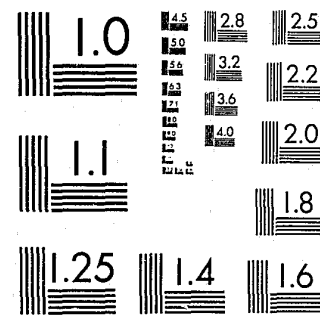National Criminal Justice Reference Service

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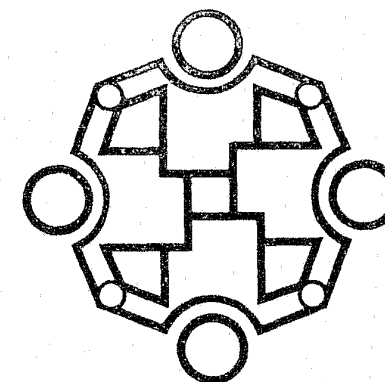United States Department of Justice
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Reports of the National Juvenile Justice Assessment Centers

The Prevention of Serious Delinquency: What to Do?

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Reports of the National Juvenile Justice Assessment Centers

The Prevention of Serious Delinquency: What to Do?

by

Joseph G. Weis

John Sederstrom

December 1981

FOREWORD

The Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974 and its Amendments of
1977 and 1980 mandated the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention to assume
leadership in planning for delinquency prevention. Recognizing prior difficulties in
conceptualizing and developing effective prevention approaches, the Act also mandated a
systematic gathering and assessment of data on the causes, prevention, and treatment of
juvenile delinquency to serve as a foundation for planning prevention policies and programs.
To fulfill these mandates, the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency
Prevention within the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention established the
Assessment Centers Program.

Three topically oriented centers were organized to assess: 1) delinquent behavior and its
prevention (Center for Law and Justice, University of Washington); 2) alternatives to justice
system processing (School of Social Services Administration, University of Chicago); and 3)
the formal juvenile justice system (American Justice Institute, Sacramento).

The present monograph is a product of the National Center for the Assessment of
Delinquent Behavior and Its Prevention. The Prevention of Serious Delinquency: What to Do?
addresses a concern of major importance: the serious juvenile criminal. Both the causes of
this problem and promising strategies for its prevention are presented.

The work of the Assessment Centers attempts to clarify an area clouded with opinion,
varying and often conflicting definitions, and poorly conducted research. I encourage those
interested in the field of prevention to make use of these reports and papers and to develop
their own understanding.

James C. Howell, Acting Director
National Institute for Juvenile Justice
and Delinquency Prevention

PREFACE

This paper was developed at the National Center for the Assessment of Delinquent Behavior and Its Prevention, one of the three topical centers of the Assessment Centers Program described in the foreword. Located within the Center for Law and Justice at the University of Washington, the National Center was established in July of 1977. Sharing the joint responsibility for gathering, assessing, and preparing for dissemination of literature and data on all aspects of juvenile delinquency and the juvenile justice system, the Center focuses on theories and causes of delinquent or antisocial behavior and on programs designed to prevent such behaviors before youths become involved with the juvenile justice process.

In developing a conceptual framework for the assessment task, the staff has adopted a multicausal approach to delinquent behavior which represents expertise in several disciplines, traces theory, prevention practices and programs, and program evaluations in the areas of family, peers, schools, and employment. Consequently, the Center has prepared reports on the family and juvenile delinquency, an assessment of school-based prevention program evaluations, a paper on learning problems and delinquency, and one on the relationship between employment and youth crime. Other topics include the role of art in delinquency prevention, a review and analysis of juvenile delinquency prevention experiments, a comparison of involvement in delinquent behavior and status offenses, alternative education as an antidote to delinquency involvement, and the link between religion and delinquent behavior. The results of a survey of promising or innovative prevention programs have informed much of the Center's work and also produced papers on the theory and practice exhibited in such programs and on the ideological views of program administrators. The present volume, The Prevention of Serious Delinquency: What to Do? focuses on a topic of major social concern, those youths involved in serious and/or violent criminal activity. To place this problem in necessary perspective a careful review of the causes and theories of such behavior has been undertaken. This review explores the characteristics of serious juvenile crime and offenders and considers the prediction of continued future involvement in such acts. From this foundation a set of theoretically based intervention strategies is developed.

The intention of the National Center for the Assessment of Delinquent Behavior and Its Prevention is that its reports and papers will help practitioners, researchers, policymakers, and the public in establishing a theoretically sound framework for the understanding of delinquent or antisocial behavior and in making sound decisions on preventive measures.

Joseph G. Weis
Director
Associate Professor, Sociology

iv

TABLE OF CONTENTS

v

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

A large proportion of serious property and violent crime is committed by juveniles. It is also known that a small percentage of all juvenile offenders account for a majority of serious offenses. The arrest records of these individuals are indicative of only a small part of their total delinquent activity. While it is commonly believed that delinquents specialize in particular offenses -- for example, violence -- empirical evidence does not support this. The evidence suggests that the most useful distinction is between serious and less serious offenders. Coupled with this knowledge is the fact that techniques normally used to predict individual delinquent and other dangerous behaviors are not adequate to justify corrective interventions concentrating on "high-risk" individuals. Therefore, the prevention of serious juvenile crime must be placed within the context of what we know about prevention in general and the correlates and causes of delinquent behavior.

Historically, the favored societal reaction to juvenile delinquency has not been prevention but control or correction in an identified group of juvenile criminals or predelinquents within the juvenile justice system. Since there has been little evidence that such an approach has been effective there has been a shift in philosophy in the 1960's and 1970's to a system of legal control of serious juvenile criminals and community service for prevention. But techniques of prevention based on theoretically and empirically sound criteria have been missing. Since 1977 the National Center for the Assessment of Delinquent Behavior and Its Prevention has been assessing literature and data on causes and theories of delinquency and on promising strategies of prevention. From this effort it seems clear that the most powerful theory is an integrated model derived from social control and cultural deviance theories. Social processes which prevent delinquency occur in social institutions (family, school, peer group, community) in the course of activities directed essentially toward positive youth development. Preclusive and corrective prevention must be focused on those institutions and applied at appropriate points in the social developmental process.

Interventions with individual serious delinquents have limited value for remediation, since serious offenders, including offending groups such as gangs, and serious offenses are concentrated in particular neighborhoods within cities and urban areas. These high-risk communities tend to exhibit weakened institutions of socialization; therefore, those social processes which can prevent delinquency are less effective. Intervention into serious delinquency which includes but is not limited to violent crime, should focus on organizational change within the major socializing institutions, and given the importance of the high-risk neighborhood for serious delinquency, special emphasis must be place on community-based strategies.

The NCADBIP assessment activity has identified interventions which show promise for delinquency prevention in both general and high-risk populations, with certain programs of special relevance for the latter. Among those discussed are community organization, youth development projects, community committees (based on the long-standing Chicago Area Project), community improvement projects, parenting training, community crisis intervention services, surrogate families, personalized education, alternative schools, peer leadership groups, gang crisis intervention, and so on. The paper concludes with a number of recommendations regarding what to do about the prevention of serious delinquency.

INTRODUCTION

If we wish to reduce delinquency, we must radically change our thinking about it. We must think of its causes more in terms of the community and less in terms of the individual. We must plan our programs with emphasis upon social rather than upon individual factors in delinquency. We must reaffirm our faith in prevention, which is so much easier, cheaper, and more effective than cure, and which begins with the home, the play group, the local school, the church, and the neighborhood.

Ernest W. Burgess

These observations about juvenile delinquency were developed 50 years ago by sociologists at the University of Chicago to understand and ameliorate the apparently growing and more serious problem of youth crime in Chicago in the 1920's and 1930's. As an approach to "doing something about delinquency," these ideas may be more valid and applicable today than ever before.

Juvenile delinquency is now a more pervasive and more serious national social problem, and past efforts of the juvenile justice system to control it have generally been ineffective. Juveniles now account for almost one-half of all arrests for the serious property and violent index crimes of the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports (UCR's). The increase in the arrest rate for adults during the 1970's was surpassed by the increase in the juvenile arrest rate (Weis and Henney, 1980), while the arrest rate for juveniles has remained more than 50 percent greater than that for adults. The crimes of youth are more often committed in groups, with members of gangs and other law violating groups committing more than their share of serious offenses, particularly violence. And delinquent gangs are appearing in smaller cities and towns, and are becoming more dangerous in their more regular use of lethal weapons (Miller, 1981). There is widespread public fear of becoming a crime victim, particularly of a personal crime. More than two-thirds of adults in the U.S. worry about becoming the victim of a typical juvenile offense -- residential burglary (Weis and Henney, 1979). The specter of criminal violence has very recently become a more salient public and criminal justice concern, which has been legitimated by popular journalistic accounts (Silberman, 1978), by recent pronouncements of the Attorney General which establish the control of violent crime as a top priority of the Reagan administration, and by the more recent UCR's which show that during 1980 there was a 10 percent increase in the number of index crimes reported to the police, with violent crime increasing by 13 percent and property crime by 9 percent (FBI, 1981).

Regardless of whether or not there has been a recent significant growth in the problem of serious juvenile delinquency -- because other evidence (McDermott and Hindelang, 1981) suggests that the rates of being victimized by juveniles for both property and personal crimes have remained relatively stable for the past 10 years -- juvenile delinquency is still a problem, and serious and violent delinquency is an even greater problem. Congress has recognized and reinforced this concern in the 1980 Amendments to the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974, by mandating that the "juvenile justice system should

1

give additional attention to the problem of juveniles who commit serious crimes." Clearly, the importance of reducing and preventing serious juvenile crimes is given higher priority as a federal goal than in the past. Unfortunately, recognizing a problem does not solve it -- one is still left with the problem of "What to do?" This paper attempts to provide some answers regarding the prevention of juvenile delinquency in general, but more specifically of serious juvenile crime. It is informed by and reaffirms an approach to reducing delinquency which emphasizes the social causation of delinquent behavior and the potential efficacy of prevention strategies implemented in the community, particularly those which target the major socializing institutions of family, school, peers, law, and neighborhood.

WHAT HAVE WE DONE?

There is scant evidence that the juvenile justice system over the past 80 years has been effective in controlling or preventing delinquency. And because of its basically reactive and rehabilitative stance, there has been an emphasis on control -- treatment and punishment after entrance to the juvenile justice system -- to the neglect of prevention -- an action taken to preclude or correct illegal behavior before entrance to the system. Consequently, the number of bona fide prevention efforts, particularly those which are in the community, has been very small, of which even fewer target serious delinquency. Therefore, the knowledge and techniques of delinquency prevention have not been developed sufficiently. Conrad (1980) has even suggested that what little we do know does not readily lead to implications for policy and programs that are implementable or hold promise for reducing serious and violent crime. This does not mean that preventing delinquency cannot be done, but rather that we simply have not had the appropriate knowledge and techniques to do it effectively. Clearly, there is a need for research and development work in order to generate a more useful knowledge base on the prevention of serious delinquency.

Major changes in juvenile justice philosophy over the past decade, signaled formally and legitimated by the passage of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974 and its 1977 and 1980 Amendments, reinforce this urgent need. A new "dual functions" philosophy of juvenile justice supports legal control -- the juvenile court -- for youths who engage in serious crime and more informal, social control -- community services -- for youths who engage in less serious crime and noncriminal misbehavior (Gough, 1977). The responsibility for control, primarily punishment and rehabilitation of identified juvenile criminals, has remained with the court but the responsibility for prevention has been given back to the community. The primary responsibility for preventing youngsters from engaging in illegal behavior and getting into trouble with the law has been returned to those "front line" community institutions — the family, school, clubs, church, neighborhood -- which historically have been responsible for the social integration, socialization, and control of youth. This is a progressive change, but it carries with it the possibility of two systems of juvenile justice -- one for serious juvenile offenders, who are disproportionately represented among poor black and Hispanic youths, and the other for less serious offenders (Woodson, 1981a).

One can argue that the community should take primary responsibility for the illegal behavior of all its youth, even the more predatory among them, and rather than separate them from the community, should make every effort to integrate them into those community institutions which have the potential to help reduce delinquency. However, to do so would be on the basis of scant evidence -- of the nature of the behavior, its correlates and causes, prevention strategies and interventions, specific program elements, and so on. This is not because it is a vacuous idea or an approach with no promise. To the contrary, community-based projects like the Chicago Area Project have clearly had some impact on delinquency --if

nothing else its tenure supports this -- but they are difficult to evaluate and the most conscientious efforts to do so "have not yielded results which will stand up under scientific scrutiny" (Sorrentino, 1977:105). This is primarily because it is very difficult to know whether the reductions in delinquency rates are caused by the project or by other factors. This suggests the need for a more rigorously designed and carefully implemented project which lends itself to evaluation that could conclusively substantiate the promise of this approach to prevent serious delinquency.

Most past efforts at delinquency prevention that have been evaluated rigorously show ambiguous, mixed, or negative results (cf. Powers and Witmer, 1951; Miller, 1959; Wright and Dixon, 1977; Lundman and Scarpitti, 1978; Newton, 1978). Recent assessments of evaluations of delinquency prevention programs which have been carried out in a variety of substantive areas suggest the same things, whether they are family programs (Famiglietti et al., 1980), school programs (Shorr et al., 1979), peer programs (Weis et al., 1980b), employment programs (Lishner and Hawkins, 1980), or drug programs (Janvier et al., 1980). Of ten delinquency prevention programs with truly "experimental" designs which were carried out prior to 1970, nine failed to reduce rates of official delinquency among experimental subjects as compared to controls (Berleman, 1980).

Unfortunately, more recent Federal program initiatives in delinquency prevention do not promise to provide much information about how to prevent delinquency in general, and even less about serious delinquency. The preliminary findings of the National Evaluation of Delinquency Prevention programs funded by the OJJDP suggest (Krisberg, 1979:25) that "Measuring the results of these OJJDP funded prevention projects has proved highly problematic. After two years of research we will probably possess insufficient data to judge if these agencies prevented youth crime to any appreciable extent." In addition to research-related problems, the evaluation reports that the cooperation of programs that is necessary to evaluate their effects on delinquent behavior was forthcoming in only one of the sixteen funded sites. These projects were primarily conducted by "national" youth serving agencies and organizations and "few of the projects actually attempted to prevent delinquency" (Krisberg, 1979:28). In short, recent Federal prevention efforts appear to lack the conceptual foundation, clear prevention focus, and commitment to rigorous research that are necessary to generate the knowledge required for effective delinquency prevention.

The reasons for the discouraging results of previous efforts are well understood. Now there is a real need for a strong commitment to research and development in delinquency prevention. The importance of this need was recently expressed by the Task Force on Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals (1977:23):

Rather than abandoning the concept of delinquency prevention, however, this report reiterates the need for a careful and honest assessment of the existing state of the art in delinquency prevention and recommends that new efforts proceed according to reasonable and valid criteria. Only through a clearcut confrontation with past failures can the necessary knowledge and understanding be gained for positive delinquency prevention efforts.

This conclusion represents a point of view that has been systematically developed over the past five years: beginning with the intent of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act in 1974; conceptualized in the National Task Force to Develop Standards and Goals for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, especially in its volume, Preventing Delinquency: A Comparative Analysis of Delinquency Prevention Theory; and operationalized

in the National Center for the Assessment of Delinquent Behavior and Its Prevention (NCADBIP), funded by the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, and in the Delinquency Prevention Research and Development Project and the Violent Juvenile Offender Research and Development Program (Treatment and Prevention), both funded by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. There is a consensus that theories of and research on juvenile delinquency should be the foundation for juvenile delinquency prevention efforts.

Following this principle, the NCADBIP has for the past three years engaged in a comprehensive, systematic assessment of the state-of-the-art of theory, research, prevention, and evaluation in juvenile delinquency. The overriding objective has been the identification and development of practical and valid criteria for delinquency prevention programs, as well as research and theory development on delinquent behavior and its prevention. The multidisciplinary research agenda has focused on 1) the correlates and causes of delinquent behavior, 2) prevention programs, and 3) evaluations of prevention programs. Assessment of the current state of knowledge has led to the development of a knowledge base on the apparently most valid causes of delinquent behavior and their corresponding most promising prevention strategies. This knowledge base constitutes a set of criteria and guidelines for research and development on delinquency prevention, and has been utilized as a major part of the conceptual foundation for the Delinquency Prevention Research and Development Project of OJJDP, a comprehensive effort to test the most promising delinquency prevention strategies based on current knowledge of the causes of delinquency. These prevention strategies are currently being implemented and tested within two interdependent components: School-Based Delinquency Prevention Projects located in six different cities of the United States (Bangor, Maine; Paterson, New Jersey; New York City, New York; Reading, Pennsylvania; Waterbury, Connecticut; West Palm Beach, Florida), and one Comprehensive Delinquency Prevention Project in Seattle, Washington. Each of the school-based sites will initiate at the beginning of the 1981 school year a subset of the following program elements: schools-within-a-school, management of change, prevocational experiential learning opportunities, student team and mastery learning, expansion of student roles, and parental involvement in school. These interventions will target randomly selected students within junior and senior high schools over a two-year period. Given the cumulative influence of family, school, peers, and community on the social development of youths, it is likely that the more factors addressed during the development process, the greater the potential for delinquency prevention. In order to test this hypothesis, a wider variety of program elements focusing on each of these major institutions of social influence (family, school, peers, community) will be developed, implemented, and assessed in the Seattle comprehensive site. In addition to interventions like those implemented at the school-based sites, the program elements will include law-related education, cross-age tutoring, peer culture assessment and improvement, experience-based career education, school/employment services, and community youth development. This comprehensive set of interventions will be aimed at cohorts of first and seventh grade students over a ten-year period.

The OJJDP is now proceeding under the same set of guiding principles about the important interdependence of research, theory, and program in its Violent Juvenile Offender Research and Development Program. The Treatment component has already been launched and the Prevention component is soon to follow. Clearly, this is the most rational, cost-effective, and ultimately most useful way to proceed in federal efforts to control and prevent juvenile delinquency.

WHAT IS PREVENTION?

Historically, what has passed as delinquency "prevention" within the juvenile justice system is basically delinquency "control," simply because it has been implemented after the illegal behavior and even after a juvenile justice system reaction has occurred. Control is a "measure taken after a criminal or delinquent act has been committed." Even the most recent and progressive juvenile justice reforms -- for example, diversion and deinstitutionalization -- are primarily control strategies, simply because they are aimed at previously identified juvenile offenders. These kinds of interventions are only indirectly preventive because, at best, they may inhibit further judicial processing, the reification of a delinquent career, or perhaps further involvement in crime, but they are not "pure" prevention (Lejins, 1967).

Prevention is a societal action to preclude or correct illegal behavior. "If societal action is motivated by an offense that has already taken place, we are dealing with control; if the offense is only anticipated, we are dealing with prevention" (cf. Lejins, 1967:1-21). Prevention approaches can be differentiated into two general categories: 1) corrective and 2) preclusive prevention.

Corrective prevention has been the traditional approach to delinquency prevention. There are three types of corrective prevention: a) tertiary corrective prevention typically within the juvenile justice system focused on delinquents; b) secondary corrective prevention within the juvenile justice system focused on predelinquents; and c) secondary corrective prevention outside the juvenile justice system focused on high risk youths. All three types seek to identify and correct delinquents or potential delinquents.

Tertiary corrective prevention within the juvenile justice system has been primarily attempts to "correct" identified individual delinquents in order to change their future behavior. The objective is to change delinquents into nondelinquents. This individualized corrective approach reflects the rehabilitative ideal of the traditional juvenile justice system.

Secondary corrective prevention within the juvenile justice system is aimed at individuals who are identified as predelinquent. These are youngsters whose behavior, environment, or other attributes are identified as predictive of more serious involvement in crime and, perhaps, a delinquent career. The object, then, is to prevent an identified predelinquent from becoming a delinquent. The clients of this early identification and corrective approach to prevention within the juvenile court have traditionally been status offenders or youths involved in noncriminal misbehavior. Prevention efforts attempt to correct the behavioral tendencies or imputed criminogenic circumstances of those individuals who have been referred to the court, youth service bureau, or other agency of the juvenile justice system.

Secondary corrective prevention outside of the juvenile justice system is aimed at high risk youths who have not had any contact with the juvenile justice system or at least are not selected for a prevention program for this reason. This type of corrective prevention is based on the identification of behavior or attributes that place a population of juveniles at risk for delinquency. The corrective efforts may be directed at individuals, a classic example being the Cambridge-Somerville Study (Powers and Witmer, 1951), or at groups, a classic example being the Chicago Area Project (Kobrin, 1959). The former served individual youths who were diagnosed as high risks, while the latter served a social area with a high concentration of delinquents. It was aimed at apparently high risk groups and their encompassing community because the causes of delinquency were conceptualized as being anchored in the social environment. However, neither project was directed at instant infractions or officially-designated offenders.

