" (p. 54).
- "Traditional parent involvement such as PTA activities and teachers' aides is mostly unsuccessful in improving student achievement" (p. 54).

School initiative

Gottfredson emphasizes that school-based prevention must take the home into consideration. Among other things, he says:

- No social policy or prevention program concerning delinquency should be adopted before careful attention is paid to the consequences of such a policy or program on families.
- Existing social policies should be scrutinized by careful research to determine which of these policies have adverse consequences for families.
- Special research attention should be given to a fuller understanding of "parenting skills" and of the programs that might foster such skills.
- Appropriate parenting, including but not limited to child supervision, should be regarded as a legitimate interest of the juvenile court [and the schools] (p. 47).

The benefits of meaningful parent involvement in school is well documented:

- Increased student achievement (Walberg; Linney and Nernberg)
- Improvement in school climate (Farrar, Neufield & Miles)
- Improvement in attendance rates (Farrar, Neufield and Miles)
- Improvement in student behavior (Moles)
- Greater parent support and communication with schools (Moles)
- Mobilization of resources within and outside school (Seeley)
- A more effective school (Brookover; Lipsitz; Phi Delta Kappa)

"Children and youth handicapped by learning disabilities are at relatively higher risk of becoming delinquent than their nonlearning disabled peers."

Special Instruction As a Prevention

Both the extensive research by the National Center for State Courts and the Association for Children with Learning Disabilities demonstration project led Noel Dunivant of the National Center to conclude that, "Children and youth handicapped by learning disabilities are at relatively higher risk of becoming delinquent than their nonlearning disabled peers. Furthermore, the risk of delinquency is reduced by participation in a rehabilitation program designed to provide appropriate remedial instruction" (Sandberg, 1986).

New instructional approaches and prevention

Because traditional teaching methods leave many students out of the success mode, Hawkins and Weis suggest new instructional approaches which facilitate social bonding. They say schools should "train teachers in instructional methods which will enable a broader range of students to experience academic success without compromising academic standards." This should not only "increase the proportion of students who experience academic success," but also "increase students' attachments to teachers and nondelinquent peers and increase students' beliefs in the fairness of school" (Hawkins and Weis, 1985, p. 86). For Schools, Hawkins and Weis suggest:

- Interactive Teaching, wherein "virtually all students can learn most of what they are taught" and at a specified "level of mastery" (see also Bloom, 1976).
- Proactive Classroom Management, whose techniques prevent behavioral problems before they occur. This includes clear rules, the use of management systems that give students responsibilities, the effective use of praise, clear direction giving, and the systematic use of the least disruptive intervention needed to maintain order. These relieve teacher stress and create a positive climate for learning (see also Brophy, 1979; Emmer and Evertson, 1980, in Hawkins and Weis, 1985, p. 87).
- Student Team Learning, wherein students learn cooperatively rather than competitively in classroom situations. "Mastery of learning tasks, student motivation, positive attitudes toward teachers and school, and self-esteem all improve when this strategy is used successfully" (Johnson and Johnson, 1980; Slavin, 1979, in Hawkins and Weis, 1985, p. 87).
- Meaningful roles and active participation. Hawkins and Weis suggest that student-school bonding is helped "by providing them opportunities to find meaningful roles in shaping the institution in which they are most directly involved—their school and its classrooms" (see also Coleman, 1961). This includes schools policies and discipline procedures, they add. Attention should be given to recruitment of a broad range of "natural leaders" (p. 87).
- Cross-age tutoring. Hawkins and Weis also recommend "cross-age tutoring" as an instructional strategy "aimed at insuring satisfactory skill development for students in primary grades who are evidencing special difficulties in school." An added benefit, they say, "is to provide older students with opportunities to perform a productive role (as tutors)," in order to "increase commitment to education and attachment to school" (p. 89).
- Staff Cooperation. "Research has shown that cooperation between teachers and the school administrator characterizes schools with low rates of teacher victimization" (Gottfredson and Daiger, 1979, in Hawkins and Weis, 1985, p. 89).
- School Climate Assessment. Hawkins and Weis recommend a program of school climate assessment and improvement (see also Fox et al., in Hawkins and Weis, 1985, p. 89). "These include variables such as 'opportunities for active learning,' 'varied reward systems,' 'continuous improvement of school goals,' 'effective communications,' and 'a supportive and efficient logistical system'" (1985, p. 90).
- Clear behavioral expectations in a climate of fairness. "Where improvement activities focus on developing consistent expectations for student behaviors and a clear, common set of policies and procedures for dealing with infractions of rules, the school environment is more likely to be perceived by students as equitable. Students are more likely to develop belief in the fairness of the school in this situation." This reduces delinquent behavior, say Hawkins and Weis (p. 90).

Hawkins suggests that antisocial behavior is the best precursor evidence of later misbehavior and targets social skill building in his suggested approach to prevention.

Skills development as a prevention strategy

"Group discussion, as in Magic Circle,... does not appear to be an intervention method with great potential for changing behavior, no matter what the topic" (Hawkins, p. 96).

However, "Interventions which seek to promote interpersonal competence in order to reduce impulsive and inhibited behaviors in children appear...promising, given the relationship between early antisocial behavior in children and subsequent drug abuse. The etiological research suggests that such programs should be targeted at the early school grades when these behaviors are evident."

Hawkins (pp. 96-97)

Hawkins suggests that antisocial behavior is the best precursor evidence of later misbehavior and targets it in his suggested approach to prevention.

Social Linkåge Models.

Hawkins and Weis have designed a prevention model which they call the "Social Development Model." Their model is built around effective socialization through family, schools, peers, and community. Effective socialization requires the opportunity to be involved in conforming activities along with development of skills necessary to be successfully involved. The latter requires a consistent reward of desired activities (Hawkins and Weis, 1985, p. 88).

The Social Development Model is based partly on the dual function philosophy of juvenile justice where the courts have responsibility of rehabilitation and punishment and the task of preventing youth crime is given back to communities. Such an approach does not contemplate that the courts could intervene before behavior gets out of hand, unless perhaps they were provided multi-year documentation.

Effective socialization requires the opportunity to be involved in conforming activities along with development of skills necessary to be successfully involved. The social developmental model implies that families, schools, and peer groups are appropriate objects for intervention.

¹ A number of effective curricula are available, see Schaps and Simmon, 1975; Wall et al., 1981, pp. 40, 97 (in Hawkins and Weis, 1985, p. 88)

"Comprehensive preventive services focus not only on changing young people, but also on changing the major systems and environments with which they interact." Hawkins and Weis note that the key causal factors which Kandel (82) identified are "parental influence, peer influences, beliefs and values, and involvement in certain activities." Therefore, they say, "As a foundation for prevention activities, the social developmental model implies that families, schools, and peer groups are appropriate objects for intervention, depending on the developmental stage of the child" (p. 88).

Life skills training

Hawkins and Weis recommend life skills training, specifically in the areas of basic communication, decision making, negotiation, and conflict resolution. These are needed in home, at school, with peers, and in the community. More specifically, they contribute to academic success and to attachment and commitment to schools.¹

Hawkins and Weis stress that, "Interventions that seek to increase social bonding to prosocial peers by increasing opportunities and rewards for positive peer interaction and by insuring the development of interpersonal skills are appropriate when youths approach and enter adolescence. This promise of peer focused strategies delivered earlier in development is less clear" (p. 92).

The latter comment by Hawkins and Weis should be viewed in the context of their advocacy for a social development model of prevention. Other prevention strategies have other reasons for suggesting earlier peer focused strategies such as for the development of problem solving skills, social responsibility, social values, and habits development.

The Connecticut Plan

The State of Connecticut reviewed the research and formulated an intervention (which they label prevention) program geared to its secondary schools. It incorporates some of the social development model developed by Hawkins and Weis. Christopher Hall, a key staff member in that development, says, "Positive child and youth development occurs when young people acquire a sense of competence, power, attachment and commitment within these key environments—families, schools, peers and communities. Comprehensive preventive services focus not only on changing young people, but also on changing the major systems and environments with which they interact" (Hall, p. 3).

Enhancing environments

"Enhancing environments involves improving the policies, procedures, organizational arrangements, reinforcement systems and communication processes in each of the critical systems affecting youth in ways which encourage the creation of meaningful, rewarding and gratifying roles for young people and their families" (Hall, p. 3).

Building competencies

Of the youth development aspect of the Connecticut program, Hall says, "Positive youth development occurs when children and youth master the specific skills and competencies which are required to effectively participate in the four major environments affecting their growth and development—families, schools, peers and communities. Building competencies means assisting children and youth to master these cognitive, behavioral and affective prerequisite" (Hall, p. 5).

Strategies suggested by Hall:

- Communication skills training including assertiveness training
- Problem-solving and decision-making skills training
- Parent training and education
- Life skills training
- Tutoring and academic skill building
- Youth leadership training
- Health and nutrition education
- Peer education training
- Career education
- Vocational skill training

Key operational principles:

The key operational principles identified by the Connecticut staff for their school programs include the following:

- Be proactive, not reactive (traditional remediation and treatment services are fundamentally reactive).
- Use nondeviant labels for either individuals or groups of students.
- Create successful preventive services to include a "mix" of young people.
- Focus on group dynamics, not individual. (The Connecticut program is not concerned with resolving individual, interpsychic conflict or individual pathology, but with promoting positive adaptive behaviors by groups of young people and supportive arrangements in the major systems with which they interact.)
- Plan clear written goals, objectives, methodologies, timelines, and evaluate outcomes as well as effective evaluation strategies.
- Develop "sequential bonding" through opportunities for positive involvement in a particular environment, appropriate skill development to effectively utilize those opportunities, and adequate rewards to reinforce utilizing skills and opportunities (Hall, p. 8).

The Connecticut plan suggests that commitment, attachment and belief are prerequisites. The bonding that results produces the desired outcomes (Hall, p. 8).

Connecticut goals

Connecticut goals deal with community understanding, broadened scope of caregiver services, and the fostering of interorganizational and interdisciplinary coalitions. Prevention goals are—

- To build competencies and adaptive skills among specified groups of children and youth,
- To train communities,
- To increase caregiver's capacity to provide preventive and positive youth development services,
- To increase responsiveness of organizational practices, policies and key leaders to the developmental requirements of youth, and
- To increase collaborative, interdisciplinary approaches to preventive services.

Hall (pp. 13-17)

School-Court Linkage Solutions

"The centrality of the role that schools play in the serious delinquency problem strongly implies that the partnership between the schools and the juvenile court should be close and strong."

Gottfredson makes the following recommendations:

- A close and continuing relationship should exist between the juvenile court and school authorities in every community.
- The juvenile court needs to make its voice heard concerning the relation of school truancy and dropping out to serious delinquency. The courts should press upon school administrators to address the issue of curriculum relevance to all students.
- Every jurisdiction should have a carefully crafted policy governing the partnership between the courts and the schools on truancy and other problems.
- It should be considered appropriate for juvenile court judges to consider, as part of the dispositional process, what impact their decisions may have on the involvement with and commitment to young people.

Gottfredson (pp. 30-33)

"There is an immediate need to begin meaningful collaboration between schools and the juvenile court."

The link is so strong that young offenders should be evaluated for possible learning difficulties. "The tragedies of undereducation, frustrated learning experiences and fear of victimization reveal themselves on an all-too-regular basis to the juvenile court judge. To deny that school problems are juvenile justice problems in the end is simply to ignore the facts. There is an immediate need to begin meaningful collaboration between schools and the juvenile court.... A good starting place is the development of a clearly articulated and enforced policy about truancy and delinquencies committed at school.... But to argue that prevention of school disruption including truancy— is a problem only for the schools is to miss important realities in contemporary society" (Gottfredson, p. 34).

Some intervention will require multiple-agency involvement

Based upon their research findings, the National Center for State Courts concluded that "in order to be optimally effective, special delinquency control and prevention programs for learning-disabled children and youths will require the close cooperation and coordination of juvenile justice, educational, and youth service agencies" (Sandberg, p. 47).

The strong link between learning disabilities and delinquency has caused several states to "amend their delinquency statues to include a section empowering juvenile courts to direct school units to evaluate young offenders for possible learning disabilities." Similarly, the evidence suggests that it is also logical to have them evaluated for child abuse (Sandberg, p. 46).

Professional Insights from Juvenile Justice Workers

The Rand report also includes insights from professional juvenile justice workers (p. xi):

- 1. Provide youth with opportunities to confront their fears.
- 2. Monitor programs that can provide close and pointed supervision.
- 3. Aim for changing behavior, not simply academic or vocational training.
- 4. Don't tolerate incompetent or inattentive staff.
- 5. Generate shared sense of purpose and allegiance and confidence of having an effect.
- 6. Train parents in specific techniques for monitoring and changing adverse behavior of acting-out children.

"No amount of punishment will bring about lasting submission." Dreikurs

More punishment is not the solution to prevention

Nowhere in the research literature is more punishment mentioned as a solution. The absence of such a finding or suggestion by the experts is striking in light of its common advocacy as the simplest solution to teenage misbehavior. What is clear from the research is that punishment, while it tends to contain misbehavior, does not correct it.

Peer-Related Solutions

Regarding peer pressure in Utah, the evaluator of the K-12 Drug and Alcohol Prevention Curriculum in Utah, Leonard J. Haas, noted that "the curriculum's emphasis on resistance to peer pressure is appropriate since resistance to peer pressure appears to be a key variable in predicting later use. However, the most beneficial impact of the curriculum thus far is that it slows down the rate at which resistance to peer pressure 'erodes'" (Haas, p. 64).

The student who wants attention from peers as well as teacher

Teamwork or positive peer pressure often helps control misbehaving students. However, sometimes it will not help a student who is starved for attention from other class members and gets it by purposefully failing in a task which affects the rest of the team or class. Randall S. Sprick outlines what to do if one student misbehaves to keep the whole group from earning rewards. While his approach deals with classroom reinforcement systems, it can be incorporated into cooperative learning programs.

Sprick says, "Some students are so hooked on negative feedback that they misbehave to keep the whole class from earning a reinforcement. If you have a student who enjoys this kind of attention, carefully explain why the student misbehaves and that the whole class needs to work on ignoring any misbehavior designed to disrupt the class.

(continued on next page)

(Sprick outline continued)

Sprick goes on to say, "You will also need to define the inappropriate behavior and set up a consequence. Since this student enjoys class attention, you may need to set up a classroom isolation consequence. When the student misbehaves to keep the group from earning a point, the student immediately goes to an isolation area in the classroom. He will need to spend a set period of time sitting and working quietly in isolation before he is allowed to rejoin the class. When the student behaves appropriately, it will be important to provide him with attention for cooperating. For example, you may give him the privilege of recording a class point because he has worked so hard to help the class earn it."

Sprick then adds, "If these steps do not reduce the student's misbehavior, the student will need to be excluded from the class-wide reinforcement system. If this is the case, the student's behavior will no longer affect classroom efforts. The student's misbehavior will not count against the rest of the class, and the student will not be allowed to participate in any reinforcer earned by the group. This alternative should be avoided if at all possible. If the student forces you to exclude him from the group effort, set up an individual reinforcement system that will allow him to earn the right to become part of the group again."

Sprick (p. 65)

Clinical Insights

Stress appears to be a factor in most misbehavior and is a known inhibitor of school success. David Elkind, a well known psychologist, has worked with untold numbers of misbehaving children and their misbehaving parents. His ideas on causes of misbehavior were reviewed in a previous chapter of this report. Some of his ideas on prevention and early intervention follow. They apply to field level professionals even though he uses parents as his target. He begins with "stress" because it appears to be a factor in most misbehavior and a known inhibitor of school success.

Some of Elkind's findings parallel those of Dreikurs presented in the previous chapter on family factors. His explanations and his solutions go beyond those of Dreikurs.

Stress insulation

"What enables [some] young people to cope so well with stress?" asks Elkind. He answers his own question by providing a summary of research findings:

- Social competence. "Invulnerables" seem at ease with peers and adults and make others at ease with them.
- Impression management. Invulnerables are able to present themselves as appealing and charming.
- Self-confidence. Such children have a sense of their own competence and ability to master stress situations.
- Independence. Invulnerables are independent and are not swayed by suggestion. In effect, they think for themselves and are not dissuaded by persons in authority or power. They create a place for themselves where they can find privacy, peace, and a chance to create an environment suitable to their needs and interests.
- Achievement. Invulnerables are producers. They get good grades, have hobbies, write poetry, sculpt, paint, do carpentry, and so on. Many are exceptionally original and creative. Many develop intense interests at an early age. Elkind, 1981 (p. 181)

Stress prevention

How are "hurried" children helped? We might well ask, how are stressed children helped? Elkind (1981) responds in part. "First of all," he says, "it is important to recognize what we cannot do. We cannot change the basic thrust of American society for which hurrying is the accepted and valued way of life. Nor can we eliminate the abiding impatience that goes along with hurrying" (p. 184).

Trust reduces stress. What we can do is generate "trust." Elkind says, "If something happens to a child's sense of basic trust, the sense that the world is a safe and benevolent place and the sense that people are well meaning and caring are damaged, so too is the child's sense of self and his or her trust in interpersonal relations (1981, p. 184).

Parents must balance their child's needs with their own. When a parent or parents "habitually place their own needs ahead of the child's,...real damage [can occur]" (Elkind, 1981, p. 185).

When a parent habitually places their own needs ahead of their child's, real damage can occur.

Understand childhood

Elkind (1981) says many behavioral problems of children can be eliminated if the adults in a child's world would take time to understand children. He gives the following selected examples:

- "We know that children of about eight years and younger tend to engage in 'magical thinking'—they often believe that their wishes, feelings, or acts bear a causal relationship to parental acts." For children, "there is more than one way to perceive reality" (p. 186).
- Young children "are emotionally astute" in tuning into partial truths, and can
 mistake "a part for the whole." Thus, "hurrying them from one caretaker to
 another each day, or into academic achievement, or into making decisions they
 are not really able to make [is] seen as a rejection, [an] evidence that their
 parents do not really care about them.... Young children are not relativistic, but
 rather, think in absolute terms" (p. 187). The same applies to immature older
 children.
- Almost universally, we adults "tend to assume that children are much more like us in their thoughts than they are in their feelings. But in fact, just the reverse is true: children are most like us in their feelings and least like us in their thoughts.... We need to respond to a child's feeling more than to his or her intellect" (pp. 187–188).
- "Young children tend to blame themselves, children tend to blame the world, and adolescents tend to blame their parents.... In effect, adolescents pay us back in the teen years for all the sins, real or imagined, that we committed against them when they were children" (p. 190).

If your only discipline tool is a club, isn't it amazing how many kids need a clubbing? Paraphrase from Abraham Maslow

Being polite to children pays dividends

Be polite to children, says Elkind. "Being polite to children speaks to their feelings of self--worth (as it does to adults), which are always threatened when we hurry them. Being polite to children helps them to perceive hurrying in a less stressful way. Being polite to children is very important and may do as much for improving parent-child relations as many of the more elaborate parental strategies that are currently being proposed. The essence of good manners is not the ability to say the right words at the right time, but rather, thoughtfulness and consideration of others. When we are polite to children we show in the most simple and direct way possible that we value them as people and care about their feelings. Thus politeness is one of the most simple and effective ways of easing stress in children and of helping them to become thoughtful and sensitive people themselves" (1981, pp. 188–189).
School age children are often eager to take on adult responsibilities.

> "In my experience with delinquent young people, the most common feeling expressed was one of exploitation."

Don't let kids take on adult responsibilities

School age children, Elkind says, are often "eager to take on adult chores and responsibilities.... The danger with this age group is for parents to accept this display of maturity for true maturity rather than for what it is—a kind of game. The image to keep in mind for this age group is Peter Pan, who wanted to assume some adult responsibilities (leadership, protection, etc.) but did not really want to grow up and take on some of the negative qualities that children perceive as characteristic of adults. Children want to play at being grown up but they really don't want adults to take them too seriously" (1981, pp. 189–190). Elkind advocates setting limits as a solution.

Don't exploit children

"In my experience with delinquent young people," says Elkind, "the most common feeling expressed was one of exploitation, of being used by parents who put their own needs ahead of their children's. Although parents may have perfectly good reasons for doing what they are doing, young people do not see it in the same way. And arguing with an adolescent usually has just the opposite of the intended effect.... Arguing with adolescents merely entrenches them in their position" (1981, p. 191).

Sage advice

"What is a parent to do?" asks Elkind. Again, he gives a partial answer. Start by "accepting the young persons' premise or perception of the situation and proceed from there.... The middle ground between totally accepting their reality and totally rejecting it is the acceptance of the fact that while we can recognize that their reality is valid for them, it is not necessarily valid for us" (Ibid.).

Elkind gives the following dialogue as an example: "Okay, I know that you feel what I am asking you to do is unreasonable. I don't think so, but I can appreciate that you might see it that way. What do you think are reasonable responsibilities for a person your age in our circumstances?'... This diffuses the emotional impact and lessens the stress." Elkind, 1981 (pp. 191–192) Elkind recommends clay and crayons, blocks and chalk because they are "creative playthings [which] allow for the child's personal expression."

More play at home and school

More constructive play is what Elkind recommends for home and school, play of the type where children learn. "Basically, play is nature's way of dealing with stress for children as well as adults," he notes. He much prefers toys such as crayons, paints, clay, blocks and chalk, all of which are "creative playthings because they allow for the child's personal expression." On the other hand windup or battery--operated toys are amusing but not developmental. For these reasons, Elkind recommends asserting the value of the arts in the schools, not for developing artistic skills so much as for developmental skills and a better balance between work and play (1981, p. 197).

Help unlive the past

Elkind refers to ancient philosophers such as Epictetus and warriors such as Marcus Aurelius for a message that much of human stress and misery comes from dwelling in the past, on what might have been. We only have control over the present, and this is where we need to direct our energies and that of our children (1981, pp. 198–200).

Generic Success Principles

Based on their review of most accepted theories of how chronic delinquency begins, the Rand report presented the following essential intervention features for adolescents (p. ix).

- 1. Provide opportunities to overcome adversity and experience success, encouraging positive self-image.
- 2. Facilitate bonds of affection and mutual respect and promote involvement in conventional family and community activities.
- 3. Provide frequent, timely, and accurate feedback for both positive and negative behavior.
- 4. Reduce or eliminate negative role models and peer support for negative attitudes or behavior.
- 5. Require juveniles to recognize and understand thought processes that rationalize negative behavior.
- 6. Create opportunities for juveniles to discuss family matters (and problems) in a relaxed, nonjudgmental atmosphere.
- 7. Vary the sequence and amount of exposure to program components to adapt to the needs and capabilities of each participating youth.

Relatively few discipline problems do not have as an ingredient some form of perceived coercion.

The role of coercion

On balance, relatively few discipline problems do not have as an ingredient some form of perceived coercion. It is a natural tendency to rebel against it, especially in adolescence. In a child, the rebellion can transfer to other authority figures. When that happens, unfortunately, the most common response is to impose more authority. That makes about as much sense as expelling a student who does not want to attend school.

The wise parent or teacher uses their position to support jointly developed rules; the unwise impose *their* authority and *their* rules. The former corrects bad behavior; the latter compounds it.

Stress and learning

As noted earlier, stress and tension correlate with misconduct. It also correlates with learning. In reviewing the results of brain research, Dr. Barbara Clark concludes that, "the human brain functions more effectively and at a higher level when stress

"Under stress [the higher order brain centers] begin shutting down.... While rote learning can be continued, higher and more complex learning is inhibited."

Leslie Hart, brain researcher

is reduced." She says, "I sought to discover what created tension and anxiety in the classroom and what I could change to help my students. I found that the environment played a far more significant role in supporting the learning process than I had previously imagined" (Clark, p. 22).

Why are the preventionists reviewing the effective schools research?

Prevention experts consider schools as the one great hope for success. Given the evidence of early precursors and their relationship with school success, the case for early school prevention becomes almost compulsive. The relationship between school success and behavioral success is now so clearly established that preventionists are giving a great deal of attention to how to create more effective schools. Prevention experts consider schools as the one great hope for success. For this reason, a later chapter will review the research connection between prevention literature and effective schools.

New helps for prevention are emerging. The next chapter explores the clues from efforts to develop character and social responsibility in children.



MORAL DEVELOPMENT AS A PREVENTION

Moral Education

The term "moral" is used in this chapter rather than "values" or "ethics" because it is more encompassing—dealing with "right conduct" rather than mere "belief and attachment" or "custom." Also, moral development is the principal ingredient in variously mentioned outcomes for schooling—citizenship, character, discipline, and social responsibility. The latest AERA (American Education Research Association) Handbook of Research on Teaching (1986) has a summary of moral education research written by Fritz Oser of the University of Fribourg,

Switzerland. He starts out, "The need for moral learning is well accepted, but many educators don't want to be concerned about it. In their view this is a subject matter too delicate to deal with." And yet it can't be left alone or undone. "Morality is a custodian. Wherever one goes, in or out, whatever decision is made, there is a moral dimension to it. The moral gate is almost always open" (p. 917).

"The inescapable reality is that the school setting is always a moral enterprise.... This burden stands against the claim that all education should be value free." One of Oser's concluding observations serves as a good beginning point. He says, "The inescapable reality is that the school setting is always a moral enterprise; the inescapable fact is that social and political life is filled with moral content, and that history encompasses millions of moral decisions with which we as educators have to deal, not only as scientists but also as people. This burden stands against the claim that all education should be value free" (pp. 935-936).

The school dilemma

Professional educators agree "that everybody should be morally informed," says Oser (p. 918). That schools already are saturated with morals and values education leaves them with a major dilemma and problem. They can no longer evade responsibility for morals and values education, yet there are no generally accepted solutions to its accomplishment. As Oser notes, "While theories of general knowledge, theories of structural organization, and theories of teachers' decision making and instruction are relatively well developed, there is no integrative and highly differentiated model of values and moral learning, despite a great interest.... The result often is skepticism about moral education" (p. 917).

"Given the practical risks of each kind of program implementation, we can easily understand," says Oser, "the temporary success of approaches which, though theoretically meager, offer recipe-like teaching strategies to be brought into action immediately (like values clarification)" (p. 918).

Oser covers four comprehensive overviews of moral education, and detailing the four resulting structures for the task.

 Action theory [caring, judging, acting] (Models of Moral Education: An Appraisal. Hersh, R. H., Miller, J.P., and Fielding, G. D. N.Y.: Longman, 1980, in Oser, 1986) Under this framework, six models are presented:

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- a. The rationale-building model (J. Shaver)
- b. The consideration model (P. McPhail)

c. The values clarification model (Raths, Simon, Kirshenbaum, etc.)

d. The value analysis model (Coombs)

e. The cognitive moral development model (Kohlberg)

- f. The social action model (Newmann)
- Child rearing (Lickona, T., <u>Raising Good</u> 4. <u>Children: Helping Your Child Through the</u> <u>Stages of Moral Development</u>. N.Y.: Bantam, 1983, in Oser, 1986) This model presents a series of educational strategies based on steps of naturally gradual development:
 - a. Foster mutual respect
 - b. Set a good example
 - c. Teach by telling

- d. Help children to think for themselves
- e. Help children take on real responsibilities
- f. Balance independence and control
- g. Love children
- Moral learning (Hall, R. T., <u>Moral Education:</u> <u>A Handbook for Teachers</u>. Minneapolis: Winston Press, 1979, in Oser, 1986) Five strategies are presented:
 - a. Values consideration
 - b. Dialogue and interaction
 - c. Argumentation
 - d. Concept building
 - e. Role playing
- . Teaching handbook (<u>German Language</u> <u>Teaching Handbook</u> by K. Schneid, (Ed.) Munchen: Oldenburg Verlag, 1979, in Oser, 1986) A series of models are presented such as:
 - a. Values transformation
 - b Moralization
 - c. Help for personal decisions
 - d. Stimulation of concrete acts
 - e. Stimulation of self-education

Clues to Unanswered Questions

Oser asks a series of pertinent questions:

- "What do all these models and methods have in common?"
- "Is there any comprehensive notion of moral and values education?"
- "Is it possible to build a general framework for moral and values education?"
- "Is there a distinction between moral and value education?"

Morality requires "the implementation of decisions...in such a way that personal freedom is experienced and children attribute the origin of action to themselves."

"Society must protect moral and social values and not leave them to free rationalization." In paraphrasing the philosopher Kant, Oser says, "People are aware that we can trust others only if others trust us.... The notion of personal control is a key characteristic of legitimacy and morality whereby control consists of the reconstruction of moral situations, of the application of rules and principles, and of the implementation of decisions to be learned in such a way that personal freedom is experienced and children attribute the origin of action to themselves. All this has to be learned by children actually doing it and having the possibility of failing and learning through failure" (p. 918).

Oser also refers to Durkheim and says, "Society must protect moral and social values and not leave them to free rationalization. Values like the protection of life, the procedural forms of a democracy, and the dignity of a person cannot be reconsidered in such a way that everybody is free to choose or not to choose them. The core assumption is that nobody, as long as he is willing to be a member of society, can reject fundamental societal and moral claims that are [part] of the fundamental belief of such a society" (p. 919).

The Focus

From his review of the research, Oser believes that all four of the principles enumerated by Keller and Reuss should be applied in moral reflection(1 and decision-making processes. He places them at the heart of moral development (Keller and Reuss, pp. 109-123, in Oser, p. 920).



- 1. The principle of justification which implies that it is necessary to justify any course of action which concerns us.
- 2. The principle of fairness which guarantees a just balance in the distribution of efforts and sacrifices.
- 3. The principle of consequences which implies that everybody should anticipate the consequences of actions and of omissions.
- 4. The principle of universalization which implies consistency in judgment and the will to take the role of the concerned persons.

"Moral education involves teaching the use of rules and principles...that enable us to defer personal success in favor of another person, a community, or a society." One conclusion Oser draws from the application of the above four principles is that, "moral education involves teaching the use of rules and principles...that enable us to defer personal success in favor of another person, a community, or a society" (p. 920).

Together these four principles, says Oser, "lead to an autonomy which means both free expression of needs and interests and respect for other persons." That combination suggests two key elements: moral conformity and moral autonomy. Both requirements are fundamental mandates for inclusion into any moral, values, or character education programs, or for judging the merits of any proposed program. The prevention literature concurs that common expectations and autonomy in reaching or adhering to them are both critical ingredients in preventing antisocial behavior.

Moral conformity versus moral autonomy

The immoral person often uses autonomy to defy conformity. Morality provides the link. Oser explains the need for both moral conformity and moral autonomy. He says, "The pressure towards moral conformity and the cultivation of moral autonomy contribute to the coordination and balancing of both." He further says, "I believe that societal morality (consensus) and personal morality (sense) *must* conflict with each other in order to make a person autonomous and, at the same time, to change society" (p. 936). If experts read the research correctly, moral education must go beyond independent activity.

Moral education deals with the "universality–oriented conception of justice.

> "Moral education is a vast landscape of which a great part is a minefield..."

One of Oser's ingredients, moral conformity, implies identification with others. The other, moral autonomy, implies identification with self. Gilmore also extracts the latter two ingredients from the research literature he surveyed. If Oser and Gilmore read the research correctly, moral education must go beyond independent activity.

Moral education is more basic than values education

Oser advocates distinguishing between moral education and values education. He defines values education in the realm of social, political, religious, and aesthetic preferences. "Social conventions are specific values," he says. Moral education deals with the "universality–oriented conception of justice" which Rest defines as "behavior that helps another human being, behavior in conformity with social norms, the internalization of social norms, the arousal of empathy or guilt or both, reasoning about justice, and putting another's interest ahead of one's own" (Rest, p. 556, in Oser, p. 926).

Needed: A New Base for Moral Education

Oser, like so many others interested in values and moral education, has little to suggest for pedagogy beyond techniques of moral discourse. The often repeated failure of content curriculum was readily dismissed in his summary with statements such as, "It was noted even in early research on cheating and lying (Hartshorne and May, 1928-30) that content curriculum by itself does not alter behavior" (Oser, p. 929).

Oser discusses all the ramifications of discourse and offers various suggestions. But little empirical data justifies an approach based upon moral discourse alone. Oser readily points out that "the relationship between moral discourse and elements of moral education has not been studied empirically" (p. 935). He says, "Much research has been done, but unfortunately, not enough upon which to base a comprehensive frame of moral education" (Oser, 1986, p. 936). He also agrees with Purpel and Ryan that "moral education is a vast landscape of which a great part is a minefield" (Purpel and Ryan, pp. 659-662, in Oser, p. 936). Oser "showed that the continued development of moral judgment through moral training discussions is dependent on the nature of the group process."

If self-generated good behavior and personal control, as Oser says, are indicators of moral development, then the research on behavior has a bearing on moral development. Fortunately, says Oser, "there is a clear movement towards more 'wholistic' types of interventions, aimed not only at moral judgment." For example, several studies quoted by Oser "showed that the continued development of moral judgment through moral training discussions is dependent on the nature of the group process" (Oser, 1986, p. 925).

More might be known than Oser acknowledges

Oser implies that none of the commonly suggested moral development programs can be labelled as research justified. Nevertheless, he uses some of the available clues to suggest further work with moral discourse. Using that same argument, many other clues can be applied in formulating a broader approach to moral development.

It should be noted that much of the above material covered by Oser relates to hypothesis testing of moral theorists. Other research from the behavioral sciences has a direct bearing on moral development. For example, if self-generated good behavior and personal control, as Oser says, are indicators of moral development, then much of the research on child behavior has a bearing on moral development. Jensen and Hughston seem to agree. These two authors borrowed from research findings in a number of fields to produce what amounts to a handbook on moral development titled, <u>Responsibility and Morality</u>. Their subtitle is "Helping Children Become Responsible and Morally Mature."

The fact that Jensen and Hughston borrow from applied research as well as theoretical research does not make their conclusions any less valid for educators. The same applies for clinicians from their case study data.

Moral Development From Applied Research

Developmental climate for moral maturity

In their book, Jensen and Hughston (1979) portray the developmental climate that produces moral maturity. They define moral maturity "as the ability to make decisions based on an internalized feeling of what is right and wrong." A morally mature person "makes decisions based not only on conformity or 'the "A person who is morally mature makes decisions based not only on conformity...but on feelings of respect and care for other individuals."

"Through force or punishment children can be made to do almost anything, but can force guarantee internalization and later desired behavior?"

"Severe threats created more intense misbehavior than mild threats." right thing to do,' but on feelings of respect and care for other individuals" (p. 21). This definition implies that relationships between individuals are important to moral development. The relationship aspect makes their definition more pertinent to behaviors in school and other social settings.

Even though the book was published in 1979 and targeted for children just beginning their school years, the ideas enumerated conform closely to the research findings summarized in more recent reports having applicability to older children. The last half of the book is a practitioner's guide for applying the principles presented in the first half. While not intended to be a summary application of research findings, it serves that purpose well. For this reason, an abstract of the contents is included in this report.

Obedience through force is not sustainable

Jensen and Hughston start out right at the heart of the matter. "If an adult insists on obtaining obedience," they say, "he will have to rely on disciplinary measures that require punishment measures.... The effectiveness of this kind of power in producing a more moral child has become suspect.... Through force or punishment children can be made to do almost anything, but can force guarantee internalization and later desired behavior? Research indicates it cannot" (p. 5).

Low power versus high power techniques

Using a more powerful incentive to deter or stop an action actually increases the desire to continue that action. The authors reviewed several experiments in which "severe threats created more intense misbehavior than mild threats.... Boys receiving severe punishment concluded 'that they were bad boys because a strong threat was necessary to keep them from deviating." The authors say that low-power techniques better facilitate the development of personal growth (pp. 5-6).

Jensen and Hughston suggest the following: Create an atmosphere for personal growth Give love and affection ٠ Talk, listen Share feelings Accept as much of a child's behavior as possible Give trust to children even when you know they will not succeed at a • aiven task Provide information Provide experience and consequences ٠ Place responsibility on the child Expect reasonable achievement . Expect logic and rationality Expect a child to solve his or her problems (to become independent) • Expect a child to be aware and considerate of other people's feelings ٠ Expect a child to be informed about essentials of life Jensen and Hughston (p. 7)

Low power results are slower—but better

Jensen and Hughston issue the following caution. "It is probably true that when you use low-power techniques, children will not always come as promptly when you call them; they will not persist as long on a tiring, boring task; and they will make more mistakes in carrying out assignments. You will feel more frustration that you do not have as much control when you issue an order, and you may not receive as much respect. However, the responses you do receive from children when you use low-power techniques are likely more genuine and enduring, and it is given from love and real concern for your wishes. The motivation is different" (p. 8).

The Test—A good test is how children behave when the parent or teacher is not present. "The real test is what children will be like when adults are no longer with them."

Jensen and Hughston

Key Ingredients

"When an adult uses low-power techniques, the child is an active participant.... She is not a passive person acted upon by powerful adults. She will not have to perform for rewards or receive punishments. Instead she will realize what is expected of her and will respond to an adult who not only trusts in her but who is also ready to help. The adult becomes a growth facilitator, a partner in growing, rather than a domineering authority who assumes the responsibility for the child's growth."

Jensen and Hughston (pp. 7-8)

"One of the most critical steps in human development is the development of trust."

> "A democratic atmosphere is conducive to learning because a child must learn to rely on his own thinking and reasoning."

Jensen and Hughston describe the following necessary ingredients for moral development.

TRUST "One of the most critical steps in human development is the development of trust—the first and most important step in acquiring maturity in moral thinking. Children who never develop trust have difficulty with all other developmental tasks in later stages" (p. 12).

"Hostility and ridicule in the classroom or in the home can destroy the level of trust a child had achieved at an earlier stage of development. Most psychologists conclude that affectionate and accepting relationships are necessary to foster a sense of security and healthy independence—prerequisites for optimum learning" (p. 12).

DEMOCRATIC ATMOSPHERE"A democratic atmosphere is conducive to learning because a child must learn to rely on his own thinking and reasoning without depending on an adult authority to 'tell' him what is right and wrong.... Ironically, few adults would ever admit to be 'all-knowing,' but many seem to give the impression they are" (p. 12).

