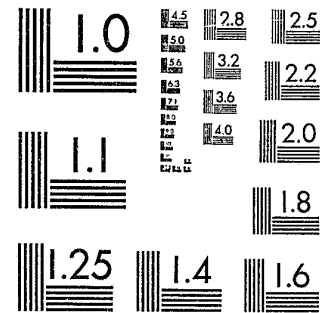


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THE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT MODEL:
AN INTEGRATED APPROACH TO
-DELINQUENCY PREVENTION.

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1980

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Seems Delinquency
What to do? +
Preventing Delinquency
with everything
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THE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT MODEL:
AN INTEGRATED APPROACH TO DELINQUENCY PREVENTION

The Problem

Juvenile delinquency is a major social problem (Stark, 1975). Over 40 percent of arrests for the 7 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. The arrest rate for juveniles has remained approximately 65 percent greater than that for adults. During the same time period, the rate of referrals to juvenile court increased by 36 percent while adult prosecution increased by only 9 percent (Weis and Henney, 1979: 743-744). During the early years of the 1970's, juvenile violence appeared to be on the increase. Between 1968 and 1977, juvenile arrests increased by 27 percent for property crimes while juvenile arrests for violent crimes increased by 44 percent (Smith et al., 1979:349-351). Fortunately, there is evidence that the rates of serious juvenile crime have leveled off in recent years (Alexander et al., 1980). However, youth crime remains a major problem:

The social and economic costs of juvenile delinquency are also high (National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, 1976). 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 (National Institute of Education, 1978). The costs of handling juvenile offenders are staggering--for example, 1977 capital and operating expenditures for juvenile custody facilities were more than \$700 million (U.S. National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service, 1979).

The History of Prevention and Control

Historically, there have been two ways to deal with juvenile crime: prevention and control. Prevention is an *action* taken to preclude illegal behavior before it occurs. Control is a *reaction* to an *action* after it has been committed. Lejins (1967:2) has suggested: "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."

Prevention can be further differentiated into two categories: corrective and preclusive. Corrective prevention seeks to identify pre-delinquents or youths who are high risks for delinquency and to correct their behavioral tendencies or criminogenic circumstances before delinquency results. In contrast, preclusive prevention does not seek 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.

From the passage of the first juvenile court statute in Illinois in 1899 to the signing of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974, the juvenile justice system had almost total responsibility for dealing with juvenile crime. This system is largely reactive, seeking to *control* juvenile crime by responding to illegal acts by juveniles brought to its attention. It also practices *corrective prevention* by responding to individuals whose behavior, environment, or other attributes are thought to be predictive of delinquency. These youngsters are usually brought to the attention of the juvenile court for "status offenses"--noncriminal misbehavior (Gough, 1977) which is viewed as indicative that the child is headed for more serious trouble. Although ostensibly a paternalistic institution of control *and* prevention, the juvenile justice system primarily engages in the control of juvenile offenders and presumed pre-delinquents to the neglect of its mandate to prevent juvenile offenses (Weis et al., 1979:1-6).

In the 1960's and 70's, collective criticisms mounted against a juvenile justice system which claimed jurisdiction over both juveniles who committed crimes and those who only *might* commit crimes and which could muster scant evidence of its effectiveness (Weis et al., 1979:7-8). A new

juvenile justice philosophy was embodied in the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974 and its 1977 Amendments. The new *dual functions* philosophy of juvenile justice separates formal legal control from prevention.

The "dual functions" philosophy restricts the responsibility of the juvenile court to the control of juvenile criminals, a responsibility consonant with its status as a formal criminal justice institution with the power to deprive law violators of liberty. At the same time, the juvenile court's mandate to intervene before young people commit delinquent acts is severely restricted under this new philosophy. Mandatory deinstitutionalization of youths accused only of status offenses, diversion of youths who engage in both minor illegal and noncriminal behavior, and the removal of certain status offenses from the jurisdiction of the juvenile court in some states, have limited the court's authority to engage in the corrective prevention of youth crime. The court's major responsibility now is to control identified juvenile criminals through rehabilitation and punishment. The task of *preventing* youth crime has been removed from the court and given back to the community.