Preclusive prevention is the purest type of prevention approach because it does not attempt to "correct" individuals or groups who are identified as delinquent or on the path to becoming delinquent. Rather, it attempts to "preclude" the initial occurrence of delinquency, primarily at the organizational, institutional, social structural, and cultural levels of intervention. Preclusive prevention is given a central role in the national crime prevention strategy espoused by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (1967:vi), and the Task Force on Juvenile Delinquency (1967:41) attaches particular importance to the preclusive prevention of juvenile delinquency:

> In the last analysis, the most promising and so the most important method of dealing with crime is by preventing it -- by ameliorating the conditions of life that drive people to commit crimes and that undermine the restraining rules and restrictions erected by society against antisocial conduct.

> Clearly it is with young people that prevention efforts are most needed and hold the most promise. It is simply more critical that young people be kept from crime . . . . They are not yet set in their ways; they are still developing, still subject to the influence of the socializing institutions that structure -- however skeletally -- their environment. Family, school, gang, recreation program, job market. But the influence, to do the most good, must come before the youth has become involved in the formal criminal justice system.

THE LOGIC OF PREDICTION AND PREVENTION

Prevention is logically dependent on prediction. One cannot prevent something without having predicted that it would occur in the absence of action. Predictions of delinquency can be based on either or both of two kinds of information: (1) extrapolation -- knowing that an individual has committed a delinquent act one can predict that a second act is likely; and (2) causal predicition -- knowing established correlates or presumed causes of delinquency one can predict that delinquent behavior is more probable where these causes are present.

Extrapolation is based on the notion that "behavior predicts behavior." Underlying causes are assumed to be operating but are unknown. Extrapolation is therefore a prescientific method of prediction. There are two serious drawbacks to its use in delinquency prediction and prevention. First, extrapolation assumes continuous, linear sequences of similar behaviors over time. It has been fairly well-established by researchers using self-reported delinquency data that the frequency of individual delinquent behavior (among those who get involved at all) usually peaks somewhere in middle-to-late adolescence and drops sharply thereafter. Only a minority of delinquents fail to manifest this "maturation process." Thus the correlations between similar behaviors at different times decrease to the point of predictive uselessness as the time span increases. Second, the measurement of the predictor is extremely costly. Relying on extrapolation requires waiting for delinquent acts to occur and allowing the continuing and possibly intensifying operation of their causes before predicting subsequent delinquent acts.

This can be illustrated with data from the well-known Philadelphia birth cohort study by Wolfgang, Figlio, and Sellin (1972). "Chronic recidivists" -- defined as juveniles experiencing 5 or more police contacts for any cause -- constituted 18 percent of all the delinquents in the cohort, but accounted for 52 percent of the cohort's offenses. Clearly, it would be advantageous to direct intervention at this group, but if intensive intervention were based on extrapolative prediction and were applied only after juveniles achieved chronicity, the 627

chronic recidivists would have already committed 3,135 (627 x 5) offenses or 59 percent of their total of 5,305 known juvenile offenses. Perfectly effective intervention after achieving chronicity would then have prevented only 21 percent of the entire cohort's offense total and 41 percent of the chronic offenders' total.

Causal prediction is based on known correlates or presumed causes of delinquency and can, in principle, be used to direct intervention toward individuals before they commit serious delinquent acts, or at least before allowing a number of acts to occur to form a basis for prediction. In addition, causal prediction is preferable because the process of empirically determining the correlates of delinquency supports the development of effective intervention strategies at both the individual and institutional levels, and the process of making individual predictions to select recipients of intervention will automatically reveal the particular problems the individual faces, thus suggesting an intervention strategy. Of course, some known correlates of delinquency such as sex and race are neither causes nor problems in themselves and are insufficient as individual-level predictors. But most of the presumed "causal" correlates, (e.g., adverse family situations, school failure, lack of affective attachments) are not only potentially efficient predictors but also suggest promising intervention strategies.

Unfortunately, the prediction of delinquent behavior is presently at a primitive stage of development. Most writers on the subject, including some who have attempted to develop predictive instruments, report that efforts to date have produced unacceptably high rates of false predictions (Hanley, 1979; Megargee, 1976; Monahan, 1981; Monahan and Cummings, 1975; Wedge, 1978; Wenk et al., 1972). It is also generally agreed that the causal prediction methods so far developed add little to the predictive efficiency that can be achieved by mere extrapolation (Lefkowitz et al., 1977; Wedge, 1978; West and Farrington, 1973). Occasionally one encounters claims of predictive efficiency such as the following from a study reported by Feldhusen et al. (1973): "The Glueck Scales were quite predictive of later contacts with the police: 19 percent of the delinquency-prone group had later contacts with the police while only 7 percent of those who were low in delinquency proneness had contact." Thus 81 percent of the predicted delinquents -- the "delinquency-prone group" -- failed to become delinquent by the criterion of arrest, and any intervention that might have been applied using "delinquency-proneness" as the criterion would have been wasted on them and may have even done them some harm. This is typical of claims for the efficiency of existing prediction devices.

Why Predictions of Delinquency are Inaccurate

There are two kinds of false predictions possible when a dichotomous predictor -- for example, intact home and broken home -- is used to predict a dichotomous outcome -- for example, arrest and no arrest. A prediction to a positive outcome (arrest) which proves wrong (no arrest) is a false positive, while a negative prediction (no arrest) that proves wrong (arrest) is a false negative. Where the "base rate" of the outcome of interest is low in the population, a high proportion of false positives is the usual (though not logically necessary) result (Hanley, 1979; Monahan, 1981). Data presented by West and Farrington (1973) illustrate this because they divided both the predictor and outcome into four categories, which facilitates an examination of how dichotomous predictions turn out using different cutting points. Table 1 summarizes their published data.

TABLE 1

OFFICIALLY-RECORDED DELINQUENCY BY
TROUBLESOME BEHAVIOR IN SCHOOL AT AGE 10
(Combined Teachers' and Peers' Ratings)*

TROUBLESOME BEHAVIOR

Delinquency	Least	Average	High Average	Most	Totals
None	83.2% (119)	73.4% (80)	58.2% (39)	35.9% (33)	65.9% (271)
Police Contact: No Conviction	13.3% (19)	8.3% (9)	14.9% (10)	19.6% (18)	13.6% (56)
1 Conviction	2.8% (4)	12.8% (14)	19.4% (13)	17.4% (16)	11.4% (47)
2 or More Convictions	0.7% (1)	5.5% (6)	7.5% (5)	27.2% (25)	9.0% (37)
Totals	100.0% (143)	100.0% (109)	100.0% (67)	100.1% (92)	100.0% (411)

*Calculated from data in West and Farrington (1973), Figure VI(I), p. 103.

Apparently, a boy's "troublesomeness" in school at age 10, as reported by teachers and peers, was the best of a large variety of predictors of subsequent official delinquency. Table 2 shows what would result if one tried to predict the highest level of the outcome (recidivism: two or more convictions) from the highest level of the predictor (most troublesome). The great majority of the students predicted to become recidivists would not do so, becoming false positives. Thus any intervention one might have applied based on this prediction would have been "wasted" — at least with respect to its potential for delinquency prevention -- on nearly three-fourths of the recipients. On the other hand, while the rate of false negatives is very low (3.8 percent), the 12 cases comprise almost a third of the eventual recidivists.

TABLE 2

TROUBLESOME SCHOOL BEHAVIOR AS PREDICTOR OF DELINQUENCY:
USING MOST RESTRICTIVE DEFINITIONS*

TROUBLESOME BEHAVIOR

Delinquency	Least To High Average	Most	Totals
None to 1 Conviction	96.2% (307)	72.8% (67)	91.0% (374)
2 or More Convictions	3.8% (12)	27.2% (25)	9.0% (37)
Totals	100.0% (319)	100.0% (92)	100.0% (411)

False Positives: N = 67 (72.8% of all positive predictions)

False Negatives: N = 12 (3.8% of all negative predictions; 32.4% of all positive outcomes)

*Calculated from Table 1, above.

Assuming the problem lies in the low base rate of delinquency (9.0 percent), one might try increasing the base rate by broadening the definition of the outcome. In Table 3 "delinquency" is defined as any record of delinquency, while the predictor definition is unchanged. This shows the best one can do to minimize false predictions with these data. Now the base rate for delinquency is 34.1 percent. The rate of false positives is now lower than before, slightly less than 50 percent. The total rate of true predictions is 69.6 percent, still not very impressive, and it was achieved only by means of a definition of delinquency which equates trivial and serious levels of involvement.

TABLE 3

TROUBLESOME SCHOOL BEHAVIOR AS PREDICTOR OF DELINQUENCY: USING LEAST RESTRICTIVE DEFINITIONS*

TROUBLESOME BEHAVIOR

Delinquency	Least and Average	High Average and Most	Totals
None	79.0%	45.3%	65.9%
	(199)	(72)	(271)
Any Record of Delinquency	21.0%	54.7%	34.1%
	(53)	(87)	(140)
Totals	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(252)	(159)	(411)

False Positives: N = 72 (45.3% of all positive predictions)

False Negatives: N = 53 (21.0% of all negative predictions; 37.8% of all positive outcomes)

*Calculated from Table 1, above.

As several authors have pointed out, (Megargee, 1976; Monahan, 1981) false predictions are not necessarily problematic in themselves, but may be in terms of decisions to intervene or not and the potential outcomes of these decisions. False negatives are cases predicted not to become delinquent but who do, perhaps because preventive intervention was not applied. Society, therefore, endures the cost of the offenses, balanced by the saving involved in not intervening or in ceasing intervention, as in decisions to terminate an individual's involvement in a rehabilitation program. The savings are easily calculated but the cost of offenses which may have been prevented are less quantifiable and are potentially very large.

Calculating the costs of false positive intervention decisions is quite different. By definition false positives do not commit an offense subsequent to the decision, so this kind of cost is not applicable. On the other hand, unnecessary intervention is undertaken at public expense. Depending on the kind of intervention, there can also be substantial cost to the recipient. The most glaring examples have been persons committed to facilities for the mentally disordered, sometimes for extended terms, who were in fact no more dangerous than the average person. The incarceration of juveniles for status offenses (Weis, et al., 1980) is another decision which probably involves high rates of false positives and which imposes large unnecessary costs both on the public and on the youths. On the other hand, if the intervention

is benign and does not involve incarceration or social stigma it may be of substantial benefit both to the public and the recipient. For example, if educational remediation is successfully undertaken with delinquency prevention as the primary objective, both society and individual recipients benefit even if most recipients would have proven to be false positives. In the case of recipients who would have been true positives —that is, delinquents -- the gain from intervention is even greater. Even so, there still can be definite benefit gained when intrinsically beneficial intervention is applied to false positives.

One could easily conclude that preventive intervention is absurd given the inadequacy of prediction. There are, however, important reasons why this is not a necessary conclusion. First, intervention based on false positive predictions may still produce net gains, depending on the nature of the intervention. Second, predictions implemented in actual prevention are not made once and for all; they are tentative and are usually reversible when events prove them wrong (though there generally are some irretrievable costs incurred in wrong decisions). Finally, the failure of prediction may not lie in the theoretical inadequacy of our predictors or in some inherent unpredictability of human behavior, but rather in the unreliability of measurement of predictors and outcomes. In many attempts at causal prediction there is great attention paid to the measurement of the predictor variables, while outcome indicators consist merely of offenses recorded by law-enforcement agencies —usually arrests. Studies of extrapolative prediction often rely solely on officially-recorded offenses as data. Predicted outcomes are frequently defined in terms of a crude dichotomy — any arrest or police contact (usually excluding traffic infractions). For instance, if a subject were predicted to be nondelinquent and subsequently was picked up for petty shoplifting, he or she would be a "delinquent," while the behavior itself is so widespread in actual populations (for example, more than 50 percent of youths in Seattle, according to Hindelang, Hirschi, and Weis, 1981) as to be relatively meaningless as an indicator of delinquency. We can expect that further, more rigorous research will improve our ability to predict delinquency.

ADVANTAGES AND LIMITATIONS OF PREVENTION APPROACHES

Each type of prevention has its own logic, limitations, and special relationship to prediction. Prediction is involved at both the beginning and end of any intervention effort: to justify intervention the decision is made that some kind of prevention is necessary to avert a predicted undesirable outcome; once intervention is completed, the actual outcome is observed to determine whether the intervention was successful -- that is, is the observed outcome better than the outcome which was predicted on the basis of no intervention? Without clear definitions, and valid and reliable measurement of outcomes, there cannot be rigorous assessment of either prediction or prevention efforts.

Preclusive Prevention

Preclusive prevention is directed at social aggregates which may be defined in part by geographical, institutional, organizational, population, or group boundaries. There is no logical necessity that delinquency (or some subtype of delinquency) within the "target area" be high relative to surrounding areas or to some other comparison aggregate. The decision to intervene is based simply on the observation that the behavior to be prevented has been occurring at too high a rate. The relevant kind of prediction is thus an empirically-derived baseline trend — the projected rate of the behavior. This baseline trend projection could be an increase, a steady rate, or conceivably a decreasing rate which decisionmakers consider too gradual. In a comprehensive delinquency prevention research and development project, another part of baseline measurement can and should consist of individual-level measures

taken on area residents or a sample of residents, including potential delinquents. This would not be used to target individuals for special intervention but rather to allow detailed evaluation of the prevention project.

The primary aim of preclusive prevention is to reduce aggregate rates of delinquency (and victimization) by preventing the entry of persons into delinquent involvement and reducing the amount and seriousness of delinquency among those who do get involved. A necessary part of baseline measurement is therefore measurement and projection of entry rates in the target population, as well as incidence rates, and success or failure must be defined in terms of the trend which was predicted in the absence of intervention. Since individual predictions are not made, the only false predictions are inaccurate trend projections, which can only be determined (with a remaining degree of uncertainty) by comparison with a similar population or social area where similar preclusive prevention is not undertaken. How much improvement constitutes "success" cannot be precisely defined given the present state of the art. The reduction should probably be statistically significant, but further it should be nontrivial. In principle, after numerous research and development projects, it may be possible based on past observations, to specify the results a certain kind of preclusive program should achieve, and hence to evaluate new programs relative to prior results. For now, any nontrivial reduction in entry rates and incidence rates which were attributable to a preclusive prevention program would have to be considered a success.

Preclusive prevention has several advantages which justify continuing efforts in research and development:

1. The entry of individuals into delinquency is prevented before it occurs, because the social-environmental processes which generate delinquency are altered in a positive direction. Thus society is spared the large costs of victimization incurred from extended delinquent involvement of some of its members.

2. Most feasible preclusive prevention methods constitute changes, which are valuable in themselves, in institutions, organizations, social structures, and cultural systems. For example, a successful effort to improve youths' involvement and performance in school would result in a variety of gains both for recipients and the community at large, including reductions in delinquency.

3. Successful preclusive prevention measures are more likely to be maintained and institutionalized, so that long-term benefits continue to accrue from initial costs. Promising preclusive interventions which might require substantial expenditures to initiate and evaluate could be maintained at little or no additional expense and indeed at a net saving considering the obvious costs of delinquency which would go unprevented.

4. Since individual-level prediction is not a part of preclusive prevention, the expense of such prediction is saved, intrusion into individuals' and families' privacy is avoided, and participating individuals are not labeled as "predelinquents" nor their families as "inadequate parents," avoiding the possible negative consequences of stigmatization.

There are, of course, limitations to preclusive prevention:

1. If the objective of delinquency prevention is overemphasized in programs which have additional broader objectives, their adoption may be perceived as jeopardizing the community's reputation; and participation may seem disreputable to individuals and groups within the community.

2. Resistance to some programs by established delinquent groups may be expected, as well as attempts by them to exploit programs. Established delinquent gangs which actively recruit young members may discourage participation by youths who are most in need of preclusive prevention.

3. The presumed causes of delinquency are not equally amenable to preclusive prevention. Dysfunctional family groups, for example, are more likely to insulate themselves from the effects of preclusive programs.

4. Some individuals are less amenable to prevention because of the number, severity, and intractability of criminogenic influences in their lives. To be effective in these "overdetermined cases" prevention efforts need to be more comprehensive and intensive than is possible in preclusive prevention approaches.

Secondary Corrective Prevention

The limitations of preclusive prevention constitute part of the rationale of corrective prevention. Secondary corrective prevention is directed toward groups and individuals who are at risk of becoming involved in delinquency -- the ones who "fall through the cracks" of preclusive prevention. It is more remedial in nature, but is designed to correct causal processes before delinquent adaptations emerge or become well-established.

The evaluation of outcomes is somewhat more straightforward, since groups or individuals within a larger social group are targeted for intervention. Baseline data can be collected by measures of individual-level indicators of causal processes and of predelinquent behavior, that is, behavior which resembles delinquency but which may not be serious enough to initiate action by juvenile justice agencies. By randomly assigning high risk youths to experimental and control groups it becomes possible to achieve rigorous evaluation of both the intervention strategy and the prediction method used to select intervention recipients.

The advantages of secondary corrective prevention include:

1. The costs of offenses and of intervention by the juvenile justice system are averted.

2. The process of delinquent development is interrupted at an early stage, before conventional social development (e.g., schooling) is seriously jeopardized or rendered ineffective.

3. Most feasible interventions are designed to deal with problems which are of intrinsic concern, so secondary corrective prevention has positive effects in addition to delinquency prevention.

4. Since groups or individuals are targeted, interventions can be tailored to address their specific social developmental problems.

The limitations of secondary corrective prevention are:

1. There are numerous correlates and presumed causes of delinquency and, depending on the criteria for determining who is sufficiently at risk to warrant intervention, the numbers of persons considered at risk can be very large. Consequently, many persons may be targeted for intervention, at perhaps relatively high costs per recipient. At the same time, base rates of prevalence may be fairly small, thus with current prediction techniques large proportions of false positives are to be expected.

2. Some youths become involved in serious delinquency without having been observably at risk, either because observable predictive factors are not present or because they are not detected.

3. Once groups or individuals are targeted for intervention, there is a strong tendency to approach prevention as being solely a matter of changing "problematic persons," rather than problematic social processes and relationships.

Tertiary Corrective Prevention

At present and for the foreseeable future, preclusive prevention and secondary corrective prevention will remain less than perfectly effective. Some individuals will fall through the cracks in both of these approaches, announcing their arrival at the level of tertiary corrective prevention by being officially identified as "delinquents." Adjudication by a court would be a generally adequate operational indicator.

Tertiary prevention is not limited to intervention that is intensive or custodial -- these are subtypes of tertiary prevention which are usually imposed only after a youth has "qualified" several times over. Therefore, not all candidates for tertiary prevention are chronic delinquents who usually reach this stage after the failure of several attempts at corrective prevention. (These are the types of youthful offenders who would qualify for the "treatment" component of the Violent Juvenile Offender Research and Development Program of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.)

Since by definition tertiary corrective prevention is undertaken primarily in response to an individual's actual commission of offenses, the method of prediction necessarily includes extrapolation -- "behavior predicts behavior." Unfortunately, the predictive power of one or two officially-recognized delinquent acts is not impressive. As the data in Wolfgang et al. (1972) show, 35 percent of Philadelphia boys born in 1945 ever had a police contact and 54 percent of those were ever contacted at least one additional time. And over 80 percent desisted completely after the second offense. Thus while juveniles with a first offense become candidates for tertiary intervention, and are more likely than juveniles with no record to come to the attention of authorities for a subsequent delinquent act, they are only slightly more likely than not to recidivate. Any interventions based solely on an entry contact, or even a second one, would be directed largely at false positives. It is not until the third offense of record that a purely extrapolative prediction would produce a false positive rate less than 33 percent (Wolfgang et al., 1972 suggest that the third offense is the optimal point to initiate intensive intervention).

While defining the criteria for "intake" to tertiary corrective prevention may seem relatively straightforward, it is extraordinarily difficult to determine 1) when to terminate an intervention (or to move a person from intensive to less intensive supervision) and 2) when to initiate repeated rounds of intervention -- that is, when recidivism or violation of supervision conditions indicate that additional intervention is necessary. Data presented by Murray and Cox (1979) illustrate these problems. In a sample of boys experiencing their first institutional commitment, 82.3 percent recidivated (were rearrested during the first year after release). But time-trend analyses of their offense patterns before and after institutionalization revealed very large differences which are attributed to the experience of intensive intervention. While the boys were arrested an average of 6.3 times in the 12 months before commitment, they were arrested an average of only 2.9 times during a post-release follow-up period averaging 16.8 months. Two years before being incarcerated these boys were being arrested .2 times per month on the average, and this rate tripled to over .6 times per month immediately before

incarceration. After release they began to be rearrested at .2 times per month, but the rate decreased to .1 times per month during the next two years. In all, 69.7 percent of the sample reduced their offending rates by at least 50 percent after release, and only 9.8 percent of the sample increased their offending rates after release. Similar effects were found for a number of other intensive intervention strategies, including community-based residential and non-residential arrangements.

