Strengthening Interagency Partnerships for Safe Schools

A Training Initiative to Reduce Suspensions, Expulsions, and Arrests Through Positive Youth Development Approaches

Fox Valley Technical College
Criminal Justice Center for Innovation
2010

Contents

Fox Valley Technical College
Criminal Justice Center for Innovation

About CJCI

The Criminal Justice Center for Innovation (CJCI) began in 1999 with the goal of using innovation to change how communities approach the development and enhancement of justice systems. The cornerstone of CJCI's philosophy is reliance on community partnerships to develop strategies targeted to community challenges and needs. CJCI conducts programs that help communities analyze needs, identify gaps and assets, and create community-based solutions that ensure ownership, pride, and sustainability. The quality of CJCI's work, combined with the delivery of solid products, has led to the continued growth and development of partnerships and programs that impact communities in every corner of our country. CJCI takes pride in its close ties to the law enforcement community—in Wisconsin and the entire country—which enable Center staff to develop, promote, and deliver high-quality training and technical assistance programs that address today's diverse and challenging issues. CJCI helps communities through:

- Comprehensive strategic planning with a focus on sustainability
- Community capacity building, development, and assessment
- Diversity training and cultural competency programming
- Team and consensus building
- School Resource Officer training
- School safety assessments
- School safety training
- National safety and security

Mission

The Criminal Justice Center for Innovation at Fox Valley Technical College (FVTC) addresses the diverse and evolving needs of criminal justice and community service professionals by developing and providing specialized resources, innovative training and onsite technical assistance.

Project Staff

Edward Krueger
Director

Barbara Nelson
Program Manager

Jonathan Cloud
Onsite Coordinator/ Instructor

Aaron Tomlinson
Instructor

Fox Valley Technical College, Criminal Justice Center for Innovation
1825 N. Bluemound Drive| Appleton, WI 54914 | Toll Free: (888) 370-1752
Fax: (920) 996-7192 | cjgrants@fvtc.edu | www.fvtc.edu/cjci

Training Synopsis

Strengthening Interagency Partnerships for Safe Schools is a two-day intensive training designed to equip local professionals with the knowledge, information, tools, and basic skills to develop interagency safe schools protocols. It emphasizes school-based law enforcement measures that are supported by evidence-based practices within the school and among community agencies. The needs of special populations are addressed and safe ways of lessening arrests, suspensions, and expulsions explored.

The Positive Youth Development Perspective

This perspective "runs through" the training because it shifts the focus of intervention from the behavior only to the behavior as it relates to the youth's strengths.[1] Thus, safety is not only taking swift and certain measures to contain or abolish certain behaviors (which is appropriate with a variety of serious and chronic offenders, whatever their race), it also involves taking similarly swift and certain measures to bolster strengths, the doing of which has been shown by research to foster positive youth development. By providing professionals, law enforcement professionals in particular, with this perspective, they are less likely to approach the matter of alternatives to arrest, suspension, and expulsion as merely deciding "when to be tough" versus "when to go easy" on a kid. In other words, alternatives, whatever they may be, are seen not simply as a way to reduce the number of youth being arrested and so forth, but as a way "to do right" by certain problem youth under certain conditions. Knowing how to identify such youth and conditions is a centerpiece of this training, with an emphasis on brain development and risk-taking behavior.

Understanding Risk-Taking Behavior: A Key to Considering Alternatives

Positive youth development rests on biologically inherited neurological processes that work together to activate, regulate, and maintain behavior (Cloninger, 1985). The degrees to which each neurological process generates higher levels of development, or thriving, is a function of the youth's interaction with social environments and the interaction of social environments with the youth (Elder, 1998; Ford and Lerner, 1992; Elder, Modell, and Park, 1993).

[1] *Building on Strength: Positive Youth Development in Juvenile Justice Programs*, William H. Barton and Jeffrey A. Butts, Chapin Hall Center for Children at The University of Chicago, 2008

This crucial developmental dependence on environment is strained by the manner in which the youth's behavior is activated, a primary aspect of which is novelty and excitement seeking. This genetic tendency often manifests as risk-taking behavior and it is an essential part of healthy adolescent development (Coleman and Henry, 1990; The Commission on Children at Risk, 2003). Once activated, behavior must be regulated and then maintained. For these two processes, another inherited tendency comes into play. This is the remarkable genetic tendency for helping others that begins to emerge during adolescence (Hamer, 2004; Cloninger, 1991; Pearce, 2007). The adolescent's brain is changing. This change consists of learning to regulate one's behavior through seeking and experiencing intrinsic rewards (Csikszentmihalyi and Schneider, 2000) of the kind that are likely to validate a powerful sense of purpose (Seligman, 2002; Cloud, 2008). Despite this "turbulent" developmental route to its formation, such a sense of purpose lessens negative and self-destructive risk behavior and delinquency (Coll, Thobro, and Haas, 2004; Damon, Menon, Bronk, 2003).

