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CRIME PREVENTION REVIEW

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A Companionship Approach to Delinquency Prevention

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INTRODUCTION

The aim of this project was to test the efficacy of a theoretically powerful intervention to modify or stop development of anti-social life styles. Our hoped-for instrument of change was to create an enduring relationship between a tenth grade high school student and a seven-through-eleven year old grade school pupil. We planned to do everything in our power to aid in the development of a relationship which would last at least for the two and one-half years the counselor remained in high school and, hopefully, would be life-long.

This article discusses the initial three-year pilot project which began in April of 1973 at the North Area Mental Health Center in Sacramento county, with a description of how the program has evolved to the present. The design of the project sprang principally from three major sources:

- 1. The observation that youngsters from economically poor areas with a high concentration of minority groups were seldom referred to our mental health clinics, and when they were referred, were even more rarely engaged in traditional psychotherapeutic intervention. There were many factors causing this. The individuals often came from disrupted homes with single parents whose overwhelming responsibilities made coming to a mental health clinic a low priority in their concerns. Cultural differences between a predominantly white middle-class staff and a black lower-class community caused staff rejection of some of these apparently callous children and hindered staff's ability to maintain commitment. In addition, many of these children had been left or abandoned by parental figures and were very hesitant to form a close relationship with a psychotherapist who might not be able to devote much time to an individual youngster.
- 2. L. N. Robins, in her book, *Deviant Children Grown Up*,¹ in a thirty year follow-up of over 500 children seen previously in a child guidance clinic,

¹ Robins, L. N. Deviant Children Grown Up. 1966, Williams Wilkins Co., Baltimore, Reprint, 1974. Robert E. Krieger Co., New York, NY.

was able to factor out a set of behavioral characteristics which were predictive of development of an anti-social personality. She also noted that these people, when interviewed as adults, seldom, if ever, credited a mental health professional with having been responsible for helping them produce change in their lives. When changes were made, the individuals given credit were people who stuck with them through many years, such as spouses or clergy. Robins found where adequate histories were obtained that anti-social personality disorders often had an onset before age 12. The factors which were predictive of anti-social personality were theft, incorrigibility, truancy, running away overnight, bad associates, staying out late, physical aggression particularly towards individuals unknown to them, impulsivity, recklessness and irresponsibility, slovenly appearance, enuresis, lack of guilt, pathological lying, and homosexual activity. No one factor was predictive of anti-social personality, but individuals with six to seven of these factors as children were diagnosed as having anti-social reactions as adults in twenty-five percent of the cases and as having some serious psychiatric disability in sixtyseven percent of cases. Those with ten or more were diagnosed as having serious psychiatric disturbance in ninety-five percent of cases. We felt that in our project, by using Robins' symptom list to select participants, we were reasonably assured that we could select a highly-at-risk group.

3. The third major source of input for the development of the project came from c nical observations made while working with groups of high school students in lower socio-economic communities. There are numerous students who are bored with school and who see little practical advantage in pursuing academics. Many take drugs, like alcohol or marijuana, during the school day to make it pass more quickly. They are often in trouble with school authorities and many see little hope of finding direction or meaning in their lives. In contrast to negative characteristics, it was also noted that frequently these individuals had a great deal of energy and altruistic concern for people like themselves. It made them feel important to be role models for younger students. This was one of the few ways many of them could be motivated.

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The concept of pairing an older, more mature individual with a younger one to produce change in both individuals is not a new one. Some of the early studies reported negative findings with controls and participants showing similar gains. This was true in the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study in which 650 pre-adolescent boys were matched into pairs, half assigned counselors, and were then divided into participating and control groups.² In this study, the frequency and length of the companionships were very inconsistent and poorly regulated. Some of the pairs met as little as once a month. In this large study no attempt was made to look for subgroupings which might have demonstrated the efficacy of the model. When the McCords re-analyzed the data on 24 matched pairs, they discovered that

² Paolitto, D. The Effect of Cross-Age Tutoring on Adolescence: An Inquiry into Theoretical Assumptions. Review of Educational Research, Spring, 1976, Vol. 46, No. 2, pp. 215-237.

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improvement was significantly associated with frequency of contact, age of the boys, and the boys' willingness to disclose personal material.³ They felt the program would have had a greater chance of success had a greater number of boys been seen at least once a week and had treatment been started in the first decade of their lives.