The limitation of the juvenile court's authority does not signal a preference for control over prevention. On the contrary, the change embodies the belief that informal institutions of socialization such as families, schools, and communities, are both more appropriate and more likely to

succeed in preventing juvenile crime than is the juvenile justice system.

In a major exposition of the new philosophy of juvenile justice, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (1967:vi) and its Task Force on Juvenile Delinquency (1967:41) emphasized the importance of the preclusive prevention of juvenile justice outside the criminal justice system:

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... But the influence to do the most good, must come *before* the youth has become involved in the formal criminal justice system.

Prevention of juvenile crime is an essential element in the new philosophy of juvenile justice. Reforms such as diversion and deinstitutionalization are not likely to decrease the initial rates of criminal or other disruptive acts by juveniles. At best, they can prevent further penetration into the juvenile justice system and, hopefully, inhibit further delinquent acts by those who have already committed acts sufficiently serious to be brought to the attention of agencies of formal legal control. Without

effective means for decreasing the number of youths who initially engage in delinquent acts--that is without effective delinquency prevention at the family, school, and community levels--the costs of youth crime, the fear of victimization, and the number of youths processed through the juvenile courts will remain high. Nevertheless, it is somewhat ironic that the primary responsibility for preventing youngsters from engaging in illegal behavior has been returned to families and schools, institutions which have always had primary responsibility for socializing children and which, in large part, have failed to prevent the increasing rates of juvenile criminal behavior in the past decades.

In summary, under this new "dual functions" philosophy of juvenile justice, the juvenile court has been limited to the control of juvenile offenders. While prevention has been legislatively mandated as essential to the success of the new philosophy, the juvenile court's power to engage in either preclusive or corrective prevention has been severely limited. Instead, families, schools, and communities, not juvenile courts, have been given back the task of preventing youth crime. For this new philosophy to succeed, the most pressing task for the 1980's is to find effective means in these institutions for preventing youth crime without recourse to the formal legal authority of the juvenile court.

Past Experience and Prospects

The history of juvenile crime prevention provides little cause for optimism about this task. Given the control orientation of the juvenile justice system during its first 75 years of operation, there have been only a small number of corrective prevention efforts and even fewer preclusive prevention programs. Therefore, the knowledge and technology of delinquency prevention have not been well developed. Most past efforts at delinquency prevention that have been evaluated rigorously show ambiguous, mixed, or negative results (cf. Lundman and Scarpitti, 1978; Newton, 1978; Powers and Witmer, 1951; Wright and Dixon, 1977). 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, 1979).

Unfortunately, even recent federal program initiatives in delinquency prevention promise to provide little information about how to effectively prevent delinquency. The *Preliminary Report of the National Evaluation of Prevention* funded in 1978 under the OJJDP Delinquency Prevention Special Emphasis Grant Program suggests (Krisberg, 1978:25):

Measuring the effect of these OJJDP prevention projects has proved highly problematic. After two years of research we will probably possess insufficient data to judge if these agencies prevented crime to any appreciable extent.

In addition to research related problems, the evaluator reports that the cooperation of programs necessary to evaluate effects on delinquent behavior was forthcoming in only 1 of the 16 funded sites. Moreover, "few of the projects actually attempted to prevent delinquency" (Krisberg, 1978: 28). According to the evaluator, these federally funded prevention efforts generally appear to lack the conceptual foundation, clear focus, and commitment to rigorous research necessary to generate the knowledge required for effective delinquency prevention (Krisberg, 1978).

Two general implications for delinquency prevention in the 1980's can be drawn from past attempts. First, a major goal of future delinquency prevention efforts should be the development of a tested body of knowledge about effective prevention programs. Since past efforts in delinquency prevention have been largely ineffective, it is not sensible to replicate and generalize exemplary programs as the preferred approach. New delinquency prevention efforts should be created and tested within a research and development framework. Both their efforts and effects must be documented using rigorous research designs if a technology of effective delinquency prevention is to be developed.

Second, the best empirical evidence available regarding both correlates, causes, and theories of delinquent behavior as well as delinquency prevention programs should be used

as a basis for selecting promising prevention approaches for the 1980's. This position was stated directly by the National Task Force to Develop Standards and Goals for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention in its volume *Preventing Delinquency* (1977:8).