"If parents and teachers would consider what it would be like if our government were based solely on the principle of power, they would more clearly understand how children feel when they are subjected to power-oriented control."

"Many adults feel unsure of the meaning of democracy. To some adults freedom means license, and equality means the loss of the 'superior' status that allows them to dominate children and tell them what they can and cannot do" (p. 30). "Many adults feel comfortable in the dominant, superiorinferior role, but this role is detrimental to the development of moral maturity."

"As a child progresses through stages of development, he needs to be given not only guidance but also freedom, along with responsibility, to accomplish the developmental tasks within each stage."

"Social interaction is a state in which all the participants are considered equal, and a child learns that his own ideas are as valuable and important as others." FIRMNESS WITHOUT DOMINANCE "Adults who use democratic methods of working with children realize that children need limits and that without limits they do not really understand freedom and democracy. Using firmness in letting a child know how far he or she can go is very different from dominance. Dominance implies that the dominant person is superior and is always right. Many adults feel comfortable in the dominant, superior-inferior role, but this role is detrimental to the development of moral maturity" (p. 31). For the interested reader, Jensen and Hughston include a complete 6-step democratic problem solving process for resolving differences (see p. 31).

DECISION MAKING AND AUTONOMY "It is true that children have not had the experience and do not possess the abilities for making as mature decisions as many adults, but they will never learn unless they are given the opportunity" (p. 13).

"As a child progresses through stages of development, he needs to be given not only guidance but also freedom, along with responsibility, to accomplish the developmental tasks within each stage. Giving him complete freedom, of course, would not only be irresponsible, it would be dangerous; the child needs to be protected from the natural hazards of life" (p. 13).

SELF-CENTEREDNESS VERSUS SELFISHNESS "A child must be respected and must learn respect for others' needs. Moral maturity becomes simply that—consideration of another's welfare as well as one's own." Self-centered does not mean selfish; it means not experienced enough to understand or appreciate someone else's point of view. "He does not understand that his thoughts and actions make up only a part of the situation in which he participates." At this stage a child cannot achieve "maturity in moral thought because he is unable to understand someone else's point of view" (p. 14).

MUTUAL RESPECT "Piaget, Kohlberg, and other researchers," say Jensen and Hughston, "believe that social (peer) interaction or mutual peer respect is a more superior form of learning than simply learning to be obedient to adult authority (Boyce and Jensen, 1978). In social interaction children must solve problems among themselves; these experiences result in improved reasoning. Social interaction is a state in which all the participants are considered equal, and a child learns that his own ideas are as valuable and important as others.... This learning can Internalization is evidenced by the exercise of selfcontrol when one is not being observed. be accomplished in the classroom and in the family if adults will relate to children on a more equal basis" (p. 15).

INTERNALIZATION Internalization is evidenced by the exercise of self-control when one is not being observed. Jensen and Hughston note three levels of internalized self-control: conditioned fear, respect for others, and where standards are worthwhile in and of themselves (p. 16).

Moral Development

PROCESS AND CLIMATE Jensen and Hughston indicate that both the right process and the right social climate are necessary for moral development to take place. "For the growing mind the exact solution is not important. Instead it is the process or experience of thinking that produces moral maturity" (p. 22).

On the importance of the right social climate, the authors refer to one of the most quoted of child development psychologists and note, "Piaget emphasizes the importance of social experience in the development of moral maturity," both with adults and peers. They stress, "Those people with whom children spend the greatest amount of time will have the deciding affect on their development" (p. 22).

What kind of adult relationships best facilitates moral maturity?

Jensen and Hughston stress a climate factor for moral development. Most of their climate factors actually define the type and quality of relationship between the child and the significant adults in their life. The interpersonal qualities felt to be important follow.

AFFECTION AND ACCEPTANCE Affection and acceptance foster a sense of security and healthy independence "which are prerequisites for effective learning" (p. 24).

LOVE "A positive supportive, and trusting relationship with an adult is needed" (p. 24).

RESPECT "Respect is the foundation of moral maturity...to know they are respected as persons.... Fear is not respect" (p. 25).

"Those people with whom children spend the greatest amount of time will have the deciding effect on their development."

"A positive, supportive, and trusting relationship with an adult is needed." "Respect is the foundation of moral maturity."

UNDERSTANDING AND COMMUNICATING ACCEP-TANCE "Rather than, 'Let me show you how to do it' which is a subtle form of rejection, let the child complete the task.... Nonintervention is a sign of acceptance, a sign of confidence.... Passive listening and active listening are alternative ways.... Active listening helps the child to think about the problem, solve it, and handle it himself.... If the parent changes the message so that it solves the problem for the child, it is not active listening" (pp. 24–25).

ENCOURAGEMENT Jensen and Hughston spend more time on "encouragement" than any other principle. They agree with Dreikurs and quote him: "Encouragement is more important than any other aspect of child-raising. It is so important that the lack of it can be considered the basic cause of misbehavior" (Dreikurs, 1964). It is interesting how their following points couch the concept of moral autonomy within moral conformity—a key ingredient identified by both Oser and Gilmore (Jensen and Hughston, pp. 27–29):

- "In order to make mature moral decisions, an individual must maintain some level of independence as well as self-esteem, or a positive self-concept."
- "A child who has been overprotected, overindulged, humiliated, told he is a failure, he has to be perfect, he is not needed,...too dumb, too clumsy, too stupid, too much trouble, too lazy, too fat or thin or whatever—such a child will not be able to make mature moral decisions. He has not been shown respect and cannot therefore make decisions based on respect for someone else."
- "The child who does not receive encouragement from the significant adults in his life will not feel good about himself and will not have the courage to handle new challenges.... The child will find it extremely difficult to give to another person because he has not been given to in the way he needs."
- Encouragement includes the avoidance of discouragement, including

humiliation or overprotection.

- Support the child in courageous efforts and help them find satisfaction in their efforts.
- Observe carefully. Drawing from Dreikurs, they note, "The child's behavior gives the clue to his self-esteem. The child who doubts his own ability and his own value will demonstrate it through his deficiencies. He no longer seeks to belong through usefulness, participation, and contributions. In his discouragement he turns to useless and provocative behavior.... A misbehaving child is a discouraged child."
- "Encourage the child (but do not force him) to consider the other person's point of view, [to] understand he can't always have everything his way, that others have feelings too, that alternatives and solutions to problems can make more than one person happy, and that there are limits all of us must abide by."

The Freedom to Succeed

The freedom to succeed requires the freedom to fail. It is better that a person learn from little mistakes while young than from big mistakes when grown. Jensen and Hughston suggest the following (pp. 28-33):

- Allow children to make mistakes. "Most mistakes occurring in youth are not serious and can be reversed without serious consequences.... Childhood is the best time to make mistakes."
- Help children think and act independently. (Many adults encourage dependency.)
- Encourage to not be afraid to try new things. (It also makes them more creative.)
- Understand social interaction. "That others have feelings too, that alternatives and solutions to problems can make more than one person happy, and that there are limits all of us must abide by, are skills a young child must acquire for more mature moral decision making."
- Be firm without dominating.
 - Limit demands. "Teachers and parents would be wise to extend only those demands that children are able to meet. In most cases development of the demand should come out of the communication between the child and the adult, rather than as an arbitrary decision by the adult."
- Give logical limits. "Limits are accepted more willingly when they point out the function of an object: 'The chair is for sitting, not for standing' is better than 'Don't stand on the chair'" (Ginott, 1965, pp. 119-120, in Jensen and Hughston, p. 32).
- Allow time for response. "Most parents do not learn to wait. A child must agree or comply immediately. What is the harm if a child says, 'I won't,' and after an hour or two of reflection says, 'Okay, I will, you're right" (p. 33).

These two authors note a snowball effect: "In general terms, the child who is inadequate meets his environment with decreased ability, increasing his chances of failure. The failure then reinforces or further strengthens his perception of himself as inadequate. Thus, a vicious cycle is set up, producing a lower self-concept.... The opposite is true for a healthy person. His success promotes subsequent feelings of adequacy" (p. 33).

Adult Behaviors Which Hinder and Help Moral Maturity

Jensen and Hughston provide lists which hinder and help moral development. Their lists includes the following adult behaviors (p. 35).

Hinder Moral Development	Help Moral Development
cold punishing rejecting hostile rigid belittling critical unaccepting neglecting authoritarian nagging cverprotective overindulgent rewarding of fearful behavior suspicious reward immature behavior discouraging independence encourage extreme conformity controlling lacking positive self-concept	showing affection showing acceptance encouraging autonomy encouraging courage encouraging social interaction reinforcing good habits stimulating ideas listening reflectively understanding fair relaxed democratic supporting have positive self-concept respecting self & others giving of self freely stimulate critical thinking noncritical minimizing mistakes spend time training & teaching active (more than talk) firm (without dominating) consistent (know what expected) modeling expected behavior distinguish child from the punishment happy considerate patient trusting loving model moral maturity

Jensen and Hughston's proposals do not address the subject of direct teaching of values, or the elements which inhibit the development of morality.

Home and school climates have been shown to be crucial to successful development of the child.

Gilmore's summary of research concludes that a strong set of moral values was identified as a critical ingredient in studies of the most valuable contributors to society. Jensen and Hughston do not address the subject of direct teaching of values through subject matter. The absence is both noteworthy and consistent with Oser. John Gilmore's summary of research from multiple fields is also pertinent to this question. He implies that morality is not an independent factor that can be acquired separate from other operational traits. Gilmore's findings are covered in the chapter on child development. It is interesting that all items on Jensen and Hughston's list for aiding moral development describe either an interaction with or a way of treating another person.

Jensen and Hughston do not directly address the elements which inhibit the development of morality. The implication left to the reader is that moral development is more a function of the right ingredients than the elimination of any wrong ingredients. That is consistent with Gilmore's findings. This should not imply that the elimination of negative influences cannot help. Children do not develop nor do homes operate in isolation from society. Unfortunately, little research seems to have been done on the interactive effects of home and society on moral development. The problem of adequate controls makes such research nearly impossible.

Moral Climates

Home and school climates have been shown to be crucial to successful development of the child. How important is the home, the social climate, and the two combined for moral development? While the research is skimpy, these questions are pertinent to the topic of prevention.

The moral dimension of the home

The moral dimension of the home is discussed in an article by Terrance Olson and two other Utah scholars, Christopher Wallace and Brent Miller. The article deals with sex education and pregnancy prevention. However, the arguments the authors draw upon are applicable for all prevention programs. The reader should have little trouble relating the moral dimension to other misbehaviors.

This issue is important in light of Gilmore's summary which concludes that a strong set of moral values (which guide decision making and goals) has been identified as a critical ingredient in those persons who are the most valuable contributors to society. Olson, Wallace, and Miller note the existence of a moral dimension in all children which helps govern their behavior, hence the necessity of having a moral dimension in all schooling which deals with behavior. They argue that the family be the focus of moral development for the following reasons:

"The formal view of the family is as a legal and social entity, where the welfare of children is of prime concern. The family is viewed as the most basic moral institution, wherein parents have legal responsibilities toward their children, as well as toward each other. The family not only nurtures the young but also instills habits which are required in being responsibly self-governing. Thus it is necessary to examine the family context when teaching teenagers about the physical act of sex because it is through the physical act of sex that a man and a woman become parents. It is by becoming parents that a family is created and it is within a family context that children legally have the right to be prepared by parents for the responsibilities of adult life. Violation of these rights have legal, social, and moral consequences. Locke (1705) understood that no (civic) virtue could exist unless it had been individually learned and voluntarily assumed" (Olson, et al., p. 78).

"Marriage (and kinship) involves enduring commitments. No society allows random procreative intercourse, but requires a responsibility and commitment between spouses for their offspring. It is through commitments made in marriage and family that parents and children learn about and experience the need for responsibility" (Ibid., p. 78).

"It is also within the family that children are taught to be willing to be obedient to the unenforceable" (Hafen, 81 in Olson, p. 78).

- "In the family network, children move through the most essential of socialization processes and learn to deal with parental figures in ways that enable them to 'succeed their parents rather than eliminate them. Thus the child comes to know the meaning of authority. As a result the child is able to internalize moral standards in the form of a conscience, without such an experience the child never grows up'" (Lasch, 1977, p. 142, in Olson, et al., p. 81).
- Regarding the rights of children (an argument some have used to justify an "amoral," "nonfamily oriented" sex education curriculum), these authors quote Hafen, as noting that "children have been excluded purposely from full participation in democratic life because the philosophical fathers of individualism, as well as our law, have assumed that capacity is a prerequisite to the meaningful exercise of freedom" (Hafen, 1977, p. 1384). "This exclusion," say the authors, " is a way of preparing teenagers for the day when their moral development and reasoning capacity is sufficient to grant them full democratic rights. As Hafen (1983) notes, 'to abandon children [prematurely] to their rights, not only ignores the real needs of the children, but also creates within adults a false expectation" (emphasis added). They add, "Egocentric thinking is often a hallmark of adolescent behavior" (Olson et al., pp. 83-84).

Olson, Wallace, and Miller also make note of a very common clue for determining youth who might be sexually atrisk. This clue is no different from that found by almost all researchers of misbehavior. They quote Miller et al. (81) in a Utah State Board of Education publication, who found "the family relations of sexually active adolescent females were notably less positive than was the case among their abstinent peers" (Olson et al., p. 33).

The Moral Climate of Society

Morality and law

Court rulings on both the separation of church and state and on personal rights have clouded many laws of moral turpetude—designed to uphold the moral sense of the community. Others mistakenly claim that morality cannot be legislated.

However, "all law floats in a sea of ethics," said Chief Justice Earl Warren. Most laws carry a "goodness or badness" flavor. "Law" to a child is a composite of rules, most of which are much closer to home than unread statutes. Gilmore notes, "All laws, codes, and mores in our society are predicated on the extent to which an individual's actions may injure or benefit another person" (p. 100). Children judge the fairness of the various rules they find themselves subject to. This leads to a moral labeling of those rules: fair or unfair, good or bad, needed or unneeded, selfish or unselfish, depending on the motivation behind the rule or the nature of its enforcement.

Moral anarchy

Society is sending mixed value signals; the confusion is creating moral anarchy within the hearts of the young.

Along societal lines, Frederick Bastiat, the 19th century French statesman, philosopher, and economist, wrote in his book, <u>The Law</u>, that when law gets out of harmony with personal morality, people are forced to either lose respect for the law or lose their moral sense (p. 12). The one leads to political anarchy and the other to moral anarchy.

When law gets out of harmony with personal morality, people are forced to either lose respect for the law or lose their moral sense. In order to avoid moral anarchy, it is desirable to have youth involved in the rule-making process.

Clear and consistent values seem critical to successful child development.

Character skills go beyond the endorsement of values or the adoption of belief. The latter concept explains why, in order to avoid moral anarchy, it is desirable to have youth involved in the rule-making process, and especially so if moral development is an aim. Bastiat's observation also explains why inconsistent social policies or messages can create moral confusion in youth.

Consider the moral inconsistency between major media themes and home, school, or community expectations: The aggressive, macho male roles of the media contrasted to the behaved, cooperative student expected by the teacher; the weak, inept, or dominated father portrayed on T.V. contrasted to a successful father provider in most intact families; or the otherwise "ideal" moral role model who engages in frequent and casual, out-of-wedlock sex. Clear and consistent values seem critical to successful child development. However, more is required.

Moral development goes beyond values ...

It is important to note that morality goes beyond moral belief; it requires action and accountability. In the research studied, Gilmore found a clear link between moral values and productive traits. Gilmore's evidence suggests that teaching values of effective citizenship would require schools to move beyond simply dealing with values or belief. This may be why none of the current values education approaches couched in social studies classes are effective in either changing behavior or developing character.

Character skills go beyond the endorsement of values or the adoption of belief. That is why character development is too important to be left to one school class. For the same reason, character education is a better term than values education to describe the process of acquiring moral virtues.

... And content curriculum

Just as virtue goes beyond the endorsement of values, the teaching of character traits goes beyond the use of value-laden curriculum content. Value-laden content can help, but is not enough. Nevertheless, value content derived from the definition of American democracy or consistent with the foundation values of our republic should not find objection, including any difficulty with court challenges. Fears of litigation over church versus state curriculum issues have put many such curriculums on hold. Most school systems and most parents want better character education but don't know where to find it. As implied above, the answer is not to be found in the curriculum alone. Only after shifting attention from the curriculum to the development of students, do the right answers come.

Other moral connections

A clear set of moral values is not found in a person who will not accept responsibility and accountability for their behavior. In his book, <u>The Productive</u> <u>Personality</u>, John V. Gilmore explored the traits needed for successful child development. He found a high degree of interrelationship between these traits. For example, he says a

clear set of moral values is not found in people who do not accept responsibility and accountability for their behavior. Similarly, independence, including resistance to peer pressure, is not found in people who have no self identity, including sexual identity. (Since these interrelated factors also deal with child development, they are covered in the next chapter.)

Sex role modeling as a moral force

In an earlier chapter, inadequate sexual identity was found to be related to some misbehaviors. In the following paragraphs, the topic is discussed as it relates to moral development.

"A fundamental aspect of identity is the child's self--identification of his own gender," says Gilmore. "The clear cut sex identity of the productive person," he notes, "is a marked contrast to the findings for less productive groups." He further says, "There is substantial evidence that clear and unambiguous sex identity is fostered by a warm and empathic relationship with both parents, in which the father and the mother play separate but equally important roles. The father's influence seems to be more critical in this area than in any other aspect of development, for children of both sexes; in fact, there is some evidence that it may be more significant in some respects than the role of the mother" (p. 231).

"In sons," Gilmore notes for example, "the mother's attitude toward a weak, irresponsible, or absent father has been shown to be a causative factor in confused sex identity, manifested either in exaggerated masculinity and sexual aggression or in homosexual behavior" (p. 231).

"There is substantial evidence that clear and unambiguous sex identity is fostered by a warm and empathic relationship with both parents." "This combination of a rejecting father and an inconsistent mother was undoubtedly a factor in aggressive behavior evidenced by this group."

We are facing a stark reality that human behavior has no generally accepted theory to explain it. In a major study comparing aggressive to nonaggressive boys, "the families of the aggressive boys revealed that the fathers had spent little time with their sons in early childhood and were more lacking in warmth, more hostile, and more rejecting and generally uncommunicative than the fathers in the control group. The mothers, although warmer than their husbands, at the same time tended to reject and punish dependent behavior in their sons. This combination," says Gilmore, "of a rejecting father and an inconsistent mother was undoubtedly a factor in aggressive behavior evidenced by this group" (Bandura and Walters, 1959, in Gilmore, p. 86).

More importantly, says Gilmore, "their sexual behavior appeared to be an outlet for their aggressive feelings. Two-thirds of the aggressive boys who were sixteen or older, but none of the nonaggressive boys had had sex relations. Masterbation was associated with "the withdrawal of love as a disciplinary technique" and "also associated with rejection by peers" (pp. 86-87).

Gilmore quotes Hoffman who suggests that in moral development, "the father may play a more important role in the child's development of resistance to temptation, while the mother's early discipline contributes more to feelings of guilt" (Gilmore, p. 85). Gilmore also quotes Mussen, Rutherford, Harris, and Keasey that "'both acceptance of one's own sex role and adoption of high levels of moral behavior' are associated with the child's social adjustment and his level of ego strength, which in turn depend on a warm, positive relationship with his parents and rewarding interactions with his peers" (p. 85).

Gilmore concludes that healthy sex identity is critical to the productive person. It becomes part of their morality and is closely and "primarily related to the amount of empathy within his environment."

Gilmore (pp. 87-88)

The Moralist's Dilemma

Neither an individual home nor school, let alone this report, will affect the broader aspects of social policy or the social climate in which children will be reared. Also unfortunate is the lack of clear research direction for moral education and lack of Gilmore seems to be saying, "focus on the ingredients for productive development and moral development will emerge as a by-product."

Not having all the answers to moral education should not be a detterent. Public education uses many practices without knowing why they work. agreement on how moral development takes place.

Given these bleak acknowledgements, the casual observer might agree with what Jensen and Hughston hint and what Gilmore, in the next chapter seems to say: that is, if we focus on the ingredients for productive development and moral development will emerge as a by-product. But that would not satisfy the hunger most parents and educators feel for moral development of children. It could also easily get lost in the above framework.

Given the absence of any better approach to moral development, the U.S. Office of Education under Secretary William J. Bennett, advocates the use of good literature including the classics, history, and other literature which demonstrates the desired values of society. Historically, that has been one of the most popular approaches. (It was a key reason behind the use of the McGuffy Readers.)

The Case for Moral Education is Actually Quite Strong

Should the fact that there is no universal agreement on how moral development takes place deter efforts toward its attainment? Not necessarily. There is an interesting parallel between moral education and public eduction. It is fair to note that experts do not agree on how the learning-teaching process takes place. Yet, this "lack of proof" on how children learn does not prevent schools from doing its job, even at great public expense. Public education many practices—which seem to work—without knowing why they work. The same approach to moral education is justified.

Research results and the scientific method were never meant to be the sole determinant of whether something is taught. The intent and wishes of parents and other citizens are the major determining factor. The practitioner's job is to fulfill the assigned role as effectively as possible. If prevention is dictated by policy makers, and if moral development is to be part of the prevention scenario, then field-level professionals will have to come up with the best approaches and practices available. What is needed is a framework within which that can take place.

Toward a New Foundation for Moral Education

The absence of adequate justification for current approaches to moral education suggests the need for techniques that go beyond both content curricula and moral discourse, techniques which can serve as a better framework for moral development. The contents of this chapter, when merged with that of the next chapter, suggest such a new framework might be emerging.

The connection between values and personal relationships?

A common theme emerges from both the empirical and applied research covered in this report that values development is a by-product of the type of relationships a child has with adults during his or her formative years. In this chapter, Jensen and Hughston addressed it directly in their list of personal relationships crucial to moral development. In previous chapters, many of the correlates of good behavior appeared to describe relationships between children and the significant adults in their life. In the next chapter on child development, several other authors imply the same connection as they discuss the dynamics of successful child development.

The foundation and structure of moral development may well lie in the quality and nature of relationships which occur between children and adults during their formative years.

> If relationships play such an important role in child development, what are the implications for moral and value education in the schools, as well as in homes? A logical question might be, "Is there any 'value' people want taught in the school that does not describe some quality between or manner of relating to people"? The natural follow-up question is, "Are values best taught by firsthand experience in human relationship that demonstrate that value?"

If all the values of successful society describe some aspect of successful relationship or interaction between people, then could such practice be the missing framework moral education needs? The content of following chapters provide building blocks for such a foundation.

The next chapter also provides additional insights into this question. It briefly reviews child development as a vehicle for prevention. Because of the research connection between healthy development and the acquisition of values, some overlap with moral development is necessary. The strongest implications for moral development are contained in the child development literature because the subject deals with the whole child and the dynamics of development, as well as its individual components.



CHILD DEVELOPMENT AS A PREVENTION

10

The bottom line appears to be that moral development is critical to productive functioning.

This chapter goes beyond the topic of moral development as a prevention strategy. The previous chapter dealt with moral development as a prevention of future misbehavior. The bottom line shows that moral development is critical to productive functioning. The difficulty is that no solid agreement exists on how moral development best takes place. That human relationships are involved is clear. Moral character evolves out of healthy homes of all persuasions. Some of the material presented in this chapter links healthy and productive development to the nature and quality of the child's personal relationships with adults. Clues to how that aids moral and character development are discussed.

However, this chapter goes beyond the topic of moral development as a prevention strategy. Its purpose is to reach further into the topic of successful child development as a prevention strategy.

The third question included in the introductory chapter of this report asked:

1. Is enough known about how to develop successful children to tie prevention and development to-gether?

This chapter, with the previous three chapters, intends to answer that question.

In dealing with the topic of child development, much literature and research abounds. As comprehensive and fair treatment is beyond the scope of this report, the purpose of this chapter is not to summarize the child development literature. The purpose of this chapter is twofold: one, to address the question of whether a focus on child development is a worthwhile prevention strategy; and two, whether the known ingredients in successful development parallel the known ingredients of prevention.

the questions.

Many of the conclusions drawn in the field of child development come from the commonalities arising in case study data.

> Gilmore concludes that effective development is effective prevention.

Research on general child development is difficult because of the many uncontrollable variables in a child's life. Many of the conclusions drawn in this field come from the commonalities in case study data. Clinical psychologists often combine that data with their experience in helping thousands of children and parents with problems.

In addition to the research applications of Jensen and

Hughston, only one other summary of research could be located that specifically addresses those two purposes. This was a 1979 summary by John V. Gilmore, a clinical psychologist affiliated with Boston University. Other literature only obliquely addresses

David Elkind, whose ideas are well known and respected, is a professor of child study at Tufts University. Having written extensively from his own experience and that of others, his synthesis of findings not only match the variables of the prevention research literature, but goes beyond. He merges the variables together to explain the dynamics of development and prevention. He, like Jensen, Hughston, and Gilmore, concludes that effective development is effective prevention.

A similar contribution related to successful child development was made a number of years ago by psychologist Rudolph Dreikurs. He examined the psychological philosophy of Alfred Adler from the perspective of his own broad experience. During the sixties, he translated Adler's philosophy into a set of success principles and wrote parallel books for parents and teachers. Several preventionists have recently built on those foundations.

In combination, Jenson and Hughston, Elkind, Gilmore, and Dreikurs provide a fairly consistent synthesis of development variables as they relate to prevention variables. Materials from Dreikurs appear earlier in this report in the chapter on family solutions. Materials from Jensen and Hughston were covered extensively in the previous chapter on moral development. The aspects of Gilmore's synthesis dealing directly with morality were also covered in the previous chapter. His review of the research is covered more completely in this chapter as is the work of Elkind.

Successful Development Versus Patchwork Personalities

1 Based on the analysis of psychologist David Elkind

The imposition of premature adulthood upon today's teenagers "creates inordinate stress" and affects "that allimportant self-definition [called] personal identity." By bestowing a premature mantle of adulthood upon teenagers, we as parents and adults impair the formation of their sense of identity and render them more vulnerable to stress.

David Elkind, child psychologist

Successful self-identity versus ...

"When 50 percent of our youth are at one or another time abusing alcohol or drugs," Elkind says, "then something is seriously wrong with our society." Elkind says we must "resist the social pressure to foist a premature adulthood on teenagers" (Elkind, 1984, p. viii). The imposition of premature adulthood upon today's teenagers creates inordinate stress" and affects "that all-important self-definition [called] personal identity.... This sense of self is one of the teenager's most important defenses against stress.... It is not surprising, then, to find that the number of stress-related problems among teenagers has more than tripled in the last decade and a half" (Elkind, 1986, pp. 5-6).

... Patchwork personalities

"Teenagers also need a clearly defined value system against which to test other values and discover their own," says Elkind (1984, p. 6). Unfortunately, what most teenagers end up with today is what Elkind calls "a patchwork personality." This comes through a "substitution" process of borrowing and adopting "feelings, thoughts, and beliefs copied from others."

A much better approach to self-identity, he says, is by a process he describes as "differentiation and integration." This is a process of discriminating or separating out and then combining selected ingredients. "Tee/lagers who have acquired an integrated sense of identity are able to postpone immediate gratification in order to attain long-range goals." The results differ dramatically. "Teenagers who have acquired an integrated sense of identity are able to postpone immediate gratification in order to attain long-range goals. They are future-oriented and inner-directed. In contrast, teenagers who have grown by substitution and have only a patchwork self are less able to postpone immediate gratification. They are present-oriented and other-directed, easily influenced by others" (Elkind, 1984, p. 17).

The conforming teenager with a patchwork self is much more susceptible to peer pressure, Elkind says. "It is important to remember that peer pressure has no power in and of itself. The peer group is powerful only because there are teenagers with a patchwork self, particularly of the conforming variety, who lack the inner strengths that would weigh against conforming." Elkind, 1984 (p. 171)

The patchwork borrowing of personality described above results in "a set of attitudes, values, and habits that are more or less unconnected with one another. Often these values, attitudes, and habits are in conflict. Indeed, teenagers with a patchwork self often behave as if they always had to choose between giving in to others and looking out for themselves. In addition, they have low self-esteem because they feel bad about themselves if they give in to others but also if they stand up to them." That makes close relationships almost impossible.

Another common perspective of teenagers with patchwork personalities is that they tend to see situations, "not as events that could happen to anyone, but rather as events directed at them because of their fate or bad luck. ... It is this lack of perspective that makes them believe there is no way out, that they are helpless, hapless, and hopeless. Self-destructive behavior can result. In the extreme suicide can result" (Elkind, 1984, p. 172).

"In my experience with teenagers who fall into this pattern, one thing stands out. They always have a 'story.' The story always absolves the teenager from any responsibility for responding to foreseeable and unavoidable demands. It is always the dumb boss or the stupid teacher who is at fault" (Elkind, 1984, p. 194).

"Man isn't so much a rational animal as he is a 'rationalizing' animal." Louis Tice, Pacific Institute Teenagers with patchwork personalities "always have an excuse for not doing what they are supposed to be doing. Other people, events, or situations always take the blame."

"Self-definition is facilitated by being with people who know us well and who give us useful information about ourselves." Other symptoms of teenagers with patchwork personalities include extreme competitiveness or reckless abandon, frequent fright or perpetual anger, excessive worry (about size, weight, shape, rate of physical maturation, breast development, hair growth, facial features, skin conditions, facial hair, etc.). With anger, the low self-esteem is denied or explained away.

"Such young people," says Elkind, "always have an excuse for not doing what they are supposed to be doing. Other people, events, or situations always take the blame; the teenager is never responsible. ... Not surprisingly, these angry teenagers have the capacity to provoke a lot of anger in their parents and others adults. ... By refusing to do what is unavoidable, the young person makes it impossible to find ways of serving both self and society and of getting on with life. Rather, such young people seem 'stuck,' mired in confrontations that go nowhere and accomplish nothing" (Elkind, 1984, p. 174).

Schools can contribute to the problem

Secondary schools contribute to the problem, believes Elkind. "From a small, orderly world of knowns, certainties, and reasonable expectations students have entered a world of unknowns, uncertainties, confusions, and often danger." Self-definition is hard to find in such a setting, Elkind stresses. "Self-definition is facilitated by being with people who know us well and who give us useful information about ourselves. The more people who know us well, the more likely we are to get a balanced picture of ourselves..." For young people in the process of developing a self-identity and their relationship with a larger world, "the lawlessness of the large school can be alarming" (Elkind, 1984, pp. 143-5).

Elkind calls for "an integrated curriculum of skills, knowledge, and values... which can provide teenagers a model for constructing an integrated self of specific social skills, social knowledge, and values."

Elkind, 1984, (p. 147)

Climate and role model relationships

The loss of the role model function of teachers is another disadvantage of current educational settings. This is because "much healthy self-differentiation and identity formation can "When teachers are no longer excited about what they are teaching and have lost their commitment to young people, their effectiveness as role models is diminished or lost."

> "Homework provides an opportunity for close, personal, and private interaction between student and teacher."

Markers "reduce stress by supplying rules, limits, taboos, and prohibitions that liberate teenagers from the need to make age-inappropriate decisions and choices." occur within the context of the teacher-student relationship. Yet the climate necessary to foster good teaching in the modern high school has virtually disappeared." "When teachers are no longer excited about what they are teaching and have lost their commitment to young people, their effectiveness as role models is diminished or lost" (Elkind, 1984, p. 153).

"When teaching becomes a chore...standards are lowered and requirements are reduced," he claims. This in turn affects young people's sense of self and identity because "they are not challenged to do their best and are allowed to get away with sloppy work, with not handing in assignments, with not doing the required reading." Furthermore, "Students who are never really challenged, never really forced to stretch themselves, never really prodded to the self-discipline of doing necessary work when it needs to be done, miss an important opportunity to learn more about themselves, about what they are truly capable of doing" (Elkind, 1984, p. 154).

Elkind points out a unique benefit of homework, not generally noted in the literature. He says, "Homework provides an opportunity for close, personal, and private interaction between student and teacher. For this reason it is important for teenagers: it is precisely the kind of interaction they are seeking in their efforts at self-definition" (Elkind, 1984, p. 155).

"Markers" on the road to adulthood

The loss of "markers" on the road to adulthood is also responsible for helping produce so many patchwork personalities, Elkind claims. He says, "Markers tell us about our past, our present, our future." Markers also protect teenagers from stress by helping them attain a clear self-definition, notes Elkind. He says they also reduce stress "by supplying rules, limits, taboos, and prohibitions that liberate teenagers from the need to make ageinappropriate decisions and choices" (Elkind, 1984, p. 94).

What markers have been lost to teenagers? Elkind begins with clothes. He notes that, "only a few decades ago children dressed differently from teenagers." Elkind, himself grew up wearing knickers, even though he wanted to wear long pants. At that time, he notes, "Girls were not allowed to wear long stockings, high heels, or makeup until they reached the teen years.... Today, even infants wear designer diaper covers, and by the age of two or three many children are dressed like miniature versions of their parents," he laments. Regarding teenager clothing markers, Elkind says the following. "By the time girls are in their teen years, they are so adultlike in appearance that it is hard even to guess their age. Teenage boys, too, are indistinguishable in their dress from school-age boys and young men. The ubiquity of blue jeans for all ages and all sexes has just about eliminated clothing as a marker of anything other than affluence and image consciousness. ... With the disappearance of clothing markers, reenagers lost an important index of their special place as well as the protections once accorded that place" (Elkind, 1984, p. 95).

Other lost markers include-

- organized team sports, once a province of high school
- beauty pageants, now held for children of all ages
- religious activity markers
- economic help to the family: earnings, once a necessity, now give teenagers the highest level of discretionary spending
- unique image, now removed, leaving no positive stereotype for teenagers
- social order and authority markers related to respect for parents and teachers
- innocence markers, now removed, leaving teenagers unprotected and exposed to all sorts of information

"Advance preparation more than insulation appears to be the tool contemporary society has left to the preventionist." Regarding innocence, Elkind says there is one hope. "Adults can expose children to each and every form of human depravity without destroying their innocence, for innocence comes from within, not from without. Children will interpret the information they are given in their own way and in light of their own understanding.... Advance preparation more than insulation appears to be the tool contemporary society has left to the preventionist" (Elkind, 1984, p. 100).

Elkind may miss part of his own point when he sees the main evil of undue exposure to sex and violence as the loss of maturity markers for the young. He asks, "Since contemporary society no longer holds the idea of childhood as a period of innocence, does that mean children have disappeared, too? And, further, if there is no place in the society for teenagers, have they disappeared as well?" (Elkind, 1984, p. 99). "In effect," Elkind concludes, "the media has taken a great deal of control over what teenagers see and hear away from parents and have thus undermined their authority." Elkind laments that nothing special is left to the teenager. All has been taken over by others both older and younger.

TV and loss of parental authority

Elkind blasts the effect of TV in relationship to parental authority. "Although the impact of television on children has been widely debated, its perhaps most serious impact has often been overlooked. More than anything else, television has contributed to the decline of parental authority. Television is much too pervasive for parents to monitor and control. ... Parental impotence with respect to television has quickly spread to films, books, audio tapes, and most recently the 'rock videos'....As a consequence we have an ever-increasing flood of advertisements directed at teenagers...that have sexual innuendo as an overriding motif. The more such advertising appears, the more powerless parents feel to control it and the process feeds upon itself. ... In effect," Elkind concludes, "the media has taken a great deal of control over what teenagers see and hear away from parents and have thus undermined their authority" (Elkind, 1984, pp. 110-11).

Elkind knows TV is not going to change. Only if the developmental foundations for productive, capable, and responsible living are put in place early in a child's life, is their any hope of returning parents as the head of teenage family members.

A teenager in California to psychologist David Elkind: "Why does it always have to be my decision? Why can't my dad just say, 'You can't go'? I think that if somebody really loves you, they don't just let you do whatever you want."

> One of Elkind's most salient points in his book is "deal with principle, not with pressure." Elkind quotes Ralph Waldo Emerson in his essay "Self-Reliance": "Nothing can bring you peace but the triumph of principles" (Elkind, 1984, pp. 201-2).

Proper development and beyond

Elkind's first defense against the misbehaviors of teenagers is proper development. However, "even young people who are able to attain a healthy sense of self and identity can be overwhelmed by the magnitude of psychological stress in today's society" (Elkind, 86, p. 210). We can help these teenagers by providing additional strategies for dealing with stress situations.

To reduce anxiety and worry, Elkind recommends the following formula:

It is in exploring options that teenagers most often run

aground, says Elkind. Teaching children healthy attitudes for "perspective on life as a whole" and arming them with helpful

- 1. Identify the type of stress.
- 2. Explore your options.

3. Take action.

"Teaching children attitudes and arming them with helpful phrases to use in stress situations also helps." | phrases to use in stress phrases to use in stress phrases to use in stress situations also helps." | phrases to use in stress phrases to use in stress phrases to use in stress situations also helps." | phrases to use in stress phrases

> God grant me the serenity To accept the things I cannot change, The courage to change the things I can, And the wisdom to know the difference.

Teaching children constructive work habits can also help. Teaching children constructive work habits can also help. One good habit he suggests "is to do first the thing you wish to do least." Another is to "plan the work to be done each day and to set specific goals" and "to do each task as if it were our last, to give every job we do, whether small or large, important or unimportant, our full attention and effort."

In dealing with stress, another help for teenagers is a religious orientation. More than an attachment to a cult, this involves a belief in God with its connection with the transcendent. Elkind says, "Young people cannot attain a completely integrated sense of self and identity without an understanding of that which goes beyond self and society" (Elkind, 1984, p. 215).

Elkind's Summary

"These are difficult times for adults and teenagers alike. It is easy at such times to put oneself ahead of others. But we have to remember that our individuality, our identity, is a hard-won social achievement. It is not inborn. Our individuality is a product of our social experience, not something separate and apart from it. We acquired our individuality, our sense of self, through the labors of parents who set standards, limits, and rules so that we could discover who and what we were and how we could relate in meaningful and productive ways to others.