Gerald Goodman, in his book Companionship Therapy, advocates the need for continued research of this treatment modality with specific groups and populations.⁴ In studying mildly to moderately disturbed school-age boys paired with college-age counselors, he found little difference derived from adjective checklists and problem lists completed by parents over a six-month time frame when compared with matched control groups. His research design allowed the formation of subgroups which could be broken out of the main population. He found that subgroupings of both black youngsters and more seriously disturbed youngsters had outcomes significantly better than controls, particularly when paired with more outgoing counselors. Careful study of outcome data indicated that his younger counselors had significantly better success than older counselors. His primary focus was to develop research methodology such that the therapeutic tool of structured companionship could be rationally evaluated in a variety of specific situations with different populations. He explored in depth the use of sociometric selection procedures, including the Group Assessment of Interpersonal Traits (GAIT), a group self-disclosure selection system to pick paraprofessional counselors with therapeutic talent. In the supervision areas, he developed visit reporting procedures susceptible to quantification. In the evaluation area, he developed the use of the Gough Adjective Checklist for description of children by their parents, as well as renaming the scales more appropriately for descriptions of children. Other instruments developed and quantified included counselor descriptions of change in their counselee, a retrospective form for parents and a story-telling device similar to a sentence completion test to get at the quality of the relationship from the younger person's point of view. He did one year follow-up on all of his counselees and found that positive changes tended to persist.

Hamburg and Varenhorst report a program in Palo Alto, California in which over 200 junior high and high school students were trained in a counseling curriculum stressing human relations training and self-understanding. The major focus of this program was on the older counselor group although they did match them with younger students, and supervised peer companionships. Hamburg was impressed by the sense of alienation in this predominantly white middle-class group. Her adolescents were remarkably consistent in persevering and completing the program.⁵ In contrast, Tim Dupree, working with a similar program in a predominantly black lower socio-economic area of San Francisco, found his population was more involved in making choices based on a need for status. He felt his program had to compete successfully with hustling on the street to keep the youngsters involved. This program was highly activity-oriented, taking the participants

^{*} Lippitt, P. Children Can Teach Other Children. The Instructor, May, 1969, pp. 41 & 99.

Goodman, G. Companionship Therapy. Jossey-Bass Inc., Publishers, San Francisco, CA., 1972.
Hamburg, B. and Varenhorst, B. Peer Counseling in the Secondary Schools: A Community Mental Health Project For Youth. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, July, 1972, Vol. 42, No. 4, pp. 566-581

on many outings that they would ordinarily have had to finance through obtaining money illegally.6

Allan Breed, former Director of the California Youth Authority, forecasts that with declining populations, youth crime as a whole will be down.⁷ However, he notes that serious crimes which are associated with racism, poverty and family disruption in the inner city will continue to be the most pressing problem. He feels that only well-conceptualized prevention programs that relate to normal growth and development offer hope of reversing these trends.

In the educational literature, almost every article reports success that discusses programs in which older children help younger children.⁸ They also emphasize the increases in self-esteem in the older groups. No references were available, however, to indicate if this increased self-esteem is permanent. The companionships were of short duration, generally for a school semester. The self-esteem gains are reported as a happy incidental finding with emphasis on academic progress. Even though most of the educational reports are without benefit of controlled studies and careful research methodology, the great number reporting good outcomes has led schools to be receptive to this approach. Poalitto advocates a more structured curriculum to train counselors and inclusion of the curriculum as part of the central educational effort in the high school.⁹

SELECTION METHODOLOGY

The older group was selected on the basis of being male and in the tenth grade in the high school closest to the mental health clinic. We decided to select tenth graders because we wanted the relationships to last as long as possible and using tenth graders gave us at least two and a half high school years before the counselor might be leaving the neighborhood. We used two major criteria for selection of these tenth graders:

- 1. Truancy-We asked the sophomore counselor to supply us with the names of all tenth graders who had been absent from school more than twenty times during the first semester of the school year. Notices were sent describing the job, mentioning that if selected they could be paid a minimum wage for eight hours of work per week, and briefly describing the program. A meeting was held during the last school hour. Of the approximately sixty youngsters identified, fifty attended the initial meeting. At the initial meeting, the program was explained, including the research design and the reasons for it. Then names were taken of youngsters interested in participating in the selection process. A total of forty students filled out the parent permission slips.
- 2. Interpersonal skill-We used a group selection procedure called the Group Assessment of Interpersonal Traits (GAIT).¹⁰ This requires one

¹⁰ Goodman, G. Companionship Therapy, Jossey-Bass Inc., Publishers, San Francisco, CA, 1972.

