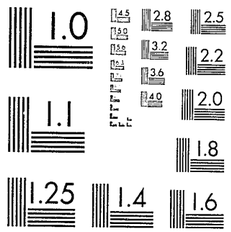

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Reports of the National Juvenile Justice Assessment Centers

Preventing Delinquency

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Reports of the National Juvenile Justice Assessment Centers

Preventing Delinquency

by
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I. JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND ITS PREVENTION AND CONTROL

Juvenile delinquency is a major social problem (Stark, 1975). Over 40 percent of arrests for the seven major "index" crimes -- murder, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny, and motor vehicle theft -- are of youths under 18 years old. Between 1970 and 1977 the adult arrest rate for index crimes increased by 21 percent and the juvenile rate by 22 percent, but the arrest rate for juveniles has remained approximately 65 percent greater than that for adults. During the same time period, the rate of referral to juvenile court increased by 36 percent while adult prosecutions increased by only 9 percent. This suggests that the probability of judicial intervention following arrest is greater for a juvenile than for an adult and greater in 1977 than it was in 1970, reflecting perhaps the more serious nature of contemporary juvenile delinquency (Weis and Henney, 1979:743-744). For example, between 1968 and 1977, juvenile arrests increased by 27 percent for property crimes but 44 percent for violent crimes (Smith et al., 1980:349-351), and there is evidence that juvenile violence is becoming more serious because of the easier access to and greater utilization of deadly weapons (Miller, 1976).

The social and economic costs of juvenile delinquency have kept abreast of the increases and changes in juvenile crime. Public fear of victimization is pervasive, with more than two-thirds of adults in the U.S. worrying about the prospect of becoming the victim of a typical juvenile offense -- residential burglary (Weis and Henney, 1979:748). The annual cost of school vandalism is estimated at $200 million (HEW, 1978). And the costs of handling offenders are staggering -- for example, 1977 capital and operating expenditures for juvenile custody facilities were more than $700 million (U. S. Department of Justice, 1979).

THE HISTORY OF PREVENTION AND CONTROL

The major institutional responses to juvenile delinquency have been shaped by the parens patriae philosophy of juvenile justice incorporated by the nineteenth century "child savers" (Platt, 1969) in the first juvenile court statute in Illinois in 1899. This philosophy contains two paramount goals, each reflected directly in the legislative intent of the original Illinois statute and each buttressed by a particular ideology of juvenile justice. The juvenile court was mandated to control juvenile delinquents (viz. juvenile criminals) and to prevent predelinquents (viz. status offenders or dependent children) from becoming delinquents. Historically, both the delinquent and predelinquent have been the objects of "rehabilitiation," typically after some contact with the juvenile justice system. This means that both control and prevention efforts have been directed primarily at "offenders," or at youths after they have engaged in illegal behavior and elicited a reaction by the juvenile justice system. In short, although ostensibly a paternalistic and rehabilitative institution of control and prevention, the juvenile justice system has primarily engaged in the control of juvenile offenders to the neglect of its other legislative mandate to prevent juvenile offenses (Weis, et al., 1980a:1-6).

A new juvenile justice philosophy emerged during the late sixties and early seventies which has had an impact at least equal to the juvenile justice reforms at the turn of the century. Over the past eighty years collective criticisms have mounted against a juvenile court which claims jurisdiction over both juveniles who commit crimes and those who only might commit crimes and that can muster scant evidence of effective control or prevention (Weis et al., 1980a:7-8). These criticisms have been incorporated in the new juvenile justice philosophy which was authoritatively legitimated by an historically unique conjunction of federal-level judicial, executive, and legislative actions. The decisions of the Supreme Court, particularly Gault in 1967; the recommendations of the Juvenile Task Force of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice in 1967, particularly concerning the deinstitutionalization and diversion of status offenders and the prevention of delinquency; and the passage of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act in 1974 and its 1977 Amendments with emphasis on the deinstitutionalization of status offenders, diversion of minor offenders, youth advocacy, and prevention, all signaled the arrival and institutionalization of a new approach to the control and prevention of juvenile illegal behavior.

The trend is toward separate interventions: a "criminal tribunal" -- the juvenile court -- for youths who engage in more serious criminal behavior and "community services" for youths who engage in minor illegal or noncriminal misbehavior (Gough, 1977). In general, this means more formal, legal control for youths who engage in serious crime and more informal, social control for youths who engage in minor illegal or noncriminal behavior. For serious juvenile offenders, traditional penal sanctions are to be used, which typically include some kind of separation from the community. For minor juvenile offenders and children in conflict, social services are to be used to integrate the youngster into the community, especially within those institutions and relationships which are primarily responsible for the social integration, socialization, and control of youth -- the family and school.

This major shift in juvenile justice philosophy means that the juvenile court is now primarily an agency of legal control -- the paramount goal is to control identified juvenile criminals through rehabilitation and punishment. 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 -- families and schools -- which are in good part responsible, ironically, for not preventing the illegal behavior in the first place.

WHAT IS PREVENTION?

Historically, what has been passed off 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 societal reaction to an infraction or a "measure taken after a criminal or delinquent act has been committed." Unfortunately, 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. They are only indirectly preventive because they do not and cannot prevent the initial behavior(s) which brings the juvenile into the juvenile justice system. At best, these kinds of interventions 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 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 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, the classic example being the Cambridge-Somerville Study (Powers and Witmer, 1951), or at groups, the 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 include efforts to "correct" individuals or groups who are identified as 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.

WHAT IS BEING PREVENTED?

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 delinquent behavior and then 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. The social and economic costs of juvenile delinquency will remain high and may become higher given projected changes in the sociodemographic characteristics of the youth population (Klepinger and Weis, 1979).

PAST EXPERIENCE AND PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

Given the control orientation of the juvenile justice system during its first 75 years of operation, there have been only a small number of secondary, corrective prevention efforts and even fewer primary preclusive prevention programs. Therefore, the knowledge and technology of delinquency prevention has not been developed sufficiently. 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 assessment 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., 1980c), 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, recent federal program initiatives in delinquency prevention do not promise to provide much information about how to prevent delinquency. The preliminary findings of the National Evaluation of Delinquency Prevention programs funded in 1979 under the OJJDP Delinquency Prevention Special Emphasis Grants suggest (Krisberg, 1979:25):

> 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 necessary to evaluate their effects on delinquent behaviors was forthcoming in only one of the sixteen funded sites. Moreover, "few of the projects actually attempted to prevent delinquency" (Krisberg, 1979:28). In short, recent federal prevention efforts appear to lack the conceptual foundation, a clear prevention focus, and the commitment to rigorous research that is necessary to generate the knowledge required for effective delinquency prevention.

What is to be learned from these past attempts to prevent delinquency is not that it cannot be done, but rather that we probably have not had the knowledge and technology to do it effectively. The reasons for the discouraging results of previous efforts are well understood. 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. There is a consensus that theories of and research on juvenile delinquency should be the foundation for the juvenile delinquency prevention efforts. As stated directly by the Task Force in the introduction to Preventing Delinquency (1977:8):

> . . . the compilation of these background papers centered on the belief that it is necessary to clarify assumptions about what causes delinquency before deciding what to do about it . . . . Since theory sets forth assumptions about what causes crime, the theories, by implication, should also suggest appropriate action to reduce delinquency.

The work of the Task Force proceeded according to this principle, with each of the major theoretical perspectives (social control, subcultural, labeling, psychological, biological) being reviewed and the implications for delinquency prevention being made as explicit as possible. Following the same principle, the NCADBIP has for the past two 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 in each of these three areas has been accomplished via literature reviews, secondary data analyses, and primary data collection and analysis, the outcome being 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. These criteria should provide the foundation upon which to build a more reliable and effective technology of delinquency prevention.

II. CORRELATES, CAUSES, AND THEORIES OF DELINQUENCY: THE 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.

The NCADBIP, through its a) comprehensive and systematic review of theories and research on delinquency, b) secondary data analyses of approximately ten self-reported delinquency data sets (Short and Nye; Empey and Erickson; Gold; Elliott and Voss; Hindelang; Hirschi; Bachman; Weis), and c) a national survey of prevention programs, has identified the strongest correlates of delinquent behavior, the apparently most important theoretically-derived causal variables, and the theoretical model which holds the most promise for explaining and preventing delinquent behavior.

CORRELATES AND CAUSES

Tabular, correlational, and multivariate regression analyses of a number of self-reported delinquency data sets (Weis et al., 1980; Sederstrom, 1978; Zeiss, 1978; Worsley, 1979; Sakumoto, 1978; Henney, 1976) have identified two sets of correlates of delinquent behavior which theory and, therefore, prevention should take into account. One set of correlates is primarily "causal," and consists of family, school, and peer variables, and the other set consists more properly of "sociodemographic" controls, including sex, age, and race. (As in most self-report research, socioeconomic status is not a strong correlate; cf. Tittle, Villemez, and Smith, 1978; Hindelang, Hirschi, and Weis, 1979.)

The strongest average zero-order 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.

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; the only 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 attach-ment to school, to the belief that the moral and legal rules of society deserve to be followed.

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, 1958; 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, 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). Second, and related, 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. Third, 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. Fourth, 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. Fifth, control theory has unfortunately never 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). Sixth, 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. Seventh, 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), but 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, in delinquency causation; cultural deviance theory does, 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 essence of the social control perspective is that the weakening, breakdown, or absence of effective social control accounts for juvenile delinquency. This perspective emerged directly from Durkheim's (1897) theory of suicide, and criminologists of a sociological bent have extrapolated theories of juvenile delinquency from this general theory of deviant behavior.

