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Juvenile Delinquency, Work
and Education

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

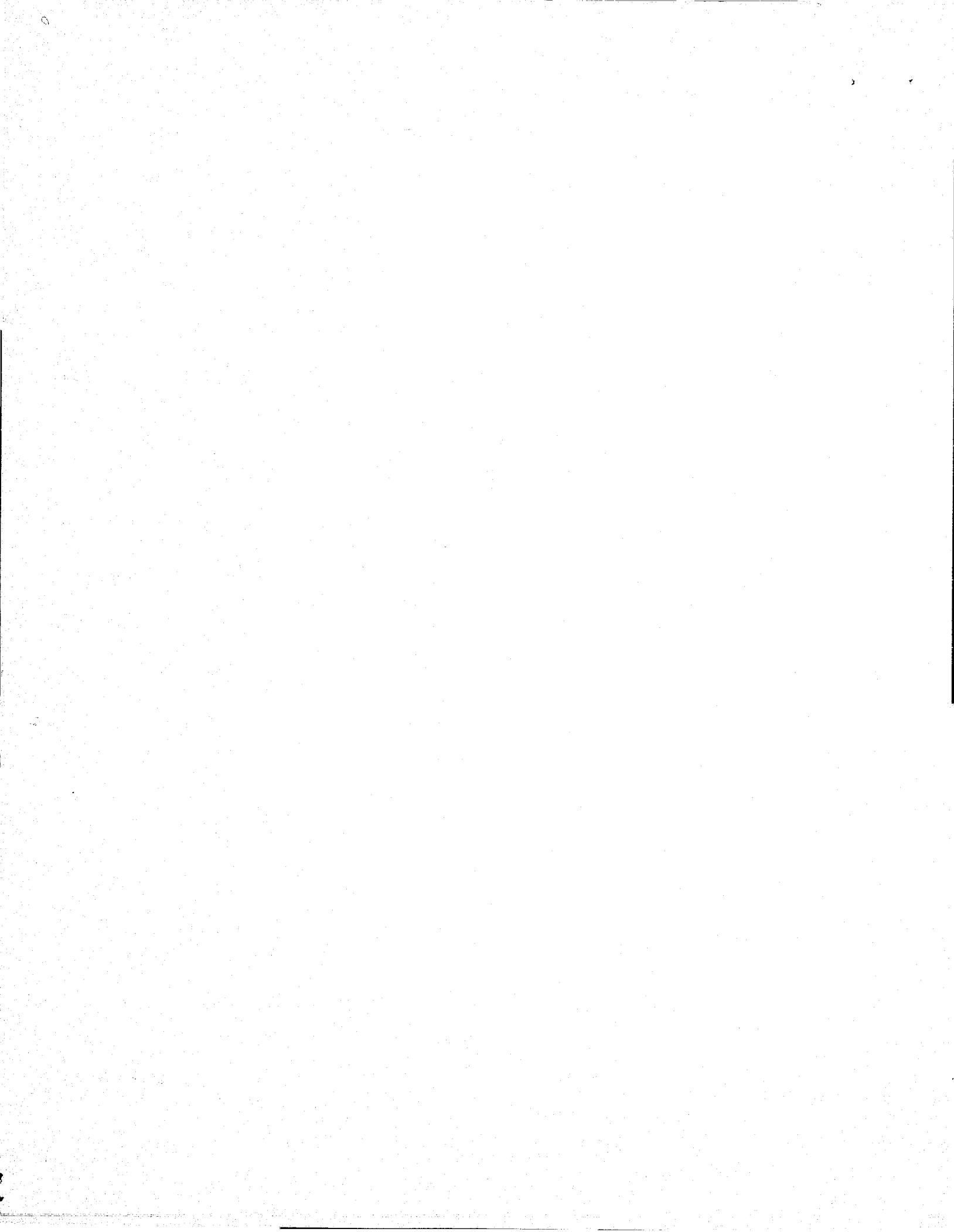
This paper is the result of a very small contract to explore the relationship between juvenile delinquency and three variables: fluctuations in employment opportunity, work experience programs designed to prevent or curtail delinquent behavior, and changes within the educational process toward the same end.

- The strong relationship between adult unemployment and prison commitments is presented first, establishing a basis for examining the juvenile situation
- The review of previous research on juvenile delinquency (age 10 to 17) shows mixed findings, but with the preponderance of the evidence showing no relationship or a negative one (with delinquency rising with economic activity)
- The original work carried out for this paper indicates some tendency for juvenile delinquency to accelerate during booms and slack off in its growth during recessions
- The possibility is explored that success in occupational roles is not a critical element in identity before age 18, and research is cited which supports this possibility. However, while occupational identity may become important around ages 18 to 22, there is no national time series data with which to test the relationship at those ages.

- A considerable number of intervention strategies through work experience programs have found no impact on reducing juvenile delinquency
- A couple of the work experience experiments, however, show some indication that the quality of the work experience may be a factor, and point to the need for research along these lines
- The validation of two theoretical models contains strong indications that school based factors of success in achievement and negative labeling may be important, but no controlled experimental efforts were identified
- It becomes clear that policy research is severely hampered by completely inadequate measures of crime and juvenile delinquency...and that a policy of getting the right data is an essential starting point
- Until there are some positive findings, there is the policy implication that the creation of work experience arrangements which simply duplicate the kind of jobs already available in the youth labor market as a juvenile delinquency prevention and treatment method has little basis for expectation of success.

Contents

Introduction	p. 1
Adult Crime and Unemployment	p. 2
Juvenile Delinquency and Unemployment	p. 10
School - Work Interventions	p. 21
Concluding Observations	p. 29



JUVENILE DELINQUENCY, WORK, AND EDUCATION

This is a report on a limited investigation of the interconnections between juvenile delinquency, employment opportunity, and the impact of various interventionist strategies in the area of school/work relationships. The largest part will be devoted to employment opportunity, partly because that is where the greater interest and speculation seems to lie, and partly because there is so little by way of strictly educational interventions with measured results that there is much less to report on, although the marriage of work experience with education is not unattended and will be given consideration.

The juvenile delinquency/employment relationship is explored as part of the whole of the relationship of crime and employment opportunity. Employment is much more associated with adults than with juveniles in terms of necessity and societal expectations, and any exploration of juvenile behavior along the lines here attempted must treat of what it means to be young as compared with being older. As will become apparent, the differences between juveniles and adults are a necessary part of any interpretation of the relationships here under investigation.