Training Goals, Objectives, and Outcomes

Goals

1. Increase the clarity of the SRO/SLO school-based law enforcement role as it relates to working with other agencies.

2. Increase the clarity and effectiveness of the roles of other professionals in relation to the critical tasks associated with school-based law enforcement carried out by SROs/SLOs.

3. Increase the capacity of professionals to identify their existing effective school safety partnering processes, identify gaps and limitations, and specify actions to minimize gaps and limitations.

4. Increase the ability of professionals to develop highly effective interagency protocols for increasing and/or maintaining school safety while lessening the suspension, expulsion, and arrest of youth in appropriate ways.

5. Increase the knowledge base of participants with regard to best practices for increasing and maintaining school safety based on a positive youth development perspective.

Terminal Training Objectives

1. SROs/SLOs will be able to identify the critical school-based law enforcement tasks associated with their role in a school safety partnership.

2. SROs/SLOs will be able to specify a range of activities they can and/or will engage in as a part of their role in a school safety partnership.

3. Key community professionals will be able to identify the ways in their various jobs can be performed in a manner that supports school-based law enforcement.

4. Participants will identify their existing effective school safety partnering processes and develop action steps for improvements as deemed necessary to reduce suspensions, expulsions, and arrests.

5. Participants will be able to develop simple but effective interagency protocols where needed in order to reduce suspensions, expulsions, and arrests.

Outcomes

1. SROs/SLOs will develop and utilize a list of key agency partners that agree to receive direct referrals as alternatives to arrest, suspension, and expulsion (or improve an existing list).

2. Each county will develop a set of general guidelines to utilize for determining which youth can be effectively handled through alternatives to arrest, suspension, or expulsion.

3. Reduction in suspensions, expulsions, and arrests for non-serious misdemeanor juvenile offenses and related minor infractions.

4. Increased attachment to school and improved academic performance among populations or specific groupings of students for which such has previously been problematic.

5. Decreased disciplinary actions and arrests among populations or specific groups of students for which such has previously been problematic.

Training Agenda

Day One

7:30 – 8:00	Registration/Sign-In
8:00 – 8:15	Welcome and Opening Remarks
8:15 – 8:30	Participant Self-Introductions
8:30 – 9:00	Why We're Here: Goals, Objectives, and Outcomes
9:00 – 9:15	Break
9:15 – 10:45	Roles in Partnering for Safe Schools
10:45 – 11:00	Break
11:00 – 12:00	The SARA Approach to Safe Schools Partnering
12:00 – 1:00	Lunch
1:00 – 4:30	School Referral Reduction Protocol

Day Two

8:00 – 9:30	Threat Assessment: A Partnership Approach
9:30 – 9:45	Break
9:45 – 11:00	Threat Reduction: A Partnership Approach
11:00 – 11:15	Break
11:15 – 12:00	Developing Effective Protocols
12:00 – 1:00	Lunch
1:00 – 4:30	Case Review and Team Planning

Training Module Descriptions

Roles in Partnering for Safe Schools

This module covers core tasks SROs/PSLOs in partnering for safe schools and highlights roles of other disciplines in relation thereto. Its aim is to bring greater clarity to what police are well-equipped to do and what they are not, in keeping with their vital role enforcing the law as well as ensuring order. The principles of "community-oriented policing" are used, specifically its focus on solving problems as a means of keeping order and minimizing the use of arrests and force.

The SARA Approach to Safe Schools Partnering

This module moves the participants in the direction of beginning to think critically about how their roles can interface more effectively. It does this in a manner that seeks to overcome some problems related to "police thinking" versus "educator or social worker thinking." The four basic areas of all strategic planning and action are embraced by law enforcement's SARA Model (scan, analyze, respond, and assess). It is applied to the school setting by using OJJDP's model of behavioral pathways to delinquency for scanning, risk and protective factors for analyzing (or figuring out where the misbehavior "is coming from"), the positive youth development approach (i.e., The DART Model) for responding and assessing the effectiveness of the responses. The roles of various agencies are highlighted as relate to the kinds of services needed to deal with certain behaviors, in a way that reduces risk factors and increases protective factors, with the aim of fostering positive developmental outcomes, not just cessation of "bad behavior."