...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.

Additionally, the best available evidence regarding delinquency prevention programs should be used, as stated by the Task Force on Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention of the National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals (1977:23).

...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 clear cut confrontation with past failures can the necessary knowledge and understanding be gained for positive delinquency prevention efforts.

Toward a Model of Social Development and Delinquency Prevention

Following the mandates of these task forces, the National Center for the Assessment of Delinquent Behavior and Its Prevention (NCADBIP) at the University of Washington has conducted a comprehensive review of theories and research on delinquency, secondary analyses of ten self-reported delinquency data sets (Short and Nye, Empey and Erickson, Gold, Elliott and Voss, Hindelang, Hirschi, Bachman, Weis), and a national survey of prevention programs to identify the

most promising approaches to delinquency prevention. Three general principles are supported by this work:

1. Prevention approaches should focus on the causes of delinquency if they are to be effective (Hawkins et al., 1979).
2. There are multiple correlates and causes of delinquency. They operate within the institutional domains of family, school, peers, and community (Weis et al., 1980a, 1980b; Sederstrom, 1978; Zeiss 1978; Worsley, 1979; Sakumoto, 1978; Henney, 1976). Effective prevention should address these multiple causes in all of these settings.
3. Delinquency results from inadequate processes of social development. Different causal elements are more salient at different stages in the developmental process. Therefore, different prevention techniques are required at different stages in the socialization of youths (Weis and Hawkins, 1979).

Delinquency prevention should not only be responsive to the "causes" of delinquency, but also to the manner in which the causes work within the process of social development. If prevention efforts are to address the apparent complexities of causal relations, they should be directed at causes as they emerge and interact during the different stages in youngsters' lives. Different interventions are required at

different stages in the socialization of youths. In short, a dynamic multifaceted model of delinquency prevention is required.

An integration of *control theory* (Briar and Pilivan, 1965; Hirschi, 1969; Matza, 1964; Nettler, 1974; Nye, 1958; Reckless, 1961; Reiss, 1951; Toby, 195) and *social learning theory* (Burgess and Akers, 1966; Akers, 1977; Akers et al., 1979) promises to meet these requirements by specifying the empirically supported elements, units, and processes necessary for a comprehensive model of social development and delinquency prevention.

Empirical tests of control theory (Hirschi, 1969; Hindelang, 1973) have shown that "attachment" to family, school, and conventional others, "commitment" to conventional lines of action (educational attainment), and "belief" in the validity of the legal order are elements of the bond to conventional society which prevents delinquent behavior. Thus, control theory specifies the important *units* of the socialization (family and school) which should be the foci of prevention efforts. The goal of these efforts should be the enhancement of the *elements* of the bond (attachment, commitment, and belief). But control theory does not specify how the bond is developed within the units of socialization.

In contrast, social learning theory (Burgess and Akers, 1966; Akers, 1977; Akers et al., 1979) specifies the *processes* by which behavior--whether conforming or criminal--

is learned and maintained, though it does not specify the units in which learning occurs, except to propose that learning takes place in interaction and association with others. According to social learning theory, behavior is learned and maintained by reinforcement contingencies. It is learned when it results in a reward (positive reinforcement) and it is not learned or extinguished when not rewarded or punished (negative reinforcement). Within the social context of interaction, reinforcement contingencies determine whether an individual learns conforming or criminal behavior. Thus, according to social learning theory, differential association with those who reinforce criminal or conforming behavior will determine whether or not a youth adopts criminal behavior patterns.

In addition to specifying the processes by which conforming and delinquent behaviors are learned, social learning theory's emphasis on social influence fills a void in control theory. It suggests that association with delinquent peers can contribute to delinquent behavior. Control theory fails to account for the empirical evidence which shows that peer influence is directly related to delinquent behavior (Hindelang, 1973; Weis, 1978; Weis et al., 1979; Worsley, 1979). However, an integration of control and social learning theories allows for the incorporation of peers as an important unit of socialization in the social development model.

The model of social development derived from integrating control and social learning theories is presented in Figure 1. As shown in the model, social development is a process in which the most important units of socialization--families, schools, and peers--influence behavior sequentially, both directly and indirectly.