1. Adult Crime and Unemployment

There is good reason to at least start with a supposition that variations in employment availability for youth are associated with variations in deviant behavior because the statistical association is so strong (this author believes) for adults. While the extent of this association is not widely known, it is at least as close as the statistics for lung cancer incidence and cigarette smoking. As briefly as possible, this association will be demonstrated, and then set aside.

While the evidence of a relationship exists in both the readily available numbers and in research treatment of them, the subject tends to become a matter of journalistic speculation when unemployment rises, particularly in the present deep recession, a speculation most always quite innocent of any established knowledge, and applied equally to adults and youth. A fairly recent sampling of sophisticated journalistic and official opinion produces the following observations:

"In New York, robberies and assaults are often street muggings - again suggesting the link to unemployment, since muggers tend to be youths, and teenage unemployment is now running at 20.6 percent (and) more than 40 percent for black teenagers."^{1/}

x x x

"Since the sharp increase in robberies during the fourth quarter came in a period of rising unemployment,

a debate has begun over whether the rising rate is linked to the deteriorating job market,"^{2/}

x x x

"The recession is spawning a crop of thieves and robbers, a UPI survey around the country indicates."^{3/}

x x x

"Isaac was laid off work in November and arrested for holding up a restaurant in December. 'What can you do?' 23 year old Isaac asks. 'I got an old lady. We've got a baby on the way. If I don't get something for the baby, we'll be in bad shape.'"^{4/}

x x x

"It's a linkage (crime and unemployment) on the basis of intuition, of course, because we can't nail down a direct connection,' says Kathryn Kirschbaum, the mayor of Davenport..."^{5/}

x x x

"Crime, fueled by high unemployment especially among the nation's young people, 'is tearing our cities apart and the fear of crime is turning our citizens into a nation of shut-ins,' Patrick V. Murphy, president of the Police Foundation and former commissioner of police for New York City, told an ad hoc hearing of the Congressional Black Caucus in Washington on Tuesday."^{6/}

The research on the relationship has not been extensive, and has been handicapped by the lack of any reliable measure of crime. Understanding has been hampered by inconsistent results in what research has been performed.

As early as 1922, Ogburn and Thomas found the trend of criminal convictions in New York State (1870-1920) moved oppositely to business activity (the correlation was .35). These researchers cited a similar study by Davies for the period 1896-1915 which revealed a correlation of .41 with wholesale prices.^{7/}

A recent study using crimes known to police in Los Angeles and a number of indices of economic activity came to the opposite conclusion for the period 1960-1972. The researchers found an 88 percent shared variance between economic indices and crimes against property, and an 81 percent shared variance between bank deposits and crimes against persons.^{8/} The authors comment that they were not attempting to "address the possibility of an increased economy causing increased crime" but to isolate factors that could be used to predict crime. They do draw the conclusion that "within a growing urban setting such as Los Angeles, an increase in crimes against property and person will occur correspondingly with an increase in certain economic indicators." It should be noted here that the measure used was crimes known to police, which does not identify the criminal as to age. In view of later reported findings of differences between adult and youth crime associations with economic trends, this research study cannot be used to differentiate adult and youth response to variations in economic activity.

As a member of the Department of Labor Policy Planning Staff, this author undertook a study (unpublished) of the

crime-unemployment relationship in 1965. The hypothesis was that crime would rise as unemployment rises, and fall as unemployment falls. The proposition was put forth as follows:

"The reasons why some individuals grow up to be criminals and some do not is as complex as any of the questions which can be posed about the human condition. It is not to be supposed that any sizeable proportion of the criminals of the United States turned to a life of crime simply because they could not get jobs. While it could undoubtedly be established that criminals are often unemployed both before and after they commit their first crime; this is as likely to suggest to the common senses that people who commit crimes are probably not such satisfactory employees as are people who do not, as it is to suggest that people commit crimes because they become unemployed. As a matter of fact, Daniel Glaser has shown that among 1,015 male prisoners in The United States, unemployment has in fact been a frequent experience (The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System, 1964).

It is suggested, however, that the general environment of people with deviant ideas about the value of the laws of society changes from year to year. If people who commit crimes are people whose socialization was a failure, then the potential criminal population is

one that has a rougher go at it when the obstacles to ordinary success are highest. If a part-time burglar is often unemployed at more legitimate trades because he is obstinate when he faces authority, then his chances of holding a job are much less in a recession than in a boom.

It is unlikely, on the average, that the members of the criminal population are socialized in other respects if they are not with respect to keeping to the rules of conduct (laws) that have been generally agreed upon. And if they are not, then the higher the obstacles to succeeding within the rules, the greater can be expected to be the strain in observing them.

This is a rather imprecise proposition, and if the data in fact would seem to support it, we will not, for the time being, claim that the situation is explained by it. We would only suggest that the matter is worth investigating at a level of effort well beyond the one presented here."

The search for "crime" data led to a rejection of those types most widely known: FBI arrest data, and "crimes known to police." For a variety of reasons, these cannot be used as a time series to reflect yearly fluctuations in what they purport to measure. The desire was to use National data, so as

to avoid the geographical limitations of previous studies. It was found that the Federal Bureau of Prisons has kept a series on the actual number of prisoners convicted and turned over by the courts to State prisons, this being expressed as a "State commitment rate" per 100,000 population. While this is certainly not a measure of crimes committed by adults (there is none) it is a reliable count in which the fluctuations from year to year can be taken as fluctuations in persons committed, and not as an artifact of deficiencies in the reporting system.

A correlation between the State prison commitment rate and the National unemployment rate was first calculated for the period 1940-1963. The coefficient of correlation was found to be .91, based on the annual deviations from their respective linear trends (which, in fact, were not dissimilar). This gross comparison, using unemployment rates closely matched to the age and sex composition of State prisoners, was refined for the period 1954-1963, yielding a slightly higher correlation coefficient of .93.

Presented in the 1968 Manpower Report of the President in chart form under a section entitled "Toward Manpower Indicators," the basic results formed a trend line for prison commitments nearly identical to the trend line for unemployment.