"That was our birthright acknowledged and nurtured by our parents. We cannot, should not, dare not, deny that birthright to our teenagers. We must once again allow teenagers a place in our society. We must once again give evidence of our faith in them and in the future. For only then will teenagers regain a place to be young and find a place to go when they are all grown up."

Elkind (p. 86)

Elkind's work suggests that a crucial ingredient in rearing productive, capable, and responsible children is finding the balance between parent need and child need.

Elkind on education

In a more recent book titled, <u>Miseducation: Pres-</u> <u>choolers at Risk</u>, Elkind blasts the preschool practice of adopting programs intended for school-aged children. Elkind summarized his concerns in an <u>Education Week</u> article. He says, "When we instruct children in academic subjects, or in swimming, gymnastics, or ballet, at too early an age, we miseducate them; we put them at risk for short-term stress and long-term personality damage for no useful purpose. There is no evidence that such early instruction has lasting benefits, and considerable evidence that it can do lasting harm" (Elkind, 1988, p. 24).

Elkind chides educators and others for ignoring

The lack of proper development is attributable, more than any other thing, to "parent's power to coerce," notes Elkind. "It reflects parent need, not child need." Elkind, 1984 (p. 206)
Elkind chides educators and others for ignoring the facts.

"No authority...advocates the formal instruction...of infants and young children."

While we have always had pushy parents, Elkind notes, "today it has become a societal norm." the facts. He says, "In a society that prides itself on its preference for facts over hearsay, on its openness to research, and on its respect for 'expert' opinion, parents, educators, administrators, and legislators are ignoring the facts, the research, and the expert opinion about how young children learn and how best to teach them" (Ibid, p. 24).

In a strong statement for preschool sanity, Elkind describes what should be done. "No authority in the field of child psychology, pediatrics, or child psychiatry advocates the formal instruction, in any domain, of infants and young children." In fact, the weight of solid professional opinion opposes it and advocates providing young children with a rich and stimulating environment that is, at the same time, warm, loving, and supportive of the child's own learning priorities and pacing. It is within this supportive, nonpressured environment that infants and young children acquire a solid sense of security, positive self-esteem, and a long-term enthusiasm for learning" (Ibid., p. 24).

Nor do others escape blame for placing preschoolers at risk. Elkind continues, "One thing is sure: miseducation does not grow out of established knowledge about what is good pedagogy for infants and young children. Rather, the reasons must be sought in the changing values, size, structure, and style of American families, in the residue of the 1960s efforts to ensure equality of education for all groups, and in the new status, competitive, and computer pressures experienced by parents and educators in the 1980s" (Ibid, p. 24).

While we have always had pushy parents, Elkind notes, "Today it has become a societal norm. If we do not wake up to the potential danger of these harmful practices, we may do serious damage to a large segment of the next generation...." In support of his concern over formal educational programs for the young, Elkind says, "The number of nursery schools has increased a thousandfold since 1965, and the number of licensed day-care centers has grown 234 percent between 1978 and 1985." He says 39 percent attended prekindergarten programs in 1985 compared to only only 11 percent in 1978 (Ibid., p. 24).

Elkind believes educators can do much to inform parents about the misuse of preschools. It is in their interest, because most of those same preschoolers will soon carry the resulting problems into the public schools.

Research is a unique kind of history

Research is demonstrating what history has demonstrated time and time again: That is, given the same ingredients, human behavior is relatively consistent across time and culture. Most histories tell of places or peoples. They become, in a sense, a study of group behavior. In a companion sense, this report provides a history—a history composed of hundreds of thousands of people included in the referent research projects.

This report then, in a very real sense, is a history of individual behavior, behavior studied from every angle: from the cause and the effect; isolated acts and shared acts; from acts toward others to acts toward self; from before, during, and after the behavior happened; from inside the family and outside the family; from sibling and peer; from outside observation and inside introspection; from the bedside and the blackboard; from the clinicians couch and the bars of the cell; from the world of work and the marketplace; from the observed and the observer.

And isn't all history for the observer? Whether history records the behavior of the individual or the group, the key benefit is the same: What can we learn from observing it in retrospect? That is the intent of the research history included in this report.

The Productive Personality

* Based on a research synthesis by John V. Gilmore

YEA's larger hope is to generate success in youth as well as avoid failure.

Beyond prevention

An important question, not well addressed in the research literature, is whether the elimination of factors breeding bad behavior will automatically breed good behavior. That seems to be an assumption drawn by most of the experts. However, the factors breeding successful behavior may encompass more than the mere elimination of the ones breeding later misbehavior. YEA's larger hope is to generate success in youth as well as avoid failure. For this and other reasons, the YEA Board of Directors wanted a more extensive review of the research literature. The following research summary helps verify the assumption that the best prevention is good development. "Gilmore concluded that if that underlying structure is nurtured, productive individuals result; starve the structure or interfere with it and maladaptive behavior results..

> "There appears to be what we may call a productive personality, which can be defined and delineated in terms of certain basic personality traits."

"Characteristics fundamental to all productive functioning lie in certain environmental antecedents." John Gilmore of Boston University studied the research literature on personal productivity. In doing so, he summarized "the research reported in several hundred books, articles, and abstracts" from a multitude of fields. As he looked at the data on academic achievement, creativity, and leadership, as well as from the more general areas of mental health, self-esteem, and selfactualization, commonalities emerged. From all of that research, he saw combined "evidence of an underlying personality structure common to all individuals." Gilmore concluded that if that underlying structure were nurtured, productive individuals would result; starve the structure or interfere with it and maladaptive behavior would result (Gilmore, pp. xi-xii).

More importantly, the variables Gilmore identifies for developing "productive personalities" are for the most part (but with different names) the same ones that surfaced in the prevention literature, the effective school literature, and even the effective organization literature.

Gilmore labels the key ingredients "personality variables." He says, "There appears to be what we may call a productive personality, which can be defined and delineated in terms of certain basic personality traits" (Gilmore, p. xii). Calling his factors personality variables is misleading because they are more fundamental than the characteristics usually encompassed in personality. They might more appropriately be called character traits or life dimensions because they describe basic approaches to life, including problem solving, decision making, and working relationships.

What is the underlying structure of successful people?

Gilmore says, "The theoretical and empirical data assembled here do not represent new discoveries. They do suggest that the causative factors in the development of those personality characteristics fundamental to all productive functioning lie in certain environmental antecedents. It is primarily the empathy, nurturance, and esteem in the family milieu which results in the development of the productive personality—and the lack of these conditions which often produces a poorly functioning individual" (Gilmore, p. 250). From the pre-1979 research Gilmore reviewed, he arrived at the following personal dimensions which define the successful person. The difference between academic achievement, creativity, and leadership is determined by the degree of emphasis placed on the dimensions, rather than their presence or lack of existence. All are necessary in a healthy degree. His basic dimensions follow:

- Self-esteem including self-respect. This, among other things, relates to motivation and internal sources of reward — key traits in the moral person.
- Sense of identity, including sex identity, "Clear, positive gender identity," including stable, rewarding, and "secure relationships with the opposite sex."
- Social responsibility. This means "mature social awareness" evidenced by "an empathic, altruistic, and sympathetic feeling not only for specific individuals, but for humanity in general."
- Highly developed internalized system of values. Gilmore says this is determined by the degree to which a person feels that he is the person he should be, which is the degree to which his own behavior contributes to his self-esteem.
- Hope. This person grapples with the problems of life. Rather than retreating from them, he brings to any situation a "fundamental attitude of hope which is based on an inner assurance." Hope "enables the individual to extend himself into the future" and project remote, but "highly rewarding goals."
- Coping abilities. Secure in self and exhibiting trust in his environment, the person is able to perceive problems clearly and accurately, and "master the life situations which confront him."
- Independence. Confident in his own judgment and in control of his impulses, the person is able to order the complexities, and with a single-minded persistence, has the "strength and courage to reach a decision with full cognizance of its consequences for himself as well as for others."

Gilmore (pp. 226-229)

Generative empathy is a term ...which means "the inner experience of sharing in and comprehending the momentary psychological state of another person."

What does Gilmore mean by empathy?

Gilmore defines empathy in the dictionary sense, originating from the Greek word empatheia, meaning "affection and passion." He quotes Webster's definition as, "the imaginative projection of a subjective state...into an object so that the object appears to be infused with it...; the capacity for participating in or a vicarious experiencing of another's feelings, volitions, or ideas." Gilmore says, "When the parent is wholly accepting, nurturing, and concerned with the child, an intense affective relationship develops between them which can be termed 'generative empathy."

Generative empathy is a term he borrows from Schafer which means "the inner experience of sharing in and comprehending the momentary psychological state of another person...a sublimated creative act in personal relationships which combines the gratifications of intimate union with the recognition and enhancement of personal development of both persons involved" (see Gilmore, p. 61). The prevention literature refers to this concept as "bonding," but Gilmore's use of empathy better explains the process and the cause and affect, as well as the link with nurturance and esteem. Empathy is certainly part of "esteeming relationships" which Gilmore stresses and others have talked about.

Identity and relationships

Gilmore says a person "must have a sense of belonging to something—before he can have a sense of individuality." "Identity," he says, "must...have some reference point.... Paradoxically, an individual can develop a sure sense of himself only when he is able to find some aspect of others in his social framework with which he can clearly identify" (p. 45).

Gilmore quotes Barron "that the ability to distinguish between what is inside and what is outside us is the first requirement for causal thinking; once this is established, 'we can make discriminations in space and time, we can describe events at specific space-time coordinates, we can give reasons, and we are able to be objective and experience ourself as subject, a subject distinct from the world of objects" (see Gilmore, p. 48).

Identity and self-esteem

Whether called self-concept, self-acceptance, self-confidence, self-respect, or self-image, "there seems little doubt," says Gilmore, "that a well-developed sense of identity is closely associated with self-esteem." Also, "in the adolescent a sense of identity must be preceded by...a 'realistic self-esteem'-a self-concept which reflects his competence not only in meeting the demands of his environment, but also in meeting the demands of his...conscience." Gilmore paraphrases Fenichel, that "every feeling of guilt lowers self-esteem" (Gilmore, pp. 49-50).

"A person is most alive and is functioning in such a way that he knows who he is and you know who he is and he knows who you are when his thoughts and actions are in accord with his moral judgment." F. Barron, in <u>Creativity and Personal Freedom</u>

A person "must have a sense of belonging to something---before he can have a sense of individuality."

"There seems little doubt, says Gilmore, that a well-developed sense of identity is closely associated with self-esteem." To be socially responsible, a person must have "skills of social interaction" and "a highly developed internal value system based on a deep empathy and concern for others, a respect for the intrinsic worth of their fellow man."

"Right and wrong are no longer dictated directly by the evaluations of others, but by the individual's own value system."

Social responsibility

To be socially responsible, Gilmore says a person must have "skills of social interaction" and "a highly developed internal value system based on a deep empathy and concern for others, a respect for the intrinsic worth of their fellow man." Gilmore continues, "This aspect of social responsibility is independent of direct reward or recognition by others." He says this "is an inner strength that enables such a person to function independently on the basis of his own personal convictions." And also out of "a sense of personal commitment to those ethical and moral standards that stem from an underlying concern, altruism, and sympathy for other human beings in general" (Gilmore, pp. 89-90). In other words, both the concern and the direction of that concern for others has been internalized.

"Conscience" is the term for that internalization, which amounts to an inner regulation, says Gilmore. He notes Aronfreed found that while directed toward others, conscience is autonomous in nature. In this sense, "right and wrong are no longer dictated directly by the evaluations of others, but by the individual's own value system." In extensions "the 'value' of a given behavior to the individual is the extent to which it would increase or lower his own selfesteem" (Aronfreed, in Gilmore, p. 91).

"If in reducing the distress of another person the giver also reduces his own empathic feelings of distress, then sympathy becomes combined with altruism."

Gilmore (p. 106)

The mix of reciprocal benefits arising from altruism is well illustrated in a letter from Sam Adams to his wife during the Constitutional convention. She had written that she had taken in an old lady to live with them, "who had not wont to lay her head." Sam Adams complimented her and noted that she had already been amply rewarded. For by doing so, she had been relieved of her own suffering which arose from observing the old woman's distress. Experiencing empathy helps a child gain "affective" security which "enables him...to cope with distressful situations...which is a resource for sympathetic behavior."

"High performance people are willing to have confrontations with new ideas, new ways of doing things." Louis Tice, Pacific Institute

... Versus responsibility to self

Altruism is a mix of attention to others and self. By identifying with others, sympathy and relief of their distress are brought into play. Only by identifying with self, can guilt and internal distress be relieved. In a powerful observation, Gilmore says, "Both altruism and guilt thus depend on a capacity for empathy: one can feel guilt only through an empathic awareness of the pain for which one has been responsible" (Gilmore, pp. 106-108). Gilmore again refers to Aronfreed who says, "that both altruism and sympathy, although different in application, are acquired under similar conditions and both are dependent upon 'the prerequisite establishment of the child's capacity for empathy and vicarious experience"" (Aronfreed, 1968).

Experiencing empathy helps a child gain "affective" security, notes Gilmore. "An individual's affective security" in turn "enables him not only to empathize verbally with others, but also to acquire skills that will enable him to cope with distressful situations. In other words, the individual's confidence in his own competence is itself a resource for sympathetic behavior." Gilmore continues, "Apparently parental respect for the child's autonomy plays a direct role in developing the sense of competence that enables him to be helpful in difficult situations" (Gilmore, p. 106).

Integration

While Gilmore's summary precedes the writings of Elkind above, both Gilmore and Elkind end up with the same conclusion: the successful child must have an integrated personality rather than a hodgepodge of separate traits.

Gilmore links social responsibility, empathy, autonomy, conscience and identity, including self-esteem, in this statement:

A person with a well-developed sense of values can describe his feelings about various kinds of behaviors without reference to immediate, concrete acts, or events. His evaluations are based on his experiences with both the causes and consequences of acts in terms of his self-esteem. An act which he judges as good or morally right enhances his self-esteem, and an act which he judges as bad or morally wrong threatens his self-esteem.

The internalization of a value system thus entails more than a cognitive awareness of the desirability of certain acts over others. It entails the ability to apply value judgments to the consequences of behavior, rather than [only] to the behavior itself.

Gilmore (pp. 91-92)

According to Gilmore, healthy development, including the acquisition of social responsibility, requires a person to think and act honestly within himself.

The child who accepts "responsibility for his behavior...is able to restore his self--esteem by confessing, explaining, apologizing, and being forgiven."

"Love–withdrawing methods seem to be more effective when there is more love to lose." Gilmore implies that healthy development, including the acquisition of social responsibility, requires a person to think and act honestly within himself. He says, "one of the principal deterrents to productivity is unresolved guilt feelings." Helping children to act honestly within themselves coincides with Dreikurs' point that encouragement in support of the child's world is far better than praise which draws the child into the adult's world. More of Dreikurs' development concepts are covered below.

Gilmore says further that the more nurturing and empathic the relationship, the more sensitive the child is to guilt. He says, "As long as discipline is based on a close and affectional parent-child relationship, the child responds to his guilt feelings by accepting responsibility for his behavior, and he is able to restore his self-esteem by confessing, explaining, apologizing, and being forgiven" (Gilmore, p. 111).

The implication is that discipline, via a confrontive mode, shifts the child's attention to nonproductive mechanisms such as defensiveness. "The greater the degree of empathy," states Gilmore, "the less the need for punitive forms of control. Punitiveness almost always implies some hostility, and empathy and hostility are fundamentally antithetical." In addition, he refers to "many areas of research" which have "demonstrated that behavior acquired under painful circumstances generally persists longer" (Gilmore, p. 120).

"In homes where punitive measures seem to be ineffective," Gilmore says, "it can usually be assumed that the parent has not given sufficient empathy and nurturance to the child in the first place. In short, a parent cannot withdraw or take away something which he has not given. As a result the discipline measures become nothing more than supervisory or surveillance devices against which the child rebels, either directly or indirectly." In other words: "love-withdrawing methods seem to be more effective when there is more love to lose" (Gilmore, p. 121).

Structure

While not one of Gilmore's main variables, he does not leave out structure, which the prevention literature has found so important. However, Gilmore gives it an integrated rather than an independent role and explains why it is so important. He says, "In general, any form or structure in the child's social environment which helps him to discriminate clearly between acts having positive consequences and those having painful consequences will aid his socialization. Such a classification helps him to learn control, and ultimately enhances the internalization of socially responsible behavior" (Gilmore, p. 124).

Choice

All perception is a creative act. It requires the development of an autonomous awareness.

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Joseph C. Pearce in his book, <u>Magic Child Matures</u> (E.P. Dutton, N.Y. 1985) talks of children having an "open ended nature" for which we need to provide "an open ended perceptual system." All perception is a creative act. It requires the development of an autonomous awareness.

Choice is part of independence or autonomy, another ingredient increasingly showing up in the prevention literature. Gilmore says,

"If a child is given an opportunity to control a reward or punishment through his own choice of behavioral alternatives, he acquires a given social behavior more easily, and probably more permanently. His coping skill is improved, his self-esteem enhanced, and his anxiety correspondingly reduced. The reason or cause for the punishment, however, must be clearly understood. Moreover, a child is more likely to develop the ability to govern his own behavior when rewards or punishments are not in themselves so overwhelming that they interfere with his freedom to make a choice." This, says Gilmore, "impedes the child's socialization because it provides him with an insufficient basis for developing the necessary independence of judgment...to formulate mature behavioral values."

Gilmore (p. 124)

Related to independence, Gilmore refers to findings of several others and cautions, "The highly impulsive child does not learn easily from others, since his need to relieve his anxiety through immediate, directionless activity impairs his ability to develop a unified pattern of behavior. As a result, although such children are basically lacking in self-confidence and excessively susceptible to the judgments of others, they are also likely to violate social prohibitions when they are not under direct external constraints." This type of behavior is a coping mechanism, a topic Gilmore discusses in detail (Gilmore, p. 126). Coping comes from "the individual's belief that he can control his own destiny as a requirement for dealing effectively with the environment."

Coping responses

Coping has been defined as adjusting, adapting, or successfully meeting a challenge. Gilmore refers to Rotter in noting coping comes from "the individual's belief that he can control his own destiny as a requirement for dealing effectively with the environment." The prevention literature notes that misbehaving teenagers deal with their environment quite differently from behaving teens. Maladaptive coping behaviors are common in misbehaving teens and generally take the form of defense mechanisms or are accompanied by such mechanisms (Gilmore, p. 140).

Gilmore devotes a chapter to the topic of coping. He discusses specific coping mechanisms found in productive individuals and examines how they are developed. His list of successful mechanisms includes—

- perception
- judgment
- hope
- verbal and reasoning skills
- memory vs. purposeful forgetting
- taking advantage of experience
- independence
- impulse control
- ability to order
- persistence vs. stubbornness
- mastery

Gilmore (pp. 135-174)

Gilmore emphasizes the interconnections between coping and other success traits. One major approach to prevention is building skills; many suggested skills overlap Gilmore's list of coping mechanisms. Gilmore emphasizes the interconnections between coping and other success traits. Coping mechanisms often involve other people. Relationships then come into play. Gilmore makes reference to interesting correlations between an individual's competence and his trust in others (r=.60), between trust and altruism (r=.63), and competence and altruism (r=.55). Realistic perceptions of other people as well as the problem are as important as confidence in self (Gilmore, p. 140).

Self-actualizing persons see human nature as it is and not as they would prefer it to be.

Abraham Maslow

"An anxious, insecure person is more likely to feel threatened by a ... stimulus which he perceives as unclear or ambiguous."

"With each successful experience he develops an active coping orientation, which, in combination with an awareness of increased skills and abilities, translates feelings of efficacy into hopeful expectations."

"The individual's own evaluation of his ability is actually a more reliable predictor of his achievement level than his measured I.Q." What this means, says Gilmore, is that "the individual who is confident that he is in control of his destiny and is constantly increasing his self-esteem by coping with and mastering all kinds of situations is vastly different from the one who feels constantly threatened and attempts to remove the threat either by acting-out against it or by withdrawing from it rather than dealing realistically with it" (Gilmore, p. 140).

On the other hand, comments Gilmore, "An anxious, insecure person is more likely to feel threatened by a configuration or stimulus which he perceives as unclear or ambiguous. At the same time, he also tends to see a stimulus as ambiguous because its clarity or reality is even more threatening. As a result, he may maintain the ambiguity to avoid taking a stand or making an independent decision, which further lessens his control over the situation and produces a sense of helplessness" (Gilmore, p. 142).

Hope, says Gilmore, in contrast to fatalism and passivity, is to act with confidence that a solution can be found. "With each successful experience," Gilmore says, "he develops an active coping orientation, which, in combination with an awareness of increased skills and abilities, translates feelings of efficacy into hopeful expectations" (Gilmore, p. 145).

This is another way of saying that the internal rewards of success breed the necessary confidence and willingness to risk required by successful coping. Successful coping breeds growth; repeatedly unsuccessful coping stops in its tracks. Hope is contrasted to wishful dreaming, so often engaged in by maladaptive children.

Related to hope, Gilmore quotes research indicating "the individual's own evaluation of his ability is actually a more reliable predictor of his achievement level than his measured I.Q." (Gilmore, p. 151).

Family structure

Gilmore refers to Coopersmith, Becker, Hoffman, and particularly to Baumrind in discussing family socialization patterns and practices. He says, "an affectional parent who relates warmly to his child should rarely find it necessary to use either power-assertive or love-withdrawal forms of discipline techniques." In referring to Becker, Gilmore adds, "parents who have sufficient personal security to maintain a warm, affectionate relationship with their children are likely to use 'love-oriented' techniques of discipline which will promote in their offspring 'acceptance of self-responsibility, guilt, and related internalized reactions to transgression.' Hostile parents, on the other hand, will employ harsh, power-assertive methods of control which breed in their children further hostility, aggressiveness, and rebellion and discourage the internalization of socially responsible behavior standards" (see Gilmore, p. 129).

Gilmore discusses the work of Baumrind and others concerning authoritative versus either authoritarian or permissive home environments. He stresses the effect parents have on integrating key variables of successful development. For example, the authoritarian parent who focuses on controlling and evaluating the child, tends to view "obedience as a virtue in its own right, to be enforced if necessary by punitive measures." This denies the child any practice in decision making, in learning autonomy and its related accountability, or for moral judgment or responsibility, or in learning empathy. Thus an integrated personality cannot emerge.

Gilmore's contribution

The importance of Gilmore's contribution to development may lie in the integration of key variables and the climate and relationship which produce the integration of those variables. He seems to imply that the integration is as important as the development of the variables. Also, from what Gilmore has noted, it would be well to caution against focusing on product variables and focus on process variables. This is what he has done in emphasizing "empathic environments" and "esteeming relationships."

It is not the lack of conflict that signals the successful home, but "the methods used in the solution of problems."

Do homes have to be perfect?

No, says Gilmore, homes do not have to be perfect. It is not the lack of conflict that signals the successful home, nor is it necessarily parental disharmony, or high pressure to achieve, or parental overprotectiveness. Rather, it is "the methods used in the solution of problems.... In a home based upon empathic relationships, conflicts can be resolved by the use of respectful and "The quality of family relationships which meet the [requirement] is within the reach of practically all parents."

"There is evidence that deeply concerned parents are capable of changing their fundamental relationships with their children with the help of skilled counseling."

> The families of certain at-risk children may need special attention.

considerate communication, patience, and understanding. The above findings suggest that the quality of family relationships which meet the [requirement] is within the reach of practically all parents" (Gilmore, p. 251, emphasis added).

Gilmore adds that the data he has looked at "indicate that parents of children of all ages and all socioeconomic levels earnestly want more professional help with their children." He says, "There is evidence that deeply concerned parents are capable of changing their fundamental relationships with their children with the help of skilled counseling; there is also evidence that the resulting changes, which are reflected in their children's continued academic and social productivity, are relatively permanent" (Gilmore, p. 251).

Gilmore says, "a more effective means of enhancing a child's general productivity as well as his academic performance lies in reaching the parents of children who show signs of either learning or behavior problems at the elementary school level." The families of certain at-risk children may need special attention. For example, Gilmore says, "In this respect the needs of low-income families are a special concern. Parents of this group may need substantial help in learning to establish more empathic relations with their children, since the social and economic pressures of their own lives hinder them in reaching out empathically or using words of feeling and affect" (Gilmore, p. 253).

Lest his emphasis on empathic support be misunderstood, Gilmore stresses that he is talking about more than empathy. He uses the term as a descriptor of support, not as the sole support. "Empathy, and nurturance," he says, "will foster self-esteem, but self-esteem alone will be of little avail in a family without a commitment to a sound set of human values" or commitments to other targeted goals, including social responsibility. Gilmore says, "The highly productive person with his accompanying sense of social responsibility, good physical and mental health, and effective coping skills develops within the family which values social concern and the acquisition of learning. Academic training and the development of other skills which directly or indirectly contribute to one's effectiveness are attainable goals which are included in the value system of such a family" (Gilmore, p. 255). "The family backgrounds of productive persons reveal...self-esteem and competence are generally high in the parents as well as in the children."

"If you want the future to be in your own hands, put the present in your own hands." Eugine T.Gendlin, Focusing (preface)

The Chicken or the Egg Cycle of Successful Development

The above traits are not only the product of the right climate and relationships, they are the traits of people who produce effective children.

Gilmore says, "Retrospective studies of the family backgrounds of productive persons reveal that these backgrounds are essentially similar. The home and parental relationship are generally stable and harmonious, there is a strong father who assumes responsibility for family leadership, and the mother is affectionate and supportive, but not dominating. Self-esteem and competence are generally high in the parents as well as in the children" (Gilmore, p. 233).

The other traits from the above list are also present in the home backgrounds of academic achievers, creative individuals, and leaders. However, they vary in their timing and intensity for each of the three. For example, independence is "usually not stressed in the earliest years" of the academic, but is distinctly stressed in the home background of creative individuals. The latter tends "to promote in the child freedom of exploration and opportunities for various creative endeavors" (Gilmore, p. 233).

In the family background of leaders, "there appears to have been considerable emphasis on a warm and affectionate parent-child relationship and a respect and concern for others, rather than on specific skills and competencies. The father-son bonds are exceptionally strong, and the homes are marked by a high sense of values and a sense of social responsibility, concern, and individual obligation to be involved in social action" (Gilmore, p. 234).

Gilmore's findings suggest that productive people have three traits in common:

- 1. They grew up in authoritative climates with esteeming relationships.
- 2. They have acquired a strong set of guiding values.
- 3. Based upon a healthy identity, a sense of autonomy, and a willingness to be accountable, they prefer to act rather than react and produce rather than consume.

A healthy and productive self-identity cannot be developed in isolation of quality relationships with others.

"In focusing on academic success, parents are providing an environment which increases the child's opportunities for productive development in general."

"With enhancement of the productivity of each family unit, there is a corresponding benefit to all of society." Gilmore's success strategy is simple. He asks, "Since the differentiating factor in the child's productivity is self-esteem, why not simply focus on those measures which will serve to meet this need by promoting greater empathy and nurturance in his social environment?" The engine that drives successful development "is a simple, genuine parental concern for the child and a positive nurturing relationship" (Gilmore, p. 248).

While Gilmore did not concern himself with the school, his companion emphasis on significant others would include school teachers. Moreover, he says, "Academic achievement is...more than a demonstration of cognitive skills. It is a value, which in its development requires the acquisition of some of the characteristics we prize and reward in others, such as honesty, intellectual integrity, consideration for others, creativity, and social responsibility. As a result, in focusing on academic success, parents are providing an environment which increases the child's opportunities for productive development in general" (Gilmore, p. 248).

Gilmore's findings and the public school

Gilmore concludes his book by also looking toward the public schools for help. He postulates, "Thus, to avoid perpetuating from one generation to another the weak value structure which defeats productive expression, perhaps one of the fundamental responsibilities of the public school is to help parents to fulfill their important social roles. Unfortunately, there is no facility that educates people in parenthood, so that parents themselves feel that they have amateur status. If professional assistance at the school can help them to increase their child's self-esteem, their own self-confidence will increase as they observe the improvement in the academic and social functioning of their offspring. This gives them hope; and since advanced educational opportunities can then be viewed as a possible reality, the values and aspirations of the entire family can be raised. With enhancement of the productivity of each family unit, there is a corresponding benefit to all of society" (p. 255).

Had Gilmore given more thought to the applications of his findings, he might have drawn some more important implication for the schools by giving them a more important role. He deserves no criticism for this, since most of the research showing that school influences can almost parallel that of the home were reported after his synthesis. The interesting thing is that those accomplishments come from utilizing principles similar to the ones he identifies. Gilmore did not deal directly with prevention; nevertheless, his findings offer powerful implications for prevention efforts of all types.

Implications of Gilmore's Research Synthesis

The implications of Gilmore's findings, together with the research literature already covered in this report, have a powerful impact on prevention.

First, his findings suggest the existence of

a healthy development syndrome composed of the same ingredients as the maladaptive behavior syndrome discussed earlier in this report. That implies that working on prevention is similar to working on healthy development and visa versa.

Second, a powerful implication arises from Gilmore's finding that the base which underlies productive academic attainment is the same for leadership, creativity, mental health, and self-actualization in general. This suggests that prevention efforts do not have to have a separate focus than that for academic development.

Putting into place the ingredients for academic attainment puts them into place for the other attainments. School-based prevention efforts, for example would not get sidetracked from their main mission, that of educating the student. Neither would individual children get sidetracked from their main purpose for being in the school and their role as a student. But for that to happen, schools must change their focus and their mode of operation.

Third, the premise that the "productive personality" is at the opposite end of the same spectrum as the maladaptive person implies that the best prevention is effective development. This means that prevention efforts can always maintain a positive direction—never having to concentrate on correcting symptoms—and can always focus on developing traits.

Fourth, the findings that both the productive personality and the maladaptive personality are largely by-products of relationships suggest that solutions which focus on the individual in isolation cannot and will not work. Every successful intervention or treatment strategy is built on a base of trusting, caring relationships; no wonder the development of new relationship skills has been a frequently found element in successfully rehabilitated "misbehavants."

Fifth, behaviors, both positive and negative, appear to be by-products of climate and relationship variables. If so, this means that prevention can be kept positive in nature without finger pointing or blame heaped upon any child. Prevention can focus on putting into place the foundation variables identified in the literature, knowing that when they are effectively in place, they will gradually bring forth appropriate behavior, and the inappropriate will gradually disappear.

Misbehavior versus unhealthy behavior

"If you choose to say, in effect, 'I do things because if I don't do them something bad will happen to me,' you are living with guilt and fear." "If you choose to give up accountability for your own actions...the rest of your life will be spent outrunning the flames of hell." Louis Tice, Pacific Institute

As implied by Elkind, Gilmore, Dreikurs, and other psychologists, there is a difference between unhealthy behavior and misbehavior. Emotionally disturbed individuals have a hard time not misbehaving in some way. Many actions of such children, while done in an attempt to successfully cope, do them more harm than good. However, as Hawkins, Baumrind and others note, many otherwise healthy adolescents occasionally misbehave. When they do, they are more easily treated and in much less time. These are rarely the repeat offenders which burden the courts or the classrooms.

Is success transmitted?

Research has more to say about who can transmit success ingredients to youth than how they are transmitted. The most interesting finding about the success ingredients for youth is that they are found in combination in healthy, well-adjusted, productive adults. The best way to demonstrate all ingredients for success simultaneously is through close association and interaction with such adults. They not only model the desired traits, they are able through their interactions with youth to give experience and practice in their use.

Morality appears to be a by-product of healthy development

All dimensions of a child must be educated, and for full education, be integrated. Whether described as the four Judeo–Christian components of "heart, might, mind, and strength" or the modern vernacular of cognitive, affective, conative, and psychomotor, all must be included or the child will be shortchanged in his education.

Healthy individuals can and do misbehave. However, emotionally disturbed individuals have a hard time not misbehaving in some way.

Close interaction with such adults seem to be the most effective transfer mechanism of these traits to youth.

All dimensions of a child must be educated, and for full education, be integrated. Much overlap exists between this chapter and that on moral development. Healthy development cannot be separated from moral development. Successful development of necessity incorporates qualities of character. In this sense it becomes character development. If Dreikurs, Gilmore, Elkind, and Jensen and Hughston can be believed, successful development not only prevents misbehavior, it builds moral character. Successful prevention might do likewise.

SUMMARY

The bottom line that comes through from the experts reviewed in this chapter is that there is probably a "healthy behavior syndrome" just as powerful as the "maladaptive behavior syndrome" reviewed in an earlier chapter. It also appears that we may be getting closer to knowing the mechanics as well as the ingredients of that success syndrome.

The purpose of this chapter was twofold; one, to address the question of whether a focus on child development is a worthwhile prevention strategy; and two, whether the known ingredients in successful development parallel the known ingredients of prevention. The answer to both queries were needed to answer the broader question asked by YEA:

"Is enough known about how to develop successful children to tie prevention and development together?"

As commonly found in responding to questions on human behavior, the answer is one of degree. Whether known ingredients in successful development parallel the known ingredients of prevention can be answered with fairly high certainty. The literature covered in this chapter confirms the suspicions that were raised in earlier chapters.

An affirmative answer to the parallel ingredient question helps answer the question whether a focus on child development is a worthwhile prevention strategy. It certainly makes it possible. The remaining portion is the "practicality" aspect of using child development as a prevention strategy. Practicality breaks down into several questions:

- Is as much known about development as prevention?
- Would it be any more difficult?
- Would it take any more time?
- Would it be as effective as other prevention strategies?

Success gets you far beyond merely avoiding failure.

From the evidence presented, answers look encouraging. As much is known about development as prevention. What we know about prevention is linked closely to development. Both appear to be by-products of early environments and relationships with adults. Development for success, therefore, takes no more time and energy than prevention. And most important, the additional benefits of development make it far more desirable than prevention. In other words, "Success gets you far beyond merely avoiding failure."

YEA's conclusion—Yes !

Enough Is Known to Tie Development and Prevention Together.

The remaining question is how to mechanically do it and whether Utah has the dollar and human resources to successfully implement a major effort toward that end. The next chapter begins to address that subject.



EFFECTIVE SCHOOLS LITERATURE

11

As seen by both behaviorists and educators

"As people have begun to examine the characteristics of delinquency programs with reputations for effectiveness, they are finding characteristics similar to those that distinguish effective schools" (Rand, p. 36).

Prevention experts consider schools as the one great hope for success. The relationship between school success and behavioral success is now so clearly established that preventionists are giving a great deal of attention to how to create effective schools. While some of the research links between effective schools and effective prevention are clearly established, others are not.

Caution is urged in assuming that every factor that makes a school effective will also aid in prevention. Many of the prevention reports on effective schools merely summarize their analysis of the effective schools research without tying it with the prevention literature.

Prevention experts consider schools as the one great hope for success. The elements of effective schools have less research behind them than some of the prevention elements. For that reason, the authors of various summaries of effective schools research interpret the literature differently. Additionally, the effective schools research has been applied less aggressively than the prevention research. However, part of the cautions associated with the less researched effective schools components are overridden by the concurrent validity between those findings and those from the prevention literature. This chapter provides two major contributions to the questions behind this report. The question of whether schools should be involved was already clearly answered in earlier chapters. This chapter goes beyond that and addresses the topic of whether natural bonds exist between school effectiveness and prevention. It also addresses the issue of whether school involvement in a major prevention effort would fit within the Utah realities, particularly the cost and practicality constraints imposed by YEA.

Research findings have trouble getting through the schoolhouse doors

"Is it because the practitioner is more concerned with the pragmatics than with the theory?"

After noting that relatively few findings from educational research finds its way into the schools, Squires, Huitt, and Segars ask some very salient questions. "Is it because the research is couched in obtuse language? Is it because the practitioner is more concerned with the pragmatics than with the theory? Is it because the research does not filter down to the practitioner," they ask? (Squires et al., p. forward).

These are important questions which for the most part are left unanswered. Certainly, one reason for that is the mistaken notion that they have to be built into a new program instead of being absorbed into existing ones. Nevertheless, for schools and classrooms who want to make a difference, much new knowledge is now available.

For schools and classrooms who want to make a difference, much new knowledge is now available. The same might be said for prevention efforts. More is now known than is generally being applied. And when it comes to formally combining the research on the effective school and classroom with the research on prevention, even less has been done.

Both prevention-centered and education-centered research summaries are included in this chapter. Given the constraints YEA is working under, both sets of findings must be part of any successful prevention strategy for Utah.

Effective schools list (RAND)

- 1. Continuing instructional leadership and support by school principals
- 2. High expectations for student performance and schoolwide recognition of success
- 3. Frequent monitoring of student progress
- 4. Maintenance of an orderly and quiet atmosphere without being oppressive
- 5. Collaborative planning and collegial relationships among teachers
- 6. Minimizing turnover among the most competent staff

Rand (p. 60)

Effective schools list (ARMOR, et al.) 1. High staff commitment to student achievement 2. Communication of high expectations to students 3. Orderly and purposeful classrooms 4. High levels of parent/teacher and parent/principal contact Ongoing in-service training and frequent informal consultation 6. Strong leadership by principals and teacher autonomy 7. Flexibility by teachers in adopting instructional techniques More time devoted to direct instruction 9. Use of competitive academic teams 10. Consistent appropriate reinforcement 11. Participatory decision making and governance 12. Strong and effective leadership by the principal 13. Clear rules of conduct combined with firm and consistent discipline 14. Student and staff identification with bonding to the school 15. Use of symbols of identity and excellence and rewards for achievement 16. Cohesion and coordination between administration and staff in Rand (p. 61).

Classroom climate, a new perspective on misbehavior-

Instead of viewing a child as an entity independent from the class and using escalating penalties, the newer approaches to discipline view disruptions as an interaction among the classroom setting, the program, and the children's behavior. Therefore, more emphasis is placed on establishing environments in which negative behavior is naturally discouraged and the child's interests are engaged.

However, the Rand report stresses, "The establishment of the required school climate and programs is no simple matter.... The motivation for establishing such a school must come from within the school community" (Rand, pp. 61-62).