Proceedings Peer Counseling Work-Shop, University of California Davis, June, 1974 (Unpublished).
Breed, A. F. "Prevention: Rhetoric or Reality". Crime Prevention Review, Vol. 3, No. 4, July, 1976.
McWilliams, S. A. ard Finkel, N. J. High School Students as Mental Health Aides in the Elementary School Setting. Journal of Consultation and Clinical Psychology 1973, Vol. 40, No. 1, pp. 39-42. Also, Naidermyer, F. C. and Ellix, P. Remedial Reading Instruction by Trained Pupil Tutors. The Elementary School Journal, April, 1971.
Paolitto, D. The Effect of Cross-Age Tutoring on Adolescence: An Inquiry into Theoretical Assumptions. Review of Educational Research, Spring, 1976, Vol. 46, No. 2, pp. 215-237.
Goodman, G. Camanaionzhin, Therany, Deservibas, Inc. Publishers, San Francisco, CA, 1979.

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individual to make a personal statement about another individual, for the second individual to respond, and for the pair to engage in conversation concerning the statement for a five-minute period. The respondent then becomes the discloser and so it proceeds around the circle. Then everyone in the group rates everyone else on a seven-point scale on the dimensions of understanding, openness and accepting-warm. The sum of these three dimensions was the Therapeutic Talent Score.

The two project directors also used the same rating scale. These individuals were then rank ordered on the basis of the average of the group rating and the rating of the two project directors. The names of the top sixteen scorers were put in a hat and selected in a blind fashion. The eight selected became the experimental group and the eight not selected became the controls. Using this procedure to select the counselors helped us a great deal in the course of the project in giving the message to the counselors that they had a great deal to do with how the project functioned. All of the counselors and counselees in this initial group were males. It was decided to use males in the initial research design because of the smallness of the population and because our clinical experience in the mental health clinic was that the males were in more behavioral trouble. Female pairs were added subsequently to the project but will not be included in this report.

We found selecting the younger group was much more difficult and time consuming than the selection of the older group. The criteria for selection were Robins' factors. It was rather naively assumed that we could go to one or two elementary schools, talk with principals and teachers, ask them for children in their classes who might fit these criteria and have them be referred from the school. We quickly discovered that this was not the case; teachers were very concerned about labeling youngsters. They were apparently afraid to communicate with parents regarding difficulties that children were having. We subsequently found that of the few referrals we did get from the schools, most were inappropriate. The initial group of counselees was obtained using multiple agency referrals. Agencies working in the Del Paso Heights area, including juvenile probation, Sacramento Police Force Youth Division, Children's Protective Services, Dependent Neglect Division of the welfare department, church youth groups, attendance officers from the county office of education and many others were contacted. After we carefully explained the purposes and the scope of the program, each was asked to give us the name of a child and to contact the family to let them know that we would be calling. Each family was called and a preliminary home visit was made. During the visit, the entire project was discussed with the family, often with the youngster present. It was made clear that we would have a comparison group and that we were looking for the most seriously in-need children in the community. In over fifty home visits, we were able to find only sixteen who met our standard of having six or more of the predictive factors. We selected eight on a blind basis to be in the experimental group and the remaining eight were in the control group. Unfortunately, between the time we did the interviews and the time that the counselors and counselees were brought together, three of the sixteen moved to another neighborhood and one family decided not to participate in the project. Four youngsters were moved from the control to the experimental group, leaving us with only four controls.

The counselors and counselees were matched on the basis of physical proximity of their homes and racial characteristics. Six of our eight counselees were black and were matched with black counselors. Two were white and were matched with white counselors. This was done because we wished to obtain a minimal amount of difficulty for the counselees in identifying with their counselors. The control groups were not paired and were not contacted in any way except for periodic testing and interviewing.