In each unit of socialization, three sets of process variables (involvement, skills, and reinforcements) determine whether a youth will develop a bond of attachment, commitment, and belief in conventional society. As used here, then, involvement is not considered as an element of the bond but rather as the necessary interactions which facilitate development of attachment, commitment, and belief. Briefly, the process of bonding is as follows. Youths must be involved with conventional others and in conventional activities in order to develop attachment and commitment. These interactions (viz. involvement) must be positively experienced and evaluated if they are to increase the likelihood of attachment and commitment. Two factors affect rewards for involvement: The level of skills applied during involvement and the consistency of rewards for desired behavior. Thus, organizational, interactional, and individual characteristics influence the development of the social bond: Youths must have the opportunity to be involved in conforming activities; they must have the skills necessary to be involved successfully; and those with whom they interact must consistently

reinforce desired behaviors if involvement is to be experienced positively. Involvement so experienced will enhance attachment to others, commitment to conforming behavior, and belief in the dominant moral order.

The bonding process outlined above begins in the family. Greater attachment to parents increases the likelihood of attachment to school and commitment to education, and decreases the likelihood of delinquency. Similarly, if a youth's involvement in school has the same process characteristics outlined above, it will lead to attachment to school and commitment to education, and thereby strengthen the bond which prevents delinquent behavior.

By junior high school, peers become another important social influence. If the process of developing the social bond to conventional society has been interrupted by uncaring or inconsistent parents, by poor school performance, by inconsistent teachers, or by circumstances which make conventional involvement unrewarding, youths are more free to engage in delinquent behavior and more likely to come under the influence of peers who are in the same situation. They then provide each other with the social and psychological supports, rewards, and reinforcements which are not forthcoming in more conventional contexts (cf. Cohen and Short, 1961). Consequently, these youths are more susceptible to those who reinforce deviant actions, as well as to the direct reinforcement offered by delinquent involvement.

This model of social development provides a basis for suggesting delinquency prevention approaches which hold promise for the 1980's. It should be noted that the approaches discussed do not directly intervene through counseling to change youths' attitudes and behavior. Rather, the prevention approaches seek to provide opportunities for rewarding involvement in conventional activities, skills for successful participation and interaction, and clear and consistent systems of reinforcement for conforming behavior in all of the important units of socialization (family, school, peers). The ultimate goal is to develop those elements (attachment, commitment, belief) which constitute the social bond that will prevent delinquent behavior.

As suggested earlier, it is essential that delinquency programs explicitly identify the causes of delinquency they seek to address and that they assess the extent to which these cause-focused strategies are actually operating in their programs (Hawkins et al., 1979:47-48). Without explicit identification of the causes of delinquency addressed in programs, assessment of the extent to which these causes are actually ameliorated, and evaluation of program effects on delinquent behavior, little progress will be made toward developing an effective technology of prevention in the 1980's.

Promising Programs for the 1980's

In this section are examples of programs which focus on families, schools, peers, employment, and the community which

appear consistent with the model of social development. This list is by no means exhaustive. It includes prevention approaches currently in operation across the country, although often these programs have not been implemented with the explicit goal of delinquency prevention and few have been evaluated rigorously. Thus, except where otherwise noted, their selection is based on their congruity with the model of social development, rather than on their proven effectiveness in delinquency prevention. Again, it is clear that identifying and developing proven prevention approaches will require a long term commitment to systematic research and evaluation.

In each section below, examples of promising interventions are briefly described. Programs which include elements of the described interventions are included in *Juvenile Delinquency Prevention: 35 Program Models* (Wall et al., 1979).

Family Interventions

The major goals of family-focused interventions are to increase attachment to parents and to enhance belief in the moral order. Some research has suggested that the nature of family interaction has a direct relationship with delinquent behavior (Bahr, 1979:618; Jensen, 1972; Stanfield, 1966), while other evidence suggests that the influence of family is indirect and mediated by peer influence (Krohn, 1974). The social development model assumes both direct and indirect influences of the family on delinquent behavior. The indirect

effects are through school experiences, beliefs in the moral order, and peer group associations. However family influence is conceptualized, there is sufficient evidence to conclude that attachment to parents should be an important element of delinquency prevention projects (Hirschi, 1969; Nye, 1958; Reckless et al., 1956). 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., 1980).