The **climate factors** the Rand report suggest include the following:

- Continuing instructional leadership and support for teachers from principals.
- High expectations for student performance.
- The development of an integrated curriculum that emphasizes academic skills.
- Frequent monitoring of student progress.
- An orderly and quiet but not oppressive atmosphere.
- Collaborative planning and collegial relationships among teachers.
- Schoolwide staff development and recognition of academic success.
- Techniques for minimizing turnover among the most competent staff. (Weber, 1971; Rutter, et al., 1979; Edmons and Frederikson, 1978. See J. H. Ralph and J. Fennessey "Science on Reform: Some Questions About the Effective Schools Model," PDK, June 1983, for a critique of the earlier literature).

Relationship factors

Relationship factors are an important part of school and classroom climate. The authors of the Rand report give the following suggestions relating to intrapersonal and interpersonal relations at the secondary school level.

"Relationship factors are an important part of school and classroom climate."

- 1. Provide opportunities for success and development of positive self-image.
- 2. Facilitate the development of bonds of affection and respect between juveniles and their guardians and involve them in conventional activities.
- 3. Provide frequent and accurate feedback for both positive and negative behavior.
- Reduce or eliminate negative role models and peer support for negative attitudes or behavior. Create replacement "social norms" and role model climates. Involve in conventional activities.
- 5 Require delinquents to recognize, reflect on, and confront the inappropriate thought processes that led to negative behavior.
- 6. Create opportunities for juveniles to discuss early family experiences and their connection with current behavior with appropriate staff.
- Adapt to unique abilities of individual youth Consider temperament, physical and mental capacity, and ability to learn from punishment (Rand, p. 54).

Effective Schools and Prevention

"There is now accumulating research evidence about the factors that directly influence student learning and the school conditions that help all students achieve appropriate levels of mastery and success," says Christopher Hall. He than adds, "The substantial and growing research base suggests specific practices and policies that are more likely to help students improve and become positively 'bonded' to their schools" (Hall, 1987, p. 1).

Hall says the Connecticut Secondary School Development Project draws from research on school climate, school effectiveness and equity and relates it to secondary and middle schools. "The project assumes that secondary and middle school students are best prevented from school failure, dropout, antisocial behavior and other dysfunctional development when they are engaged in school activities where they experience success and achievement. In this manner students become attached and committed to productive, pro-social lifestyles" (Hall, 1987, p. 1).

NOTE: The Connecticut program was reviewed earlier in this report in connection with general prevention solutions. Because the program is applicable to effective schools, parts of the report are referenced in this chapter. A particular strength of the Connecticut project has been the development of evaluation instruments used to measure faculty and student perceptions of thirteen key constructs drawn from the research on effective schools:

- safe and orderly environment
- clear school mission
- instructional leadership
- high expectation
- opportunity to learn and time on task
- schools' responsiveness to student needs and equity
- academic growth and renewal
- home-school relations
- decision making
- consideration
- frequent monitoring of student progress
- academic press

Connecticut's Parent's Attitudes Toward School Effectiveness (PATSE) research reveals that a broad set of parental activities linking home and school are positively correlated with achievement. PATSE probes parents' perceptions of six key constructs drawn from the research (Gable et al., p. 2):

- school and community relations
- high expectations
- instructional leadership

- clear school mission
- safe and orderly environment
- frequent monitoring of student progress

The beginning point for effective schools

Ronald Edmonds and other researchers have popularized what some have called the effective schools model. The model is not really a model, rather a set of the first consistent variables that emerged from the study of already existing effective schools. The factors are variously stated but include the following ingredients:

- strong leadership by the principal
- emphasis on academics (particularly basic skills)
- an orderly environment
- high expectations for student achievement,
- frequent and systematic evaluation of students

The research base has materially broadened in recent years and other factors (including more refined describers of the above factors) have emerged. Many of the newer factors have already been noted above. Even at the current status, many of the variables do not have standardized definitions or measurements of effectiveness. Nevertheless, they serve as good focal points for parents as well as educators to zero in on.

Lawrence C. Stedman, an advocate of an expanded and more specified list of ingredients, extracted factors from his own research as well as through a "synthesis" of other effective schools research. His particular point is that the factors must apply to all students and to all schools, including the poor, urban areas with high concentration of minorities (Stedman, 1987, p. 218). The Stedman list is broader than the usual list and more specific. He says that his list is a "more practical approach to school improvement." Since it goes beyond placing the principal in the significant position of being all things to all people. His list includes—

- Parent participation
- Shared governance(teachers, parents and students)
 Attention to ethnic and cultural backgrounds and
 - attachments
- Academically rich programs
- Skilled use and training of teachers
- Student responsibility for school affairs
- Accepting and supportive environment

Teaching aimed at preventing academic problems

Stedman, like others, acknowledges the weaknesses inherent in the effective schools research. Pure and properly controlled research is almost impossible to conduct in the public schools (Brookover, p. 227). Nevertheless, says Stedman, "for practitioners who cannot wait for the properly designed research to be conducted, these practices offer an alternative set of guidelines for making schools effective" (Stedman, p. 218).

> "Keeping parents involved in the what, how, and where of their child's learning is a mark of the most effective schools."

Concerning parent participation, Stedman emphasizes good communication with the home, including "keeping parents up-to-date about student performance," and notification as soon as performance begins to slip. Keeping parents "involved in their children's learning" also delineated the effective schools Stedman studied (Stedman, p. 219).

Stedman's effective schools "demonstrated the skillful assignment of teachers," by doing things such as placing the best teachers in the early grades and using them for in-service training, giving demonstrations, and providing collegial supports to other teachers. "Close personal attention to students" and "concentration on individual development" were also noted. Programs were designed "to insure academic success and to head off academic problems" (Stedman, p. 221).

Pure and properly controlled research is almost impossible to conduct in the public schools.

"The atmosphere is a good bit warmer and more humane." "Effective schools research has shown that urban schools can largely overcome the effects of poverty on student performance."

One of the greatest accomplishments of the latest effective schools research has been to disprove the conventional wisdom that the connection between social class and academic achievement cannot be changed.

"A truth that is parroted is only a half-truth." Jean Piaget Charles Silberman's study of effective schools is referenced by Stedman as follows: "The atmosphere is a good bit warmer and more humane, and the environment both freer and more supportive, than in most schools" (Silberman, p. 103).

Stedman concludes that the effects of poverty can be overcome in the schools. He says, "Effective schools research has shown that urban schools can largely overcome the effects of poverty on student performance. Over the past 15 years, researchers have found many urban elementary schools that have brought their low-income, minority students up to grade level and in some cases, even up to middle-class achievement levels." Stedman continues, "This research has also shown that the impact of schooling on academic achievement can be much greater than that expected from prior research on school effects" (p. 222).

Another of Stedman's conclusions is that, "The greatest accomplishment of the effective schools research, therefore, has been to disprove the conventional wisdom that an impoverished background precludes the acquisition of basic reading and math skills and that the connection between social class and academic achievement cannot be changed. Schools can and do make a difference" (p. 222). Brookover agrees. He says in behalf of his Michigan State University based researchers, "We believe that students from poor families should achieve at essentially the same high level as students from affluent families" (1987, p. 227).

Good schools versus effective schools

Heath and McLaughlin's study makes a point about the difference between effective schools and good schools. Effective schools answers are related to data (test scores, attendance, dropout rates). Good schools answers are tied to affective indicators (smiles on faces, care and concern shown by teachers in dealing with students, excitement with which students engaged in activities, the openness with which students questioned one another).

In discussing prevention, as well as academic progress, Heath and McLaughlin stress that educators who care about the fate of all children must define goodness before they worry about effectiveness. Truth must be applied before it can be useful. To illustrate, they quote Jean Piaget, the famous developmental psychologist, who said, "A truth that is parroted is only a halftruth" (Heath and McLaughlin, p. 578). Good schools and effective schools both improve academics; however, only good schools also prevent behavioral problems.

Cautions

Two important cautions are noted by Good and Brophy regarding the research on school effects. First, the data is correlative and not necessarily causal in nature, and secondly, many of the relationships seem nonlinear. This means that while some degree of variable application may be good, a lot might be counter productive. They fear many advocates will falsely assume that since a little is good, more is better (Good and Brophy, p. 588). The findings of school bonding and on the degree of warmth of relationships are two such examples cited in the literature. Other more specific examples are included later in this chapter.

The study of effective schools versus research on effective schools

Over three years ago during a blitz of attention on effective schools, John Ralph raised some important questions about "the problems and the strengths of this body of research." While some of his concerns have been addressed during the last three years, all of them have not. A summary of Ralph's concerns are included to let the reader know that all of the questions concerning effective schools have not yet been answered.

Ralph discusses the difference between "the study of effective schools" and "research on school effects." He cautions about misinterpretations concerning differences between schools and indicates that once the home, socioeconomic, and aptitude variables are controlled for, little difference exists on achievement from school to school. Ralph notes that "school-effects research continues to investigate those school and classroom level variables that significantly affect achievement, even though their impact is modest relative to that of the home environment" (Ralph, p. 689).

The "how to's" of effective schools are not well understood. For this conclusion Ralph quotes the exhaustive research of James Coleman as well as several others. In balance, it should be noted that most of the research used to justify the claim that school factors are minor compared to school controllable factors are 10 to 15 years old. As noted by Stedman above, much has been learned and applied in the most effective schools during that time. Stedman says, "Christopher Jencks...argued that the best onefifth of schools could raise student achievement by only one-third to two-thirds of a standard deviation, whereas their actual impact has been two to three times as great" (Stedman, p. 222).

For prevention, the pertinent question is whether school techniques can compensate for, substitute for, or intervene in deficiencies arising from home-related factors. The newer research is raising hope that they can.

What Variables Do Schools Have Control Over?

Jencks speaks rather pessimistically of the school controllable factors relative to achievement. He claims, "If we could equalize everyone's total environment, test score inequality would fall by 25-40 percent.... Equalizing the quality of elementary schools would reduce cognitive inequality by 3 percent or less" (Jencks, p. 109 as quoted in Ralph, p. 691).

The issue being raised by the latest research is not how school effects compare with home effects, but whether attempts by schools to compensate for home disadvantages can alter learning variables. It is suggested that this might have dramatic affect on academic success as well as behavioral success. Some authors now suggest that very possibility. The research for doing so points to school climate variables; they are indeed controllable by the school.

Wilbur Brookover at Michigan State University has made one of the strongest contributions to the empirical literature pertaining to school climates. He asked students, teachers, and principals about their sense of futility, personal expectations, perceptions of the academic norms, and evaluations of commitments to improve. Brookover has reorganized a "more elaborate set of effective school characteristics under three general headings: the ideology of the school, the organizational structure of the school, and the instructional practices of the school" (Brookover, 1987, p. 226, in Ralph, p. 692).

The issue being raised by the latest research is not how school effects compare with home effects, but whether attempts by schools to compensate for home disadvantages can alter learning variables.

Based on Brookover's findings, even Ralph admits that "school climate variables such as high teacher expectations and high self-esteem among students may be the effect or the cause of changes in other variables," including achievement, because they creating a favorable learning environment (Ralph, p. 692).

Larry Cuban also advises some caution about the effective schools research. He notes the following problems with research on effective schools:

- The language is fuzzy. The word "climate" is ambiguous, as is "leadership" as it applies to climate.
- No one knows how to create effective schools. There is no clear blueprint available on what a principal or teacher should do in order to improve academic achievement.
- No one knows what principals do to shape teacher expectations and instructional practices in ways that improve student performance.
- Effectiveness is narrowly defined to some academic tests. Many other important variables have not been included in evaluation.
- Research has mostly been done in elementary schools.

Cuban, 1983 (pp. 695-96)

Effective Schools From Another Perspective

The ASCD review of the effective schools research by Squires, Huitt, and Segars is probably more encompassing than the other reviews. One of the reasons is that these authors deal with the effective classroom as well as the effective school. That makes it more pertinent to prevention.

The most important ingredients found in the effective schools research have been built into an improvement model by the ASCD authors:

LEADERSHIP

SUPERVISION TEACHER BEHAVIORS

- Modeling Feedback
- Entrance diagnosis
- Planning Technical success
 - Management
 - Instruction
- Reintegration Consensus Meaning (Personal
- and professional)

SCHOOL CLIMATE

- Academic emphasis
- Orderly environment
- Expectations for success

STUDENT BEHAVIORS

- Involvement
- Coverage
- Success

The "student supports" component directly affects student behaviors and leads to not only student achievement but also to student personal growth. The proposed effective schools model in the ASCD research summary has supervision, school climate, teacher behaviors and student behaviors as the critical ingredients. When the school-related prevention research is considered, an additional component consisting of several variables is suggested. The additional component could be called "student supports." Teacher behaviors feed into this component as do those of parents and other students.

The "student supports" component directly affects student behaviors and leads to not only student achievement, but also to student personal growth. As will be seen later in this report, the student support component is built into the proposed YEA strategy along with the ASCD components.

Other Effective School Factors

"Meaning" is as important to teaching as it is to learning

It is also significant that personal and professional meaning on the part of school staffs was shown important in the effective school summary by ASCD. That corroborates the data coming out of business and industry in which the most successful companies are those able to structure the work and provide a climate that taps the "meaningfulness" ingredient.

In their book, the ASCD authors propose quarterly evaluation of school progress using the factors of student involvement, content coverage, and student success. They say these elements "are so important and so relatively easy to measure that they should be carefully accounted for, much as money spent to support the school is accounted for."

The latter concept is a valid one which should appeal to legislators and taxpayers who are increasingly demanding to see the link between funding and student achievement. The ASCD authors couple school evaluation with formal planning, organizational, and other supports of student achievement which come through planning (Squires et al., pp. 2–3).

The ASCD authors couple school evaluation with formal planning, organizational, and other supports of student achievement which come through planning. "Teachers have the most influence over student behavior and support student achievement through planning, instruction, and classroom management."

Teacher support

Describing the importance of teacher behavior, Squires et al., summarized: "Teachers have the most influence over student behavior and support student achievement through planning, instruction, and classroom management. To the extent that the teachers' behaviors support students' involvement, success, and coverage, then student achievement will improve.... If improved student achievement is the goal, then research has some suggestions about which teacher behavior patterns are most effective" (p. 3).

Squires, Huitt, and Segars call for the same kind of supervision support for teachers as they provide for students. Professional growth, they say, is the by-product when supervision is focused on improving student achievement via the three mechanisms described above. As part of that supervision, "the supervisor and the teacher explore the meanings in the patterns of their professional behavior" (pp. 3-4).

Students in effective schools

The ASCD report lists several student-related characteristics of the most effective schools.

- "Students are expected to reach the goals set.
- "Student success is built into lessons, and teachers provide consistent rewards for demonstrated achievement.
- "Standards for achievement in effective schools are high, yet reasonable, and students expect to master their academic work and graduate from high school.
- Students "feel teachers care about their academic performance and believe hard work is more important to that performance than luck.
- "Because they have been successful in the past, the students have a sense of control over their environment."

Squires et al. (p. 5)

The principal in the effective school

- "If the principal believes students are not likely to learn, then the principal is not likely to be concerned about whether the staff devotes enough time to instruction.
- "Feedback that supports and recognizes successful academic performance and appropriate behavior is also more likely to occur in effective schools.
- "The principal's actions communicate the message that praise, rewards, and encouragements need to outweigh negative sanctions.
- "Developing consensus about academic focus and expectations for behavior is a...leadership process in effective schools.
- "Principals of effective schools have a focus in mind..., ensure that school goals are set, guide the development of consensus around those goals, and systematically check to see that the school is operating accordingly"

Squires et al. (pp. 6-8)

"In unusually effective schools," the authors note, the following things take place: "Active leadership creates a school climate in which success is expected. "Academics are emphasized." "The environment is orderly. Students cannot be successfully engaged in academic work in a disorderly environment. "Effective schools generally recognize a uniform standard of discipline, that is enforced fairly by administrators and teachers. "Students are encouraged to hold positions of responsibility, and their contributions are publicly recognized. "Classroom routines also promote an orderly environment where lessons start and end on time, students bring the necessary materials to class, and teachers give and correct homework. Students are more likely to be engaged if classroom routines and discipline procedures help keep them on task and involved. Teachers "spend more time on lessons" (beginning and ending on time, etc.) (Squires et al., p. 5).

"Students' classroom behavior is the most direct link to student achievement. ... Teachers' behavior can affect students' behavior in ways that will lead to improved student learning." Squires et al. (p. 9)

The most frequently found ingredients

The ASCD authors have captured most of the frequently found ingredients identified and documented in the literature.

- High but reasonable standards with student "buy-in."
- High expectations by students and staff.
- Frequent encouragement and rewards.
- Demonstrated caring.
- Sense of and execution of a locus of control by individual students and staff.
- Personal and professional meaning.
- Supervisory support to teachers in support of student achievement.
- School climate conducive to classroom climate which leads to student achievement.
- Frequent monitoring of students, classrooms, and school with frequent feedback.
- Principal models appropriate behavior.
- Principal sets the focus and tone of the school (by supporting in-service, monitoring classrooms, supervising instruction, and providing time for teachers to plan together).

The above list should not be taken as conclusive. As was noted earlier, of the variables studied, these correlate most highly with academic progress. Far less research has been done on behavioral progress. It should also be noted that a few of the pertinent behavioral variables are just starting to be tested against academic effectiveness. Nonetheless, the above list has significant implications for classroom methodologies as well as leadership styles.

"Student success is clearly related to school climate." Squires et al. (p. 6)

Are good behavior and academic achievement related?

The ASCD report says, "One important finding is that students' classroom behavior is the most direct link to student achievement. A second important finding is that teachers' behavior can affect students' behavior in ways that will lead to improved student learning" (Squires et al., p. 9). The link works both ways. "Schools that achieve above expectations on standardized tests", the ASCD report says, "also tend to succeed in other important areas, such as attendance, student self-concept and participation, lack of student disruption and vandalism, and low incidence of delinquent behavior in the community. This suggests that areas that correlate with standardized test performance provide clues to more effective classrooms and schools" (Squires et al_{*} p. 8).

More is not always better

The authors of "Effective Schools and Classrooms" examined the research findings on time on task and found that too much engagement as well as too little can hinder optimal learning (Squires, et al., pp. 10-11). They also found that optimum rates of success on teacher tests differs for different students.

In one key study on college students, for example, "students classified as having low motivation for achievement but high fear of failure did best when their success rate was approximately 93 percent and worst when their success rate was approximately 60 percent. Conversely, students classified as having high motivation for achievement and low fear of failure performed optimally at the 60 percent success rate and did worst at a 93 percent rate" (Squires et al., p. 14).

The latter type of findings brings up an important point. Much of the past educational and prevention research has assumed linearity in relationships. Only recently have many important curvolinear relationships begun to be explored. "U" and "J" shaped curves have began to replace straight line or proportional relationships. In several cases, the finding of curvolinear relationships has helped explain some of the previous conflicting data which undoubtedly came from exploring different ends of the relationships.

Much of the research clarification has come from packages of related research as contrasted to combining isolated bits and pieces of research. The growth in integrated research is accelerating the rate at which new knowledge is added to what is already known about the teaching and learning processes.

Like the prevention research, the effective schools research cautions that "more of a good thing is not always better." The optimum use, not the maximum, is advised.

The growth in integrated research is accelerating the rate at which new knowledge is added to what is already known about the teaching and learning processes.

Classroom Management and Prevention

"[Studies] have shown that if deficiencies in prior learning are attended to, most students can learn what was previously learned by only the best students."

Squires, et al., (pp. 15-16)

How to prevent deficiencies from occurring

"A number of [studies] have shown that if deficiencies in prior learning are attended to, most students can learn what was previously learned by only the best students" (Squires, et al., pp. 15-16). The ASCD report refers to recent studies by the Research and Development Center for Teacher Education and others which confirms earlier work. Several practical suggestions have emerged from this research, including the need to—

- Analyze the tasks of the first few weeks in detail and predict what will confuse or distract students
- Present rules, procedures, expectations, and assignments to students in a clear, detailed manner and establish classroom routines
- Establish a system of student accountability for behavior and academic work
- Consistently monitor behavior and work and provide feedback on its appropriateness (Squires et al., pp. 17-18).

These activities are part of the rapidly expanding "classroom management" arena. "Other effective classroom management strategies" noted by the authors include these:

- Structuring the physical environment to prevent. distractions
- Planning smooth transitions between activities
- Pacing activities so that students become neither confused nor bored
- Avoiding negative affect when controlling students' behavior.

Squires et al.(p. 18)

"The most effective approaches to management build group cohesiveness and consensus."

Teacher teams

Squires, Huitt, and Segars say, "We have found it helpful for teachers to work in pairs or small groups as they attempt to develop specific management strategies in their classrooms." Teachers don't have to work alone or in isolation (p. 18).
Research on instructional practice reveals "numerous and complex relationships with student achievement."

"Students in effective classrooms spend at least half of their time working at a high level of success on daily work and less than 5 percent of their time working at a low level of success." Of the best management practices, the authors say, "Several studies (see Squires. et al. p. 18, for list) show that the most effective approaches to management build group cohesiveness and consensus.... An authoritarian approach in which the teacher assumes full responsibility for controlling student behavior, often through the use of pressure and force, is significantly less effective" (Squires. et al., p. 19).

Classroom monitoring

The ASCD authors, in attempting to make the results of the latest research practical, focussed on those things which can be readily monitored. For this reason, the three classroom management strategies they stress most are proportion of engaged time, criterion-relevant content, and levels of student success.

Research on instructional practice is more complex and difficult to sort out. It reveals "numerous and complex relationships with student achievement," the authors say. While they review several attempts to "synthesize research on classroom characteristics and instructional methods," they present their own organization of the findings under four headings.

Their headings are sequentially important and form a kind of process. The first is "**presentation**," which includes an overview (review, what, why) explanation. As part of that, "students demonstrate understanding." The second heading is **practice**, first guided or controlled, and secondly, independent. The third heading is **performance** consisting of daily work, unit tests and periodic reviews. The fourth heading is **feedback**, an integral part of the first three headings as the learning process unfolds.

In justification for their process components, they note, "Students in effective classrooms spend at least half of their time working at a high level of success on daily work and less than 5 percent of their time working at a low level of success. Students' mastery of a unit's content is evaluated every two to four weeks, with a subsequent corrective feedback and remediation that lets all students master the content tested. Periodic review is provided on a regular basis...to maintain mastery of concepts and skills" (Squires et al., p. 21).

They say, "Research has...identified a number of teacher behaviors that can be used to affect student behavior. The challenge now is to design and implement programs that encourage teachers, principals and supervisors to take advantage of this knowledge" (Squires et al., p. 23).

Effective School Literature Summary Points

Key points from the effective schools research can be summarized as follows:

- The summary of boin "effective schools" and "school effects" suggests that truly effective schools must include the home as a critical ingredient.
- "The effectiveness of schooling should not be confused with efficiency or even with humane classroom environments" (Ralph, p. 690).
- Changes in staff attitudes, greater parental involvement, the articulation of specific instructional goals, and even a more humane school climate may or may not be evidence of successful school programs. They may affect behavior, but not necessarily learning.
- Much of the effective schools research focuses on amount and degree of learning, less on prevention of behavioral problems. Care must be exercised in connecting independent and dependent variables. In other words, the rightends must be matched to the right means.
- Matched—pair case studies are the backbone of good effective schools research. Relatively little research of this type has been done to separate the value of the various components cited in effective schools research.
- Much of the effective schools research has had its origins in policy rather than conceptual or theoretical foundations. Little has been done on theories explaining how the effective schooling factors actually mesh (see Ralph, p. 693).
- "The effective schools perspective has an important place in educational thinking, but it has been mistakenly identified as a scientific model" (Ralph, p. 693).
- One goal of effective schools reform should be to "promote a more coherent and focused approach to school management" (Ralph, p. 694).
- There is a large number of unanticipated consequences when rapidly adapting research into mandated practice. This has proven true in the effective schools arena.
- Minimum ingredients for effective schools program include the following:
 - a. District-wide instructional goals built upon "student outcomes."
 - b. A goal-setting process for each school and its classrooms based on student outcomes.
 - c. The curriculum and textbooks are "reviewed to determine whether the objectives for subject matter and skills, the textbooks, and the tests are consistent with what teachers teach in classrooms."
 - d. District supervisory practices and evaluation instruments are revised to become linked to objectives.
 - e. A monitoring process is mandated to assess progress in reaching district, school, and classroom goals.
 - f. An extensive staff development program is set up for teachers, principals, central office supervisors, and the school board (see Cuban, p. 696).
- "Clearly, schools can raise the test scores of all children. That evidence continues to mount." But the public expects more from schools than test scores (Cuban, p. 696).
- In moving toward effective schools, trade-offs have to be made or tend to be made:
 - a. Standardization including uniform curriculum and textbooks.
 - b. Agenda narrows and tunnel vision can occur.
 - c. Schools with high test scores escape the obligation to improve.

Cuban suggests an alternative question: "How can the broader, more complex, and less easily measured goals of schooling be achieved as we improve test results? Such a rephrased question places test results in a ranking position but relates them to other important reasons for schooling" (Cuban, p. 696).

School Organization and Effective Instruction

"Clearly, schools can raise the test scores of all children. That evidence continues to mount." But the public expects more from schools than test scores." Cuban

"School management and instructional leadership are two separate tasks that are not easily performed by a single individual."

Who in the school should provide instructional leadership?

Because the effective schools research shows the principal is an important ingredient in successful schools, many have concluded that the principal has to provide the leadership for instructional improvement. Others disagree and say the responsibility for instructional improvement belongs to one or more teachers in the school. The question has not been well researched. However, to provide balance and perspective in this report, a Phi Delta Kappan article by Rallis and Highsmith is summarized below.

Rallis and Highsmith note that both maintenance functions and development functions "are essential components of an effective school." In the past the maintenance functions (smooth operate of schools, coordinated activities, safety of students and teachers, etc.) have always been expectations for the principal. Now the principal is increasingly expected to also provide instructional leadership (Rallis and Highsmith, p. 301).

These two authors question whether it is reasonable to expect one person to generally do both. They say, "We suggest that the first realistic step in school improvement is to recognize that school management and instructional leadership are two separate tasks that cannot be performed by a single individual" (Rallis and Highsmith, p. 301).

Rallis and Highsmith also point out a related problem, that of teachers wanting professional leadership to come from within their own ranks. They separate the management function from the developmental leadership function. They point out that development leadership as contrasted to management "requires— • vision, Management, on the other hand "requires:

- the capacity to tolerate messiness
- a willingness to experiment and change,
- oversight,
- e, the use of proven methods,
- the ability to take the long-term view, and orderliness, and
- a willingness to revise the systems."
- daily attention."

Rallis amd Highsmith (p. 301)

School climates must be made conducive to instructional improvement. The divergence of skills needed, as well as the incompatibility of traits between management and instructional leadership, usually means that one function is performed well and the other is "performed superficially or overlooked." Usually the management functions get attention, based on more immediate need. Attention is to management first, because "most principals hold degrees in administration, not advanced degrees in teaching or curriculum or philosophy of education" (Rallis and Highsmith, p. 301).

Climate is important for both staff and students to do their best work

The research on effective schools is summarized by Rallis and Highsmith. "Effective schools are characterized by a climate that is conducive to learning—one that is free from disciplinary problems and that embodies high expectations for student achievement" (Rallis and Highsmith, p. 301).

These authors point out that school climates are often not conducive to instructional improvement. They claim there are problems in most schools because of the loosely coupled nature of the school. Often schools are no more cohesive than a "series of classrooms held together by aparking lot." Loose settings, they say, "require leaders who are able and who feel free to manipulate the components of change" (Rallis and Highsmith, p. 301).

"Schools are often no more cohesive than a series of classrooms held together by a parking lot."

The bottom line characteristics of change agents

Rallis and Highsmith note that "the distinguishing characteristics of effective instructional leaders are apt to be a set of attitudes and beliefs rather than a set of skills and behaviors. It may be that 'theory and research have emphasized too much what leaders do and how they behave and not enough of the more symbolic aspects of leadership—the meanings they communicate to others" (p. 301).

"The distinguishing characteristics of effective instructional leaders are apt to be a set of attitudes and beliefs rather than a set of skills and behaviors." There is a "visionary" requirement of effective instructional leadership. "He or she must be able to see and communicate possibilities and to transform them into beliefs that can be shared by everyone in the school." Rallis and Highsmith describe the "visionary" requirement of effective instructional leadership. "He or she must be able to see and communicate possibilities and to transform them into beliefs that can be shared by everyone in the school. One way such a leader operates is by inspiring risk-taking through a recognition of his or her own successes and failures." They add, "no one right way...exists" (p. 302).

"Training leaders who communicate meanings, set goals, and locate problems that must be solved is not a simple task," say Rallis and Highsmith. They add, "These individuals must have deep pools of accumulated knowledge, mediated by practical experiences and sensitivity to human needs.... The leader can empower; the manager must enable." Most principals are better equipped and situated for managing than for leadership, they claim. Therefore they conclude, "Instructional leadership that is to raise the quality of teaching can and must come from within the ranks of teachers" (p. 303).

"The educational leader can empower; the manager must enable."

Research points out the need for both good instruction and a good instructional climate. One without the other will not produce results. Many effective school authors feel otherwise; they focus on the principal. Most important, others say it does not have to be one or the other, noting that the critical ingredients are people skills, not "position" rights.

Nevertheless, Rallis and Highsmith feel the main responsibility for improved teaching should be given to teachers. They claim, "Establishing peer-based programs of instructional improvement will not only allow principals to concentrate on demands of managing their buildings but will improve teaching by returning ownership of professional growth to the teachers themselves. Well-managed schools that enable real instructional leaders to empower teachers can create more of the effective schools that reformers are seeking" (p. 304).

Effective instruction

The effective school and effective classroom research points out the critical nature of instruction as well as the instructional climate. Instructional techniques which contribute to preventive climates and relationships as well as to academic progress are particularly promising. Again, the research of the last few years gives direction. "The administration and faculty at Wingate High School in Brooklyn operate with the belief that graduation and future employment are attainable goals for all of the students in their attendance area—despite the fact that the students are mostly poor and, frequently, educationally disadvantaged. ... Armed with this confidence, Wingate's principal, Robert Shain, and his staff have been able to hold on to most of their 3,000 students (posting a 7.7 percent dropout rate) and are able to send approximately 93 percent of the 500 inner-city graduates on to post-secondary education each year. The voluntary pre-matriculation classes, the tutorial programs, the frequent school-parent communications, and the regular, lengthy homework assignments are accepted by the student body because each student knows that these time-consuming activities will ultimately lead to the achievement of significant goals."

Richard Sabor, high school principal, Education Week, Feb. 25, 1987 (p. 28)

A Synthesis of Educational Research

How to MAXIMIZE affective, behavioral, and cognitive learning

Herbert J. Walberg, in his "syntheses of thousands of research studies," concludes that there are nine factors behind powerful and productive learning. Walberg is Research Professor of Education at the University of Illinois, Chicago. Walberg's team, armed with grants from the National Science Foundation and the National Institute of Education, compiled all of the research of the '70s and performed "quantitative synthesis" of all available studies of productive factors. His conclusions come from a syntheses of nearly 3,000 investigations (Walberg, p. 23).

Walberg says nine factors have to be optimized in order to "increase affective, behavioral, and cognitive learning." He implies that the highest forms of each of these three dimensions of learning comes only with the other two. Good behavior and cognitive achievement are best achieved together, and they cannot be done without the "affective" dimension.

Walberg's nine variables are-

- 1. Ability or prior achievement
- 2. Motivation, including self-concept
- 3. Quality of instructional experience
- 4. Age or stage of maturation
- 5. Use of out-of-school time
- 6. Time engaged in learning

- 7. Enduring affection and academic stimulation from adults at home
- 8. Peer group with learning interests, goals, and activities
- 9. The psychological climate of the classroom group

Walberg (p. 20)

Of Walberg's factors, he says, "The first five...appear to substitute, compensate, or trade-off for one another at diminishing rates of return. Immense quantities of time, for example, may be required for a moderate amount of learning if motivation, ability, or instructional quality is minimal. Thus, no single essential factor overwhelms the others; all appear important" (Walberg, p. 22).

The other four factors are "nonclassroom" variables, which "may directly supplement as well as indirectly influence the essential classroom factors. In either case, the powerful influences of out-of-school factors, especially the home environment, must be considered." Walberg stresses the interaction and cumulative effect of considering the nine factors as a composite. He says, for example, "Student aptitudes as a set may be less alterable than instruction. Yet positive home environments and good instruction affect them; and, since they are powerful correlates of learning, they deserve inclusion in [efforts to improve educational] productivity" (Walberg, pp. 22–23).

Walberg does not ignore other factors, but dismisses them as having less importance. "For example", he says, "class size [and] financial expenditures per student...correlate only weakly with learning" (Walberg, p. 21).

Walberg makes a strong point of the interactive and cumulative effects. As one example, he notes, "equal additions of time, with other factors held fixed, yields ever smaller gains in learning, which suggests that neither time alone nor any other factor by itself can solve the productivity problem." While some factors are difficult to measure, he generalizes "that each of the other essential factors, if well measured, would prove necessary but insufficient by itself and would show diminishing returns thus the possible danger of concentrating on any one factor alone" (Walberg, p. 24).

Walberg (p. 24)

"It can be concluded that learning is produced by several factors rather than any one by itself. A preliminary estimate suggests that optimizing all the factors simultaneously is associated with an effect of about 3.7, which is about three times the 1.2 effect of the most powerful factor, reinforcement, by itself and nearly 15 times the effect of socioeconomic status."

"Class size and financial expenditures per student correlate only weakly with learning." The numbers Walberg uses to describe the magnitude of effects are statistical measures called standard deviations. He is indeed talking of some gigantic improvements. The following charts illustrates the relative size of some learning and environment ingredients (Walberg, p. 24).

Instructional Factor Effects on Learning	
Method	Effect
Reinforcement Acceleration Reading Training Cues and Feedback Science Mastery Learning Cooperative Learning Personalized Instruction Adaptive Instruction Tutoring Higher–order Questions Diagnostic Prescriptive Methods Individualized Instruction Teacher Expectations Homogeneous Groups Class Size	1.17 1.00 .97 .97 .81 .76 .57 .45 .40 .34 .33 .32 .28 .10 .09
Home, Peer, Class Morale, and M Method	Effect
Graded Homework Class Morale [•] Home Interventions Home Environment Assigned Homework Socioeconomic Status Peer Group Television	.79 .60 .50 .37 .28 .25 .24 05

* "Morale refers to the cohesiveness, satisfaction, goal direction, and related social-psychological properties or climate of the classroom group perceived by students. ... The psychological morale or climate of the classroom group...strongly predicts end-of-course measures of affective, behavioral, and cognitive learning."

Walberg (p. 24, emphasis added)

What might be called 'the alterable curriculum of the home' is twice as predictive of academic learning as is family socioeconomic status.

"School-parent programs to improve academic conditions in the home have an outstanding record of success in promoting achievement." It is important to note that many of the highest effects come from the "interactive" factors. Home interventions, class morale, graded homework, reinforcement, cues and feedback, cooperative learning, and tutoring are some examples.

It is also important to note how comparatively little effect some historically touted factors have. Walberg says, "By comparison, the influence of the peer-group outside of school is moderate and comparable to the influence of the student's socioeconomic status.... Homework that is graded or commented upon has three times the effect of socioeconomic status" (p. 24).

Even more important, Walberg says, "school-parent programs to improve academic conditions in the home have an outstanding record of success in promoting achievement. What might be called 'the alterable curriculum of the home' is twice as predictive of academic learning as is family socioeconomic status. This curriculum refers to informed parent-child conversations about school and everyday events—encouragement and discussion of leisure reading, monitoring and joint critical analysis of television viewing and peer activities, deferral of immediate gratifications..., expressions of affection and interest in the child's academic and other progress as a person" (p. 24).

Walberg concludes: "Cooperative efforts by parents and educators to modify these alterable academic conditions in the home have strong, beneficial effects on learning. ... Although the average effect was twice that of socioeconomic status, some programs had effects ten times as large; and the programs appear to benefit older as well as younger students." Walberg adds, "it should be recognized that educators cannot carry out these programs by themselves; they require the concerted cooperation of parents, students, and other agents in the community" (p. 25).

The effective school—classroom research overlaps the prevention research

All of the variables found in the prevention and child development research covered earlier in this report are easily integrated into one or more of the factors that Walberg synthesized out of the effective school and classroom research. More important, Walberg was able to clearly identify the magnified effect of combining instructional variables with home and school climate variables. In addition, the personal relationship variables of Walberg's synthesis parallel the very factors identified in the prevention and child development literature. None of the prevention variables or the successful development variables detract from, interfere with, or require extra effort beyond that required for full implementation of the effective school variables. Walberg's work raises the hope and expectation of simultaneous increases in "affective, behavioral, and cognitive learning."

The implications of the high overlap of the effective schools and classrooms research with the prevention research are exciting to contemplate. Prevention as a by-product of educational improvement? At little or no additional cost and effort? The YEA—recommended strategy covered in a later chapter will explore these implications in more detail.

The disproportionally higher impact of instructional variables on learning compared to the effects of class size suggests a separation of its educational component from its teacher morale component. 12



EMPOWERING SCHOOLS FOR PREVENTION

BORROWING FROM THE EFFECTIVE ORGANIZATION LITERATURE

What can effective corporations tell us about preventing failure and building success in children?

This chapter is not a summary of research similar to earlier chapters. Rather, this chapter is built around a single summary of the effective organization literature as it applies to

"Coupling the effective school literature and the effective corporation literature can provide important direction to school improvement."

Patterson, Purkey, and Parker

education. In that way, this chapter serves two purposes. First, it illustrates parallels between the ingredients of effective schools and effective organizations, demonstrating how schools can profit thereby.