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 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) "control theory" is 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 adhered to (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.

Control theory suggests a general institutional/organizational change approach to delinquency prevention and at least five specific implications for delinquency prevention. 1) The key to delinquency prevention is institutional change of those institutions which are primarily responsible for the socialization and control of youths -- the family, the school, and the law. 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. 3) Attachment to school and commitment to education must be developed and sustained for as many students in as many ways as possible. 4) The juvenile court should be desocialized, or reorganized as a criminal court for juveniles, in order to strengthen belief in the law. 5) Enhancing the self-concept of youngsters should be part of all institutional changes directed at delinquency prevention (Weis, 1977:13-44).

CULTURAL DEVIANCE THEORY

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, 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; 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. For the purpose of theoretical integration with control theory, the last issue is most significant -- the social process of learning criminal values and behavior from one's associates.

To account for stable high rates of delinquency over successive generations of residents in certain social areas in Chicago, Shaw and McKay (1929, 1942) propose that "culture conflict" explains the distribution of delinquency by area and that "cultural transmission" explains the persistence over time, as well as the individual conduct. High delinquency rates persist in communities because the tradition of crime is "transmitted" to younger generations and new residents. The cultural transmission of criminal values keeps the delinquency rate high and stable and preserves the area's cultural disorganization. The process, then, continues in a vicious circle. Unfortunately, Shaw and McKay (1929, 1942) do not specify the individual learning processes involved in cultural transmission.

Sutherland's (Sutherland and Cressey, 1970) "differential association" and "differential group organization" theories are more detailed explications of the processes of cultural transmission and culture conflict, respectively. The crime rate for a particular group, whether a neighborhood, culture, or society, is an expression of the differential in group organization. This conflict of conventional and criminal values also operates in the individual learning process. 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 anti-criminal values and behavior patterns. These "differential associations" may vary in frequency, duration, priority, and intensity. Otherwise put, an individual is most likely to engage in delinquent behavior when he has more criminal than anti-criminal 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 anti-criminal values and behavior patterns, and is more influenced by the sources of criminal than anti-criminal values. In essence, an individual learns criminal behavior, particularly within social groups where there is culture conflict or inconsistency surrounding the violation of the law.

The 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.

Even with this type of specification of the learning process, cultural deviance theory is deficient because it does not specify the social or cultural contexts within which the learning of criminal behavior is most salient, especially among juveniles.

Cultural deviance theory suggests a general community organization approach to delinquency prevention and at least five specific implications for delinquency prevention. 1) The key to delinquency prevention is community organization against delinquent behavior. 2) Community control of prevention effort and of other services for youths should be encouraged. 3) The participation of youngsters, as well as adults, should be encouraged. 4) Delinquent groups should be co-opted or disbanded. 5) Ties to conventional groups should be encouraged and developed (Weis, 1977:13-44).

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. Both theories are primarily socialization theories of juvenile delinquency -- 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. In the former, those who are not taught and do not learn to not engage in delinquent behavior will and do, and in the latter those who are taught and learn to engage in delinquent behavior will and do. Control theory

specifies theoretically and empirically the important Units (family, school, law) and Elements (attachment, commitment, belief, involvement) of socialization that are necessary in the prevention of delinquency, but does not offer an explanation of how the socialization process works. The theory specifies the units and elements of socialization that lead to the development of a generalized "bond" to the conventional order, but it does not pay much attention to the process of making an individual moral -- for example, how are important affective attachments to parents developed or how is commitment to education within the context of the school achieved and maintained? If delinquent behavior is a byproduct of incomplete socialization, an explanation of how people are socialized seems essential.

Cultural deviance theory focuses directly on the Process of socialization to criminal behavior. It attempts to explain the social process of "learning" criminal values and behavior patterns, and in so doing, also suggests how one learns conventional values and behavior patterns. This is particularly the case with the "social learning" (Akers, 1977) version of cultural deviance theory, which borrows from operant conditioning learning theory and develops a social behavioristic model of human conduct and learning (cf. Burgess and Akers, 1966; Burgess and Bushell, 1969). 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).

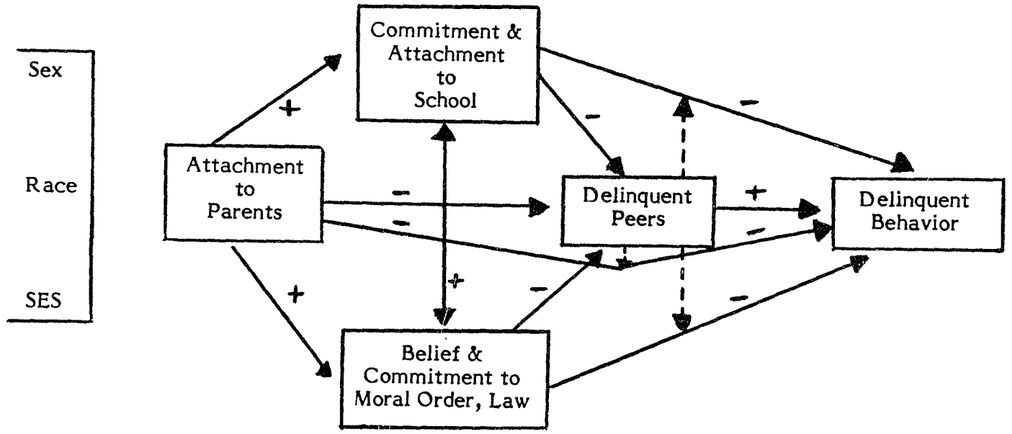
Control and cultural deviance theories are also complementary in another important way. Even though cultural deviance theory does not specify the units within which learning occurs, except to propose that it takes place in interaction and association with others, it is basically a theory of peer influence, especially among juveniles. 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., 1980c; Worsley, 1979), and 3) Hirschi (1969:230-231) suggests that the role of peer influence is probably a necessary supplement to control theory, the theoretical integration of the two perspectives is even more promising. 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.

A general model of delinquency which integrates control and cultural deviance theories is represented in Figure 1. The theoretically and empirically most important units (family, school, law, peers) and elements (attachment, commitment, involvement, 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.)

FIGURE 1

A GENERAL MODEL OF DELINQUENCY:

INTEGRATION OF CONTROL AND CULTURAL DEVIANCE THEORIES



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. 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 childrearing 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.

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.

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 process by which the various components of the bond to conformity are developed (these process variables, derived from social learning theory, will be plugged into the model and discussed later). Nor does the model depict the interaction effects among some of the variables. Both the effects of the intervening "process" variables and the interactions among variables, particularly between the causal and sociodemographic control variables, have important consequences for delinquency theory and prevention. The consequences for delinquency theory will be discussed first.

The comprehensive literature reviews of theory and research and the extensive secondary data analyses of a number of self-reported delinquency data sets at the NCADBIP have led to the conclusion that 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 emerges and becomes even more important as a youngster moves into high school.

In addition, 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 not only be responsive to "causes" of delinquency, but also to the manner in which the causes 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. 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.

GENERAL PROCESS AND STRATEGIES OF DELINQUENCY PREVENTION

It is possible to specify in more detail the process by which the elements of the general model presented above prevent delinquent behavior. This process is repeated with minor modifications in each institutional setting encountered during social development (family, school, peer group, employment). In Figure 2 the process is illustrated without reference to specific institutions of socialization and social control.

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 makes participation rewarding. 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.

Figure 2 also shows the general prevention strategies which seek to facilitate the process of delinquency prevention. (See Hawkins et al., 1980 for complete discussion and definitions of cause-focused delinquency prevention strategies.) Role development and power enhancement

strategies provide youths with opportunities for involvement in conventional activities which have the likelihood of being rewarding. Role development strategies assume that delinquency stems from a lack of opportunity to be involved in legitimate roles or activities which youths perceive as personally gratifying. They attempt to create such opportunities. To meet the conditions of role development, roles provided must be perceived by youths as sufficiently valuable or important to justify expenditure of time and effort. Furthermore, they must offer youths an opportunity to perceive themselves as useful, successful, or competent. Power enhancement strategies assume that delinquency stems from a lack of power or control over impinging environmental factors. They seek to increase the ability or power of youth to influence the institutions in which they participate.

Social network development strategies provide youths with opportunities for interactions with conventional others which are likely to be rewarding. Social network development strategies assume that delinquency results from weak attachments between youths and conforming members of society. They seek to increase interaction and involvement between youths and nondeviant others as well as increase the influence which nondeviant others have on potentially delinquent youths.