School Referral Reduction Protocol

The goal of this module is to keep schools safe without diluting the powers of the police by putting so much police attention on infractions that are much less serious in nature. The agreement known as *The School Referral Reduction Protocol* will be explained and discussed to identify the five focus acts which would lead to school-based, educational responses to correct misconduct, and *not* to arrest. The protocol defines its terms and the triage approach as well as makes provision for emergency shelter care when parents cannot be located. Specific areas that are covered include: 1) the educational response to correct misconduct; 2) the referral reduction programs; 3) the collaborative effort by partnerships; and 4) MOUs and MOAs.

Threat Assessment: A Partnership Approach

This module goes into greater detail on applying the SARA model to the school setting by using OJJDP's model of behavioral pathways to delinquency for scanning, risk and protective factors for analyzing (or figuring out where the misbehavior "is coming from"). Best practices along with examples from other jurisdictions are provided, supported by simple exercises.

Threat Reduction: A Partnership Approach

This module goes into greater detail on applying the SARA model to the school setting by using a positive youth development approach (i.e., The DART Model) for responding and assessing the effectiveness of the response. The roles of various agencies are highlighted as relate to the kinds of services needed to deal with certain behaviors, in a way that reduces risk factors and increases protective factors, with the aim of fostering positive developmental outcomes, not just cessation of "bad behavior." Best practices along with examples from other jurisdictions are provided, supported by simple exercises.

Developing Effective Protocols

This short module prepares the participants for their team exercises. It consists of a review of several tools that take each team through an interagency protocol development process. While the tools will be used for the afternoon exercise, they are also ideal for continued use in their local communities after the training.

Case Review and Team Planning

Based on a case that is presented, teams develop prevention, intervention and enforcement protocols based their experience, knowledge of local resources, and the content of the training. The prevention protocol addresses matters such as reducing school referrals, working proactively with certain populations (i.e., minority youth, gang-involved youth, youth on probation, etc.) in ways that can head off misbehavior. The intervention protocol addresses matters such as options that serve as alternatives to suspension, expulsion, and arrest. The enforcement protocol deals with handling youth whose behaviors necessitate suspension, expulsion, and arrest, as these actions, when necessary; need to be undertaken in a manner that lessens the likelihood of more serious offending. After report-outs, all participate in identifying gaps and limitations in their county along with steps that can be taken to address them.

Target Audience

With a view that school-related juvenile misbehavior, delinquency, and crime are not school problems but are community problems that manifest themselves in school contexts, this training initiative emphasizes strengthening partnerships among key agencies and disciplines. Based on this emphasis, the training is highly practical and engages participants in action planning tasks that can be quickly transferred to ongoing interagency/interdisciplinary activities in each county after the training. The target audience includes individuals from the pertinent disciplines or from departments within pertinent agencies as follows:

1. School Resource Officers/School Liaison Officers
2. Police Departments (juvenile units, child exploitation)
3. Sheriff's Office
4. Juvenile Court Judges
5. Attorneys (district attorneys, public defenders)
6. Juvenile Justice (administrators, supervisors, intake, detention, diversion, probation)
7. Schools (principals, social workers, guidance counselors)
8. Child Welfare (child protection, family support)
9. Mental Health
10. Youth Programs
11. Child and Youth Initiatives (e.g., substance abuse prevention, underage drinking, etc.)
12. Civic and Faith-Based Projects

The specific make-up of each audience is expected to vary by county, such that some target groups would not be applicable or appropriate in certain counties. It should be noted, however, that the broader the range of participants (from groups 8-12 especially), the more effective will be the outcome of the training. That is, a key to options that feasibly allow for alternatives to arrest, suspension, and expulsion are reliable partnerships with community-based agencies and services that are both effective and attuned to the unique challenges of school safety. In addition, as relate to effectiveness, agencies and services capable of addressing barriers that often affect minority populations (i.e., transportation, perception, cultural appropriateness, etc.) are essential and would lessen the likelihood of undue disproportionate involvement "at the deep end" of the system.

Tab Two

Strengthening Interagency Partnerships for Safe Schools in Kenosha, Rock, and Outagamie Counties

Fox Valley Technical College
Criminal Justice Center for Innovation

The Situation:
Findings "First, Do No Harm"

Policy Brief by Harvard Law School, March 2010

- Many police officers care deeply for, and express tremendous dedication to, students
- Police officers consider the use of diversion programs to be more effective in changing student behaviors than immediate referral to juvenile court
- The decision to arrest or issue a court summons rather than use traditional school disciplinary measures is often based on subjective reasoning
- Police officers' lack of training is problematic

This Training's Response

- Support police officers in care for and dedication to students
- Establish a shared understanding based protocols between police officers, schools, and other agencies that use of diversion programs rather than immediate referral to juvenile court, arrests, suspension, or expulsions
- Present and explore a decision making model based on responses to misbehavior, delinquency, and crime on an objective analysis and response framework
- Prove police officers and their key school and community counterparts with a highly effective and practical training

Referring a student to juvenile court or arresting him or her in school should be an action of last resort, made only when the student is a danger to him or herself or the school community.