As within each of the units of socialization in the social development model, it is hypothesized that involvement, participant skills, and consistency of expectations and sanctions will determine the extent of attachment between children and parents. All three sets of these process variables can be addressed through "parenting training," a promising preclusive prevention intervention for the 1980's.

1. Parenting Training

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

Providing Opportunities for Successful Family Involvement. Opportunities for family involvement are partially determined by background variables, including, for example, socioeconomic status of the family, sex of the child, and age of the child.

which cannot be directly addressed by prevention interventions. However, the child's role and responsibilities in the family represent opportunities for involvement which can be enhanced through training. It is hypothesized that when parents provide children with participatory roles in the family as contributors to family survival and functioning and reward children for performance in these roles, attachment to the family will be enhanced and delinquency prevented.

Additionally, the greater the affection, nurture, and support shown children by parents, the greater the likelihood of attachment between parents and children and the less the likelihood of delinquency (Jensen, 1972; Hirschi, 1969). Parenting training can provide parents with skills in showing affection and support for their children.

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

Improving Consistency of Expectations and Sanctions in the Family. Fairness and impartiality of discipline

appear related to family attachment and family control (Hirschi, 1969; Nye, 1958; 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 moral order (Bahr, 1979:623). Parenting training can assist parents in consistent discipline practices.

Parents should also consistently reinforce desired behavior and thereby develop similar skills in their children (Alexander and Parsons, 1973). Parenting training can provide the skills to utilize positive reinforcement to shape the life of the child.

Finally, parents should be consistent as models of lawabiding behavior for their children if children are to develop belief in the legal order. Parenting training can emphasize the importance of this modeling by parents.

Given the family's crucial role in the socialization and social control of the child from birth, it would be desirable to provide parenting training to parents of preschool children. However, the bias introduced by self-selection into parenting training courses offered in the community suggests that school-based parenting programs may hold more promise for delinquency prevention. Parents of preschoolers who sign up for parenting classes are probably

more likely than other parents to establish strong attachments with their children. On the other hand, by including parenting training as a school-based program and by recruiting parents intensively through the schools, broader cross sections of the parent population can be involved in the training than typically occurs in community-based parenting training.

Parenting classes should be offered several times during the child's social development, perhaps to the parents of first, fourth, and seventh grade students. The contents of the classes should be altered to suit the social development level of children whose parents are included. For example, for parents of fourth graders, emphasis should be on involving children in contributory roles in the family and rewarding or reinforcing satisfactory performance of those roles. Content for parents of seventh graders should emphasize behavioral contracting and negotiation of rights and responsibilities as well as training in dealing in adolescent issues including sexual development, drugs, and alcohol.

The general goals of parenting training for delinquency prevention are to improve parenting skills and therefore to increase attachment between children and parents and to improve the control effectiveness of the family as implied by control theory. (See Gordon, 1970; Wall et al., 1979:79 for examples of parenting training programs.)

2. Family Crisis Intervention Services

The most promising corrective prevention approach focused on the family is crisis intervention for families of children aged 12 to 16. Family crisis intervention services which use a skill development approach to families as systems of communication and exchange have been shown effective for both preclusive and corrective prevention (Alexander and Parsons, 1973). Experimental evidence indicates that when both parents and children are trained in communication, contingency contracting, and negotiation skills and parents are also taught consistent and explicit rule-setting behavior, delinquency referrals are reduced among "status offenders" and minor delinquents. This approach also appears to reduce the likelihood of delinquency referrals of younger siblings in families who participate (Klein et al., 1977).

As runaways and children in conflict with their parents have been deinstitutionalized, diverted, or removed entirely from jurisdiction of the juvenile court, greater responsibility for controlling children has been returned to families. The systems-oriented, skills training approach to family crisis intervention services seeks to increase effective parental supervision and family communication in families in conflict, to increase attachment between parents and children where these attachments have become weak or broken and thereby to prevent delinquent behavior. (See Family Teaching

Center and Western States Youth and Family Institute in Wall et al., 1979:46,127 for program examples.)