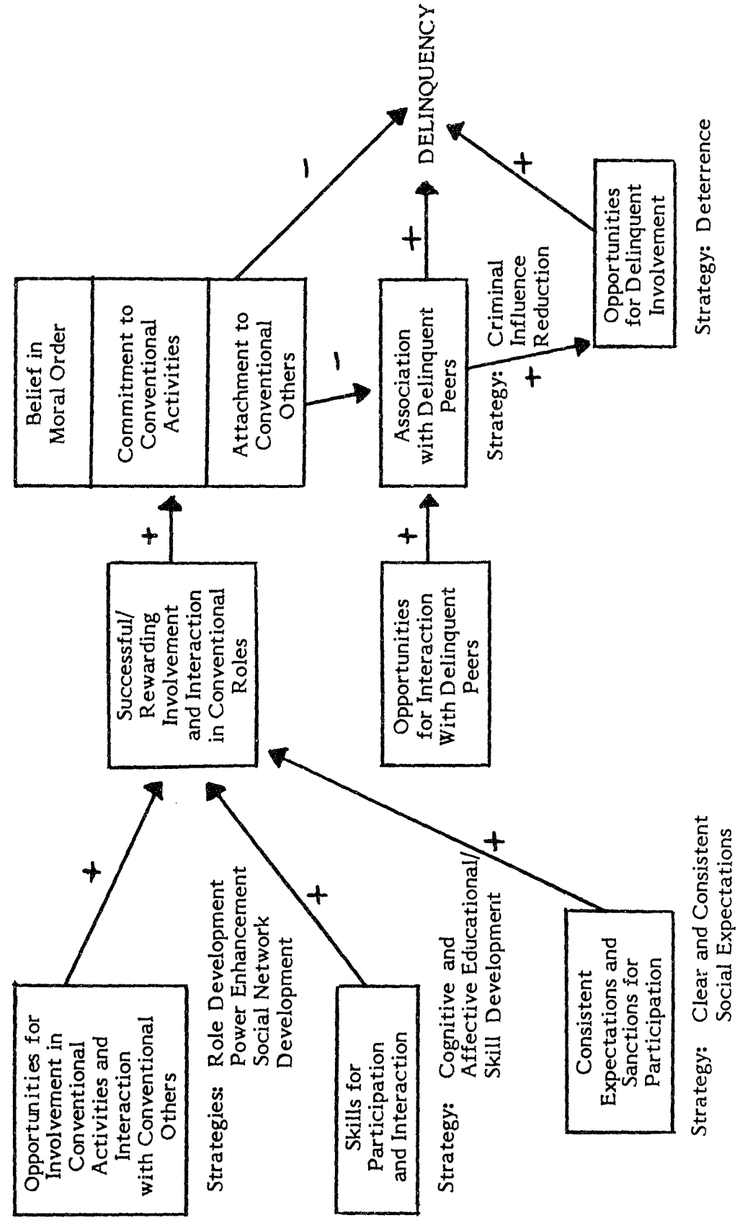
Education/skill development strategies seek to assist those involved in conventional activities and interactions to develop adequate cognitive and affective skills to ensure that youthful participants are successful in these involvements and interactions. Education/skill development strategies assume that delinquency stems from a lack of knowledge or skills necessary to live in society without violating its laws. Education strategies provide youths with personal skills which prepare them to find patterns of behavior free from delinquent activities, or provide skills or assistance to others to enable them to help youths develop requisite skills.

Clear and consistent social expectations strategies ensure that the institutions in which youths participate are clear and consistent in their expectations for and responses to behavior. These strategies assume that delinquency results from competing or conflicting demands and expectations placed on youths by institutions such as families, schools, communities, peer groups, and the law. Inconsistent expectations or norms place youths in situations where conformity to a given set of norms or expectations results in an infraction of another set of norms or expectations. This situation can result in confusion as to what actually represents conforming behavior and/or a cynical attitude toward legitimate expectations of any kind. These strategies seek to increase the consistency of the expectations for different institutions, organizations, and groups which affect youths.

Note that the foregoing strategies do not directly seek to change youths' attitudes (commitments/attachments) or beliefs through counseling or other mechanisms. The prevention process requires providing opportunities for rewarding involvement and interactions, and providing a clear and consistent system of reinforcements so that conforming, proficient behavior is, in fact, consistently rewarded. Meeting these conditions should lead to positive attitudes and beliefs (development of commitment to conventional activities, attachment to conventional others, and belief in the moral order) which, in turn, will prevent delinquent behavior. In contrast, the following strategies seek to increase the probability of negative reinforcements for delinquent norms, associations, and behaviors.

Criminal influence reduction strategies are applied to minimize the influence of delinquent norms and delinquent peers on behavior. These strategies assume that delinquency stems from the influence of others who directly or indirectly encourage youths to commit delinquent acts. They seek to reduce the influence of norms towards delinquency and of those who hold such norms.

FIGURE 2
GENERAL PROCESS AND STRATEGIES
OF DELINQUENCY PREVENTION



Finally, deterrence strategies are applied to reduce the opportunities for delinquent behavior. Deterrence strategies assume that delinquency results because there is a low degree of risk or difficulty associated with committing delinquent acts. They seek to change the cost/benefit ratio of participation in crime by restructuring opportunities and minimizing incentives to engage in crime. As discussed later, the deterrence strategies included in the proposed prevention model are combined with the criminal influence reduction strategies in the form of community mobilization and organization against crime. While criminal influence reduction and community deterrence activities are not likely to directly increase individual youths' commitment to conventional activities or attachment to conventional others, they are likely to change the community norms toward criminal activities and the opportunities for involvement in such activities. Both changes should be accompanied by lower community rates of delinquency.

A COMPREHENSIVE MODEL OF DELINQUENCY PREVENTION

The process of delinquency prevention outlined in the preceding section can now be integrated with the general social development model of delinquency presented earlier. The resulting comprehensive model of delinquency prevention is shown in Figure 3.

Social development can be seen as a series of passages from one institution of socialization to another during which the preceding institution gradually decreases in importance as a socializing force while the next institution becomes increasingly salient. Delinquency prevention processes should be present in each institutional setting if social development is to proceed without delinquency.

The first socializing institution in the sequence, the family, is of primary importance from birth until youths enter school. The process of delinquency prevention in the family is illustrated on the left side of Figure 3. 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.

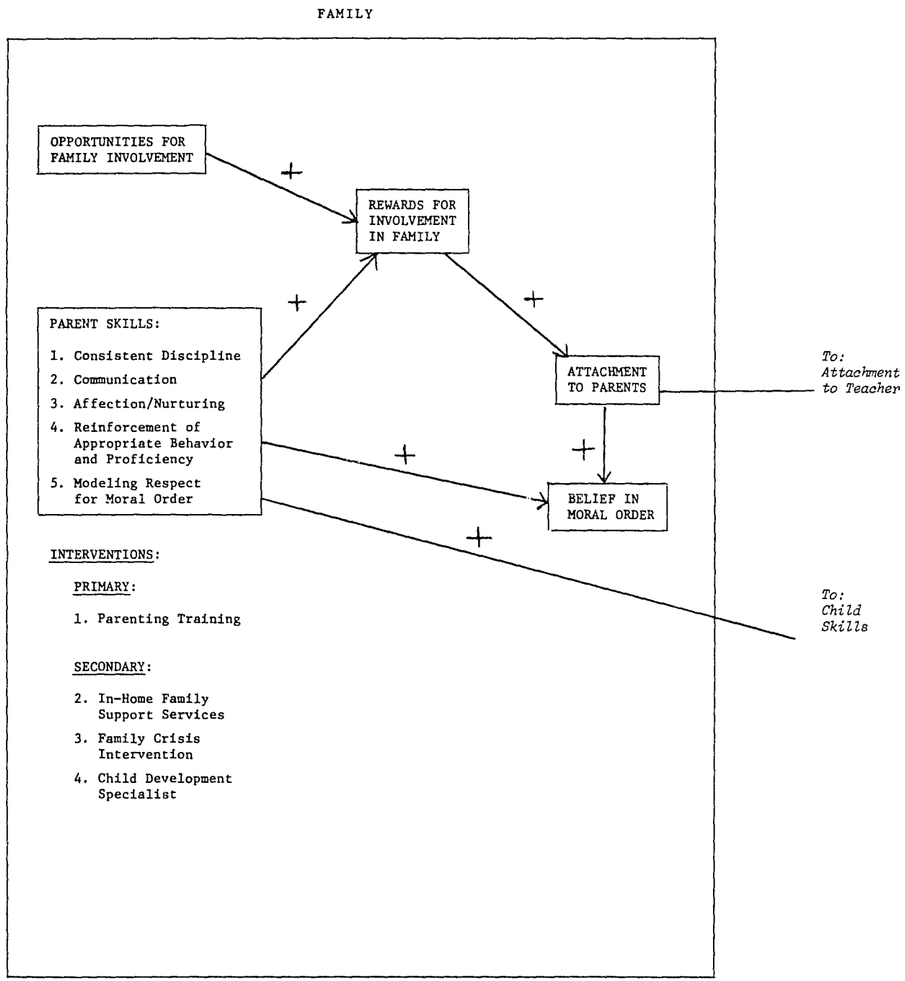
School becomes an important institution during the years from school entry until graduation or dropout. The process of delinquency prevention in schools is illustrated in the second box of Figure 3. Opportunities for involvement in certain school roles, consistency of expectations in the school environment, 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.

