A TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE MONOGRAPH

Delinquency Prevention

from Theory to Practice

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DELINQUENCY PREVENTION
FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE

A TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE MONOGRAPH

Prepared for:

U.S. Department of Justice
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FOREWORD

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The Formula Grants and Technical Assistance Division (FGTAD), within the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, has worked with numerous States and local organizations toward the common goal of reducing juvenile crime and improving juvenile justice. The problems we deal with are complex and resistant to an immediate solution, so we must be tenacious and make systematic use of emerging knowledge in the field.

Different tasks fall to localities, States and the Federal government in achieving our goal; we must work cooperatively if we are to progress. The Forumula Grants Program has provided States and localities the opportunity to participate with FGTAD in multi-State and national programs. It is a small program relative to national expenditures in juvenile justice, but it must and can have high demonstrative value. The technical assistance program must convey ideas which make that possible; ideas which build upon the existing knowledge base and years of experience with program implementation.

During the nine years since the passage of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act, we have made great strides in knowing what works and improving local programs. Formula grants and technical assistance efforts have contributed significantly to making this possible; they permit us to continue our steady progress.

The Formula Grants and Technical Assistance Division is proud to sponsor this technical assistance monograph, Delinquency Prevention: From Theory to Practice, and the remaining three in the series (Improving the Administration of Juvenile Justice: From Theory to Practice, Alternatives to The Juvenile Justice System: From Theory to Practice, and A Framework for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention: A Technical Assistance Monograph). Each is designed within its purview to take stock of where we are and where we should be, and to provide practical suggestions for getting there.

This series also proposes programs that merit additional attention by the States and will be supported by technical assistance. The limitations of Federal resources do not permit a response to every request for assistance. However, I hope the monographs will go beyond the confines of a specific office and funding source. I hope they will provide the basis for expanding the systematic development of programs to improve juvenile justice and reduce juvenile delinquency. By taking one step at a time, we can make progress in addressing this serious national concern.

David D. West

David D. West, Director
Formula Grants and
Technical Assistance Division

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

OVERVIEW

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) is directed by Congress to lead Federal efforts in juvenile justice and delinquency prevention. In its Formula Grants and Technical Assistance Division (FGTAD), the OJJDP combines financial and technical assistance so that:

1) States and smaller regions will be encouraged and assisted in implementing the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act; and

2) Efforts of grant and technical assistance recipients will build on the knowledge base of research and years of experience with program implementation.

Goals

The Division's intent is to focus its assistance on the development and implementation of programs with the greatest potential for reducing juvenile crime and to cultivate partnerships with State and local organizations. To that end, the Division has set three goals that constitute the major elements of a sound policy for juvenile justice and delinquency prevention. They are to:

1) Promote delinquency prevention efforts;

2) Foster the use of alternatives to the traditional justice system; and

3) Improve the existing juvenile justice system.

Specifically, the three goals may be amplified as follows:

1) Delinquency Prevention--A sound policy for juvenile delinquency strives to strengthen the most powerful deterrent to misbehavior: a productive place for young people in a law-abiding society. Preventive measures can operate on a large scale, providing gains in youth development while reducing youthful misbehavior. The Division's first goal is to identify and promote programs which prevent or preclude minor, serious,

and violent crimes from occurring and which prevent the commission of status offenses.

2) Development of Community Alternatives to the Traditional Justice System--Communities cannot afford to place their responsibilities for juvenile crime entirely on the juvenile justice system. A sound policy for combatting juvenile crime makes maximum use of a community's less formal, often less expensive, and less alienating responses to youthful misbehavior. The Division's second goal is to identify and promote community alternatives for each stage of a child's contact with the juvenile justice system, emphasizing options which are least restrictive and best promote or preserve favorable ties with the child's family, school, and community.

3) Improvement of the Juvenile Justice System--The limited resources of the juvenile justice system must be reserved for the most difficult and intractable problems of juvenile crime. A sound policy concentrates the more formal, expensive, and restrictive options of the juvenile justice system in two areas:

   - youth behavior which is most abhorrent and least amenable to preventive measures and community responses; and
   - problems of youths and their families which exceed community resources and require more stringent legal resolution.

   The third goal of the Division, then, is to promote improvements in juvenile justice and facilitate the most effective allocation of the resources of that system.

Monograph Objectives

To promulgate its policy and goals, the Formula Grants and Technical Assistance Division has prepared three monographs which describe its overall perspectives and goals, present suggestions on how these goals can be implemented, and explain appropriate uses of the Division's technical assistance. In publishing these three documents, the Division had several salient objectives:

- To offer the practitioner a summary of theory and research developed in the goal area over the past decade, with suggestions on ways of translating the concepts into actual practice;
- To promulgate the Division's formal policy and goals, so that States and local agencies seeking formula grants and technical assistance can readily determine whether the programs or requests they submit to the Office can be funded and/or

supplemented within the constraints of the Division's policies and goals; and

- To provide criteria for OJJDP's own administrators, so that grants and technical assistance will be awarded against a common set of guidelines, so that the grants will be awarded on a fair and even basis.

OJJDP'S GOAL INTERPRETATION

To provide a more comprehensive understanding of how the Division views the three goal areas, each is discussed briefly in the following subsection.

Delinquency Prevention

This monograph emphasizes primary or preclusive prevention. Addressing delinquency prevention from this point of view requires a commensurate definition of the scope and cause of the problem. The perspective and strategy position summarized below draw upon the composite findings of contemporary theory and research about delinquency and its prevention.

Target Population--Which youths commit crimes? While most youths grow up relatively law-abiding, most occasionally commit crimes as well. The infrequent offenders commit about one-half of all FBI index crimes, but relatively few of the most serious and violent crimes. We are not necessarily frightened by these youths, but their contribution to the total costs of crime cannot be ignored.

Some youths--perhaps 4-8 percent of all youths--commit crimes more frequently; a few very frequently. They account for the other half of all index crimes and for a large share of the most serious and violent crimes (Empey, 1978; Weis and Sederstrom, 1981; Elliott, Knowles, and Canter, 1981). These youths do frighten us. However, after considerable effort no one can predict reliably, on an individual basis, who the frequent offenders will be, nor can they distinguish them from other offenders on any basis other than the frequency of their crimes. That is, we know them only after we see them several times. Further, the juvenile justice system is overburdened and its means are limited. To date, few programs have demonstrated an effect on delinquent behavior (Romig, 1978; Lipton, Martinson, and Wilkes, 1975).

If a reasonable chance to deal with the population of frequent offenders is to be offered, the general rate of juvenile crime, as well as the size of the frequent offender group, will have to be reduced.

Peer Groups--Powerful influences on both the less frequent and the more frequent offenders are the pressure and support from their peers. Few youths, it appears, persist in crime without such support. Delinquent groups tend to form among those who are characterized by failure and exclusion in common and, thus, find themselves together. Youths who lack opportunities and connections in conventional pursuits are most susceptible to influence by delinquency peers. Differences in income, race, and ethnicity tend to be associated with opportunity and exclusion and thus can complicate group formation, but these differences should not obscure the more general and pervasive process. Miller (cited by Weis and Sederstrom, 1981) estimates that 20 percent of all boys of relevant age in all cities larger than 10,000 population are members of law-breaking groups. About 7 percent of these boys--about 1.4 percent of all boys of relevant age--may be members of distinct gangs with territories and uniforms, and these gangs tend to be concentrated in a few large cities.

Ties to Convention: Youths who have strong ties to their families, schools, and work, youths who have a stake in conventional ties and activities are less likely to form delinquency peer groups or to be influenced by delinquent peers. They are bonded to--and thus controlled by--convention. Hirschi's useful description (1969) of the social bond can be extended to suggest the sorts of value which the bond provides. "Commitment" to conventional lines of activity is an instrumental association, which is likely to form when persons can be useful, can be competent, can exert some influence on what happens to them, and can build up some advantages for the future. When conventional behavior is rewarding, it produces a kind of investment or bond--a "stake in conformity"--which is both a reason to observe the law and a reason not to break it because that stake could be lost.

Bonds form through interaction. In their effort to synthesize social control and social learning theories, Weis and Hawkins (1980) suggest that bonds form best in the presence of specific opportunities for involvement, when the skills needed to exploit the opportunity are present, and when rewards for appropriate participation are consistent. They point to families as the important force for early socialization and schools as the prime arena for adolescents. Work and neighborhood play supporting parts.

In their analysis of social control, opportunity, labeling and social learning theories, Elliott, Ageton, and Canter (1979) suggest that consistency applies not just to rewards; bonds are likely to form in organized and predictable settings and to be weakened in settings that are disorganized and unpredictable for the actors. These authors also point to the importance of success and of the increasing integration in conventional contexts which success brings. Again, families are important in early socialization. Schools gain primary importance as students enter middle or junior high school; success and failure in school and school grouping practices contribute to the formation of peer groups. Finally, Elliott, Ageton, and Canter (1979) point to the influence of positive or negative labeling experiences--as others reward

and punish our behavior, they also make judgments about us which shape our opportunities in the future.

These powerful tools of social control--organization, opportunity, skill acquisition, reinforcement, labeling, and group composition--are not personal characteristics. They are features and functions of socializing institutions.

Organizational Change Strategies--The Division concludes that selective change in existing organizations and practices for dealing with youths is the most promising and feasible course to substantial gains in delinquency prevention. Delinquency is a large, pervasive problem requiring large-scale initiatives. Therefore, the foundation for a delinquency prevention initiative should be an activity which involves large numbers of youths. Accordingly, delinquency prevention programs should be mounted in organizations which can support and strengthen families on a large scale: in schools, in organizations with extensive ties in communities and neighborhoods, and in organizations which support the transition from school to work.

For all of these organizations, delinquency prevention will be a secondary aim. Schools cannot--and will not--undertake substantial additional efforts for the sake of delinquency prevention; they can and may undertake initiatives which contribute to both academic achievement and delinquency prevention. While crime may occasionally be a focus for organization, neighborhoods will not be sustained solely by a common interest in reducing crime. Activities which contribute to both delinquency prevention and to a neighborhood's development and improvement will be needed. Few families will remain engaged in an activity solely on the basis of its contribution to delinquency prevention. Activities which affect delinquency behavior and provide options to children, however, are more likely to be supported. In the face of high unemployment rates among youths and hard economic times, employment agencies and employers must concentrate on activities which contribute to training and placement of an effective and stable work force; if activities can be found which serve those purposes and affect delinquency, they may be supported on a larger scale.

In relation to the activities and budgets already in place in States and communities, the formula grants of OJJDP are miniscule at present or predictable levels. Thus, an effective use of such modest supplements is to facilitate desirable changes in existing organizations and programs, rather than to augment those programs or to create new ones. The Division will direct its technical assistance to the support of such initiatives.

The central problem of delinquency prevention, then, is to find new activities or to modify existing activites to serve both the primary goals of the host organization and the goal of delinquency prevention. As may be expected, the problems and benefits of implementation in this approach are different from those encountered in the implementation of more self-contained initiatives. Organizational change will be

required. This monograph is intended to support the selection of appropriate organizational change activities and to guide their implementation.

Development of Community-based Alternatives

The term "community-based alternatives" refers to services or programs that are operated independently of the normal juvenile justice system and provide either resources for deflection of cases before entry or parallel options to the traditional system functions of police apprehension, court adjudication, or correctional sanctioning. By definition, community-based alternatives are situated in a defined geographic area or neighborhood, primarily serve youths from that locality, and also maintain programmatic linkages with nearby residents and youth-serving organizations.

Arguments supporting utilization of these juvenile justice system alternatives frequently focus on their potentially lower costs and greater effectiveness in reducing delinquent behaviors. Theoretically, the best counters to delinquency are attachments and bonding to conventional friends and family commitments to adult-approved activities. These supports are more easily fostered or maintained in community-based programs and activities than in such justice system facilities as secure detention centers and large-scale State-operated training or reform schools. The use of alternatives for non-criminal juvenile offenders and those youths convicted of less crimes is also recommended to conserve the limited system resources for the most violent and serious delinquents.

For purposes of discussion and analysis in this monograph, community-based alternatives have been categorized, according to their justice system equivalent, as:

- Alternatives to intervention--diversion;
- Alternatives to detention--pre-trial community supervision; and
- Alternatives to court processing--conflict resolution;
- Alternatives to incarceration--community-based corrections.

Diversion--During the 1970's diversion programs that either released youths who were charged with status offenses or minor crimes, or referred them to potentially rehabilitative services were promoted as a means of:

1) Minimizing court contact and thereby decreasing any stigmatizing effects;
2) Maintaining normal contact between youths and family or friends; and

3) Decreasing the costs of processing or formal intervention.

Subsequent evaluations of diversion programs (Romig, 1978; National Evaluation, 1981), however, found that these programs were not generally effective in reducing stigmatization, improving social adjustment, or increasing conforming behavior. Moreover, while diversion without further services was less expensive than processing, diversion with services was not always comparatively less costly.

Conflict Resolution--Alternatives to court functions refer to conflict resolution projects that usually involve mediation or arbitration in misdemeanors and minor felony cases. In such cases, the prosecutor, defendant, and victim consent to an alternatives mediation or arbitration process, but still retain the option of disputing the finding and having the case referred for usual processing. Although not so carefully evaluated as diversion programs, conflict resolution projects have been found to decrease decision-making time and require less attention by court officials. Further, the process is often better suited to cases involving a personal relationship between victim and offender than formal, adversarial procedures.

Detention--Alternatives to detention refer to placement options for juveniles arrested and considered dangerous to the community or themselves or unlikely to appear in court. Community alternatives include home detention, involving close supervision by parents and probation officer, foster care, and group home placements. These less restrictive resources have proven successful in ensuring court appearances (Pappenfort and Young, 1980) and have thus stimulated questioning about the use of secure detention for accused juveniles who are generally not likely to commit further offenses or miss court appearances.

Community-based Corrections--Community-based corrections refer to a range of residential and non-residential programs, including options like foster care, group houses, special projects for substance abusers or offenders with mental health problems, stipended work and vocational training, community service assignments and restitution programs. Restitution and community service programs are particularly popular among community correctional options, not only because of their potential impact on offenders, but as a symbol of the responsibility of the justice system to victims.

Research into the effectiveness of community-based residential centers and other alternatives has found them generally wanting, where the measure of success is limited to a reduction in recidivism. In fact, critics of alternatives claim that mere community location by itself does not necessarily make any program more effective, less costly, more humane, or even more conducive to reintegration of a youth with his community. On the basis of evaluations, however, the most promising projects adopt service approaches that diagnose each youth's problem in a particular area, set behavioral goals, give the youth an opportunity to practice the new behavior or skill, evaluate performance, reward the

youth for successful behavior, and modify rehabilitative goals as necessary.

Two generic criticisms have been levied against the overuse or misapplication of community-based alternatives that need to be taken seriously in their design and establishment. The first is a general tendency to "widen the net" or increase the scope of judicial or other justice system controls over youths who would otherwise have been released or subjected to lesser restrictions. Secondly, alternatives that retain original charges or otherwise hold a conditional threat of punishment for not completing a mandated program may be infringing upon "due process" rights (McSparron, 1980; Hylton, 1982; Austin and Krisberg, 1982).

Certain general characteristics of community-based programs can be identified from research findings or theoretical frameworks as desirable features. One asset is service delivery to a general population of youths, not just delinquents, so that participants have an opportunity to mix with and form attachments to law-abiding counterparts. Other positive values are the encouragement of active participation in traditional roles for youngsters at school or in the community and the provision of opportunities for meaningful employment or the development of proven skills.

Given the evidence that at least some community-based alternatives show promise of effectiveness, advocates for alternatives can pursue certain strategies to encourage their adoption. These include emphasizing beneficial characteristics of alternatives; conducting well-designed evaluative studies; and incorporating innovations derived from current research findings into the programs.

Improvement of the Juvenile Justice System

The resources and powers of the juvenile justice system should be concentrated in two main areas:

- The first area of concentration must be on frequent, serious, and violent crime, which is unlikely to be handled effectively by any other strategy. There is a population of youths who are so highly alienated from society and so deeply involved in crime that no alternatives to formal traditional justice system intervention exist. These juvenile offenders constitute a small portion of all youths and even a minority of those who ever come in contact with police or appear in court. Thus, the scarce resources of the juvenile justice system should be concentrated on them.

- The second area of concentration for the traditional system includes some matters involving youths, their families, and schools which require particularly legal resolutions that only

the courts can provide. Matters such as custody, probation of children, and emancipation are included in this category.