This work has been updated for this paper to 1971 (the series was changed at this point so that is no longer continuous) and the almost identical movement of the two series remains

unimpaired since the prior study. The close parallel is most readily observed in graphic form and is presented in Chart One.

Several matters should be noted. One is that while the fluctuations are closely related, the unemployment rate cannot account for the level of the prison commitment rate. While there can be no such thing as a zero unemployment rate, an application of the correlation formula would indicate that the prison commitment rate would reduce only to 25 per 100,000 if it were zero. What is observed here is predictable change from year to year, given a known change in the unemployment rate.

Of particular note is the fact that there is no observable lag in the response of the prison commitment rate to the unemployment rate, although we know that a considerable period of time (12 to 15 months it has been estimated) elapses between crime and conviction. It must be said that the absence of such a lag is very puzzling. Two studies have been reported which allow for this lag. A Federal Bureau of Prisons study by Colin Frank in 1975 and a Congressional Research Service study in 1974 both find high correlations between prison populations and unemployment rates after allowing for the expected lag.^{9/}* The author has not attempted a reconciliation between his results, and those that allow for a lag period, since it is the juvenile relationship which is of prime importance in this paper.

*Neither of these studies claim to have demonstrated any causal relationships between unemployment and changes in the size of the prison population.

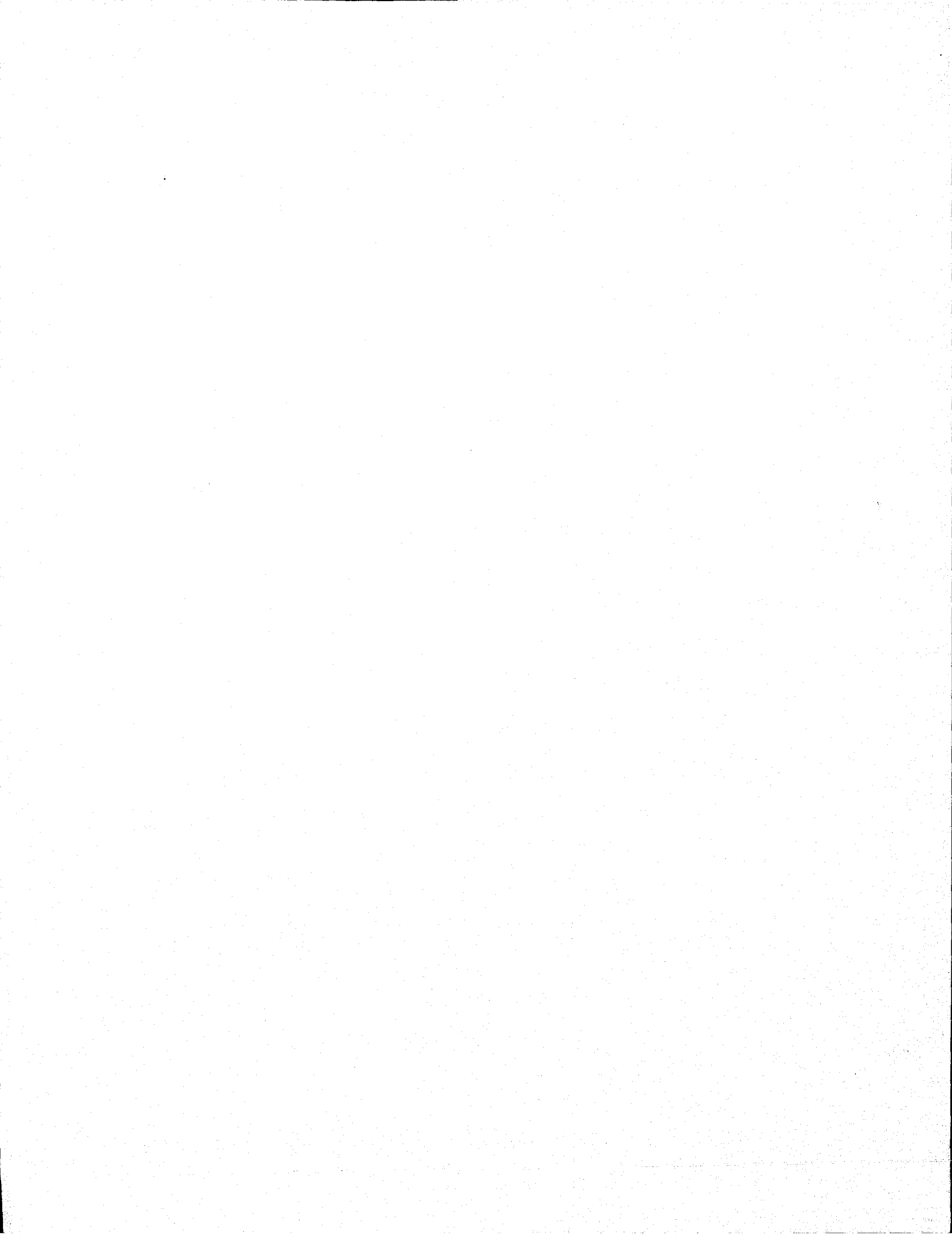
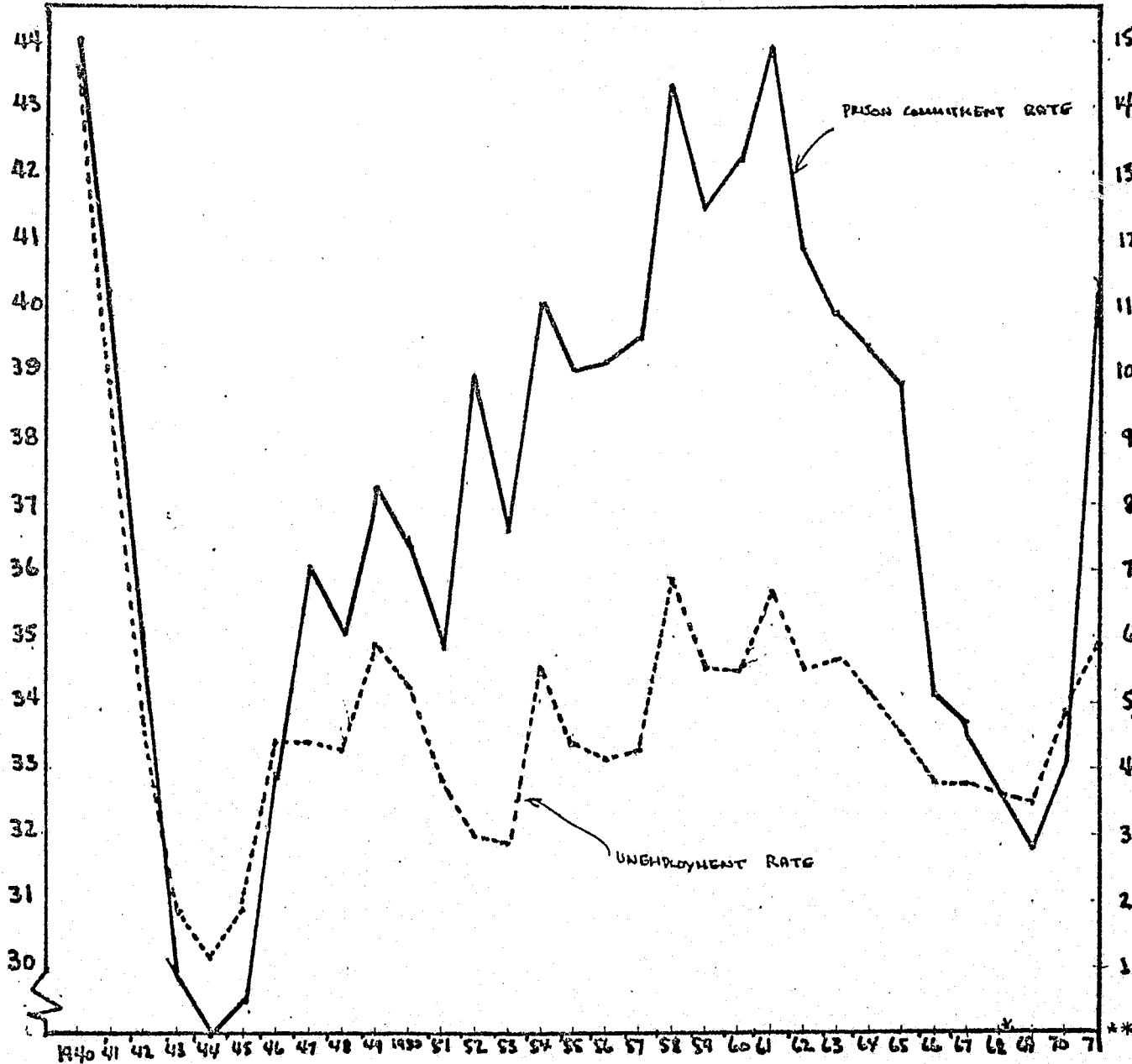