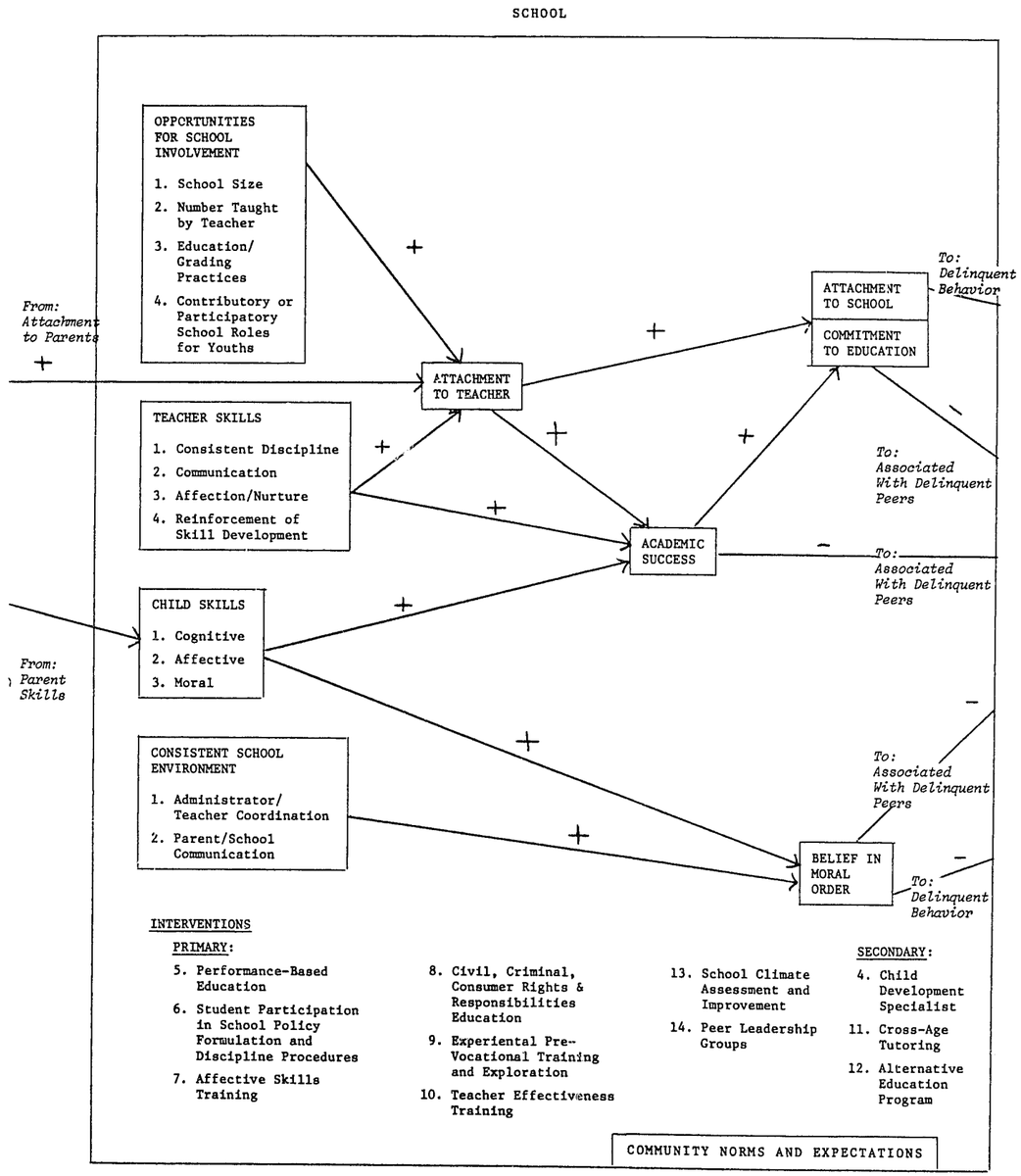
During adolescence, peers become increasingly important to the socialization process and continue to be important through high school. Their influence is shown in the third box in Figure 3.

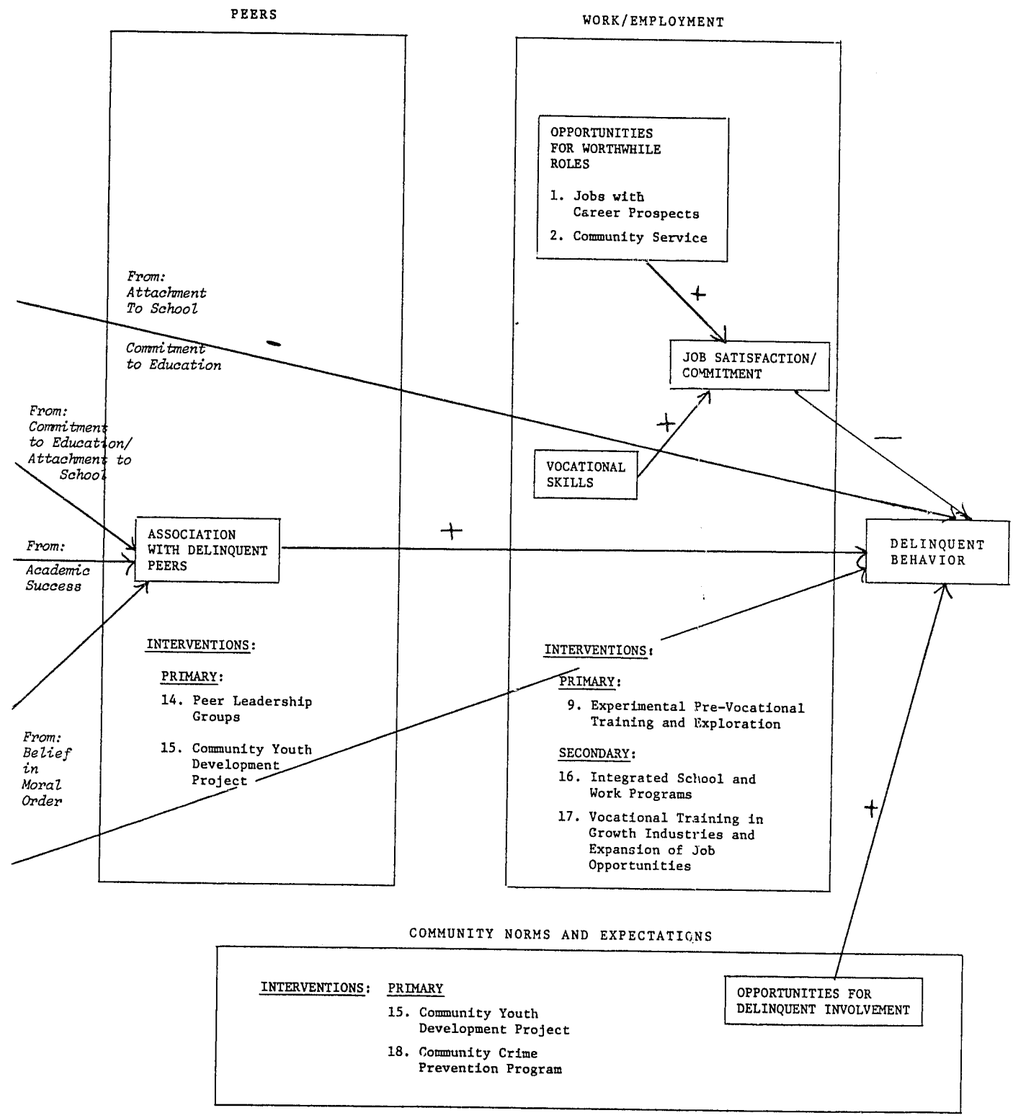
For a portion of the youth population, especially those who do not experience rewarding involvement in school, employment may become an important socializing force from high-adolescence on as shown in the fourth box in Figure 3.

Finally, the community setting provides a context which may influence behavior throughout the process of social development as shown in the bottom portion of Figure 3.

FIGURE 3: COMPREHENSIVE MODEL OF DELINQUENCY PREVENTION




SCHOOL
OPPORTUNITIES FOR SCHOOL INVOLVEMENT
1. School Size
2. Number Taught by Teacher
3. Education/ Grading Practices
4. Contributory or Particpatory School Roles for Youths
From: Attachment to Parents
ATTACHMENT TO TEACHER
ATTACHMENT TO SCHOOL
COMMITMENT TO EDUCATION
To: Delinquent Behavior
TEACHER SKILLS
1. Consistent Discipline
2. Communication
3. Affection/Nurture
4. Reinforcement of Skill Development
To: Associated With Delinquent Peers
ACADEMIC SUCCESS
To: Associated With Delinquent Peers
CHILD SKILLS
1. Cognitive
2. Affective
3. Moral
From: Parent Skills
CONSISTENT SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT
1. Administrator/ Teacher Coordination
2. Parent/School Communication
To: Associated With Delinquent Peers
BELIEF IN MORAL ORDER
To: Delinquent Behavior
INTERVENTIONS
PRIMARY:
5. Performance-Based Education
6. Student Participation in School Policy Formulation and Discipline Procedures
7. Affective Skills Training
8. Civil, Criminal, Consumer Rights & Responsibilities Education
9. Experiental Pre-Vocational Training and Exploration
10. Teacher Effectiveness Training
13. School Climate Assessment and Improvement
14. Peer Leadership Groups
SECONDARY:
4. Child Development Specialist
11. Cross-Age Tutoring
12. Alternative Education Program
COMMUNITY NORMS AND EXPECTATIONS


PEERS
WORK/EMPLOYMENT
From: Attachment To School
Commitment to Education
OPPORTUNITIES FOR WORTHWHILE ROLES
1. Jobs with Career Prospects
2. Community Service
JOB SATISFACTION/ COMMITMENT
From: Commitment to Education/ Attachment to School
VOCATIONAL SKILLS
From: Academic Success
ASSOCIATION WITH DELINQUENT PEERS
DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR
From: Belief in Moral Order
INTERVENTIONS:
PRIMARY:
14. Peer Leadership Groups
15. Community Youth Development Project
INTERVENTIONS:
PRIMARY:
9. Experimental Pre-Vocational Training and Exploration
SECONDARY:
16. Integrated School and Work Programs
17. Vocational Training in Growth Industries and Expansion of Job Opportunities
COMMUNITY NORMS AND EXPECTATIONS
INTERVENTIONS: PRIMARY
15. Community Youth Development Project
18. Community Crime Prevention Program
OPPORTUNITIES FOR DELINQUENT INVOLVEMENT

III. AN EXPERIMENTAL TEST OF THE COMPREHENSIVE MODEL OF DELINQUENCY PREVENTION

The comprehensive model of delinquency prevention presented above is derived from the best evidence currently available from empirical tests of delinquency theories and from descriptive studies of the correlates of delinquent behavior. Delinquency prevention efforts should address the elements in this model if they are to succeed. Given the cumulative process of social development, it is likely that the more elements of the model included throughout the development process, the greater the potential for delinquency prevention. However, this is a hypothesis which has not been tested. In fact, what is currently needed is a rigorous research and development project which studies both individual and combined interventions aimed at addressing the individual and combined elements of the model. Such a project will test the validity and utility of the prevention model and provide a tested technology for delinquency prevention.