Considerable efforts have been undertaken in the areas of research, program development, and evaluations to develop strategies to the juvenile justice system. One of the best sources of information on these articles is the standards promulgated by such groups as the National Advisory Committee, the Institute for Judicial Administration, and the American Bar Association. In reviewing standards, several principles emerge that should apply to all operations of the juvenile justice system. These include:

- Support for primary restitution,
- Accountability,
- Protection of the rights of children,
- Use of the least restrictive options, and
- Obligations of intervention.

Each is briefly discussed below.

Support for Primary Institutions--The family remains the basic unit of our social order. Schools soon join parents in rearing children and grow increasingly important to youngsters; in fact, by the time children enter secondary school, schools probably are the more important influence on delinquent or conforming behavior. In high school, the prospect of a working life emerges, and the transition from school to work, i.e., the transition from student to worker, becomes increasingly important. Government policies, programs, and practices should support or strengthen these arrangements; they cannot, in any large way, substitute for them.

The older the child, the more energy should be devoted to promoting success at school and then to promoting independence. For juveniles for whom relationships at school have become untenable, Government policies should promote emancipation through vocational training, alternative routes to post-secondary education, job placement, and independent living.

Accountability--Together with any delegation of authority by or to a governmental entity must come limits on the exercise and duration of that authority and mechanisms to assure its appropriate use. Guidelines and review procedures should be established for all intervention, intake, custody, and dispositional decisions. Stringent evaluation should be employed systematically to assure the wisdom and effect of that decision-making.

Protection of the Rights of Children--Age is not a valid basis for denying procedural protections when fundamental rights are threatened. Juveniles should be accorded both the protections provided to adults and

the solicitous care postulated for children. And, there exist other means to deal with those juveniles whose age and behavior require more strict court intervention.

Use of the Least Restrictive Options--Whenever there is a choice among various alternatives, the option which least intrudes on liberty and privacy and which most maintains and promotes bonds to conventional activites and persons should be preferred. Less restrictive and more effective options for all populations should be developed systematically to increase the range of choices. Secure detention and institutionalization should be regarded as a last resort for the most serious crimes and the violent crimes, and even then should be considered in relation to other options for dealing with such cases.

Obligations of Intervention--When liberty is restricted for the sake of rehabilitation, there is an obligation to offer a range of services reasonably designed to achieve the rehabilitative goals in the shortest time. Intervention justified upon the doctrine of parens patriae imposes the duty to provide the resources necessary to fulfill the promise of care and assistance. When the claim of rehabilitation is compromised by a lack of funding or by negative evaluation results, the power to intervene is also compromised, and adjustments are imperative.

RELATIONSHIP OF MONOGRAPHS TO OJJDP ACTIVITIES

In developing these monographs, the Formula Grants and Technical Assistance Division has drawn from a wide body of research, literature, evaluations, and other documents. In particular, the contents of these monographs should be considered in light of the work of the three Assessment Centers established by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. These Centers are:

- The University of Chicago--National Center for the Assessment of Alternatives for Juvenile Justice;
- The American Justice Institute--National Juvenile Justice Assessment Center;
- The National Council on Crime and Delinquency--National Center for Integrated Data Analysis; and
- The University of Washington--National Center for the Assessment of Delinquent Behavior and Its Prevention.

Another source of information and guidance to the practitioner translating theory to practice in juvenile justice are the standards promulgated by various bodies. In particular, the following should be consulted:

National Advisory Committee Standards for the Administration of Juvenile Justice;

National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals.

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention has many valuable resources in addition to those described above and the documents of the Formula Grants and Technical Assistance Division. The Special Emphasis Division has sponsored a variety of demonstration programs relevant to the three goals discussed above and research documents are available through the National Institute of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. Additionally, the Juvenile Justice Clearinghouse has documents available that are germane to these topics.

USES OF TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

The Formula Grants and Technical Assistance Division seeks a partnership with local, State, and national organizations in which the Division can contribute its resources to well designed and well executed programs and activities which are consistent with the aims and principles of OJJDP, and which can be replicated on an expanding scale. Technical assistance requests come to the Office directly from juvenile justice agencies, and they are then reviewed by the Division for response. In its reviews, the Division considers the following general criteria:

- Relationship to OJJDP legislative mandate;
- Relationship to and consistency with Formula Grants and Technical Assistance Division goals;
- Appropriateness of Federal assistance relevant to a local problem; and
- Impact on the recipient and on the state-of-the-art of juvenile justice from responding to this request.

Technical assistance is provided through a number of different vehicles: onsite consultation, documentation and correspondence, training, and conferences. The strategy that is employed depends on the needs of the recipient and what is most helpful to him as well as the availability of resources.

In deciding where to focus technical assistance resources, special consideration will be given to supporting national organizations, supporting State personnel, and providing assistance to individual programs from which efforts the Division can advance the state of knowledge about successful intervention strategies. The rationale for this emphasis follows:

- Support for National Organizations--When influential national organizations invest their own resources in initiatives consistent with the aims and principles described above, the effectiveness of OJJDP's technical assistance can be increased by supporting the national organizations rather than their State or local affiliates. The Division seeks such relationships.

- Support for State Personnel--When State personnel take a strong lead in promoting and testing promising programs, and technical assistance providers can support them instead of working locally, both State leadership and the effectiveness of technical assistance can be magnified. The Division welcomes requests in which this relationship is offered.

- Support for Program Tests--Technical assistance will be improved by participation in a few of the most promising and rigorous programs tests. The Division continually seeks partnerships in which technical assistance can complement efforts by State organizations, particularly OJJDP's State counterparts.

DOCUMENT PROFILE

In this particular document, Delinquency Prevention From Theory to Practice, the Division has offered a broad perspective on delinquency prevention as it has evolved in the United States. The document covers:

- Chapter 2: History of Prevention Practice in the United States--This chapter provides a brief historical overview of past prevention efforts in this country. To persuade local practitioners to change, one must first demonstrate an adequate understanding of the concept of prevention and how it has been translated into practice over the past years. Chapter 2 provides such information.

- Chapter 3: The Problem of Delinquency Prevention in Perspective--This chapter contains an overview of past and present prevention practices. Each set of programs is discussed on the basis of recent theory and research concerning the sources of delinquency. A promising contemporary approach based on organizational change strategies is also described. This chapter provides supportive evidence to advocate prevention approaches based on organizational change strategies.

- Chapter 4: Theoretical Framework--This chapter presents a brief analysis of the theoretical basis for an organizational

change approach. An example of how these theories can be applied in one of our major social institutions--the school--is featured. This application reflects a current research and demonstration project of OJJDP that appears not only to be working, but to be cost-effective as well.

- Chapter 5: Technical Assistance for Delinquency Prevention Intiatives--This chapter defines the criteria by which technical assistance requests are judged by the Formula Grants and Technical Assistance Division of OJJDP. In addition, steps involved in requesting technical assistance and the modes of technical assistance which may be provided are discussed.

This document concludes with Appendix A--Bibliography--and Appendix B, which presents illustrative examples of institution-based interventions that conform to the organizational change approach.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORY OF PREVENTION PRACTICE IN THE UNITED STATES

There have been diverse academic, professional, and popular views about the causes of delinquency and how it can be prevented. The term prevention has an ambiguous history of its own. It is useful to view delinquency prevention practices from an historical perspective to see where we have been. Critically examining these practices (Chapter 3) suggests how we might best proceed.

DEFINING PREVENTION

In a review of delinquency prevention programs up to 1950, Witmer and Tufts (1954), identified three dominant concepts of prevention. In a critique of delinquency prevention programs up to the 1960's, John Martin (1968) also identified three major prevention concepts. An additional review by Harlow (1969) defines these prevention concepts in terms of the timing of interventions. These sets of definitions are summarized in Table 1.

The multiple definitions of both Harlow and Witmer/Tufts are keyed to successively smaller population groups: all juveniles; pre-delinquent ("high risk") juveniles; and delinquent juveniles. Martin's definitions are not so clearly focused on population groups. There is an important shift between the earlier critique of Witmer and Tufts and that of Martin. Martin explicitly identifies the need to deal with environmental conditions to prevent delinquency (see the second definition in Table 1: "Delinquency prevention is the attempt to deal with particular environmental conditions that are believed to contribute to delinquency"). This parallels the shift in emphasis from individual treatment to the community organization approaches that were prevalent during the 1960's, and the growing dominance of American sociology in the fields of crime and delinquency during the 1950's and 1960's.

Harlow's concepts of primary, secondary, and tertiary intervention suggest an interesting analogy to illness and the levels of care provided to successively more severe or enduring health problems. Similarly, the emphasis on removing or reducing problems that contribute to delinquency is in tune with the public health perspective of prevention through environmental/life style improvement and the emerging concept of wellness.

Lejins (1967) makes clear the dichotomy between "prevention" and "control":

TABLE 1

CATEGORIES OF DELINQUENCY PREVENTION

Witmer and Tufts[1]	Martin[2]	Harlow[3]
Delinquency prevention consists of:	Delinquency prevention is the sum total of all activities that contribute to the adjustment of children and to healthy personalities in children.	Primary prevention is directed toward the crimogenic environment without distinguishing between those persons who have responded criminally and those who have not.
Efforts aimed at promoting the "healthy personality development" of all children.	Delinquency prevention is the attempt to deal with particular environmental conditions that are believed to contribute to delinquency.	Secondary prevention includes programs concerned with delinquency-prone individuals and emphasizing early identification and treatment of predelinquents.
Efforts directed primarily toward potential delinquents before they become involved in delinquency behavior.	Delinquency prevention consists of specific prevention services provided to individual children or groups of children.	Tertiary prevention is corrective in that it is concerned with preventing recidivism.
Efforts aimed at reducing recidivism.		

[1]Wilmer, H., and Tufts, E. (1954).

[2]Martin, J. (1968).

[3]Harlow, E. (1969).

"Prevention is a measure taken before a criminal or delinquent act actually occurred for the purpose of forestalling such an act; control is a measure taken after a criminal or delinquent act has been committed" (Lejins, 1967, p. 2).

Within this context, Lejins then defines three kinds of prevention:

- Corrective prevention--which focuses on the elimination of conditions that lead to or cause criminal behavior;
- Punitive prevention, which relies on the threat of punishment to forestall criminal acts; and
- Mechanical prevention, which is directed toward "target hardening" to make it difficult or impossible to commit particular offenses.

The idea of successively more specific groups of youths (all, predelinquent, delinquent) is less important to this interpretation and strategies are more explicit.

Given the applied focus of this monograph, a structural perspective is used as the basis for defining categories of prevention. This includes an emphasis on environmental conditions and a distinction between prevention and control:

1) Primary or preclusive prevention is directed to the general populations of the principal socializing institutions: family, school, and work. It is designed to strengthen the forces and processes which presently produce relative law-abiding behavior in most young persons.

2) Secondary prevention is directed to specific environmental forces favorable to delinquency. It is intended to disrupt those forces, or to remove classes of individuals from their influence.

3) Tertiary prevention is directed to individuals suffering distinctive individual maladies which substantially increase their probability of breaking the law. It is designed to correct the malady and thus to render the individual amenable to secondary or primary prevention measures.

All measures taken in reaction to specific delinquent acts by specific persons have as their objective the reduction of future delinquent behavior by those persons. These approaches are more properly considered to be delinquency control rather than delinquency prevention.

This monograph is concerned with approaches intended to reduce the incidence and prevalence of delinquent acts and delinquency. Its emphasis is on forestalling rather than reacting to delinquency. This includes the categories of primary and secondary prevention described above.

Strategies that have historically focused on "pre-delinquents" and "delinquents" are included in the review of program successes and failures described in the following chapter. However, the central meaning of prevention vis à vis the theory and strategies recommended in Chapters 4 and 5 is to alter environments, so as to preserve youths in a relatively law-abiding status.

EMERGING TRENDS IN PREVENTION PRACTICE*

Changing philosophies about children and childhood and large-scale developments in new professions (e.g., the emergence of the social worker, the impact of Freudian concepts, and the psychoanalytic school) characterize the intent and design of programs to prevent delinquency. Concepts of the care appropriate for problem children have fluctuated between such extremes as harsh authoritarian discipline (to control idle hands and evil minds) to individual psychotherapy (to exorcise developmental trauma). An overview of the philosophical, social, economic, and cultural factors that have played a role in prevention programs is well beyond the scope of this monograph. Instead, this section attempts to identify major forms of intervention as they emerged as new approaches, to typify the range of strategies that have been employed, and to spell out the more basic shifts in orientation over time.

19th Century Practices

From the early part of the 19th Century, there was concern about the link between increased pauperism and the rise of delinquency in the United States. Reformers investigated and drew up legislation that reflected their ideas about this problem. One result was the founding of houses of refuge. Although they accepted children convicted of crime, the early houses of refuge were intended to be preventive institutions which took in children who lacked parents, or who had parents that did not care for, or who could not control, their children. The concept was described by the New York Society for the Prevention of Pauperism as follows:

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*Much of the material in the following four subsections--19th Century Through Contemporary Trends--has been summarized from the Preliminary Report of the National Evaluation of Prevention, National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 1978.

> "These prisons should be rather schools for instruction, than places of punishment, like in present State prisons where the old and the young are confined indiscriminately. The youth confined there should be placed under a course of discipline, severe and unchanging, but alike calculated to subdue and conciliate" (Mennel, 1973, p. 11).

In the second half of the 19th Century, a group of reformers, known as the Child Savers appeared, and their approach differed somewhat from the house-of-refuge concept (Platt, 1969). This group included such reformers as Lewis Pease, Samuel Ridley Howell, and Charles Loring Brace. In contrast to the house-of-refuge approach, these reformers supported the concept of community-based services rather than incarceration. Consequently, they established urban centers to distribute clothing and provide shelter for those who were homeless, and they also instituted a work program for destitute youths. Instruction in the Christian gospel was frequently a part of the routine of these urban centers. Impoverished urban youths were looked upon as victims of a destructive social environment. One of the Child Savers' solutions to this problem was to remove youths from this environment by placing them with farm families out West.

Around the middle of the 19th Century, beginning in the 1840's, John Augustus of Boston initiated the practice of putting up bail for men charged with drunkenness. He subsequently provided bail, clothing, and shelter to youths and at times assisted them in finding jobs. In some instances, he paid court costs to keep them out of jail. Various "child saving" groups also adopted this early parole system. By 1869, this approach was sanctioned by the State of Massachusetts--delinquents were permitted to be released under the supervision of the Board of State Charities.

During the latter half of the 1800's, there were two different and usually opposed approaches in place: the use of institutions for the incarceration of juveniles versus community-based efforts. The incarceration approach was sometimes softened through the use of cottage or family systems. However, there was a continuing and expanding trend toward locking up wayward youths throughout the 19th Century.

Progressive Era (1880-1920)

Bridging the turn of the century, the period from 1880 to 1920 (often referred to as the Progressive Era) saw more and more delinquency prevention efforts. Youth services were developed in many urban areas in the form of Settlement Houses and Boys' Clubs. As part of a protective response to the Industrial Revolution and the social dislocation that it caused, reformers saw their role as teachers and missionaries to the urban poor. Settlement House workers often took up residence in poor areas to protect and educate the poor. Hull House, founded by Jane Addams (1910), is one of the best known examples of the Settlement House approach.

As the number of volunteer youth service workers grew, they constituted a significant lobby group for protective child welfare legislation, including juvenile court legislation. The Progressive Era reformers conducted surveys to determine the extent of poverty and youth crime in their communities, and they supported social experiments to develop new behavior patterns among the poor. These interests supported the growth of a profession focused on social and child welfare activites. Concurrent trends which emerged in psychiatry, psychology, and criminology placed a strong emphasis on individual development and case analysis within the developing profession.

William Healy (1929), whose research and theories are still evident in present-day delinquency efforts, exerted a strong influence during the Progressive Era. Healy identified a wide range of factors that could cause delinquency, including the influence of bad companions; treatment under the law--continuing negative associations by sending a boy and his companions to the same institution, and returning a boy on parole to old associations; and mental conflict, sometimes due to lack of good parental management. The latter echoed the sentiments of Charles Loring Brace who believed that the family was "God's reformatory" (cited by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 1978).

First Half of the 20th Century

The "medical" model was a major force in the study and treatment of criminal behavior during the 1920's. Delinquency was frequently considered to be the result of mental abnormality and clinical defects. A review of articles published during the 1920's in the Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology revealed a significant number had referred to the concept of "defective development" and emphasized inherited mental defects as a cause of delinquency (Cardarelli, 1975, p. 27).