Currently, students are being arrested too often in school because of larger systemic failures on the part of adults: failures to create healthy and positive learning climates, to provide mental health services, or to offer adequate training in adolescent psychology, effects of exposure to violence, and classroom management techniques . . .

("First, Do No Harm," Harvard Law School Policy Brief, March 2010)

Why We're Here: The Safety of Our Children and Youth

- Physical Safety or Well-Being: security and protection of body, health, property, and basic resources
- Emotional Safety or Well-Being: security and protection of attachments with family, friends, and authority figures.
- Social Safety or Well-Being: security and protection of opportunities and roles in family, school, and community; acceptance of others; sense of value or worth to society

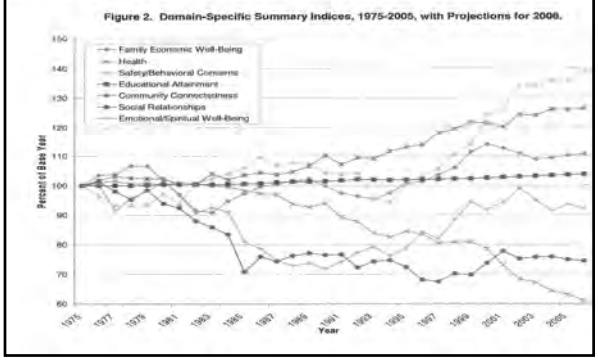
Why We're Here: The Safety of Our Children and Youth (Continued)

- Psychological Safety or Well-Being: security and protection of self-esteem, confidence, achievement, respect of others and by others
- Spiritual Safety or Well-Being: security and protection of sense of purpose, meaning; personal growth, spontaneity

Physical, Social, Emotional, Spiritual Safety Trends

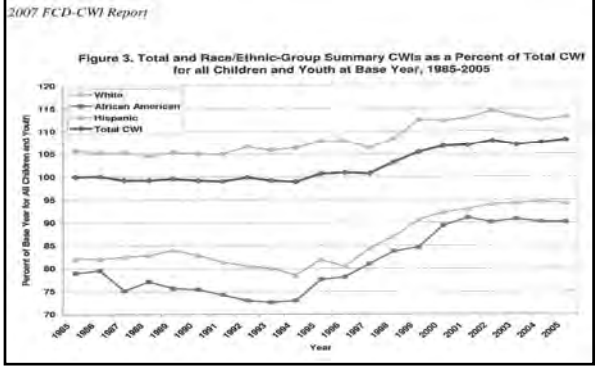
(Duke University's Child Welfare Index)

2007 FCD-CWI Report

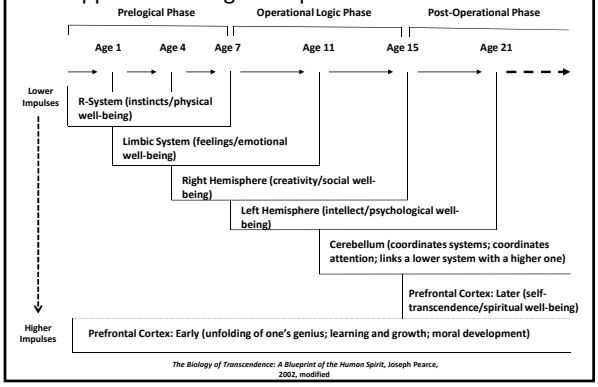


The Index Finds the Overall Situation Worse for Children and Youth of Color: Extreme Disparity

2007 FCD-CWI Report



A Positive Approach: Support Neurological Capacities for Safe Behavior



The Biology of Transcendence: A Blueprint of the Human Spirit, Joseph Pearce, 2002, modified

Positive Youth Development is About Safety Becoming More Achievable Not Less

Looking to future generations, there is no cause to fear that our social instincts will grow weaker, and we may expect that virtuous habits will grow stronger, the struggle between our higher and our lower impulses will be less severe, and virtue will be triumphant.

-Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man*

School safety isn't just about "keeping things under control," but about employing measures focused on a youth's higher impulses, otherwise known as strengths-based approaches.