The project needed is described below.

GOALS

Consistent with the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974 and its Amendments of 1977, the general goals of the research and development project are:

1. To test the most promising available approaches for preventing delinquency in order to develop an effective delinquency prevention technology.

2. To identify the configuration of program components which is most efficient for preventing delinquency.

3. To develop mechanisms for support and maintenance of effective delinquency prevention efforts by private and public entities outside.

4. To test delinquency and prevention theory.

5. To expand and improve knowledge on delinquency and its prevention.

PROJECT OVERVIEW

In order to achieve these goals, a project with two major components is required. One component is a comprehensive longitudinal research and development project in a single site in which the theoretically derived and empirically supported causes of delinquency are all addressed at the appropriate points in the process of social development. This project will

continue for five years with a possible five-year extension. The second major component is a set of separate projects in five to eight selected sites with a program component of the delinquency prevention model being tested at each site. The selected site projects will continue for two years with a possible one-year extension. Both components will be designed and implemented with rigorous experimental and/or quasi-experimental research designs to assess program effects in preventing delinquency.

INTERVENTION COMPONENTS

Described below is the set of intervention components to be included in the comprehensive delinquency prevention research and development project which will be carried out in a single site. These intervention components are ordered according to the institution targeted (i.e., family, school, peers, work, community). For each institution, the primary preclusive and secondary corrective interventions to be implemented and tested are described. Preclusive prevention interventions are aimed at general populations or institutions in the target area without consideration of individual "risk" for delinquency. Secondary corrective prevention interventions are aimed at classes of individuals who manifest conditions likely to make them "high risk" for delinquency. Neither set of prevention interventions relies on prior involvement in delinquent behavior or with the juvenile justice system as a selection criterion for participation. The intent of this prevention research and development project is to assess the effectiveness of prevention strategies which intervene before delinquent acts occur.

In each section below, the major goals of the intervention, the setting where the intervention will be implemented, and the content of the intervention are briefly described. Programs which include elements of the interventions described are noted and the reader is referred to Juvenile Delinquency Prevention: A Compendium of 36 Program Models (Wall et al., 1981) for a more complete description of these programs.

The lower half of Figure 3 provides a visual display of the intervention components as they will be applied in the comprehensive project site with component intervention numbers keyed to descriptions in the following section. Figure 4 shows the point at which each intervention is made in the social development process with component interventions again keyed to descriptions in this section. For example, in the Family box of Figure 4, the number 1 refers to "Parenting Training."

FAMILY INTERVENTIONS

The major goals of family-focused interventions are to increase attachment to parents and to increase belief in the moral order. Some research has suggested that family interactions have a direct relationship with delinquent behavior (Bahr, 1979: 618; Jensen, 1972; Stanfield, 1966), while other evidence indicates that, at least for drug use, the influence of family is indirect (Krohn, 1974). The prevention model assumes both direct and indirect influences of the family on delinquent behavior. The indirect links are mediated by school experiences, beliefs in the moral order, and peer group associations. Whether family influence is viewed as direct or indirect, there is sufficient evidence to conclude that attachment to parents is an important element of delinquency prevention (Hirschi, 1969; Nye, 1958; Reckless et al., 1956) which should be addressed in a comprehensive prevention project. Family structure appears to be less important as a predictor of delinquency than attachment to parents (Nye, 1958; Sederstrom, 1979; Wilkinson, 1974; Weis et al., 1980a).

FIGURE 4: THE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT APPROACH TO DELINQUENCY PREVENTION

As with each of the units of socialization and social control in the prevention model, it is hypothesized that opportunities for involvement, the level of participant skills, and consistency of expectations and sanctions will determine the extent of attachment between children and parents. All three sets of variables can be addressed through parenting training. Therefore, in this project, parenting training is the primary prevention intervention focused on the family.

1. Parenting Training

Parenting training seeks to enhance the following characteristics of the family by teaching parents skills for more effective child rearing:

Opportunities for Involvement -- Opportunities for family involvement are partially determined by background variables including socioeconomic status of the family, sex of the child, and age of the child which will not be directly addressed by the prevention intervention. These variables will be measured and their contribution to attachment and delinquency assessed. On the other hand, 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, attachment to the family will be enhanced and delinquency prevented, if performance of the roles is rewarded.

Consistency of Parental Discipline -- Fairness and impartiality of discipline appear related to family attachment and family control (see Hirschi, 1969; Nye, 1958; Reckless et al., 1956; Stanfield, 1966; Bahr, 1979). Sanctions used to punish should be moderate and inclusionary and imply no rejection or ostracism of the child. Consistent parental discipline also appears to increase the likelihood of belief in the conventional moral order (Bahr, 1979:623). Parenting training can assist parents in establishing consistent discipline practices.

Communication Between Parents 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 to their children, in empathetic listening, and in basic interpersonal interaction skills (Alexander and Parsons, 1973; Patterson and Reid, 1973).

Affection, Nurture, and Support -- 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 skills in showing affection and support for their children.

Parental Reinforcement for Conforming Behavior and for Skill Development -- Parents should consistently reinforce desired behaviors and developing competences in their children (Alexander and Parsons, 1973). Parenting training can provide skills in positive reinforcement.

Modeling Belief and Respect for the Moral Order -- Finally, parents should be consistent as models of law-abiding behavior for their children, if children are to develop belief in the conventional moral order. Parenting training can emphasize the importance of this modeling by parents.

Given the family's importance in socialization and social control from the birth of the child, it would be desirable to provide parenting training to parents of preschool-aged children.

However, several considerations mitigate against this in the comprehensive research and development project proposed here.

First is the recognition of the need for a consistent sampling universe for the research. In order to rigorously assess the effects of interventions, experimental and quasi-experimental designs will be used. Schools and classrooms are most acceptable units for sampling populations of children and parents in which experimental subjects can continually be resampled and distinguished from controls or comparisons. Because school attendance is mandatory for primary school children, schools and classrooms provide excellent sampling units from which to draw representative samples of the population in a geographical area. Sampling participants from other community organizations (daycare centers, churches, community groups, and the like) introduces bias associated with differential participation in these organizations.

Second is the recognition of the bias introduced by self-selection into parenting training courses offered in the open community. Parents of preschool children who sign up for parenting classes are likely to represent a unique subset of the general population of parents already more likely than other parents to establish strong attachment with their children. Even random assignment of volunteer families to program participation and control conditions in a community-based parenting program cannot provide a valid indication of the potential of parenting classes for delinquency prevention.

These considerations suggest that sampling and recruitment for parenting classes should occur through the schools. In the proposed project, classrooms of first graders will be the first sampling units. All parents with children in experimental classrooms will be recruited for participation in parenting classes. This will allow for a sample of parents from the general population and minimize possible perceived stigma associated with recruitment or selection for a parenting class, and allow intensive recruitment efforts with sampled parents. It is anticipated that by identifying parenting training as a school program and by recruiting intensively, broader cross-sections of the parent population will be involved in the training than typically occurs in community-based parenting training programs. The parenting program will include approximately 12-to-16 two-hour sessions over a two-month period and will focus on the development of parenting skills described earlier. We expect that a large proportion of parents who attend the first training session will be retained throughout the program. (See Wall et al., 1981:81.)

Parenting classes will be offered again to parents of students in fourth and seventh grade experimental classrooms. The content of the class will be altered to suit the social development level of children whose parents are sampled. For example, for parents of fourth graders, emphasis will be on involving children in contributory roles in the family and rewarding or reinforcing satisfactory performance of these roles. Content for parents of seventh graders will emphasize negotiation of rights and responsibilities and training in dealing with adolescent issues including sexual development, drugs, and alcohol.

The general goals of parenting training are to improve parenting skills and therefore to increase attachment between children and parents and to improve the control effectiveness of the family as implied by control theory. (See Parent Child Education in Wall et al., 1981:79 for an example of a parenting training program.)

2. In-Home Family Support Services

In-home family support services are secondary prevention interventions which will be made available in the community to families of primary grade children in experimental school catchment areas. The services will be offered through a not-for-profit, community-based service agency with links to school and social service agencies. Because this is a secondary prevention component, referrals of eligible individual families will be accepted from any source so long as the referral does not result from a delinquent act by the child. Referred families who voluntarily agree to utilize the family support services will be eligible, with preference given to those with the most severe presenting problems. Experimental and control families will be randomly selected from the pool of eligible families. Control families will be referred to existing social service programs in the community. Experimental families will receive in-home family support services.

The intent of in-home family support services is to provide services to families experiencing stress-producing physical or financial problems, as well as internal structural and interactional difficulties. Services will be provided by an in-home family support worker responsible for family assessment and collaborative execution of a family plan developed with the family. The plan may include homemaker services, training in family management and parenting skills, advocacy, respite care of children, and collaboration with other agencies to provide special services.

The hypothesis underlying this intervention is that providing parents with skills and resources to effectively manage their families when there is evidence that such skills and resources are seriously lacking will enable high-risk families to more effectively provide for physical needs, exercise more consistent discipline, and show affection to children. This should, in turn, increase attachment between parents and children, increase the control effectiveness of the family, and ultimately inhibit delinquency as suggested by control theory. (See In-Home Family Support Services in Wall et al., 1981:55 for an example of this type of intervention.)