CHART ONE

PRISON
COMMITMENT
RATE



NATIONAL
UNEMPLOYMENT
RATE

* 1968 PRISON RATE NOT AVAILABLE

** PRISON SERIES NOT CONTINUOUS AFTER 1971

CHART I

Given the hypothesis advanced in this paper, it is thought plausible that those whose behavior is most susceptible to influence by adverse movements of the business cycle are affected before recessions show themselves in the aggregate national statistics. There are a whole series of "lead indicators" that presage recessions, of which the lay-off rate is one of them. But the matter of lag, or lack of it, certainly bears further investigation. In any event all three studies are consistent in their establishment of a strong statistical relationship between economic fluctuations and prison commitment fluctuations.

2. Juvenile Delinquency and Unemployment

If a search for adequate measures of adult crime was difficult, the search for adequate representation of juvenile delinquency is nearly impossible. Again, arrest data is not reliable for trends, and this is particularly true for youth. (As in the consideration of adult crime, the desire was to use national data to avoid the questions raised about the studies applying only to particular cities.) Before any time series is introduced it should be pointed out that even something representing it pretty reliably would leave a lot of questions about what juvenile delinquency consists of.

"Juvenile delinquency" will have to be completely disaggregated in the recordkeeping systems if policy useful research is going to be possible. So we should start by being clear about what delinquency statistics include. A representation of what this is likely to be in most States is provided in the Law of Juvenile Delinquency.^{10/} In addition to violations of laws applicable to adults, a juvenile is outside the law if he or she

- is incorrigible or ungovernable or habitually disobedient and beyond the control of his parent, guardian, custodian, or other lawful authority
- is habitually truant

- without just cause and without the consent of his parent, guardian, or other custodian, repeatedly deserts his home or place of abode
- engages in any occupation which is in violation of the law
- associates with immoral or vicious persons
- frequents any place the existence of which is in violation of law
- habitually uses obscene or profane language or who begs or solicits alms or money in public places under any pretense
- so deports himself as to willfully injure or endanger the morals or health of himself or others.

It can be seen that "juvenile delinquency" encompasses much more than acts which would be considered crimes if committed by adults. The law is used to buttress parental authority, to enforce standards of behavior thought to be normal, and to enforce compulsory education. While this investigation is limited to opportunity for employment and work experience related to education, it can be seen that the phenomena of juvenile delinquency extends to the divergence of views of a developing youth culture and those who are parents...or just older. There is juvenile

crime, and there is also in these numbers a reflection of the clash between generations; generational differences may turn out to be a very significant factor...a matter left unexplored in this paper.

While the information is not often available, we do know something of the nature of offenses in a special 1971 census of children in custody. Just under half of the offenses for males were for felonies (other than durgs), about a quarter were "juvenile offenses," slightly more than a quarter misdemeanors (except drugs) and about seven percent drug offenses. For females (who are coming to represent a rising proportion of total delinquents), less than a tenth committed felonies, 70 percent were "juvenile offenses," less than a fifth misdemeanors, and about seven percent drug offenses.^{11/}

In any event, there is nothing in the magnitude of the trend of statistics on employment availability or behavior to account for the accelerating trend of reported juvenile delinquency. But before pursuing independent inquiry and speculation further at this point, a reporting of a considerable amount of research on juvenile delinquency and employment behavior would be in order.

- Using time series arrest data for Boston, Cincinnati and Chicago, Belton Fleisher concludes that the evidence "suggests a rather important relationship between unemployment and delinquency" which is only slightly supported by U.S. trend data for younger

youths and slightly more so for older youths.

Fleisher estimates from the combined data that a one percent increase in the unemployment rate is associated, on the average, with an approximate .15 percent increase in the rate of delinquency (arrest rate)^{12/} (time has not permitted the obtaining of the raw data with which these estimates were arrived at).