DESCRIPTION OF THE DEL PASO HEIGHTS AREA

The Del Paso Heights area served as the recruiting ground for the original group of counselors and counselees in the pilot peer counseling project. Del Paso Heights is a suburban ghetto. The area lacks sidewalks and sewers; many of the homes are without foundations and in poor repair. In the 1970 census, the population was 57% black as the largest single ethnic group. The caucasian population tends to be older people living on limited income. In the 1975 special census, the area ranked eighth out of 150 census tracts in Sacramento county in percentage of individuals under the age 18 residing there. The percentage was 40.9%. It is a very poor area, and a designated poverty area with a median income of \$4,966. The majority of families receive assistance through the Aid for Dependent Children Program. In the last five years, there has been a progressive move toward more organization in what continues to be a disorganized community. In 1971, the local welfare office was the only newly constructed facility. In 1977, this has been joined by a new public library, a new medical clinic, new apartment houses and a youth community center which is about to become a reality. This reorganization has come about mainly through increased political activity of the black population. It remains an area with a high crime rate and serious unemployment.

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

The project staff defined their role as being responsible for doing everything possible to keep the counselor and counselee together for the two and a half years that the counselor remained in high school. Various strategies were used to accomplish this. A training program prior to the start of the interaction emphasized group support and training primarily around the issue of developing trust. This included special exercises designed to help individuals recognize and be tolerant of individual differences between people, techniques of active listening were taught, and methods of relating these training experiences to their actual experiences on the streets were discussed. The initial training program lasted for two weeks with two hours per day, four days per week. When the counselors made contact with their counseles and their relationship began, weekly supervision was provided on a group basis two hours a day once a week and individually as needed. The high school youngster was paid \$1.60 per hour for a minimum of four, maximum of eight hours per week of contact with the younger pupil. They were also, through an arrangement with the school, given five units of work

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study credit per semester toward graduation. Our objective was to build elements which would make being a peer counselor a high status, highly desirable occupation. In the course of the program, we discovered that a great deal more was needed. We found that the counseling program competed with other demands on the student counselor's time such as participating in athletic events, or the need to obtain more money and the need for recognition from classmates of both sexes. With the help of consultation from other similar programs, particularly in the San Francisco Bay area, we subsequently began such things as trips, outings to ball games, rock concerts, community functions, as well as obtaining embroidered jackets to emphasize group identity, having the counselors interviewed on local TV shows, and including senior counselors in providing training and receiving consultation fees from other programs.

Our biggest clinical concern was that the younger boys would be let down by the counselors, would be disappointed and hurt rather than helped. We subsequently initiated a system for field supervision whereby a community mental health worker would meet with the counselor and the counselee on a frequent activity oriented basis to make sure the relationships were continuing. Transportation in the form of bicycles was provided for counselors who had valid problems in getting to meet their counselees.

In this initial pilot project, very little attention was paid to the parents of the counselees. They were invited to parties on about a once-per-sixmonths basis and invited to graduation and awara ceremonies. Each family was provided with a fact sheet describing the project and describing what could be expected from the counselor. This emphasized that they were not professionals and would need help and encouragement from parents. Even though the fact sheet gave phone numbers and urged them to call if there were any difficulties, we never received calls. This does not mean there were no difficulties. There were many and when they occurred, the project directors would visit the families and try to remedy the situation.

DATA COLLECTION

Most of our data for the younger group came from parents and school. An initial parent interview including a developmental and family history was obtained from each parent. The criteria checklist was given at the beginning and at the end of the project. Gough's Adjective Checklist was used in two different ways. The parents were asked to describe their child using the adjective checklist as they actually saw him and again as they ideally would like him to be. Changes in the adjective checklist were evaluated both for pre- and post-differences in description and also to see if there was a narrowing of the difference between the actual description and the ideal between the beginning and the end of the project. School performance was assessed by grades, attendance and principals' comments. In terms of the long-range goal of the project, all of this information is preliminary to an assessment of function in adult years.

For the older group, a structured interview was done which stressed relations with teachers and the school; arrests and contacts with legal agencies; drug usage; outside interests and dating behavior. The interview was given prior to the start of the project and three years later at the termination of the pilot project. Psychological testing was done, including self-description using the Gough's Adjective Checklist, the Social Reaction Inventory, a scale test which measures internal orientation vs. external orientation. The test essentially measures how much an individual believes that what happens to him is a result of internal self-initiation vs. external events and forces. The High School Index of Adjustments and Values is a measure of how an individual assesses his worth. School performance, including grades and absences, was assessed on a yearly basis from the beginning through the end of the project.