Second, it serves as an effective guide for empowering schools and classrooms—including how to bring about and manage change. For that reason, the principles contained in this chapter should be considered as part of the solution strategy recommended in Appendix A,

Chapter 2 dealt with the need for school changes to handle the new social conditions within which child development now takes place. Social changes are occurring rapidly and compensating changes must now come faster. The previous chapter of this report addressed the need for the implementation of effective schools research if a major prevention effort is to succeed in Utah. School adjustments to address changing social needs and implement effective schools research will not be automatic. "In today's world we are all engulfed in a 'firestorm of change." Alvin Toffler

[Ask] not what kind of disease the person has, ask what kind of person has the disease." Sir Wm Osler New tools of change will be needed. The choice to ignore change is no longer open to us. We can choose to either react to the change thrust upon us from others, or govern the change by gaining control of its effect. Whether individuals or organizations, the latter is the better of the alternatives.

How do organizations cope with change?

Effective organizations are able to change as needed. They do this by continually adjusting their internal climate to be compatible to the external environment in which they live. They move beyond focussing on things and on data; effective organizations focus on people. They concentrate on empowering people. People are what make corporations effective. People change; data and things do not, nor can they take action.

The effective school research also points to empowering teachers and students. That commonality makes the effective organization research applicable to education and other youth development organizations. It also makes it relevant to efforts to prevent youth failure and ensuring youth success.

Empower Teachers and Other Professionals to Effect Change

The perceived inability to make a difference is a growing concern of school teachers. "Even the altruistic reward of seeing young people grow has declined as the nature of teaching has changed. Not a lot of attention has been given this problem in an educational setting" (Darling-Hammond, in Patterson et al., 1986, p. 6).

At the very time conditions in the school have lowered teachers' sense of efficacy, workers in the corporate sector are achieving more personal involvement and more feeling that they can make a difference.

This feeling of loss of efficacy comes at the very time that a new workplace value has emerged on the scene. Workers now, more than at any other time, want to be personally involved, to feel they make a difference, and to feel they are making a worthy contribution (see T. Peter., <u>Inventing the Corporation</u>). The business world has given these new values a great deal of attention and has learned how to tap them. The public sector can learn from their experience.

Much of what the business world has found out about empowering individual workers has relevance to educational and other public sector workers. In a recent Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD) publication, three authors transformed what business has learned into educational applicability. While these examples and discussions apply to education, they apply equally to all public sector professionals.

Can teachers regain the prominence they brice had and the influence over the lives of children? Yes, and more, suggests the latest research literature.

These authors, Jerry L. Patterson, Stewart C. Purkey, and Jackson V. Parker, translated the literature on effective organizations into an educational context. Their book titled, <u>Productive School Systems for a Nonrational World</u>, provides a dual service to education. First, it demonstrates the overlapping ingredients between effective organizations and effective schools, and second, it facilitates the implementation of those ingredients into schools and other public agencies. Their ideas, will be particularly helpful for those wanting to implement the findings and recommendations of this report.

The ASCD publication authors also intend as their objective, to restore what has been lost to teachers—a sense of efficacy. However, their arguments and the adaptations from the corporate world suggest the possibility of going beyond what has been lost.

The principles enumerated in the ASCD publication are contained in several books from the corporate world. For the purposes of this report, their adaptation of those principles to education better serves the audiences for whom this report has been prepared. These authors acknowledge heavily borrowing from authors in the effective corporation literature. It is important to note that the principles enumerated in the ASCD book can also be applied to multi-agency programs, and hence are of particular import to the desired outcomes from this report.

A good organization is—

- flexible
- uses integrated structures
- monitors its climate
- strategically plans
- empowers its people

The authors of the ASCD publication have credibility in the field of education, especially Stewart Purkey, a much quoted author on school effectiveness and researcher with the National Center on Effective Secondary Schools, University of Wisconson-Madison.

Public sector borrowing from the corporate sector is appropriate when parallels exist between them. The ASCD publication authors refer to generic "organizational criteria that, when realized, can achieve output criteria" set by any agency. They say, "These organizational criteria include the ideas that a good organization is flexible, uses integrated structures, monitors its organizational culture, develops strategic planning techniques, and empowers its people" (Patterson et al., 1986, p. 9).

Returning efficacy to teachers

It is because education operates through organizations that Patterson et al. contend that "Educators' sense of effectiveness and importance can be restored. However, to do so, educational organizations must be understood in a new way, with a new way of thinking about the world of schools and school districts." The key is whether new strategies are "designed ultimately to empower those within the organization to make a positive difference with children" (p. 7).

In the field of personal effectiveness, education has also learned new things in recent years. Patterson et al. concur: "The recent research on effective schools points to clear direction for restoring efficacy in an era of change." Coupling the effective school literature and the effective corporate literature can provide important direction to school districts (p. viii).

"Power is the ability to mobilize en-
ergy in a school district to achieve
the mission of improved learning
and the quality of life in schools."
Patterson, et al. 1986 (p. 29)

In support of efficacy, the authors looked for "effective practices for creating productive and innovative organizations, for implementing new strategies of planning and decision making to make use of this new organization, and for developing the It is an educational contradiction to give teachers the responsibility, but not the clout to make things happen. kind of leadership that assures the organization will produce a renewed sense of efficacy" (Patterson et al., 1986, p. ix).

Also, "decentralization of decision-making power places the clout to make things happen as close to the action as possible. Numerous research studies converge on the theme that access to information, resources, and support by those ultimately responsible for using a specific innovation is critical to successful implementation" (Patterson et al., 1986, p. 30, additional references included).

Under traditional organizational practice, the link between school board policy and teacher practice is almost nonexistent.

The Strand to

"For instance," Patterson et al., observe "teacher dissatisfaction with district policy mandating a particular teaching model may never reach the policy-makers. Instead, teachers likely will adapt, even distort, the model to fit their needs."

By way of contrast, they say, "The nonrational [strategic planning]* model concludes that the reality of loose coupling reinforces the need to view decentralized empowerment as the most effective way to make a difference in classrooms" (Patterson et al., 1986, p. 30 emphasis added. See also Peters and Waterman, In Search of Excellence).

> The ideal is to get goals and people and practice integrated to get rid of fragmentation.

The authors found that "nonrational [strategic] school districts grant the latitude for schools and teachers to continue their quest for a framework that fits with their respective interpretation of how children learn best in that school's context" (Patterson et al., 1986, p. 36).

The dynamic nature of this strategic planning approach allows for alternative forms of goals among classrooms and schools which are more closely aligned to the people being served as well as those delivering the service.

*Patterson, et al., use the term "rational" to describe the traditional educational system and the term "nonrational" to describe their model. While these terms are descriptive for the purposes of their model, the terms "traditional" and "strategic" are better suited to the general purposes of this report *i* nd more in line with the corporate literature. This c,iference is shown by the addition of the bracketed term [strategic] or [strategic planning] in some of the quotes.

TEACHING PRACTICE UNDER OLD AND NEW STRUCTURE

Patterson et al., 1986 (pp. 36-45)

OLD "There is a standard set of best practices to improve learning. If only teachers would put these practices into action in the classroom, teaching and learning would improve."

NEW "According to the nonrational [strategic] model, things aren't quite that simple. The teaching process is a highly complex act, not easily understood by researchers or practitioners."

"Given the vast diversity among our student population, it seems only logical that teachers need an array of situationally appropriate instructional practices to improve learning. And based on current research, the nonrational [strategic] view of the teaching process turns out to be a more realistic perspective than the rational [traditional] model."

OLD The teacher or field professional is expected to solve the problem by themselves, or a new practice is expected to solve it for them.

NEW Merging the practice with the teacher does not mean that teachers and other public service professionals do not need help in identifying the instructional or intervention practices best suited to themselves or to the task at hand. The important point is that new practice should be tailored to fit with the potential of an existing teacher.

EMPOWERMENT VIA STRATEGIC PLANNING

The prevention strategy recommended later in this report does not contain a detailed program plan for school districts and other agencies to follow in implementing the recommendations of this report. Instead, the following section on how strategic planning takes place in effective organizations is included to suggest an implementation process in harmony with the prevention and success ingredients found elsewhere in this report. This chapter should be therefore considered as part of the solution strategy proposed later in this report. This chapter should be considered as part of the implementation strategy designed from the research covered in this report. Adaptive plans must be strategic plans, for at most, they can only guide other planning. Strategic planning is no longer a tool of just the military. "Over the past 20 years, research in schools of management has sought to determine effective planning strategies. This literature has converged into a solid conceptual framework under the heading *strategic planning*" (Patterson et al., 1986, p. 58).

CONVENTIONAL PLANNING STRATEGIC PLANNING

- Segmented
- Long range
- Quantitative
- Emphasis on product
- Fixed master plan
- Dependent
- Idealistic

- Integrated
- Medium or short range
- Qualitative
- Emphasis on process
- Masterful planning
- Interdependent
- Pragmatic

Some of these planning concepts are more self-evident than others. The following explanations will illustrate key differences (Patterson et al., 1986, pp. 60–61).

Segmented versus integrated. Planning in a segmented framework tends to view discrete units as "responsible for their own destiny. In an integrated system, planning emphasizes interdependency, crosscutting relationships among organizational units, and the concept of the 'whole' of the organization in planning efforts" (Patterson et al., 1986, p. 60).

Integration is the primary element in operationalizing a strategic plan. In a school, for example, a segmented system would leave the dealing of a student academic or behavior problem only to the unit experiencing the problem.

On the other hand, in an integrated system "academic and behavior problems become the joint responsibility of the special education teacher, classroom teacher, and others, including the guidance counselor, school psychologist, and reading specialist, each as necessary. When major problems occur, both central office staff and the school operate from a perspective, 'We're all in this business together, and we're dependent on each other to resolve issues in the best interest of [all]" (Patterson et al., 1986, p. 60).

Integration is what operationalizes a strategic plan. The strategic planning framework rests on the assumptions of change and an active external environment.

If education required hard data before implementing practice, much of what it now does would be barred.

Strategic planning is more a process than a product.

Long-range versus short-range. "Strategic planners aren't opposed to looking ahead.... When it comes to actual planning horizons, though, the strategic planning framework rests on the assumptions of change and an active external environment. Because we are educating in an era of change and instability, we can't assume today's plans will meet tomorrow's needs.... For these reasons, the planning time-line can be as short as a few days or as long as, perhaps, a couple of years" (Patterson et al., 1986, pp. 60-61).

<u>Oualitative versus quantitative</u>. "Traditionally, planning models have relied on hard data because these figures offered the most defensible basis for making tough decisions about the future. Strategic planning models, on the other hand, add as well as emphasize qualitative data. Because the future is uncertain, subjective judgment, intuition, and even hunches become important pieces of data in planning for the future" (Patterson et al., 1986, p. 61).

Process versus product. In contrast to traditional planning, "the goal of strategic planning is to produce a stream of wise decisions designed to achieve the mission of the organization. Emphasis shifts from product to process. Just as the planning process builds in flexibility for adapting to changing conditions in and out of the organization, it also accepts the possibility that the final product may not resemble what was initially intended" (Patterson et al., 1986, p. 61). It pragmatically takes what it can get and moves on.

"In other words, strategic planners say it's okay to abandon some original goals that looked good at first.... Substituting goals may not result in the most efficient planning, but it nets a more effective process because changes made today are designed to make the organization better off in the future" (Patterson et al., 1986, p. 61).

In summary, strategic planning is not some package that will guarantee magic results overnight. Rather, it offers an easier, more practical and realistic way of dealing with change and the human dimension. It would be foolish to expend time and money on a plan that did not address the realities in which it must be implemented.

THE VEHICLES OF EMPOWERMENT

Patterson, Purkey, and Parker note three assumptions about empowerment:

- "First, empowerment is seen as an expanding entity.... Anyone and any department can have access to the necessary power available."
- "Second, the acquisition of support, information, and resources is the basis by which people and organizational units become empowered."
- "Third, empowering people in the organization to influence decisions directly affecting them leads to a more effective operation.... However, this last assumption does not equate to total delegation or abdication of responsibility. Key organizational decisions maintain their locus of power at the top of the organization" (Patterson et al., 1986, p. 69).

Empowerment Through Problem-solving Teams*

*See Rosabeth Kanter's research on how organizations work in *The Change Masters*, N.Y.: Simon and Schuster, 1983

In research conducted within the corporate sector, peer acceptance was identified as a prerequisite to building a power base." Patterson et al., 1986, p. 81

> Participatory teams do not fit every need.

Participative teams have "proved extremely effective when an organization needs to-

- pool sources of expertise and experience from several departments to solve district-wide issues;
- allow those who have knowledge of the issue to get involved;
 build organizational ownership on a controversial issue;
- balance or confront vested interests;
- bring multiple perspectives across departments to a school district issue; and

• develop and educate employees through their participation." Patterson et al, 1986 (p. 75)

"To be effective in this era of change and uncertainty, a school district requires two types of organizational structures," say Patterson and his coauthors. They add, "Every school district needs a normal management structure with specified tasks and lines of authority for carrying out the routine business of the day. Every district also needs another structure, one that is not generally shown on the organizational charts. This 'other structure' consists of flexible, ad hoc problem-solving teams, vehicles for figuring out how to do what the organization doesn't yet know" (Patterson et al., 1986, p. 75).

Participatory teams can be a great asset to successful prevention and early intervention. Patterson et al., acknowledge that participatory teams are not always the answer. They say, "Under the following conditions, employees don't want or need to be involved:

- when one individual has greater expertise on the subject than others in the school district;
- when the solution has already been determined, so that forming a participative team to 'create' a solution would be a waste of organizational energy;
- when an individual has the issue as part of his or her regular assignment;
- when no one really cares much about the issue, including instances where the issue is trivial, as well as situations where the problem is so broad it has no meaning to the individual; and
- when time dictates a quick decision."

Patterson et al., 1986 (pp. 74-75)

For keeping up with some student problems, participatory teams are absolutely essential. Educators, social workers, court judges, parole officers, volunteers, and others must meet in participatory teams to deal with general and specific student problems. Any one of these players must be able to trigger an ad hoc team, beginning with specific delineation of the problem and ending with a specific set of activities tied to the achievement of specific outcomes.

"When an ad hoc team has a clearly defined mission with specified limits, time-line, political realities, and boundary constraints, they can channel their energy toward the issue, without spending precious time wondering what they're supposed to do and how they're going to do it." Patterson et al., 1986 (p. 76).

In order to avoid duplication of effect, all field-level workers must be kept informed of participatory teams which are dealing with classes of behavior problems. But for particularly difficult problems, some duplication is often helpful. Duplication allows more minds to focus on the problem without the teams becoming cumbersome. Also, a central repository of participatory teams and the problems or issues they are handling is helpful (Patterson et all, pp. 76–77).

In the case of secondary schools where a student may have several teachers, a permanent advisor to the student may provide

Efficacy "is the power to make a positive difference...; it comes from gaining coherent, consistent, effective, and positive results from one's professional actions" Patterson et al., (p. 113). A team has not been formulated properly unless its termination criteria is part of its formulation. the continuity over time to deal with a student's learning or behavioral problems (p. 77).

Because team members may "find that the taste of success is one worth sustaining, relinquishing power isn't easy, and the amount of power accruing to a well-oiled team is formidable.... Therefore, careful planning is necessary to orchestrate the life and death of the teams, and ground rules must be established that spell out the conditions signaling their demise" (Patterson et al., 1986, p. 78).

"To be effective, participative decision-making teams should operate within the following guidelines:

assignment of meaningful, manageable tasks with clear boundaries;
a carefully delineated time frame and set of reporting relationships;
a mechanism for involving all of those parties with a stake in the issue;
a mechanism for providing visibility, reward, and recognition for team efforts; and

 clearly understood processes for the formation and dissolving of groups, along with an understanding of how their work will be used after the life of the team."

Patterson et al., 1986 (p. 78)

EMPOWERMENT THROUGH MANAGEMENT STYLE

Patterson, Purkey, and Parker include a cogent story that began with an all too common style of leadership. The description comes from a school–level leader who said 'She and her staff felt as if they had been placed in a building that was then wrapped tightly with Saran Wrap." Fortunately, conditions changed, partly aided by her decision to "create a new image and share it with the staff." The authors relate what happened next. "She decided to envision the building as wrapped in soap bubbles, in order to present to her new staff a feeling of new freedom and opportunity. She and the staff then decided to start the next school year by having everyone, including the students, write their frustrations on helium balloons and release these as a first-day activity. This image has started the staff on a number of other innovative ideas for the coming year."

Patterson et al., 1986 (p. 89)

"It is intriguing that the descriptions of effective principals conceptually overlap the descriptions of effective schools." Patterson, et al., 1986 (p. 118 Good managers do the following at the right time:

- Assume responsibility for ensuring that appropriate introductions are made to key administrators in the organizational hierarchy;
- Defend an individual when he or she is the center of controversy during closed-door management meetings;
- Cut red tape, by-passing the usual chain of command, including short-cutting of the usual communication structures;
- Provide powerful backing at strategic times.

Patterson et al., 1986 (p. 81)

EMPOWERMENT THROUGH VISIONARY LEADERSHIP

"Vision is a mental journey from the known to the unknown."

The unknown cannot be controlled; but it can be explored.

In their book, <u>Creating Excellence: Managing Corporate</u> <u>Culture. Strategy. and Change in the New Age</u>, Hickman and Silva (1984) say, "Vision is a mental journey from the known to the unknown" (in Patterson et al., 1986, p. 88).

"The leader creates a future from a montage of facts, hopes, dreams and forecasts. Vision is the product of exercising many skills in a holistic way to create a mental picture of what the future could and should look like. It is not undisciplined daydreaming; it is more than a short intuitive flash" (Patterson et al., 1986, p. 88).

The four dimensions of visionary perspective:

- foresight,
- hindsight,
- depth perception, and
- peripheral vision.

Patterson et al., 1986, (p. 88)

The visionary leader also is capable of holding different points of view so that multiple possibilities can be seen. **Foresight**. Patterson and his colleagues say, "The leader is able to sense not only what will happen, but on what time schedule, to anticipate those items that need short-, medium-, and long-range planning. The leader develops a special feel for time, including a sense of the rates of change and the time required to plan and respond" (p. 88).

Hindsight. "The cultural norms of the organization" cannot be violated, including "its history, heroes, and symbols" (Patterson et al., p. 88).

The leader scans beyond the organization to know what's going on "out there." **Depth perception**. The leader "is able to see the big picture, to see how all the parts work together as a total system. The leader also is capable of holding different points of view so that multiple possibilities can be seen," including from the differing points of view of others (p. 89).

"Depth perception extends beyond knowing the traditional wisdom about how various groups see the world. Leader-

In all four of these dimensions of visionary leadership, "the emphasis is on synthesizing what is known into a cohesive picture that will contribute to the leader's ultimate vision for the organization." Patterson et al., 1986 (p. 89) ship means understanding what life looks and feels like for those people in this particular organization. Understanding and assessing the organizational culture is invaluable in developing depth perception" (p. 89).

Peripheral vision. The leader scans beyond the organization to know what's going on "out there." Such leaders have a "systematic way of staying informed" (p. 89).

Visionary leaders do more than dream their own dream; they tap the dreams of others.

EMPOWERMENT THROUGH LEADER INTEGRITY

Research on corporate ethics has found that the perception which company workers have about the personal integrity of top management is a key determinant of the amount of internal crime. Patterson, Purkey and Parker say personal integrity is important for effective management. They report, "Some 1,500 managers and executives were asked to identify and rank qualities most admired in sub-

ordinates, colleagues, and superiors. Integrity was the highest rated quality for all three groups. For superiors, it even ranked ahead of the quality of leadership.... If integrity, through leader modeling, becomes a guiding belief of the culture, it has great power" (Patterson et al., 1986, p. 92).

A related concept, honesty, also ranks high in such surveys, as does responsibility. "A leader who demonstrates such qualities inspires trust in subordinates. The leader will not have

"The root words integrity and integration are the same, meaning to create unity out of diversity."

Leading and teaching are the same except for one ingredient. Good teachers make good leaders. to constantly prove the good intent of his or her actions. Further, if integrity is a guiding principle, then the leader can trust subordinates. This in turn opens the door to decentralized decision making, teaming, and empowerment" (Patterson et al., 1986, p. 92).

Trust, as was noted in an earlier section of this report, is a critical ingredient in fostering growth relationships at home and at school. It is not unexpected then to find it as a key ingredient in the supervisor—supervisee relationship. If incorporated into the school organizational climate, its carry-over into the classroom is greatly facilitated.

The link, and its carry-over between school leadership and classroom leadership is worth stressing. Leading and teaching are the same except for one ingredient. In leading it is work to be done; in the classroom, it is learning.

The integrity of the leader is reflected in the vision they articulate. It can also be evidenced in organizational structure and climate. When in all three, it becomes a point of stability for both those within and for those who interface with the organization. It becomes a buffer against the distracting noise that invades all organizations.

Patterson et al. (pp. 92-93)

EMPOWERMENT THROUGH ORGANIZATIONAL CLIMATES

Without vision, integrity, and supportive climates, attempts to deal with the rapid change of our world by adjusting the organization will probably be unsuccessful. In an earlier section of this report, it was concluded that supportive school and classroom climates, including trusting relationships between teachers and students, contribute significantly to academic as well as behavioral progress of students.

Part of the reason such climates contribute so much is that they empower students. But such climates also empower faculty and staff. It is for that reason that these benefits from the business world are important to this report.

Empowerment of employees comes in two ways: "through selected activities and through the building of alliances" (Patterson et al., 1986, p. 79, see Kanter, Rosabeth Moss, <u>Men and</u> <u>Women of the Corporation</u>. N. Y.: Basic Books). Traditionally, power has been associated with titles and placement on the organizational chart. But real empowerment, the ability to get things done, comes from access to the power tools of support, information, and resources. As school districts seek to expand access to power within the organization, they realize that a critical organizational strategy is to empower individuals. Patterson, Purky, and Parker

> Giving the staff responsibility for the school's organizational health leads to ownership and commitment and may be "a prerequisite to releasing the innovative spirit within the school" (Patterson et al., 1986, p. 106). If the school district makes all assignments routine, by reducing opportunities for creativity, risk taking, and experimentation, the district diminishes any hopes for people to perform in extraordinary fashion (Patterson et al., 1986, p. 79).

> Educationally speaking, the key ingredient for empowering the system is the school-level climate.

EMPOWERING VIA SCHOOL CLIMATES

School climate is one of several terms used to describe what is emerging as a crucial ingredient in effective schools. The characteristic has been variously described and labelled. It could be said and has been said to include factors such as flavor, atmosphere, setting, milieu, feel, impressionand spirit. There is no agreement on what to call it and no standard definition or list of characteristics has yet emerged.

The reader is reminded of one of the key conclusions from an earlier section of this report. It was that school and classroom climate including relationships between people in the school, was a key to character development in schools.

Some of the terms from the literature are *xulture* (Patterson et al., 1986), *ethos* (Rutter, et al., 1979), *climate* (e.g., Goodlad, 1984), *moral order* (Cohen, 1983) and *learning environment* (Hawley et al., 1984). As Patterson et al. note, "Still others talk about school social systems and separate culture from social structure (Brookover et al., 1979), and a few attempt to expand the concept of culture by locating it with an ecological perspective.

School and classroom climates seem to be the key to implementing many of the recommendations from the national reports on educational reform. The path from school imposed control to self-control is the educational climate.

*For clarity and consistency in this report, the term "[climate]" has been imbedded after the word "culture" in some of theaccompanying quotes from Patterson, et al. Admittedly, it is inaccurate to employ these terms interchangeably" (Patterson et al., 1986, pp. 96-7).

This report uses the term "school climate"* because it appears to be the emerging preferred term in the latest literature. Its use in this chapter will be in the context of research literature wherein its components support and correlate with student growth in both behavior and studies. In the broad sense, climates include the relevant social conditions within and without the school. Most importantly, the term includes the school and classroom operational influences which affect the attitude and behavioral response of faculty and students.

"School culture [climate]* has become particularly significant as researchers attempt to uncover the characteristics of effective schools. For instance, from an effort to understand why some elementary schools are relatively more successful than other schools serving similar populations of students, culture [climate] had emerged as the most persuasive explanation" (Brookover, et al., 1979; Cohen, 1983; Hawley et al., 1984; MacKenzie, 1983; Purkey and Smith, 1983; in Patterson et al., 1986).

Patterson, Purkey, and Parker refer to the findings of other educators to make some points on school climate:

• Schools considered more "satisfying" by teachers and students had different cultures [climates] than did schools deemed less satisfying (Goodlad, 1984).

- Middle schools judged as contributing to positive adolescent development were described as having distinct cultures or 'personalities' (Lipsitz, 1984).
- The 'goodness' ascribed to exemplary high schools by Lightfoot (1983) referred to the schools' overall culture [climate] rather than to five or six distinct elements.
- In the debate over the merits of public versus private schools, the culture of private schools is assumed to be partially responsible for their alleged superiority (e.g., see Coleman et al., 1982).
- Research into the implementation of innovations has sharpened our understanding of the power of school culture [climate] in determining the fate of proposed reforms (see Sarason, 1971), and recent discussions of teacher effectiveness have emphasized the influence of aspects of the school culture on classroom climate and instructional techniques (Lieberman and Miller, 1984; Rosenholtz, 1985).

• Finally, though they do not speak directly of school culture, the reforms proposed by Boyer (1983) and Sizer (1984) would alter the organizational structure, normative values, patterns of behavior, and so on of high schools and result in the development of new institutional cultures [climates] at the building level. "We periodically have students write 'agree' or 'disagree' on a slip of paper in answer to the statement: 'Teachers in this school care about the students.' The answers are sorted and stacked. The comparative size of the stacks gives us one good measure of school climate." Patterson et al., state, "Recent commentators on educational quality have suggested that schools, for all the data they collect, are information poor when it comes to having useful indicators of [climate]" (Patterson et al., 1986, p. 107).

EMPOWERMENT THROUGH, COLLABORATION

Both the effective schools and effective corporations literatures stress "the importance of collaborative relationships and democratic decision-making. Even though collaboration and shared decision-making are not identical and one can exist without the other, both are essential to the successful implementation of educational change, both are thought to increase job satisfaction, and both are conducive to an environment of experimentation and mutual assistance" (Patterson. et al., 1986, p. 106).

"Effective principals should...seek to drive out fear of risk taking and innovation." Patterson et al., 1986, (p. 107) Patterson, Purkey, and Parker stress that, "Effective principals, by example and by policy, support collaboration and involve staff in decision making" (1986, p. 106). They add, "Delegating authority and democratizing decision-making contribute to greater flexibility (via school site management) and greater responsibility for school reform at the school level" (Ibid.).

These authors also connect collaboration with efficacy: "Whatever else empowerment accomplishes in terms of enhancing staff professionalism, it is a powerful mechanism for generating ownership by the people in whose hands success or failure inevitably rests.... Empowerment does not mean the abdication of

"A sense of efficacy arises when one knows that one's behavior is coherent—that intentions lead to the desired results and that the results are worthy. Trust and confidence arise in others when they believe they can count on coherence, competence, and integrity from superiors, colleagues, and subordinates." Patterson et al., 1986 (p. 117) authority or the relinquishment of leadership; leadership is essential to the implementation of significant innovations. Empowerment does mean, however, giving others the opportunity and responsibility to gain and wield influence" (Patterson et al., p. 109).

Empowerment: a Tool for Prevention

The means and methods of empowerment apply to preventing misbehaviors as well as gaining school effectiveness. All of its key elements apply.

- Access to information including knowledge
- Access to resources (particularly human resources), including the freedom to establish collaborative relationships for problem solving purposes
- Support from supervisors and colleagues
- Involvement in decisions affecting one's job responsibilities.

"Knowledge is power" may be a trite statement in the field of education, but knowledge empowers the individual who acquires it. That point has been stressed in several recent national reports on education, especially those comparing educational achievement with the ability to compete internationally.

How much more valuable would a parent-teacher conference be if the teacher empowered the parent with the following information and then collaborated. "Here is a list of skills and concepts already covered. I've marked the ones your child has not yet mastered. Also, here is a list of concepts to be covered in the next three weeks."

> The information gleaned from the research included in this report is an example of empowerment toward a successful prevention program for misbehaving students. Knowing the cause of a student's problem or learning difficulty empowers the teacher or caseworker. Knowing which skills and concepts a child has failed to acquire empowers a parent to either help or find help. Knowing that teachers care about them empowers students to do better.

> A similar case for prevention can be tied to each of the other elements of empowerment. For example, solving some student problems will necessitate that the teacher have access to human resources from noneducational sources and also new kinds of support from colleagues and administrators.

> Empowering people adds energy and brings new human resources to a task. It expands personal influence and increases

capabilities. The following chart depicts the extra empowerment which can come from applying the latest research literature on both school success and on successful prevention of misbehavior.



Individual empowerment coupled with system empowerment are powerful forces for achieving success

LINKING EMPOWERMENT AND STRATEGIC PLANNING

Once empowered, the staff need to know how to approach the problems at hand. The approach suggested by Patterson, Purkey, and Parker is threefold:

- Environmental analyses
- Internal analysis
- Integration of external and internal analysis

For all three steps, the participant asks two questions:

- 1. What are the forces that serve as opportunities to help accomplish the purpose behind the plan?
- 2. What are the forces that serve as threats to the accomplishment of that plan?

For any game plan to succeed, intent and purpose must be merged with reality. Patterson, Purkey and Parker summarize the process for school districts: "After reviewing the quantitative and qualitative data available from the external world and the world of the organization, strategic planners pool this information to arrive at recommendations for action that are consistent with the school district's guiding beliefs, [and are] economically justifiable, politically attainable, and educationally sound" (p. 64).

The constraints outlined by YEA (under which this report was prepared) is an example of integrating intent and purpose with reality.

Summary List for Empowering Schools and Other Social Agencies for Prevention

The effective organization literature incorporates such terms and concepts as-

- mutual respect and trust
- organizational climates
- mutual responsibilities and collegial support
- mentoring and encouragement vs. control
- integrity by example, moral order
- visionary but realistic expectations coupled with support
- self-control vs. imposed control
- flexible approaches vs. fixed procedures
- autonomy within fixed responsibility
- accountability tied to autonomy
- participatory problem solving
- decentralized decision making

All of these variables have their counterparts in the prevention and child development research literature as well as in the effective school literature. This is not surprising; all of them define and structure productive human relationships. This is what business, education, and child rearing all share in common. It is what can link home and school and community in a successful prevention and development program for children and youth.

The conclusions which follow in the next chapter reflect the above link, as do the recommendations contained at the end of this report.

13



SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS

Orientation

Success insurance, if feasible and practical, is YEA's goal.

The title of this report and its introductory section incorporated the theme of success insurance. The subtitle, "Home and School Insurance Against Failure," follows that theme; however, protection against failure does not necessarily ensure success. For that reason, in addition to exploring every facet of prevention, the Youth Enhancement Association wanted to explore the connections between prevention and success. Success insurance, if feasible and practical, is YEA's goal.

This chapter deals with both the prevention and success issues. Designed to summarize the findings from the literature, it formally answers two more of the questions asked in the introductory chapter.

Question #2 asked, "Is enough known about how to prevent 'youthat-risk' to justify a full-blown effort?"

Question #3 asked, "Is enough known about how to develop successful children to the prevention and development together?"

While question number three was partially answered in Chapter 10, it will be dealt with more completely in this chapter. Of specific interest to YEA was whether prevention and success were different processes or opposite ends of the same process. If the latter, it would mean that prevention would contribute to success, and success would contribute to prevention. YEA wanted It should be kept in mind that the contents of this chapter are of necessity interpretive.

> Persons who read the literature differently or those who see alternative interpretations are invited to respond.

success to be more than a wish and delved into the research to assess its probability. However, research, like insurance, is not foolproof. The data are never complete; the interpretations are never fixed. Interpretations always add an additional element of "risk" or uncertainty. It should be kept in mind that the contents of this chapter are of necessity interpretive.

The reader should also remember that this chapter is based on the research summaries studied. Just as unanimity was not found between the summaries studied, other summaries by other authors would undoubtedly differ in some respects. It should be noted, however, that differences between summaries are smaller than differences between individual research projects. This is the very reason summaries were used, to minimize the differences and distinguish the commonalities.

Combination and synthesis from the summaries and especially cross-field comparisons also required interpretive judgments. Persons who read the literature differently or those who see alternative interpretations are invited to respond. Future renderings and updates are planned pending the interest and reception of this report.

This report was intended to be a broad overview and comparison of several fields. It is not an exhaustive examination of any single factor contributing to a child's success or failure, nor of the ingredients from any single field of endeavor. Undoubtedly, there are better publications on child rearing, on teaching, on successful organizations, and even on prevention.

The contribution of the review of literature portion of this report lies in its holistic perspective, in its integration of companion findings between fields, and in its analysis and synthesis of commonalities. The result of that contribution is threefold:

- First, it provides reason for increased hope in achieving childhood success and avoidance of failure.
- Second, it identifies a common and parallel foundation for success upon which homes, schools, and other social agencies can build that will be mutually reinforcing.

Third, it simplifies the task of avoiding youth failures and of promoting their success.

The conclusions in this section of the report should be viewed within the above framework, including the noted cautions and limitations. Note that the recommendations are couched within the framework of the YEA-imposed constraints related to the Utah realities, and particularly of cost containment and practicality. Where a certain author's conclusions are especially relevant, they have been included.

Question No. 2: Is enough known about how to prevent "youth-at-risk" to justify a full-blown effort?

The conclusions and recommendations regarding prevention, in addition to conformity with Utah realities, must also be couched within the realities of current research.

Research Realities

Regarding causes of misbehaviors

There is no general agreement on the causal relationships that result in patterned misbehavior. As mentioned earlier in this report, causal relationships in human behavior are very difficult to prove. However, several relationships are so consistent in the research findings that many authors are willing to admit a direct connection. Common themes which continue to emerge include—

- Difficulty with interpersonal relationships
- Lack of closeness and bonding to parents and other adults
- Lack of home and school sustenance, including lack of structure and support, inappropriate discipline (especially harsh or coercive methods), ambiguity in direction and expectation, or lack of warmth or miscommunicated warmth
- Self-rejecting attitudes including low self-esteem
- Inappropriate coping mechanisms for dealing with problems and stress
- Organic dysfunctions

All of these factors except the physical are made up of hundreds of experiences built around the ingredients of self, environment, and relationships. The number of variables, and more importantly, the number of combinations, is so large that it defies formal research methodologies. This is one of the reasons that no general agreement on the causal dynamics of misbehavior or of good behavior currently exists. In spite of not having all of the answers, there is solid agreement on some of the key ingredients that contribute to good and bad behavior.

Knowing the dynamics behind successful development could make both prevention and development more efficient. Only by recognizing the relationship between causal variables can the dynamics of good or bad behavior be fully understood. Little empirical research has been done on the early life dynamics which lead to later behavior. Most of what has been done is after the fact research or observational data from case studies associated with clinical practice. Some explanations from clinical sources were covered in earlier chapters.

Most agreement on causal dynamics centers around speculation on basic human needs and the maturation process, including the integration and internalization of beliefs and skills with those needs. In spite of not having all of the answers, there is solid agreement on some of the key ingredients that contribute to good and bad behavior.

"Relationship" ingredients (such as love, trust, mutual respect, joint expectation, a degree of autonomy—or independence or locus of control) and support mechanisms (including consistency, mentoring, monitoring, feedback) show up in almost every list. However, lists of key ingredients do not explain how they come into play, especially in combinations or in multiple settings.

The interactive effects of multiple settings provided by home, school, peers, and social milieu are not well understood. More finetuning will have to take place before we can answer the question of why one of two persons having very similar experiences in all four settings turns to misbehavior and the other does not. Differences in the perception of the child (including perception of self) is a common hypothesis. Hereditary differences are also frequently mentioned as one factor, as implied by studies of identical twins reared apart.

For the most part, we are confined in our child rearing approaches to doing what works without knowing exactly

why it works.

Knowing the dynamics behind successful development could make both prevention and development more efficient. Not knowing them, however, need not hinder placement of the known key ingredients. Knowing what works is more important than knowing why. For the most part, therefore, we are confined in our child rearing approaches to doing what works without knowing exactly why it works. Fortunately, we now know a great deal about what works and, consequently, which elements to base prevention efforts on.

How Much is Now Known About Misbehavior and its Prevention

- 1. Enough consistent research data has accrued to identify some key ingredients needed for prevention and early intervention efforts.
- Correlation studies consistently point to a number of common ingredients that lead to maladaptive teenage misbehavior.
- Most precursors, in turn have their own precursors. As these become clear, earlier and earlier interventions are possible.
- The best single correlates of later misbehavior, when standing alone, do a relatively poor job of predicting it. Just as a combination of factors is usually required to produce success, so it is for failure.
- "No one factor has ever been shown to be the primary explanation for delinquent conduct, nor likely ever will. However, years of research have pointed to a number of factors that show up in study after study" (Sandberg, p. 39).
- 6. Early misbehaviors need to be looked at in combination, not in isolation. (For example, quietness may merely indicate low social needs rather than shyness, insecurity, or low self-esteem.)
- 7. There appears to be no reliable predictors of teenage misbehavior before age five or six, notwithstanding some advocacy for preschool intervention.
- 8. The uncommonly high rates of previous child abuse among delinquents is sufficiently compelling to warrant significant policy changes in how judicial, mental health, and educational personnel handle these youth.
- 9. "There is ample reason for professionals to always consider neuropsychiatric factors and histories of violence when evaluating very aggressive, hostile children" (Sandberg, p. 49-50).
- 10. The evidence is clear that child abuse is not restricted to the preadolescent. Forty percent of all reported abuse subjects are adolescents (Sandberg, p.44).
- 11. After reviewing the correlates of misbehavior, one cannot help but ask, "For the most part, whose misbehavior is in question? Kids' or adults'?"
- "Serious conduct disorders in childhood appear to be virtually a prerequisite for serious antisocial personality problems in later life" (Catalano & Hawkins).
- 13. Danger signs precede maladaptive behavior for several years. While not all who exhibit the danger signals end up misbehaving, almost all who misbehave first exhibited the danger signals. The only good insurance is to know the danger signals and treat them when they first occur.
- 14. Putting into place the prevention climate and relation-

ship ingredients will weed out all all behavior problems but those needing special intervention.