- In an international study of the relationship of unemployment to crime and delinquency, Marcia Guttentag finds juvenile crime to go hand in hand with industrialization and economic affluence, but notes exceptions in Switzerland, Canada, and Belgium. She states that "When we turn to the evidence of the relationship between juvenile crime and male unemployment rates, the picture is unclear; studies lead to contradictory conclusions." Particularly she points to the multiple sources of error in the statistics, the fact that many behaviors which are considered delinquency in the U.S. would not be crimes if committed by adults, such as truancy, running away, or in the case of girls, precocious sexual behavior (this double standard for youth is not found in most European countries).^{13/}

Her review finds that "there is a considerable amount of data which appears to substantiate each

divergent view" as to whether "high delinquency rates result from the limited opportunities, the frustration and despair of poverty, or...follow in the wake of industrialization, economic well being and high employment."

- Guttentag cites the study by Bogen using Los Angeles Juvenile Court statistics from 1925 to 1941 in which he found a decline in boys' delinquency rates which coincided with a decline in business activity.^{14/}
- A study by Porterfield using cross-sectional data found an immense relationship between economic well being and the juvenile crime rate. In the final analysis of the data, however, the conclusion was that social disorganization - not economic well being - was the critical variable in the juvenile crime rate.^{15/}
- A related study is that of Lander in Baltimore who hypothesized that the delinquency rate was not a matter of the economics of an area but rather was a function of it's anomic character. Using 1940 census tract data, Lander's hypothesis was confirmed: delinquency was fundamentally related only to anomic and not to the socio-economic conditions of the area. A study by Bordua in 1959

is reported by Guttentag to have reached a similar conclusion.^{16/}

- A recent study by Phillips, et al., concluded that "economic opportunity is a key factor in generating youthful crime and that, properly weighted, participation rates may be a better measure of economic opportunity than simply unemployment rates." They found that in distinguishing between youth in the labor force and those not, the "latter group appears the most criminal." (Causal relationships are difficult to infer from these findings. Could one as well say that those who commit crimes also don't work or look for work as frequently as those who do not commit crimes?)^{17/}
- Using 1960 Census Tract data for Detroit (a cross-sectional study) Larry Singell finds no statistically significant relationships between unemployment and juvenile delinquency ("contacts" with the Youth Bureau of the Detroit Police Department) after controlling for differences among tracts in socio-economic class.
- Singell also analyzes time series data for Detroit from 1950 to 1961, using police contacts and Employment Service estimates of city unemployment. While Singell estimates that a cut of one percent in the rate of unemployment would lead to a drop

in delinquency rates of from one-fourth to one-sixth of one percent, the estimates are based on correlations which yielded r^2 in one case of only four percent and the other only eight percent, which is a very slight shared variance. ^{18/}

The studies here reported are divergent in their conclusions. Of most of them, it could be said either that unemployment...after controlling for socio-economic class and anomie... bore no relationship, or that juvenile delinquency moved opposite to unemployment, advancing in good times and receding in bad. A couple of studies found delinquency rising with rising unemployment, although the degree of correlation was reported to be quite weak.

None of them have a true measure of delinquency, and all seem based on arrests or "police contacts." Where relationships are demonstrated, none are terribly convincing in terms of the degree of association between the delinquency and some index of opportunity. Some are straight statistical exercises and some attempt theoretical explanations. Practically all wish they had better data (for example, the Singell study preferred youth unemployment data but it was not available for Detroit; the "police contact" data is recognized as weak and Singell states that "anywhere from 10 to 50 percent of those (police) contacts may not lead to legal action").

Based on this limited inquiry, there is no theory here advanced to "explain" juvenile delinquency. More particularly, there is no theory advanced to explain the effects of the employment element on juvenile delinquency. There are, however, some observations about the research problem which are considered important.

1. Since there does seem to be an extremely strong statistical relationship between fluctuations in adult conviction and unemployment, we ought to expect to find that relationship to appear when the employment role becomes a significant one for the individual. There are relatively few instances where individual identity and material well being depend on successfully filling an employment role during the juvenile delinquency ages of from 10 to 17. The expected role is that of being in school (and, to a varying extent, being a success at it) and being a dependent in a household with adults in it. While it may not be so in the future, in the past the importance of obtaining an occupational identity is even less for girls than for boys (girls' delinquency rates, it should also be noted, are climbing more rapidly than those of boys').

2. Any attempt to correlate juvenile delinquency with juvenile employment opportunity must recognize that there is a very close correlation (over time) between juvenile employment opportunity and adult employment opportunity. Whether or not the breadwinner or breadwinners become unemployed has to be

of significance in the dynamics of family life and youth behavior. This is a terribly important matter which has not received attention in the research community.

3. Any convincing research needs to come closer to actual crimes committed. This will require whole new measurement systems. There has been some experimental work with confidential self-reporting of criminal acts in research, which is thought to have some validity. But the point is that our seemingly great interest in juvenile delinquency has not lead to any concentrated efforts to produce truer measures of it.

4. Some sorting of what is now labeled "juvenile delinquency" must be made to separate out crimes against society comparable to those of adults, and those that are entangled with the role of the State in enforcing (or substituting for) parental authority, or which reflect generational lags in perceptions of the age at which sexual activity is "precocious" and when it is not (not to mention the lag which seems to have occurred in the different perception of permissibility for males and females in this regard). The reporting here needs to be informed of the grab bag "juvenile delinquency" has become in regard to the various segments of the legal aspects of the socialization of youth into adult society.

5. The "juvenile delinquency" reporting and terminology misses the critical youth ages where we should be carefully watching the interplay of employment opportunity, and modes

of transition to it, and the onset of criminal behavior. These are the ages from about 18 to the very early 20s; the presently inadequate data on adult crime is further inadequate in being unable to track this age group.*

Having made these statements about the current state of the art and the dismal prospects given the existing data, it is still considered worthwhile to examine what the best available data reveals. The most reliable trend data would seem to be the statistics on cases actually disposed of by a court, and reported by HEW's Office of Youth Development.^{19/} The growth of such cases, reported since 1957, is of tremendous proportions, from 440,000 in 1957 to 1,143,700 in 1973. While nothing we subject to regular measurement has been changing at that rate, there is the question of the nature of the fluctuations around this upward trend line. After analysis of the data, it was decided that the trend is most accurately observed on a logarithmic scale. Clearly, the trend is not linear. While it is an exponential trend in the earlier period, the leveling out of population by the last half of the 1960s cause distortion in the attempt to fit an exponential trend line to the entire period.** Since the starting point of this investigation is of opportunity for

*Again, dismissing the value of trends based on arrest rates which this author believes to be worthless for research purposes.