3. Family Crisis Intervention Services

Family crisis intervention services will be made available in the target community to families of children aged 12 to 16 in experimental school catchment areas and will be provided as a secondary prevention intervention through a community-based not-for-profit agency. Referrals of individual families experiencing severe conflict between children and parents will be accepted. An experimental sampling procedure will again be used to select referred families for participation and control conditions.

Family crisis intervention services will use a skill development approach to families as systems of communication and exchange. Both parents and children will be trained in communication, contingency contracting, and negotiation skills. Parents will also be taught consistent and explicit rule-setting behaviors.

Experimental evidence indicates that this approach to secondary prevention as developed and tested by Alexander and Parsons (1973) is effective in reducing delinquency among "status offenders" and minor delinquents. It also appears to reduce the likelihood of delinquency among younger siblings in families who participate.

In the State of Washington, where the comprehensive prevention project will be implemented, runaways and children in conflict with their parents have been removed from jurisdiction of the juvenile court. Greater responsibility for controlling children has, thus, been returned to

families. The model of family crisis intervention services to be implemented as a secondary prevention approach in this project 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 State's Youth and Family Institute in Wall et al., 1981:46,127 for program examples.)

4. Child Development Specialists

The child development specialist intervention is the final secondary prevention component directed at the family. The child development specialist is a school-based resource person and advocate whose tasks include insuring adequate skill development among students in primary grades who are evidencing special difficulties in school. While the specialist's responsibilities are largely in the school setting, they also include working with parents to develop and implement plans for addressing learning and related problems which may inhibit academic success. Child development specialists will work with parents of students experiencing difficulties in experimental classes in the primary grades. (See Child Development Specialist in Wall et al., 1981:76 for an example of this secondary prevention approach.)

SCHOOL-BASED INTERVENTIONS

A growing body of research results has linked immediate school experiences of academic failure, as measured by grades and achievement test scores, to delinquent behavior (Hirschi, 1969; Linden, 1974; Polk and Schafer, 1972; Elliott and Voss, 1974; Jensen, 1976). At the individual level, academic achievement appears to be a predictor of delinquent behavior that transcends social class and ethnicity (Call, 1965; Jensen, 1976; Polk and Halferty, 1966; Stinchcombe, 1964), suggesting that providing a greater proportion of students with opportunities to experience success in school should hold promise for preventing delinquency.

A second school factor related to delinquency is commitment to academic or educational pursuits. When students are not committed to educational pursuits, they are more likely to engage in delinquent behavior (Elliott and Voss, 1974:151).

Similarly, attachment to school is related to delinquency. Students who do not like school are more likely to engage in delinquent acts than those who do (Hirschi, 1969:121). These data suggest that educational innovations which encourage students to feel part of the school community and committed to educational goals hold promise for preventing delinquency.

Studies of the relationship between delinquent behavior and school experiences at the individual level and studies of the relationships between rates of school crime and other variables at the aggregate (organizational) level have generated somewhat different conclusions about the relative importance of school. While individual level data consistently suggest that school experiences play a primary role in the delinquent behavior of students when socioeconomic, community, and other contextual variables are controlled (Jensen, 1976), the aggregate level data on school disruption suggest that "community characteristics" such as poverty, disorganization, and crime rates, which are exogenous to the school, generally make greater contributions than do "school characteristics" to certain types of school crime (such as teacher and student victimization) (Gottfredson and Daiger, 1979:152). In fact these data need not be viewed as inconsistent. Schools themselves are organizations influenced by the community context in which they are located, while the experiences of individual students in these schools are the predictors of their own delinquent behavior.

In certain community settings (where crime, poverty, and disorganization are present), schools neither provide success experiences nor inspire attachment and commitment among many students. In such schools, the rates of school crime are high. However, even in these schools, those students who experience academic success, develop attachments to school, and develop commitment to educational goals are unlikely to commit delinquent acts (Jensen, 1976; McPartland and McDill, 1977). The importance of a comprehensive approach to delinquency prevention is underscored by these data. While student experiences in schools can be altered to minimize the school's contribution to individual delinquency, the community context and its influence on schools and on aggregate rates of delinquency cannot be ignored. Community-oriented prevention components of the comprehensive research and development project will be discussed in a later section.

The major goals of school-focused/education-focused prevention are: 1) to increase attachment to teachers; 2) to increase student academic success experiences; 3) to increase attachment to school; 4) to increase commitment to education; 5) to increase belief in the moral order.

To achieve these goals three sets of variables categorized as "providing opportunities for successful school involvement," "enhancing participant (teacher and student) skills," and "ensuring consistency of expectations and sanctions in the school environment" are addressed in the research and development project.

PROVIDING OPPORTUNITIES FOR SUCCESSFUL SCHOOL INVOLVEMENT

The availability of opportunities for successful involvement in school is partially determined by funding and resource levels. For example, the size of the school itself and the number of students taught per teacher are usually determined by fiscal considerations. Yet these variables may help determine the availability of opportunities for successful school participation. In large schools where teachers see a number of different students each day, teachers are generally less able to establish interpersonal relationships with students and to utilize a broad range of rewards for student participation. In the absence of warm interpersonal relationships between students and teachers, delinquency is more likely (Gold, 1978). Research has consistently shown correlations between both school size and average number of students taught by teachers and rates for school crime. Smaller schools are characterized by lower levels of student offenses when ability level, racial composition, and economic status of student are controlled (McPartland and McDill, 1977:21; Smith et al., 1980; and U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1978). Similarly, where fewer students are seen each day by a teacher, rates of school crime are lower.

Given the fiscal pressures facing school districts, it is not feasible in this project to intervene experimentally to alter school size or number of students seen by teachers in order to assess the influence of these changes. However, given their apparent importance, these variables will be used as controls in matching experimental and comparison schools for study.

Opportunities for successful school involvement can be increased, however, by addressing other variables in the school setting. The primary prevention interventions which seek to address these variables are discussed below.

5. Performance-Based Education*

Traditional 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. Report cards, as they are currently administered in most public schools, have created a group of students who are perpetual losers (McPartland and McDill, 1977:14).

Performance-based education refers to a set of interrelated elements to be included in experimental schools to address this issue. These elements are: 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 competency (see Hawkins and Wall, 1980).

Rather than intervene directly with students, teachers of experimental classes will be trained in skills necessary for performance-based education. Teachers will learn to select and develop high interest materials; to establish realistic attainable goals for each student (Romig, 1978:35-36); to tie clear rewards to different levels of demonstrated effort and proficiency based on students' original performance rather than on competition with classmates (Bednar et al., 1970; Tyler and Brown, 1968); and to broaden available rewards beyond traditional grades.

It is hypothesized that the use of performance-based education approaches with contingent reward systems will positively influence students' cognitive skills and performance levels, increase the proportion of students experiencing academic success rather than failure in school (Rollins et al., 1974), increase student attachment to teachers, and increase student attachment to school and commitment to education.

Instruction in performance-based education will be provided to primary and junior high teachers of experimental classrooms beginning with first grade teachers.

6. Student Involvement in School Classroom Policy Formulation and Discipline Procedures

A natural concomitant of entry into adolescence is a more critical questioning of adult authority. Until this time the student role is largely a passive one. While adolescents in post industrial society are not positioned to take on major production or work roles, commitments to conventional lines of action can be enhanced by providing them opportunities to find meaningful roles in shaping the institution in which they are most directly involved during this period of their social development -- their school and classroom (Coleman, 1961; Matza, 1964).

Student involvement in school policy formulation and discipline procedures consists of two elements. First is classroom-based skills training in participatory governance and shared decision making for seventh grade students. (See Skills for Democratic Participation, in Wall et al., 1981:114.)

The second element involves the development of opportunities for student involvement in school policy making (such as participation in formulation of the school drug policy) and in review of student violations of school rules and expectations for sixth to ninth grade students.

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*Note that interventions are consecutively numbered so that the reader can refer to them in Figures 3 and 4.

Attention will be given to recruitment and involvement of a broad range of "natural peer group leaders" for participation in policy making and disciplinary bodies to ensure that participatory roles in these activities are created for students not typically involved in traditional "student council" or other student leadership groups. As discussed later in this paper, this intervention also targets peer influence. (See the Open Road Student Involvement and Positive Peer Culture in Wall et al., 1981:75,90 for examples of programs which provide opportunities for student involvement in governance and disciplinary proceedings to mixed student groups.)

It is hypothesized that simultaneously increasing opportunities for student involvement in school policy formulation and discipline procedures and increasing student skills for fulfilling these roles will increase student attachment to school, commitment to conventional lines of action, and belief in the moral order.

ENHANCING PARTICIPANT SKILLS

Developing youths' cognitive and social skills is the major function of schools. Thus, many of the proposed school-based components of this project ultimately focus on student skill development. For example, the performance-based education discussed earlier is, in part, a method for ensuring successful development of students' cognitive skills. The components of the delinquency prevention project discussed in this section add specific elements to the school curriculum to achieve the major goals of increasing attachment to teachers and conventional others, attachment to school, and belief in the moral order. It should be noted that one such element (enhancing skills for democratic participation) has already been discussed in conjunction with student involvement approaches.

7. Affective Skills Training

Programs which seek to increase students' interpersonal skills have been broadly implemented for drug abuse prevention in the last decade. The few available rigorous evaluations of drug abuse prevention efforts have shown 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., 1980). These approaches assume that young people need to learn basic communication, decision making, negotiation, and conflict resolution skills in order to perform effectively in interpersonal situations with family members, teachers, or peers. The premise is that schools should teach these skills for interpersonal functioning just as they teach cognitive skills. If young people have these 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 schools. On the other hand, when these skills are absent, 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.