- 15. The majority of obnoxious behaviors of young children carry the flavor of pain control techniques, and for older children, the flavor of coping mechanisms.
- 16. Most maladaptive behavior in adolescents appears to contain one or more of the following ingredients: a coping mechanism toward unmet needs, a reactionary mechanism against perceived coercion, or actions taken for relief of unresolved stress arising from their inability to deal with their problems.
- 17. Most patterns of misbehavior stem from patterns of earlier unpleasant experiences.
- 18. Bad behavior is not merely the absence of good behavior and visa versa.
- 19. Arguing with adolescents runs the risk of entrenching them in their position.
- 20. "Running away is always symptomatic of a serious problem regardless of the type of child involved" (Sandberg, p. 59).
- 21. Nowhere in the research literature is mere punishment mentioned as a solution for misbehavior. Punishment does not correct bad behavior.
- 22. Restrictive, nonrational discipline is associated with withdrawn, dependent, and disaffiliative behavior in both boys and girls.
- 23. Delinquency treatment and intervention research suffers from substantial methodological faults.
- 24. It should not be said that delinquency treatment programs cannot work, only that most do not.
- 25. In the absence of any organic causes, the best prevention known is good parenting practice.
- 26. Without the right kind of "socializing" experiences with adults, the child can never grow up.
- 27. Society is sending mixed value signals; the confusion is creating moral anarchy within the hearts of the young.
- 28. Preventative strategies can help to restructure the social systems that operate to promote deviant behavior.
- 29. Successful prevention and intervention techniques can be classified as proactive, not reactive. Unfortunately most programs are of the reactive type.
- 30. The developmental stage of adolescents includes a natural desire and movement toward independent behavior. The kinds of choices children are allowed have important implications for prevention programs.
- 31. When praise comes only for adult-determined achievement, the child is left without a world of their own, without any self-identifying rewards. The same applies

to adult-determined punishment. The internal lessons are not learned.

- 32. If experts are reading the research correctly, then moral education must go beyond independent activity.
- In contrast to authoritarian control, authoritative control is viewed by adolescents as legitimate and is relatively well accepted (Baumrind, p. 35).
- 34. To prematurely "abandon children to their rights, not only ignores the real needs of the children, but also creates within adults a false expectation" (Olson et al. p. 83-4).
- 35. Caring and supportive relationships with adults appear to be a highly significant ingredient of childhood suc-

cess, and the lack thereof for later failure.

- 36. The wise parent or professional uses their authority to support jointly developed rules; the unwise impose *their* authority and *their* rules.
- 37. The critical message of prevention is love born of trust and mutual respect; message ingredients include joint expectation, a degree of autonomy, accountability, encouragement, helpful support, mentoring, monitoring, and feedback. Praise and reward, while helpful if not overdone, are less critical.
- 38. Even the most effective parenting does not guarantee success. The child has to contribute.

What We Know About the Family and Prevention

- 1. If the causes, then the cures as well, must now extend beyond the home.
- 2. With the traditional external supports of the home largely gone, mediocre parenting skills will no longer suffice.
- 3. The parenting practices observed in one's own parents may no longer meet the needs of today's children.
- The nature of parenting, more than family structure, economics, or social setting, appears to be the central predictor of future misbehaviors.
- 5. Family structure appears to be less important as a predictor of delinquency than is attachment to parents.
- 6. Relationship among family members, more than family status, best predicts future behavior of children.
- 7. Parenting practices, more than any other factor, create or prevent the crucial ingredients of healthy child development.
- Overbearing, authoritarian parenting, coupled with the absence of crucial developmental support mechanisms, appears to be the best home-related predictor of future maladaptive behaviors. Child neglect is the second.
- 9. Coercion by either parent or child compounds behavioral difficulties.
- 10. The research link between child abuse and later delinquency gets stronger every year. The sexual abuse link appears unusually strong.

- The adult behaviors which help produce responsible, capable, and productive youth are most frequently found in adults possessing those same characteristics. Close interaction with such adults seem to be the most effective transfer mechanism of these traits to youth.
- 12. The principle that the home should not be by-passed in any problem solution strategy is validated by the research literature.
- 13. No findings from interviews with the experts had more implications for early intervention than this: "Well over 90% of parents of delinquent children were willing to get involved to help those trying to help their children." There is something about a blood bond which stirs even the delinquent parent to a point of willingness to help others help their child.
- "Parent training for delinquency prevention is one vehicle for achieving [it]" (Hawkins and Weis, p. 82).
- Children should have "participatory roles in the family as contributors to family functioning" (Hawkins & Weis, p. 82).
- 16. Training of parents in techniques for monitoring and changing their children's bad behavior has proven somewhat effective with most parents.
- 17. There are parental antecedents which can predict social responsibility in children.
What We Know About Schools and Prevention

- No one has yet proved that schools by themselves are a root cause of maladaptive behavior. While the correlative links are there, the causal research links are not. That they are a contributing factor is becoming well accepted.
- School adaptations have not kept up with the dramatic changes in society.
- "Today's schools build on yesterday's notion of 'family,' both in form and function" (PDK, April, 87, p. 578).
- Under the familial and social conditions of today, over 40% of children now fit into the "hard-to-educate" category.
- 5. The causes behind at-risk behaviors extend beyond the home; so must the solution. For that reason alone, schools must be involved.
- Schools have traditionally provided a common pathway out of poverty; that pathway must be built anew.
- The necessity of school involvement does not mean that educators must own the whole burden of prevention or that other public and social agencies cannot be heavily involved. It only means that schools must be involved.
- Prevention experts consider schools as the one great hope for success.
- Unresolved difficulties with interpersonal relationships in the first and second grade appears to be the best early school predictor of future misbehavior.
- When child abuse and neglect is present, it is difficult for children to get "themselves sufficiently under control to succeed academically" (Sandberg, p. 17–18).
- Children subject to child abuse have a higher proportion of perceptual, auditory, and discriminatory difficulties.
- 12. More punishment at school is not the answer for the abused or neglected child.
- Academic predictors of misbehavior follow antisocial predictors.
- 14. The link between continuing difficulties at school and later difficulties with the courts can no longer be ignored by either.
- 15. There should be a close and continuing relationship between the juvenile court and school authorities in every community (Gottfredson).
- 16. The lower the academic achievement the greater the delinquent behavior.
- 17. School failure is more strongly linked to delin-

quency than is ability.

- "Schools are the primary setting for much of the serious delinquency that occurs in contemporary society" (Gottfredson, p. 24).
- Even if the ingredients for successful development are absent from the home, if found in abundance in the school, the child has a reasonable chance for achieving success.
- 20. School restructuring will be required for effective prevention and early intervention.
- 21. The research literature shows that school based prevention must consist of more than helping students feel good about themselves.
- 22. The high school skills of the 50s no longer open the employment doors of the 80s.
- 23. Not until the child becomes the curriculum and child successes the benchmark will education have in place the ingredients for prevention.
- 24. Competition for grades and comparisons with other children misfocus the direction and the energies of young children. Students would be better served with units of progress rather than units of comparison.
- 25. Intervention is a better strategy for the hard to educate than is compensatory education.
- Delinquency control and prevention programs for learning-disabled students will require the close cooperation and coordination of juvenile justice, educational, and youth service agencies (Sandberg).
- 27. Intensive intervention works for students who are seriously behind grade level—it reduces delinquent activity.
- 28. Emphasis on academic achievement is not enough; only when at-risk students feel good about school will misbehavior change.
- 29. Students don't leave their problems at the schoolhouse door. Solving a child's school problems solves most of the others because they are related.
- 30. "Family intervention must become an integral part of any school treatment program" (Miller & Klungness, p. 33).
- 31. The ingredients that facilitate good learning among students are the same ones that facilitate good teaching among teachers.
- 32. There is an inverse relationship between peer influence and the degree of bonding with home and school. This suggests a basis for school programs aimed at preventing negative peer influence.

What We Know About School Effectiveness and Its Relationship with Prevention

- 1. "Mastery of learning tasks, student motivation, positive attitudes toward teachers and school, and self-esteem all improve when student team-learning is successfully used" (Hawkins & Weis, p. 87).
- 2. Effective school management practices reduce behavior problems both in school and out of school.
- 3. School management, communication, and role modeling are risk factors which should be closely monitored.
- 4. The relationship between school success and behavioral success is now so clearly established that preventionists are giving a great deal of attention to how to create effective schools.
- 5. Pure and properly controlled research is almost impossible to conduct in the public schools.
- 6. Cautions about the less researched components of effective schools are overridden by the concurrent validity between those findings and the prevention literature.
- Research findings in general are having trouble getting through the schoolhouse door. One reason is the mistaken notion that they have to be built into a new program. In reality, they are more easily absorbed into existing ones.
- 8. For schools and classrooms who want to make a difference, new knowledge is now available.
- 9. Instead of viewing a child as an entity independent from the class and using escalating penalties, the newer approaches view the disruption as an interaction among the classroom setting, the program, and the child.
- 10. Academics can be improved without improving behavior and behavior can be improved without improving academics. We now know how to merge the two and it is no harder than accomplishing either one by itself.
- 11. Keeping parents involved in the what, how, and where of their child's learning is a mark of the most effective schools.
- 12. "Effective schools research has shown that urban schools can largely overcome the effects of poverty on student performance" (Steadman, p. 222).
- The latest research has shown that the impact of schooling on academic achievement can be much greater than thought from earlier studies.
- 14. The latest effective schools research has disproved the conventional opinion that the connection between social class and academic achievement cannot be changed.

- 15. Evidence suggests that successful attempts by schools to compensate for home disadvantages which hinder learning might have dramatic effects on academic success as well as behavioral success.
- 16. In spite of correlative data, the "how-to's" of effective schools are not well understood.
- 17. Much of the effective schools research has had its origins in policy rather than conceptual or theoretical foundations. Little has been done on theories explaining how the effective-schooling factors actually mesh (Ralph, p. 693).
- 18. Synthesis of the effective school ingredients suggests six components: collegial leadership, school climate, teaching behaviors, learning behaviors, teacher-student interactive behavior, and student supports. Each has its home counterpart.
- 19. "Student success is clearly related to school climate" (Squires. et al., p. 6).
- 20. "Students' classroom behavior is the most direct link to student achievement.... Teachers' behavior can affect students' behavior in ways that will lead to improved student learning" (Squires, p. 9).
- 21. Just as the prevention research found, the effective schools research cautions that "more of a good thing is not always better." The optimum use is sought for successful ingredients, not their maximum use.
- 22. The growth in integrated research is accelerating the rate at which new knowledge is added to what is already known about the process of teaching and learning.
- 23. "[Studies] have shown that if deficiencies in prior learning are attended to, most students can learn what was previously learned by only the best students" (Squires, p. 15-16).
- 24. The most effective approaches to both school and classroom management build group cohesiveness and consensus.
- 25. Research on instructional practice reveals "numerous and complex relationships with student achievement" which are just now beginning to be understood.
- 26. The summary of both "effective schools" and "school effects" suggests that truly effective schools must include the home as a critical ingredient.
- 27. "The effectiveness of schooling should not be confused with efficiency or even with humane classroom environments" (Ralph, p. 690).
- 28. Much of the effective schools research focuses on amount and degree of learning, less on prevention of

behavioral problems. Care must be exercised in connecting independent and dependent variables. In other words, the right ends must be matched to the right means.

- 29. Matched-pair case studies are the backbone of good effective schools research. Relatively little research of this type has been done to separate the value of the various components cited in effective schools research.
- "The effective schools perspective has an important place in educational thinking, but it has been mistakenly identified as a scientific model" (Ralph, p. 693).
- 31. There are a number of unanticipated consequences when translating research into mandated practice. This has proven true in the effective schools arena.
- 32. "Clearly, schools can raise the test scores of all children. That evidence continues to mount." But the public expects more from schools than test scores.
- 33. School management and instructional leadership are two separate tasks that are not easily performed by a

single individual.

- 34. School climates must be made conducive to instructional improvement.
- 35. "The distinguishing characteristics of effective instructional leaders are apt to be a set of attitudes and beliefs rather than a set of skills and behaviors" (Rallis & Highsmith).
- 36. There is a "visionary" requirement of effective instructional leadership. "He or she must be able to see and communicate possibilities and to transform them into beliefs that can be shared by everyone in the school" (Rallis & Highsmith).
- 37. The educational leader can empower; the manager must enable.
- 38. The jury is still out as to whether the principal can and should be the instructional leader in the school.
- 39. Research points up the need for both good instruction and a good instructional climate. One without the other will not produce results.

What We Know About School Organization and Prevention

- New "organizational tools" are needed to implement the effective schools research.
- Schools which utilize the ingredients from the effective organization research have an easier time implementing the effective schools and prevention research.

 Schools will have to empower teachers in order to fully implement the effective school research.

Taken as a whole, the research literature reviewed in this report has some powerful implications for education.

The school related ingredients associated with misbehavior are closely aligned to the home related ingredients. These parallels suggest schools can be a causative factor; more commonly, they are an additive factor. More importantly, if schools can add to the likelihood of misbehavior, they can subtract from it as well. It is for this reason that great hope is held out for the potential of school based prevention. That hope is based on the following conclusions:

1,	The 40 to 50 percent of children who are behaviorally at risk are the same ones who are educationally at risk.
2.	Barring intervention into a large number of families, the state has no choice but to build countervailing strategies into the schools.
з.	The best discipline programs available fall far short of the requirements for prevention.
4.	"What stands out most [from the research] is the desirabil- ity of doing major intervention at the elementary school level" (Sandberg, p. vi).
5.	
6.	
7.	Many experts say implementing overlapping research find- ings between effective schools and effective prevention could eliminate over fifty percent of future behavioral prob- lems while increasing student achievement at the same time.
8.	Almost all precursors of future misbehavior carry a "difficulty-in-school" counterpart. Intervention at that time in the interest of school success avoids all the negatives and problems associated with "behavioral" interventions.
9.	
10	Educationally, as well as behaviorally, prevention and early intervention makes more sense (and is more cost effective) than after-the-fact treatment programs, including alterna- tive schools.
11	The success ingredients in effective schools and class- rooms are turning out to be many of the same ones found in successful homes and successful organizations. This adds further fuel to preliminary findings that schools can go
12	a long way in compensating for poor home environments. The school practice that most inadvertently supports failure is the absence of the ingredients leading to success.
13	Through the use of the latest teaching methods, much of the chore of academic and behavioral success can be shifted to the child and his siblings and peers.

Some Powerful Implications For School—Homé Linkages

- 1. The ingredients of a successful home have been known for some time. Now that we know the ingredients of a successful school, we can see that most of them are the same.
- 2. Because of today's familial and social realities, the at-school effects on child development may rival home effects.
- 3. Parents and teachers can help with a child's behavior more by drawing out a child's internal satisfactions than by heaping on external rewards.
- 4. The response of the child to mistreatment, and his or her perception of it, are critical ingredients in determining reactionary misbehaviors.
- 5. The clearest pattern of teenage misbehavior emerging from the research literature begins with a difficulty of relationships at home and in the earliest grades of school, translates itself to academic difficulties in the upper elementary grades, and increases in secondary school where it is accompanied by more serious behavioral problems, both in and out of school.
- 6. Quality social bonding with home and school is the foundation upon which high academic expectation can be achieved.
- 7. Shared values cement the social bonding between children and both home and school.
- 8. Abiding interest in a child is the only catalyst that can bring together the chemistry of the home and school.
- 9. Benefits of meaningful parental involvement in school are well documented.
- 10. Family management [and school management] practices, communication and role modeling represent risk factors which should not be ignored" (Hawkins, p. 83).
- 11. "The fact of diminished parental influence should not mean a breakdown in communication between home and school" (Fenwick, p. 54).
- 12. School-based prevention must take the home into consideration (Gottfredson).
- 13. Intervention in the early grades of school should be built around family factors.
- 14. Parents, teachers, and peers form the triad upon which major prevention must be built. A strong parent-teacher base diminishes the need for peers.

Peers

- Peer influence, as a contributing factor in misbehavior, comes into play as adolescence begins, and then mostly for children who have failed to find success in their own eyes.
- Peers are not so much a cause of misbehavior as they are a coping crutch on which misbehavior rests.
- Peers, prior to adolescence, appear to have little effect on future misbehaviors. Once adolescence begins, peers have an inverse relationship depending on the degree of bonding to home, school, and society.
- For the most part, peer influence is a contributing factor to misbehavior, rather than an independent cause. Parents worried about peer influence ought to give companion concern to their own influence and that of the schools.
- If achievement pylons are built out of parent-child and teacher-student relationships, most children can weather the peer-tossed storm.

Common Correlates of Misbehavior

Parents & home

Poor and inconsistent family management practice Lax supervision Excessively severe or inconsistent discipline Low communication and involvement, parentchild Child abuse Child neglect Physically threatening discipline Parent example Number of siblings and their example Conflict between family members Extreme social and economic depravation Child maltreatment, abuse, and neglect Weak attachment to parents Interpersonal aggression Low parental education level Low parental commitment to education Low parental educational aspirations for child Control exercised in detached, impersonal manner Warm but noncontrolling parents Restrictive, nonrational discipline Benign acceptance of child's misbehavior Lack of or inconsistent discipline Lack of maternal involvement in activities with children. Overinvolvement by one parent and disengagement by the other Degree of aggression manifest in the home Home & prevention Positive family relationships

Strong emotional attachment to parents Bonded to parents Bonds to family Quality of parent-child relationship (vs. time with)

Knowing where child is and who with

Family expectations

Firm control in context of contingent warmth Authoritative (vs. authoritarian) and rational discipline

Active participant in shaping ongoing behavior Active involvement and attachment to family

Schools & misbehavior

School milieu Academic difficulties Low commitment to academic success Underachieving Dislike of school School structure & practices - authoritarian and custodial climates - ability tracking - corporal punishment - emphasis on control vs. instruction - ambiguous sanctions - rules perceived as not clear or fair Perception of school as hostile or threatening Feelings of alienation Disregard for what teachers think of them. I.Q. Learning disabilities Behavior disorders Nonconventional learning style Attendance and tardiness problems School policies and environment

School & prevention

High commitment to academic success Educational aspirations Participation in school activities Community flavor of school Concern about teacher opinions Degree of bonding with school (feeling part of) Degree of bonding with teacher(s) Opportunities for active learning Varied reward systems Supportive logistical system Effective communication

Peers & social factors & misbehavior

Association with delinquent peers Need to fit in with others Greater orientation to friends than parents Need for peer support and modeling Social maladiustment Unpopularity at an early age Lack of social bonds to society Alienation from dominant values of society Strong need for independence Rebelliousness Normlessness Poverty and minority status Resistance to traditional authority Frequency and seriousness of prior misbehaviors Social patterns and attitudes about dating Language and cultural barriers Acting out Peer influence inverse of home and school bonding Beliefs and values

Interpersonal factors & misbehavior

Interpersonal factors (grouping) Acting out, overinvolvement in socially disturbing behaviors, impatience, impulsivity, acting defiant and negative Self-rejecting attitudes in course of interactions Behavioral factors (groupings)

Other predictor factors

Attitudes and beliefs (mixed findings) High deviance tolerance Sensation seeking Chosen role model exhibiting misbehavior Perceived powerlessness Diet (excess sugar or nutrient deficiencies) Low self-esteem High family mobility Maladaptive coping mechanisms **Biological or physical defects** Continuous use of negative labels Constant harboring of negative feelings Neurological problems (high in aggressive boys) Witnessing extreme acts of violence in home Stress Degree of involvement in church activities Degree of belief in norms and values of society Degree of attachment to neighborhood High rates of mobility Degree of locus of control Low verbal ability Perception of peers as worse than themselves Number of siblings Amount of TV watching Lack of supervision over TV Confused social values Confused sex role identity and norms Long term stress and or anxiety Learned helplessness Genetic factors

Moral Development Correlates

(from Jensen and Hughston, p. 35)

Hinder moral development

cold punishing rejecting hostile rigid belittling critical unaccepting neglecting authoritarian nagging overprotective overindulgent rewarding of fearful behavior suspicious reward immature behavior discouraging independence encourage extreme conformity controlling lacking positive self-concept

Help moral development

showing affection showing acceptance encouraging autonomy encouraging courage encouraging achievement encouraging social interaction reinforcing good habits stimulating ideas listening reflectively understanding fair relaxed democratic supporting have positive self-concept respecting self & others giving of self freely stimulate critical thinking noncritical minimizing mistakes spend time training & teaching active (more than talk) firm (without dominating) consistent (know what expected) modeling expected behavior distinguish child from the punishment happy trusting considerate loving patient model moral maturity

Effective School and Classroom Correlates

- High staff commitment to student achievement
- Communication of high expectations to students
- Orderly and purposeful classrooms
- High levels of parent/teacher and parent/principal contact
- Ongoing inservice training and frequent informal consultation
- Strong leadership by principals and teacher autonomy
- Teacher flexibility in adopting instructional techniques
- More time devoted to direct instruction
- Consistent appropriate reinforcement
- Participatory decision making and governance
- Clear rules of conduct, combined with firm and consistent discipline
- Student and staff identification with bonding to the school
- High expectations for student performance and schoolwide recognition of success
- Frequent monitoring of student progress
- Maintenance of an orderly and quiet atmosphere without being oppressive
- Collaborative planning and collegial relationships among teachers
- Minimizing turnover among the most competent staff
- Frequent monitoring of student progress
- Orderly and quiet but not oppressive atmosphere
- Collaborative planning and collegial relationships among teachers
- Schoolwide staff development and recognition of academic success
- Home-school relations
- Shared governance (teacher, parents and students)
- Student responsibility for school affairs
- Accepting and supportive environment
- Teaching aimed at preventing academic problems
- Skillful assignment of teachers
- Close personal attention to students
- Warmer and more humane atmosphere
- Freer but more supportive atmosphere
- Caring is demonstrated
- Personal and professional "meaning" behind activity

Observations from cross-list comparisons

After comparing the home-related correlates which promote good and bad misbehavior, one is struck by the relationship between the two. It appears the failure variables are the absence of, or abuse of, the success variables. Several key ingredients show a continuum. When adult behavior is located at one place on the continuum, the use of the ingredient fosters good behavior; when located at another place, it fosters bad behavior. The absence of a key ingredient is harmful, but not nearly as harmful as the abuse of the ingredient. This may explain why child neglect, while harmful, is not as harmful as child abuse. The following chart explains the continuum concept using a few examples.

Application of Prevention-Success Ingredients

< <	< < Harmf	ui • Helpful >	>	> >
ABUSE OF <	ABSENCE OF	< NEUTRAL POINT IN INGREDIENT	>	PRESENCE OF
	No expectation			Familyexpectat'n
Negative attachment	No attachment to parents			Positive bonding to parents
Inconsistent discipline	No discipline			Firm but warm discipline
Numerous rules	No rules			A few key rules
Very strict	Very lenient	Lightly strict		Moderately strict

The chart illustrates a caution worth repeating. Some dimensions are nonlinear in nature; instead, they are curvolinear. If the ingredient is overly applied, it can be harmful to the child. More is not always better. Degree of parental strictness serves as a good example. Both overstrictness and understrictness are harmful. Another example is warmth. Some parents become solicitous with their love, and by doing so, they go beyond the mark. The latter observation points out that the behaviorinfluencing ingredients at school are no different than those at home.

Bad behavior is not merely the absence of good behavior and visa versa. The school research, as it applies to both prevention and success, is not as extensive as the research on the home. What there is, however, is consistent with the same conclusion as made for the home. That is, both the prevention and success ingredients in the school lie on the same dimensions. This conclusion is supported by many effective school variables that are comparable with the home correlates of misbehavior.

The latter observation points out that the behavior-influencing ingredients at school are no different than those at home. Their maximum impact, however, may lie in a slightly different place on the continuum. The similitude of the school and home ingredients in the above chart is striking.

The above charts also illustrate a very important finding about the causal dynamics of behavior. The evidence is mounting that the causes of both good and bad behavior are directly related. That means that everything we know about producing healthy behavior can be comfortably applied to prevention and intervention, and even treatment of patterned misbehavior.

The above relationship between the causes of good and bad behavior does not mean that the behaviors themselves are related. Bad behavior is not merely the absence of good behavior and visa versa. The behavior resulting from the cause is deeper and more complex than that and often proceed along different dimensions. As Baumrind consistently found, for example, children reared in authoritarian homes were not socially responsible, but neither were the ones from warm, permissive homes. The former were often socially irresponsible, but the latter were not. Only those from authoritative homes turned out to be socially responsible.

The above lists of correlates and conclusions provide adequate documentation to answer YEA's question number two.

YEA's Answer to Question number 2: YES ! Enough is clearly known about how to prevent "youth-at-risk" to justify a full-blown effort in Utah.

Question # 3. "Is enough known about how to develop successful children to tie prevention and development together?"

The above lists also help answer question number three. Their similarity becomes more striking when they are compared with a generalized list of ingredients for success. The following ingredients appears to be common to most of the lists. Additions or alternative lists which might be more prescriptive are invited.

- Shared expectation and vision
- Communicated love
- Mutual respect
- Ordered environment
- Trust and dependability
- A degree of autonomy
- Accountability (linked to autonomy)

- Helpful support
- Encouragement-type reinforcement (including shared satisfactions)
- Mentoring (the use of a wise and trusted counselor)
- Monitoring
- Feedback

The above list is not a statistical refinement of research, nor an attempt to identify independent variables. Many of the above ingredients overlap each other and are not mutually exclusive. The list is meant only as a tool, a smaller list, so to speak, for parents and others to use to guide their efforts with children. It is interesting to note that there is almost a procesu implied by the ingredients when viewed in the above order.

Linkages Between Success Ingredients

There are a number of hints in the child development literature which employ links between ingredients. While many of them have not been researched completely enough to draw firm conclusions, they are worth noting:

- Love without expectation or expectation without love doesn't seem to work. Only the two together produce results.
- When trust and respect are present, behaviors are labelled but never the person.
- Autonomy without accountability is mere license. Accountability without autonomy is tyranny.
- Too much autonomy sets a child up for failure; so does too little.
- Accountability should relate to the child's committed choice, not the adult's.
- Coercive control is not love of child, it is fear of failure—usually adult failure.
- Order and expectation eliminate the need for coercion.
- Coercion in any form violates half of the ingredients for success.
- Moralizing is a subtle attempt to impose our choice instead of helping the child to make one of their own. Like coercion, nothing is learned, for the imposed choice robs the opportunity for internal growth.
- Freedom to choose allows children to learn from their little mistakes now rather than fail through their big mistakes later.
- Freedom gives love a new dimension. Support for success becomes more important than protection

from failure, and helpful mentoring more important than control.

- A mentor is "a wise and trusted counselor or teacher," a proven ingredient whether for treatment, intervention, prevention, or developmental success.
- Rewards ought to be tied to measurements of a child's progress and not to comparisons with others.
- Encouragement reinforces the child's world and the child's choice; praise and material rewards supports the adult's world and the adult's choice. "Are you pleased with yourself? Tell me how your feel," is better than "I'm so proud of you." The first helps develop growth and self control; the latter, if overdone, can lead to shallowness and dependency on other people.

There is much more to be learned about the connections between success variables. For the present, the best advice appears to be to put them into place simultaneously.

The answering of question number three was purposely left to the end of this chapter. It is so interwoven with the answer to question number two, that it defies a separate chapter. It should be obvious to the reader at this point that prevention is so intertwined with success that it is safe to conclude that success is clearly the best prevention. While not one of YEA's questions, it appears likely that success is as easy to produce as prevention.

While the causal dynamics of both prevention and success are not completely known, numerous relevant ingredients are. It appears as safe to conclude that we know as much about how to develop successful children as we do about producing success in school. And the processes appear to be related.

YEA's Answer to Question Number 3: YES I Enough is known about how to develop successful children to the prevention and development together

Summary Points

- 1. When the underfunctioning youth are added to the misfunctioning, over one-half of Utah's youth need more help than they are now getting.
- 2. The prevention issue now goes beyond punishment versus treatment; the size of the problem suggests it must be either prevention or social chaos.
- 3. While the subtleties are still being ferreted out, the major success-failure ingredients are now known.
- 4. Since the failure variables are looking more and more like the absence of (or abuse of) success variables, the assumption that "success may be the best prevention" is probably a valid one.

- 5. Child rearing for success goes far beyond the containment or elimination of misbehavior.
- 6. "Lack of success at school" is most easily observed early warning sign of potential future failure.
- 7. "Individual interventions for delinquency prevention are not well grounded [as] there is no certainty that a particular child will otherwise become delinquent. Seeking to improve a child's chances for educational success is a more defensible objective" (Sandberg, p. vi).
- 8. The use of an educational intervention strategy as the best behavioral prevention strategy makes a lot of sense. It is consistent with the research and simultaneously offers the best of both worlds, behavioral and academic.
- 9. The adult behaviors which help produce responsible, capable, and productive youth are most frequently found in adults possessing those same characteristics. This may explain why we have been more successful at selecting workers who can be effective with at-risk youth than in selecting programs for them. Close interaction with such adults seems to be the most effective intervention method yet discovered.
- 10. The study of both "effective school" and "school effects" suggests that truly effective schools must include the home as a critical ingredient.
- 11. That the home should not be by-passed in any problem solution strategy is validated by the research literature.
- 12. Society has changed, schools have not. Educators cannot prepare students for the future by operating within the walls of the past.
- 13. In light of dramatic social changes, Utah schools have the responsibility to provide curriculum and operational policies in support of successful family life.
- 14. The school role in prevention is made relatively easy by the overlapping findings from the effective school literature and the prevention literature.
- 15. Whether in effective schools, effective youth treatment, effective organizations, or effective homes, the same success ingredients are found. Why? In short, people make the difference and supportive climates and esteeming relationships get the most out of people, including students and teachers.
- 16. After reviewing the literature, one has to ask, "Why implement the effective schools research, the effective organization research, and the prevention research separately, when they can better be implemented together?"
- 17. After reviewing the literature, one must ask, "Why treat a child's academic problems separate from his behavioral problems separate from home problems?" Especially when all can be better treated with the same techniques simultaneously.
- "A great number of social problems can be averted far ahead of time if we make sure that our children are educated well in their early years" (U. S. Ed. Sec. Wm. Bennett, PDK, Oct 86, p. 129).
- 19. Most prevention takes some form of early intervention. For this reason, prevention and early intervention are best thought of as a prevention continuum.
- 20. It appears that success is equally as easy to produce as prevention.
- 21. It is becoming increasingly clear that healthy growth and development is the best prevention and that the relevant development takes place in preteenage years.
- 22. It appears as safe to conclude that we know as much about how to develop successful children as we do about producing success in school. And the processes appear to be related.
- 23. Given the need and the encouragement from supportive research, it is bewildering that Utah does not have a comprehensive intervention system to serve failing students and children.

- 24. The evidence is mounting that the causes of both good and bad behavior are directly related. That being the case, it means that all we know about producing healthy behavior can comfortably be applied to prevention and intervention and even treatment of patterned misbehavior.
- 25. Success gets you far beyond merely avoiding failure.

allenas ner shkardal

Our treatment of children's problems is all topsy-turvy. As it is now, we start treatment after the child is out of control, after the school has given up, and after the parent has become ineffective. And then we wonder why we don't get results. What YEA is suggesting is that we foster self-control, help the school deal with early warning signs, and provide new supports to parents. The results would be wonderful.

Recommendations

The recommendations arising out of the above conclusions will be presented following the "solution" strategy covered in the next few chapters.



SOLUTION CONSIDERATIONS

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Accepting the challenge to prevent major behavioral problems in youth is a couraceous undertaking; designing a preventative solution is both courageous and formidable. If either were easy, more effective solutions would have been forthcoming long ago. We have no dearth of suggestions. Most people, either through experience or training, consider themselves experts on the subject. Most ideas, involving only one or two ingredients, are overly simplistic. What is lacking is a comprehensive solution that transcends individual endeavors.

The greatest challenge goes beyond knowing the ingredients of childhood failure and success and asking who can affect it. The solution needs to put into effect the success ingredients on a broad enough scale to encompass all youth and offer success in spite of countervailing social forces or breakdowns in any of the players, be it parent, teacher, peer, or other.

The solution strategy outlined in this section was designed to meet that larger challenge. The importance of the strategy lies in the comprehensiveness of its approach to youth problems in general and its tenacity to a youth's problem in particular. Neither the child nor society hangs on the success of any one program or any one component.

One of the most difficult issues is determining when to intervene in the lives of youth and with what criteria. The dangers of labeling, lack of confidentiality, and "false positive" predictions are well known. So are the consequences of unwanted home interventions or premature meddling with parents.

A workable solution must be consistent with the needs of everyone involved. It must also be consistent with the broad base

"Education cannot isolate against the dangers of society; instead, it should insulate, inoculate and immunize against them." (Keith Steck) Growing up in today's world is more perilous than in times past, and old life skills do not necessarily prepare for new life conditions. of research and field findings. Internal as well as external conditions to the child, the family, the school, and other participatory agencies must be considered

A successful solution is credible as well as workable. To be credible, a solution must strike at the heart of the matter as viewed by key players. The solution gives hope as well as direction. And it must not create stumbling blocks of its own making.

Political, social, educational, and personal realities were considered in developing the solution strategy contained in this section. For that reason, it should be understood that while the key ingredients are research based, the proposed strategy encompasses more than research.

Six sets of factors were taken into consideration:

- 1. The problems of youth and their projected consequences to the individual and the state
- 2. Suggested solution strategies found in the literature
- 3. The Utah social, political, and economic climates including those inside schools and other public agencies
- 4. Special attention to the overlapping and common findings from several research topics
- 5. The specific links between prevention ingredients and success ingredients which enable a dual emphasis
- 6. The study conclusions drawn in this report (in the previous chapter)

The above factors are briefly reviewed below in to provide perspective to the solution strategy in the next chapter.

1. The problems of Utah youth and the consequences to the state

Chapter 2 covered the Utah need for prevention. The numbers of youth needing help, and more particularly the upward trends, signal a cause for alarm. When the underfunctioning youth as well as the misfunctioning are considered, over one-half of all Utah youth are in need of more help than they are getting. More than individual success is at stake. Without that help, the vitality of Utah's future is clouded. The YEA-recommended strategy is one which encompasses the large numbers of youth in need and includes giving them the behavioral as well as academic foundations needed to succeed in the workplace.

Due to countervailing forces, families now meet the needs of fewer children, and schools meet the needs of fewer students.

2. Suggested solution strategies found in the literature



Based upon the research reviewed in this report, none of these approaches by themselves seems to be a complete solution. Some of them have little research justification. Still others focus only on one or two ingredients. Rarely does any single ingredient place children at risk. Likewise, no single variable will cure or guarantee success. More important, the latest research shows the importance of companion or integrated elements.

Whether positive or negative, single influences in a child's life seldom operate in isolation. For example, parenting styles influence the type and degree of impact from peers.

Likewise, teaching practices can block or bring into play the child's internal factors. Also, school climate affects both teacher and student performance. Effective prevention, like effective learning, requires attention to a satisfying mix of ingradients.

The research addresses the need for inclusion of key ingredients rather than their specific rendering. Not enough research has been completed to include recommendations on which version of an applicable principle or ingredient should be used. That fact suggests a strategic approach rather than a program approach. A strategy leaves the question of alternative versions open, whereas a program approach would prematurely close it. Unfortunately, most past prevention efforts have been program approaches built around only one or two independent variables, and usually specific versions of them.

While the above solution approaches identified from the literature may not be complete by themselves, they cannot be summarily dismissed. The YEA-recommended strategy is compatible with at least ten of the above approaches and allows the incorporation of all facets which have proven effective.

3. The Utah social, political, and economic climates

The Utah social, political, and economic climates, including those inside schools and other public agencies, provided what might be described as a set of boundary constraints within which a solution approach must fit. While expected to be very confining at first, they turned out to present no insurmountable obstacles to designing a solution.

As outlined in Chapter 3, the initial constraints imposed on this study by the Youth Enhancement Association were as follows:

- Require no add—on programs
- Must work within existing financial and staff resources
- Cannot impose heavy in-service training requirements
- Be compatible with or able to connect with existing prevention thrusts
- Must involve the schools
- Use simple, self-evident, and practical links that go beyond the school
- Must not by-pass the home or abrogate parental responsibility

The YEA-recommended strategy incorporates all of the major variables affecting both prevention and success, and involves the major components and players associated with them. "Traditional family-focused remedies are unlikely to succeed, because they ignore the structural realities of today's families, the resources available to them, and their ability to interact with the school."

Heath and McLaughlin (p. 579)

The above constraints represent the larger social, political, and economic boundaries within which a solution must be forged. In order to get a more sensitive feeling for those constraints as well as the internal agency climates, a series of interviews were conducted. While not a commissioned part of this study, over forty structured interviews (and scores of informal interviews) were held with Utah leaders and experts involved with youth training or problem solving. These interviews confirmed the validity of the YEA guidelines.

The interviews found a surprisingly high degree of understanding of the latest research, particularly among social service agency, special education, and juvenile detention personnel. It was determined that a guiding philosophy for prevention, drawn from the latest research, would be readily acceptable and understood as well as serve as a base for further action.

More extensive orientation, however, might need to take place among the general educational community. This group has understandably not studied the behaviorally related research as much as the professionals who deal with misbehaviors more directly. The more recent effective schools research, which looks more deeply into the human elements of climate and personal relationships, can help fill that need.

The contents of the interviews suggested the need for the chapters contained in this report. They were designed to be individually helpful as well as relevant to the needed in-service training.

> Assessment of the Utah climate indicated assets exist that have not been fully tapped. Concern over behavioral as well as academic success for youth is high in Utah. Formal and informal resources abound. Professional dedication, training, and commitment is high among youth service providers. Utah has an abundance of volunteer agencies and organizations committed and dedicated to the success of youth.

Over forty structured interviews were held with Utah leaders and experts involved with youth training or problem solving.

> Assessment of the Utah climate indicated assets exist that have not been fully tapped.