These findings reveal that there are several ways to characterize the outcomes of intervention as "success" or "failure," and that the definition chosen has serious implications both for the chosen intervention and program evaluation. If any recidivism indicates failure (the usual criterion in evaluation research), 82.3 percent of the Murray and Cox (1979) sample were "failures." This, of course, leads to the conclusion that for evaluation purposes incarceration is useless for rehabilitation, in agreement with the standard wisdom on the subject, and that up to 82.3 percent of the clients need further intensive treatment, perhaps including reincarceration!

However, if individual improvement in terms of reduced offending rates were taken as the criterion of success or failure, one could conclude that the intervention had been successful in most cases (depending on cutting points and offense-seriousness criteria) and that there was less need to reimpose intensive or institutional intervention on these boys. In short, one would be looking for significant improvement in behavior rather than the absolute perfection implied by the criterion of any recidivism. These data suggest that decisions to reimpose intensive tertiary prevention interventions are highly problematic: a false negative implies continuing victimization of others, while a false positive involves the risk of unnecessarily interfering with a youth who is in the process of becoming nondelinquent . The development of positive social relationships is interrupted and the youth may develop a more permanent delinquent self-identity.

Strictly speaking, tertiary prevention is not prevention but "control" because it is directed at officially-designated delinquents and is intended to correct and control their future behavior. Its only advantage relative to the more purely preventive interventions lies in the smaller numbers of individuals who qualify for intensive intervention (assuming selection criteria are not too inclusive).

The disadvantages of tertiary "prevention" are best conceptualized as overreliance on the tertiary approach at the expense of the more bona fide prevention approaches. And such overreliance clearly has been the present and past norm in juvenile justice in the United States:

1. The cost of identifying individuals is large since an offense record is the usual criterion. In practice, a considerable number of offenses may be committed by an individual before officials decide to impose substantial intervention. For instance, Murray and Cox (1979) report that Chicago boys experiencing their first placement in programs more intensive than probation had an average of 13.5 prior arrests, including 8.1 arrests for index crimes. And this only accounts for their "cleared" offenses, to which must be added the unknown but substantial numbers of uncleared offenses.

2. Tertiary corrective prevention is almost entirely directed at individuals and is remedial, if not merely incapacitative, in its effects. Factors in the social environment which contribute to the delinquency of targeted persons are left unabated to continue operating on them as well as on other youths who are not (yet) delinquent.

3. The social developmental processes which contribute to an individual's delinquency are left undisturbed until they are well-advanced. For instance, a youth may have dropped out of school, established positive relations with other delinquents, and developed a public and self identity as a delinquent.

To take advantage of all three types of prevention, and to avoid the disadvantages of relying on one or the other, prevention needs to be carried out at all three levels if serious delinquency is ever going to be minimized. Failure to "optimize effort" at one level (e.g., preclusive prevention) only adds to the overload at other levels (e.g., corrective prevention), with socially harmful behaviors as a by-product of prevention failure. The situation at present then consists of 1) weak traditional socialization institutions in communities (and in many communities, prodelinquent competition from gangs and other law violating groups) and 2) reliance on prevention (and control) methods based on a logic which neutralizes the possibility of dealing with the social developmental processes through which youths become and remain involved in delinquency. While juvenile crime and contagious diseases are by no means perfectly comparable, it is fair to say that if we handled diseases the way we handle delinquency, bubonic plague would still be part of everyday life.

WHAT TO PREVENT?

Obviously, what is being prevented is crucial to any consideration, analysis, or operationalization of juvenile delinquency prevention. Juvenile delinquency is an ambiguous term. Juvenile courts have had jurisdiction over juveniles who commit crimes, engage in status offenses, or who find themselves in a dependent state of being. These disparate categories of youth have often been referred to and treated collectively as "juvenile delinquents." However, a legalistic definition of juvenile delinquency (cf. Sellin and Wolfgang, 1964:71-86) seems best-suited to considerations of delinquency prevention. Juvenile delinquency is crime committed by persons under the statutorily defined minimum age. Delinquent behavior is juvenile criminal behavior. A delinquent is a juvenile who has committed a crime; an official delinquent is a juvenile who has committed a crime which becomes known to the juvenile justice system. Ideally, the focus of prevention should first be the reduction of delinquent behavior and then of official delinquency. If programs are not directed at preventing initial involvement in delinquent behavior, the proportion of the youth population which engages in crime and may become officially delinquent will not be reduced and the already enormous social and economic costs of juvenile delinquency will remain high.

Unfortunately, these definitions say very little about the "characteristics" of the delinquent behavior or delinquent that should be the focus of prevention strategies aimed at serious juvenile delinquency. Clearly, one needs somehow to differentiate offenses and offenders on the basis of their seriousness and then to decide if any behaviors or types of delinquents warrant special attention. Fortunately, the 1980 Amendments to the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act define "serious crime" as "criminal homicide, forcible rape, mayhem, kidnapping, aggravated assault, robbery, larceny or theft punishable as a felony, motor vehicle theft, burglary or breaking and entering, extortion accompanied by threats of violence, and arson punishable as a felony." At least the nominal legal boundaries of serious crime are established. Clearly, the implication is that if a delinquency prevention program is to focus on serious crime, both serious "violent" and "property" crime should be targeted. Among the eleven crimes listed in the definition are the current eight UCR index crimes, and two of the others — mayhem and extortion accompanied by threats of violence — are very similar behaviorally to aggravated assault and robbery, respectively. "Mayhem" is usually defined as malicious injury to person or property; it can therefore, also include felonious property destruction or vandalism. "Extortion accompanied by threats of violence" is a variant of robbery or theft from a person. Given the relative specificity of the definition of serious crime, what is the nature of juvenile involvement in these types of crime? What kind of prevention program focus does the research evidence support? One that targets serious crime? Or serious violent crime? Or serious property crime? Or even individual serious offenses? In general, does the definition have an empirical referent sufficiently supported that a prevention program focus on serious juvenile crime can be justified empirically and theoretically?

Finding the answers to these questions by examining the relative "seriousness" of the delinquent acts and actors is a more difficult and complicated task than one might expect. Seriousness is multidimensional, often normative, and varies by level and type of measurement. The following examples demonstrate a number of the dimensions of seriousness. Clearly, grand larceny is considered more serious in its harmful consequences to a victim than shoplifting (Rossi et al., 1974). Ten petty larcenies are more serious than one. An assault where a victim is injured severely is more serious than one with a minor injury. The rape of a five year old is considered more serious than that of a thirty-five year old. The apprehended and publicly condemned offender is likely to be seen as less moral, untrustworthy, and perhaps more dangerous than a person without "a record." The recidivist official delinquent is more problematic than the one-time offender. A juvenile with a record for a violent offense is viewed as more predatory than another with a record for a property offense. And a chronic recidivist, one who returns many times to the juvenile justice system, is a highly visible sign of system failure and a career (or life style) delinquent.

These examples show that seriousness varies in many ways by: value of property lost; frequency of offenses; degree of physical injury; social distance between offender and victim; degree of official intervention; repeated apprehension and official labeling; degree of commitment to a delinquent career; and so on. Seriousness is also normative in the sense that a judgment or evaluation is made which not only reflects individual or group norms of seriousness, but also an astounding degree of broader cultural consensus (cf. Rossi et al., 1974; Sellin and Wolfgang, 1964). This judgment of seriousness, and its measurement, can be made at the level of the individual delinquent act or actor or at the level of aggregate units of analysis, for example the "community" or "subculture" rate of violence. Is the act violent? Is the actor violent? Is the community violent? The answers to these questions may be quite variable: the community rate may not be considered "serious" compared to other communities, but an individual in that community may commit a violent act while not himself being considered a violent person. The point is simply this — the answers to the question of "what to prevent?" are not easy to come by. A brief review of the data and evidence on the characteristics of delinquent behavior and delinquents should inform definitions, theory, prevention strategies, and prevention program targets.

Studies of the nature of juvenile involvement in crime usually rely on one or a combination of the following three sources of data: 1) official records of police contact, arrest, or adjudication; 2) self-reports of delinquent involvement; or 3) self-reports of victimization. Each has different reliability and validity problems, but taken together they provide a relatively accurate means of characterizing delinquent behavior and delinquents.

Official Data

Examining the 1979 UCR arrest trends (FBI, 1980) for the index crimes it becomes evident that juvenile arrests for these serious property and violent crimes account for a substantial proportion — 40 percent — of the total arrests for index crimes. On the other

hand, juvenile arrests for all offenses, including many less serious non-index crimes, comprise only 25 percent of the total number of arrests. Juvenile arrests for index crimes account for 10 percent of the total arrests, while adult arrests for index crimes account for 15 percent of the total. However, while the adult arrests for index crimes comprise 20 percent of the total adult arrests, index crime arrests account for 40 percent of all juvenile arrests.

Juvenile arrests for the violent index crimes (murder, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault) are a mere one percent of total arrests, but the comparable adult figure is four percent. And where arrests for juvenile violence account for four percent of the total juvenile arrests, property arrests account for 36 percent; five percent of adult arrests are for violence, while 15 percent are for property crimes. But when one examines the arrests for index offenses, one finds that juvenile arrests for violence comprise four percent, while adult arrests for violence comprise 15 percent of the total. Ten percent of juvenile arrests for index crimes are for violence, and 90 percent are for property crimes, whereas 25 percent of adult arrests for index crimes are for violence and 75 percent are for property crimes. And finally, of the total arrests for index violence, juveniles account for 21 percent of them while adults account for 79 percent; of the total arrests for index property crimes, juveniles account for 44 percent of them while adults account for 56 percent.

The largest numbers of juvenile arrests in 1979 were for three property crimes, larceny, burglary, and auto theft in that order, followed by robbery, aggravated assault, arson, rape, and murder. The last three offenses are infrequent compared to the first five, but when the percent of arrests for each offense accounted for by juvenile offenders is examined, the rank order changes. A majority of the arrests for arson (53%), auto theft (52%), and burglary (50%) are of juvenile offenders, followed by larceny (41%), robbery (31%), assault (16%), rape (16%), and murder (9%). The first four offenses -- the ones that might be described as more typically juvenile -- are property crimes, while the last four offenses are violent crimes. The only violent crime with a proportion of arrests (31%) which is close to the proportional representation of juveniles in the general population (30%) is robbery.

These UCR arrest data suggest that juveniles are actively involved in a variety of serious crimes. For a few of the index crimes they are arrested more often than adults, the proportion of index crime arrests is twice as large among total juvenile arrests than adult arrests, and arrests for property crimes play a more prominent role than arrests for violent crimes among juveniles. In short, there are a number of juveniles involved in a variety of serious property and violent crimes -- crimes defined as such by the FBI and the 1980 Amendments to the JJDP Act. However, one must remember that these are arrests, which do not reflect the true prevalence or incidence of criminal behavior in a community. For each arrest for a crime, there are many crimes that go undetected, are not reported, are not solved, or do not eventuate in an arrest. The problems with "counting crime" using official records of contact or processing by the juvenile justice system are numerous (cf. Hindelang, 1974). A viable alternative is the use of "self-reports" -- of being the victim of a crime or of being the perpetrator of a crime.

Self-Reports: Victims

Recent analyses (McDermott and Hindelang, 1981) of juvenile victimization data from the National Crime Surveys of 1973-1977 conducted by the Department of Justice and the Bureau of the Census, support the conclusion to be drawn from the UCRs that juvenile involvement in the index crimes of rape, robbery, assault, and larceny is substantial. But the data are "not consistent with the growing national alarm regarding serious juvenile crime" (p. 71). When one compares the personal crimes that are committed by juveniles with those committed by adults, according to the victims of the crimes, the data suggest that juvenile crime is "demonstrably less serious" in three important ways: 1) juveniles are less likely to use weapons, and the weapons are rarely guns; 2) juveniles are less successful in completing acts of robbery and larceny, and the completed juvenile thefts involve smaller financial losses; and 3) juveniles do not injure their victims as severely as do adults. McDermott and Hindelang (1981:73) conclude that "Apparently it is an erroneous perception that these juvenile crimes (rape, robbery, assault, personal larceny) are becoming more serious and/or more frequent."

Self-Reports: Perpetrators

Mann et al. (1976) have reported that approximately 60 percent of a sample of predominantly poor, black high school aged boys in Philadelphia who reported involvement in "multiple violent acts" were never apprehended. And 80 percent of the victims of violent crimes did not report them to the authorities. Wolfgang (1977) reports similar disparities among a sample of the Philadelphia cohort study (Wolfgang, Figlio, and Sellin, 1972) who were interviewed. They reported committing 8 to 11 serious index crimes for each time they were arrested. More startling is the finding that the "chronic recidivists" -- those youths with 5 or more police contacts -- self-reported even more serious offenses per contact than other official delinquents in the sample. This means that the most serious official delinquents are contributing disproportionately to the rates of unanswered crime, victimization, and the actual community rate of delinquent behavior. After reviewing a number of self-report studies, Farrington (1979) reports that they show that somewhere between 3 and 15 percent of all delinquent acts ever result in a "police contact," much less an arrest. Many self-report studies show, however, that there is a positive correlation between offense frequency and arrest -- sooner or later the odds catch up with the offender and those who are most active are most likely to come to the attention of authorities.

What do self-report studies show regarding the prevalence and incidence of delinquent behavior? Perhaps the most useful self-report data here are the estimates generated in national surveys of representative samples of youths, since they are most comparable to the national UCR arrest data. What they show, perhaps surprisingly to some critics of official data, is that the proportions of respondents involved in serious crimes are relatively small, but those juveniles who commit serious crimes are active offenders. Elliott et al. (1978) report prevalence and incidence estimates on a sample of 918 boys aged 12-18 who were asked the number of times they had committed each act within the past year. Examining the more serious offenses only -- those that are similar to the UCR index crimes -- the data show that, contrary to the conventional self-report wisdom (or idiocy) that "everyone is doing it," the proportions of boys who engage in serious crimes are small: 6 percent for aggravated assault, 4 percent for grand larceny, 6 percent for breaking and entering, 9 percent for assaulting a teacher, 12 percent for carrying a concealed weapon, 14 percent for gang fights, 3 percent for strongarm extortion (see Table 4).

TABLE 4

NATIONAL SELF-REPORTED SERIOUS DELINQUENCY ESTIMATES
1977 NATIONAL YOUTH SURVEY*

	Percent Admitting	Average Number Of Offenses Per Offender
Concealed Weapon	.12	41.4
Aggravated Assault	.06	4.0
Gang Fight	.14	7.8
Hit Teacher	.09	4.0
Hit Parent	.06	2.0
Hit Student	.58	7.2
Sexual Assault	.02	1.8
Strongarm – Student	.04	8.8
Strongarm – Teacher	.01	4.2
Strongarm – Others	.03	16.2
Theft More Than $50	.04	4.5
Break and Enter	.06	7.4

*From data presented in Elliott et al. (1978).

These data also show that those boys who engage in relatively serious crimes do so relatively frequently. For example, an average of four aggravated assaults per year for the 6 percent of the male juvenile population that engages in this crime means that there may be roughly 3,300,000 aggravated assaults committed per year by males between 12 and 18 years old. The comparable rough estimates for some of the other serious crimes are: individual participation in a gang fight (15,000,000); hit teacher (4,400,000); grand theft (2,500,000); break and enter (6,100,000); and so on. The point should be absolutely clear -- there may be literally millions of serious crimes being committed by youths, each with at least one victim. And what is even more alarming here is that first, the reported violent crimes are not importantly different in prevalence and incidence than the property crimes; second, because this is a national survey the estimates are lower than they would be for high crime rate cities or social areas within cities; third, if the usual criteria for "chronic offender" were applied -- for example, 5 or more police contacts -- the typical self-reported serious offender achieves chronicity more than once a year; fourth, compared with studies using official data on violent recidivisim (e.g. Hamparian et al., 1978), repeated violence among those who admit involvement is a norm rather than a very rare event; fifth, given that a variety of serious offenses are intercorrelated and those juveniles who commit them often do so more than once a year, they are even more active than an analysis of individual offense categories would suggest.

What do the self-report data show from cities that are more typical of larger cities in the U.S. than similar data from a national survey which may mask urban-rural, big city-small town, and within-city neighborhood differences in crime? Self-reports of involvement in a variety of 69 serious and less serious delinquent acts were gathered by Hindelang, Hirschi, and Weis (1981) on approximately 1,600 youths aged 14-18 (X̄ = 16.5) in Seattle, Washington, population 500,000. The sample was disproportionately lower socioeconomic status (64%), black (31%), male (75%), and official police and court record delinquents (56%). Generating estimates of the rates of serious crimes committed by males during one year should give some indication of the nature of the problem in cities with similar demographic characteristics. Examining the total males first (see Table 5), the rates per 10,000 population could be interpreted as rough estimates of the juvenile serious crime problem in a city, community, or neighborhood where the residents are predominantly from the lower end of the socioeconomic scale, the population is disproportionately black though not in the majority, and a large proportion of its youth have had contacts with the juvenile justice system. Clearly, the rates are impressive. However, if one assumes that the delinquency rates for the blacks only might typify those rates in a similar but predominantly black community or neighborhood, the magnitude of the juvenile serious crime problem is even more dramatic.

TABLE 5
SEATTLE SELF-REPORTED SERIOUS DELINQUENCY ESTIMATES*
Rates Per 10,000 Population

	Total Male	Black Male
Burglary	70	149
Robbery (threat of force)	156	389
Aggravated Assault	113	223
Auto Theft	129	158
Mayhem (property)	36	125
Grand Theft	54	265
Robbery (use of force)	98	396
Robbery (use of weapon)	52	193
Arson	5	3
Rape	6	28

*From data presented in Hindelang et al. (1981).

The point is that serious juvenile delinquency is not evenly distributed across the country nor across its cities -- there are social categories of youthful offenders who are more actively involved than others and they, as well as their victims (Hindelang et al., 1978), are more prevalent in some communities and neighborhoods than others. Serious delinquency, whether self-reported or official, has a social ecological anchor, particularly in communities with sociodemographic characteristics similar to those described above (cf. Clark and Wenninger, 1962; Shaw, 1929; Shaw and McKay, 1942; Lander, 1954; Chilton, 1964).

Even though the national arrest, victimization, and self-report data generate very different estimates of the prevalence and incidence of delinquency, they show that serious property and violent crimes are being committed by small but significant proportions of our youth who are doing so with some regularity. However, these data tell us very little to nothing about the variety of illegal acts that offenders commit nor the patterns of involvement. Do juveniles specialize in certain offenses or in property crimes or in violent crimes? Is there a difference in the seriousness of patterns of involvement? Or, as some people suggest, are juveniles who break the law eminently versatile in their illegal behavioral repertoire? Or in the seriousness of their involvement?

Are There Unique Patterns of Delinquent Behavior?

There is a common belief that youths who engage in illegal conduct tend to specialize in certain types of behavior. The "status offender" and "violent juvenile offender" personify this belief, curiously the former at the bottom of the seriousness continuum and the latter at the top. The implication is that there are unique subsets of illegal acts which are committed by unique subsets of juvenile offenders. Special programs for these types of offenders -- for example, the deinstitutionalization of status offenders -- are justified on the basis that they are different behaviorally and in terms of need. The question here is whether there is a constellation of serious or violent acts that are committed by a homogeneous group of serious or violent juvenile offenders? Depending on the answer, there are different implications for prevention programming, particularly whether the focus should be only on violence and violent delinquents. In general, contrary to common belief, the evidence suggests that there is not violent offense or offender specialization, but rather versatility of involvement in illegal behavior, and the most useful empirical distinction is between serious and less serious (or petty) offenders. Both engage in nonviolent and violent acts, but the former do so more frequently and commit more serious and more violent crimes, with accompanying more likely official records of their involvements (cf. Weis et al., 1980).

Gold (1970) has reported that there is no evidence of distinct patterns of involvement in self-reported delinquent behavior among a national sample of youths. However, although many other researchers discover that delinquent acts are indeed intercorrelated, they also report that relatively homogeneous groups of illegal behaviors are also apparent (Ferdinand and Luchterhand, 1970; Heise, 1968; Quay and Blumen, 1963; Senna et al., 1974; Short and Strodtbeck, 1974; Hindelang and Weis, 1972; Kulik et al., 1968a, 1968b; Weis, 1976). These studies typically discover a "general delinquency" group of related delinquent acts which are nonserious in nature (e.g.s alcohol use, marijuana use, petty theft, truancy, shoplifting, vandalism) and a few other groups of more behaviorally homogeneous acts. The latter are often clusters of drug-related or assault-related behaviors. Although the more homogeneous subsets of items suggest some behavioral specialization, the different groups of behaviors are also sufficiently intercorrelated that one can infer that there is a "substantial amount of versatility in the delinquent activities" of youths (Hindelang, Hirschi, and Weis, 1981).