Training Goals

1. Increase the clarity of the SRO/SLO role
2. Increase the clarity of other professional roles
3. Identify existing effective partnering processes
4. Identify gaps and limitations in partnering processes
5. Develop interagency protocols
6. Increase school safety knowledge base
7. Understand the positive youth development perspective

Training Objectives

1. SROs/SLOs will be able to identify the critical school-based law enforcement tasks
2. SROs/SLOs will be able to specify a range of activities for their role in a school safety partnership
3. Key community professionals will be able to identify ways to support school-based law enforcement

Training Objectives (Continued)

4. Identify existing effective school safety partnering processes
5. Develop steps for improvements to reduce suspensions, expulsions, and arrests
6. Develop simple interagency protocols to reduce suspensions, expulsions, and arrests

Training Outcomes

1. Process for direct referrals as alternatives to arrest, suspension, and expulsion (or improve existing process)
2. Set of general guidelines for utilizing alternatives to arrest, suspension, or expulsion
3. Reduction in suspensions, expulsions, and arrests for less serious offenses

Training Outcomes (Continued)

4. Increased attachment to school and improved academic performance among populations for which such has previously been problematic
5. Decreased disciplinary actions and arrests among populations for which such has previously been problematic

Partnerships for Safe Schools

Defining Roles and Understanding Stakeholder Opportunities

Learning Objectives

- Identify stakeholders in a "safe" K-12 system
- Identify the "traditional" roles and expectations of SRO/SLO
- Explore and discuss mutual roles of stakeholders
- Develop a "common" role for all prongs of order in the K-12 system

Introduction and Background

- Instructor with FVTC –Juvenile Justice Area
- Monona Police Department
- NU and other college work
- Current areas of research
- "Personal experience" with the SRO program
- Research balance with street work
- Truly believe in the **power** and **need** for early **intervention** and **prevention** strategies

To Be Beneficial

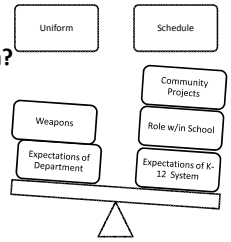
- Need to be honest
- Professionals need the ability to be creative
- "This Sucks"
- Hippies and the Warmonger

My Observations about the Topic

- TRULY define role of SRO/SLO
- Law Enforcement programming and mindset
- Academic programming and mindset
- Community service programming and mindset
- **First knowing, than balancing roles is key**

Defining the SRO/SLO

- What is a SRO/SLO
- Sounds straightforward, but what are they in reality?
- Different communities have different expectations
- 54 different definitions
- **Do you have clear definition?**



History of the SRO/SLO

1950-1960
- Flint, MI –One of the first recorded uses of the School Resource Officer
- Goal was to help build partnerships with youths and help change "attitudes "youths had about law enforcement

1960-1999
- Cincinnati, Tucson, Los Angeles, Orlando and Hillsboro Co. (modified the mission of SRO)
- 1983 Implementation of D.A.R.E. program | growth of police presence in schools
- Late 1990's D.A.R.E. dissolved and _____?

1999-Current
- 1999 Columbine event/massacre -Review of police training and school protocol to enhance safety
- 2006-Current -Enhancement or retraction or SRO/SLO role
- Complexity of the role today (expectations)

Fox Valley Technical College

School is Representative of the Community

- Events that happen in the community directly impact the school
- School is the "melting pot" or "salad bowl"
- K-1, and other services has increasingly become a parental role
- Volume of information in schools -ASK

Fox Valley Technical College

Break-Out Session

- In Four Groups please do the following:

Chart 1:
List the challenges for you as an SRO/SLO or with your SRO/SLO program

Chart 2:
List the duties an SRO/SLO performs on a daily basis

Chart 3:
List some of the stereotypes/beliefs that exist about the SRO/SLO position (both within law enforcement and outside of law enforcement –please list LE for law enforcement perception or O for other)

Chart 4:
List some things that people just "aren't getting" about the role of the SRO?

Fox Valley Technical College

Response

One from each group-

- Share your chart with us.
- What did your list contain?