To increase students' interpersonal skills, the project will train teachers of experimental classes in grades one through twelve in the use of affective skills curricula appropriate for the age range of students in their classes. A number of these curricula are available. (See, for example, Magic Circle, DUSO, in Schaps and Slimmon, 1975, and Curriculum for Meeting Modern Problems and Project PRIDE in Wall et al., 1981:40,97.) An integrated curriculum will be adapted from those available to provide an affective skills development component with the greatest apparent applicability for interpersonal skills development for delinquency prevention.

8. Civil, Criminal, Consumer Rights and Liabilities

A second primary prevention intervention focused on skills development seeks ultimately to increase belief in the moral order and the law by educating students about the functions of the law and their rights and responsibilities under it. In contrast to many law-related education (LRE) approaches, this intervention combines education with power enhancement strategy. By including attention to civil and consumer law as well as to criminal law, students learn how to use the law for their own protection and how to use legal means to achieve their goals. By exploring the use of the law to achieve personally desired ends rather than relying on a didactic approach emphasizing legal responsibilities, this intervention seeks to develop belief in the law. (See National Street Law Institute in Wall et al., 1981:68.)

This program element will be introduced into experimental classes in ninth grade as part of the required course in civics or history. A program staff member trained in use of the curriculum will coordinate integration of the component with the regular classroom teacher. Additionally, law-school volunteers may participate in running portions of the class.

9. Experiential Prevocational Training and Exploration

The final curriculum addition focuses on preparing students for the world of work while still in school. Young people's expectations and aspirations are related to the development of commitments to conventional lines of action (Hirschi, 1969). School should provide young people with information and experiences which help them develop aspirations and expectations for attaining legitimate employment which they view as sufficiently rewarding or worthwhile to justify commitment. If schools can help students make commitments to legitimate careers, delinquency should be reduced. One mechanism for achieving this goal is experiential prevocational training and 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 career options can increase understanding of actual career opportunities while providing students with opportunities to contribute to their placement sites and thus enhance the likelihood that involvement will be perceived as immediately rewarding. This should, in turn, increase the likelihood of aspirations and commitments to conventional career roles.

Experiential prevocational training will begin in experimental classrooms in the eighth grade and continue through high school. During the first year, the program will be based largely in the classroom with field trips to work sites. In subsequent years, opportunities for work/internship experiences in the community will be included and articulated with traditional course work necessary for high school graduation. (See Experience Based Career Education in Wall et al., 1981:43.)

A prevocational training and exploration coordinator will recruit placement sites, coordinate student participation, and work with regular classroom teachers. The curriculum will be introduced in regular classes as part of the required course work in eighth grade experimental classes and then will become an elective to which volunteering students are randomly assigned in subsequent years to allow rigorous research on delinquency prevention effectiveness.

10. Teacher Effectiveness Training

The final primary prevention intervention in this area targets teachers rather than students. Teacher effectiveness training will assist teachers to develop skills in consistent disciplining, in communicating with students, and in affective/nurturing behaviors. Research has shown

that good relationships between teachers and students (attachments to teachers) can prevent school crime. This intervention seeks to assist teachers in becoming more skillful in their interactions with students in order to increase attachment between students and teachers. This component will be offered to teachers of experimental classes in primary grades and in intermediate or junior high schools.

CHILD DEVELOPMENT CONSULTATION/IN-SCHOOL CRISIS RESOLUTION*

Child development consultation and in-school crisis resolution is a secondary prevention strategy aimed at insuring satisfactory skill development (and increasing academic success experiences) for students in primary grades who are evidencing special difficulties in school. The child development specialist functions as an advocate for the students in securing necessary teaching or tutoring assistance, hearing and visual consultation, or other needed services available in the community or through other components of the prevention project. The specialist will work with both teachers and parents to ensure development and implementation of a consistent plan for addressing identified learning and other related problems which may inhibit academic success. The child development specialist will be available to experimental classes in primary schools. (See Child Development Specialist in Wall et al., 1981:26.)

11. Cross-Age Tutoring

Cross-age tutoring is also a secondary prevention strategy aimed at ensuring satisfactory skill development for students in primary grades who are evidencing special difficulties in school. An additional function is to provide ninth and tenth grade students with opportunities to perform a productive role (as tutors) which may increase commitment to education and attachment to school. To maximize the preventive power of this intervention, secondary school students will be selected as tutors, based on teacher recommendations. Students whose cognitive skills are adequate for the tutoring role but whose commitments to school appear marginal will be included in the tutor pool along with students traditionally selected for leadership roles to accomplish retroflexive reformation (Cressey and Ward, 1969).

12. Alternative Education Options

A final secondary prevention approach aimed at ensuring academic success, 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.

Because of the cost and time involved in establishing and implementing an alternative education program, and because a special initiative in this area is already being planned by the Ofice of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, the comprehensive project will be conducted in a district where an alternative program is already available. The project will work with the existing alternative education facility to ensure that the program contains the following elements important for delinquency prevention (see Hawkins and Wall, 1980):

*Note that some interventions are discussed in several places. They are numbered to correspond to Figures 3 and 4.

(1) Individualized 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 work and learning emphasis in the classroom.

(4) Small student population in the classroom.

(5) Low student/adult ratio in the classroom.

(6) Caring, competent teachers.

(7) Strong supportive administrator.

ENSURING CONSISTENCY OF EXPECTATIONS AND SANCTIONS IN THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

Consistent expectations and sanctions for behavior provide environmental conditions which make the existing social order appear fair and just to young people. Thus, consistent expectations are likely to facilitate belief in the conventional moral order. 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 and teachers are not likely to inspire their children to believe in the school's authority or to like school. 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.

13. School Climate Assessment and Improvement

Research has shown that cooperation between teachers and the school administrator characterizes schools with low rates of teacher victimization (Gottfredson and Daiger, 1978). An approach which has shown promise for enhancing administrator and teacher cooperation is school climate assessment and improvement (see Fox et al. n.d.). This is a process in which the administrator and staff commit themselves to realistic appraisal of program, process, and material determinants of the school's social and educational milieu. These determinants include 18 variables such as "opportunities for active learning," "varied reward systems," "continuous improvement of school goals," "effective communications," and "a supportive and efficient logistical system." Faculty and administration collaboratively identify school climate factors in need of improvement and implement activities to address these problems. The process involves both administration and faculty, as participants in the school community, in collaborative work to ameliorate conditions in the school. Thus, regardless of its specific focus, when properly implemented the process can enhance cooperation between administrator and teachers. Additionally, where improvement activities focus on developing consistent expectations for student behaviors and a clear, common set of policies and procedures which all follow in dealing with infractions of rules, the school environment is more likely to be perceived by students as equitable and just. Students are more likely to develop belief in the moral order of the school in this situation; as a result, delinquent behavior should be inhibited.

The comprehensive site project staff will include a school climate coordinator, experienced in school climate improvement activities, who will work with administration and faculty of experimental schools on school climate improvement activities.

CHILD DEVELOPMENT SPECIALIST AS PARENT CONSULTANT

A second method for enhancing consistency of expectations and sanctions in the child's environment is to ensure ongoing communication between schools and parents. Child development specialists will ensure that parents are routinely contacted regarding special achievements of their children in the classroom and emerging needs for support or assistance from home to ensure skill development. They will also coordinate recruitment of parents for volunteer classroom involve-ment and participation in school decision making. (See Child Development Specialist and Regional Intervention Program in Wall et al., 1981:26,103.)

The major goal of the school/home communication and parent/school involvement activies will be to increase the likelihood that young people in experimental schools are receiving clear and consistent expectations from major actors in their social environment regarding performance and behavior. More specifically, it is hoped that success will be more consistently rewarded both at home and school and the problems will be recognized and collaboratively addressed by adults in both environments.

PEER-ORIENTED INTERVENTIONS

As noted earlier, association with delinquent peers is one of the strongest correlates of delinquency. The theoretical model which is the basis of the prevention approach proposed here postulates that young people are likely to develop attachments to delinquent peers when their bonds to conforming others are weak or broken. Thus, to the extent that attachment to parents, attachment to school, commitment to education, and belief in the moral order can be generated by prior interventions in the prevention project, young people should be less susceptible to the influence of peers toward delinquency (Bahr, 1979). Yet, peer-oriented approaches remain important elements of a comprehensive prevention project because of the apparent strength of the effect of peers on youths' behaviors and because it is unlikely that all youths will be insulated from these effects by the foregoing program elements.

14. Peer Leadership Groups

Peer leadership groups will be organized in experimental intermediate or junior and senior high schools. Group members will be informal leaders of all major student cliques and groups, not just traditional student body leaders. Members will be nominated by teachers and students with the project's peer program coordinator responsible for final selection of members. Student members of the peer leadership groups will meet daily for an hour as part of their regular school activities. However, in contrast to many guided, peer-group interaction programs, an explicit goal and task of the peer leadership groups will 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 and enforceable school policies regarding these problems. Peer leadership groups will also serve as recruitment pools for student judicial/disciplinary bodies which will handle student grievance and disciplinary referrals for violations of school policies. The peer leadership groups are an attempt to integrate implications of control and cultural deviance theories into a peer-oriented prevention strategy, while

recognizing the failures of peer-oriented programs focused wholly on delinquent groups, such as the detached gang workers studied by Klein (1969).

The peer leadership groups seek to encourage leaders of delinquency-prone groups to establish ties to more conventional peers. Rather than assuming that interaction per se will lead to development of these ties, the approach presumes that ties will be developed as peer leadership 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 identified and selected for participation, it is hypothesized that these leaders will, in turn, influence members of their own cliques toward more positive attitudes to school as school policies are altered in response to their participation. It is hoped that in this way delinquency-prone groups will be co-opted. As with most other interventions proposed here, this component is an adaptation of approaches currently in use. (See Open Road/Student Involvement Project and Positive Peer Culture in Wall et al., 1981:75,90.)