By 1930, the emphasis on inherited deficiencies gave way to an emphasis on psychological/psychiatric factors and their treatment. Child guidance clinics devoted to the psychological treatment of children became popular. By 1931, there were 232 such clinics in operation across the nation. William Healy was a major proponent and powerful force in the establishment of these clinics and in the predominance of the individual therapy approach: Healy's ideas and the child guidance clinic movement emphasized the individual treatment model which dominated prevention thinking and practice throughout most of the twentieth century" (Cardarelli, 1975, p. 27).

Also during the 1920's and 1930's, Chicago social scientists presented a new approach to prevention. The Chicago school included such sociologists as Robert Park, Frederick Trasher, Henry McKay, and Clifford Shaw, who emphasized the effects of social and environmental influences on youths. Delinquency was seen to be the outcome of the social disorganization produced by modern industrial society, and the

emergence of urban areas that lacked social and community roots. Their response to this situation was the Chicago Area Project (1934), a prevention program predicated on community organization methods. As such, sociological rather than psychological theory was seen as the appropriate basis for explanation and intervention. The Chicago Area Project fostered maximum community input and local resident participation in the delivery of services. Although this project appeared to hold some promise, the community organization model was subsequently abandoned for close to three decades.

The psychological perspective prevailed through the 1940's and 1950's, but was expanded to include group dynamics as a therapeutic approach. Included in this perspective were detached worker programs which concentrated on working with members of delinquent gangs, an extension of the psychological model to the street corner. Major detached worker programs included the Brooklyn Detached Worker Project, the Boston Delinquency Project, and the Hyde Park Youth Project.

Contemporary Trends

In the 1950's and 1960's, therapies emerged which shifted the emphasis from the internal problems and attitudes of youths to the external environment and individual behavior. These approaches included reality therapy and behavior modification techniques. The former aims at preparing the individual for the environment in which he must live, while the latter attempts to structure an environment in which appropriate new behaviors can be learned.

The emphasis on environment was to take on added significance within the framework of the Federal War on Poverty; the focus on intervention was enlarged to include the social structure itself. Until 1960, the Federal role in delinquency prevention remained limited in scope and intensity. Beginning in 1961, however, the Federal effort expanded rapidly. A primary vehicle of this expansion was the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime.

Two of the major programs sponsored by this Committee were Mobilization for Youth (MFY) and Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited (The Haryou Act). These programs were focused on changing the social conditions affecting the lives of inner-city youths. They stressed the importance of empowering the poor and encouraged maximum community participation in the planning and execution of social welfare programs.

In 1967, social scientists and practitioners reviewed theories of delinquency prevention for President Johnson's Crime Commission. The MFY and Haryou Act programs were prominent in their consideration. The Commission emphasized the need for broad-scale social reform to prevent delinquency. In addition, the Commission encouraged diversion from the justice system as a prevention approach. A mechanism of prevention highly recommended by the President's Commission was the Youth Service

Bureau, created to incorporate the joint objectives of diversion and advocacy on behalf of troubled youths.

In 1968, the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act and the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act (administered by the Department of Justice and HEW, respectively) mandated Federal assistance to the States for the planning of innovative community-based programs which would provide for the prevention, diagnosis, diversion, and treatment of delinquent youths. HEW programs emphasized the establishment of youth service networks and adopted a broad theoretical model, focusing on the need to promote change in the social institutions perceived to contribute to delinquency. The Department of Justice, through LEAA, allocated monies to State planning agencies for a variety of delinquency prevention programs, including family counseling, diversion, police school programs, and programs for children with learning problems.

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) was established in 1974. This Office has supported a broad range of theoretical reviews, evaluation research, and demonstration/technical assistance programs, including programs which focus on change in important youth-serving organizations from schools to courts. A summary of contemporary delinquency theories which suggest that organizational change is the main tool of prevention is presented in Chapter 3.

Shifting Orientations

A number of themes can be traced in the historical development of delinquency prevention. The most pervasive approach has been to focus on the individual. In our own times, this has included attempts to "predict" delinquency on the basis of biological or personality determinants, and program after program has been instituted to provide some kind of therapy for individuals. Another dominant theme has been the assumption that delinquency is associated with poverty. This was true in the 19th Century with the rise of Pauperism, and its more sophisticated version is readily apparent in the 20th Century and the Great Society's War on Poverty.

The most important trend is the one that proceeds from incarceration to community-based programs, coupled with the shift from the individual as the sole target of intervention to a concern with the effects of social interaction and the social structure. The former was most evident during the latter half of the 1800's. During this period, the importance and usefulness of incarceration versus community-based programs were debated by competing proponents, with both approaches evident in programs around the country. Similarly, the perspective of simple "control" or containment (as in the Houses of Refuge) gave way to more active forms of social and moral rehabilitation, most notably during the Progressive Era.

The major transition to approaches focused on changing the quality of social interactions and of the social structure itself occurred in the

1960's. This was at the same time that the Federal role in delinquency prevention expanded. Although the importance of the environment had been recognized by the Child Savers in the late 19th Century, they attempted to remove children from a destructive social environment. By the Progressive Era, there were social reformers who saw the possibility of improving the environment itself. The Chicago Area Project was a community-based experiment along these lines, and the MFY and Haryou Act programs were more immediate precursors of this development. The "new" emphasis in environment is also echoed in the emerging definition of delinquency prevention which included, by the 1960's, the identification of the environment as a crucial factor in delinquency prevention.

A multiplicity of approaches are in use today. As new orientations have emerged, they have been added to the repertoire of program designers and administrators. The critical question that is addressed in Chapter 3 is: Which of these approaches works?

CHAPTER 3

THE PROBLEM OF DELINQUENCY PREVENTION IN PERSPECTIVE

> "Too often, when we are confronted with the necessity of stating the idea behind the most common and essential functions in society, we realize that we have no idea. We do the things we do mainly because we have done them before, adding new usages to old ones as our immediate needs change" (Ramsey Clark, 1972).

RELATING HOW TO WHY IN DELINQUENCY PREVENTION

It is logical to assume that to prevent delinquency, it is first necessary to understand its causes; i.e., why it occurs. But understanding causation does not mean that the problem would then be solved. As noted by Walter Ludin:

> "A theory of criminality is a why question, whereas the issues in prevention are how questions" (Ludin, 1962, p. 214).

The validity of the relationship between why and how is also critical. It is not at all unusual to find many programs reporting the same fundamental assumptions, while utilizing substantially different strategies in service of these assumptions.

This is further complicated by the fact that some strategies may support one theory while conflicting with another: "... a fairly common assumption stated by practitioners is that certain juveniles have some type of scholastic dysfunctions which help promote their 'abnormal behavior.' Based on this assumption, an alternative school is proposed and the juvenile attends the school with others like him; yet this strategy directly conflicts with widely accepted notions based on theories of differential association and group dynamics" (Walker, 1976, p. 147)

Common practice in delinquency prevention does not reflect contemporary theory and research findings. The main arguments of theory and research place the sources of delinquency in social interaction and in the operations of social institutions. Yet most programs have focused upon individual and family counseling. Often the language of delinquency prevention as social change has been adopted without making any corresponding modifications of program practice (Johnson, 1981).

PROGRAM SUCCESSES AND FAILURES*

Several classifications of delinquency prevention programs and approaches have been suggested. Prominent among these are the strategy and technique classification of Cardarelli (1975) and the cause and strategy breakdown utilized by Hawkins et al. (1980). Cardarelli clusters programs into these strategies: coaching, instruction, recreation, youth advocacy, police/school/community relations, and opportunity enhancement. Hawkins identifies 12 presumed causes (with particular strategies listed for each cause): physical abnormality/illness; psychological disturbance; weak attachments to others; criminal influence; powerlessness; lack of useful worthwhile roles; unoccupied time; inadequate skills; conflicting environmental demands; economic necessity; low degree of risk/difficulty; and exclusionary social responses.

Another method of organizing program strategies and their theories is one that uses focus of intervention (i.e., the individual, social interaction, and the social structure) as an initial means of segregating explanations and approaches (Johnson, 1981). This approach, outlined in Table 2, allows for an examination of programs based on the same theory but focused on differing levels of intervention. Program successes and failures reviewed in this chapter are organized around the topics listed in Table 2.

The following overview is intended to emphasize approaches and explanations that show promise, or that have demonstrated some impact on delinquency. Therefore, only a brief description of those programs found to be ineffective is presented. Because evaluation methodology and interpretation are frequently equivocal in any field of study interested readers are encouraged to read the original source documents cited for more detailed information on specific programs and their evaluations. Table 3 is a tabular summary of programs that have demonstrated little or no impact on delinquency, along with a listing of the evaluation reviews that document these findings.

Delinquent Behavior and the Individual

Three types of explanations can be identifed under this category. They are:

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*The majority of the program review material in this section is condensed from Chapter 2 of Johnson et al. (1981). The design and setting of any particular program can be critical to success, and the interested reader is referred to the original source documents to compare a given program to his or her own circumstances.

TABLE 2
DELINQUENCY PREVENTION EXPLANATION AND APPROACHES
BY FOCUS OF INTERVENTION

I. Interventions Directed Toward the Individual

A. Explanations Focusing on Individual Characteristics

1. Biological Determinants
2. Personality Determinants
3. Learning Disabilities
4. Behavior Theory
5. Programs Focusing on Individual and Group Therapy Approaches

Casework
Individual Psychotherapy
Group Counseling
Wilderness Programs
Special Education Programs
Behavior Modification
Youth Encounters with Prison Inmates

B. Socio-economic Level and Delinquent Behavior

1. The Family and Delinquent Behavior
1. Individually Targeted Programs Focusing on Background and Environmental Factors

C. Explanations Applying Sociological Theory to Individuals

II. Interventions Directed towrad Social Interaction

A. Explanations Focusing on Peer Group Interaction
B. Explanations Focusing on Classroom Interaction

III. Interventions Directed toward the Social Structure

A. Labeling and Societal Reaction Theory
B. Subcultural Theories
C. Strain and Opportunity Theories
D. Bonding and Control Theories

- Explanations focusing on individual characteristics,
- Explanations focused on socio-economic level, and
- Explanations applying sociological theory to individuals.

Explanations focusing on individual characteristics are comprised of those which presume biological and personality determinants as the basis for delinquency, including learning disabilities and programs designed to provide group or individual therapy. Programs predicated on assumptions of biological or personality determinants as a basis for delinquency and the use of behavior theory (i.e., severity and certainty of punishment as a deterrent of crime) have not proven fruitful in addressing delinquency prevention (see Table 3).

Individual and group therapy programs include casework, individual psychotherapy, group counseling, wilderness programs, special education programs, behavior modification, and youth encounters with prison inmates. The latter received national prominence in 1979 through the television documentary film, "Scared Straight." However, this approach, along with most other individual and group therapy approaches, does not stand up to evaluation (see Table 3). The "Scared Straight" type of program may benefit some young persons with histories of delinquent offenses, but it may very well harm other youths, particularly those who may come to the sessions without a background of officially recorded delinquency (Johnson, 1981, pp. 2-22 and 2-23).

Recently researchers found an association between their measures of learning disabilities and both delinquent acts and arrests (Dunivant, 1981). Further, they found that a program addressed to learning disabilities as a causative agent showed a reduction in delinquency among those youths who received at least 40 to 50 hours of remedial instruction. It is significant to note that the intervention in this program is a form of "mastery learning," a set of teaching techniques which is recommended and is being used in some schools for all students (Bloom, 1975, 1976, 1981; Block, 1971, 1974; Block and Anderson, 1975).

It is debatable whether a condition--school failure--which is so readily addressed through generally applicable teaching techniques is better understood as a student disability or as a teaching error. For the purpose of work with youths already in contact with the juvenile justice system, remedial programs of this type may be in order. In prevention programs, the emphasis would be placed on more widespread use of the more effective teaching practices.

Explanations focused on the socio-economic level, i.e., the link between lower class status and delinquency, give rise to a number of methodological problems, not the least of which is the difference between the commission of offenses and arrest or conviction for these offenses (see Johnson, 1981, for a detailed discussion of this research and the controversy as to its significance).

TABLE 3

ASSUMPTIONS AND PROGRAMS FOUND TO HAVE
LITTLE OR NO IMPACT ON DELINQUENCY

Assumptions or Programs	Major Evaluation Review and Their Findings
Biological Determinants	Gibbons (1970)--No valid generalizations can be drawn vis à vis biological factors in deviance.
Personality Determinants	Schuessler and Cressey (cited by Gibbons, 1970, and Kassebaum, 1974)--No basis for claims that the law abiding can be distinguished from the law violating by personality characteristics.
Behavior Theory	Canadian Law Commission (1976, 1977)*--Punishment is ineffective as a deterrent to crime.
Individual and Group Therapy: Casework, individual psychotherapy, group counseling, wilderness programs, special education programs, behavior modification programs	Romig (1978)--All of these approaches were not effective in reducing delinquency.
Family Background: Intact vs. Broken Homes	Nye (1958)--Children from broken homes committed only slightly more delinquent acts, but were twice as likely to be institutionalized compared to those from intact homes.
Criminal History of Parents	Elliott and Voss (1974)--Exposure to family members who are known delinquents is unrelated to delinquency. Hirschi (1969)--As is true for close ties to conventional parents, close ties to criminal or non-conventional parents are negatively related to delinquent behavior.
Recreation Programs	Dixon and Wright (1971)--There is no evidence that recreational programs alter delinquency.
Youth Work Programs	Romig (1978)--Some 9 out of 12 vocational and work programs evaluated showed no favorable effects on delinquency. (The three successful programs provided the possibility of advancement.) Manpower Demonstration Research Corp. (1980)--Supported work programs had little impact on the employment, drug use, or criminal activities of the youth target group.
Detached Gang Worker Program	Klein (cited by Kassebaum, 1974)--No reduction in the seriousness of offenses (and the possibility of increased gang violence) in "treated gangs when compared to a control sample of gangs.

*The Canadian Law Commission studies are reported in Fear of Punishment: Deterrence, Ottawa, 1976 and in the Canadian Journal of Criminology and Corrections, 19 (2), 1977. See Criminal Justice Abstracts, 9(3), pp. 354-360, 1977.

Findings to date suggest that the effects of class on delinquency are mediated by other factors that are not constant across time or place. Various authors have mentioned age, sex, family features, and urban and rural differences as possible mediators. What may be more to the point are institutionalized reactions to the visible artifacts of class. Paramount among these for young persons are class-related policies and practices in schools. Variations across communities on this count alone could account for the wide differences in reported findings.

An additional body of research has examined the distribution of delinquency behavior by area. In contrast with the findings concerning individual socio-economic status, evidence that delinquency is more prevalent in predominantly lower and working-class neighborhoods has remained relatively free of contradiction.* In at least one instance, findings from the same study included both of the following: (1) the incidence of delinquency behavior was significantly higher in low-status areas, and (2) there were no significant differences in delinquent behavior by individual social class.** From this and similar studies Daniel Glasser concluded that "delinquency is apparently more a function of the average social class level of a neighborhood or school district than of the contrast within the area" (quoted by Strasburg, 1978, p. 60).

There has been a great deal of research on family background and delinquency, although most of it has been retrospective and correlational in nature. Two recurring themes have been an interest in (1) intact vs. broken homes, and (2) the criminal histories of parents as "predictors" of delinquency. Neither of these themes has been supported as a cause of delinquency (see Table 3).

Other approaches which have focused on background or environmental factors include teacher predictions and programs aimed at parents of infants or very young children. Teacher ratings as to which students are likely to become delinquent show some predictive promise (see West and Farrington, 1973; California Youth Authority, 1978). On the other hand, most early identification programs tend to overpredict delinquency, and Gibbons (1970) argues that such negative labeling can impact on self-concept, so that the "prophecy" fulfills itself. Perhaps more to the point in light of contemporary delinquency theories is that teacher expectations can make immediate differences in student opportunity (Good and Brophy, 1978) and thereby influence students' rates of delinquent behavior.

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*See Preventing Delinquency, NIJJDP, 1977, p. 78; and Kassebaum, 1974, pp. 53-59.

**Reported by Clark and Wenninger and cited by Elliott and Voss, 1974, p. 72; and P.C. and J.E. Kratcoski, 1977, and pp. 161, 169-170.