Defining "Traditional" Roles

- SRO/SLO -school order and safety
- Develop positive police relationships with youths
- Vehicle to handle complaints while expediting charges in the C.J. system*
- Prevention of school related violence (active-shooter incidents)
- Visual deterrence to crime
- Immediate response to violence (K.C. study review)

"Reality" of the SRO/SLO Role

Respondents of SRO survey indicated: *(NASRO, 2004)*

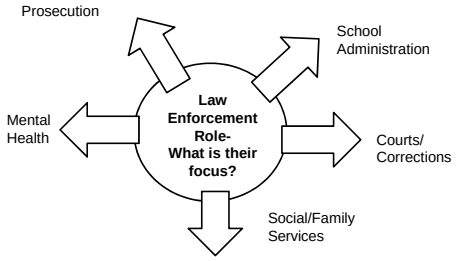
- Dumping ground for patrol officers
- Dumping ground for K-12 officials
- Funding of positions
  (Clayton Co. Study/CO personal experience)
- Challenge of role definition
  (stereotypes Kindergarten Cop etc.)
- Tracking and monitoring true activities
  (intangibles)
- Tug-of-war of expectations

CHALLENGES TO SCHOOL RESOURCE OFFICER PROGRAMS

Developing and maintaining effective communication between among law enforcement, school officials, and the community.	Training the SRO to be successful.	Creating and maintaining successful working relationships between the SRO and community resources.
Understanding and communicating that placement of an SRO in a school does NOT mean that the school is unsafe.	Selecting and training the SRO supervisor.	Creating and maintaining successful relationships between the SRO and the principal and school staff.
Paying for an SRO program.	Developing effective and efficient school assignment and coverage plans.	Creating and maintaining successful relationships between the SRO and students.
Facing liability issues which surround SRO programs.	Making expectations of all involved parties clear and understood.	Preventing SRO "burnout."
Addressing the "turf wars" that arise between among involved jurisdictions.	Understanding the differences between school discipline and general statute law.	Evaluating the SRO's performance.
Recognizing the impact of an SRO program on the internal workings of involved law enforcement agencies.	Understanding the difference between counseling and law-related counseling.	Determining whether an SRO program is successful.

Stakeholders in a Safe K-12 System

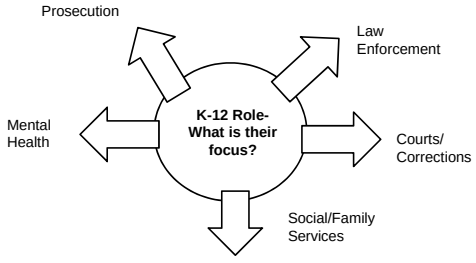
Law Enforcement Perspective on Safe Schools



Fox Valley Technical College

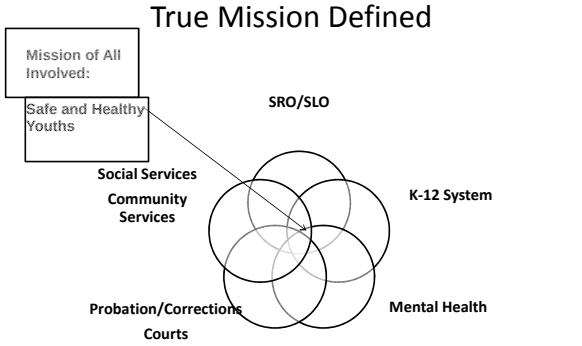
Stakeholders in a Safe K-12 System

K-12 Administrative Perspective on Safe School



Fox Valley Technical College

True Mission Defined



Resources

- Too few resources
- To many problems and issues
- Partnerships forge long-term relationships for shared resources and information
- Problem solving model for K-12 system
- Need for creative partnerships for solutions (afternoon session)

Importance of the SRO/SLO Role

- SRO/SLO are **special people** that "care deeply for children" (don't laugh, you said so in a 2010 study)
- The **"smell and fear of real work"** and reality of the position and who takes it
- Need for **dedicated** women and men that understand the role and importance of **partnerships and problem solving**
- Role model –problem solving and conflict modeling
- Create people for future programs

Journal Exercise

Take a few moments to jot down the greatest challenge you face as you return as an SRO/SLO or with your SRO/SLO (next slide).

What steps will you take to start dealing with this?

We will need this during our afternoon session

Journal

- My greatest challenge is:
- Resources and solutions are:

Strengthening Interagency Partnerships for Safe Schools in Kenosha, Rock, and Outagamie Counties

The SARA Approach to Safe Schools Partnering

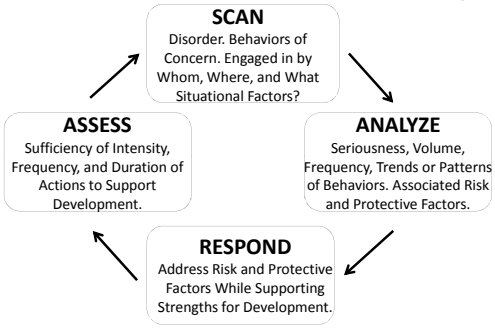
Fox Valley Technical College

Criminal Justice Center for Innovation

What This Module Covers

- Overview of the SARA Model
- How SARA Model is Used to Keep Communities Safe
- How SARA Model is Used to Keep Schools Safe
- Basics of Scanning for School Safety
- Basics of Analyzing for School Safety
- Basics of Responding for School Safety
- Basics of Assessing for School Safety