**While rates are available against the entire 10 to 17 year old population, it is likely that juvenile offenses are concentrated at the higher end of the age range, and if so, changes in the population mix among the younger and older would distort the true delinquency rate trend.

youth employment, the annual deviations from the trend line were compared to unemployment rates for 16 and 17 year olds.

The results for males appear in Chart Two. There is a reasonably clear tendency for cases to exceed the trend line in employment growth years and to recede from the trend line in years of rising unemployment. The movements are not, however, in perfect harmony with this observation. A more precise statement would be that the coefficient of correlation between the annual percentage deviations of male delinquency cases from the trend and the annual average unemployment rate for 16 and 17 year old males for the observed period is $-.39$. A like analysis for females also yields a $-.39$ coefficient.

No great significance should be attached to the use of the unemployment rate for young males in that all unemployment rates behave very similarly in their movements in periods of economic fluctuations. We do not know what aspect of the business cycle the youth unemployment rate represents.

What we do know is that juvenile cases do not spurt in periods of high unemployment and slow in periods of economic growth...that in fact there seems to be some tendency in the other direction. This is observed by applying the rather stern test of the nature of variations around the trend line. The trend line itself is steadily upward, as is, on the whole, the growth of the economy.

CHART TWO

PERCENT DEVIATION

FROM TREND: MALE
DELINQUENCY ↓

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES
OF 16-17 YEAR OLD
MALES

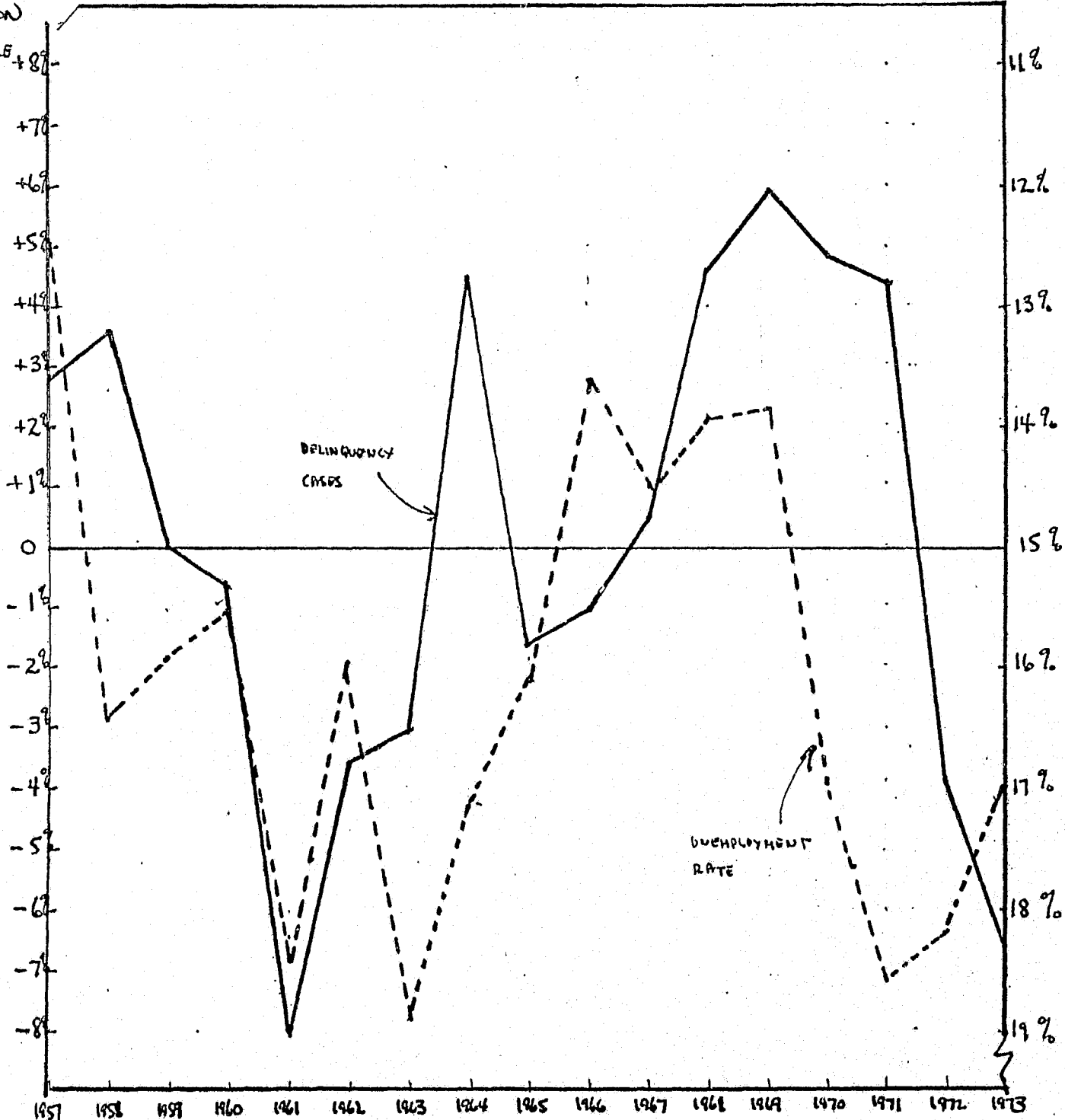


CHART II

↓ DEVIATIONS FROM TREND FOR LOG ARITHMS OF NUMBER OF MALE DELINQUENCY CASES DISPOSED



3. School - Work Interventions

The work reported thus far in this paper deals with relationships in aggregate crime/delinquency and employment opportunity statistics. There have been a limited number of interventions to increase opportunities as a means of reducing delinquent behavior. We use the term school or education rather broadly to include those interventions that involve work experience during the schooling period, and learning experiences that may not be provided in the school setting itself. In total number, there are very few known interventions in which control groups, or other means of systematic evaluation, have been employed.