15. Community Youth Development Project

This component (also described on page 39) is a community-focused youth participation and advocacy project. Adult and youth community members will be recruited and organized into planning committees to assess and address community issues related to youth development. As in the peer leadership groups, a goal here will be to involve community youths who are not typically involved in leadership roles in schools and youths who are currently out of school.

These youths will be involved with adults in planning and organizing activities and projects to improve opportunities for youth in the community. A range of projects may be initiated. The specific activities planned and implemented are viewed here as less important than the collaborative involvements of community youths and adults in attempting to make the community aware of, and more responsive to, youth.

This intervention attempts to encourage youths to develop ties to this conventional group through their involvement. It can also provide a vehicle for co-opting delinquent groups into community development and enhancement activities. (See Youth Community Development Project in Wall et al., 1981:135.)

EMPLOYMENT-ORIENTED INTERVENTIONS

While positive correlations have been found between aggregate unemployment and crime rates (Glaser, 1978), research also indicates a positive correlation at the individual level between having a job during high school and self-reported delinquency (Greenberger and Steinberg, 1979). For youths still in school, early employment may detract from commitments to school which can inhibit delinquency. Alternatively, it is possible that youths who have not developed attachments and commitments to school are more likely to become employed during middle-to-late adolescence. Either interpretation of the available data suggests that employment per se should not be implemented as a general strategy for primary prevention of delinquency.

However, research has also shown that delinquent youths who drop out of school become less delinquent after dropping out, especially if they secure employment (Elliott and Voss, 1974; Bachman et al., 1971). These data suggest that youth employment should be viewed as a secondary delinquent prevention approach for high risk youth who have not, by the age of 16, developed attachments and commitments to other institutions which would preclude

delinquency. All the following employment-oriented interventions are designed primarily for youth who are leaving school early. (We do not argue here that broad youth employment programs for low income youth are undesirable. They have largely been initiated to achieve other goals which are not addressed in this paper and should be considered in terms of these goals rather than in terms of delinquency effects until new evidence becomes available which indicates that they have promise in this regard.)

16. Integrated School and Work Programs

There are two elements of this portion of the project. One is a vocational placement service in the school. Students can use this service to assess both short-term and long-term job prospects in the community. This service will be provided in experimental high schools in coordination with the local employment assistance department. Its major function is to link students leaving school with jobs, 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 element is a program for juniors and seniors in high school interested in vocational training. An extension of the experience-based career education program discussed in an earlier section, this element provides academic credit for certain work experiences using learning contract 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.)

17. Vocational Training in Growth Industries and Expansion of Job Opportunities

This component is an intensive integrated secondary prevention program for school dropouts which provides training in basic work habits, job skills, and vocational assessment to participants; recruits employers to provide job opportunities for participants; matches participants with appropriate placements; continually follows up with participants during the first two months of work adjustment; and advocates for job upgrading of youths who have performed successfully on the job for three to six months (see Jobs for Youth and Project 70001 in Wall et al., 1981:58,100). Given difficulties experienced by existing programs of this type in finding jobs for youth which are viewed as either inherently worthwhile or which have long term career potential, this component will focus on development of job opportunities and skill development in growth areas (such as energy-related occupations) and in community development projects.

This component will be enhanced with a small "youth run enterprise" which combines skill development in a growth area with community improvement. For example, a collaborative endeavor with the local electric utility company to conduct energy audits of homes and provide weatherization and insulation, passive solar retrofitting, energy saving devices, and storm windows will be implemented. Participants will learn skills in these areas and operate and manage the weatherization business with the assistance of volunteers from private businesses. (See Urban Youth Action in Wall et al., 1981:124.) Again, it should be emphasized that this project's component is a secondary prevention intervention for high risk youths which seeks to develop skills and provide roles which will enhance commitments to conventional lines of action and occupational expectations and aspirations. Applicants for the project will be randomly selected to allow experimental assessment of program effects.

COMMUNITY INTERVENTION

The community provides a context in which youths develop. While families, schools, and peers have more immediate effects on individual youths than do general community variables, community characteristics influence these socializing institutions. Furthermore, aggregate level data show that crime rates are associated with characteristics of community areas (Shaw and McKay, 1942). Community areas offer general norms and expectations for deviant or conforming behavior which may indirectly influence youths. Therefore, two general community-focused interventions will be included in the comprehensive project.

18. Community Crime Prevention Program

This component is the community block-watch model which has been successful in reducing residential burglaries where implemented. (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 a common goal of crime prevention. This involvement can generate a sense of shared concern and power in a community which is manifested in a set of community norms against crime. It is hypothesized that these norms will 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.

15. Community Youth Development Project

This final component is a community-focused youth participation and advocacy project in which community members, including youths, are organized into planning committees to mobilize community resources to provide a community environment conducive to nondelinquent youth development. The major element here is the involvement of community youths who are not typically involved in planning and organizing activities and projects to improve opportunities for youth in the community. A range of projects from youth needs assessment surveys to police advisory comittees may be initiated. Regardless of the specific activity, the major goal is to provide these youths who may not have established commitments to education or attachments to school with involvements in legitimate activities and ties to a legitimate group which can lead to conventional commitments and attachments outside the school. (See Youth Community Development Project in Wall et al., 1981:135.)

IV. SELECTIVE INTERVENTIONS IN FIVE (TO EIGHT) SITES

It appears from NCADBIP's assessment of delinquency prevention programs around the country that a number of programs currently operating include elements of the theoretically derived and empirically supportable interventions outlined in this paper. (Some of these programs have been noted in describing the interventions to be included in the comprehensive project.) Whether or not these programs were conceived or designed from theoretical bases, they appear to hold promise for delinquency prevention.

Unfortunately, almost none of these programs have been adequately evaluated for delinquency prevention effects. Given this situation, it appears desirable to rigorously evaluate these existing programs. This is the goal of the selective sites component of the research and development project. Evaluation of currently operating programs will provide timely information on the effects of single prevention interventions when not combined in a comprehensive delinquency prevention program.

To identify the selective sites, a general program announcement should be developed and distributed. Programs should be asked to show in their responses how their existing services are compatible with the general prevention model and consistent with an intervention approach proposed for the comprehensive site. They should not be asked to design or implement wholly new programs during the course of the research and development project. It is not reasonable to expect organizations to develop new programs which will be evaluated for delinquency prevention effects all in a two-to-three-year time frame. However, it is realistic to produce reliable and valid evaluation information on program effectiveness if programs are already operating at the beginning of the project funding period.

Therefore, ongoing programs most consistent with the models proposed here should be selected for the selective sites. These programs should be offered a maximum of 30 percent program operating costs to defray expenses; technical assistance in modifying their programs for maximum potential effect for delinquency prevention; and technical assistance and all resources necessary for participation in a rigorous evaluation of their delinquency prevention effects.

An additional strength of this approach is that it ensures collaborative cross-agency funding of the local programs in selective sites without requiring massive agency coordination at the federal level to initiate the project. As data on effective programs in selective sites are produced, these can be fed back to OJJDP and through the Office to the Federal Coordinating Council to inform future Office, Agency, and Coordinating Council decisions regarding future collaborative projects at the federal level.

Given the two-to-three-year time frame for the selective site projects, only those programs which can be evaluated for delinquency prevention effects in a three-year period should be solicited. Thus, the selective site projects should be limited to interventions targeting institutions which affect students in the sixth through twelfth grades. Selective site

intervention should also be limited to programs which have not yet or are not currently being rigorously evaluated for delinquency prevention effects through other OJJDP initiatives. Therefore, the following interventions should be considered for selective site funding and evaluation:

(1) Parenting training for junior high parents (intervention 1).
(2) Performance-based education for junior high students (intervention 5).
(3) Student involvement in school policy formulation and discipline procedures (intervention 6).
(4) Education in civil, criminal, and consumer rights and responsibilities (intervention 8).
(5) Experimental prevocational training and exploration (intervention 9).
(6) School climate assessment and improvement activities in junior and senior high schools (intervention 13).
(7) Junior high school peer leadership groups (intervention 14).
(8) Vocational training in growth industries and expansion of job opportunities for high risk adolescents using youth-run enterprise models (intervention 17).

It is anticipated that results from these selective site evaluations will be used to inform final modifications of components in the comprehensive project in subsequent years so that the potential effects of that project for delinquency prevention are maximized.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The research designs and methods to be used in evaluating both the selective sites and comprehensive component are discussed in a separate document. It should be noted here that quasi-experimental and experimental designs will be used to compare participating individuals, organizational units, and community areas with comparable unserved units. Random assignments to experimental and control conditions will be used wherever feasible. Selective and comprehensive site interventions must be implemented so that research designs are not compromised and the first goal of the project is achieved, namely to test the most promising approaches for delinquency prevention currently available.

It should also be noted that measures used to assess delinquency will include officially recorded and self-reported delinquency, officially reported crime rates for community areas, and community victimization survey data.

IMPLEMENTATION AND ORGANIZATIONAL ISSUES IN THE COMPREHENSIVE PROJECT

The practical and political problems which will accompany implementation of the comprehensive prevention project are myriad. In contrast to research and development components in the selective sites, implementation of the project in the comprehesive site will require development and integration of a number of new interventions in existing institutions in the target community. This involves nothing less than major institutional changes in the target community. Implementation and organizational issues and plans for addressing these in the comprehensive site are discussed in a separate document.

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