A similar argument can be advanced with respect to programs aimed at parents of infants, or very young children, if parents are "singled out" for inclusion. These kinds of programs are, in turn, a part of the larger concept of family therapy. The success of family therapy programs presents a mixed picture, based upon the type of family treatment involved. Two approaches that do show promise are teaching communication skills to parents (Romig, 1978) and teaching parents social learning techniques as they relate to child discipline (Reid, 1975; Wahler, 1978).

Turning to explanations that apply sociological theory to individuals, one can see that these kinds of programs recognize the need to bring the delinquent, or potential delinquent, into "mainstream" activities and groups. Recreation and supported work programs, based upon this concept, have shown little or no success in reducing delinquency (see Table 3).

Delinquent Behavior and Social Interaction

Differential association theory (Sutherland and Cressey, 1970) depicts delinquency and crime as behavior learned in social interaction, principally within intimate personal groups. Groups transmit definitions of legal codes that vary from favorable to unfavorable, and a person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions favoring violation of the law. Because commitment to peers is probably the single most powerful predictor of delinquent behavior, there is strong empirical support for the centerpiece of this theory.*

However, differential association theory does little to answer these critical questions:

- Why do some young persons, and not others, wind up having frequent, lasting, and intense interaction in pro-delinquent groups?
- What makes the difference between times when young persons engage in delinquent behavior and times when the same persons obey conventional norms?

Answers to the first question come from labeling, strain, and social control theories (the concepts of these three theories are summarized in Table 4). Schools may inadvertently create pro-delinquent groups by

*See Elliott and Voss (1974) and Elliott, Ageton, and Canter (1979). The predictive power of exposure to delinquent peers is weak, but that of exposure combined with commitment is very strong.

TABLE 4

CONCEPTS AND SOURCES FOR LABELING, STRAIN, AND BONDING THEORIES

Labeling Theory	Strain Theory	Social Control
If an individual is continually told that he or she is "bad" (troublemaker, delinquent, academically deficient) and differentially treated because of this label, eventually that person comes to believe that label is true and begins acting according to the expectations of others. The labeling process is a social reaction which creates deviance.	There is a strong emphasis on success goals for all in our society, but the legitimate avenues for achieving success are only open to some. As a consequence, those whose opportunities are blocked may seek material success through illegitimate means. People deviate when their desires to conform to the conventional order are frustrated. Anomie and crime result from a disjunction between cultural goals and socially approved means to their attainment.	Most people stay out of trouble most of the time, because they are bonded to the conventional norms of society through their affiliations with a variety of entities. The weakening, breakdown, or absence of effective social control accounts for juvenile delinquency. Social control results from bonds with society. The elements of this bond are attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief; the units of control include the family, school, work and the community.
References:		
Lemert (1976) Wertham (1969) Becker (1969)	Merton (1938) Cohen (1955) Cloward and Ohlin (1960)	Nye (1958) Reckless (1956, 1961) Hirschi (1969)

practices that not only negatively label a portion of students, but put those who are similarly labeled together in special classes for "slow learners" or "probable troublemakers." From strain theory comes the conjecture that young persons who are similarly blocked in legitimate opportunity may flock together not only for company in their misery, but also because a gang may be the only source of illegitimate opportunity (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960 pp. 145-148). Bonding theorists contend that membership in gangs and heightened susceptibility to their influences are consequences of a breakdown in conventional affiliations.

A response to the second question comes from Hirschi (1969), who suggests that such attachments are relatively fluid. Another response is provided by Matza (1964), who proposes an alternative conceptualization to differential association theory. He suggests that peer group interaction, at times, creates a situational and fleeting climate in which delinquent behavior becomes acceptable. When coupled with a "driving force" (e.g., a sense of powerlessness or mood of fatalism on the part of individuals), offenses will be committed.

The relationship between delinquent behavior and involvement with delinquent peers appears to be reciprocal. Having already engaged in delinquent behavior, a young person is more likely to associate with delinquent peers and, in some localities, to join a delinquent gang. Having weakened conventional attachments, the person is likely to become more committed to peers. The associations and heightened commitment, in turn, increase the probability of further delinquency. The pattern that emerges is one of alienation from school and home, followed by misconduct and increased interaction with and commitment to delinquent peers, followed by more delinquent behavior.

Programs seeking to reduce delinquency by affecting social interaction include: direct intervention into groups (detached gang worker programs); the assembly of temporary groups for therapeutic purposes; the employment of cooperative learning strategies in school classrooms; the use of multi-ability approach to instruction; the creation of task-oriented peer groups outside the school; and training of teachers, police, parents, and others who have regular contact with young persons in the techniques of effective interaction.

Detached gang worker programs have not been successful (see Table 3). As summarized by Kassebaum (1974), this approach inadvertently strengthens ties among delinquent group members:

> By group programming, arranging activities for gang participation (dances and outings for example), mediating gang disputes, arranging or supervising truces between warring gangs, conferring status on a gang by the presence of a youth worker in its hangout, and a number of similar activities, the program recognizes the gang as an important neighborhood or municipal entity; it increases the basis of group interaction, providing both occasion and motivation for individuals to orient their conduct in terms of the gang. In so doing, the programs are increasing the cohesiveness of the gang,

> which, in turn, exerts greater group influence toward conformity. With gang cohesiveness increasing, the likelihood of both intergang violence and collective predatory activities increases, as well as the likelihood that police surveillance, often suspicious of the detached worker program, will increase; this situation, in turn, drives up the arrest rate for gang members who are being reached by the program (Kassebaum, 1974, p. 155).

Special therapeutic groups have also been ineffective. Beside the generally unsuccessful group counseling programs mentioned previously, Romig (1978) also reviewed the evaluations of eight "community residential programs" that involved relatively continuous guided group contacts in halfway houses, residential centers, and foster homes. In five of the eight programs, treatment subjects had greater subsequent criminal involvement than did control subjects. In two, there were no significant differences between treatment and control subjects, and in one study subjects showed "improved physical, emotional, and intellectual functioning" (Romig, 1978, pp. 149-158).

There are several classroom teaching strategies that have been termed cooperative, or student team learning, techniques. The element common to all of the forms is that students work on learning tasks in small groups and receive rewards based on their group's performance, thus partially substituting a cooperative reward structure for a competitive one. Although not intended primarily as prevention strategies, these techniques are of importance here because they have demonstrated the ability to alter peer association preferences (see Slavin, 1980).

Three other approaches--using a multi-ability approach to instruction; creating task-oriented peer groups outside the school; and training teachers, police, parents, and the like, in techniques of effective interaction--show promise, although significant evaluation data are not as yet available. The multi-ability approach to instruction (de-emphasizing the importance of any one skill, such as reading) is a way to expand bonding in the school, and many of the task-oriented peer groups outside of school (neighborhood projects, youth advisory boards, and planning groups) are designed to reduce the feeling of powerlessness, particularly in terms of "conventional" activities.

The interaction training for adults is aimed at helping those who frequently interact with youths to listen better to what young persons say, avoid unnecessary friction in interaction, understand the problems that youngsters are likely to bring with them into classrooms, and move a group toward completion of a task (see Johnson, 1981, for further information on these programs).

Delinquency and the Social Structure

The overall conclusion derived from contemporary theory and research findings is that (1) organizational policies and practices affect

interaction patterns and that (2) these patterns, in turn, affect the behavior of individual youths. Four major schools of thought--labeling and societal reaction theory; subcultural theory; strain and opportunity theories; and social control theories--and an assessment of their ability to address delinquency prevention are described below.

Labeling and Societal Reaction Theories--The perspective of labeling theory is that once important others designate a person as a "criminal, pre-delinquent, emotionally disturbed child, potential troublemaker," and such, the person so designated tends to conform to the expectations for deviant behavior that go with the label. The implications with respect to juvenile delinquency relate to the self-fulfilling prophecy for those labelled in schools and elsewhere as troublesome, as well as for those who have officially entered the juvenile justice system.

An overview of evidence over the past 15 years (Gove, 1980) indicates that official labeling by the justice system, the military, or mental health agencies is not a major cause of the development of deviant identities and lifestyles. However, data taken in a survey from 10 cities in 1974 indicated that negative labeling by teachers was more strongly associated with delinquency behavior than any other factor, including negative labeling by a parent(s) (Brennan and Huizinga, 1975, p. 351). This suggests that harmful effects do occur under certain conditions. In this case, labeling is destructive when it is related to restricted opportunities in a setting that is prominent in a young person's life (Johnson, 1981).

Subcultural Theory--Subcultural theory identifies the root of delinquent behavior in beliefs and manners among various segments of the population. Although many subcultural differences appear to have been overstated, there is evidence that lower class youth are more likely than middle class youth to have trouble achieving status through legitimate means (NIJJDP, 1977, pp. 65-68). An implication for delinquency prevention is that institutionalized negative reactions to purely superficial subcultural differences should be eliminated, along with other practices in schools that inadvertently breed peer groups where delinquent behavior is reinforced.

Strain and Opportunity Theories--As originally formulated by Robert Merton (1938), strain theory posits that, in our society, the same worthwhile goals tend to be held out as desirable to everyone. This becomes a problem because legitimate avenues for achieving those goals are not open equally to all. The combination of equality of goals and inequality of opportunity regularly makes it impossible for some segments of the population to play by the rules and still get what they want. As a consequence, some people turn to illegitimate means to achieve culturally prescribed goals. Cloward and Ohlin (1960) draw upon these concepts to explain lower class gang delinquency, depicting the gang as a source of illegitimate opportunities for success.

Although strain and opportunity theories have helped perpetuate a view of delinquency as mainly a lower class activity, Elliott and Voss (1974)

have argued for viewing the gap between aspirations and opportunity as independent of social class; i.e., middle-class youths are just as likely as lower class youths to aspire for more than they can obtain legitimately. Thus, blocked opportunities may appear equally real to members of both classes and lead persons in their category to resort to illegitimate means to achieve valued goals.

Findings concerning the relationship between blocked opportunities and delinquent behavior have been mixed. Cernkovich (1977) found a positive association between the two; others have found that a gap between goals and available means has explanatory power only in combination with other variables, including delinquent peer pressure.*

The main implication for prevention is to remove institutionalized barriers to opportunity so that educational and occupational access are equalized.

Bonding and Control Theories--Bonding theory maintains that most people stay out of trouble most of the time, because they are bonded to the conventional norms of society through a variety of affilitations. Family, education, religion, and the economy are vehicles through which bonds to the moral order are maintained. As long as ties to home, school, church, or workplace remain strong, an individual is likely to conform to the rules.

Hirschi (1969) describes four control processes through which conformity is maintained. They are:

1) Commitment--An interest or stake in something valued that misconduct would jeopardize;

2) Attachment to other people--To violate the norm would be to act contrary to the wishes and expectations of others;

3) Involvement--An ongoing investment of time and energy in certain conventional, law-abiding activities;

4) Belief--In the moral validity of the social rules that a young person is asked to obey and in the mechanisms used to enforce these rules.

To promote law-abiding behavior effectively, the four control processes must operate through ties with conventional group and organizational representatives.

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*A review of several studies appears in Elliott, Ageton, and Canter (1977). They conclude that "the lack of consistent support for the relationship suggests that failure or anticipted failure constitutes only one possible path to an involvement in delinquency" (p. 8).

A rigorous test of this theory is presently underway.* Early support for the theory comes from Hirschi's study and that of Polk and Schafer (1972). Hirschi's data (1969) indicate a significant relationship between the attachment of youths to home and school and respect for the law. Further, lack of respect for the police was related to lack of respect for the law, which in turn was related to law-breaking behavior (Hirschi, 1969, pp. 202-203).

Prominent among factors likely to make bonding difficult for some students are school-sorting practices. Placing students in high or low classrooms or tracks often produces unintended social consequences that extend beyond the immediate learning experience. Polk and Schafer (1972) found that in formally tracked high schools, students in less valued tracks were more likely to fail, more likely to drop out, and more likely to be disruptive in class and to get into trouble with authorities outside the school. These effects persisted even when researchers allowed for differences in socio-economic backgrounds, IQ's, and past school records.

Teaching practices and other school practices are implicated in delinquency as well, in that some practices are more likely than others to provide success in the school and to contribute to low rates of delinquency. Rutter et al. (1979) found that inner-city schools serving equivalent populations, all characterized by high rates of disorganization and various social and economic problems, nevertheless produced significantly different levels of achievement and delinquency in their student bodies. These differences appeared to be associated with differences in practice among the schools. American studies of effective schools have produced similar findings regarding student achievement (Edmonds, 1978).

In addition to implications for school-sorting practices, implications for delinquency prevention programs include:

- Improving the images of local law enforcements and juvenile justice; and
- Broadening the range of ties open to young persons; for example, in employment possibilities that promote personal attachments and involvement.

SELECTING THE BEST APPROACH

Separating those approaches which have demonstrated their effectiveness (or which show promise in doing so) from those which are ineffective is

*See Section IV-B of this monograph.

necessary, but not sufficient, to the selection of the best approaches for the prevention of delinquency. The sorting process provides an answer to the first critical question:

- Is the intervention likely to reduce delinquent behavior?

However, there are three other questions which should be asked as a guide in the choice of cost-effective programs:

- How many youth can be affected; that is, on how large a scale can the intervention be conducted?
- How much will the intervention cost?
- How durable will the results be?

Based upon these criteria, the prevention programs discussed above have been grouped into six categories:

a. Those that should be rejected as having no defensible basis;

b. Those that should be rejected because they represent inappropriate or ineffective implementation of a defensible explanation of delinquency;

c. Those whose merit is highly questionable in light of evidence to date;

d. Those that offer one-time benefits to limited numbers at substantial cost;

e. Those that produce at least short-term benefits for many young persons; and

f. Those with promise of broad and lasting benefits at a moderate, non-recurring cost.

Programs in each of these six categories are summarized below, with pertinent information in tabular form also presented in Table 5.

- No Defensible Basis: Explanations of delinquent behavior based on presumed personality differences and presumed biological differences have been subject to intense scrutiny and are not supported. On the basis of the evidence, individual psychotherapy, group counseling, casework, and other program efforts to apply these explanations should be rejected. In addition, early identification or selection for treatment based on personality test scores, individual socio-economic level, intact vs. broken homes, or criminal histories of parents is not recommended. All of these factors have been found to have little or no utility in predicting delinquency behavior.

- Inappropriate or Ineffective Implementation of Defensible Explanations: Despite having some plausible theoretical or correlational basis, programs that have repeatedly failed to demonstrate effectiveness in reducing delinquency once they have been tried and evaluated should be rejected. These include behavior modification confined to treatment settings, wilderness programs without follow-up in clients' home communities, most forms of family therapy, recreation programs, employment programs that merely consume time, detached work in street gangs, and increasing the severity of punishment for transgressions.

- Highly Questionable Based on Evidence to Date: Foremost in this category are inmate encounter programs of the "Scared Straight" variety and early identification of predelinquents based on teacher ratings or judgments. Findings on the encounter programs have been extremely mixed; an implication of the combined findings is that for some young persons the treatment may be not only ineffective but harmful (Finkenaur, 1979; Yarborough, 1979; Langer, 1980; Lewis, 1981).

  To date, the evidence on early identification of delinquents by teachers suggests an alternative explanation of the apparent success of these predictions in terms of a self-fulfilling prophecy. The risk of generating more delinquency appears to outweigh any benefits associated with this kind of program.

  A third type of program in this category is that which focuses exclusively on parent of infants or very young preschoolers; the assumption that "it's all over" at an early age appears grossly overdrawn in light of the evidence to date.

- One-time Benefits at Substantial Cost per Client: A number of programs show promise for short-term effectiveness for limited numbers of youth. Non-coercive programs to teach parents social learning theory and monitor their use of it have received favorable evaluations. Family programs to improve parents' communication skills, enlarge opportunities for children to make contributions at home, and make expectations and discipline in that setting more consistent also appear worthwhile. Providing individual youths with vocational skills is a way to enhance opportunities for a few, provided that recruitment is non-stigmatizing.

  A learning disability remediation program that employed mastery learning strategies in tutoring official delinquents produced at least short-term behavioral improvement for some youths in the program. Those who benefited were those who received no less than 40 to 50 hours of instruction; those who benefited most were those having low pretreatment delinquency scores. Conducting in non-school settings, this program produced no measurable change in attitudes toward school. The evaluators

suggest attachment to the instructor as an individual as a likely contributor to the behavioral improvement.

It is reasonable to suppose that the increased attachment to the instructor is largely a function of success provided by the mastery learning methods used in that program. More widespread use of more effective teaching techniques for all students, or for sizable categories of students presently having less success in school, would be preferred for primary and secondary prevention programs, respectively.