School-Focused 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 (Hirschi, 1969; 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.

The major goals of school/education-focused prevention are to increase attachment to teachers; student academic success experiences; attachment to school; commitment to education; and belief in the moral order.

To achieve these goals, three sets of variables should be addressed: providing opportunities for successful school involvement; enhancing participation (teacher and student) skills; and insuring consistency of expectations and sanctions in the school environment.

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

of school crime. Smaller schools are characterized by lower levels of student offenses when ability level, racial composition, and economic status of students are controlled (McPartland and McDill, 1977:21; Smith et al., 1976; and National Institute of Education, 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 usually feasible to alter school size or the number of students seen by teachers; however, opportunities for successful involvement can be increased by addressing other variables in the school setting. Preclusive prevention interventions which seek to address these other variables are discussed below.

3. 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 which address these issues. 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, 1979).

Thus, a promising approach appears to be training teachers in skills necessary for performance-based education. Teachers should be taught 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 student's original performance rather than on competition with classmates (Bednar et al., 1970; Tyler and Brown, 1968); and to broaden available rewards beyond traditional grades.

Performance-based education approaches with contingent reward systems should 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. In summary, "they should increase the likelihood that more students will perform in ways that are admired and rewarded by themselves and others so that they come to hold valued school positions which misconduct could jeopardize" (Bird, 1980: personal communication).

4. 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 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 (see Skills for Democratic Participation in Wall et al., 1979:114).

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 expectation. Attention should be given to recruitment and involvement of a broad range of "natural peer group leaders" for participation in policy making and disciplinary bodies to insure that participatory roles in these activities are created for students not typically involved in traditional

"student council" or other student leadership groups. (See the Open Road Student Involvement and Positive Peer Culture in Wall et al., 1979:75,90 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 should increase student attachment to school, commitment to conventional lines of action, and belief in the moral order when implemented in middle schools and junior high schools.

Enhancing Participant Skills. Developing youths' cognitive and social skills is the major function of schools. Thus, many of the promising school-based prevention components focus on student skill development. For example, the performance-based education, discussed earlier, is, in part, a method for insuring successful development of students' cognitive skills. The components 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.

5. 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., 1979; Schaps et al., 1978.) 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.

A number of affective 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., 1979:40,97.) An affective curriculum

can be adapted from those available to provide training for interpersonal skills development for delinquency prevention.

6. Education in Civil, Criminal, Consumer Rights, and Responsibilities

A second preclusive prevention intervention focused on skills development seeks ultimately to increase belief in the law by educating junior high school students about the functions of the law and their rights and responsibilities under it. In contrast to many "law related education" approaches, this intervention combines education with power enhancement. 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., 1979:68).

7. Experimental Prevocational Training and Exploration

The final curriculum addition we view as promising 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). Schools should provide young people with information and experiences which will 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 students' understanding of actual career opportunities while providing opportunities to contribute to placement sites, enhancing 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 can begin in experimental classrooms in the eighth grade and continue through high school. During the early years, the program should be based largely in the classroom with field trips to work sites. In subsequent years, opportunities for work/internship experiences in the community can be included and articulated with traditional course work necessary for high school graduation. (See Experience-Based Career Education in Wall et al., 1979:43).

8. Cross-Age Tutoring

Cross-age tutoring is also a corrective prevention strategy aimed at insuring satisfactory skill development

for students in primary grades who are evidencing special difficulties in school. An additional function is to provide junior and senior high school 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, selection of secondary school students as tutors should be based on teacher recommendations. Students whose cognitive skills are adequate for the tutoring role but whose commitments to school appear marginal should be included in the tutor pool along with students traditionally selected for leadership roles to accomplish retroflexive reformation (Cressey, 1955; Cressey and Ward, 1969).

9. Alternative Education Options

A final corrective prevention approach aimed at insuring 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.

Alternative education programs should contain the following elements which appear important for delinquency prevention (see Hawkins and Wall, 1979).

- 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.