A 1973 study of summer employment programs in Hartford, Bridgeport, Stamford, and New Haven, Connecticut compared the incidence of police contacts in the experimental and control groups during the period of the program. The conclusion of the project was that the summer youth employment programs did not lessen delinquency among the participants.^{20/}

A study of the outcomes of Neighborhood Youth Corps in-school and summer programs in Cincinnati and Detroit, conducted by Gerald Robin, included the matter of reductions in juvenile delinquency. The study involved 890 black youth of which 299 were in year-round programs, 348 in summer only.

programs, and 243 controls. The conclusion with respect to delinquency was as follows:

"It appeared that, based upon comparisons between enrollees and controls, NYC participation among both males and females was unrelated to delinquency prevention or reduction. In neither Detroit nor Cincinnati was there any evidence that delinquency was reduced because the youth were working in the program, again on comparison between NYC participants and the control group."^{21/}

Another study, also in Cincinnati, of Neighborhood Youth Corps programs for out-of-school youth (an older group than those in school) enrolled in 1966, found an improvement in police charges in the experimental group as compared with the control group, with the largest improvement being among the females. The authors believed that this larger decrease for girls was due, in part, to the fact that they had better job assignments than the boys, thus injecting the matter of job quality into the picture.^{22/}

Project Crossroads in Washington, D.C. "provided a 90-day community-based programs of manpower services—including counseling, job placement, job training and remedial education—to young men and women in pretrial stage of the criminal court process." While some improvement was found in recidivism rates

for the older participants, among juveniles "the result was an absence of any noticeable difference in recidivism...Thus it appears that Project Crossroads had no special effect on the recidivism rate of its juvenile participants."^{23/}

In studies in Cleveland, Flint and New Orleans, the Stanford Research Institute concluded that "In general, the dropout who has a record of juvenile offenses comes in contact with the police well before he has withdrawn from school, and employment experience appears to make little difference when comparing offenders with nonoffenders."^{24/}

The most scientifically controlled experiment to date in school-work intervention is the "Oakland Youth Work Experience Program," operated by the Behavioral Research Institute at Boulder, Colorado for the National Office for Social Responsibility, and using a tested theoretical model resulting from the work of the Office of Youth Development in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

The target population for the Oakland work experience experiment is comprised of delinquent and predelinquent youth age 16 to 18 who also meet the poverty level guidelines specified by the Office of Management and Budget. The experiment was the result of a broad collaborative effort within the community; while the experiment is basically described as a work experience intervention, there was also provision for remedial education and job placement assistance. In the whole of the process the youth were provided about 675 hours of paid

participation approximately equally divided between classroom training and work experience. At the completion of the basic program* the results of the effort to reduce delinquency were reported as follows:

"There was no empirical evidence favoring program participants (experimentals) in general. There were no statistically significant differences favoring experimentals on any of the twelve impact measures on the post-test."^{25/}

The research design was confounded by the fact that 75 percent of the control group ended up having some work experience during the course of the study so there could be no comparison of work experience vs. no work experience. Also there was no reason to suppose the created work for the experimental group was of better quality than that self-arranged by the controls.

One possible useful finding was that for "both program participants and controls, favorable change on the impact scales was related to perceived satisfaction with their jobs." This may point the direction toward future research on the role of work in juvenile delinquency. While the authors of the evaluation point out that no causal relationship can be extracted from the data, the findings "suggest that job

*There will be a later round of follow-up analysis which may be more meaningful.

satisfaction is critical to the psychological effects of any work experience."^{26/}

In view of other research findings reported in this paper, it is not so surprising that this carefully run experiment in work experience intervention had no impact on juvenile delinquency. In fact, it is not surprising even in view of the prior information available about the theoretical model of the causes of juvenile delinquency...and the validation of the model...which underpins the Oakland experiment.

The model on which the Oakland experiment is based is fully elaborated in a volume commissioned by HEW's Office of Youth Development, for which the principal investigator was the same person as for the evaluation of the Oakland experiment.^{27/}

After rejecting other measures of alienation such as "powerlessness" and "societal estrangement",* the OYD model identifies "normlessness" as the primary link to delinquency. The hypothesized determinants of normlessness were^{28/}

- Access to Education Roles
- Access to Occupational Roles
- Parental Rejection
- Negative Labeling by Parents
- Negative Labeling by Teachers

*There will be no attempt here to describe the methodology for validating the model. The basic technique was "the path analysis procedures outlined by Duncan (1969), and programmed into an interactive path analytic procedure by Nygreen (1971)."

The path analysis of these hypothesized determinants of normlessness lead to the conclusion that

"Three of the postulated causal paths are not significantly different from zero. Access to occupational roles, parental rejection, and negative labeling by parents have path coefficients which are essentially zero. There would be minimal loss of predictive accuracy if these were dropped from the model."^{29/}

Thus the significance of occupational roles for those youth at risk of becoming juvenile delinquents was for all practical purposes zero. It is not, therefore, surprising that an interventionist strategy based on providing occupational roles to delinquents and predelinquents had no measurable impact.

What was important as a predictor were the school factors: "Both negative labeling by teachers and denial of access to desirable educational roles are strongly related to normative pressure."

These 1975 conclusions with regard to this predictive model are consistent with the extensive research of Elliott and Voss reported in 1966:

"For males, the most powerful predictors of delinquency are limited academic

achievement, school normlessness, association with delinquent classmates, and commitment to peers."^{30/}

For females, parental rejection is added to the above list of strong predictors, with home factors showing more importance in the research findings for females than for males.

So school factors clearly emerge in the earlier work as well. Also, anticipated failure to achieve occupational goals turned out to be a very weak predictor in the 1966 study.

While the extensive research which preceded the Oakland work experience experiment had negative findings, the theoretical model and the validation work done on it suggest possibilities for further experimentation along the lines of the school factors that were identified as being significant in differentiating change in self-reported delinquency.

To the extent that there is further experimentation with work experience impacts on delinquency, it would seem wise to direct it away from the simple provision of traditional "youth type" jobs that parallel those which seem to be available to youth in the regular labor market and toward concentration more on those aspects in which past research would suggest to be more promising:

- the difference that gradations of "satisfying" occupational experiences makes at these early ages

- the extent to which the use of experience as an educational tool in those areas of the school environment identified as critical in the development of tendencies toward delinquent behavior can modify delinquency outcomes. (An example would be the role experiential education might play in reducing perceptions of failure in the school environment.)