These approaches offer fast, immediate results on a small scale, but they have two drawbacks:

1) Working with individuals or some groups is costly, even over a short period; when requisite long-term follow-up is added, the cost per client is likely to become prohibitive.

2) Programs targeted on individuals or their families must be repeated endlessly. Even in the unlikely event that everyone in a community could receive the services they need at one point in time, the process still would have to occur perpetually to keep pace with population turnover and maturation.

- Broad and Lasting Benefits at Moderate Cost: The review of contemporary explanations of delinquency and prevention program experiences to date points to selective organizational change as the approach showing the most promise. Compared with one-on-one delivery of treatment, advice, or services, a more cost-effective category of programs is group training of teachers, police, and others in regular contact with youths. The aim of such training is to modify interaction patterns that contribute to alienation and delinquency. When conducted with administrative support from recipient organizations and on a scale to produce peer reinforcement among recipients, this training can set the stage for enduring structural change. It is vital that such initiatives go beyond training to assure that worthy new practices become organizational traditions, supported by all other arrangements in the organization; as idiosyncratic individual preferences, such practices are unlikely to persist in the face of organizational indifference or resistance.

Recommended approaches in this category include a number of school-based programs. Teacher training can be the occasion for encouraging adoption in the classroom of strategies and content likely to affect delinquency behavior by strengthening bonding, altering peer preferences, or reducing students' perceived powerlessness. Cooperative learning techniques, mastery learning, multi-ability strategies, and law-related education are examples. School programs directed at modifying

ability grouping and other school policies that generate inappropriate labeling and systematically rob segments of the student population of opportunities to demonstrate usefulness and competence are also recommended. Such policies make it difficult for some youths to value their affiliation in this arena.

Also recommended are:

1) Programs to modify organizational practices (in schools, justice, and at work) that reflect stereotypical presumptions of undesirable traits among youths having certain socio-economic, racial, or ethnic backgrounds;

2) Programs to improve the images of law enforcement and juvenile justice;

3) Programs to broaden the range of conventional ties available to youths, particularly in the areas of work and community service;

4) "Mainstreaming" of instruction in parenting and other life experiences in schools;

5) Programs designed to reduce youths' perceptions of powerlessness by including youths in the governance and operation of families, schools, and other organized activities;

6) Steps to reduce the flow of derogatory news from school to home or from the juvenile justice system to school.

All of these programs are viewed as addressing more fundamental causes of delinquency than the bulk of efforts targeted on individuals or on group interaction.

TABLE 5

SUMMARY OF DELINQUENCY PREVENTION APPROACHES
BY EFFECTIVENESS AND COST CATEGORIES

No Defensible Base

Identification of delinquency by personality measures and background differences.

Individual psychotherapy, group counseling, casework.

Identification or selection for treatment on the basis of individual socio-economic level, intact or broken homes, criminal history of parents.

Inappropriate or Ineffective Implementation of Defensible Explanations

Behavior modification confined to treatment settings.

Wilderness programs without home community follow-up.

Most forms of family therapy.

Employment programs that do not lead to real job opportunities.

Detached work in street groups.

Increasing the severity of punishment for wrongdoing.

Highly Questionable Based on Evidence to Date

Inmate encounter programs, such as "Scared Straight".

Early identification of delinquents by teachers.

Focusing on parents of infants or very young preschoolers.

One-time Benefits at Substantial Cost per Client

Non-coercive programs to teach parents social learning theory.

Family programs to improve parents communication skills, enlarge opportunities for children to make contributions at home, or make expectations and discipline in that setting more consistent.

Enhance opportunities for individual youth, in a non-stigmatizing way vis à vis vocational skills.

Broad and Lasting Benefits at Moderate Cost

Group training in interaction techniques for teachers, police, and others who are in regular contact with youths.

Organizational or policy changes in the school to modify ability grouping and other practices that generate negative labeling and reduce opportunity to demonstrate usefulness and competence.

Modification of organizational practices in schools, justice, and world of work that promote negative labeling of youths on the basis of socio-economic, racial or ethnic backgrounds.

Programs to improve the images of law enforcement and juvenile justice.

Work and community service-related programs to broaden the range of conventional ties available to youths.

School instruction in parenting and other life experiences.

Programs to reduce youths' perceptions of powerlessness and to enhance self-esteem, including selecting teaching practices (e.g., cooperative learning techniques, mastery learning multi-ability strategies).

Attempts to reduce derogatory feedback from school to home and from the juvenile justice system to school.

Adoption of more effective teaching practices.

CHAPTER 4

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As previously indicated, the focus of this monograph is on primary (preclusive) and secondary prevention. As such, delinquency prevention refers to activities that have been designed to reduce the incidence of delinquent acts, and that are directed to youths who are not being dealt with as a result of contact with the juvenile justice system. For this purpose, delinquency prevention should address organizational change to preserve youths in a law-abiding status.

A PRACTICAL SYNTHESIS OF DELINQUENCY THEORIES

Programs that effectively prevent juvenile delinquency require a base in empirically supported theories of delinquency. More precisely, primary prevention programs must address the underlying causes of delinquency and be grounded in the best available evidence regarding the effectiveness of delinquency prevention programs. However, the practical question arises as to which of the numerous theoretical and empirical claims about delinquency should form the basis for prevention efforts.

Efforts to reconcile contemporary delinquency theories with each other and with current evidence have identified some common concepts and issues on which to base delinquency prevention programs. A synthesis of several theories has been presented by Elliott, Ageton, and Canter (1979) and by Hawkins and Weis (1980). Elliott, Ageton, and Canter have proposed a "strain-control paradigm"; and Hawkins and Weis have constructed a "social development model."

The strain-control paradigm synthesizes strain, control, social learning and labeling theories. Predicated on the presence of strong bonds or weak bonds in early socialization, it traces two main paths to delinquent behavior:

- Path I--Initially strong bonds are weakened by factors such as "failure in conventional contexts" and "negative labeling experiences," which lead to involvement in delinquent peer groups and often delinquent behavior;

- Path 2--Begins with initially weak bonds which remain that way--because of a disorganized social environment, failure experiences, and negative labeling--again leading to probable involvement with delinquent peers and an increased probability of delinquent behavior.

Conversely, when there are initially strong bonds from early socialization, made up of high integration with the family and high commitment to family activities, and when these bonds are maintained in well-organized settings which provide success, positive labeling, increasing integration into conventional activities, and an increasing personal commitment to those activities, then youths are likely to associate with conventional (law-abiding) peers and present a low probability of engaging in patterns of delinquent behavior.

The social development model constitutes a synthesis of social control and social learning theories. The model specifies that social development is a process through which the primary units of socialization--families, schools, and peers--sequentially influence the behavior of a developing individual. Three independent variables influence youths toward law-abiding behavior and away from delinquent activity: (1) opportunities for involvement in conforming activities; (2) skills necessary for being involved successfully; and (3) consistent expectations and rewards for participation.

Based upon the concepts of the strain-control paradigm and the social development model, a practical synthesis of delinquency prevention theories is expressed in Figure 1.* The intent of this formulation is to present the key concepts in a manner that suggests intervention points and strategies. Relationships among several contextual, independent, intervening, and dependent variables are suggested. Each variable is accompanied by operational questions intended to promote exploration of the characteristics and necessary conditions for achieving a desirable impact on youths' behavior. That is, program designs for delinquency prevention tend to answer these questions in some detail.

The pathway shown proceeds from the independent variables of opportunity/integration, skill/success, and reinforcement/labeling through the intervening variables of peer group formation and psychological bonding to either delinquent or conforming behavior. The effect of the independent variables is mediated by the degree of organization within the environment and by socio-demographic status (contextual variables).

Weis and Hawkins (1979) describe the concepts of opportunity, skill, and reinforcement as follows:

> Opportunities for involvement in conventional activities are necessary structural conditions for the development of a commitment.

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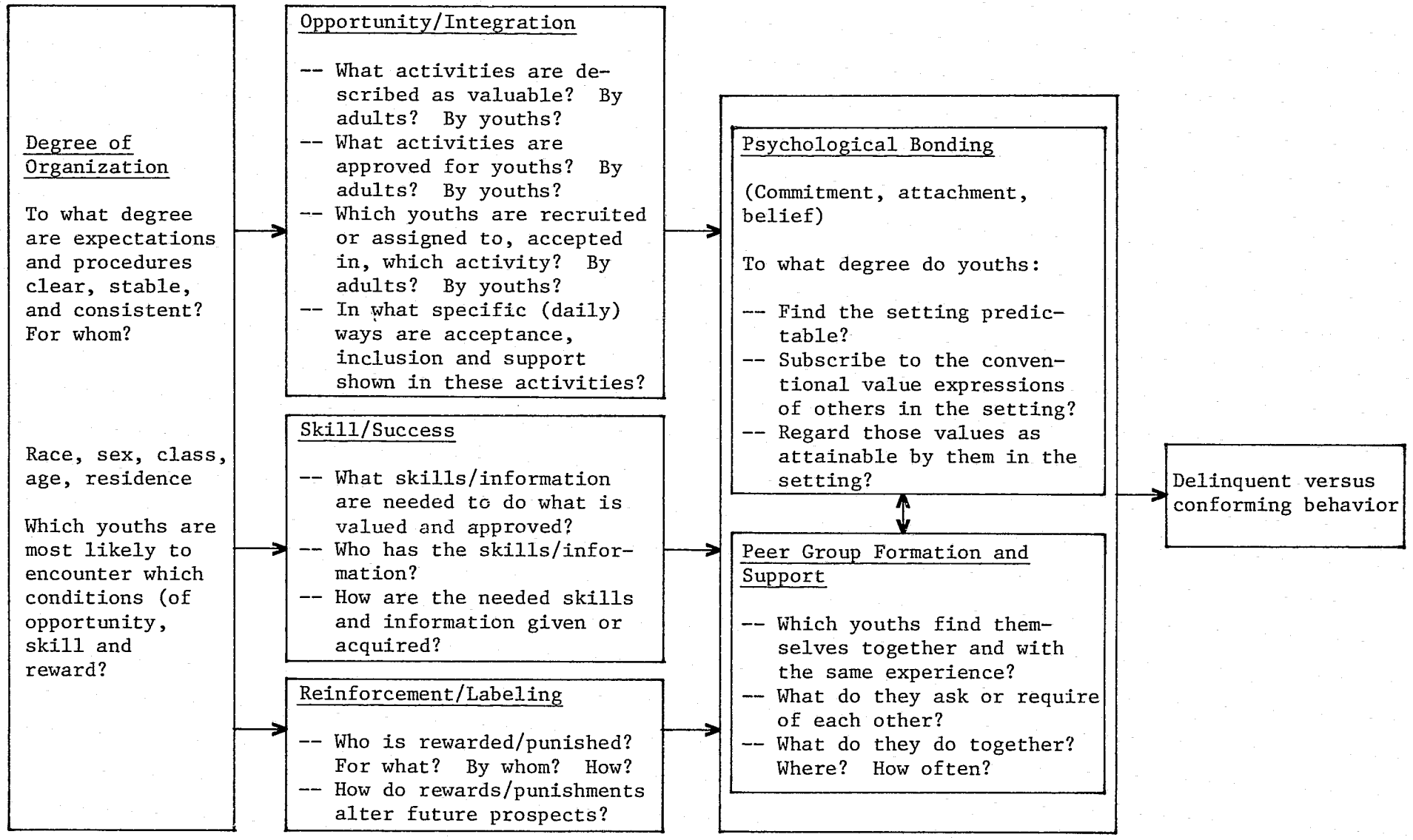
*It should be emphasized that the relationships presented are not in any way an attempt to refine the major syntheses developed by Elliott, Ageton, and Canter (1979) or Hawkins and Weis (1980). Rather this formulation attempts to interpret mainstream theories from a strategic point of view.

FIGURE 1: A PRACTICAL EXPRESSION OF DELINQUENCY THEORIES



- Skills must be possessed by both youthful participants and by others (such as parents or teachers) with whom youths are involved.

- Different actors in youths' social environments must be consistent in their expectations for and responses to behavior if conforming behavior is to be continually reinforced.

Elliott, Ageton, and Canter (1979) identify three factors which can strengthen or weaken bonds:

- Increasing integration vs. social isolation,

- Success or failure in conventional contexts, and

- Positive or negative labeling experiences.

These factors are paired with the concepts of opportunity, skill, and reinforcement to form the independent variables described in Figure 1.

The degree to which overall social settings are "organized" or "disorganized" can mediate the effects of these independent variables in such a way as to enhance or attenuate bonding (Elliott, Ageton, and Canter, 1979). For example:

- Opportunities are less discernible and less reliable in settings that are disorganized. One day there's a job, and the next there isn't, or the definition of the job shifts.

- When settings are disorganized, there is less assurance and less chance of attaining needed skills and information; e.g., disorganized teachers have difficulty making their expectations for performance clear, and they will be inconsistent in providing the necessary instruction.

- When settings are disorganized, reinforcements are less likely to be consistent. Rules are often seen as whimsical or arbitrary, promoting disbelief in their validity.

In general, the more organized the setting, the more influential become the variables of opportunity, skill, and reinforcement. The less organized the setting, the less impact they will have.

The organization of opportunity and integration, skill and success, reinforcement and labeling are the direct objects of delinquency prevention programs. For the most part, these are organizational variables which can be altered by organizational change. Through them, influence is exerted on peer group formation and psychological bonding and, thus, on delinquent behavior.

An example of these theoretical principles in an applied sense is described below.

ONE APPLICATION OF THE THEORY

Late in 1979, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention established the Delinquency Prevention/School Enhancement Research and Development Program. The Formula Grants and Technical Assistance Division is supporting this program in seven junior high schools in six different communities that range in size from Brooklyn, New York to Bangor, Maine.* NIJJDP, through its National Center for the Assessment of Delinquent Behavior and Its Prevention at the University of Washington, is supporting similar work in a number of schools in Seattle and conducting the evaluation of initiatives in all of the schools.

Briefly, the concept of the School Enhancement Research and Development Program is that, if school opportunity is increased, if the skill to use that opportunity is cultivated, and if consistent and fair rewards and punishments accompany performance, then a bond will form between students, teachers, and the school at large, the formation of law-breaking peer groups will be reduced, and delinquent behavior will be decreased (see Figure 2). Other program objectives are to:

- Increase faculty collaboration,
- Enhance the relevance of basic subjects to the world of work,
- Improve academic achievement and success in school,
- Decrease discipline problems in the classroom, and
- Lower truancy, suspension, and dropout rates.

These goals are to be accomplished through six related activities within an evaluation research design which will permit a rigorous test of effectiveness. The six activities are:

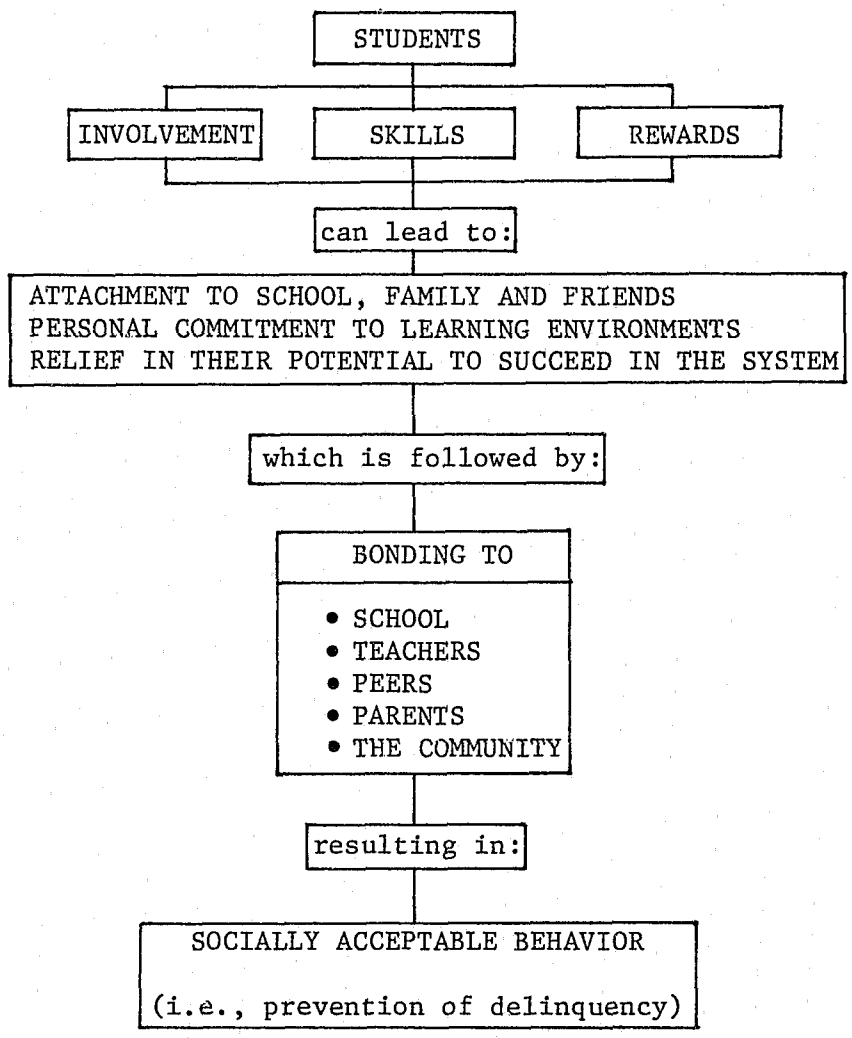
1) School-within-a-School--Reorganization of the school into smaller units to promote a more intimate environment in which more persons get to know one another;

2) Management of Change--Administrative support to foster faculty, student, and parent collaboration and manage the process of changing teaching practices;

3) Orienting the Curriculum to Work--Increased student involvement in the practical application of their studies to the world of work;

*The Westinghouse National Issues Center guides and supports this program through the Delinquency Prevention and Technical Assistance Project.