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. "Consistency is another condition of effective socialization" (Kornhauser, 1978:250-251). Consistent expectations are likely to facilitate belief in the 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 are not likely to inspire their children to believe in the school's authority. Collaborative cooperation between parents and school

personnel and among school personnel themselves is likely to enhance student commitment to education, attachment to school and belief in the moral order and, thereby, to prevent delinquency.

10. 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 Daiser, 1979). 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 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.

11. Child Development Specialist as Parent Consultant

A second method for enhancing consistency of expectations and sanctions in the child's environment is to insure ongoing communication between schools and parents. Child development specialists in schools can insure that parents are routinely contacted regarding special achievements of their children in the classroom and emerging needs for assistance to insure skill development. They can also coordinate recruitment of parents for volunteer classroom involvement and involvement in school decision making. (See Child Development Specialist and Regional Intervention Program in Wall et al., 1979: 26,103.)

Peer Interventions

Association with delinquency peers is one of the strongest correlates of delinquency (Weis et al., 1980b). The model, which is the basis for identifying prevention approaches here, postulates that young people are likely to develop attachments to delinquent peers when their bonds to

confoming others are weak or broken. Then, peer-oriented approaches are important.

12. Peer Leadership Groups

Peer leadership groups have been instituted in a number of middle, junior, and senior high schools across the country. The model of peer leadership which appears most promising is one in which group members are informal leaders of all major student cliques and groups, not just traditional student body leaders or students in trouble. Generally, members are nominated by teachers and students and a peer program coordinator is responsible for final selection of members. Student members of the peer leadership groups meet daily for an hour as part of their regular school activities. In contrast to the approach of many guided peer interaction programs, however, it appears worthwhile to explore a model in which an explicit goal and task of the peer leadership groups is 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 can also serve as recruitment pools for student judicial/disciplinary bodies to handle student grievance and disciplinary referrals for violations of school policies. Designed this way, peer leadership groups can integrate implications of control and cultural deviance theories into a peer-oriented prevention strategy, while avoiding the problems

of peer-oriented approaches focused wholly on delinquent groups (see Klein, 1969).

Peer leadership groups seek to encourage leaders of delinquency-prone groups to establish ties to more conventional peers. Rather than assuming that interaction per se will lead to development of ties, the approach suggested here 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 may, in turn, influence members of their own cliques toward more positive attitudes to school as school policies are altered in response to their participation. In this way delinquency prone groups may be co-opted. This model is an adaptation of approaches currently in use. (See Open Road/Student Involvement Project and Positive Peer Culture in Wall et al., 1979:75,90).

Employment Interventions

While positive correlations have been found between 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 preclusive prevention of delinquency.

However, research has also shown that delinquent youths who drop out of school become less delinquent after dropping out if they secure employment (Elliott and Voss, 1974; Bachman et al., 1971). These data suggest that youth employment may hold promise as a corrective prevention approach for high risk youths who have not by the age of 16 developed attachments and commitments to other institutions which would preclude delinquency. In our view, employment-oriented delinquency prevention efforts should probably be limited to serving youths who are leaving school early. They should not be viewed as a major delinquency prevention approach for a broad range of young people. However, for these youths integrated school and work programs may be desirable.

13. Integrated School and Work Programs

Two approaches may hold promise here. One is a vocational placement service in the school. Students can use this service to assess both short and long term job prospects in the community. This service can be provided in coordination with the local employment assistance department. Its

major function should be 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 contracts with specific individual learning goals and proficiency standards. Again, the goal is to increase attachment to legitimate school-related activities and commitment to conventional lines of action for students with marginal commitments to traditional school endeavors. This approach has been used extensively in alternative education programs (see Hawkins and Wall, 1979:29-32).

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 may be worth pursuing in delinquency prevention efforts.

14. Community Crime Prevention Program

This 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., 1979:30.) This approach is included not only for its immediate and obvious deterrent potential, but more importantly, for its use of a social network strategy which engages neighborhood members in shared activities around the common goal of crime prevention. This involvement can generate a sense of shared concern and power in a community which is manifested in a set of community norms against crime. It is hypothesized that these norms can contribute to a climate in which criminal actions are viewed by community youths as both risky and unacceptable rather than as a routine part of growing up.