Educationally, Utah has a workable number of school districts for a coordinated and integrated prevention effort. Educational reforms and improvements are being pursued aggressively by most school districts. The climate for improvement is ripe. School-level interest in improved student behavior is high; at-risk behaviors have caught educators' attention. These factors should prove a great asset in making the school adjustments needed for a major prevention effort.

If school personnel were aware that prevention could be accomplished at the same time as, and with the same effort as, the latest educational improvements, most would be clamoring for it. This is because misbehaving and underachieving students drain school resources and school effectiveness. Problem children get passed on from one teacher to the next without a solution. Only the hard-core misbehaviors get formally addressed. By the time such students get to junior high school, the situation is almost intolerable. Staff frustrations alone merit more attention to prevention.

> Links among and between community agencies (including the schools) are, for the most part, already established. State-level leaders have shown a high interest in exploring new multi-agency interventions and solution to youth problems. As one example, a drug prevention curriculum originating in a noneducation state agency has been incorporated into every grade level in nearly every school in Utah.

> The above combination of factors places Utah in a unique position to attack prevention and build youth success on a broad scale. There is no lack of human resources, if these can be pulled together with a common thrust through joint action. Each could then make their unique contribution. Integration of such efforts can magnify the impact of current resources. The Utah climate of concern, coupled with dedication and commitment, provides an ideal base to launch a major prevention effort, given adequate direction.

The YEA—recommended strategy takes into account the unique assets of Utah including a favorable climate and commitment to prevention.

The same support ingredients that make students effective make teachers effective. The right kind of staff training and school operation will eventually reach the kids as a by-product.

The YEA-developed strategy builds on the commonalities from companion fields of study, but does not exclude relevant findings from any of them.

4. Special attention to the overlapping and common findings from several research fields

The latest findings from the research are pointing the way to new prevention strategies. They also show how previously known ingredients work together in cause and effect. The working dynamics of both causes and cures are emerging.

Both success and failure involve human behavior. Productive behaviors in adults are related to productive behaviors in children. The factors that influence behavior have been known for some time. Now the research is showing how to use them for effective homes, effective schools, and effective organizations.

In elementary school, kids are the curriculum; they perform in center ring. This ends abruptly as they enter junior high school where subject matter takes center stage, and kids become lost in the audience.

Key ingredients

The generic ingredients drawn from parallels found across the fields of research surveyed in this report were enumerated in the previous chapter. They are listed below for emphasis and perspective; their use in some explicit form should be considered as part of any solution approach strategy. They apply to all supportive climates and esteeming relationships.

shared expectation and vision mutual respect & modeling trust and dependability helpful support monitoring mentoring Interactive love ordered environment a degree of autonomy accountability—liked to autonomy directive and corrective feedback encouragement-type reinforcement

The above version of key ingredients are abstract and skeletal in nature. Their use requires the addition of clarifying detail. Other words or terms could adequately substitute for many terms on the list. One intended function of this list is to serve as a vehicle for examining the meaning and the parallelism behind the many correlates cited in the research. Most of the correlates of "The secret of education is respecting the pupil." (Ralph Waldo Emerson)

It is difficult to create if you have to conform.

academic and behavioral failure or success are tied to one or more of these ingredients or their absence and also to the conditions which create or hinder them.

The anatomy of implementation

Implementation of the key ingredients will be different in each setting. Each delivering agent can only do so in the context of their own skills and operating styles. This is another key reason to avoid fixed methodologies and programs.

Professional latitude and freedom are critical principles in successful organizations. In the YEA strategy, staff freedom is adequately constrained by the clear goal of individual success at school and the clear focus of that responsibility at the field level. Individual organizations must provide any additional "thou shalt not's" which might be needed to protect the client.

The success ingredients included in the YEA strategy are presented as general principles rather than fixed factors. This is because principle, rather than prescription, has proven to be the most productive rule form for professional climates. Fixed program rules tend to constrain and confine. Professionals cannot exercise initiative or creativity when required to conform. Fixed programs do not maximize the use of professional skills, initiative, or creativity.

5. Links between prevention and success

Many members of YEA, as experts in the fields of human behavior, suspected a link between the ingredients of success and those of failure. Some common ingredients between the two (or opposite ingredients, depending upon semantics) have long been identified. The dynamics of those ingredients are rapidly being unraveled due to the nature of new research methodologies and data analysis tools. Some of the most important conclusions of this report relate to accomplishing prevention by supporting the ingredients of success.

Heath and McLaughlin advocate moving from a focus on components of the problem (teachers, texts, families) to a focus on the functional requirements of a healthy, curious, productive, and motivated child. "This change in perspective draws attention to the child as an actor in a larger social system."

A few minutes of sabotage can undo years of building. The close relationship between the two does not mean that all of the success ingredients are polar ingredients of failure. While success is much more than avoiding failure, sometimes it is dependent upon preventing or intervening in failure variables. In that sense, success effectively prevents failure. In complex systems—and human development takes place in the most complex of systems—single events or single components can cause failure, while many events are required for success. A few minutes of sabotage can undo years of building.

The latter idea stresses the importance of avoiding failure in youth; the forces of failure cannot be ignored in building for success. The YEA--recommended strategy incorporates the ingredients of success without ignoring the ingredients of failure. It uses success as the first line of defense against failure, but accommodates the need to deal with failure directly.

6. Merging key findings

Putting into operation the numerous findings from the research is a tall order. Doing so from one field of research is difficult enough; to do so from multiple fields might seem impossible. The number of useful considerations is beyond the capacity of fixed programs and fixed planning mechanisms. Fixed models do not work well in complex, subjective climates. New findings and insights on both learning and behavior develop much faster than fixed-program capability can use. The scope of the conclusions in the previous chapter illustrate the challenge.

It would be unwieldy to deal with hundreds of conclusions separately in fashioning a solution strategy. Fortunately, the task is simplified by some common themes which run through the research literature. The list shown in **Figure 1** is an attempt to compile the major findings into core considerations for prevention. The solution strategy proposed in the next chapter recommends newer planning and implementation strategies in the form of key premises.

The new information about precursor causes, syndrome causes behind most patterned misbehavior, parallel success ingredients for home and school, the direct relationship between failure and success, the new information about key ingredients for developing character and social responsibility, and their use for healthy growth and development—all these give renewed hope for success.

YEA developed a strategy which allows almost all of the conclusions contained in this report to be used. FIGURE 1

Key Conclusions & Their Implications for Strategy

KEY CONCLUSIONS

STRATEGY IMPLICATIONS

 Utah has limited program resources. No prevention program has proven successful enough to be recommended at this time. Must stay flexible. 	Suggests a strategy and not a program approach
3. Key ingredients of prevention are known even though	
the causal dynamics are not.	Schools about invitement the offective opheni masses
4. There is high overlap between the ingredients of pre-	Schools should implement the effective school research and the prevention research as a package
vention and of effective schools. 5. For prevention access to all children and their parents,	and the prevention research as a package
the school is the only game in town.	
6. The skills required for many interventions will require	Schools can best trigger multi-agency intervention
an integration of multi-agency responses.	
7. Almost all antecedents of patterned misbehavior have	Schools can compensate for and add or subtract from poor parenting practices
school problem counterparts.	
8. The ingredients for home success are the same as for school success.	Home & parents should not be bypassed
9. Success ingredients are opposite of failure ingredients but on the same dimension.	The easiest prevention is to focus on successful develop- ment
10. Early intervention of future delinquency is not well	All intervention to be in the interest of the child's success
grounded; ongoing intervention for educationally in- hibiting behavior is.	in school — avoid finger pointing & labeling
11. Adopting a new practice is easier than eliminating an	Focus on giving children, parents and professionals new
established one.	skills
12. Common cause syndrome for most patterned misbe-	Do not need separate program for each type of misbehav-
havior.	ior.

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SOLUTION STRATEGY

The proposed solution strategy for reducing adolescent failures and enhancing adolescent success is composed of three parts: a guiding philosophy, a prevention component, and an early intervention component. The philosophy guides both direction and operation. It incorporates the common ingredients for successful prevention, intervention, treatment, and development. The prevention component incorporates the promotion of success as well as the prevention of failure. It consists of helping the schools use the latest findings from the effective schools and effective classrooms research, while paying additional attention to the companion ingredients from both the prevention and successful-child development literature.

Guiding Philosophy For Preventing and Dealing with "At-Risk" Behaviors of Youth

Direction

Utah's goal is not to contain bad behavior, but to prevent it, and failing that, to correct it.

Its higher goal is to empower youth to live capable, productive, and responsible lives.

- The issue is no longer "punishment versus treatment." It is time to move up the ladder. The next rungs are early intervention, prevention, and developmental success.
- Building child success is a co-aim of prevention.
- The research is clear. Successful people operate as moral agents guided by an internalized set of values reflecting social responsibility. They believe they have control over their future and accept responsibility and accountability for their actions. Utah believes it makes good sense to adopt the above concepts and ingredients in the philosophy to guide its agencies in dealing with the behavior of youth.
- Utah purposefully avoids the temptation to combine the research literature into a prescriptive program model of prevention. Utah feels that operational principles and guiding strategies can steer prevention further than fixed programs. It encourages further development and refinement of strategic methods to facilitate ever improved field operation of proven principles.

Basic Premises

- "Punishment" does not correct misbehavior (at best, it contains it); more important, it does not produce good behavior.
- 2. It is as easy to build success as to prevent failure, and it pays a higher dividend.
- 3. Behavioral problems outside of school are almost always foreshadowed in some school related difficulty. That early warning system gives time to intervene with the most help at the lowest price. School participation should be forthcoming because most teachers welcome help in solving student difficulties.

4. The critical message of prevention is interactive love born of trust and mutual respect. The ingredients include joint ownership of standards and expectations, a degree of autonomy, accountability, encouragement, helpful support, mentoring, monitoring, and feedback. Praise and external rewards, while helpful if not overdone, are less effective than other forms of encouragement and reinforcement.

- Authoritative climates (as contrasted with either authoritarian or negligent climates) produce better results, in treatment, intervention, prevention, or success building purposes.
- Academic success breeds behavioral success. Relationship success with responsible adults breeds both.

Operation

Utah chooses to be idealistic in its approach to misbehavior and pragmatic in its operation. The Utah philosophy is to apply and fit proven methodologies into its strategy as they become known and are demonstrated to be effective. This requires a flexible operational strategy rather than a fixed program approach. Furthermore, this—

a. places the chief responsibility for results on the professionals closest to the client,

b. requires management to focus more on supports than on controls, and

c. requires both management and delivery professionals to agree on goals as well as foundation principles.

- Any problem which inhibits school success is worth keeping track of until solved.
 "Solving" includes a hierarchical structure of integrated multi-agency responses as necessary.
- Behavioral success is defined by and developed through ways of relating with other people.
- The home should not be by-passed nor parental responsibilities abrogated in dealing with any youth problem.
- The operational heart of both prevention and early intervention consists of field level professionals with the skills to provide the necessary support climate and relationship ingredients upon which child success is based.

Operational Guidelines

All prevention and intervention efforts in Utah will operate, and be evaluated on, the following principles:

- Responses to all misbehavior will be proactive, not reactive.
- Personal respect and expectation for improved behavior will be shown at all times. Behaviors will be labeled; the person will not. What is right, and not who is right, will be the issue.
- The interaction between the child and the significant others in his/her life is a more important focus than the child apart.
- Individual responsibility and accountability for misbehavior will operate within *integrated* support structures provided by the family and other engaged agencies. Progress will be shown through monitoring and frequent feedback provided to the youth, parents, engaged professionals, and the support agencies.
- Growth requires active choices. Autonomy and locus of control will be extended based upon the maturity and demonstrated capabilities of the child.
- Short, intermediate, and longer range goals for improved personal behavior will be established with full participation of the offender.
- Encouragement and support toward reaching the established goals will be provided.
- Mentoring, in one form or another, will be included in all intervention plans.

Sample operating procedures.

Operating Principles will be developed as part of any implementation phase. The following are samples.

- In the case of school-aged children, the Student Educational Plan (SEP) or the Individual Educational Plan (IEP), in the case of handicapped children, will anchor the record keeping.
- The concept of "successive interventions as needed" will be employed as soon as patterned misbehavior is detected or danger signs of future misbehavior have been documented.
- A hierarchical structure of integrated interventions (across agency) will be available for access by any field level professional (teachers, counselors, principals, social workers, case workers, parole officers, etc.) beginning with a brief action plan.
- In the case of school-aged children, the support structure will be orchestrated by the child's school; for nonstudents by (state or county) Social Services.

Prevention Component

Prevention must take place during formative years when social responsibility is developed. During formative years, the home and the school are the key socializing agencies, and parents and teachers are the key socializing agents. It makes sense to operate both home and school along the lines of the latest research. It also makes sense to support the people therein with full use of the latest research.

Danzberger and Hahnby suggest that elementary schools create special units charged with identifying the early warning signs of school failure in young children. This, with an "educational services corporation" within each state, would register, on a voluntary basis, all high-risk youths and help develop individualized plans for them.

Prevention must take place during formative years when social responsibility is developed. The prevention component of the YEA strategy is built around the effective school and classroom research. Schools are assisted in full use of successful school and classroom ingredients in a way that is compatible with the prevention and developmental success versions of these same ingredients. The strategy can be greatly facilitated by using the effective organization versions of those same ingredients. The common ingredients, stated as generic principles, were presented in the previous chapter. Implementation procedures are discussed in a later chapter.

Beyond failure

The above explained overlapping of ingredients is what allows the prevention component of the YEA strategy to go beyond prevention of failure. In its fullness, the prevention component of the strategy becomes an auxiliary child development strategy. It supports current success as well as avoiding future failures, academic as well as behavioral success. It prepares for future family life as well as for the workplace. Human talents cannot be maximized in the absence of supportive climates and relationship skills.

The ingredients of success shown earlier group in two broad areas labelled supportive climates and esteeming relationships. Human skills are the basic skills for future vocational success. Technical know-how can now be rapidly communicated. Competitive advantages of a technical nature are short-lived. In the future the economic advantage will go to the country or state which can maximize human resources. Human talents cannot be maximized in the absence of supportive climates and relationship skills. Interpersonal skills required for complex societies include social responsibility. To that must be added personal initiative, creativity, and productivity. The latest research on the most successfully competitive corporations steadily confirm this.

Changes in schooling at home and at school

The prevention component does not imply in any way that schools should abandon emphasis on such basic ingredients as curriculum structure, curriculum materials, and time on task. It suggests moving beyond them by revamping school climates, and establishing more effective adult–child relationships in the school to better support the learning and teaching function. Altering and adopting new operating and teaching methods in line with the latest research will also help achieve this.

The most powerful effects on learning come from techniques using the common ingredients extracted in this report. The common ingredients, when viewed as a whole, carry an important message for the delivery of child services. The ingredients of success shown earlier group in two broad areas labelled supportive climates and esteeming relationships. The climates serve a dual purpose. They not only support the child, they support the relationship between the child and others, including teachers, peers, and parents.

No attempt at treating adolescent misbehavior succeeds unless it is built around successful interrelationships between staff and client, and unless it fosters the same between clients. An earlier chapter described the importance of such relationships for healthy child development and the acquisition of social values, sexual identity, and self-esteem.

The experts stress that relationships be more than casual friendships. Productive, caring relationships translate into higher expectations, evidence respect and trust, provide active rather than passive support, exhibit a willingness to mentor, monitor progress, provide both directive and corrective feedback, and maintain an orderly and stable environment. For child success, the research suggests that one-way relationships, no matter how well-intentioned, are not enough; two-way relationships are required.

Most patterned misbehavior occurs in youth who have grown up in settings which have prevented or hindered two–way relationships.

The heart of effective relationships

For child success, the research suggests that one-way relationships, no matter how well-intentioned, are not enough; two-way relationships are required. *Shared* expectation and vision, *interactive* love, and *mutual* respect and trust are reciprocal endeavors. Encouragement is an interactive and two-way activity, as are effective mentoring, monitoring, feedback, reinforcement, autonomy, and accountability.

Motivation is more powerful than stimulation. Motivation comes from within one's self; stimulation comes from others. The most effective encouragements draw out and reinforce internal motivations. The following dialogue illustrates the difference.

Typical: John, I'm so pleased with your project. I'm proud of you.

The better way: John, you chose a difficult project and you have performed it well. How do you feel about your accomplishment? (response) What have you learned from it? (response) What new skills have you acquired? (response) What do you plan to do next? (response) How can I be of help?

It is out of such two-way relationships that a sense of value, self-identity, and worth are derived, as well as the personal beliefs and skills to sustain and nurture that sense. Most patterned misbehavior occurs in youth who have grown up in settings which have prevented or hindered two-way relationships. The most effective parents and teachers use those skills. Parents and teachers can be taught these skills. When they are used, behavior can be affected.

In light of the importance of supportive relationships for both academic and behavioral success, it is surprising that most educational delivery models still see students and teachers as independent components. The common emphasis is on what is done for the teacher or to the student. The latest research is saying something different. In effect it says, "In all you do, do not neglect the interaction between the teacher and the student (or between the parent and the child, or between the principal and the teacher)." Clinicians, after many futile approaches to helping parents or their troublesome children, have now learned that valuable lesson. When ways of relating begin to change success comes. For example—

- Messages received by the child are more important than messages sent, but messages exchanged are more important than either.
- Behavior cannot be influenced in the absence of respect, because the messages received are suspect.
- What is done together with the child is more important than what is done to the child or for the child.
- It can be said, "Support the teacher and support the student, but more important, support the interaction between them."

"Intellectual risk—taking requires safety, and children who are suspicious of a school's agenda cannot work up to their potential." Deborah Meier, principal of Central Park East School, Harlem

How much misbehavior can be prevented through the schools?

According to experts, 50 to 80 percent of misbehavior problems would be prevented if the prevention ingredients were properly implemented in the schools. At the same time, academic performance for those same students would also improve.

Residual academic and behavioral problems remaining after the success ingredients were initiated could be handled through the early intervention component.

Early Intervention Component

The early intervention component is designed to intervene when danger signs (or precursors) of maladaptive behavior persist. These are almost always evidenced and signaled by some lingering difficulty at school, either academic or behavioral. The research literature suggests that other agencies, along with their experts, must be involved in solving some children's school difficulties. Patterned symptoms are addressed through a sequential hierarchy of interventions, beginning with the home and including social, clinical, medical, and judicial expertise as needed. Supplemental supports from neighborhood, church, and extended family are provided for in the model. The interventions will operate within the same principles as prevention. They merely bring new skills, new supports, and additional experts into play. When all participants of intervention are operating consistently with the guiding philosophy, the resulting integration will have a synergistic effect. Intervention efforts can build upon a strong, expanding foundation rather than "starting over" with repeated independent efforts.

These interventions start with the simple and move to the complex. They also start with parents and expand as needed to include multi-agency and multi-community expertise. Child involvement and responsibility are part of every intervention design. The benchmark of success in the model is always success at school. The model stresses family assistance toward that end. Behavioral labels, categorizations, and predictions are avoided and are completely unnecessary to the model.

The multi-agency impact on students will be magnified in two ways. First, each intervening agency will operate from the same mutually developed plan. Second, all agencies will operate on the same wavelength, that is, from the same guiding philosophy and, inasmuch as possible, the same methodologies. This combination creates consistency in structure and treatment. Treatment produces a solution, not vain repetitions.

How Early Intervention Works

If one attempt doesn't work, another approach should be tried. Since school difficulties reflect students in need and students potentially at risk, it make sense to not let the problems go unresolved but to address needs before they get out of hand. If one attempt doesn't work, another approach should be tried. Parents and teachers do not give up; they never run out of options. So goes the argument and the process of early intervention incorporated in the recommended strategy.

Early intervention means teachers and schools must have access to help beyond their skills and responsibilities. Multiple public agencies, having both the skills and the resources, will provide that help to teachers. They in turn will need to combine and integrate their efforts with those of teachers. A team now tackles the problem rather than a teacher. But the teacher does not step out of the picture.

Child involvement and responsibility are part of every intervention design. The intervention team will jointly "own" the problem until it is solved. Since success at school is the primary benchmark of problem improvement, teachers, counselors, and other student support professionals will stay intimately involved in the process. Responsibilities are shared. The intervention team (whether of two or ten people, or from single agency or multi-agency) will jointly "own" the problem until it is solved. Parents are part of every intervention team and every intervention plan. A mentor, acceptable to the student, should almost always be part of any extensive intervention plan.

How much of adolescent misbehavior can be blamed on society at large, on socializing institutions such as home, school, church, and media, on poor parenting and teaching practice, or on the individual child is not the issue.

The real questions are:

- What are the required ingredients for rearing successful children and for avoiding failure?
- How are those ingredients used?
- Who puts those ingredients into place?
- Who is responsible for them?

The issue is not who created the problem, rather who can solve the problem. Figure 2 shows the early intervention part of the strategy and how it links with the prevention component. As the chart shows, successive interventions progressively help the student find success at school. Success includes more than academic progress. It includes behavioral and interpersonal relationship successes as well. For most students, these are closely related.

While research that school and classroom practices create or compound many school difficulties, the school is seldom the root cause. *The issue is not who created the problem, rather who can solve the problem.* The first interventions take place at the classroom and school level. Counselling and other school resources should be used as available. Parents should be kept informed and invited to help. School interventions will naturally flow into joint school—home interventions. **FIGURE 2**

Prevention and Early Intervention Strategy



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The following is an example of a simple school-triggered home intervention. If necessary, it can be initiated by a volunteer:

"Mr. Pack, we have found that when parents take a couple of minutes each day and do four things with their child, the student does about 20 percent better in school. Would you like to try those four things in the interest of helping your child progress faster in school?"

The four steps are as follows:

- Inquire each day about what was covered and learned at school. The school will keep you informed about what is being taught.
- Determine what difficulties your child is having and pinpoint any problems the child has had for more than two or three days. Offer assistance. If the difficulties are major, help the child comes up with a plan for addressing the problem. Your child has been instructed on where to go to and how to get lesson help when necessary.
 Reinforce the importance of what is being learned and, if possible, share with the child how that has been important to you in your life. Share experiences you remember from that stage of your schooling.
 Invite your child to express how they feel about what they

are learning and about other aspects of life at school. Make sure they do at leasthalf of the talking.

Why does this intervention have such a powerful effect on a child's success? Because it combines many of the key ingredients and messages of success:

- Joint expectation in an atmosphere of love: "School is important; you are important; therefore it is important for you to learn."
- Mutual respect and trust: "I respect you and care enough about you to find out how you are doing-from your perspective."
- Encouragement and support: "I am here to help and support you in any way I can, even though the main responsibility for learning is yours."
- No growth occurs without thoughtful decision-making: "You have a degree of autonomy accompanied by accountability.
Schools have more influence over external factors than previously believed.

Students give far more attention to learning—knowing they will have to teach it to someone else. While I can advise you, certain decisions belong to you as do their consequences."

The key ingredients of mentoring, monitoring, and constructive feedback are brought into play.

This example illustrates the fact that schools have more influence over external factors (effects of parents, peers, socioeconomic status, etc.) than previously believed. Most socioeconomic factors, for example, are root-related to parenting practices. And few parental factors operate so independently that their effect cannot be alleviated by some school practice or methodology. In fact, parents often learn new skills even as children practice their newly acquired problem solving skills at home.

A school practice that uses the above technique is "cooperative learning" where class peers help each other learn in small groups (and are graded as a group as well as individuals). The dual school and home use of the preceding principle is an example of a coordinated intervention strategy.

When school-home interventions don't work, different interventions are applied by adding expertise from social service agencies, other community supports (extended family, church, neighborhood, volunteer organizations), medical diagnosis or treatment, mental health treatment, and even court intervention if need be. Each successive level of interventions takes more and more problems out of the pipeline. The records of all attempts serve as documentation for any nonvoluntary interventions that may eventually be necessary.

The higher the anxiety level in one member of the family, the less room there is for individuality in other members.

The following is an example of a school-home-social service intervention.

"Mr. Pack, your son frequently seems preoccupied and is having trouble concentrating on school work. We suspect he feels some stress in his life. The community school has a short workshop led by experts from the department of social services. It is designed to show parents how they can reduce stress in the lives of their children so children can put more of their energies into succeeding at school. Would you and your wife like to attend for the next three Tuesday evenings? We think it could help your child do better in school."

Through that training, social service personnel meet the parents, interact with them, and identify special problems which might affect the child's ability to succeed at school. Tailor-made interventions can follow.

Prevention and intervention work in tandem

The concept of early intervention is fully practical only when it operates together with an in-place prevention effort. There are two reasons for this. First, the interventions extend these ingredients and practices. Since the child already understands these, this makes intervention easier. For example, even the juvenile offender will know that he or she will be treated with respect and fairness, but also with firmness and expectation. Offenders will know that excuses are useless, that accountability is commensurate with freedom to act, that power ploys are not accepted, and that they must focus on what is right, rather than who is right.

The second reason why early intervention must operate out of a prevention setting is related to cost and practicality. Only if the minor and temporary problems have already been taken care of through prevention will the number of remaining problems be sufficiently small to handle effectively with existing resources. It becomes a question of economics and practicality.

The concept of early intervention is fully practical only when it operates together with an in-place prevention effort.

16



THE POWER OF THE SOLUTION STRATEGY

Including Practicality, Efficiency, and Other Advantages

Student perceptions probably indicate more accurately whether the needed ingredients are in place than do faculty perceptions (Merrill and Strickland, pp. 31, 52, 76).

Educators need to recognize that the prevention componont is not an add-on program, and once implemented, will take no more work than current modes of operation.

Is The Prevention Component Too Simple?

It may appear overly simple to suggest that fully implementing the ingredients found in the effective school research will put in place most of the prevention ingredients and that schools can prevent a large share of future problems. Many educators feel they have already implemented the effective school research. However, the data does not show this, even for the more effective schools. Also, most of the crucial ingredients are continuum variables. A little courtesy or respect is different from adequate courtesy or respect. A little should not be taken as enough, nor do good intentions dismiss further need.

The latest Utah data available, for example, shows that only 45 percent of secondary students feel that teachers in their school care about the students. Contrast this with the 89 percent of secondary teachers and 97 percent of administrators who think they do. Student perceptions probably indicate more accurately whether the needed ingredients are in place, than do faculty perceptions (Merrill and Strickland, pp. 31, 52, 76).

Educators need to recognize that the prevention component is not an add-on program, and once implemented, will take no more work than current modes of operation. The strategy works within the latitude already available to most teachers, individually and collectively. For example, no administrator will object to teachers implementing the latest research findings; nor to having them address misbehaviors or school difficulties; or to using techniques to bring into play cooperative learning and other means of accelerating student progress. Who can object to teacher suggestions to parents to improve their child's progress in school, or to their reaching out to community resources for assistance? The strategy is one to empower teachers and through them, to empower students.

The Power of the Model

Still another source of power arises from the ability to implement quickly and easily.

Using ingredients from the model to implement the model is a further source of power.

> Professional success for teachers as well as academic and behavioral success for students will follow.

The proposed strategy model, while simple, is powerful. Part of the power comes through implementing effective school ingredients with both prevention, success, and effective organization ingredients. Minor additions to the effective school research will accomplish this feat. To implement a package of four proven improvements for the price of one is, in itself, a source of power.

Another source of power in the strategy is magnifying results. As problem behaviors decline and student interest and cooperation increases, everyone finds more success and satisfaction. The residue of school difficulties gets smaller and smaller. Some problems develop over a long period of time and will take more time to solve than others. But that is better than just working around the problems, allowing them to move along unsolved year after year. As problems diminish, more and more energies can go into more productive teaching and learning activities.

Still another source of power arises from the ability to implement quickly and easily. Traditional implementation of school improvement is slow and costly. Once started, programs are resistant to change. A strategy approach at the point of delivery is more flexible and dynamic. Change and improvement can build upon what has been done instead of replacing it.

Using ingredients from the model to implement the model is a further source of power. Implementation and training become the same activity, maximizing efficiency and effectiveness. The YEA model gives teachers a vehicle to help students. Professional success for teachers as well as academic and behavioral success for students will follow.

Economic Feasibility of YEA Strategy

Estimates of success for the model as a whole comes only from professional judgement.

The expected intervention rates and their cost

While the strategy developed by YEA has not been used anywhere in the country, most of its components have. These components are researched based, but have not been tested in combination. Estimates of success for the model as a whole comes only from professional judgement.

Field professionals and clinicians suggest change will occur more rapidly and more completely in young children, with success rates alsomuch higher in preadolescents. YEA asked experts who understand the ingredients of prevention and effective schools the following question (with the understanding that no one would be quoted) to learn what was potentially possible.

The Question

"If we put in place in the schools all that we now know about prevention and effective schools, what percent. of future 'at-risk' and other misbehavior could be prevented?"

Knowing that dedicated professionals can be optimistic, YEA chose to use the lowest estimate of 50 percent on which to build its strategic assumptions.

The Answer . . .

Answers to the question ranged from 50 to 80 percent with most answers in the 70 to 80 percent range. Knowing that dedicated professionals can be optimistic, YEA chose to use the lowest estimate of 50 percent on which to build its strategic assumptions to provide a realistic expectation. Using the maximum numbers of misbehaving students, the following scenario outlines what can be expected.

The best data available assumes that no more than 40 percent of children will have precursor patterns of misbehavior requiring intervention. Since even good students occasionally misbehave, intervention focuses on patterned misbehavior. However, the prevention component can significantly reduce the misbehaviors of *all* students.

2	<u>6 Removed</u>	Remaining
Start with all students		100%
Base of well behaved students	60%	40%
Prevention of 50% of misconduct through		
school and classroom operation (50% of		•
remaining 40%)	20%	20%
Simple school and school-home		
Interventions (75% of remaining 20%)	15%	5%
Proportion needing multi-agency intervent	lion	5%

*Caution. The proportions of patterned misbehavior do not necessarily equate with the proportions of misbehaving students. The use of student proportions is only for illustrative purposes.

The number of students concurrently involved in active intervention should not overload current social and other youth agency capacities. More children than that currently use existing agencies.

Benefits to education include better behaved and more responsible student behavior, as well as improved academics that could lighten teacher workloads. Not all of the 5 percent needing intervention will need it at one time. Therefore, the number of students concurrently involved in active intervention should not overload current social and other youth agency capacities. More children than that currently use existing agencies.

The number of children needing treatment can be reduced sufficiently by prevention to free up existing resources to assist in early intervention; therefore, no new operational funds should be needed. The main difficulty is targeting intervention until prevention gains momentum. Temporary policy decisions will allocate resources for either treatment or prevention and early intervention.

Benefits to education include better behaved and more responsible student behavior, as well as improved academics that could lighten teacher workloads. By taking more responsibility for their own learning and moving more quickly through the system, students could free up resources for special-need students.

The cost in teacher time

Putting into operation the effective ingredients noted in the report could cost more money, especially if teachers were expected to provide every ingredient and perform every function. Mentoring, for example, takes time and most teachers do not have that amount of time. The solution does not require smaller classes or more teachers. Mentoring can be performed by others in the child's life. However, teachers can structure and plan their work to take advantage of this mentoring support.

Feedback is another area that at first glance could appear to require more time and effort from teachers. However, effective computerized classroom management systems are being developed and refined in Utah. These can perform most of the feedback function and lighten other information processing activites that now burden teachers. This would free teachers to concentrate on other critical ingredients in the solution strategy.

Experience with newer teaching methods and clinical techniques related with the solution strategy also suggest more cost-effective interventions. For example, volunteers trained in just a few hours as mentors have proven very successful with hard-to-educate students. Similarly, cooperative learning has been shown to have seven times the effect on academic progress as class size.

Time and money not the issue

Nevertheless, the YEA strategy is not offered as a money-saving effort. YEA purports that the the proposed strategy will treat individual youth much more successfully and within the resources currently available. It will also treat many more youth than are currently receiving help. *The decision to use the recommended solution strategy reaches far beyond finances*.

What the Strategy Leaves Out and How it Differs

To focus on separate delivering agents misses a key point of the strategy. The recommended solution strategy does not include all influences that affect adolescent behavior. Music and other media, religion, cultural values, movie stars, and role model heros are not included. The model does stress, however, the application of the key ingredients as far as possible beyond home and school. Neighborhoods, churches, organized ethnic groups, and others have a place in the strategy—but to focus on separate delivering agents misses a key point of the strategy.

The ingredients for success, more than the delivering agents, are in the essence of the model. It would be nice if the media and religion would cooperate, but while the model allows for that, it is not dependent upon such extensions. Emphasis on the ingredients of influence, rather than the agents of influence, is a basic difference between this model and other approaches to misbehavior. Other differences are noted in the following chart.

Cooperative learning has been shown to have seven times the effect on academic progress as class size.

The decision to use the recommended solution strategy reaches far beyond finances.

Contrast YEA VS. Typical Prevention Strategy

Traditional	YEA
1. Most prevention efforts are programs that take separate funding and staff.	The YEA effort is a prevention strategy which can be incorporated into existing operations.
2. Most prevention programs focus on junior and high school levels when target behaviors be- gin to occur.	The YEA strategy focuses on precursor behaviors of later misbehavior as they occur in elemen- tary and junior high school.
3. Most prevention programs emphasize co- ordination among cooperating agencies.	The YEA strategy integrates activities among co- operating agencies.
4. Most prevention programs operate at only one level.	The YEA strategy operates prevention at multiple levels and between levels.
5. Most prevention programs are of short duration with little lasting impact.	The YEA strategy is designed to operate through- out all school grades, providing long-term in- tervention and follow-up.
6. Traditional prevention programs see each mis- behavior category as a separate problem to be prevented.	YEA adopts the growing data and expert opinion which suggests that most teenage misbehav- iors have common causes which can be tar- geted.
7. Most programs target specific populations based on some defining symptom of behavior.	The YEA approach targets common precursor be- haviors
8. Current prevention programs have poor re- search bases upon which to build. This is because they operate on specific methodolo- gies, the effects of which are hard to document.	The YEA strategy operates on well documented principles rather than on specific methodol-ogy.
9. Most prevention programs are based on specific methodologies.	The YEA approach is a strategy which can fit any successful methodology.

- 10. Regular prevention programs require separate staff, funding, administration, and monitor-ing.
- 11. Most prevention programs compartmentalize functions and segment activities and concentrate responsibilities.
- 12. Most prevention and early intervention programs point fingers of blame toward parents and often take over parental responsibilities.
- 13. Most prevention programs center on one or two approaches.

- The YEA strategy uses existing resources. Monitoring, data collection, and feedback mechanisms fit into existing components.
- The YEA strategy integrates both function and activity and shares responsibilities among vested interested participants.
- YEA leaves major responsibility with the home and invites parental participation for better school success.
- YEA incorporates compatible philosophies from eight recognized prevention approaches.

The contrasts noted in the above chart represent advantages of the YEA strategy over more traditional approaches.

Advantages of the Solution Approach The approach used in the YEA--recommended strategy has many advantages. Some have already been covered. Other advantages include-Flexibility and adaptability to new research findings, Major components are accounted for: the child, the home, the school, and the ë peers, including their interactive effects. Adaptability to each site and setting based on the current skills of staff. . Immediate implementation with little in-service training or planning. ٠ No dismantling of existing programs or the adding of others. ٠ • Provisions made for short-term as well as long-term interventions. Proven principles provide a base of operation rather than methodologies that ÷ are more subject to change. ۲ Turf issues that accompany programs are eliminated by operating as a strategy. ٠ Pilot testing is not required as all ingredients have a proven record. However, some new, specific application methodologies will need piloting. Implementation can take place as fast as staffs wish to proceed. No program administration is needed although facilitation and support are ٠ desired. An increased share of responsibility for academic and behavioral progress is shifted to the student and the home.

Social Advantages of the Solution

The strategy provides the opportunity to---

- Build moral character as a by-product of effective schooling.
- Eliminate the fears many citizens have of teenagers and young adults.
- Strengthen students as a by-product of strengthening professional staffs.
- Reestablish education as the vehicle to escape poverty.
- Fulfill the dream of equity in schooling.
- Build relationships between students and their parents.
- Support and build the family as it extracts its help.
- Build respect for teachers in the eyes of students, parents, colleagues, and the public.
- Develop a workforce to match the operating style of the most effective corporations.
- Counter the destructive social trends in human behavior.

Design Advantages

- Encompasses the large numbers of youth in need. It will give *all* youth the behavioral as well as academic foundations needed to succeed in the workplace, in the family, and in society.
- Incorporates all of the major variables affecting both prevention and success and involves the major components and players associated with them.
- Considers the unique assets of Utah, including a favorable climate and commitment to prevention.
- Builds on the commonalities from companion fields of study, while not excluding relevant findings from any of them.
- Combines ingredients of success without ignoring the ingredients of failure. It
 uses success as the first line of defense against failure, but accommodates the
 need to deal with failure directly.
- Uses almost all of the conclusions contained in this report.
- · Meets or exceeds all of the purposes outlined for this study.
- Overcomes the incompleteness found in existing programs for at-risk youth.

No other agency is in the position to initiate and maintain a major prevention effort in Utah than the public schools. By taking on the burden of prevention, they will be compensated as their education burdens are lightened. The YEA strategy combines the power of multiple fields of research, the power of collegial unity, the power of effective organizations, the power of synergy, the power of perseverance, and the power of simplicity.

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IMPLEMENTING THE SOLUTION

While the recommendations in this report are grouped to facilitate top-down implementation, many can be used by individuals and groups of individuals.

The ideal would allow alternate versions of promising methodologies to be tested for their effectiveness, individually and in combination. Implementing the YEA-recommended strategy depends upon adoption of the recommendations in this report. However, this can take many roads. The effective organization literature illustrates that implementation is feasible from the bottom up as well as from the top down. Bottom-up use particularly applies to the prevention component of the recommended solution. On the other hand, using the intervention component is more difficult without formal, top-down support. This is because intervention involves multi-agency cooperation and more formal support mechanisms.

While the recommendations in this report are grouped to facilitate top-down implementation, many can be used by individuals and groups of individuals. Individuals who review the proposed strategy and accompanying recommendations in that light will find adequate guidance to get started on their own.