FIGURE 2: DEVELOPING CONVENTIONAL TIES THROUGH THE SCHOOL ENHANCEMENT R&D PROGRAM



4) Methods of Instruction--Realistic opportunities for more students to gain and be rewarded for competence, using such techniques as mastery learning and student team or cooperative learning;

5) Social Skills and Student Involvement--Opportunities to develop interpersonal skills and successfully participate in group activities, including those which involve decision-making about classroom and school operations;

6) School-Family Relations--Home/school liaison activities to increase positive communication and consistency between parents and teachers.

Although it is too soon to assess the effectiveness of the School Enhancement Program in promoting law-abiding behavior, the program has been designed for rigorous evaluation. Faculty, students and counselors have been randomly assigned to "experimental" and "control" groups, and delinquency rates will be tracked.

Teachers are implementing new practices in the school and collaboration among the staff has increased. Larger school arrangements, such as student assignment routines, have been changed. Because organizational change rather than solely individual change is the objective, and because the school is an institution critical to the development and experiences of youths, the program has the potential for large-scale and lasting impact.

The theoretical framework described in this section is equally relevant to other settings, including families, neighborhoods, and work opportunities. A number of possible designs and strategies are discussed in Appendix B.

CHAPTER 5

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE FOR DELINQUENCY PREVENTION INITIATIVES

The Formula Grants and Technical Assistance Division of OJJDP has consistently given priority to assisting efforts that (1) have a strong theoretical base, and (2) show promise for advancing the state of practice. The previous chapters outlined a theoretical model that postulates why some young people get into trouble and why many get into trouble only rarely. In Chapter 4, the strategy of organizational change was explored. This strategy, which emphasizes working through institutions that have prevention as a secondary goal, has high primary prevention potential and the ability to persistently reach large numbers of youths. Organizational change is considered to be the most promising and cost-effective strategy possible on the basis of current state-of-the-art findings.

Organizational change strategies represent the cornerstone of FGTAD criteria for funding technical assistance requests. These strategies require initiatives grounded in schools, work, families, and neighborhoods. Such strategies involve a reordering of the ways in which institutions (e.g., schools) operate in providing services that fall within their mandate and community responsibility. The emphasis is on changing the attitudes, management, and practice of service delivery within community organizations.

This chapter focuses on organizational change strategies from the point of view of technical assistance recipients. Technical assistance requests will be ranked by the criteria presented below. Requests most likely to fulfill these criteria will have the highest probability of approval. The criteria have been devised to assist Formula Grants and Technical Assistance Division staff to select initiatives on the basis of their promise for reducing delinquency, their potential for influencing a large number of youths, and their potential for producing durable results.

CRITERIA FOR TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

The Formula Grants and Technical Assistance Division of OJJDP has established seven criteria for prevention programming. These criteria relate to the theoretical base of the proposed prevention initiative and to the capacity of the the requestor to organize and maintain a meaningful intervention. To qualify for technical assistance, prospective recipients must meet all or most of these criteria.*

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*Requests for technical assistance should be directed to the Formula Grants and Technical Assistance Division, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 633 Indiana Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20531, [(202) 724-8491].

The seven criteria are:

- Fidelity to the organizational change model,
- Commitment by key decision-makers,
- Knowledgeable and committed constituencies,
- Adequate planning time,
- Evidence of adequate local resources,
- Evaluation support for the initiative,
- A sufficient number of program participants to demonstrate impact.

Each of these criteria is discussed in the following subsections.

Fidelity to the Organizational Change Model

Local initiatives must focus on organizational change, operating through the institutions of school, work, family, and neighborhood in order to bond a young person to conventional norms and society. This is the most important criterion that the FGTAD will use in evaluating requests for technical assistance.

There are four variables or components postulated to lead to bonding. Although Chapter 4 contains a summary of these components, they are so important in the design of organizational change strategies that a description of each is included below.

- Opportunities for youths to be involved in conventional activities: These opportunities must be perceived by both adults and youths to be valuable, appropriate, and acceptable for youths. To what extent can the institution's staff generate such opportunities for as many youths as possible? For example, youth work programs should be designed to furnish jobs that youths and adults believe to be meaningful for future, more permanent work opportunities. One of the major criticisms of youth work programs is that they often fail to provide such conditions, instead creating "make-work" or "non-work" situations which everyone perceives to be relatively meaningless in preparing youths for future job opportunties.

- Skills necessary to be involved successfully in conventional activities: If youths are to be successful, they must be able to acquire the necessary skills to participate effectively in the conventional activities of our society. Clearly, opportunities and the skills to take advantage of these opportunities are closely linked. Providing a meaningful work opportunity for a young person will not be effective, unless the youngster possesses the minimum skills to participate. Using a job-related example, creating temporary clerical slots must be accompanied by skill development that allows young people to perform their job responsibilities in an adequate manner. As another example, if youths are to be given the opportunity to serve as board members of a community agency, they must first be provided with skills needed to effectively fulfill the policy-making responsibilities of all board members. It should be remembered that adults often, as well, need training to interact effectively with youths who are moving into new opportunities. For example, social and communication skills training may be necessary for youths and adults who will be required to work together as board members.

  In addition to pointing out that opportunities are useless without skills (and vice versa), it is important to recognize that there are better and worse ways of developing skills. For example, in mastering any new learning (classroom subject matter, job activities), the use of a task analysis will identify skills that should have been acquired previously, but were not; building in a formative evaluation as part of the skill development activity will provide the participants with timely feedback about their progress, thereby speeding the acquisition of skills.

- Reinforcement for conforming behavior must be consistent. The rules and requirements for socially acceptable behavior must be perceived by youths as fair and enforced without partiality. Adults are in the best position to provide consistent rewards and punishments. For example, the discipline code of a school may be very fair, but if carried out inconsistently or prejudicially, students will quickly understand what is happening and begin to believe that these rules are whimsical, arbitrary, and non-valid.

- Organized settings enhance the effects of opportunity, skills, and reinforcement. The less organized a setting, the less the impact of these elements. Organized settings generally contain uniform policies, practices, and procedures which, in turn, produce long-term, stable opportunities, constant skills building, and consistent reinforcement. This can be applied to small social units, such as a family, or large amorphous units, such as neighborhoods. The more disorganized the social unit,

the less likely that youths will be bonded to the conventional norms of our society.

Priority will be given to organizational change initiatives based on schools, then work, followed by family and neighborhood programs. The rationale for this prioritization is based on the potential for short-term impact and for advancing the state-of-the-art of delinquency prevention programs. More is known about school-based programs; the next most extensive data base is on work-related programs. Relatively less is known about family and neighborhood-based organizational change programs.

Examples of programs which involve organizational change in school, work, family, and neighborhoods are presented in Appendix B of this monograph.

Commitment by Key Decision-makers

Appropriate political and administrative support must be secured. In the past, FGTAD staff have found that technical assistance without this type of support has been relatively ineffective. Therefore, the involvement and support of local policy-makers and decision-makers have been established as a key criterion for technical assistance approval.

Currently, most local delinquency prevention programs are direct service programs, not organizational change efforts. A significant shift in emphasis from direct remediation to organizational improvement is unlikely to occur without the leadership of local administrators, decision-makers, and others in positions of power. Generating this willingness is often the most difficult phase of implementing any organizational change strategy. Especially when the necessary funds come from outside the community, it is politically easier to create a new program than to call for significant change--even rather selective change--in existing organizations such as schools. Politically, it is also much easier to defend a program that renders direct services than an effort that focuses on organizational change. Part of the reason for this bias is that client counts are often stressed by funding sources in lieu of rigorous assessments of effectiveness. Client counts are more visible, and are usually targeted toward potential or identified delinquent youths. Decision-makers face a choice between a range of familiar direct-service options that are more easily promoted, but which provide little durable benefit and may be of doubtful effectiveness, given the evaluations to date, or a set of less familiar, but more promising, organizational change options that are as yet largely untested and which make stringent demands for leadership. This leadership will require the certain risk-taking that comes from shifting resources from direct-service programs to organizational change strategies, or from applying outside funds to promote organizational change strategies rather than direct service programs.

But unless this type of support is demonstrably present from decision-makers, especially if they are in charge of an institution (e.g., the principal of a school), organizational change strategies will not be successfully implemented. When key decision-makers are committed to organizational change efforts within their institutions, implementation of these strategies will proceed more rapidly and effectively. Token support or active resistance will invariably produce a failure of implementation.*

To summarize, selective organizational change is most likely to occur in the presence of consistent and increasingly specific political and administrative leadership. Employing the organizational change options will require some boldness on the part of the leaders and support for experimentation from those who sustain them. This leadership is most likely to emerge when one or more of the following conditions are present:

- When the local initiative addresses important, widely recognized and related problems. Examples include:
  - -- the complex of school failure, school disruption, truancy, and delinquency;
  - -- the complex of limited job opportunities, poor job preparation and performance, and job-related crime;
  - -- the complex of neighborhood degeneration or disorganization, police-community relations, school-community relations, and residential crime;
  - -- the complex of latch-key kids, after-school crime, and youth associations' need for members;
- When the relatedness of these problems is recognized by and produces a constituency for action (e.g., teachers and staff of a school building; a neighborhood parent's group);
- When other direct service options can be shown to be sufficiently unpromising, inappropriately narrow, and prohibitively costly as delinquency prevention strategies, the net result being a failure to satisfy the constituency;
- When the leader can call on an organized core of followers or staff to take early action in developing and implementing an initiative; and
- When the option or initiative is sufficiently plausible to hold

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*A forthcoming OJJDP publication, entitled "Managing School Change for Delinquency Prevention" (Donnelly and Bird), will address the importance of principal support for managing change in schools.

the promise of getting famous for dealing in a new way with a previously intractable problem.

Knowledgeable and Committed Constituencies

Local proponents of organizational change must be highly knowledgeable, motivated, and committed to an effort that may take up to three years before yielding results. The major investment of resources that a locality or institution must make in developing organizational change strategies is its people and their willingness to work toward implementing these strategies. In particular, organizational change will require high energy and rapid acquisition of skills by members of the agency or organization involved. Sustaining this energy and skill building are most likely when the following conditions are present:

- When the organizational change initiative involves a group large enough to support its members and defend its strategies;
- When the leaders of the group are included in all training activities;
- When the procedures and skills for effective action and mutual support are explicitly defined, employed, and refined (consensus on these procedures and skills should be established before the initiative begins, and consensus on refinements should also be sought);
- When adequate training that models (as distinct from describes) is provided to all members of the group;
- When the participants (practitioners and support staff, such as supervisors, consultants, and trainers) are organized to provide immediate and ongoing support for implementation on the job; and
- When the effort and improvement are explicitly and consistently rewarded in significant ways by the group and its leaders.

Adequate Planning Time

Adequate planning and preparation must be allowed prior to the implementation of the organizational change strategy. The development and implementation of a comprehensive organizational change effort may require at least a year, and probably more time, in planning and preparation.* In the School Enhancement Research and Demonstration

*See "Managing School Change for Delinquency Prevention" (Donnelly and Bird), to be published in 1983.

Project (cited at the end of Chapter 4), teachers and administrators spent an entire year in planning their organizational change strategies, improving their skills to manage and practice these changes, and setting up an evaluation design that could document the results of their efforts. After all of this intensive preparation, the schools still had to go through a transition phase in which new classroom and schoolwide practices were installed in placed of prior practices. Consistent implementation of the new practices actually began to surface in the second and third years of the project. As was noted before, organizational change takes time, and there should be the full expectation on the part of decision-makers and participants that the process will require equally healthy doses of effort, patience, and equanimity from everyone concerned. The timeframe for the development and implementation of organizational change strategies will vary as a function of the strategy and level of effort. Local organizations should probably "think small" when embarking on an effort to change their practices. In the long run, it will probably be more effective to start with a neighborhood school, employer, parent's group, or service provider and expand as the organization is able to more comprehensively implement its strategies. This approach will also enable organizations to develop a good evaluation design which is a critical part of any organizational change effort.

To summarize, both for economy's sake and to avoid unnecessary difficulties, the organizational change should be made precisely and with due consideration of other parts and procedures of the organization that will be affected. In this context, adequate planning and preparation prior to implementation are essential.

Evidence of Adequate Local Resources

Local resources must come first with Federal support playing a supplementary role. Local organizations cannot afford to repeat the mistakes of past Federal efforts in which large amounts of dollars and excessive administrative influence were used to establish grant programs that disappeared with the termination of Government resources. Massive Federal assistance in the development of new program ideas invariably eliminates a local community's ability to control the direction and content of the resulting program. It is not surprising that most communities do not claim ownership of such programs. Nor should they, for they have had no investment in the development and implementation of efforts that should rightfully be under their control.

Organizational change strategies should be undertaken with the understanding that outside assistance will be limited. For this reason, it is important for practitioners to identify and secure available local resources that could be used to support an organizational change strategy. For instance, there may be a local resource center that can provide some kind of training on a particular aspect of an initiative (e.g., Johns Hopkins University provides excellent training on Student

Team Learning, a critical component of the School Enhancement Project described in Chapter 4). Another good strategy is to secure documents, books, or other written resources that describe how to develop and implement an initiative.*

To summarize, in order to reduce dependence and disruption and to increase the probability that implemented changes will endure, State and Federal discretionary grants will be used sparingly and devoted almost exclusively to temporary costs of change.

Evaluation Support for the Initiative

Evaluation must be built into the program design. As a matter of political strategy, defining an organizational change initiative as a test may increase support for, or reduce resistance to, the initiative. Most of the difficulties of conducting an adequate evaluation can be dealt with satisfactorily if competent researchers are involved as partners in the planning from the beginning, so that the research design and program design can be integrated.

It is also important to recognize that there are affirmative benefits of evaluating organizational change approaches. Some of these benefits are listed below:

- The strategies described in this monograph are promising, but largely untested for their effect on delinquent behavior. Confirmation of their effect is imperative if local decision-makers are to continue to provide support.
- The general absence of evaluation slows down the learning and knowledge development of effective delinquency prevention strategies. Also, program refinements cannot be implemented without good evaluations.
- Organizations with rigorous evaluation designs of their programs have a great advantage in competing for attention and resources.

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*Several publications addressing this issue have been developed for OJJDP by Westinghouse and are available from OJJDP at no cost. These publications include: Delinquency Prevention: Theories and Strategies, 1981; A Guide for Delinquency Prevention Programs Based in School Activities: A Working Paper, 1980; Delinquency Prevention: Selective Organizational Change in the School, 1981; A Guide for the Delinquency Prevention Programs Based in Work and Community Service Activities: A Working Paper, 1979; and Improving the Quality of Youth Work: A Strategy for Delinquency Prevention, 1981.

- Local dollars can be saved if organizational change strategies can be proved to be effective. Ineffective direct-service options can be phased out in favor of the more inexpensive organizational change options.