The research suggests the following conclusions about the relationships among different types of self-reported delinquent acts: First, delinquent acts are positively correlated, which suggests that involvement in any one delinquent act is at least slightly predictive of involvement in others. Different types of delinquent behavior are not independent. Second, the findings that there are separate groups of behaviorally similar delinquent behaviors (e.g. drug use, aggression), in addition to a more general group of more varied behaviors which are correlated with each other, suggest that even though one kind of delinquency predicts another there is at least a suggestion of specialization. However, other self-report research (Weis et al., 1979) shows that even though the behaviors may be associated in such a way as to suggest

"behavioral specialization," there is no clear offender specialization by behavior pattern but rather offender specialization by seriousness of involvement. There seem to be two general categories of juvenile offenders -- those who engage in more serious crimes and those who engage in petty (or less serious) crimes.

Studies of official data also show that delinquents are relatively versatile in the offenses which bring them to the attention of the juvenile justice system (Quay and Blumen, 1963; Wolfgang et al., 1972; Hamparian et al., 1978; Farrington, 1973). Analyses of correlation and offense transition matrices show that the records of official delinquents do not show behavioral specialization -- juveniles with multiple records have, for example, arrests for a variety of offenses rather than for a particular type or category of offense. Official delinquent acts are weakly intercorrelated. And, given this pattern, the findings of a lack of "career specialization" (Farrington, 1979), "offense specialization" (Wolfgang et al., 1972), or "violent specialization" (Hamparian et al., 1978) are not surprising. However, if there were more official offenses per offender the correlations would be stronger and a tendency to specialization might become evident. The only objective specialization in official data reflects differences in the frequency and seriousness of record -- some juvenile offenders have more arrests or adjudications than others, which can be seen as more serious in and of itself; the seriousness of the offenses of record may vary across offenders; and there is also a positive relationship between the number of official offenses and the probability of having a record for a violent offense.

Wolfgang et al. (1972) have differentiated those youths in their cohort study with police records (35% of the total 1945 birth cohort who lived in Philadelphia at least from 10 to 18 years old) on the basis of "frequency" of offense: one-time offenders, nonchronic recidivists (2-4 offenses), and chronic recidivists (5 or more offenses). The recidivists, who constituted 54 percent of the offenders, accounted for 84 percent of the offenses, while the chronic recidivists, who represented 18 percent of the offenders and only 6 percent of the cohort, committed 52 percent of all offenses. Clearly, there is "frequency specialization" among a very small group of youths. And there is evidence that there is a tendency of the recidivists to engage in the more serious index offenses. However, there is no clear pattern of "seriousness escalation" -- the chronic recidivists did not move from contacts for minor offenses to contacts for serious offenses. Rather, they simply began committing a variety of more serious crimes and continued to come to the attention of the police for these types of offenses. These findings that a small subpopulation of official delinquents accounts for a disproportionately high number of offenses, particularly of the serious index crimes, but with no pattern of seriousness escalation but rather more serious beginnings which are sustained over their delinquent careers, have been corroborated in a number of longitudinal, cohort studies (cf. Farrington, 1979; Hamparian et al., 1978; Strasburg, 1978; Shannon, 1978).

From their study of different ways to measure delinquency, Hindelang, Hirschi, and Weis (1981) derived four groups of delinquent acts which represent serious crime (14 items, including serious property and violent crimes), delinquency (18 items, including a variety of less serious acts), drugs (10 items, covering the use of alcohol and other substances), and school and family offenses (16 items, primarily status offenses). The "serious crime" cluster is the most general group of behaviors -- that is, they share the most variance with the rest of the set of 69 delinquent acts which were used in the study. If one were to choose the best measure of delinquency in a population, the serious crime index would be most useful, followed by the delinquency index. The former delinquent behaviors are the kind that are of most concern to juvenile justice officials and the community -- the ones that lead to "trouble with the law."

In general, the data on delinquent behavior -- both official and self-report measures -- support the emphasis of the 1980 Amendments to the JJDP Act on "serious crime" among juveniles. Juveniles are actively involved in the kinds of serious crimes defined in the Amendments -- primarily UCR index crimes. Juveniles are involved in both serious property and violent crimes, typically with much more involvement in the former than the latter. These types of serious delinquent acts are intercorrelated, meaning that youngsters who are involved in serious crime are involved in a variety of serious crimes, as well as less serious crimes, rather than specializing in single offense types or in property crime or violent crime categories. If there is specialization, it is not behavioral but differentiated in terms of frequency and seriousness of offenses. One category of juvenile offenders engages in less serious offenses and the other engages in more serious offenses, and the former does not predict the latter. Rather, those youngsters who commit serious crimes begin their delinquent careers with more serious crimes. The data do not support the popular notion of a unique pattern of juvenile violence, where the offender can be characterized or typified as a "violent offender" on the basis of the variety, frequency, or seriousness of his delinquent behavior. In short, the research supports the federal emphasis on serious crimes.

Who Are They?

The characteristics of the juveniles who engage in serious crimes are not particularly unique -- they are, in fact, similar in many ways to those of other juvenile offenders. Studies of serious and/or violent offenders consistently report a similar set of characteristics. These juvenile delinquents are predominantly male; disproportionately represented among minority youths, particularly blacks and Hispanics; more likely to have school problems, including lower potential to achieve, poor academic performance, and interpersonal difficulties and conduct problems; characterized by high residential mobility; typically come from economically disadvantaged origins; experiencing employment problems; more likely to come from families characterized by disorganization and instability, inadequate supervision, conflict and disharmony, and poor parent-child relationships; early starters in delinquency but are usually older than most delinquents, especially those who engage in violence; and are typically involved in group offenses, with gang membership playing an important role (cf. Farrington, 1979; Monahan, 1977; Strasburg, 1978; Hamparian et al., 1978; Wolfgang et al., 1972; Mann et al., 1976; Miller, 1976, 1981; McDermott and Hindelang, 1981; Gold and Reimer, 1975; Curtis, 1978; Fagan, et al., 1981a, 1981b; Howell, 1981).

What is striking about these characteristics of serious juvenile delinquents is first, they do not typically include the abnormal biological or psychological characteristics which are often attributed to these offenders. Even among officially-designated violent juvenile offenders the proportion characterized or diagnosed as disturbed or mentally disordered is much smaller than is often assumed to be the case. Strasburg (1978) reports that only 10 percent of a sample of New York and New Jersey violent offenders had a psychological file in their records, and of these 143 files, only 2 (1%) were psychotic cases and 14 (10%) were considered psychopaths or equivalent.

Second, the role of gangs is increasingly prominent, as recent evidence (Miller, 1981) confirms. This first national survey of "collective youth crime" has discovered that almost 50 percent of the thirty-six Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas with at least one million population have "delinquent gang problems." Although in ten intensively investigated cities with gang problems probably less than 5 percent of eligible boys actually belong to gangs, they "account for a disproportionate share of serious youth crime." However, one of the central findings of the research is that problems with "law violating groups" other than gangs are generally considered to be more serious and prevalent than gang problems! The distinctions

between the two types of groups are that gangs have more formal, hierarchical organization and leadership, a "turf," a recognized identity within the community, and violation of the law as a more central feature of its value system. Law violating groups involve perhaps up to 20 percent of eligible boys in cities with greater than ten thousand residents, and of all law violating groups, delinquent gangs represent only 2 percent and delinquent gang members only 7 percent of all members of law violating groups. According to Miller (1981:14), "increasing resources should be allocated both to information-gathering and program development with respect to crime by youth groups other than gangs." Blacks and Hispanics now comprise a disproportionate (40% each) share of the membership of gangs in big cities, and in the three largest gang problem cities -- New York, Los Angeles, and Philadelphia -- nongang youths account for 60 percent of arrests for violent crimes and 90 percent of arrests for all offenses, although gang members have a greater tendency to engage in violent crimes. And in all cities except the big three, gang member arrests are not typically for violence but for drug offenses and property crimes. As earlier research in Boston by Miller (1976) and his current study confirms, most behavior by gang members is noncriminal, most of their criminal behavior is not "serious," and even those gangs who have reputations for violence do not live up to their public image. But when compared to the criminal behavior of other juveniles, the "paramount difference" is the "far greater tendency of gang members to engage in violent forms of crime" (Miller, 1981:38-39). And the more regular use of guns as weapons has made some of the violence a greater threat and danger than ever before.

Along with the prominence of law violating groups other than gangs, especially in cities that are not among the very largest in the country, there have been other significant changes in the demography and ecology of these groups. First, gang problems are more apparent in smaller communities; for example 80 percent of the cities with gang problems in California have populations less than 100 thousand, while 26 percent have populations less than 20 thousand. Second, gangs are not confined as before to "inner city" neighborhoods or areas because the ghettos, barrios, and slums have spread to the "outer city" and suburbs. Third, one cannot accurately assess the seriousness of delinquency or gang problems for a whole city -- there is too much variation by district, community, or neighborhood. For example, the overall seriousness of the gang problem in San Francisco is not nearly as serious as in its Chinatown district (Miller, 1981). Gangs tend to occupy social areas within cities, and it is as incorrect to generalize gang problems from some neighborhoods to a whole city as it is to commit the same kind of ecological fallacy the other way by characterizing the delinquency problem (or rate of crime) in a neighborhood by a city's delinquency problem (or rate of crime).

Third, the characteristics of these youths personify the social areas, neighborhoods, or communities where they live -- communities with high rates of crime and a plethora of related other problems. They are communities very much like those studied by Shaw (1929) and Shaw and McKay (1942) in the 1920s and 1930s in Chicago and more recently by other urban ethnographers (Whyte, 1955; Suttles, 1968; Liebow, 1967; Curtis, 1974). They are often the communities with the worst delinquency and gang problems, and with diminished capacity of social service agencies and of the traditional institutions of family, school, church, and the law to help keep their children out of trouble.

Fourth, the characteristics of serious juvenile delinquents reflect the strongest general correlates of juvenile delinquency, which include the demographic variables of sex, race, and age and the more causal variables that operate within those traditional "front-line" institutions of socialization within any community, the family, school, peer relationships, employment opportunities, the law, and community dynamics (Weis and Hawkins, 1981; Hawkins and Weis, 1980).

THEORY-BASED CRITERIA FOR DELINQUENCY PREVENTION

Since the empirical evidence suggests that past efforts at delinquency prevention can be characterized as largely ineffective, one cannot propose that exemplary programs simply be replicated and generalized as the preferred approach to delinquency prevention. Rather, the apparently most valid correlates, causes, and theories of delinquent behavior, in conjunction with the best available evidence on prevention programs, should be used to establish criteria for the most promising techniques of prevention. What follows is a discussion of the strongest correlates of delinquent behavior, the apparently most important theoretically-derived causal variables, and a theoretical model which holds promise for explaining and preventing delinquent behavior.

Correlates And Causes

In general, there are two types of correlates of two measures of delinquency. These are aggregate and individual level correlates of self-reported and official delinquency. The unit of analysis for aggregate correlation is a collectivity, group, population, area, or community of individuals, and aggregate attributes -- usually operationalized as group means or rates -- are compared with other aggregate attributes. For example, as described earlier, there is a negative correlation between neighborhood socioeconomic status and official delinquency rate. Poorer neighborhoods tend to have higher rates of delinquency. However, when the unit of analysis is the individual, and comparisons are made across individuals within a population, there is little to no correlation between socioeconomic status and delinquency, whether the individual level measure of the latter is a self-report or official record (cf., Hindelang, Hirschi, and Weis, 1979, 1981).

The point is that one must distinguish the two levels of correlation, in particular, and to a lesser extent the two measures of delinquency, because they have different implications for theory and prevention. If one is trying to explain differences in delinquency across communities, aggregate level measures will inform theory which attempts to understand and explain differences in community attributes which may account for differences in community rates of delinquency, without regard for differences among individuals in those communities. On the other hand, if one is trying to explain why a juvenile engages in serious crime, individual level measures will inform theory which attempts to understand and explain differences in individual attributes which may account for individual differences in delinquency. Obviously, the implications for prevention may also differ, with theories of aggregate differences suggesting interventions that target the aggregate per se -- for example, the community -- and theories of individual differences suggesting interventions that target the individual, either directly as in corrective prevention interventions aimed at high risk youths or indirectly as in preclusive prevention interventions aimed at general populations of youth.

Fortunately, the individual level correlates of both self-reported and official delinquency are sufficiently similar that the implications for theory and prevention of the two measures of delinquency are also similar. Hindelang, Hirschi, and Weis (1981) found that a variety of traditional correlates -- socioeconomic status, sex, age, IQ, peer influence, school performance -- were related in a similar fashion to both self-reported and official measures of delinquency. The only variable which produced discrepant correlations was race -- the negative correlation with police and court data did not match the almost nonexistent correlation with self-reported delinquency, a finding which has also been reported by a number of other researchers (e.g., Gold, 1970). Both for theory and prevention the difference between the aggregate and individual levels is much more significant and salient.

At the aggregate level, research shows that communities with high proportions of lower socioeconomic status, black and Hispanic, and unemployed also have high official delinquency rates, particularly of serious crime (e.g., cf. Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967; Wolfgang et al., 1972). At the individual level, the relations are different, especially for socioeconomic status and race. Tabular, correlational, and multivariate regression analyses of a number of self-reported delinquency data sets (Weis et al., 1980, 1980a, 1980b; Hindelang, et al., 1981; Sederstrom, 1978; Zeiss, 1978; Worsley, 1979; Sakumoto, 1978; Henney, 1976), some of which also include individual official delinquency data, have identified two sets of individual level correlates of delinquent behavior. One set of correlates is primarily "causal," and consists of family, school, and peer variables, and the other set consists more properly of "socio-demographic controls," including sex, age, and race. The strongest average correlation across six data sets is between delinquency (both self-reported and official) and peer items (peer culture activities; delinquency of friends), followed by the sex of the respondent, and school variables (importance of grades; like school; grade point average). For self-reported delinquent behavior only, family variables (father and mother supervision; sharing thoughts and feelings with parents), employment (respondent works), and age are the next strongest correlates. Race is an anomaly in that there is little to no correlation with self-reported delinquency, but a moderate to strong correlation with official measures of delinquency. As in most self-report research, socioeconomic status is not a strong individual correlate (cf. Tittle, Villemez, and Smith, 1978).

Multivariate regression analyses, which allow the analyst to assess the simultaneous, interactive effects of a number of variables, show the same rank order of explanatory power among peer, school, and family variables. This is true whether one is predicting serious or petty delinquent behavior; an important difference is that one's attachment to parents and school may be slightly more predictive of involvement in petty than in serious delinquency. What is, perhaps, of most theoretical interest is that the ascending strengths of the correlates suggest a chain of causation which moves from family to school to peer variables. This is similar to the causal order proposed in control theory (Hirschi, 1969:198-201), which moves from attachment to parents, through commitment to education and attachment to school, to the belief that the moral and legal rules of society deserve to be followed.

THEORIES*

Among the major theoretical perspectives of delinquency, control theory (Nye, 1958; Reiss, 1951; Toby, 1957; Briar and Piliavin, 1965; Matza, 1964; Reckless, 1961; Hirschi, 1969) and cultural deviance theory (Sutherland and Cressey, 1970; Miller, 1958b; Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967; Burgess and Akers, 1966; Glaser, 1956; Akers, 1977; Akers et al., 1979) seem to have the most to offer theoretically, as well as for the prevention of delinquency. There are a number of reasons for this conclusion.

First, control theory and cultural deviance theory take into account and best explain the apparently strongest correlates of delinquency. The former is not class-specific and focuses directly on the role of the family, school, and law in preventing delinquent behavior, while the latter is primarily a theory of peer influence on crime and of the role of community influences on crime rates.

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*For a review of theories of serious, violent delinquency, ranging from biological to macrosociological perspectives, see Fagan et al. (1981a); this review also concludes that social and social psychological theories have the most to offer for understanding and prevention of juvenile crime.

Second, and related, control theory focuses on individual level correlates and the impact of major institutions of socialization on individual delinquent behavior, while cultural deviance theory focuses primarily on aggregate level correlates and the impact of community organization on community rates of delinquency and secondarily on the impact of community culture and associations on the processes of learning criminal behavior. In short, together the theories address both aggregate and individual level correlates of delinquency, the former by cultural deviance theory and the latter by control and cultural deviance theories.

Third, and most important, control theory has received the most empirical support (cf. Bahr, 1979) of the major theoretical perspectives, with cultural deviance theory running a respectable second (cf. Akers, 1964).

Fourth, the configuration of "causes" specified in these theories, particularly in control theory, is very similar to the public's perception of the causes of delinquency (cf. Nettler, 1974:306-3350). It is also clear from NCADBIP's national survey of prevention program practitioners that those people who are involved directly in providing services to youth agree most with the propositions of control theory, followed by cultural deviance and then psychological theoretical perspectives (Hawkins et al., 1980). Normally this kind of criterion -- the beliefs of various publics -- would be meaningless in assessing the validity of a theory of delinquency, but given that the general public and prevention practitioners should believe in and support the rationale of delinquency prevention, it suggests the prospect of easier acceptance, support, and implementation of prevention programs based on these particular theories of delinquent behavior.

Fifth, control theory is basically a theory of prevention rather than of causes of delinquency. Rather than attempt to explain why delinquency occurs, it attempts to explain why delinquency is not prevented. Consequently, as a theory, it seems to have direct and implementable implications for delinquency prevention.

Sixth, control theory has not been implemented systematically and comprehensively in a delinquency prevention program, whereas the other major theoretical perspectives have been implemented in both control and prevention efforts, and with little success. This is not a reflection of the validity or utility of control theory, but rather of its relative youth compared to other theories and, perhaps, of the simple and straightforward implications for prevention at the organizational and institutional levels of intervention (cf. Nettler, 1974:333-335).

Seventh, the implications for delinquency prevention of control and cultural deviance theories are for primary preclusive prevention and secondary corrective prevention -- the theories primarily inform those aspects of prevention which are carried on outside of the juvenile justice system and in the community.

Eighth, control and cultural deviance theories are particularly suitable for theoretical integration. The two theoretical perspectives can be complementary, and there have been a number of recent syntheses (e.g., Voss, 1969; Conger, 1976; Bahr, 1979: Johnson, 1979; Sakumoto, 1978). This merger was hinted at by Hirschi (1969:230-231) as a way to "supplement rather than seriously modify the control theory," especially in the area of "companionship" and "group processes important in the causation of delinquency."

Control theory does not take into account the role of peers, particularly within informal group processes, nor does it take into account the role of community characteristics or context in affecting the bonding processes within the family, school, or among peers; cultural deviance theory does both, and it is here that the two theories have most to offer each other.

A theoretical integration of control and cultural deviance theories offers the promise of a more complete, valid, and useful theory of delinquency and its prevention. Before explicating an integrated theoretical model, each of the two theories will be summarized separately.

CONTROL THEORY: THE INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIALIZATION

The essence of the social control perspective is that the weakening, breakdown, or absence of effective social control accounts for juvenile delinquency. The basic assumption of social control theory is that "social behavior requires socialization" (Nettler, 1974:217). People become social (moral), to a greater or lesser degree, through variable socialization processes. The explanation of the resultant variability in social (moral) behavior depends on the underlying concept of the socialization process. In general, a proper socialization leads to conformity and an improper socialization leads to nonconformity. Juvenile delinquency is one of the consequences of an improper socialization. When a youngster has not developed moral bonds to the conventional order he is free to engage in delinquent behavior. He has not learned what he ought and, especially, ought not to do: "If we grow up 'naturally,' without cultivation, like weeds, we grow up like weeds -- rank" (Nettler, 1974:246).

The essence of control theories of juvenile delinquency is captured in Nye's (1958) observation that delinquent behavior occurs because it is simply not prevented. It is not "prevented" because of ineffective social control: Socialization and/or social constraints are inadequate. Within this basic framework, control theories impute differential significance to the desired products of socialization -- internal moral controls -- and to the role of sanctions -- external social constraints. There are a number of other versions of the social control theory of delinquency: Reiss' (1951) proposition that delinquency is a "failure of personal and social controls"; the "containment theory" of Reckless (1956, 1961) which embellishes the distinction between personal (inner) and social (outer) controls and proposes that both outer and inner containment operate as intervening controls between social "pressures," deviant cultural "pulls," and biopsychological "pushes" and delinquent behavior; the theory of "neutralization" proposed by Sykes and Matza (1957) and Matza (1964) which posits that rationalization before the commission of delinquent acts enable the individuals to "neutralize" the moral bind or control of the law and, therefore, to break the law; and the purest and most comprehensive of the social control theories, the "control theory" of Hirschi (1969).