The SARA Model for School Safety



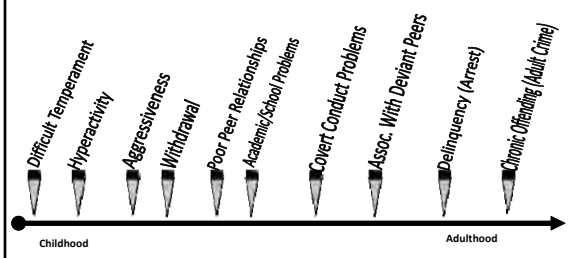
SCANNING

Scanning for Three Types of Disorder

- Personal/Interpersonal: behavior; someone can see it happening (e.g., intoxication, bullying, fighting); someone can experience it (e.g., robbed, harassed, assaulted); you can observe direct evidence of it (e.g., graffiti, vandalism)
- Intrapersonal: attitudes toward or resulting from being exposed to disorder (e.g., apathy, resignation, fear, powerlessness, anger, hopelessness, pessimism etc.)
- Physical: conditions; the school's physical environment or design (e.g., unlighted areas, proximity to "bad areas," unsecured doors, physical disrepair, unsafe parking far from grounds, etc.)

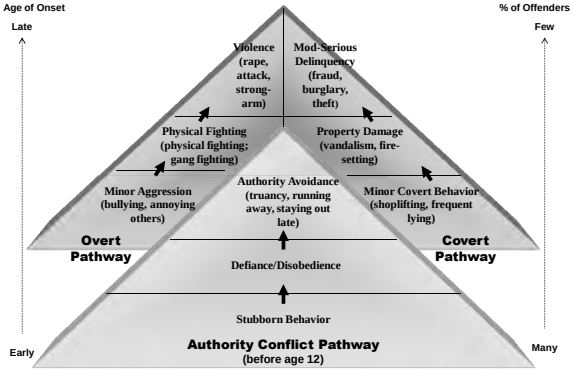
How it Plays Out: School-Community

(Typical Sequence Precipitated by Sustained Exposure to Risk Factors)
OJJDP, 1997



Three Pathways to Disruptive Behavior and Delinquency

(Kelly, Loeber, Keenan, DeLamatre, 1997; OJJDP Research Program on Causes & Correlates of Delinquency)



ANALYZING

Risk and Protective Factors

- Risk Factors: Conditions, attitudes, and behaviors that violate development and thus increase the likelihood of disordered neural processes and subsequent unhealthy status-seeking behaviors.
- Protective Factors: Conditions, attitudes, and behaviors that guard development and thus increase the likelihood of orderly neural processes and subsequent healthy status-seeking behaviors.

Status or Worth is Primary Reward in Positive Youth Development

Youth choose a particular self-image they wish to promote before an audience of peers, and this audience then provides feedback so that the adolescent develops and maintains this social identity within a community

(Carroll, Houghton, Hattie, Durkin, 2004)

Delinquents often do not use parents and teachers to sustain their reputations, and thus they seek alternative audiences such as peers

(Emler, 1984; Farrington & West, 1990; Junger-Tas, 1992)

Natural Neurological Reward Deficiency that Risk Factors Can Negatively Influence

It appears that alterations in levels of activity of the neurotransmitter, dopamine in parts of the adolescent's brain can produce a relative "reward deficiency"

Translation: For the adolescent, pleasurable stimulus, from music to drugs, may need to be especially powerful and intense to pass the adolescent brain's altered ("reward deficient") threshold of interest, pleasure, or excitement. Many teens' quest for adventure, novelty, and risk may reflect their efforts to feel good

Hardwired to Connect: The New Scientific Case for Authoritative Communities, A Report to the Nation from the Commission on Children at Risk, Institute for American Values, 2003, p. 22

Fox Valley Technical College

How Kids Connect: Protective Factors Keep it Healthy

Source: *Hardwired to Connect*, The Commission on Children at Risk, 2006

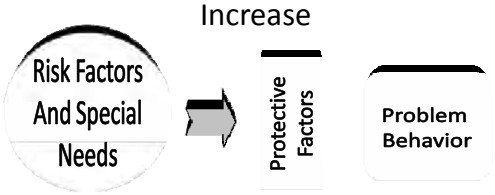
1. Risk-taking
2. Excitement-seeking
3. Novelty-seeking
4. Friendship-seeking