A Sufficient Number of Program Participants to Demonstrate Impact

Each organizational change initiative should be based on some evidence that indicates it is feasible on a scale required for effective delinquency prevention. Local practitioners will have to refer to the research and professional literature for confirmation that the selected initiatives can be practically implemented on a large enough scale to demonstrate an impact on delinquency. To a degree, this will depend on the level of local political and technical support from key decision-makers, the size and number of institutions involved, and the length of time allotted to the preparation, development, and implementation phases of the initiative. Equally important, enough heterogeneous youths need to be involved in the initiative and in a non-initiative comparison group to adequately test the impact of the initiative. Appropriate numbers of youths in each group should be determined when the evaluation design is developed. Under research conditions, both groups should contain no less than 30 youths if a large effect is expected. If small differences are expected, each group should contain 75 to 100 youths. The conservative research approach would dictate that the larger groups should be used, especially with so little evaluation data available on organizational change initiatives. From a political perspective, however, the initiative should probably involve much larger numbers than the research minimums. Demonstrating the feasibility of the initiative to local decision-makers will be more likely when relatively large numbers of youths are involved.

GUIDELINES FOR APPROVING TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE REQUESTS

This section outlines the general guidelines and procedures that will be used by the FGTAD staff in reviewing and approving all requests for technical assistance. The section also contains a description of the modes of technical assistance that are available, and the guidelines that will be employed by the FGTAD staff in determining which mode(s) will best help the recipient of the technical assistance.

Guidelines for Reviewing and Approving Technical Assistance Requests

The guidelines described below are not meant to be inclusive, but are illustrative of the procedures to be used by the FGTAD staff in

determining which technical assistance requests will be granted. The guidelines are rigorous and are designed to identify those State and local organizations that are seriously committed to developing sound delinquency prevention efforts in their communities. The guidelines follow:

All requests for technical assistance will be reviewed to determine how well they match the seven criteria listed in the first section of this chapter. The review will concentrate initially on how well the local prevention initiative conforms to the organizational change model described in Chapter 4. Fidelity of the local initiative to this model will be a non-negotiable criterion. Appendix B contains examples of program initiatives that are based on this model, and local organizations may want to review these examples carefully to determine whether their initiative is equivalent. The other six criteria are also very important, but there may be certain local conditions that will require temporary or minor modifications. If this is the case, the local organization will need to be very explicit about the reasons for the modifications, and these reasons should be clearly outlined in the request for technical assistance. If modifications are required, the local organization should first check with the FGTAD staff regarding the validity of the changes prior to submitting the technical assistance request. The changes may appear reasonable to local representatives, but may not be acceptable to the FGTAD staff. An example of an appropriate modification might be the submission of a detailed plan to secure local funding for the prevention initiative in lieu of a demonstration of current funding availability.

After determining the appropriateness of the request for technical assistance, the FGTAD staff will conduct follow-up procedures to determine the accuracy and validity of the information contained in each such request. These procedures might include: detailed telephone consultations with the staff of the requesting agency, decision-makers in the local community, and local funding sources; site visits to interview local representatives, youths, and residents; and independent research to determine the impact of the proposed delinquency prevention initiatives. The intent of this guideline is to provide multiple indicators of the potential for the local organization to develop and maintain a serious prevention initiative. A well written and valid request for technical assistance will have to correspond to the information collected from the interviews, site visits, and research.

Another important consideration will be the potential impact of the proposed initiative in preventing juvenile delinquency--not just from the perspective of reaching large numbers of youths (one of the seven criteria), but from the perspective of how

easily the initiative could be adapted by other States and local communities. Factors affecting this generalizing capability might include cost effectiveness and applicability to similar institutions (e.g., schools and neighborhoods). A further consideration will be the potential of the prevention initiative to serve as a major advance in the state-of-the art of delinquency prevention efforts.

Technical assistance for approved requests will represent a major investment of resources by FGTAD. Because of this, the FGTAD staff will be monitoring the progress of the local initiative at regular intervals. Acceptance of the technical assistance resources will also require an acceptance of exacting monitoring procedures by FGTAD. Each approved request for technical assistance will be translated into a detailed work plan which will serve as a contract between FGTAD and the local organization. This work plan will be reviewed every six months for compliance by the local organization, and continuation of technical assistance resources will be contingent upon satisfactory progress by the local organization. FGTAD will also monitor how well the local organization has maintained its commitments to the seven criteria described earlier in this chapter. Deviations from these criteria will be grounds for termination of the technical assistance.

The above guidelines should be kept in mind when a local organization is considering and preparing a technical assistance request for delinquency prevention initiatives. Organizations that meet the seven criteria and are reasonably confident that they will pass the comprehensive review process should submit their requests. If there is some question about the criteria or the review process, the organization should seek clarification from the FGTAD staff.*

Modes of Technical Assistance

Through its technical assistance contractors, FGTAD is able to provide several different modes of technical assistance. These are described below:

Correspondence and Documentation--The research and literature in the delinquency prevention field are extensive and

*All requests for information regarding the seven criteria and the review procedures should be submitted to Formula Grants and Technical Assistance Division, OJJDP, 633 Indiana Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C., 20531 [(202) 724-5914)].

complex. In designing a prevention initiative, local organizations may well wish to have access to these resources, or they may wish to have written responses to problems that are uniquely their own. In each case, requests for technical assistance can be submitted to FGTAD, and based on the potential of the proposed initiative, appropriate correspondence and documentation will be supplied. These forms of assistance will also likely be the first stage of most technical assistance assignments.

Support for National Organizations--There are many influential private and public institutions and foundations that may wish to invest their resources in organizational change initiatives. Marrying their resources with the technical assistance capabilities of FGTAD will produce a combined impact that will be much greater than the application of either group's resources taken alone. Local organizations that have direct lines of communication with both the national organizations (e.g., by virtue of membership) and FGTAD could broker their connections into a major application of the combined resources to support community delinquency prevention initiatives. Conversely, national organizations could approach FGTAD to design a joint effort aimed at improving local delinquency prevention initiatives among their constituencies. The primary focus of this technical assistance mode will be through a formal relationship between FGTAD and the national organization.

Support for State Personnel--Over the past several years, a number of States have taken a strong lead in promoting and developing organizational change approaches to delinquency prevention.* FGTAD will continue to support these efforts and will encourage other States to become involved. Within this context, technical assistance will be directed toward assisting State personnel who can demonstrate the leadership and capability to develop and maintain local organizational change initiatives. The intent of FGTAD is to combine its technical assistance capabilities with State funding and personnel capabilities to magnify the effect of the combined pool of resources. This relationship would be similar to the one described above for support of national organizations, except that the focus would be at the State rather than at the national level. Technical assistance to local organizations will not ordinarily occur within this mode, unless the combined

*For a more comprehensive description of the State Initiatives Program which has been in operation for four years and has focused on encouraging States to advance the practice of delinquency prevention in local communities, contact the Westinghouse National Issues Center, P.O. Box 866, American City Building, Columbia, Maryland 21044 [(301) 992-0066].

resources are used to support a highly promising and rigorous test of an organizational change initiative.

Direct Technical Assistance to Local Communities--Whenever a local community can produce a delinquency prevention initiative that conforms to the seven criteria outlined in this chapter, FGTAD could support the effort with a number of different technical assistance strategies. These include:

-- Correspondence and documentation: This technical assistance activity involves the provision of information assistance through written materials, publications, and research findings.

-- Onsite technical assistance: This form of technical assistance includes the provision of technical advice, expertise, and knowledge through onsite consultation or training by an individual or team. This type of assistance is highly site-specific and applied in only the most promising program situations.

-- Cluster technical assistance: This approach has proven to be a valuable method for providing technical assistance to local communities whose technical assistance needs cluster around such variables as size, geographical location, or program design. As contrasted with training seminars, workshops, or conferences, cluster meetings give project personnel with similar interests an opportunity to utilize a collaborative perspective for focusing on a specific set of program problems, findings, or strategies.

SUMMARY

This chapter contains a complete blueprint for local, State, and national organizations wishing to request delinquency prevention technical assistance from the Formula Grants and Technical Assistance Division of OJJDP. By designing organizational change initiatives that conform to the criteria listed in this chapter, applicants for technical assistance will be more likely to receive a favorable response from FGTAD. Having qualified for technical asistance, the applicant will have to pass successfully through a rigorous and intensive review process before FGTAD will obligate technical assistance resources. This process has been described in detail. In addition, the modes of technical assistance that will be available to recipients have been outlined in similar detail. To further assist potential technical assistance applicants, an extensive description of program examples that conform to the organizational change model has been included in Appendix B. These examples are meant to guide rather than determine the nature of the local program initiatives aimed at preventing delinquency. A

review of these examples should provide adequate information to potential technical assistance applicants in their efforts to determine whether their prevention initiative is consistent with the theoretical framework and program criteria described in this document.

APPENDIX A
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APPENDIX B

EXAMPLES OF INSTITUTION-BASED INITIATIVES

This appendix contains examples of promising delinquency prevention initiatives that conform to the organizational change model described in Chapter 4. In each case, there is reasonable evidence--based on research, evaluation, and program findings--that the initiative will strengthen a youth's bond to society, thereby reducing the tendency to commit delinquent acts. The focus is clearly on strengthening those organizations that stand between government and the individual: the school, the employer, the family, and neighborhood structures. The initiatives are not meant to be inclusive, but merely illustrative of the types of programs that States and local organizations should promote in their requests for technical assistance from the Formula Grants and Technical Assistance Division of OJJDP.

I. PREVENTION INITIATIVES FOCUSED ON THE SCHOOL

The selection of school-based delinquency prevention programs as the first set of examples is not accidental. More evidence and research are available about school-based programs than any other area. Therefore, more is known about these programs, and there is an enhanced potential for short-term impact and for advancing the state-of-the-art of delinquency prevention.

Of all the predictors of delinquency, peer group influences are the strongest predictor (Elliott, 1982).* Many youngsters will engage in delinquency, but few will persist without the social support of peers. Strong bonds to family, school, church, or other conventional organizations can insulate a youth from influence by a delinquency-supported peer group. Thus, there is a two-stage proposition: peer influences are the most immediate and powerful variable, but the probability of negative peer influence is a function of bonding to convention. In this sense, schools are important because they are a setting for the formation of delinquent peer groups, and because they are a main conventional activity to which youths can be bonded. Several other important considerations support a concentration on schools. They are the premier arena for developing law-abiding behavior and reducing juvenile crime, because:

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*See Appendix A for references cited in this appendix.

- Schools deal with most youths,
- Schools are in the best position to powerfully influence youths and groups of youths,
- Schools in general are public entities that can be examined and evaluated to a degree possible neither for families nor employers, and
- Schools or school districts are a relatively small number of distinct organized entities.

Schools are the primary focus in the lives of young persons from a rather early age, not solely or even primarily because of the amount of time students spend there, but because schools are the main route to adulthood, the main determiners of a minor's status and future, a main organizer of peer associations, and a focal point for a sociable life. School is a child's "work". His or her stake, ties, and convictions increasingly reside in the experiences that occur there. Unfortunately, many of our schools are organized to support and encourage two types of students: those with gifted minds, and those with gifted bodies. For the remaining large majority of students who will neither go to college nor pursue a career as an athlete, school is neither a meaningful nor exciting place to be. Under these circumstances, the chances for a child's stake, ties, and convictions to stray from conventional norms to delinquent behavior become much greater. Failure and lack of achievement are natural byproducts of this process.

The School Enhancement Project--an organizational change initiative for preventing delinquency conducted in the junior high grades--is described in Chapter 4. Several other brief examples are noted in a subsequent description of ways to improve the interaction between schools and parents. A more detailed description of these and other initiatives is contained in several publications by OJJDP.* A brief review of organizational change strategies based in school activities is presented below:

1) School climate improvement strategies have become very popular among administrators and teachers in the last five years. Essentially, this approach requires that a principal, teachers, and students go through a standard process of identifying the positive and negative features of their school that contribute to the overall climate for learning and social development. Task forces representing the entire school are formed to

*Delinquency Prevention: Selective Organizational Change in the School, revised edition, 1981; and A Guide for Delinquency Prevention Programs Based in School Activities, A Working Paper, 1980.

determine what is good in their school and ways to build upon it. Because each level of the school is involved, there is more investment and commitment to follow through on the recommendations of the task force. A few examples of the process determinants of school climate improvement approaches clearly indicate that opportunities, skills, and reinforcement are integral features. These examples include:

- Problems in the school are recognized and worked on openly by students, teachers, and administrators;
- Pupils and staff know what the school goals are and how they will be improved;
- Students, staff, and administration share in making important decisions about the school;
- Rules are determined cooperatively with students, staff, parents, and administrators;

The school program extends to settings beyond the school building (Howard, 1978).

Although there have been no rigorous evaluations of the effectiveness of school climate efforts on reducing delinquency, there is enough research and professional literature to support this approach as a promising organizational change effort.* The important considerations in developing school climate improvement programs are to ensure that the staff reviews focus on narrow fields for action, and that staff participation should be combined with administrative leadership. The situation to avoid would be an increase of staff energy for a short time during which global reviews are produced with substantially little change occurring.

2) "Schools-within-a-School" is a concept that refers to the division of a large school into smaller units, which are sometimes called subschools, little schools, pods, clusters, or houses. The more common name for this concept is the house plan or system (Education Resources Information Center, 1980). The house plan is seen as a way of providing for the benefits of a diversity of resources which can be afforded by a large school. This organizational change can range from a subdivision of the educational structure (subdivide students, teachers, guidance counselors, and administrators) to subschools as distinct (decentralize both academic and

*See Howard (1978) in Appendix A for a more detailed discussion of school climate improvement strategies.

extracurricular activities, such as student government and sports). This strategy can promote the development of personal relationships and positive student self-identity, the provision of increased attention to the individual pupil, and increased opportunities to take initiative, enjoy recognition, and exercise leadership. A net result of this approach will be an increase in the quantity and quality of contacts between students and teachers which, in turn, will lead to greater attachments between students and teachers. Greater attachments can lead to a greater commitment to school and to a greater belief in the value and legitimacy of the educational process.

3) Changing the orientation of the curriculum to include community-based, experiential education activities is another organizational change strategy that can be implemented in schools. Many national panels and organizations have strongly recommended that community-based experiential education become an integral part of the curriculum.* A reorientation of the school curriculum should involve students with teachers as partners in learning and a learning process that will be supported and reinforced not only by the classroom teacher, but by a broad cross-section of mentors and role models in the community. This process should emphasize participation, exploration, and cooperation toward the dual goals of reinforcing academic achievement and initiating commitment to the community's welfare and conventional goals. Three different approaches represent promising ways of implementing this strategy:

   - Community Service--Some experiential education will occur in the context of viable, student-initiated community improvement projects. These projects could provide a testing ground for developing cognitive and social skills that foster investment and ownership rather than alienation from the community. Service learning may be offered as a separate course, the substance of which could be the study of the community as a cooperative system and career as a medium for contribution. In this course, students could likely pursue individual internships in agencies in the community and meet together weekly to assess their experiences and to set personal goals. This approach is very similar to the discussion of organizational change strategies related to reducing the stress factors on families (see Section III following) and could be modified to include parents as meaningful contributors.

*The Panel on Youth of the President's Science Advisory Committee (1973); the National Commission on the Reform of Secondary Education (1973); the National Panel on High Schools and Adolescent Education (1976), and the Carnegie Commission (Kerr, 1979).

- Experienced-based Career Education--This approach would involve orientation of students to a work experience, preparation by students for the experience, and debriefing/reflection with the teacher following the experience. Preparation for each activity would involve the development of life skills such as communication and decision-making. The actual activities would require the acquisition and extension of academic skills, such as writing, mathematics, and problem-solving. A particularly promising aspect of this approach is the use of the learning contract. The contract approach is congruent with a learning-partner role for the student; it initiates a shift of responsibility for planning and scheduling from the teacher to the student, and it provides an organizational framework for individual community-based learning experiences. Another approach might be an imaginative course or two that evaluates work and its demands and benefits, and connects a youth's current work experience to future prospects. If the school makes something intellectual out of a work experience, and ties it to the larger world of work which will be accessible later, a youth's work might take on increased future significance.

- Law-related Education Courses--Such courses have been designed by the Constitutional Rights Foundation, American Street Law Institute, Law in a Free Society, and other legal groups. There are some preliminary evaluation results that they have been effective in instilling an understanding of the law and respect for legal authorities. If these courses are designed for small groups of youths, there will be more of an effect. These courses also present an excellent opportunity for the school to form linkages with a key resource group in the community--the police. Children who are associated with a police officer in the context of a law-related education course are more likely to view the officer as a resource rather than a feared "enemy." These courses can be linked with the experience-based career education option described above.