15. Community Youth Development Project

Community-focused youth participation and advocacy projects may also hold some promise for delinquency prevention. In these projects community members, including youths, are organized into planning committees to mobilize community resources to provide a community environment conducive to nondelinquent youth development. The major goal here, which

is clearly problematic, is the involvement of community youths who are not typically involved in leadership roles in schools. If these youths are involved in planning and organizing activities and projects to improve opportunities for youths in the community, they may develop stakes in conformity. A range of projects from youths needs assessment surveys to police advisory committees 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., 1979:135.)

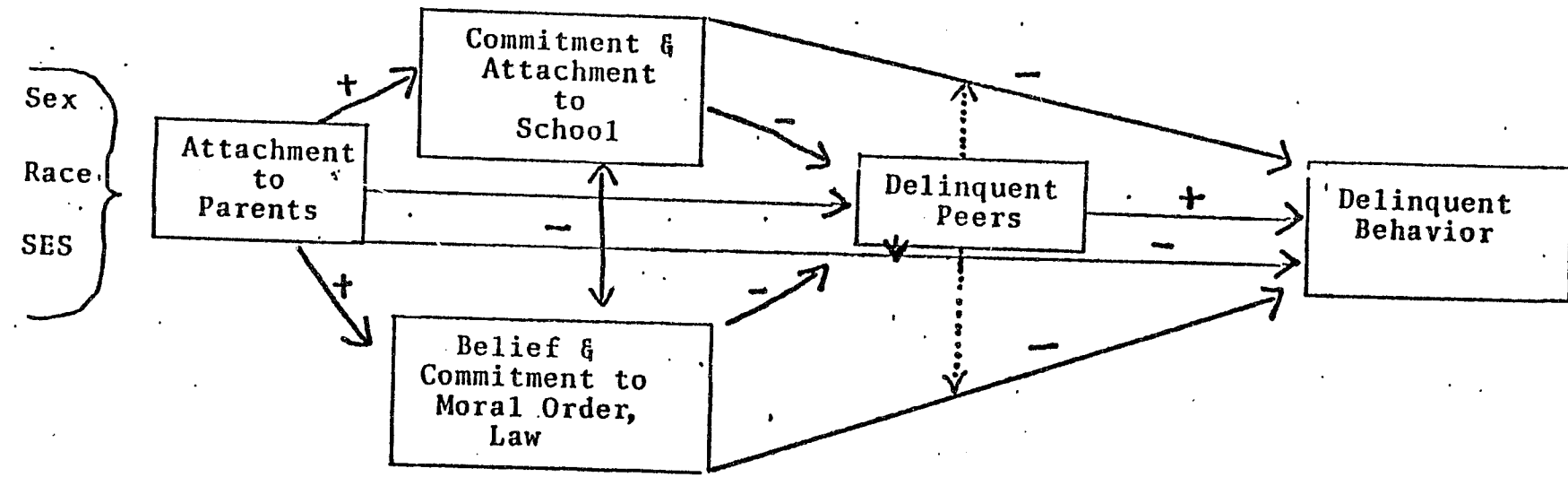
Conclusion

We are entering the 1980's searching for a useful technology of delinquency prevention. The discovery of effective methods for preventing youth crime before involvement with the juvenile justice system is the key to the ultimate success of this country's new "dual functions" philosophy of juvenile justice.

Extensive research and development on the etiology of juvenile crime in the last two decades have provided us with clues for that discovery. The social development model and its implied cause-focused prevention strategies provide maps and guideposts which helps organize those clues. Using these guides, the interventions reviewed above appear

promising, although few have yet been subjected to rigorous empirical testing. Required now are systematic, rigorous tests of these interventions to determine which can be ultimately included among proven delinquency prevention approaches.

FIGURE 1:
 A GENERAL MODEL OF DELINQUENCY:
 INTEGRATION OF CONTROL AND CULTURAL DEVIANCE THEORIES



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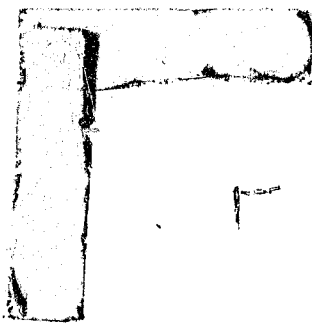
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