Hirschi's (1969) version of control theory adheres strictly to the proposition that delinquent behavior occurs when an individual's bond to society is weak or broken. Period. It is also more complete than others because it specifies theoretically and empirically the elements of the bond to society (attachment, commitment, involvement, belief) and the significant units of control (family, school, law). A strong moral bond consists of attachment to others, commitment to conventional lines of action, involvement in conventional activities, and belief in the moral order and law. Delinquent behavior becomes possible when there is inadequate attachment, particularly to parents and school; inadequate commitment, particularly to educational and occupational success; and inadequate belief, particularly in the legitimacy and moral validity of the law. In general, the chain of causation moves from attachment to parents, through commitment to the educational and occupational aspirations that the school attempts to articulate with adult status, to belief that the rules of society deserve to be honored (cf. Hirschi, 1969:198-200).

Youngsters who do not develop a bond to the conventional order because of incomplete socialization feel no moral obligation to conform. The delinquent is the faulty or unfinished product of socialization -- he is an incomplete social being. The social process of making him

moral has been interrupted by uncaring parents, poor school performance, visions of occupational failure, delinquent associates, and a questionably legitimate legal system. An unattached, uncommitted, and disbelieving youngster is the product of ineffective social control (socialization). He is free to engage in delinquent behavior; special delinquent motivation is unnecessary to account for the behavior of a not quite social or not quite moral individual. It is to be expected.

CULTURAL DEVIANCE THEORY: THE COMMUNITY AND ORGANIZATION

Cultural deviance theory proposes that juvenile delinquency is a result of a desire to conform to cultural values which are in conflict with those of the conventional moral order (Shaw and McKay, 1929, 1942; Sutherland and Cressey, 1970; Miller, 1958; Burgess and Akers, 1966; Akers, 1977). Conformity to an unconventional subsociety and subculture (Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967; Cloward and Ohlin, 1960), or to unconventional aspects of the dominant culture (Matza and Sykes, 1961), means nonconformity by conventional cultural standards but is simply conformity. Delinquent behavior is caused by proper socialization within a "deviant" social group or culture. Juvenile delinquency is merely "marching to a different drummer."

Cultural deviance theory addresses three related issues: 1) the apparent concentration of delinquency in certain social areas or neighborhoods; 2) the process by which high group rates persist in certain areas; and 3) the process by which an individual comes to engage in delinquent behavior. Shaw (1929) and Shaw and McKay (1942), among other Chicago School social ecologists, examined the distribution of crime and delinquency by social area and over time within Chicago and discovered that delinquency seemed to have an ecological anchor in those parts of the city where land-use policies created slums, and that "traditions of crime" were generated in these areas by immigrants, the unemployed, and the dispossessed who were attracted by the proximity to employment opportunities and the social support of alike others or who were forced to reside there because of low rents or discrimination.

To account for these stable high rates of delinquency over successive generations of residents in certain neighborhoods in Chicago, Shaw and McKay (1942) propose that 1) "culture conflict" -- or community disorganization -- explains the distribution of delinquency by area and that 2) "cultural transmission" explains the persistence over time, as well as the individual conduct. High rate neighborhoods are characterized by disorganization, especially the conflict of moral values concerning criminal behavior. There is a conflict between the area's "cultural norms" and the dominant culture's "crime norms" (cf. Sellin, 1938). Instead of having a singularly conventional value system, neighborhoods that have high concentrations of delinquent behavior are characterized by their conflicting conventional and criminal value systems. The relative strengths of the value systems determine the community delinquency rate. If adult criminal activity is highly organized and anticriminal forces are disorganized, weak, or nonexistent, youngsters will be more exposed to criminal values, behavior patterns, and opportunities. A youngster growing up in this type of neighborhood lives in a disorganized culture where social controls are ill-defined or conflicting. Ultimately, he adapts to one of the systems of social control. In high delinquency rate areas, the criminal controls are stronger than conventional social controls. Delinquent behavior is "principally a product of the breakdown of the machinery of spontaneous social control" (Kobrin, 1959) in transitional or interstitial (Thrasher, 1927) urban communities.

Different versions of cultural deviance theory focus on different kinds of deviant cultures -- Miller (1957) on lower class culture, Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) on the subculture of violence, and Cloward and Ohlin (1960) on the delinquent subculture. The purest

cultural deviance theory is Miller's (1957) theory of juvenile delinquency among lower class boys. It takes cultural deviance theory to its logical extreme. Certain lower class cultural values are not only in conflict with, but are antithetical to, dominant middle class values. Therefore, those individuals who conform to lower class culture, who undergo a normal socialization, almost "automatically" become deviant, particularly in relation to legal standards. Members of adolescent street corner groups engage in delinquent behavior as a consequence of conforming to lower class focal concerns of "trouble," "toughness," "smartness," "excitement," "fate," and "autonomy." Juvenile delinquency is simply an adolescent variant of lower class culture or an intensified manifestation of lower class focal concerns. Delinquent behavior is not hostile or rebellious behavior directed at middle class values (cf. Cohen, 1955) but a reflection of enculturation to a "deviant" value system. Miller's (1957) theory implies that the conflict between conventional and criminal values is unnecessary in an explanation of lower class delinquent behavior. Lower class youngsters who are normally socialized seem to be so encapsulated culturally that conventional values are simply different values and irrelevant in most ways to their daily existence. In short, delinquents are a normal byproduct of lower class culture.

Another version of cultural deviance theory focuses on another kind of culture -- the "subculture of violence." Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) define it as a set of values, attitudes, beliefs, and behavior patterns which are shared in high population density urban areas and support the use of physical aggression and violence as an interaction form and way to solve problems. This subculture is generated and sustained in the lower class, where violent behavior is both tolerated and prescribed, from childrearing practices to a street murder. The value system of those affected by this subculture calls for quick resort to aggression at relatively weak provocation. In agreement with other cultural deviance theorists, Wolfgang (1976) suggests that the subculture of violence is "transmitted" from generation to generation -- it is learned behavior that is normal within that cultural environment. In fact, it has functional, adaptive survival value for those who live in the communities where the subculture of violence is influential.

Cloward and Ohlin (1960) attempt to specify the community organization component of cultural deviance theory in their "delinquent subculture" theory of juvenile delinquency. They propose that different types of delinquency are generated in different types of communities. Youngsters who cannnot achieve educational and economic success in the legitimate opportunity structure may find that it is not available or easily achieved in the illegitimate opportunity structure. The ability to utilize illegitimate means to achieve important goals depends on the "organization" of the community -- whether it is organized for or against crime. The type of delinquency which emerges depends on the extent to which the illegitimate opportunity structure has "integrated" age levels of offenders and carriers of conventional and criminal values in a community. Delinquent gangs and subcultures emerge in communities where the illegitimate opportunity structure is organized for involvement in and maintenance of criminal activities. The community may have a tradition of crime; intricate patterns of interaction among police, thieves, fences, lawyers, politicians, and citizens are typical; and youngsters in these communities are controlled by conventional adults but even more so by criminal adults. Older criminals select and recruit good prospects, bring them up through the ranks, and, at the same time, attempt to keep them from becoming involved in open conflict, violence, dope, and other behavior that might create "trouble" for criminal enterprises in the community.

High delinquency rates persist in these types of communities because the tradition of crime is passed on to younger generations and new residents. The cultural transmission of criminal values and behavior patterns keeps the delinquency rate high and stable and preserves

the area's cultural disorganization. The process, then, continues in a vicious circle. Unfortunately, most cultural deviance theorists do not specify the individual learning processes involved in cultural transmission -- but a few do attempt to explain how and why individuals are more or less susceptible to deviant community influences.

Sutherland's (Sutherland and Cressey, 1970) "differential association" theory is a more detailed explication of these processes of cultural learning. The crime rate for a particular neighborhood is an expression of differential community organization, and this conflict of conventional and criminal values also operates on the individual living in that community. Differential association theory proposes that criminal behavior is learned in interaction with others, some who encourage violation of the law and others who discourage it. An individual engages in delinquent behavior because of an excess of association with "definitions favorable to the violation of the law" over definitions unfavorable to the violation of the law. That is, he has had more contact with criminal values and behavior patterns than with anticriminal values and behavior patterns. An individual is most likely to engage in delinquent behavior when he has more criminal than anticriminal associations, associates for longer periods of time with those who support criminal behavior than with those who discourage it, was exposed to criminal values and behavior patterns before anticriminal values and behavior patterns, and is more influenced by the sources of criminal than anticriminal values. In essence, an individual learns criminal behavior, particularly within social groups or social areas where there is culture conflict or inconsistency surrounding the violation of the law.

This social learning process is described as the "principle" of differential association -- exactly how one learns to become a criminal is not specified. However, a number of theorists have proposed revisions which do incorporate the mechanisms by which the learning takes place (e.g., Burgess and Akers, 1966; Akers, 1977; Akers et al., 1979; Glaser, 1956; Foote, 1951). The most promising theoretically and empirically is Akers (1977) "social learning" theory, which is based on the behaviorist observation that behavior is determined by its consequences, rather than by prior causes. Borrowing from operant conditioning theory, it is proposed that behavior -- whether conforming or criminal -- is learned when it is rewarded (positive reinforcement) and not learned or extinguished when it is not rewarded or is punished (negative reinforcement). To specify differential association, criminal behavior is learned primarily within a social process of interaction wherein there is greater positive reinforcement of criminal than of noncriminal values and behavior. Differential reinforcement contingencies determine whether an individual "learns" conforming or criminal behavior. Therefore, to prevent criminal behavior, conforming behavior should be positively reinforced and deviant behavior should go unrewarded or be negatively reinforced. Of course, this should also encourage the development of and commitment to conventional lines of action and behavior patterns.

INTEGRATING CONTROL AND CULTURAL DEVIANCE THEORIES

Control and cultural deviance theories are a good combination because each makes up for the major deficiencies in the other, and together they offer the promise of a more complete and valid explanation of delinquent behavior. Control theory suggests that youngsters become delinquent because of inadequate socialization to conformity, while cultural deviance theory suggests that youngsters become delinquent because of socialization to delinquency, particularly in social areas, neighborhoods, or communities where there is a tradition of crime and high delinquency rates. Control theory specifies the units and elements of socialization that lead to the development of a generalized "bond" to the conventional order, but it pays little attention to how the process works of making an individual moral, nor

to the interplay between socialization and the community context within which it occurs. Cultural deviance theory focuses more directly on this process of socialization to criminal behavior and on the effects of the community context on this process of learning criminal attitudes and behaviors.

Control and cultural deviance theories are also complementary in another important way. Cultural deviance theory is basically a theory of peer influence, especially among juveniles. This means that the theoretical integration of the two perspectives is even more promising, given that: 1) the influence of informal group processes, particularly among friends, companions, and acquaintances who are one's peers, was underestimated and falls outside the purview of control theory; 2) the empirical evidence shows that peer socialization and attachments are directly related to delinquent behavior (Hindelang, 1973; Weis, 1974; Weis et al., 1980b; Worsley, 1979); and 3) delinquent peer influence has an ecological anchor in the community, and is particularly powerful in communities with high delinquency rates. Regarding the nature of the supplementary role of peer influence, it is suggested that "peers" be incorporated into the integrated theoretical model as another very important unit of socialization, and that the influence of peers be conceptualized as an intervening social process between an unattached, uncommitted, and disbelieving youngster and delinquent behavior. If the social process of making a youngster moral has been interrupted by uncaring parents, poor school performance, visions of occupational failure, and a questionably legitimate legal system, he or she is more free to engage in delinquent behavior and is more likely to come under the influence of peers who may be in the same situation and who provide each other the social and psychological support, rewards, and reinforcement that are not forthcoming in more conventional contexts (cf. Cohen and Short, 1961). Otherwise put, the more inadequate the socialization to conformity, the more likely the socialization to nonconformity.

An integration of control and cultural deviance theories, specifically Hirschi's (1969) control theory and Aker's (1977) social learning theory, means that the units, elements, and processes of socialization are incorporated within one theoretical model which offers a major improvement in explanatory and predictive power (cf. Voss, 1969; Conger, 1976; Sakumoto, 1978; Bahr, 1979; Johnson, 1979). This particular integration has been referred to as the social development model of delinquency and prevention (Weis and Hawkins, 1981; Hawkins and Weis, 1980). It integrates the individual socialization components of each theory, but does not include the community organization and context component of cultural deviance theory as an explicit part of the model, nor does it address the interaction between community organization and context and the institutions of socialization within the community. This is not a major defect in the social development model, but rather reflects a difference in emphasis -- one on the general case and the other on the more specific case of serious juvenile crime in high delinquency rate communities. Clearly, the latter requires a specification of the community context wherein the social development process is to unfold. Otherwise put, the social development of youths is different in the South Bronx than in Beverly Hills.

Regarding the important variations in delinquency across communities that a theory needs to take into account, "community context" needs also to be included to better specify the integrated control and cultural deviance theoretical model, or social development model. The community context is the ecological anchor of first, the community organization which impacts opportunities for delinquency and the community delinquency rate, second, the operation and effectiveness of the major social control or socializing institutions -- of family, school, peers, and law, and third, the extent and magnitude of delinquent peer influence. The relationships among these three factors determine the community delinquency rate and the fate of individual youths within the community.

In general, there is a positive relation between community organization and social control, and both have a negative relation with opportunities for crime and delinquent peer influence (See Figure 1).

FIGURE 1

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG CONFIGURATIONS OF
VARIABLES IN INTEGRATED THEORETICAL MODEL

Community Organization → (+) → Socializing Institutions → (−) → Delinquent Peer Influence → (+) → Delinquency

Community Organization → (−) → Opportunities For Crime → (+) → Delinquent Peer Influence

Socializing Institutions ↕ (−) Opportunities For Crime

In a community context of "disorganization," social control is less effective because the front line socializing institutions are weakened by higher community rates of family disorganization, less adequate educational facilities and preparation, fewer material, social, and psychological resources, less respect for the law, and so on. Because of a more likely high delinquency rate or tradition of crime, there are also more opportunities to become involved in crime, which puts an even greater strain on the institutions of socialization. With the community not organized against crime and delinquency, with weakened socializing institutions, and with available illegitimate opportunities, the power of delinquent peer influence can exert itself, often in the form of law violating groups or delinquent gangs in these types of communities. More youths involved more frequently in mo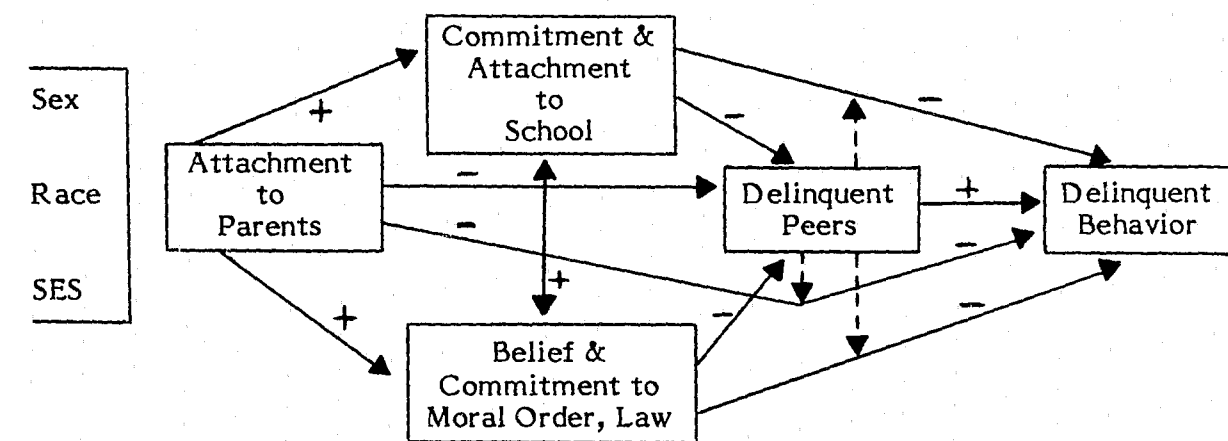re serious crime is the result of this process, which, in order to short circuit it, must be attacked in each area -- community organization, socializing institutions, and peer influence.

A general model of delinquency which integrates control and cultural deviance theories and focuses on the roles of the institutions of socialization and peer influence is represented in Figure 2.

FIGURE 2

A GENERAL MODEL OF DELINQUENCY:
INTEGRATION OF CONTROL AND CULTURAL DEVIANCE THEORIES

Sex, Race, SES → Attachment to Parents → (+) → Commitment & Attachment to School; → (−) → Delinquent Peers → (+) → Delinquent Behavior; → (+) → Belief & Commitment to Moral Order, Law

The theoretically and empirically most important units (family, school, law, peers) and elements (attachment, commitment, belief) of socialization are depicted in the causal order of relationships among these variables. (The arrows and valences indicate the direction of the relationships, the causal chain moving from left to right with a (+) indicating a positive association and a (−) indicating a negative association between variables.) Briefly, the model shows the kinds of relationships among the units and elements of socialization as proposed in control and cultural deviance theories. Socialization within the family will be affected differentially by sociodemographic background variables, which for heuristic purposes are outside of the direct causal relationships but may influence the development of attachment to parents, and more directly by the community context. For example, research has suggested that boys and girls are socialized differently within the family, and there may be cultural variation in family organization and concomitant socialization experiences, and that child-rearing practices vary across socioeconomic class (cf. Burr et al., 1979). The development of attachment to parents will take place within the context of these types of sociodemographic "givens" -- a child is born male or female and into a family unit with certain socioeconomic and cultural characteristics. And characteristics of the community where that family resides will interact with both the socialization of and consequences for the child.

Theoretically and empirically, the development of attachment to parents will lead to commitment to education and attachment to school, and to belief in and commitment to the conventional moral order and the law. These attachments, commitments, and beliefs to conformity, or what Toby (1957) refers to as stakes in conformity, are intercorrelated and in turn directly prevent a youngster from engaging in delinquent behavior and indirectly prevent delinquent behavior by "insulating" a youngster against delinquent peer influence. Involvement with and attachment to nonconforming peers is directly related to delinquent behavior and also conditions the effects of family, school, and law on delinquent behavior by reinforcing the inclination to engage in crime among those youngsters who have low stakes in conformity.

Clearly, a dynamic multivariate causal model of delinquency is desirable for theory and prevention. A dynamic causal model and its derivative implications for prevention should be responsive to the direct and interaction effects among variables over time. In the most general sense, the different causes of delinquency have different effects at different points in time in a youngster's life. More specifically, it is clear that the causal power of the important units of socialization varies by the age of a youngster. It is not chronological age but rather institutional age that is most salient (cf. Simmons et al., 1973). Children move through a number of significant "institutional passages" in their social development. These passages demarcate "stages" in the life of a youngster during which different units of socialization are most important. These stages are mapped primarily by the education system: preschool, primary school, intermediate or junior high school, and high school. For preschool children the family is the most significant unit of socialization; when a child begins school in the primary grades, the school becomes an important socializing institution; beginning in junior high school, the role of peers in socialization increases and becomes even more important as a youngster moves into high school.
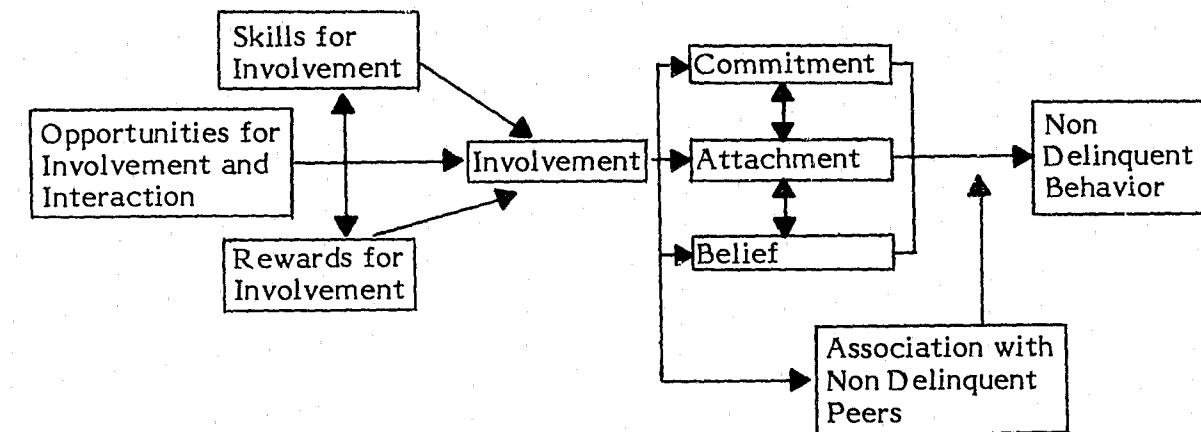
The first socializing institution in the sequence, the family, is of primary importance from birth until youths enter school. Opportunities for involvement in certain roles in the family plus specific parent skills lead to rewarding family involvement for children. Rewarding involvement leads to attachment to parents. This attachment influences subsequent school experiences and belief in the moral order.