4) Another organizational change possibility in the school is an attempt to introduce systematic changes in classroom instructional practices in order to increase the proportion of students who experience academic success. Such an approach could increase the likelihood that students will develop commitments to skills and attitudes important to future community involvement. A number of approaches that are designed to promote worthwhile opportunities for decision-making, skills for successful participation, and rewards for participation are available. These include democratic

participation, peer-conducted research, activities boards, and community/school advisory boards, each of which is discussed below.

- Democratic Participation--This can be taught using a planned curriculum that addresses basic skills through actual decision-making about classroom rules, class projects, locker assignments, and the like.

- Peer-conducted Research--Such research enlists students to help conduct a major project of significance to the school and/or community. Students help construct research instruments, administer these instruments, and determine results. The students are supervised by qualified researchers, but are given maximum freedom to provide input into the structure of the project.

- Activities Boards--Such boards, comprised of students, faculty, and administrators, can be established to stimulate creation of new activities by soliciting student and faculty opinion, matching advisor resources to areas of student interest, and providing seed money to launch new programs.

- Community/School Advisory Boards--These boards can be formed to develop tangible, meaningful links between school and community. Students can be given a major role in determining how they will share their school with the community. Possible activities may include special-interest classes taught by community members, community use of school recreational facilities; use of school facilities for lectures, films, plays, and programs; and facilitating "town meetings" on issues of concern to the community. Student ideas could be actively solicited to develop community/school programs and activities that will address student interests and utilize student talents.

5) School/family programs are another promising area for organizational change efforts. Increased consistency between parents' and teachers' educational expectations, communication skills, and problem-solving behavior is likely to result in improved academic achievement and increased attachment and commitment to the education system. There are several ways to increase the consistency with which schools and families respond to young people: home-based reinforcement for school behavior; parent training; family crisis intervention; and parent involvement, each of which is discussed below:

- Home-based Reinforcement for School Behavior--On the basis of teachers' daily reports, parents can reinforce their children for school performance by use of a schedule of graduated rewards and mild punishments. Home/school note

systems and parent-provided reinforcement have been used to increase homework completion rates; to increase math, reading, and spelling scores; to reduce truancy; and to control disruptive behavior.

- Parent Training--Research has shown that parents can be trained to change the behavior of their children. Parent training strategies appear to increase bonds of attachment between parents and children. These strategies provide opportunities for parents to make friends and extend their natural helping networks. Parent effectiveness training (PET) programs and systematic training for effective parents (STEP) programs are two examples of such strategies. These types of parent training could include knowledge building, skill building, and supervised practice discussions of basic child-bearing problems, communication skills, and training in the use of contingency contracts.

- Family Crisis Intervention--Such intervention may take the form of a behaviorally-based curriculum of communication skills and problem-solving techniques presented to families in an educational and therapeutic setting.

- Parent Involvement--Parent involvement in the schools can be promoted through parent-teacher aide programs, home-school coordinators who actively solicit parent participation, and school councils comprised of teachers, parents, and students (PTA's and PTSA's). Together, these groups could work to identify important issues, establish common goals, and collaborate in solving problems related to bonding youths to conventional norms.

In each of the above strategies, two points are crucial. The first is that crime reduction, on any meaningful scale, cannot be approached as an additional activity of the school. It won't work. Substantial efforts toward crime reduction cannot be approached as an additional activity of the school, because basic learning must come first, and the school's resources are undoubtedly already strained. Substantial effects on crime depend on this basic learning as manifest in the performance of students in the conventional classroom. Instead, the approach must be based on strengthening practice within the school and classroom. On this basis, support and resources to act are more likely to be forthcoming from school personnel.

The second point is that immediate gains do not depend upon the discovery of a new or improved school organization and techniques. Nor do they depend on the availability of these techniques. They have been around for a long time and basically involve an alteration in the way in which students relate to their subject matter, their teachers, and their peers. What is important is that gains do depend on more effective approaches to implementaion. The School Enhancement Project is one example of an attempt to develop more effective approaches to implementation.

II. PREVENTION INITIATIVES FOCUSED ON WORK

Following school-based programs, the next most extensive data base is concerned with work-related programs. As such, they represent the second most promising area for developing sound delinquency prevention initiatives. In the progression of stakes, ties, and beliefs, work follows school for most individuals. In the research of Romig (1978) and Hawkins and Lishner (1981),* there seems to be a strong correlation between reduced delinquency and job opportunities that have meaning, status, and chances for learning and advancement. Youngsters who are able to find jobs with these characteristics are less likely to engage in law-breaking behavior. But the number of meaningfully employed youths is not very large. The current recession has thrown many adults out of jobs, and they are now competing for slots with young people. Employers have an almost universally negative attitude about the abilities and maturity of young people on the job. To date, the most available opportunity for work has been the CETA program which is now being phased out.

Yet, the opportunity for a major impact on reducing delinquency can be developed by forging a realistic partnership between local employers, schools, and families. This appendix describes several strategies that appear to be promising in this regard. A more detailed analysis of this issue is contained in a previously published document by OJJDP.**

Two problems must be addressed in any effort to develop a viable and realistic prevention strategy focused on work: (1) access to work in general, and (2) the quality of work. Many of the major corporations of this nation are now examining the quality of work life as a critical determining factor in productivity. Some corporations have long dealt with worker satisfaction and are now being studied by others. Some corporations are taking new steps to improve the quality of work and are advertising their efforts in connection with the quality of their products. The language of these efforts sounds somewhat like the language of stakes, ties, and convictions discussed in this monograph.

The parallels are obvious. Young people who are seeking work are just as interested in the quality of their work life as their elders. Productivity and quality of products (or services) will be in direct proportion to the meaningfulness of their jobs. But most jobs for youths are "make work" efforts that require little or no investment by the youngsters themselves. This is particularly true of the many

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*See Appendix A.

**See Improving the Quality of Youth Work: A Strategy for Delinquency Prevention, 1981.

subsidized youth employment efforts of the past. Dangerous lessons are learned in this context. A youth learns that compensation does not depend on the quality or quantity of work effort; in effect, the youth often gets paid for not working.

If a community is seriously interested in developing work-related prevention strategies, careful attention must be paid to both the accessibility of work opportunities and the quality of these work opportunities. It would probably be best to start out on a very small scale with a few supportive employers, a committed neighborhood school, and interested parents. As the employers experience success in the effort, a controlled growth of the program could take place through expansion to other neighborhoods and schools. It is important to combine school with work and in making schooling more salient to a changing labor market that is now filled with unemployed adults, women who are seeking second careers, and the elderly who must have a job to supplement other sources of income. The net effect is that adolescence is being prolonged. This is another factor that argues for more investment of the schools in facilitating the movement of the child from the role of student to that of worker.

III. PREVENTION INITIATIVES FOCUSED ON THE FAMILY

Today's family is under siege from a variety of different sources. Economic conditions virtually demand that both parents must now work. Single parenthood is more and more common, and it is now not unusual to find children raising children (Empey, 1982).* Stress factors associated with our rapidly changing environment are also more likely to disrupt families than in previous years. This is particularly true in our urban areas where families are often isolated and not able to draw upon internal resources or external assistance from society as a whole.

This changing environment has prompted many of America's families to rely less and less on their relatives and close neighbors, and more and more on their own resources and the resources of large institutions. There is little likelihood that this trend will be reversed. In the future, families will continue to function in an environment filled with multiple stresses and strains. Given this, what can be done to reduce these strains?

A large number of these stress factors are produced when families interact with many organizations and institutions in our communities. Clearly, local practitioners should begin to design initiatives that

*See Appendix A.

focus on how social institutions can alleviate the stresses and strains on the families they serve. By reducing these stress factors, there is more likelihood that a family's capacity to provide opportunity, skill, and reinforcement will increase. Moreover, many of these institutions can work with families in ways that promote bonding by virtue of the services provided (e.g., after-school activities that concentrate on skill building, while at the same time providing a place for latch-key children). This approach also seems more promising than targetting individual families for assistance because of the high cost factors associated with serving large numbers of individuals and the traditional sense of privacy enjoyed by families in this country.

Given these considerations, areas that merit attention include: the workplace, school, church, health care organizations, social service agencies, public housing authorities, and other important societal groups. In initiating prevention strategies focused on the family, one should concentrate on a distinct population in a specified area and address that population through one or more of the main institutions with which it deals (e.g., neighborhood school, church, employers, etc.). With these thoughts in mind, there are a number of strategies that could be developed to change the ways in which the local organizations negatively impact on families. Several illustrative strategies designed to reduce stress on families are described below.

1) Blocks and neighborhoods could organize around supporting families. More specifically, stable neighborhood organizations, such as voluntary youth organizations, churches, improvement associations, and others, could provide the needed infrastructure for a variety of initiatives. For example, the block parent concept is rapidly gaining popularity as a modern-day version of the extended family. This concept can prove especially helpful in taking care of latch-key children who are particularly vulnerable to the influence of delinquent peers between 3 and 6 p.m.

   Elliott* (1982) reports that delinquent peer group influence is the strongest predictor of delinquency. Whether a child is likely to get involved in delinquency-support peer groups is largely a function of his involvement and integration with conforming adults, youths, and activities. Block parents, when appropriately screened and trained, can provide a semi-effective buffer to negative peer group contact and some opportunities for young people to become involved with conventional activities. Foster grandparents, kid-sitting co-ops, and voluntary agency latch-key programs are other strategies that can easily be adapted within a neighborhood organization approach. In all of the above cases, the greater

*See Appendix A.

the number of adults involved, the more effective the impact on youths in the neighborhood.

Block parents, foster grandparents, and kid co-ops can operate effectively in schools during the 3-6 p.m. period. Conducting after-school activities in the school will not only provide youths with the opportunity for participation in conventional activities, but could also provide effective skill-building and reinforcement activities. Of course, these activities could be designed to bring parents into closer contact with teachers and school personnel. This, in turn, could lead to strong home/school liaison and increase positive communication and cooperation between teachers and parents.

2) A variation of the above concept is the notion of community service by young people, especially during the time period between school dismissal and when parents return from work. Instead of block parents, the organizations in a neighborhood could utilize youths as valuable resources. This approach would be particularly appropriate for older youths who are in the transition period between adolescence and working adulthood. Churches, schools, youth agencies, and employers could be organized to collaborate on watching the neighborhood youths through meaningful work or service opportunities.* This approach would require a good deal of preparation and planning, but could produce a wide range of opportunities, skills, and reinforcements. A particular problem would be in designing service efforts that have a clear potential for developing "salable" skills in youths, especially for the local job market. If youths are convinced that these service opportunities will eventually lead to attractive and meaningful jobs, they will enroll and remain in the program. If not, there are likely to be few, if any, youths who will be involved.** This approach should also be used only when there are enough available youths to conduct a valid evaluation of the program. Under certain conditions, neighborhoods can be utilized as comparisons to test the efficacy of the organizational change approach outlined here. By doing so, local practitioners will have a large enough number of youths in each neighborhood to adequately measure any differences in delinquency activity.

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*See A Guide for Delinquency Prevention Programs Based in Work and Community Service Activities: A Working Paper, 1977.

**For a particularly insightful analysis of attracting clients to a program, see "Nonprofits: Check Your Attention to Customers," Harvard Business Review, 1982.

3) Relatively few parents bring their children into their work or can do so. Employers can overcome this difficulty by providing onsite day care facilities, so that parents can be close to their children throughout the day. Another method would be for employers to create flexible working hours to accommodate the needs of families. Beyond this, employers can work actively with schools and parents to design a curriculum that includes work as a major topic of study, augmented by early and continued exposure to work as a field experience. The intent here is to establish an effective partnership among the employer, teacher, and parent so that all can contribute to building and maintaining bonds that are established early, continue through school, and persist as youths enter the work force. Although day care and flexible work hours are positive efforts, more youths will be reached through interactions between employers, parents, and the schools.

4) Schools and families now share the task of rearing children from age six or so. Both find the task complex and subtle. Unfortunately, interactions between schools and families tend to be rare and extraordinary, reserved for parents' nights and problems. But there are many productive ways in which families and schools can interact to bond children to the conventional norms of society. Teachers and parents can be involved in designing the curriculum for the children, not so much to produce a more relevant set of academic topics as to involve the parent more meaningfully in the instruction of the child. Parents have been successfully used as classroom tutors, lecturers (especially about their jobs and work roles), and at-home tutors. Parent-effectiveness courses are often sponsored and held in schools. Some schools are beginning to experiment with the idea of running classes on weekends for both parents and students. The intent of this last strategy is to weld a partnership among the teacher, parent, and child not only in the area of school work, but also social development. Parent Teachers Associations and Parent Teacher Student Assocations can also be effective in developing organizational change strategies designed to relieve the strains on a family while enhancing the school experience for young people.*

5) Department of Social Services might consider a shift from a casework to an organizing orientation. Resources could be concentrated on strengthening stable neighborhood organizations

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*Westinghouse National Issues Center and the Formula Grants and Technical Assistance Division of OJJDP are currently working with the National PTA to develop joint efforts to encourage local PTA's and PTSA's to become involved in delinquency prevention efforts. For further information, contact the Westinghouse National Issues Center, P.O. Box 866, Columbia, Maryland 21044.

to support many of the strategies listed above. This proposed shift implies the need for an organizational change in local public social service departments. Critical questions to be answered would include: How much do these departments organize at present, and what would be needed to promote more organizing functions within these departments?

As stated before, these strategies are not meant to be inclusive, but illustrative of an array of ideas that are representative of an organizational change approach to prevention strategies focused on the family.

Note that in each of the five examples, the above strategies did not single out a particular family for assistance, but instead concentrated on the interactions between families and neighborhoods or community organizations. The adjustments required of these organizations are not expensive or unrealistic. The problem to be addressed is an organizational one that essentially requires a brokering of resources in different ways. This brokering will have to be spread across government agencies, corporations, and human service sectors at the local level.

The concept of brokering, as conceived here, would include several functions:

- An advocacy function in which an agency would locate, secure, and provide funds and other resource to support the organizational change strategies developed by stable neighborhood organizations;

- A management function in which administrators in a particular organization would shift funds and resources from direct service prevention operations to organizational change strategies;

- An information and referral function in which an agency would bring together funding bodies and other groups interested in supporting organizational change initiatives and those organizations that are committed to implementing such strategies.

IV. PREVENTION INITIATIVES FOCUSED ON THE COMMUNITY OR NEIGHBORHOOD

Delinquency is most likely to occur in neighborhoods that are highly disorganized and transient. In disorganized neighborhoods, informal social controls will be less effective, and there will be less ability for parents and other positive role models to provide opportunity, skills, and rewards for children and youths. Additionally, agencies that serve the neighborhood will be less likely to secure opportunities,

skills, and rewards for these youth. If this is the case, then it is reasonable to speculate that increased organization of the neighborhood, per se, ought to strengthen informal social controls in general. Specific organization against crime (e.g., block watches) ought to make these informal social controls more pointed; specific organization for the purpose of increasing opportunity, skill, and reward possibilities in agencies that serve the neighborhood ought to be possible; and specific neighborhod organization for various purposes that include youths among the organized ought to increase opportunity, skill, and reward in the neighborhood as such.

It appears that neighborhood efforts require durable anchors in the community's visible and more permanent organizations. One anchor must come from the community in the form of an association of its churches or some other group or organization that enjoys the same degree of influence. A recent interesting development is the use of police officers as neighborhood organizers. Charismatic community development organizations may have particular influence on area youths.

A second anchor would be the school. As suggested earlier, the school is best prepared to mount some of the educational improvements, to explore different school/family relationships and to prepare its curriculum to mesh with the employment needs of the community. School-community councils can be organized that support a variety of parent-teacher projects, including parents participating as staff in the classrooms or halls of the schools, as well as in school crisis intervention or in-school suspension programs; and as linkages to the business community.

If a community is interested in pursuing an organizational change strategy involving neighborhoods, the first step would be to enlist the support of a durable anchor agency upon which to build the strategy. Again, it is probably best to begin small, to initiate activities at the neighborhood level rather than attempting a community-wide effort. More control and flexibility are present within a neighborhood effort than in the larger community. Investment and participation by the residents are also more likely in a neighborhood.

Any of the previous strategies outlined in this appendix could be placed within a neighborhood organizational change approach. In this context, the neighborhood is the location in which to carry out strategies aimed at families, schools, and employers.