The development of a detailed statewide plan was beyond the scope of this report. A logical next step is the collection and development of a multitude of teaching and other field-level methodologies compatible with the key ingredients of prevention and intervention. The ideal would allow alternate versions of promising methodologies to be tested for their effectiveness, individually and in combination. More information is needed about the interactive effects of key ingredients; for example, the interactive effect between control versus support on children. The PTA could sponsor joint training for parents and teachers on schoolhome interventions.

Build on current efforts

Even without funds for further development, effective implementation can begin immediately. For example, selected teachers and other professionals are already using many applicable methods and techniques. Collegial sharing and teaming is one way to move ahead. This can take place both within and across agencies.

In many locations in the state, coordinating groups representing multi-agencies already exist and should be used to facilitate implementation. The mechanics of intervention coordination between social services, health, and mental health personnel provide one example. The link between PTA-school-home is another. To illustrate, the PTA could sponsor joint training for parents and teachers on school-home interventions. They could also conduct training for parents, locate subject matter volunteers for tutoring, and ask other volunteers to act as mentors or proctors. Other volunteer groups could provide logistical support until adequate computer support systems are put into place.

Link to national reports

Many national reports suggest that "at-risk" students cannot be adequately served without a restructuring of education. This report observes that a refocusing, more than a restructuring, will serve that need. Nothing in this report conflicts with restructuring, if that is desired for companion purposes. However, the findings of this report can easily fit within existing educational structures. The reason is because the proposed solution does not require a program format. Programs are of necessity linked to structure.

> Whether organizational, collegial, or solo, this report offers much in the way of help for implementation. Both organizational and self-help implementation suggestions follow.



Implementation guidelines for single agency or organization

Schools and other primary providers, as well as other organizations, can operate the prevention part of the solution strategy independent of other agencies. Activities one and two above, plus some initial in-service training is all that is required to get started. The self-help section of this chapter (referring to specific report contents) will be helpful and gives pertinent information for getting started.

Step	1. Become especially familiar with	th the following	paits of this report:
	Part of Report	Page No.	<u>Purpose</u>
	 Key conclusions 	263	Perspective
	 Directional philosophy 	265-267	Vision and direction
	 Prevention strategy 	267-277	Focus for goals-policy
	Key ingredients of success	260	Methods checklist
	 Recommendations 	Apen, A	Planning ideas
	 Selected conclusions 	233-253	Goal-benchmark ideas

Step 2. Select from the chapter on effective organizations the process components which are pertinent to your situation. Use them as a guide for implementation and a checklist for operation.

Step 3. Draw up your own implementation plan including objectives, benchmarks, and activities. The following components are suggested:

- a. Write a paragraph or two in your own words of what you believe is possible.
- b. List one or more measurable results as goals—what you think is practical for you over the next month, quarter, and year. Be specific about measures you will use to assess progress.
- c. List the activities you feel will lead to attainment of your goal.
- d. List the resources (and be creative) that you will need. Include how you might link the internal climate in which you operate with the external human resources you might tap.
- Project any blocks or hindrances which might come up and answer how you will deal with them if they do.

For all too many,what is has become more sacred than what ought to be.

The importance of common driving values or uniting goals

It is safe to note that many people are natural skeptics. The problems of Utah's youth are so complex that many conclude that there is no practical solution. Others fail to see the need and dismiss it with oversimplifications. Still others will not catch the vision and will be too preoccupied with their current efforts. For all too many, *what is* has become more sacred than *what ought to be*.

Building on commonly felt needs can help engage broad support. The above strategy may require the identifying of an existing need which is more specific than general prevention or success of youth. For those who need specificity, it will be helpful to get beyond generalizations and find some expression or goal which can unite the parties to the discussion.

One such form is a new policy; it eliminates old mind sets while still tapping key motivations and values of coworkers. Another way is to establish a unifying benchmark that provides clear focus and direction. Such benchmarks can take two forms: "what should be" and "what should not be." "What should be" is often the more difficult of the two discussions because it tends to get bogged down in generalized abstractions.

"Let's move for a minute to what should not be, what we do not want."

"It is sometimes easier to focus on the prevention of failure than on the generation of success."

This report gives the importance of success in school new meaning to students, parents, staff, and community.

How to get agreement

Consensus is easier when discussing commonalities. "What should not be" is both more specific and more commonly shared. When consensus doesn't come, a helpful suggestion could be, "Let's move for a minute to what should not be, what we do not want." Agreement is often based more on eliminating objections than in fulfilling new criteria. In discussions of multi-agency cooperation, the initial concerns will be over "protections." The subject of protection is closer to "what should not be" than "what should be." Dr. Kent Stevens, president of SAGE Analytics International notes, "It is sometimes easier to focus on the prevention of failure than on the generation of success." One reason for this, he says, is that many elements are usually required for success, but often one event can lead to failure.

The following is an example of the difference between the two approaches. Professional discussions could go on indefinitely about a goal to have students find maximum success at school. The easier agreement might be, "No student will make less than one year of progress during each year of school."

Workable goals tap common values, provide focus, stress outputs, shape mind-sets, and provide direction to supporting activities. The adoption of the report's recommendations serves as a beginning for state-level implementation.

Agencies will need to revise these suggestions according to their own purposes and goals.

Statewide implementation

The purpose behind this report is for widespread, even statewide use of a prevention and early intervention plan. The adoption of the report's recommendations serves as a beginning for state-level implementation. If they are followed, a more formal plan can be developed through involvement of all agencies and organizations interested in the success of youth.

Rapid and full-scale implementation will require some one-time resources, particularly for in-service training and computerized monitoring and feedback. New resources would be desirable, but some reallocation of existing resources could occur in committed organizations. A lot of money is not needed. As noted above, many parts of this report are designed to support in-service training and other implementation activities.

Recommendations for implementation

Recommendations to facilitate implementation are included in Appendix A as an addendum to this report. The recommendations are based on the use of this strategy. They are also based upon the conclusions drawn in Chapter 13 with its supporting research.

The members of YEA stress that the recommendations contained in Appendix A are only meant to facilitate discussion in targeted organizations to prepare for interagency involvement. Agencies will need to revise these suggestions according to their own purposes and goals. Similar revisions will be needed as they work with other agencies in prevention and early intervention efforts.

A Final Word from YEA

Courage to move in new directions and a willingness to change, not cost in money, characterize the premium. The Youth Enhancement Association concludes, as the title of this report implies, that "Success Insurance for Youth" and "Failure Insurance for Home and School" are now feasible and reasonably priced. Courage to move in new directions and a willingness to change, not cost in money, characterize the premium. The policy value for the individual and for society is much higher than current offerings. Neither those charged with the success of youth, nor those who will benefit, can escape the responsibility of examining the benefits of the recommended solution. This report is a beginning; it only points the way. This report is a beginning; it only points the way. Much remains to be done, including preparing a more complete plan, developing in-service training, uniting community involvement, and more. Limited resources prevent these extensions at this time. Also, had money been available, a chapter would have been included, summarizing the latest research on teaching and instruction. Those methods are compatible with the other research contained in this report.

Notwithstanding its shortcomings, the report does provide philosophical vision and focus as well as political direction leading to statewide unity. More importantly, the report provides a vehicle to stimulate needed discussion

The Youth Enhancement Association recommends this report to the citizens of Utah as the starting point of a major statewide effort to prevent adolescent misbehavior with the co-aim of developing capable, productive, and responsible youth.

Appendix A RECOMMENDATIONS

Utah's younger generation is at risk. Over 40% are at risk either educationally or behaviorally. The sheer numbers place the state at risk. Utah, for its own vitality and that of its youth should immediately commit to a comprehensive and integrated effort of preventing teenager misbehaviors and fostering adolescent success. That effort should center on school success for each child, coupled with supplementary multi-agency interventions when the precursors of patterned misbehavior first arise.

The bottom line in any insurance is the worth compared to the cost.

The agenda concerning Utah's youth is too important to be ignored. Implementation of the recommendations of this report will provide for academic as well as behavioral improvements in youth. Implementation should help schools and homes operate more smoothly as well as reduce the headaches for social workers, clinicians, law enforcement personnel, court officials, and others who work with youth.

Referring to the theme of this report, the success insurance afforded by implementation of the following recommendations is attractive: success rates up, failure rates and premium costs down. The bottom line in any insurance is the worth compared to the cost. The bottom line justifying a changeover is the new ratio compared to the existing one.

The composite benefit of successful academic and behavioral development of children through the strategy proposed in this report has not been tested empirically. While most of the individual components have been tested, the degree of improvements noted in the research for the various components are not mutually exclusive, and therefore not additive. As such, no statistically generated probabilities are available for the whole. However, if the experts are correct in their interpretation of the composite research, a lofty improvement in both behavior and academics can be expected. It is within that framework and with that expectation that the following recommendations are offered. All of the following recommendations flow from the conclusions enumerated in the "Summary and Conclusions" chapter. The general recommendations apply to all agencies. They are supplemented by separate lists for major state agencies.

Additional recommendations flowing out of the content of this report are invited for inclusion in subsequent printings. Such will come to mind as agencies and institutions begin implementing the suggestions contained in this report.

General Recommendations applying to all agencies

- 1. Adopt the proposed "strategy" and "guiding philosophy" as a base upon which to build a school-triggered, multi-agency prevention and early intervention support system for *childhood success*. (Optional: Invite a parallel comprehensive, community-based effort for *family success*-encompassing church, neighborhood, extended family, and other volunteer agencies.)
- 2. Use the identified ingredients common to both prevention and success to guide implementation and assessment of prevention, early intervention, and treatment efforts.
- 3. Concentrate on authoritative, as contrasted to authoritarian, climates and relationships in all program operations.
- 4. Use the conclusions section from this report to guide in-service training.
- 5. Choose in-service training personnel from qualified professionals who exhibit the traits enumerated in the guiding philosophy.
- 6. Use the effective organization section of this report as a guide to help implement the other recommendations
- 7. Put into place new, simple parent-support mechanisms for schools and other social agency use.
- 8. Restructure the home, school, neighborhood, and peer social systems that operate to promote deviant behaviors.
- 9. Flow youth service dollars from treatment to intervention.
- 10. Monitor intervention methods for results and cost effectiveness.
- 11. "No social policy or prevention program concerning delinquency should be adopted before careful attention is paid to the consequences of such a policy or program on families" (Gottfredson).
- 12. Carefully scrutinize existing policies which cover problem youth to determine which ones leave out or discourage family involvement; revise those that do.
- 13. Establish and maintain field-level access and collegial relationships between school, court, law enforcement, and social agency personnel.
- 14. Every jurisdiction serving youth should review and update their partnership arrangements with other agencies.
- 15. Develop and establish special intervention techniques linking juvenile justice, medical, educational, and youth service agencies for multi--problem children.
- 16. Reassess current intervention strategies and discard those which are not compatible with the proposed strategy and philosophy.

Recommendations to Parents

- 1. As a family, evaluate home climate and relationships against the common success ingredients.
- 2. Use the elements of the family related and child development sections of this report as a guide and assessment tool for family operation.
- 3. Implement a daily program in support of school success to include:
 - a. Inquire about what is being learned,
 - b. Stress the value and benefit of what is being learned,
 - c. Identify any problems or help that is needed,
 - d. Offer encouragement and provide assistance, and
 - e. Draw out each child's feelings about their success at school (minimum of one-half of talking by child).
- 4. Model the desired behavior.
- 5. Treat children with respect.
- 6. Monitor your child's whereabouts; get to know your child's friends (and their parents) and compare notes.
- 7. Acknowledge that in today's society, the parents cannot go it alone in the development of their children. Don't be afraid to ask for help and advice.
- 8. Ask your child's teachers to keep you informed of any difficulties or changes in your child's behavior or school success.
- 9. Offer to help your child's school to implement the findings and recommendations of this report.
- 10. Use the Guiding Philosophy and Strategy to operate your home.

Recommendations to Juvenile Court

- 1. Adopt the proposed "guiding philosophy" and "strategy."
- 2. Decide what documentation will be required from prior multi-agency interventions to trigger court-ordered intervention.
- 3. Link school and court hearing processes, and use school administrative hearings as a preliminary part of court procedures for school-related misbehaviors.
- 4. Require a multi-agency (including the family) intervention plan for each juvenile offender.
- 5. If not volunteered by the school, juvenile courts should be empowered to require schools to evaluate young offenders for possible learning disabilities.

Juvenile Justice programs must move beyond "good intentions" and become "results driven." National Coalition of State Juvenile Justice Groups

Recommendations to Schools and School Districts

- 1. Adopt the proposed "Guiding Philosophy" for preventing and dealing with at-risk behaviors of youth as the directional and operational policy of the district.
- 2. Adopt the proposed "Prevention and Early Intervention Strategy" as district policy.
- 3. Imbed a full-scale prevention effort under an agenda of assured student success. Adopt a goal such as, "Each student in this district (school) will find and feel educational success each school year."
- 4. Implement the prevention ingredients first in order to weed out all but the behavior problems needing special intervention.
- 5. Implement the effective school, the effective organization, and the prevention research simultaneously and build on their commonalities.
- 6. Provide staff in-service training on the State Guiding Philosophy and its related prevention-success strategy model.
- 7. Provide short-term community school offerings on the parenting skills of prevention. Use multi-agency staff as team instructors.
- 8. Train teachers in the newer teaching methodologies which better incorporate the ingredients of success and prevention: cooperative learning, direct instruction, experiential learning, adaptive teaching, etc.

- 9. Insist that teachers adopt instructional methods which enable a broader range of students to experience academic success and which bring into play the ingredients of success, including bonding to teachers.
- 10. See that all teachers become knowledgeable about behavioral-problem children and the intervention options open to them.
- 11. Re-examine school operating policies and practices in light of societal changes affecting home and child.
- 12. Engage families in more meaningful ways in the schooling of their children.
- 13. Build positive peer support mechanisms into school programs (peer tutoring, mentoring, teaming, etc.)
- 14. See that schools go beyond the mere reporting of child abuse and treat it educationally in concert with treatment from other agencies.
- 15. Use the YEA- compiled list of ingredients (or similar list) to guide school and class-room operation.
- 16. Use the YEA report conclusions as a checklist for staff, parent, and student input for identifying a common interest base from which to launch prevention efforts.
- 17. Give students participatory and contributing roles in school and classroom functioning.

The **PTA** should reorganize its efforts and concentrate on school and home factors that research has shown will make a difference.

Recommendations to Social Services Agencies

- 1. Adopt the YEA-recommended "Guiding Philosophy For Preventing and Dealing with At-risk Behaviors of Youth" and accompanying prevention strategy as the directional and operational policy of your agency.
- 2. Jointly develop with school districts (for community school or other delivery avenues) in-service training on parenting practices for prevention. Use such classes as part of home intervention strategies for "at-risk" families.
- 3. Given the willingness of all companion agencies to adopt the YEA-recommended strategy, shift social agency staff resources to early intervention.

In light of dramatic social changes, Utah schools have the responsibility to provide curriculum and operational policies in support of successful family life.

Recommendations to Law Enforcement

- 1. Adopt the proposed Guiding Philosophy and Strategy as the directional and operational policy of the department.
- Expand joint programs with schools to build student bonding with law enforcement and society.
- 3. Develop enforcement techniques for youth which bring into play more of the prevention-success ingredients.

Recommendations to the State Legislature

- 1. Review existing legislation for compatibility with the proposed philosophy and intervention strategy.
- Review all new legislation for impact on entire youth-support system and on multi-agency interventions.
- 3. Mandate a multi-agency intervention plan for youths who are not succeeding if voluntary implementation does not take place.

Recommendations to the Utah State Board of Éducation

- 1. Adopt the proposed "Guiding Philosophy" as the directional and operational policy of Utah education. Invite local school boards to do the same.
- 2. Adopt the proposed "Prevention and Early Intervention Strategy" as a format policy for serving the hard to educate. Request local school boards do the same.
- 3. Organize school reform thrusts to facilitate parallel implementation of the research on effective schools, effective classrooms, effective organizations, prevention and early intervention, and child-development.
- 4. Develop a "training guide" for required pre-service and in-service training on the academic and behavioral-effectiveness research.
- 5. Jointly sponsor with the Governor's office, a series of town meetings to discuss the content and recommendations of this report with the educational community.
- 6. Utilize this report to facilitate implementation of the Strategic Planning Commission Report.

Recommendations to the Governor's Office

- 1. Invite the citizens of Utah to join state agencies in a major prevention and early intervention effort in the interest of youth success and state vitality.
- 2. Initiate a statewide dissemination and orientation conference and a series of related implementation workshops.
- 3. Invite the media to help sponsor dissemination, discussion, and implementation of this report.
- 4. Take the lead to insure that, once approved at the state level, the necessary coordination, cooperation, and integration of intervention services is maintained.
- 5. Jointly sponsor with the Utah State Board of Education a series of town meetings for educators, parents, and civic and business leaders, to discuss the contents and recommendations of this report.
- 7. Ask participating agencies to set measurable goals related to specific behavioral and academic successes such as:
 - achieving 1.2 grade levels of school progress each year,
 - having _____ percent of students liking school,
 - obtaining ____(number) of advance placement credits,
 - keeping dropouts below _____ percent,
 - achieving _____ percent reduction in drug usage,
 - reduce by _____ percent the number of youth coming into contact with the court,
 - reduce drug usage rates by ____ percent,
 - reduce teenage sexual activity rates by ____ percent, etc.
- 8. Invite churches, communities, and neighborhoods to implement a comprehensive community-based support system for *family success* to operate in conjunction with the school and social agency support system for *student success*.



In concert with the governor and the state school board:

- 1. Suggest multi-agency state target goals for reduction of all (or of various) "at-risk" behaviors.
- 2. Based upon state-level approval of the guiding philosophy, strategy, and YEA report, hold a series of orientation workshops throughout the state to explain the guiding philosophy and related strategy. Explore the use of state-owned TV for a series of town meetings with professionals, parents, and students to explain the philosophy, the strategy, and the key ingredients of prevention and how to implement them.
- 3. Provide assistance in regional planning, organizing and implementation of the proposed prevention and early intervention strategy.
- 4. Form a facilitation and development team to do the following:
 - a. Collect and develop assessment measures for the key ingredients of prevention and early intervention. Include measures of progress and effectiveness for students, field—level professionals, parents and homes, administrators, schools, and other intervention and service agencies.
 - Design and implement a computerized monitoring and feedback system to systematically inform parents, students, administrators, teachers and other field–level professionals. Include access by all agencies.
 - c. Maintain a clearinghouse for prevention and intervention techniques.
 - d. Develop self-help and in-service training aids.

This report makes the importance of success in school take on new meaning to students, parents, staff and community.

The bottom line is that no parent, no teacher (or other field–level professional), and no child should run out of options for getting help with a behavior related problem.

Appendix B

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A Report To Utah By The Youth Enhancement Association

SUCCESS INSURANCE FOR YOUTH HOME AND SCHOOL INSURANCE AGAINST FAILURE

Prepared by M. Richard Maxfield & Associates

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

It is a social, political and economic crime for Utah to stand idly by while increasing numbers (over 40%) of its youth fail to find success in home, school, or the workplace. It is a moral injustice not to act when solutions are available. It is offensive when agencies and organizations do not modify their operation to be compatible with research-based directions and solutions.

When the underfunctioning are added to the misfunctioning, over one-half of the state's youth need more help than they are now getting. More and more youth are failing family life, failing school, and failing the workplace. Very often, these failures take the form of an expanding cycle, repeating themselves with ever increasing numbers.

Over 20 percent of young children now live in poverty six times the rate for those over age 65. One-half of this year's crop of births are forecast to experience one-parent living before age 18. Well over-half will experience latch-key life. In Utah, as in the nation, increasing proportions of youth come into contact with the juvenile court system during their minority. For Utah, the proportion was 44% for those turning age 18 in 1985 (including some traffic and neglect cases).

Destablizing social changes of recent years have affected children's chances for familial, educational, and economic success. No one dares estimate what percent of children do not find success at home. However, those not finding success in school have increased to the point where 40% of Utah students now fit various "hard-to-educate" categories. Failure in school is a well documented link with future behavioral problems and lack of job success. "The need for employees who are broader-based intellectually, even at the entry and bottom level, has gone up tremendously at a time when the education system is essentially failing for the bottom half of our students. ... It's not higher levels of the old-time religion that are required (reading, writing, arithmetic), it's new interpersonal skills, teamwork skills, logic skills, the ability to learn, problem-solving skills, critical thinking skills." Curtis E. Plott, W.S.J. June 21, 1988

The problem now extends beyond the failing individuals and beyond failing families.

The roots of failure and the dynamics of hope have both changed. Dropouts, graduates without adequate basic skills, and those with inadequate work skills make up over fifty percent of those who apply for the workforce. When the underfunctioning are added to the misfunctioning, over one-half of the state's youth need more help than they are now getting.

Lack of academic success, behavioral success, and job success hinder family life success and the cycle repeats itself. The problem is cyclical in nature; therefore, no one in the cycle is free from responsibility. Schools and social agencies can no longer keep up with the problem. Ownership of the problem must be broadened and new solutions developed.

The numbers of youth experiencing undue difficulties have exceeded the point where the problem can be dismissed with either pity or piety. The problem now extends beyond the failing individuals and beyond failing families. The larger question is, "What percent of children must emerge as socially responsible and productive in order for a society to remain safe, peaceful, and operative? What are the economic and social implications for a society that equips less than 60 percent of its members for success?"

Utah, as is the nation, has developed a split personality. Never have so many youth performed so well, and never have so many youth performed so poorly. At the same time more and more students are performing college-level work as part of high school, and more are leaving school with eighth grade skills or less. As a later consequence of that divergence, more and more families are struggling financially, while at the opposite end, the "never-had-it-so-good" group also expands. The social traumas from such a dividing society are starting to be felt; the projected consequences cannot be ignored.

The problem is not an extension of past problems. The roots of failure and the dynamics of hope have both changed. Parenting practices have changed. The family no longer has available many of its traditional supports. Family structures and peer structures have changed dramatically. Drugs and deviant lifestyles, once rare, are now commonplace and are portrayed openly. Media influence rivals teacher influence on youth.

Adolescence is a time of confused messages and expectations. The length of adolescence has increased fourfold in two generations. Children enter puberty earlier and their vocation and marriage later. The benchmarks which used to separate adolescence from adulthood, while once clearly defined, are all but The conditions in which many adolescents find themselves are conducive to mental confusion, moral anarchy, social experimentation, and irrational decision making.

The search began with a review of the latest research literature from fields relating to childhood failure and success, including who can affect it.

The more difficult challenge was to find an approach which could put the research findings into effect on a broad enough front to encompass all youth potentially at risk. absent. Sex roles are confused. Fixed patterns of sexual identity and sexual expectation no longer exist. No common community moral standard prevails. While standards are preached on many subjects, violations are readily accommodated.

The judicial theme of children's rights further confuses youth about which decisions belong to them and at what age. Teenagers are often left dangling in an ever expanding limbo called adolescence with confused paths of exit or "escape," as many youth describe it. Such conditions create mental confusion, moral anarchy, social experimentation, and irrational decision making.

Old solutions seem inadequate for either the individual or the group. A return to the past is not likely, and isolation from "the world" is not a viable option for youth. For the individual child, "Spare the rod and spoil the child" is not a complete solution. For ever larger numbers of children, public schooling no longer paves the road out of poverty nor performs its "melting pot" function.

Due to countervailing forces, families now meet the needs of fewer children, and schools meet the needs of fewer students. "At-risk" youth now exceed the treatment capacities of schools and other social agencies. It is clear that homes, schools, social agencies, and community agents must collectively do something different. Containment and after-the-fact treatment are no longer possible options.

New prevention and early intervention solutions are needed. This conclusion motivated the Youth Enhancement Association (YEA) to undertake the challenge of exploring new solutions to the problems of Utah youth. The search began with a review of the latest research literature from fields relating to childhood failure and success, including who affects it.

The more difficult challenge was to find an approach that could put the research findings into effect on a broad enough front to encompass all youth potentially at risk. To accomplish this within Utah's limited resources, it would have to fit within existing school and social agency missions, tap into and integrate the activities of the numerous agencies interested in at-risk youth, and link prevention with early intervention and treatment if necessary.

The research findings and the unique solution are covered in detail in a sizeable but easy to read report. They are briefly summarized below.

What does the research say about child failure and success?

The YEA report reviews the latest research and groups it into nine chapter topics. Key chapters are summarized below.

Correlates and predictors of misbehavior

The most frequent correlates and predictors of patterned misbehavior of youth cluster around home, school, and peers.

HOME Many research summaries say poor and inconsistent family management practices deserve much of the blame for delinquency of all types. Conflict between family members, more than family status or structure, account for child misbehaviors. Excessively severe and physically threatening discipline, neglect, and child abuse all correlate with misbehavior. Genetic and dietary factors appear to account for some problems.

Early antisocial behavior, often arising from family factors, appears to be the best early predictor of later misbehavior. Stable predictions have been found from age five, but not before. Academic predictors appear later but seem to frequently follow social precursors.

> SCHOOL The school connection to adolescent misbehavior is now firmly established as an independent factor. "At the individual level, academic achievement appears to be a predictor of delinquent behavior that transcends social class and ethnicity" (Hawkins and Weis, p. 11). In one study, students who reported disliking school were five times more likely to be engaged in serious delinquency (Gottfredson, p. 28). School structures and practices correlate with rates of school failure, alienation, dropout, isolation, school misbehavior, and delinquency.

> Lack of school bonding is one of the best early predictors of later misbehavior as are rebelliousness, "normlessness," and resistance to traditional authority. These, in turn, reflect earlier use of incorrect parenting and teaching practices.

> > **PEERS** Peer factors correlate with misbehavior, but are not as independent as home and school factors. When strong bonds are not present with home and school, peers appear to fill the void. For example, "frequent users of marijuana have a greater orientation toward friends than parents" (Jessor, et al. 1980).

Other correlates of misbehavior include lack of self-identity, lack of social bonding, lack of religious or values framework, mobility, propensity for risk taking, low expectations for self, copycat behavior of role models, and attitudes (such as not believing one has any control over one's future).

Causes of Misbehavior

Cause and effect are difficult to prove in correlative studies. However, the accumulating data is now extensive enough that experts are more willing to pin a causal label on some variables. What makes the task difficult is the train of causal or additive links, each caused by yet an earlier factor. The implication for prevention is that the chain can be broken at several links prior to early adolescence. After that, the links get more resistant.

The strongest causal links established have been for family dynamics and parenting practices, particularly the techniques and ingredients of adult-child relationships. These appear far more important than socioeconomic or family status factors.

Success Climates

Both success and failure correlate with the kind of support climates and relationships fostered by adults in a child's life. Relationships between adults and children, characterized as authoritative (in contrast to authoritarian or permissive), area critical determinant of both academic and behavioral success. Missing the mark on strictness, autonomy, monitoring and feedback, warmth associated with control measures, and the two–way nature of the interaction all explain a good measure of child failure.

> School factors similar to home factors, particularly in early and middle grades, appear to be both causal and additive. Social and media factors appear to be more additive or substitutional than root causal. Peer factors appear to be additive except for a group of generally healthy and capable set of teens with a propensity for risk taking. The latter group engage in drugs or sexual activity markedly later than those whose problems arise from root causes.

> Except for the latter group and some kinds of child abuse, root causes are associated with conditions in the child's life which exist or occur over time. Early symptoms often involve some form of acting out and tend to represent "pain control" themes. If the causal conditions are not altered and the associated stress reduced, coping mechanisms begin to emerge which end up as patterned misbehaviors. Rebellion, as an exaggerated form of independence, is one such coping mechanism. Coping can also be associated with or represented by academic difficulties, learned helplessness, withdrawal, or passive submission.

The existence of a syndrome cause rather than separate causes for most categories of patterned misbehaviors offers hope for simplifying prevention efforts.

When strong bonds are not present with home and school, peers are there to fill the void. Good parents, like good teachers, act rather than react. They make "what is right" more important than "who is right."

The effective school supports the home in many subtle ways. An increasingly important finding is the presence of common precursors to most teenage misbehaviors. The existence of a syndrome cause rather than separate causes for most categories of patterned misbehaviors offers hope in simplifying prevention efforts.

Family Related Prevention Clues

The highly successful authoritative (in contrast to authoritarian or permissive) parenting climate demonstrates participatory management and problem solving, clear expectations, interactive communication, role modeling, and mentoring, as well as other child-centered support mechanisms; mutual respect is an underlying value. Therefore, what is right becomes more important than who is right. Good parents, like good teachers, act rather than react.

Prevention evolves around loving, two-way relationships framed within mutually supported standards and expectations. Contributory roles for children and shared responsibilities also help. A degree of autonomy commensurate with maturity and coupled with accountability has also been shown to foster social responsibility. Family cohesiveness, family traditions, monitoring for compliance to family standards, and issue-oriented direction are also associated with prevention. Defensive, reactionary responses, power ploys, and finger pointing between parent and child are particularly harmful, and especially so when they are the most common forms of interaction.

Simple, short-term training of parents has proven effective, particularly teaching the mechanics of discipline. Consistent parental discipline appears to increase children's belief in the moral order. The "alterable curriculum of the home," as one researcher notes, has been shown to have three times the effect that social class has on school success (Walberg, p. 24).

School and social agency prevention clues

It is no surprise that school-related suggestions for preventing the problems of youth outnumber all the rest. General agreement exists that no other public institution can cover the broad array of ingredients needed for success. That school success ingredients parallel the home success ingredients means that good schools can compensate for and neutralize many of the effects of poor parenting. Schools do not have to own the whole problem or take on any duties unrelated to their educational mission.

The development of social responsibility has been shown to be a by-product of the nature of adult–child interactions.

The school-related correlations are clear. What they seem to be saying is that, "most childhood problems will be reflected in school work in some way. Solve a child's school problems and most of their other problems — in spite of their root cause — will be solved." The research literature suggests that other agencies, along with their experts, must be involved in solving some problems.

Simple, but effective, school-home interventions are suggested in the report with applicable instructional approaches. As the report explains, schools do not have to own the whole problem or take on any duties unrelated to their educational mission.

Dr. David Sandberg concludes, "What stands out most [is] the desirability of doing major intervention at the elementary school level." YEA shares his "feeling of bewilderment that the nation [and the state] still does not have a comprehensive intervention system to serve failing, chronic acting-out children" (p. vi).

The development of character and social responsibility

The vast majority of parents feel that values and character development are a function of the public schools. The development of social responsibility has been shown to be a by-product of adult-child interactions. One key ingredient is mutual trust. Fairness and consistency reinforce that trust and the morality behind it. A degree of autonomy or freedom of choice, coupled with accountability for those choices, appears critical to both moral development and the acquisition of many higher order thinking and problem-solving skills. One-on-one mentoring and focused encouragement are also particularly effective.

All of the requested values and character traits for school curriculum describe facets of relationships or ways people relate. These are best taught by being treated that way. Research shows that homes and schools that exemplify and expect this treatment produce children of higher social responsibility as well as higher academic, behavioral, and workplace success.

The report content also covers what does not work in character development, including force, coercion, moralizing, and stand-alone school curricula. The inability to closely and productively relate with significant adults, more than any other factor, describes flawed child development.

The lack of proper development is attributable, more than any other thing, to "parents" power to coerce It reflects parent need, not child need." David Elkind

The unknown cannot be controlled, but it can be explored.

"Vision is a mental journey from the known to the unknown." Hickman and Silva

Child development as a prevention

Someone said that failure is the absence of success. YEA wanted to know if focus on developmental success would achieve prevention of misbehavior. The research literature supports the premise that the variables of success are closely related to the variables of failure. That is, the existence or absence of key variables appears to account for success or failure, respectively.

The inability to closely and productively relate with significant adults, more than any other factor, describes flawed child development. Socialization skills, and especially interpersonal problem–solving skills, indicate this. So do the abilities to empathize, express guilt, and to internalize a clear set of values to guide decision–making and behavior. Experts feel that the traits associated with success need to be linked together and "integrated" for healthy development. Home and school operational climates are critical supports of such integration.

Personal and sexual identity, moral autonomy, and selfrespect and self-esteem are important by-products of developmental relationships. If such development does not take place by the end of puberty, flawed personalities and character disorders result. Warning signs and interventions are included in the report. Development for success takes less time and energy than prevention, and provides far more benefits.

Effective organization literature

Successful corporations have focused on the needs of individual clients, supporting individual workers to maximize their contribution to the company. Because the research literature on child success so closely parallels that philosophy, the effective organization research can apply to school and home operation as well.

Effective organizations have learned how to deal with change and how to empower their employees, individually and collectively. Effective organizations use flexible structures, monitor the internal and external climates, use strategic and adaptive planning, stress process as well as product, integrate rather than segment activities, and foster peer relationships and collegial tearning. More important, they move from imposed-control to self-control mechanisms and from centralized to decentralized management; they use central values and goals in place of directives to guide progress.

Effective school literature

Ingredients for effective schools and classrooms parallel those of healthy development. This means that prevention efforts do not need a separate focus from that of academic development. It also means that intervention for academic success does not differ greatly from intervention for behavioral success.

Six things become clear when viewing the effective school research in concert with other research:

- 1. Academic and behavioral success are more closely related than previously thought.
- 2. Clear expectations, supportive school climates, warm relationships, and respectful treatment between teacher and student (and student to student) are critical for success at school.
- 3. If educators implement all of the ingredients of effective schools and classrooms, most prevention ingredients are available.
- 4. The research on effective schools and classrooms grows faster than its implementation into schools and classrooms. Ways to accelerate its implementation must be found.
- 5. In prevention efforts, educators need not be required to take on any burden over and above school success for each child.
- 6. Schools, homes, social agencies, and organized community resources must jointly accept responsibility for and focus on individual student success in school.

Summary Points From the Literature

- 1. The latest research clearly indicates that misbehavior trends of youth can be reversed. Except for inhibiting genetic or medical problems, essentially all children can be helped to succeed behaviorally as well as academically.
- 2. Research on misbehavior, effective homes, effective schools, effective organizations, and child growth and development all have a surprisingly high number of common ingredients to use in building a program of youth success.
- 3. The right ingredients in the school can prevent most future misbehavior. The process of developing responsible children is directly related to producing success in school.
- 4. Most patterned misbehaviors of teenagers have common root causes. These can be alleviated or compensated for by schools and other agencies if efforts begin in the early grades.
- 5. "Lack of success at school" is the most observable early warning sign of potential failure. Intervening in the name of school success avoids the dangers of labeling.
- 6. The most successful parents and the most effective teachers focus on and frequently monitor the progress of individual children.
- 7. Supportive climates, clear expectations, and mutually respectful relationships help people do their best, including teachers and students.
- 8. Teachers need ready access to and support from a variety of experts to deal with specific problems of children. This works best when community agencies and their experts are willing to integrate their efforts with those of home and school.

Proposed Solution Strategy

Prevention and intervention must take place in the formative years. During those years, the home and school are the key socializing agencies. It makes sense to support them along the lines of the latest research. At the same time, since parents, teachers, and peers are the key socializing agents, it makes sense to arm them, as well as the child, with the latest techniques of developmental success.

Utah's goal is not to contain bad behavior, but to prevent it, and failing that, to correct it.

The beginning point and ending point of preventing patterned misbehavior focuses on success at school. The YEA report outlines a solution approach to youth problems in Utah. It includes a guiding philosophy and directional goal as a foundation upon which the state can build to get everyone on the same wavelength. YEA also fashioned research findings into a field approach strategy which supports and integrates the activities of home, school, social agencies, and other community resources. It takes advantage of Utah's unique "community spirit and commitment to youth."

The strategy begins with helping schools use the success ingredients identified by the research compatible with the effective school and prevention versions of those same ingredients. That step alone will prevent most future behavior problems.

When residual problems remain, experts are brought in from auxiliary support agencies. Residual problems at school are addressed through a sequence of interventions beginning with the home and including social, clinical, medical, and judicial expertise as needed. Extended supports from neighborhood, church, and extended family are provided by the model.

The strategy presumes limited program resources and is designed to operate within existing resources if necessary. Resources will be shuffled from treatment to prevention as results begin to magnify. In-service training should greatly facilitate and speed up implementation. Schools and other agencies can get started by using parts of this report. Maximum effectiveness will require further training.

The report concludes, as its title implies, that "Success Insurance for Youth" and "failure insurance for home and school" are now feasible and reasonably priced. New directions and a willingness to change, more than money, characterize the cost of the premium. The face value of the policy for the individual and for society are much higher than current offerings. Neither those charged with the the success of youth, nor those who would benefit thereby, can escape the responsibility of examining the benefits offered through this report and responding accordingly. The YEA report includes specific recommendations for individual and joint institutional action. Suggestions are included for the Governor's office, the legislature, state and local school boards, social service agencies, juvenile justice agencies, law enforcement, and community.

The research is clear. Successful people operate as moral agents guided by an internalized set of values denoting social responsibility. They believe they have control over their actions including those affecting other people, and they accept responsibility and accountability for such actions. YEA believes it makes sense to adopt these premises and the ingredients that produce them as part of a guiding philosophy for Utah agencies interested in the behavior of youth.

> The report also includes suggestions for individual parents, teachers, and other professionals. Limited resources prevented the report from including a detailed implementation plan. However, enough direction is included to get individuals and groups started. The report includes a major bibliography to help with the task.

General recommendations for those receiving this executive summary

- 1. Study the full report, including the recommendations which apply to you or your organization.
- 2. Discuss the report contents and recommendations within your organization.
- Establish dialogue with companion organizations and agencies.
- Formally endorse the report, including the guiding philosophy and solution strategy. Then outline a beginning plan for your organization including links with related organizations.

5. Scrutinize existing policies, goals, and priorities for compatibility with the solution strategy model and the latest research, and make the necessary revisions.

The Governor's Office, the Governor's Board of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, and the Youth Enhancement Association wish you well in your efforts and stand ready to offer their assistance.

Any problem which inhibits school success is worth keeping track of until solved.

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