School becomes an important institution during the years from school entry until graduation or dropout. Opportunities for involvement in certain school roles, consistency of expectations in the school environment, and teacher and child skills predict academic success experiences, attachment to school, and commitment to education. These, in turn, enhance belief in the moral order, inhibit association with delinquency-prone peers, and prevent delinquency. School's influence may decrease differentially depending on academic and social experiences at school. For example, for students who do not experience academic success, school may decrease in importance and employment increase in importance earlier than for students who are successful and rewarded in school.

During adolescence, peers become increasingly important to the socialization process and continue to be important through high school. The critical consideration is the extent and nature of delinquent involvement among peer-groups in the school and neighborhood. For a portion of the youth population, especially those who do not experience rewarding involvement in school, employment may become an important socializing force from later adolescence on. Entry to jobs which have career prospects and which offer learning opportunities is important. Finally, the community provides the context which influences behavior throughout the process of social development.

Obviously, this simple model does not include all of the variables or relationships proposed by the two theories. To do so, the model would include at least sixty variables (Henney, 1978). Neither does the model depict the processes by which the various components of the bond to conformity are developed. The effects of the intervening process variables have important consequences for delinquency theory and prevention. These processes occur with minor variations in each institutional setting encountered during social development (family, school, peer group, employment). Consequently, in Figure 3 the processes are illustrated without reference to specific institution of socialization and social control.

FIGURE 3

THE PROCESSES OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Opportunities for involvement in conventional activities and for interaction with conventional others are necessary structural conditions for the development of commitment to conventional lines of action and attachment to conventional others. In order for these structural opportunities to produce social bonds which prevent delinquency, the individuals who participate in conventional activities and interactions must have certain requisite skills. The application of these skills should be followed by consistent rewards, thereby making participation, or involvement, a rewarding experience. It should be emphasized that skills must be possessed by both youthful participants and by others (such as parents and teachers) with whom youths are involved. For example, for involvement in school to be rewarding, students must develop cognitive skills, but teachers must also be skilled in recognizing and reinforcing students' progress. Furthermore, different actors in youths' social environment must be consistent in their expectations for and responses to behavior if conforming behavior is to be continually reinforced and deviant behavior prevented or extinguished.

If youths are successful in conventional activities and find interaction with conventional others rewarding, they develop beliefs in the moral order, become committed to conventional activities, and attached to conventional others. If, however, youths do not find their participation in conventional activities and interactions with conventional others rewarding, they are likely to seek other associations and activities which promise alternative rewards. They are likely to associate with peers who are also disillusioned with their experiences. Together these alienated youths are likely to discover opportunities for delinquency and to influence one another towards delinquent acts. In contrast, those youths who develop commitments to conventional activities, attachment to conventional others, and beliefs in the moral order are not likely to engage in delinquent behavior.

Finally, there are important interaction effects among some of the key variables. For example, the influence of peers is most significant from the beginning of intermediate or junior high school on, but is more salient for girls than boys and is more important in an explanation of less serious delinquent behavior among girls and more serious delinquent

behavior among boys. Or as the family diminishes in influence from primary grades to high school, the sex difference in the role of attachment to parents in causing delinquency becomes larger -- the importance of family socialization in preventing delinquency does not diminish as much for girls as it does for boys.

These types of dynamic and complex relationships among variables suggest that delinquency prevention should be responsive to the manner in which the causes of delinquency work within the social development process. If prevention efforts are to take into account and reflect the apparent complexity of causal relations, they should be directed at the causes of delinquency as they emerge and interact during the lives of youngsters, and within appropriate community contexts. Different interventions are called for at different stages in the socialization of youths. A dynamic, multivariate theoretical model suggests an equally dynamic, multifaceted model of delinquency prevention.

IMPLICATIONS OF THEORIES FOR PREVENTION*

What are the theoretically derivable and empirically supportable implications for delinquency prevention of the integrated control and cultural deviance model of delinquency and its prevention?

Control Theory

Control theory suggests that delinquent behavior can be prevented by increasing the effectiveness of those institutions which are primarily responsible for the socialization and control of youth. Implications for the prevention of juvenile delinquency revolve around the strategy of institutional and organizational change. If delinquent behavior is a consequence of incomplete socialization and inadequate social constraints -- the family, the school, and the law -- must be improved. Their improvement will create more adequate outer (external, social, direct) and inner (internal, personal, internalized) controls.

Family -- The family is, perhaps, most important since it is "without doubt the most effective unit of social control that exists" (Landis, 1939:165). It is the first line of defense against delinquency. The family exerts direct control through its supervision of the activities and behavior of children. Hirschi (1969) has shown that this type of external control prevents delinquent behavior. Equally important is the family's role in developing a youngster's self-control, which is anchored in a positive self-concept (Reckless, 1961). Efforts to improve the control effectiveness of the family should be directed at enhancing its direct control function and its ability to develop self-control among children. The juvenile court attempts to accomplish these ends by working with problem families who come to the attention of the court because of the apparent predelinquent status of their children. Again, this is primarily a control strategy, and it remotely approaches corrective prevention.

A truly preventive strategy would focus either on "families with problems" or "problems with families." The first suggests early identification and correction programs anchored in the community, idependent of the juvenile justice system. The second suggests a critical analysis of the role of the family in our society, the transformation of the nuclear family, and the development of more viable living arrangements. However, the latter would be an improper inference from control theory because it assumes a static, consensual order which, if functioning properly, effectively socializes and controls its members. There may be family

*This section is derived from an earlier work by one of the authors, Weis (1977).

disorganization, without questioning the validity of the family as an institution. Control theory, instead, suggests that the family qua family be improved as one of the crucial socialization institutions which constitute the conventional order. Early identification and correction programs in the community are corrective prevention efforts directed at youngsters who, apparently, are potentially delinquent. They rely on prediction devices which typically are loaded with family variables. Potential delinquents are predicted from a population of children who are relatively young, and then are placed in a program designed to prevent their delinquent tendencies from ripening into full-blown delinquent behavior.

The two best-known early identification and correction projects are the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study (Powers and Witmer, 1951) and the New York City Youth Board Study (Craig and Glick, 1963; Craig, 1965). In the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study (Powers and Witmer, 1951), the prototype for early identification and correction projects, children between six and eleven years old were referred by teachers and police to a committee which predicted whether they were predelinquents or not. The prognoses were made on the basis of reports and evaluations submitted by teachers and police, a home visit by a staff psychologist, and subjective clinical evaluations. After matching youngsters within the groups of predelinquents and nondelinquents, they were randomly assigned to treatment and control groups. The treatment consisted of "intensive personal counseling" over an average of five years. Evaluation led to the conclusion that "the special work of the counselors was no more effective than the usual forces in the community in preventing boys from committing delinquent acts" (Powers and Witmer, 1951:337).

The New York City Youth Board Study (Craig and Glick, 1963; Craig, 1965) is more to the point because an attempt was made to predict delinquency among 223 first grade boys by using Glueck's (1966) family background prediction scale, a five factor scale including discipline of boy by father, supervision of boy by mother, affection of father for son, affection of mother for son, and cohesiveness of family. A number of psychiatric, educational, and social work services were provided to the predelinquents with little positive effect (Toby, 1965). After ten years the youngsters who came from families with problems, the predelinquents, and who were being "corrected" were as delinquent as the control group.

A couple of atypical early identification and correction programs focus on the family, rather than on the individual as the target of preventive efforts. One such program in the "revitalization of parent-child relations" was organized at the Henry Street Settlement House in New York City (Tefferteller, 1959). Parents with eight to thirteen year old predelinquents, as evidenced by their membership in street-corner groups, were encouraged to strengthen their authority and control over their children, as well as to be more tolerant of certain behaviors. Five groups of parents were formed in which discussions were held concerning their children, misbehavior, and ways to keep them out of trouble with the law. Collectively, they became more effective in controlling the potentially delinquent behavior of their children. This program suggests that strengthening the family's direct control over their children and establishing relationships with neighbors who may have the same problems may be an effective way to prevent delinquency. Unfortunately, there is no systematic evaluation of the program; only the subjective evaluations of those involved in it are available.

Overall, early identification and correction programs suggest that corrective prevention efforts which focus on only one member of a problem family -- the identified predelinquent -- are not going to be very successful. If family dynamics are etiologically significant in the generation of delinquent behavior, the family should be the target of corrective efforts. We have seen that a family's direct control can be enhanced by organizing parents in supportive interaction networks. A family's ability to develop self-control in a child can be enhanced by

teaching parents more effective child-rearing techniques. This is not easily accomplished, since no one likes to be told directly how to raise their children. However, family planning, parent education, day care centers, family counseling and therapy, and even the establishment of therapeutic communities for problem families (Tait and Hodges, 1962) may indirectly affect child-rearing practices, particularly those which affect the self-concept of the child (cf. Rodman and Grams, 1967). On the other hand, there is an important sense in which exercising direct control and developing self-control cannot be separated conceptually or operationally. Anything that improves the family as an institution of socialization and control will affect both the outer and inner containment of delinquent behavior.

School -- The school is also important in a delinquency prevention strategy. Poor academic performance, substandard achievement, negative feelings toward teachers and the school, low self-esteem in the face of failure, and depressed educational aspirations indicate a lack of attachment and commitment to an important unit of socialization and control. This apparently cumulative cycle of educational failure cannot be traced only to inherent differences in ability because there is too much evidence which suggests that the inadequacies of the public education system are equally responsible. Attachment and commitment to education can become possible for more youngsters through changes in the prevailing conceptions and organization of the educational system. Schools should organize their programs in order that more children can develop a bond to the conventional lines of action that articulate with anticipated adult status.

This focus on the institutional change of the educational system makes more sense in light of the failures of remedial programs designed to correct individuals who have educational and behavioral problems. An experimental educational program paid fifty youngsters up to forty dollars a week to attend an educational center where they were to study in order to pass high school equivalency examinations. Apparently, there was no relationship between participation in the program and passing the examinations. Only 42 of 167 participants completed the program and only 13 passed the equivalency tests (Jeffery and Jeffery, 1969). The results of Girls Vocational High (Meyer, Borgatta, and Jones, 1963) were equally discouraging. Girls with personal and emotional problems, who were judged as potentially delinquent by their teachers, were provided with social casework and group therapy by an agency which specialized in working with adolescent girls. From the population of nominees, 189 were involved in the program. Evaluation of school and social behavior change on a number of dimensions revealed that the girls who participated in the program differed very little, if at all, from the control group. There was one encouraging result -- the program girls were less truant.

This is not to suggest that remedial eduation, social casework, group therapy, or counseling should be discouraged or, perhaps, terminated as ways to help youngsters who have educational problems. What is suggested, however, is that it is necessary to redefine the problem and, therefore, the implied solutions. "Problems of adjustment" to school are due, in great part, to problems with education, as well as to individual educational problems. An effective strategy of delinquency prevention should include solutions to the problems with education.

Proposals for preventing, reducing, and controlling delinquency cannot refer only to programs that relate directly to control problems in the schools, but must reach deeply to the underlying and core conditions that help produce educational failure, perceived irrelevancy, lack of commitment, and exclusion -- and, therefore, delinquency (Schafer and Polk, 1957:58).

A number of recommendations for institutional and organizational change flow from the position that the current educational system helps produce delinquency. These have been specified in great detail by Schafer and Polk (1967:258-304), and they will be summarized here. First, school districts should increase the educational success chances of all students, including high delinquency-risk populations, in order to counter the typically negative consequences of educational failure. This can be accomplished by getting teachers to believe that all students can and should be educated; expanding preschool education programs; developing curricula and educational material that are relevant to the life experiences and needs of the students; developing teaching methods appropriate to the student population; utilizing flexible grouping and individualized curriculum, rather than "tracking" students; and reeducating teachers on a continual basis.

Second, school districts should make the school curriculum more relevant to the occupational market, especially for students who are not college-bound, in order to neutralize the role of weak commitment to education in the generation of delinquent behavior. This can be accomplished by developing alternative career routes, especially those subprofessional jobs in the ever-expanding human services field, and by creating job placement and follow-up offices in high schools which find jobs for graduates and monitor their performance after employment.

Third, school districts should develop means for generating and sustaining the commitment of youth to the educational system and to community standards of behavior. This can be accomplished by including youngsters in educational planning and decisionmaking processes wherever possible; developing viable student political organizations which can exercise some authority in the school; encouraging participation in extracurricular activities and making them more available to more students; involving students in the instructional process as tutors, aides, and special instructors in areas where they are particularly knowledgeable; and developing courses that focus on law, crime, and the criminal justice system to develop some respect for the rules students are expected to obey.

Fourth, school districts should develop means for recapturing, reequipping, recommitting, and reintegrating students who are not achieving or behaving. This can be accomplished by eliminating exclusion-oriented responses to less-than-model students and developing more positive kinds of responses, such as special programs and classes; by reintegrating dropouts; coordinating and decentralizing special services so that they are more accessible to the student; and expanding current counseling and special service programs.

Fifth, school districts should try to bring about closer cooperation and coordination among the school, families, and agencies in the community. This can be accomplished by bringing parents into the educational process; establishing school-community advisory panels consisting of parents and students; and encouraging the schools to be "community schools" or centers of all kinds of activities, day and night, throughout the year.

In short, attachment and commitment to school and education must be developed and sustained for as many students in as many ways as possible.

Law -- The law is also important in a delinquency prevention strategy, but in a different way than the family and school. The belief in the legitimacy and moral validity of the law must be strengthened, particularly among doubters, nonbelievers, and the disenfranchised. The school class on "the law" mentioned above is one way to accomplish this. Control theory, however, suggests more specific implications for bolstering belief in the legal system.

If "neutralizations" play a role in causing delinquent behavior by negating the offender's sense of moral responsibility, as Sykes and Matza (1957) tell us they do, the sources of the neutralizations must in turn be neutralized to prevent delinquent behavior. Specifically, there should be an institutional overhaul of the juvenile justice system, particularly of the juvenile court, in order to eliminate the sense of injustice and the cognitive defenses to delinquent behavior that it provides for those who come into contact with it. The juvenile court should not function as a "socialized court" wherein juvenile criminals are treated as irresponsible and dependent. The jurisdiction of the juvenile court (and juvenile justice system for that matter) should be restricted to juveniles who commit crimes, and those juvenile criminals who come before it should be accorded the same legal and civil responsibilities and rights as adult criminals. These types of changes should make neutralizations less available to youngsters, which, in effect, prevents them from breaking the moral bind of the law and becoming free to commit delinquent acts. Family problems (incorrigibility), school problems (truancy), and welfare problems (dependency-neglect) should be handled by the appropriate agencies outside of the juvenile justice system (cf. Schur, 1973). Of course, making the juvenile court more like an adult court is not going to solve all of the problems which surround the development of a strong belief in the law. In fact, one should expect more problems initially, but ultimately, one should expect a more just and respected juvenile justice system and, therefore, a stronger belief in its legitimacy and moral validity.

The implications of control theory for the prevention of juvenile delinquency can be summarized as follows:

1. A key to delinquency prevention is institutional and organizational change of those institutions which are primarily responsible for the socialization and control of youth -- the family, the school, and the law.

   The effectiveness of these institutions must be improved. Doing so will create more adequate outer and inner containment of potentially antisocial behavior.

2. Efforts to improve the control effectiveness of the family should be directed at enhancing its direct control function and its ability to develop self-control among children.

   The family, rather than the predelinquent, should be the target of corrective efforts which rely on early identification and prediction. A family's direct control can be enhanced by organizing parents in supportive interaction networks. A family's ability to develop self-control in a child can be enhanced through more effective child-rearing practices, particularly those which affect the child's self-concept.

3. Attachment to the school and commitment to education must be developed and sustained for as many students in as many ways as possible.

   Schools should organize their programs in order to improve the possibility of educational success, the relevance of curriculum to occupational careers, the commitments of youth to education and to community standards of behavior, and the means of integrating students into curricular and extracurricular activities.

4. The juvenile court should be desocialized, or reorganized as a criminal court for juveniles, in order to strengthen belief in the law.

   School classes on the criminal justice system may improve respect for the law, but fundamental changes in the philosophy, organization, and operation of the juvenile court are necessary to suspend the sense of injustice and the claim of irresponsibility which buttress the rationalizations that neutralize belief in the moral bind of the law and of the conventional order.

5. Enhancing the self-concept of youngsters should be part of all institutional changes directed at delinquency prevention.

   Good self-concepts are essential to effective self-control. Wherever possible, positive feedback should be encouraged and undue negative feedback discouraged in the socialization of youngsters whether in the family, school, or juvenile justice system.

In summary, juvenile delinquency can be prevented by improving the effectiveness of those institutions which are primarily responsible for the socialization and control of youth -- the family, the school, and the law.

Cultural Deviance Theory

Cultural deviance theory suggests a general community organization approach to delinquency prevention. The research of cultural disorganization theorists directs prevention efforts to the community, neighborhood, or social area. Persistently high delinquency rates in certain areas of cities suggest that efforts to improve social control should be focused on the community.

Cultural disorganization theory suggests two major levels of prevention effort within the community. "Cultural conflict" (differential group organization) suggests that delinquent behavior can be controlled and prevented by organizing the community against crime. There should be a concerted, collective effort to neutralize the criminal value system and to promote conventional activities. If societies have the kind of crime they deserve, then so do communities. Local citizens must take a major share of the responsibilities for delinquency prevention. "Cultural transmission" (differential association) suggests that another focus should be the learning process through which individuals are converted to criminal values and behavior patterns.

If community organization is successful, those associations that encourage the violation of the law will be minimized and those that discourage it will be maximized. However, more specific prevention efforts are necessary at the level of the individual association process. Encouraging youngsters to participate in the life of the community, and more specifically, in efforts to ameliorate conditions that are criminogenic has the potential to decrease the number of criminal associations and the time spent with others who might be transmitting criminal values. Additionally, participation commits youngsters to a social process of conventional value reinforcement and criminal value extinction. Involvement in anticriminal activities (e.g., a campaign to control narcotics abuse and dealing in the community) or in efforts to help others (e.g., working with children in educational or recreational contexts), engages youngsters in a process wherein they verbalize and operationalize "definitions unfavorable to the violation of the law." This may affect their behavior more than the objects of their attention. In rehabilitative contexts this process is referred to as "retroflexive reformation" (Cressey and Volkman, 1963); one corrects oneself while correcting others.

Differential association theory also suggests that the sources of criminal values be stripped of their prestige in the community. Besides adult criminal elements, the delinquent gang should be a target of prevention efforts. The influence of older delinquent peers on children in the community can be neutralized by community cooptation of the group (Miller, 1962) or by disbanding it (Klein, 1971). In effect, this minimizes the possibility of association with a social group which supports the violation of the law by its members. It also devalues the prestige attached to gang membership in the community.

Fortunately, two major projects in delinquency prevention and control have been based on cultural deviance theory. Both are "area" or "total community" projects, one based on the culture conflict and cultural transmission theories of Shaw (1929), Shaw and McKay (1942), and Sutherland (Sutherland and Cressey, 1970) and the other on the cultural deviance theory of Miller (1957). The Chicago Area Project, initiated by Shaw in 1933, is the prototype of community-based delinquency programs. Since delinquent behavior was viewed as "principally a product of the breakdown of the machinery of spontaneous control," a primary goal was to initiate the kinds of social change in areas of Chicago that would generate community control mechanisms. Community organization, indigenous leadership, coordination of social and legal services, and participation by adult and juvenile residents of the communities were defined as essential to a strategy of delinquency prevention. Based on the belief that "community control" is essential, community committees were organized which selected a qualified local resident as director of the area project and attempted to coordinate and develop a variety of social services and activities. More than twenty centers serving almost ten thousand youngsters were developed. The projects encompassed recreation, clubs, hobby groups, school-community relations, discussion groups, prison release programs, counseling, referral services, and so on. In short, it represented a concerted effort to generate community solidarity and, in the process, to prevent crime and delinquency. The effect of the project on the delinquency rate in the target areas was not evaluated rigorously, but Witmer and Tufts (1954:16) suggest that delinquency declined in three out of four communities where Area Projects had been established between 1930-1942. On the other hand, Martin (1961) points out that the evaluations did not utilize control comparisons and that the impact of community organization might be negligible in communities that exhibit much less cultural disorganization. On the whole, however, "in all probability delinquency was substantially reduced as a consequence of the effort" (Haskell and Yablonsky, 1974:423).

A more systematically evaluated "total community" project, based on Miller's (1957) lower class cultural deviance theory, has generated less favorable results. However, the Midcity Youth Project was as much a gang control program as an integrated community organization and family rehabilitation program of delinquency prevention. The core of the project, intensive street work with seven gangs over a period of one to three years, produced "negligible impact" (Miller, 1962:312) on their delinquent involvement. This finding is less interesting for delinquency prevention than the apparent ability of the detached workers and the community to coopt a number of the gangs by changing them into "clubs," thereby giving them access to previously unavailable legitimate opportunities and changing their role in the community from a source of criminal values and associations to a source of conventional values and associations.