RESULTS

Four of the eight counselors stayed in the project for the entire two and one half year duration of the pilot project. All four graduated from high school and went on to college. None of them became involved with law enforcement or the justice system. All of the counselors who dropped out did so between three and six months into the program. Only one of the drop-outs graduated from high school but none became involved with the law. The only personality test which showed significant changes was the Social Reaction Inventory in which the four counselors moved to a more "internal" orientation, which means they changed their thinking in the direction of feeling what happened to them was a result of their own efforts rather than uncontrollable outside influences. Interviews with the counselors at the end of the pilot project indicated they were highly involved in a variety of activities. Two were serving on the Youth Advisory Board of the Del Paso Heights California Youth Authority Project. All maintained an active interest in church and other community groups and were active in athletics. All felt the project had been very helpful to them through their high school years. The following are direct quotes from each of the counselors:

- G.T.: "It's the only reason I'm not in jail. I cut down on things when he's around; need to set a good example."
- R.E.: "It got me involved with people from different backgrounds. Want to go into an area where I can help people.
- J.T.: "It helped me to learn to share and get closer to people. I couldn't do that before."
- C.D.: "It was very important in helping plan my future. I want to work with people."

In contrast, of the six controls we were able to find, three years later, two were in penal institutions and one had just finished serving time. One was in the California Youth Authority for repeated robbery convictions. One was in the county jail for armed robbery and assault, second offense. Another had just been released from juvenile hall after a forceable rape conviction. The other three had no contact with the law. Three of eight graduated from high school, none were going on to college. The Social Reaction Inventory showed movement toward an external orientation with them having little control over their environment.

Interviews with the control indicated a great decrease in their social and community contacts as they proceeded through high school. None of them

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were active in community organizations. Even the ones who had been involved with athletics had given these activities up. None expressed any positive feelings about the peer project.

The results for the younger group were not so clear. Those who were in the program for two and a half years made many changes in the behaviors which got them selected. As a group, they went from an average of six negative characteristics as rated at the start to 2.25 at the end of the project. The drop outs and controls also made positive changes but they were not so great. They went from an average 6.0 negative behavior to an average of 4.0. The size of the groups were much too small for the figures to be more than indicative. School data was incomplete and what little we had showed no difference between groups. According to the parents, none of the children were in trouble with the juvenile authorities from either group. The most interesting finding was on the parental adjective checklist descriptions. Although the raw scores were pretty much the same for both groups, the differences between how the parents actually described their children and how they would ideally like them to be narrowed significantly for the ones in the project and not at all for the controls and dropouts. It appeared that the parents "liked" them better. They were coming closer to parental expectations.

Theft was one of the criteria for acceptance of the younger individual into the project. This is also one of the traits which is most likely to get a youngster involved with the law. Seven out of eight of the experimentals had theft listed initially as a major parental concern. However, even though the experimentals made many more positive changes in the initial criteria as the controls, theft still was a trait listed by five of eight of their parents on their interview. In all likelihood, the youngsters in the project were still stealing things. None of the children in either group were arrested or made court wards during the project. This is not particularly significant as the oldest had just turned thirteen at the end of the project. In Sacramento, it is still somewhat unusual for a child to become a court ward prior to age thirteen. In terms of arrests, we really have no firm data to indicate differences between groups.

CONCLUSION

Our most surprising finding was that on interview at the end of the project, three out of six controls were in serious trouble with the law.

This was true of none of the experimentals or the drop-outs. This does not appear to be due to a sampling error in that at the times of the initial interview the experimental and drop-out groups had had more arrests and contact with the police than the controls. It is possible that they were lying to us initially. While this is a possibility, it should be true for both groups and does not explain the changes in the time between the tenth and twelfth grades for the controls. In addition, in Sacramento county, most youngsters become wards of the court with repeated offenses. We checked with the probation department at the beginning of the project. There was only one court ward in our entire older group and he informed us himself during the course of the initial interview. Why don't these young men report more trouble with the legal system at a younger age, particularly those who become seriously involved with the law? I suspect from interviews and informal discussion with some of them that they were all involved in minor crimes of some sort prior to high school which they did not report to us and for which they were not apprehended. With the high school years, a need for money and the lack of involvement with a viable social restraint probably swung the balance for three of them.