The validated portions of the original model developed under the guidance of the Office of Youth Development are rich in suggesting possible experimental approaches to altering the various school-based factors identified as associated with delinquency.

Concluding Observations

This will not be so much an attempt to summarize conclusions or recommendations as a listing of what the author thinks are the more important points to bear in mind in thinking about the relationships between juvenile delinquency, work, and education and in planning the directions of future investigation.

1. There seems to be developing a "common knowledge" that adult and juvenile crime rises as unemployment rises, but this apparently has developed separately from the research which has been performed.
2. On the adult side there can be seen a close association between some inadequate measures of crime and the unemployment rate.
3. This same relationship is not observable in national statistics on juvenile delinquency; in fact, variations up and down from the basic trend (always up) seem, if anything, more in the opposite direction. Acceleration of delinquency appears to slow during recessions.
4. Arrest rates are practically worthless for research on delinquency, either for cross-sectional or time series analysis.

5. Aggregate juvenile delinquency statistics, of whatever measure, mix crimes that would be so labeled if committed by adults and such acts as truancy, running away, and not following parental direction (incorrigibility). A new measurement system is required to sort out these different levels of delinquent behavior.
6. The research studies of relationships between juvenile delinquency and unemployment...almost all of which dependent on arrest rates...have come to mixed...and opposite...conclusions.
7. Interventions to increase work experience opportunities for youth in order to reduce juvenile delinquency have...with very few exceptions...had no measurable impact on delinquency, where control groups have been used so such measures can be obtained.
8. The validation of the very sophisticated theory of juvenile delinquency developed under the auspices of HEW's Office of Youth Development resulted in finding access to "occupational roles" of no significance as a determinant of (self-reported) juvenile delinquency.
9. The research results to date do suggest the desirability of a follow-up of the effect that the quality of the work provided, and the level of job satisfaction experienced has on the delinquency-work interaction.

10. The statistical validation of the previously referred to model of the Office of the Youth Development suggests some research leads for investigating the role of school-based factors in delinquency cause and prevention.

11. It would be very important to investigate the unemployment relationships to crime among, say, 18 to 22 year olds, since that is the age at which achieving an occupational identity becomes important. Unfortunately, national data does not permit this, although there may be individual States with the kind of record-keeping which would make such research possible.

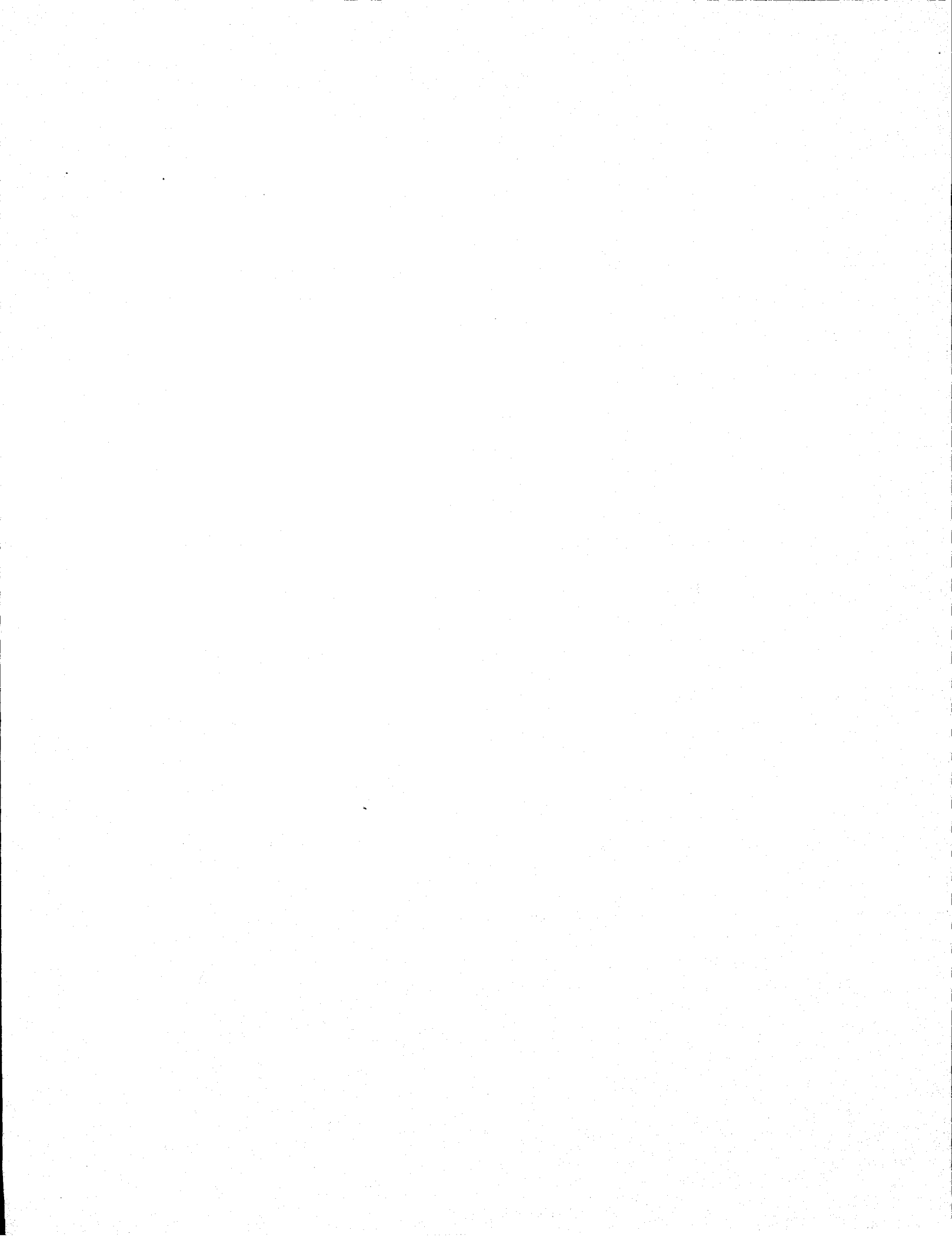
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