A project based explicitly on "differential opportunity" theory (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960) -- a subcultural theory of delinquency -- is Mobilization for Youth, which serves a community in New York City by providing "an integrated approach to the environmental system which produces delinquency" (Bibb, 1967: 176). In addition to efforts to improve and create new employment opportunities in the community, there is an active community organization effort which attempts to coordinate social services and to promote social change in those areas

which affect residents of the community (e.g., neighborhood legal services, tenants' unions, volunteer tutoring, voter registration, political lobbying). The employment component is similar to other work-training projects, except that it is community-anchored, and this reflects the importance attached to community organization. Delinquency prevention is not achieved by only increasing legitimate opportunities; as Cloward and Ohlin (1960) suggest, there must be a concomitant decrease in illegitimate opportunities. The community must be organized in such a way that access to the illegitimate opportunity structure is restricted (or eliminated). Community solidarity is essential to delinquency prevention. Social control is more effective when it is indigenous, and youngsters are more responsive to concerned adults of the community than to intruders. Increased community control implies increased participation and power for conventional adults and youths. However, one can also infer that since social control is exerted over youngsters in the community by adults who occupy positions within the illegitimate opportunity structure, their participation may be useful in a community delinquency prevention strategy. Their participation may be especially important in communities plagued by juvenile violence.

The implications of cultural deviance theory for the prevention of juvenile delinquency can be summarized as follows:

1. A key to delinquency prevention is community organization against delinquent behavior.

   Community solidarity in the effort to prevent delinquency is essential. Social control is more effective when its source is the community, rather than external forces such as law enforcement.

2. Community control of prevention efforts and of other services for youth should be encouraged.

   The coordination of existing social services and the development of new programs should be the responsibility primarily of community residents. Indigenous leadership is invaluable since there is a sense of responsibility to the welfare of the community and youngsters are more responsive to community leaders than to outsiders.

3. The participation of youngsters, as well as adults, should be encouraged.

   Increased community control should mean increased participation and power for all members of the community, particularly for the historically disenfranchised youth population. Self-help and other-help by youngsters is an effective preventive which is only possible through participation.

4. Delinquent groups should be coopted or disbanded.

   One of the primary sources of criminal associations, the groups of delinquent peers in the community, should be directed into conventional behavior patterns or, if this is not possible, should be dispersed.

5. Ties to conventional groups should be encouraged and developed.

   Traditional social, religious, and fraternal groups for children should be supported actively within the community as a source of anti-criminal associations. Less traditional civil rights, political, and nationalist groups should also be utilized, especially for older youngsters who may be seeking ways to express their alienation and discontent.

6. A key to delinquency prevention is the expansion and equalization of access to legitimate opportunities to achieve.

Educational and employment opportunities, in particular, must be made accessible, regardless of socioeconomic status or race. Educational opportunities are most crucial since school performance articulates with employment prospects, and employment opportunities become most salient upon termination of formal education.

7. Access to illegitimate opportunities should be restricted.

The community cultural milieu should be reorganized to remove the supports of the illegitimate opportunity structure. Community social control should be encouraged and directed at reducing the availability of delinquent adaptations.

8. The alienation of frustrated youth should be directed into legitimate expressions of discontent.

Those youngsters who are discontented with their social position and who believe it is a consequence of the social injustices of class and race privilege may express this alienation from the social order in conventional or delinquent ways. Efforts to provide legitimate ideologies of alienation and opportunities for the collective expression of discontent should be made.

In summary, juvenile delinquency can be prevented by community organization against criminal values and behavior and by subverting the processes of association through which youngsters become delinquents. Overall "The problem of prevention is partly a problem of social control and partly a problem of reorganizing the social milieu so as to reduce the visibility of a particular form of deviant behavior" (Ohlin and Cloward, 1963:197).

A COMPREHENSIVE MODEL OF DELINQUENCY PREVENTION

A comprehensive research and development project based on the proposed general theoretical model and its prevention implications is currently underway in Seattle, Washington (see Weis and Hawkins, 1981; Hawkins and Weis, 1980; Weis, Janvier, and Hawkins, 1980). This project is designed as a general community delinquency prevention approach, which addresses the situations of communities in general and is appropriate throughout cities and large urban areas. However, as discussed earlier, within any city, including some smaller cities, there may be one or more smaller communities or neighborhoods characterized by deterioration, disorganization, and high rates of crime and delinquency. In such areas, the exacerbated problems of the disorganized community and community-specific problems interact with the front-line socializing institutions of family, school, and peers and create additional problems with respect to the social development of youth who live in these areas. Therefore, there is a need for community-based programs in high delinquency rate neighborhoods which include additional elaborated or refined and/or new intervention program elements, including elements designed specifically to address the problems of community disorganization. The model described in this section includes elements from the Seattle comprehensive research and development model, plus elements designed specifically for high delinquency rate neighborhoods within cities. Examples of these elements are included.

The modifications and additions for high delinquency rate communities are based on a philosophy of community-based delinquency prevention which is embodied in the well-known Chicago Area Project, which began in 1933 and continues to operate today. The basic unit of operation is the community defined as "a collectivity of individuals and groups, often located within a specific geographical area and variously organized and differentiated by sex, age, race, ethnicity, status, interest, need, and purpose. The area tends to be identified, both locally and externally, not always sharply and consistently, on the basis of administrative, historical, physical, political, economic, social and cultural considerations" (Speigel, 1971); or a neighborhood defined as "a small area in which the population has a similarity in educational, social, and economic levels, or in religion, race, or nationality. A strong common bond makes for easier community organization because goals and programs are more easily understood by a large proportion of the residents" (Sorrentino, 1977). By "neighborhood," therefore, we are not referring to the proximate residential area around a particular residence, the nearby territory in which interaction is limited to informal socializing and neighboring.

The basic philosophy and theoretical foundation of the Chicago Area Project are summarized in a set of assumptions outlined by one of its founders, Clifford R. Shaw (Sorrentino, 1977):

(1) that the problem of delinquency in low-income areas is to a large extent the product of the social experiences to which children and young people are customarily exposed; (2) that effective treatment and prevention can be achieved only so far as constructive changes in the community life can be brought about; (3) that effective rehabilitation of the offender entails the re-incorporation of the offender into some socially constructive group or groupings in the community; and (4) that in any enterprise which is likely to be effective in bringing about these changes, it is indispensable that the local residents, individually and collectively, accept the fullest possible responsibility for defining objectives, formulating policies, finding financial support and exercising the necessary control over budgets, personnel and programs.

Clearly, there is a general similarity between the implicit theory of delinquency in assumptions 1) through 3) and the integrated theory embodied in this paper. This is not accidental. The general "program characteristics" revolve around the goal of developing the project with rather than for the community. In the Chicago Area Project they may be summarized as including (Sorrentino, 1977:11-14):

1. Use of natural leaders: these are leaders within significant neighborhood institutions such as church leaders, professionals, students, businessmen. Their function is to help plan, control, and give moral support to the program.

2. Staff: recruited from the neighborhood except for a small number of trained workers as local conditions require. Some are volunteers, while others receive a small stipend. All program activities are under the supervision of the community committee. Most members of the supervisory staff have training in sociology, group work, social work, psychiatry, and law.

3. Activities: through the community committee a program of recreational, cultural, and educational activities is carried on in conjunction with agencies already established in the community. Examples include camping, athletics and games, music, dramatics, movies, handicrafts, and various adult education and civic activities.

4. **Social action:** communities carry on specific campaigns to improve the local environment, facilities, and opportunities in health, housing, employment, education, and law enforcement. These campaigns are conducted with the cooperation of local governmental, law enforcement, and service agencies as well as private business.

5. **Use of natural groups:** as far as possible, each child is brought into activities along with other members of the informal group to which he or she belongs, with the aim of preserving the natural relationships and controls of the group. With delinquent groups the aim is to introduce constructive values into their actions, relying on the prestige of the group's natural leader.

6. **Use of all community resources:** contributions and resources of indigenous groups as well as institutions that are initiated and sustained from outside the community are coordinated to maximize the total available resources and to limit costs by not duplicating already available resources.

Other similar projects have been attempted, notably the Midcity Project implemented in Boston in the middle 1950's. In this project a citizens' council was formed to strengthen community organization. Interventions aimed at families and youth gangs were the other elements (Miller, 1962). The theoretical basis of the project was a version of cultural deviance theory, proposing that adherence by youths to a lower class culture, within the context of a disorganized community, led to high rates of delinquent behavior and gangs.

A more recent recognition of the promise of this philosophy is found in a call by Woodson (1981a) for more efforts and research and development work in community-based prevention. Also similar to the social development model of delinquency and its prevention, although borrowing more from the control theory tradition, it is proposed that youths get into trouble in disorganized neighborhoods because the family, as well as other institutions, has not been effective in "bonding" its children, and crime is a byproduct. Therefore, the solution is community organization, with a focus on the effectiveness of "extended families":

The formation of primary bonds, in which people subjectively identify and are meaningfully identified, may be the central event in self-renovation and positive community revitalization. Community-based primary groups, more readily accepted than juvenile justice programs, can take on the functions historically assigned to families. They can mediate between the neighborhood and its youths and, in so doing, truly modify the young people (Woodson, 1981).

Woodson cites projects which attempt to construct community-based "surrogate families," particularly the House of Umoja in Philadelphia (see below), as exemplars for future research and development.

PROGRAM ELEMENTS

The program elements which might constitute a truly comprehensive community delinquency prevention project, including elements which target high delinquency rate neighborhoods within the community, are listed and described below. They are divided into the five areas of intervention -- community, family, school, peers, and employment -- and within each area are further divided into two categories of program elements, one for "general community applications" and the other designed specifically for "high delinquency neighbor-

48

hood applications." The former includes both preclusive and secondary corrective prevention strategies, while the latter relies primarily on secondary and tertiary prevention strategies. In most communities the program elements with general applicability would be sufficient for most prevention purposes, but in high delinquency rate communities (or high rate neighborhoods within communities), special extra efforts need to be directed at those youths who are "falling through the cracks" of general socializing institutions and more general preclusive and secondary prevention efforts.

COMMUNITY

A. GENERAL COMMUNITY APPLICATIONS

1. Community Crime Prevention Program

This is the community block-watch model which has been successful in reducing residential burglaries. (See Community Crime Prevention Program in Wall et al., 1981:30.) This approach is included not only for its immediate and obvious deterrent potential, but more importantly for its use of a social network strategy which engages neighborhood members in shared activities around the common goal of crime prevention. This involvement can generate a sense of shared concern and power which is manifested in community norms against crime. These norms can contribute to a climate in which criminal actions are viewed by community youths as both risky and unacceptable rather than as a routine part of growing up. The community is more visibly organized against crime and delinquency.

2. Community Youth Development Project

Community-focused youth participation and advocacy projects may also hold some promise for delinquency prevention. In these projects community members, including youths, are organized into planning committees to mobilize community resources to provide a community environment conducive to positive youth development. The major goal here, which is clearly problematic, is the involvement of community youths who are not typically involved in leadership roles in school. If these youths are involved in planning and organizing activities and projects to improve opportunities for youths in the community, they may develop stronger stakes in conformity. Regardless of the specific activity, the major goal is to provide youths who may not have established commitments to education or attachments to school with involvement in legitimate activities and ties to legitimate groups. (See Youth Community Development Project in Wall et al., 1981:135.) Detailed information on this element is also found in Washnis (1976).

B. HIGH DELINQUENCY NEIGHBORHOOD APPLICATIONS

1. Community Committee

Based on the generic Chicago Area Project model (see Sorrentino, 1977) a community committee is formed to perform overall coordination of the community-based program. Membership should reflect the population composition of the neighborhood so that no particular interest group predominates. A significant proportion of the committee should be youths; as a benchmark, less than 20 percent would seem insufficient. A broad-based committee is needed not just for equity and legitimacy but also to broaden the Committee's familiarity with neighborhood conditions and problems,

49

and resources in the form of contacts both inside and outside the neighborhood. In communities where youth gangs are present, the Committee should include persons with close links to them. Specific Community Committee responsibilities would include the following:

a) Conducting an initial and ongoing Crime Inventory. Data should include types of crimes being committed, locations and times, identities (where known) of perpetrators and victims, and situational factors (e.g., previous conflict relationships between participants).

b) Drawing on the crime inventory and on knowledge of the community, the Committee would perform a coordinated Needs Assessment and Planning effort to identify gaps in service and to assist in the development of strategies and, if needed, services to fill those gaps. Given the multiplicity of potentially useful program elements, it is vital that long-range planning be instituted and maintained to insure a rationally-prioritized sequence of implementation and to avoid over-loading the community's resource base with new projects.

c) Drawing on the crime inventory, a Community Crisis Intervention strategy is devised and implemented. Interventions would consist of information gathering and rumor control, 24-hour hot lines, arbitration and mediation between violence-prone groups, and monitoring of high-risk situations. In general, the intervention would focus on the important socializing institutions of family, school, peers, and the law. Regarding the latter, links with local law enforcement and juvenile justice agencies are necessary and crucial components of a coordinated community effort.

d) Community Committees would maximize their service delivery capabilities through the Establishment and Coordination of Linkages with other organizations and agencies that provide or should provide specialized services to the neighborhood. Coordination of services with institutions and agencies should strengthen the variety and quality of services provided youths and the neighborhood, and reduce the duplication of services.

e) The Committee would engage in ongoing Development of Youth Service Activities, with identification of and special emphasis on those program elements which are vital to the neighborhood's crime prevention program.

f) The Committee would publish a Community Newsletter to disseminate information including program activities, calls for volunteers, victimization-avoidance information, and so on, and to provide a vehicle for area residents to communicate more effectively with each other. (See Chicago Area Project in Hall et al., 1981.)

2. Youth Committee

This is a committee of neighborhood youths, including former and present gang members where applicable, which is closely linked to the Community Committee and is similar in its responsibilities. The Youth Committees are established to provide alienated young people who may have little to no commitment to education or attachment to school with involvement in productive, conventional activities outside the school. It will maximize benefits to be gained by participating young people and the community alike by involving young people and adults in the planning of delinquency prevention/community enhancement programs through participation in the Community's

Committee structure. Some significant number of members of the Youth Committee would also sit on the full Community Committee. A model is provided by ICRY (Inner City Roundtable of Youth) in New York City. Its function is to maximize youth involvement in the neighborhood program, in terms of initiating and participating in community projects. (See ICRY in Hall et al., 1981.)

3. Community Advocates for Youth

Community volunteers would serve as general advocates for youths, whether individuals or groups, in their relationships with organizations and institutions, including schools, law-enforcement agencies, and community business enterprises. Ideally, an advocate would have continuing responsibility for a few particular individuals or a group of youths. The advocate would serve to assist and instruct youths in finding constructive solutions to conflicts and disputes, and seek fair treatment of them by youth-serving and -controlling agencies. This could be seen as a community-based version of case management (cf. Strasburg, 1978), with a distinct youth advocacy role playing a much more prominent position, as in the Dispensary of Saint Anthony in LaPlaya de Ponce, Puerto Rico (cf. Woodson, 1981b:17-21). (Also see Hall et al., 1981.)

4. Community Improvement Project

Part of the neighborhood program would be projects to improve and augment the physical resources of the neighborhood, to enhance "safety, livability, and appearance." Youth involvement in planning and execution is required, and such projects should be used as opportunities to get youths, including gangs, involved in constructive activities. Part of the community improvement project could include "community campaigns" which would operationalize the organization of the community against delinquency or any other pressing problem. For example, there have been successful community campaigns against narcotics sales, prostitution, vandalism, littering, noise pollution, and so on, but here the focus would be on delinquency-related problems and concerns.

FAMILY

A. GENERAL COMMUNITY APPLICATIONS

1. Parenting Training

Parenting training for delinquency prevention should seek to enhance the following characteristics of the family by teaching parents more effective child rearing skills.

Opportunities for family involvement are partially determined by background variables, including socioeconomic status of the family and sex and age of the child, which cannot be directly addressed by prevention interventions. However, the child's role and responsibilities in the family represent opportunities for involvement which can be enhanced through training. It is hypothesized that when parents provide children with participatory roles in the family as contributors to family survival and functioning and reward children for performance in these roles, attachment to the family will be enhanced and delinquency prevented. Additionally, the greater the affection, nurture, and support shown children by parents, the greater the likelihood of attachment between parents and children and the less the likelihood of delinquency (Jensen, 1972; Hirschi, 1969). Parenting training can provide parents with skills in showing affection and support for their children.

Parenting skills rely in good part on effective communication between parent and child. The more parents and children communicate with one another regarding thoughts, feelings, and values, the stronger the attachment between children and parents (Hirschi, 1969; Krohn, 1974). Parents can be assisted through parenting training in opening and maintaining lines of communication with their children, in empathetic listening, and in basic interpersonal skills (Alexander and Parsons, 1973; Patterson and Reid, 1973).

Fairness and impartiality of discipline appear related to family attachment and family control (Hirschi, 1969; Nye, 1958; Stanfield, 1966; Bahr, 1979). Consistent parental discipline also appears to increase the likelihood of belief in the moral order (Bahr, 1979:623). Parenting training can assist parents in consistent discipline practices. Parents should also consistently reinforce desired behavior and thereby develop similar skills in their children (Alexander and Parsons, 1973). Parenting training can provide the skills to utilize positive reinforcement to shape the life of the child. Finally, parents should be consistent as models of law-abiding behavior for their children if children are to develop belief in the legal order. Parenting training can emphasize the importance of this modeling by parents.

The general goals of parenting training for delinquency prevention are to improve parenting skills and, therefore, to increase attachment between children and parents and to improve the control effectiveness of the family. (See Gordon, 1970; Wall et al., 1981:79 for examples of parenting training programs.) One version worth mentioning here because it targets young women who may be alienated from conventional institutions is the Mother-Infant Bonding Program in Phoenix, Arizona. It is using innovative approaches to select recipients of parenting training: primary target groups are adolescent parents (mostly single mothers who are high school dropouts and unemployed) and parents who have been reported for child maltreatment. Continuing efforts are needed to develop ways of identifying parents in need of training and gaining their active cooperation. (See Hall et al., 1981.)

B. HIGH DELINQUENCY NEIGHBORHOOD APPLICATIONS

1. Family Crisis Intervention Services

The most promising corrective prevention approach focused on the family is crisis intervention for families with children. Family crisis intervention services which use a skill development approach to families as systems of communication and exchange have been shown effective for both preclusive and corrective prevention (Alexander and Parsons, 1973). Experimental evidence indicates that when both parents and children are trained in communication, contingency contracting, and negotiation skills and parents are also taught consistent and explicit rule-setting behavior, delinquency referrals are reduced among "status offenders" and minor delinquents. This approach also appears to reduce the likelihood of delinquency referrals of younger siblings in families who participate (Klein et al., 1977).

The family systems-oriented, skills training approach to family crisis intervention services seeks to increase effective parental supervision and family communication in families in conflict, to increase attachment between parents and children where these attachments have become weak or broken, and thereby to prevent delinquent behavior. (See Family Teaching Center and Western States Youth and Family Institute in Wall et al., 1981:46, 127.) The Family Trouble Clinic in Detroit offers immediate crisis intervention and follow-up parenting training to families who call police because of in-

family violence episodes. Staff members are available on a 24-hour basis. This is an approach which not only supplements the limited crisis-intervention resources of police but uses the crisis situation to locate families in need of longer-term services. (See Family Trouble Clinic in Hall et al., 1981.)

2. Parent Support Groups

In communities with high rates of delinquency, the ability of parents to supervise and monitor the activities of their children is more difficult, and the easy availability of illegal opportunities makes parenting even more difficult. A way to respond is to organize parents into networks and support groups, in order to deal more effectively with their children, especially as youths come under the influence of peer groups. These groups of parents meet to discuss their problems as parents and to exchange ideas, perceptions, and encouragement. An appropriate organizing principle would be the formation of networks and groups of parents whose children already constitute an informal clique or belong to a neighborhood gang. This could enhance parents' ability to supervise their children and maintain knowledge of their activities, both of which act as effective deterrents to delinquency (cf. Hirschi, 1969).

3. Surrogate Families

This is a promising but relatively undeveloped area. The idea is to provide a family-like environment within the community for children and adolescents lacking natural families. Persons filling family roles would be indigenous to the community and therefore intimately familiar with the environmental problems of the children served (Woodson, 1981a). The House of Umoja in Philadelphia is an excellent model of the surrogate family concept. Originated and run by a couple whose sons were exposed to neighborhood gang influences, the program operates a residence housing a number of community youths. Affectionate, family-based "primary group" relationships and a consistent moral atmosphere are emphasized, and an assortment of services similar to those of eclectic youth service centers are provided where needed. At present it would be difficult to replicate this program since it seems to be dependent on extraordinarily concerned and energetic natural families. However, implementation of the surrogate family concept should be a special emphasis for research and development. (See House of Umoja in Hall et al., 1981.)