All four who remained in the project also remained in school. Their grades deteriorated like those who dropped out but they managed to graduate. In reviewing the interviews and the psychological test data, it appears they have become more accessible to input from other people and more self-motivated. On the ACL's this is not seen on the scaled scores as much as on the individual adjectives. They all checked "affected" (meaning to them affected by other people). This word was not checked by any of the controls. Similarly, they all checked emotional and mild, which were not seen by the controls as applying to them. They also all checked the words "industrious", "interests wide" and "reliable", which are not descriptions used by controls. The Social Reaction Inventory form supports the thesis that, in fact, the experimentals were becoming a somewhat different group of individuals than the controls. The movement is markedly toward the conscious conception that what happens to them is a function of what they do themselves. This last factor appears to be the reason they all elected to finish high school and pursue further academic input. They had some of the same powerful pushes toward quitting as the school drop-outs in the other groups but the decision swung the other way.

Helping the counselors establish long term goals was an important part of the project. It would appear that this is the objective that has been most nearly met for the experimental group. During the course of the project, the process of identification with project leaders was illustrated by the many personal questions asked by the experimental group. These questions were usually directed at educational background and financial position. The underlying question appeared to be: Is the effort worth it? A positive answer must have been found by this group, at least in the short run as is illustrated by all of them finishing high school and looking forward to continuing training and education. The attitude in the other groups is very different. It is best characterized by perplexity, lethargy and depression with a very few individual exceptions.

In examining all of this data, it seems at least possible that the successful counselors were a self-selected subgrouping who had certain inherent personality characteristics which led to their success. They were able to utilize the support of the staff and the project while the drop-out group was not. The ACL, the SRI and the HSIAV all show the experimentals differing initially from the drop-outs.

The ways in which the successful counselors were different initially is important to identify to aid in selecting successful groups. Three out of four of the successful counselors came from single parent families. All of the drop-outs lived with both parents. We have speculated that the experience of partial emancipation from family allowed for new strong alliances and contributed to success in the program. The initial interviews demonstrated

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very little difference between any of the groups. School grade point averages showed the drop-out group as somewhat lower than the experimental group although all were low. It is possible that a certain minimum grade point average is necessary for success but the minimum does not need to be very high.

The criteria checklists do tell us the parents of the young children in the project feel they have changed positively. In future studies, a direct test of self-esteem should be used with the younger population.

Although it was not reported in the results section, we had some of the younger group do the "draw a person test" at the beginning and at intervals in the course of the project. The pictures demonstrated some remarkable positive changes in body image. This test would also be useful in future studies.

Future studies may show the positive trends seen in this younger group continuing. Will the close relationship in the eight pairs persist? Will this experience be important? The data indicates something positive happened. It will be very important to refine this experimental design, particularly for the younger groups. We need better school data and better ways of getting ongoing sociometric data like arrests and changes in family constellation. Keeping a usable control group is crucial yet very difficult both from an administrative and a humanitarian point of view. All of these things will need to be done as a prerequisite to extending such a project to other locations. The technique has promise, but it will take resources and commitment to refine the research methodology to tell if it really *works* in the long run for the younger population.

Current Status of the North Sacramento Community Peer Project

The above data was gathered as a result of the pilot project which was funded by the California State Department of Health from 1972 through 1975. The program now serves approximately sixty youth, two thirds male and one third female, and is operated by the North Area Community Mental Health Center, staffed and administrated by the University of California, Davis. Staffing consists of a full-time Director (a psychiatric technician), two $\frac{3}{3}$ -time community mental health workers recruited from the Del Paso Heights a ea and trained in the mental health center, a $\frac{1}{3}$ -time social worker and a $\frac{1}{10}$ -time psychiatric consultant. The research component is no longer as extensive because of lack of staff and funding.

In the last graduating counselors group, seven out of ten went on to college. The training program has expanded to a thirty-six hour course in human relations taught over a six-week period at the local high school. Credit is given to all those sophomores taking the course whether or not they are selected as counselors. In the last training session, forty two students completed the curriculum.

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