SCHOOL

A. GENERAL COMMUNITY APPLICATIONS

1. Personalized Instruction

Traditional methods of instruction, school curricula, and grading practices do not provide success experiences for all students (Silberman, 1970). A large number of students receive poor grades in most of their subjects for all of their school careers, creating a group of students who are perpetual losers (McPartland and McDill, 1977:14). Personalized instruction refers to a set of interrelated elements which address these issues: 1) development and implementation of curricula tailored to students' learning needs and interests; 2) establishment of clear learning goals for each student; 3) and implementation of individually-paced learning programs with clear rewards for individual improvement in academic competence (see Hawkins and Wall, 1980). Thus, a promising approach appears to be training teachers in skills necessary for personalized instruction.

Teachers should be taught to develop high interest and relevant materials; to establish realistic goals for each student; to tie clear rewards to different levels of demonstrated effort and proficiency based on student's ability and original performance rather than on competition with classmates; and to broaden available rewards beyond traditional grades (Bednar et al., 1970; Tyler and Brown, 1968; Romig, 1978).

Personalized instruction, with its contingent reward systems, should positively influence students' cognitive skills and performance levels, increase the proportion of students experiencing academic success (Rollins et al., 1974), increase student attachment to teachers and school, and increase student commitment to education. Ultimately, delinquency will be a less likely behavioral outcome.

2. Student Involvement in Decisionmaking and Governance

The student role is largely a passive one. Commitment to education, school, and conventional lines of action can be enhanced by involving them in meaningful roles in shaping one of the institutions which affects them during this crucial period of their social development -- their school and its classrooms (Coleman, 1961; Matza, 1964). Student involvement in decisionmaking and governance consists of a couple of important components. The first is classroom-based skills training in participatory governance and shared decisionmaking (see Skills for Democratic Participation in Wall et al., 1980: 114). The second is student involvement in school policymaking (such as participation in formulation of the school drug policy) and in review of student violations of school rules and expectations. Attention should be given to recruitment and involvement of a broad range of "natural peer group leaders" for participation to insure that participatory roles are available for students not typically involved in traditional student council or other student governance stuctures. (See the Open Road Student Involvement and Positive Peer Culture in Wall et al., 1980:75,90, for examples of programs which involve mixed student groups.) Increasing student involvement in school policy formulation and discipline procedures and increasing student skills for fulfilling these roles should increase student attachment to school, commitment to conventional lines of action, and belief in the moral order.

3. Interpersonal Skills Training

Programs which seek to improve students' interpersonal skills have been broadly implemented for drug abuse prevention in the past decade. The few available rigorous evaluations have shown that these interpersonal skill development approaches to be among the most promising for drug abuse prevention (for reviews see Janvier et al., 1980; Schaps et al., 1978). These approaches propose that young people need to learn basic communication, decisionmaking, negotiation, and conflict resolution skills in order to interact effectively with family members, teachers, and peers. The premise is that schools should teach these interpersonal skills just as they teach cognitive skills. If young people have these social skills, they are more likely to find their interactions with conventional others rewarding and to develop attachments to these others. These skills may also contribute to academic success and to attachment and commitment to school. On the other hand, when these skills are absent or underdeveloped, young people may become frustrated in interaction with others, may be more susceptible to delinquent influences, and may turn to unacceptable behaviors to meet their needs. A number of interpersonal skills curricula are available. (See for example, Johnson and Johnson, 1975a, 1975b; Magic Circle, DUSO, in Schaps and Slimmon, 1975; and Curriculum for Meeting Modern Problems and Project PRIDE in Wall et al., 1981:40,97.)

4. Law-Related Education

Another preclusive intervention focused on skills development seeks ultimately to strengthen belief in the law by educating students about the functions of the law and their rights and responsibilities under it. In contrast to other law-related education approaches, this intervention combines education with power enhancement. By addressing civil and consumer law as well as criminal law, students learn how to use the law for their own protection and to achieve their goals. Rather than relying on a didactic approach emphasizing legal responsibilities, this intervention seeks to develop a more general belief in the law and related concepts, such as freedom, justice, responsibility, authority, and so on. (See National Street Law Institute in Wall et al., 1980:68; and Law in a Free Society in Hall et al., 1981.)

5. Experiential Prevocational Education and Career Exploration

Another curriculum addition prepares students for the world of work while still in school. Schools should provide young people with information and experiences which will help them develop aspirations and expectations for attaining legitimate, worthwhile employment. If schools can help students make commitments to legitimate careers, delinquency should be reduced. One mechanism for achieving this goal is experiential prevocational education and career exploration, in which students are exposed to a wide range of possible career options and informed of the skills and training required to attain these. Experiential exposure to jobs and work can increase students' understanding of actual career opportunities, while contributing to placement sites, and enhancing the likelihood that involvement will be perceived as rewarding. This should, in turn, generate aspirations and commitments to conventional career roles.

Experiential prevocational education can begin as early as middle or junior high school and continue through high school. During the early years, the program should be based largely in the classroom with field trips to work sites. In subsequent years, opportunities for work or internship experiences in the community can be included and articulated with traditional course work necessary for high school graduation. (See Experience-Based Career Education in Wall et al., 1981:43.)

6. Cross-Age Tutoring

Cross-age tutoring is also a corrective prevention strategy aimed at skill development for both students in primary grades who are evidencing special difficulties in school and students in junior and senior high school who are given the opportunity to perform a productive role as tutors. The effect for both the younger student and older tutor is increased commitment to education and attachment to school. To maximize the preventive power of this intervention, selection of secondary school students as tutors should be based on teacher recommendations. To accomplish "retroflexive reformation" (Cressey, 1955; Cressey and Ward, 1969), students whose cognitive skills are adequate for the tutoring role, but whose commitments to school appear marginal, should be included in the tutor pool along with students traditionally selected for leadership roles.

7. School Climate Assessment and Improvement

Research has shown that cooperation between teachers and school administrators characterizes schools with low rates of teacher victimization (Gottfredson and Daiger, 1979). An approach which has shown promise for enhancing administrator and teacher

cooperation is school climate assessment and improvement (see Brookover, 1978; Zigarmi, forthcoming; Fox et al., n.d.). This is a process in which the administrator and staff engage in a realistic assessment of program, process, and material determinants of the school's social and educational milieu. Faculty and administration collaboratively identify school climate factors in need of improvement and implement activities to address these problems. Thus, regardless of its specific focus, when properly implemented the process can enhance cooperation between administration and teachers. Additionally, where improvement activities focus on the development of 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 and just. Consequently, students are more likely to develop stronger beliefs in the moral order of the school and, as a result, delinquent behavior should be inhibited.

8. Child Development Specialist as Parent Consultant

Another method for enhancing consistency of expectations and sanctions in the child's environment is to improve communication between schools and parents. Child development specialists in schools can insure that parents are routinely contacted regarding special achievements or needs of their children. They can also coordinate recruitment of parents for volunteer involvement in classroom activities and in school decisionmaking. (See Child Development Specialist and Regional Intervention Program in Wall et al., 1980:26, 103.)

B. HIGH DELINQUENCY NEIGHBORHOOD APPLICATIONS

1. Independent Community Alternative Schools

A corrective prevention approach aimed at academic achievement, attachment to school, and commitment to education through skill development is an alternative learning environment for junior and senior high school students who will not or cannot remain in traditional school environments because of disruptive behavior, disaffiliation, or disinterest. Alternative education programs should contain the following elements which appear important for delinquency prevention (see Hawkins and Wall, 1980): 1) personalized instruction with curricula tailored to students' learning needs and interests, clear learning goals, and an individually-paced learning program; 2) clear rewards for individual improvement in academic competence; 3) a goal-oriented learning emphasis in the classroom; 4) low student/adult ratio in the classroom; and 5) caring, competent teachers.

Alternative schools can be operated independently of public school systems to provide for the educational needs of neighborhood youths who drop out of or are expelled from public schools. Alternative schools operated by Project REAL (Return to Employment and Learning) in the Bronx, and Compton Action Center for Youth Development, Compton, California, are good examples. They serve youths who have been expelled or have dropped out of school and are typically official delinquents, and their emphasis is on occupational preparation and remedial basic education. Project REAL operates a carefully-structured program to integrate students into entry-level jobs in private industry and to provide extended follow-up services. Another alternative school, actually a continuation high school, is run by SAAY (Services for Asian-American Youth), in Los Angeles. The school's program is similar to that of Project REAL but is designed to meet the needs of its particular community and its indigenous ethnic groups. (See Project REAL, Compton Action Center for Youth Development, and SAAY in Hall et al., 1981.)

2. School Crisis Intervention

Activities within this element include gaining information on situations with the potential for violence, monitoring school activities which frequently are scenes of violent episodes (e.g., athletic events and dances), and negotiating solutions to conflict situations. The emphasis is on ad hoc prevention efforts in incipient violent episodes. Some exemplary programs are Sey YES (Youth Enterprise System) in Los Angeles, and Community Streetwork Center and Centro de Cambio in San Francisco. All three include "in-school crisis intervention" as part of neighborhood-wide programs to control gang violence. Common features include use of indigenous staff members (sometimes former gang members); use of gang-member youths; information gathering and rumor control; situation "defusing" and monitoring of high risk activities; and maintenance of close links with police and school personnel. Another vital activity is the training of teachers, administrators and school security personnel in techniques of crisis intervention. (See Sey YES, Community Streetwork Center, and Centro de Cambio in Hall et al., 1981.)

3. In-School Suspension

This is a method of controlling youths who are violent and/or disruptive in school and is designed to avoid the counter-productive implications of suspension and expulsion. That is, if a juvenile is not in school, he will not be able to learn and he will become more detached from school and less committed to education. "Suspended" students are kept in school but are suspended only from ordinary interactions. They do individualized lesson plans in separate study carrels, usually for a few days at a time, and release from suspension is contingent on performing assigned work.

4. School-Community Councils

Students are probably more likely to develop attachments to school when their parents and the school staff are in agreement regarding expectations for behavior and performance. In contrast, parents' complaints about schools are not likely to inspire their children to believe in the school's authority. Collaborative cooperation between parents and school personnel and among school personnel themselves is likely to enhance student commitment to education, attachment to school, and belief in the moral order and, thereby, to prevent delinquency. This can be accomplished through a School-Community Council. This Council would be comprised of principal, teachers, parents, and other community members who are responsible for "school site management": identifying important issues, establishing common goals, and collaborating in solving problems. The Council would provide a point of access and a forum for negotiation between community and school, increasing the probability that school priorities will reflect the needs of local students, as well as their parents and other community members. Promising programs under the Council's purview would be: 1) parents as teachers: use of parent volunteers as classroom tutors and aides; 2) home-school coordinators: school personnel with specific responsibility to act as liaison between the school and the families of students; and 3) planning, coordination, and implementation of other school-related program elements.

PEERS

A. GENERAL COMMUNITY APPLICATIONS

1. Peer Leadership Groups

Peer leadership groups have been instituted in a number of middle, junior, and senior high schools across the country. The model of peer leadership which appears most promising is one in which group members are leaders of informal student cliques and groups, rather than traditional student body leaders or students in trouble. Typically, members are nominated by teachers and students and a peer program coordinator is responsible for final selection of members. The peer leadership groups meet daily for an hour as part of their regular school activities. In contrast to therapeutic guided peer interaction programs, however, an explicit orientation of the peer leadership groups should be to identify and address school policy issues that are perceived as problems by students and to work with the school administration to develop reasonable solutions. Peer leadership groups can also serve as recruitment pools for student judicial/disciplinary bodies. Designed this way, peer leadership groups can avoid the problems of peer interventions which focus wholly on delinquent groups (see Klein, 1969).

Peer leadership groups seek to encourage leaders of delinquency-prone groups to establish ties to more conventional peers. These attachments will be developed as group members work together toward common goals of institutional change in the school and as they perform judicial functions. It is also assumed that attachment to school will be enhanced by performance of these functions. Finally, to the extent that informal peer group leaders are accurately selected for participation, it is hypothesized that these leaders may, in turn, influence members of their own cliques toward more positive attitudes to school. In this way delinquency prone groups may be coopted. (See Open Road Student Involvement Project and Positive Peer culture in Wall et al., 1981:75,90.)

B. HIGH DELINQUENCY NEIGHBORHOOD APPLICATIONS

1. Gang Crisis Intervention

This is similar to in-school crisis intervention but it operates neighborhood-wide and focuses on delinquent groups. Model programs are operated by the California Youth Authority Gang Violence Reduction Project, SAAY, Sey YES, all in Los Angeles, and by YES (Youth Enrichment System) in Detroit. Intervention strategies are similar to those employed in schools, and crisis intervention is done as part of a strategy which also includes efforts at long-term resolution of inter-gang conflict and redirection of gangs into nondelinquent objectives and activities. Obviously, crisis intervention on an ad hoc basis has little promise for long-term reduction of gang violence, but it is necessary to allow the operation of other cause-based program elements. (See CYA Gang Violence Reduction Project, SAAY, Sey YES, and YES in Hall et al., 1981.)

2. Youth Gang Councils

This intervention is directed at gangs and is intended to achieve long-term effects by addressing more basic causes. Councils are formed which include current and former gang members and leaders in order to devise solutions to gang conflicts and to create alternative objectives and activities for existing gangs. The intervention has preventive potential both in the activities of the council and in its ability to recruit gang members

58

into a conventional structure. Model programs are operated by BUILD, Inc. (Broader Urban Involvement and Leadership Development) in Chicago, ICRY (Inner City Roundtable of Youth) in New York City, and SAAY (Services for Asian-American Youth) in Los Angeles. (See BUILD, ICRY, and SAAY in Hall et al., 1981.)

EMPLOYMENT

A. GENERAL COMMUNITY APPLICATIONS

1. Integrated School and Work Programs

Two approaches hold promise here. One is a vocational placement service in the school. Students can use this service to assess both short and long term job prospects in the community. Its major function should be to link students leaving school with jobs, in order to increase the likelihood that they develop commitments to conventional activities in the world of work and occupational expectations and aspirations which can inhibit delinquency. The second is a program for juniors and seniors in high school interested in vocational training. An extension of the experience-based career education program discussed earlier, this element provides academic credit for certain work experiences using learning contracts with specific individual learning goals and proficiency standards. Again, the goal is to increase attachment to legitimate school-related activities and commitment to conventional lines of action for students with marginal commitments to traditional school endeavors. This approach has been used extensively in alternative education programs (see Hawkins and Wall, 1980:29-32).

2. School/Work Councils

In schools where the employment elements are implemented, school/work councils of community business people, Employment Security representatives, local Department of Labor prime sponsor representatives, and school personnel might be established. These councils oversee and coordinate the school employment elements, identify and creat work exploration and placement opportunities for students, coordinate the program elements with existing and emerging school/employment transition programs, and develop and maintain linkages between the school-based employment components and the private sector. These councils also assist in the development of employment in growth industries and the expansion of job opportunities for youths not firmly attached to school or committed to education.

B. HIGH DELINQUENCY NEIGHBORHOOD APPLICATIONS

1. Intensive Vocational Training, Expansion of Job Opportunities, and Placement

This program element is an intensive integrated corrective prevention program for school dropouts which provides training in basic work habits, job skills, and vocational assessment; recruits employers to provide job opportunities for participants; matches participants with appropriate placements; continually follows up with participants during work adjustment; and advocates for job upgrading of youths who have performed successfully on the job (see Jobs for Youth and Project 70001 in Wall et al., 1981:58,100).

The primary target population are youths who are at risk of becoming permanently unemployable. The interventions seek to develop skills and provide roles which will

59

enhance commitments to occupational goals and other conventional lines of action. In addition to occupational skills training, instruction is given in basic behavioral necessities (e.g., punctuality, completing work assignments, performing in a task-directed structure), in job-seeking skills, and in the distribution of job opportunities and training requirements. A phased introduction to the occupational world, as practiced by Project REAL in the Bronx, is necessary. In this project initial instruction is given in the first phase (six months) while clients work half-time in subsidized jobs. In the second phase youths work full-time in private-sector jobs (50% subsidized in this program) while their progress is monitored and counseling is available if needed. The third phase is a 12-month follow-up as clients continue to work full-time on an unsubsidized basis. Similar programs are run by the Perrine Crime Prevention Program, in Miami, Florida, and by Young Community Developers, Inc. in San Francisco.

While not all prospective recipients would require the fully-elaborated treatment, for a considerable number of youths the problems of ignorance or a lack of preparation for occupations require a very thorough intervention strategy. And more than other elements, this one requires the ability to locate resources -- primarily employers -- outside of the neighborhood in which the project is based and the youths reside. (See Project REAL, Perrine Crime Prevention Program, and Young Community Developers in Hall et al., 1981.)

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

1. A large proportion of the serious property and violent crime in the United States is committed by juveniles.

2. A small percentage of all juvenile offenders account for a major part of serious juvenile offenses. These are defined as serious delinquents.

3. Most serious offenses do not result in arrest; serious chronic offenders are repeatedly arrested, but their arrest records usually capture only a small part of their actual delinquent behavior.

4. Most delinquents do not specialize in a particular offense type. The most useful distinction is between serious and less serious offenders.

5. Few chronic offenders are arrested repeatedly for specifically violent offenses. Their arrest records reflect the versatility of their underlying behavior, but arrest records are not useful for identifying chronically violent delinquents.

6. Gangs and other law-violating groups commit a disproportionate share of serious juvenile crimes.

7. Past efforts by the juvenile justice system to prevent delinquency have generally been ineffective.

8. Techniques for the prediction of delinquent behavior in individuals are not sufficiently developed to justify intervention strategies which concentrate only on high-risk individuals. Delinquent behavior can only be predicted somewhat confidently in individuals with an officially-recorded history of repeated delinquency.

9. Intervention with individual serious delinquents can only accomplish limited remediation, and only with the individuals who are treated: it is logically impossible to attack the persisting causes of delinquency by treating individuals whose behavior is the outcome of those causes.

10. The most powerful explanatory theory of delinquency is an integrated model derived from social control and cultural deviance theories.

11. The social processes which prevent delinquency occur in social organizations and institutions (families, schools, communities) in the course of activities which are primarily directed toward positive goals, (e.g., socialization of children, family inter-action, education).

12. Serious offenses and offenders -- including offender groups such as law violating groups and gangs -- are concentrated in particular communities and neighborhoods within cities and urban areas. These high-delinquency neighborhoods are characterized by poverty, disorganization, and weakened institutions of socialization, and tend to have concentra-tions of minority group residents.

13. The causes of serious delinquent behavior are concentrated in these same high-delinquency neighborhoods; conversely, the social developmental processes which prevent delinquency are less effective.

14. Individuals, institutions, and organizations within communities -- including high-delin-quency communities -- possess resources for preventing delinquency which cannot be supplied by outside agencies. These include intimate knowledge of local persons and conditions; credibility; networks of interpersonal connections; immediate personal concern with local problems; and the potential for positive effects at the cultural level.

15. Professional and governmental agencies outside neighborhoods have the potential to mobilize, direct, and support a community's resource base through theoretical, technical and organizational expertise, and funding assistance.

Recommendations

1. Intervention should be directed toward the causes of serious delinquency, which includes violent delinquency: no gain in effectiveness or economy can be expected by separating violent delinquency as a special target of preventive intervention.

2. Intervention should be directed toward the social development processes which result in juveniles becoming delinquents or serious delinquents: The focus should be institutional and organizational change of the socializing institutions of family, school, peers, law, and the community.

3. Primary emphasis should be placed on developing strategies for preclusive prevention of delinquent behavior.

4. Development effort is also needed to devise strategies for secondary corrective prevention, targeted toward high-risk groups and individuals; and to devise prediction techniques for more efficient targeting of intervention.

5. Prevention efforts directed at serious delinquency should be implemented in communities with high rates of delinquency. Emphasis should be on development of community-based prevention; participation of community residents and utilization of community resources should be maximized.

6. The role of professional and governmental agencies should consist of technical and organizational assistance; specialized services which communities are unable to operate; direct and indirect funding assistance; research and development; and scientific evaluation.

7. Community-based programs should target both delinquency and one of its concomitants, the fear of crime.

8. Research and development efforts on the prevention of serious delinquency are necessary; particularly in the area of community-based strategies of prevention.

9. Primary responsibility for preventing its youths from engaging in delinquency should rest with the community.

10. Community control of prevention efforts should be encouraged.

11. Theories of and research on juvenile delinquency should be the foundation of prevention efforts.

12. In selecting strategies for community-based prevention, preference should be given to strategies which have valuable results in addition to prevention. This is especially important where the active participation of youths and their families is needed.

13. Involvement of youths in prevention efforts should be maximized, including recognized high-risk youths, delinquents, and gang members.

14. Community organizations should attempt to maximize legitimate opportunities for youth and minimize illegitimate opportunities.

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