About Age 11: An idealistic image of self begins to grow in intensity → About Age 14: Expects something tremendous to happen → About Age 16: Senses a secret unique greatness that seeks expression

Source: *Evolution's End: Claiming the Potentials of Our Intelligence*, Joseph Pearce

Fox Valley Technical College

Good Analysis Prioritizes Risk Factors to Reduce and Protective Factors to Increase



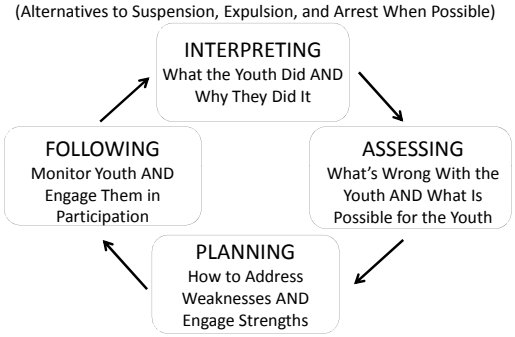
Protective factors lessen the harm done by risk factors. This is important since many risk factors can't be reduced or, as with child abuse, the youth has already experienced it

Fox Valley Technical College

RESPONDING

Positive Model: Response Development

(Alternatives to Suspension, Expulsion, and Arrest When Possible)



Harsh Punishments for Minor Offenses Not a Deterrent

(Just Further Activates the Brain's Defensive R-System)

- A consuming life task of the adolescent is to discover or construct ideal possible selves that reflect one's potentials *(Cantor & Kihlstrom, 1987; Greene, 1986)*
- For many youth this task is beset with frustration and failure *(Blos, 1967; Erikson, 1968; Flavell, 1963; Harter, 1983)*
- Through rebellious and delinquent activity, youth can define themselves as adventurous, independent, powerful, tough, or in control and bring one prestige among one's peers (*Hirshi, 1969; Sutherland & Cressey, 1978)*

New Orleans and Other Cities Have Tried

- Prior to Katrina, harsh discipline policies and school arrests forced many children out of New Orleans schools, putting them at-risk or directly involved in the juvenile justice system
- Overly harsh and punitive discipline policies that criminalize and exclude youth from traditional education settings has created what many now call the School-to-Prison Pipeline

Source: "Rebuilding Inequity: The Return of the School-to-Prison Pipeline in New Orleans," High School Journal, v. 90, no. 2, Dec. 2006-Jan. 2007

ASSESSING

Framework for Assessing Effects of Response on Development

Dabrowski's Theory of Positive Disintegration

Risk Factors Reduced and Protective Factors Increased

Strengths Identified and Engaged: Gifts, Talents, Competencies

Framework for Assessing Effects of Response on Development (Continued)

5 • Ideal Positive Adjustment self-actualization; working for the well-being of others; moral agency

4 • Organized Positive Disintegration perception of higher versus lower values; what one ought to be

3 • Disorganized Pos. Disintegration moral sense of "what ought to be;" higher impulses; meta-motivations

2 • Positive Maladjustment discontent with self and society; non-conformity to "what is"

1 • Negative Adjustment conformity to "what is;" no inner sense of "what ought to be"

0 • Negative Maladjustment extreme egocentrism; ruthless realization of lower impulses

See Assessment Tools in Your Packet

Fox Valley Technical College

Zero-Tolerance Policies

Public Policy Tool or Hindrance?

Fox Valley Technical College

Learning Objectives

- Explore the history of zero-tolerance policies
- Discuss current application of the policies
- Review data related to zero-tolerance suspensions
- Explore alternatives to zero-tolerance approaches to school discipline

Fox Valley Technical College

Discipline

- Lat. root disciple
- Discipere: “teach or comprehend”

Violations of Discipline

- Give some examples of “biased or unfair” discipline
- What occurred because of this in your example?
- Dangers of unjust discipline with youth (both unnecessary and necessary yet absent)

Criteria for Effective Intervention

- Quality of Implementation

  -Used as intended
  (e.g. behavior based)

  -Used consistently
  (hot stove approach)

Criteria for Effective Intervention

- Non-Discriminatory
  -Protection under 14th
  -Protection under Title VI
  -U.S.C. 1983

Criteria for Effective Intervention

- **Positive Outcome Based**
  -Improved school safety
  -Improved student behavior

Group Discussion

- Do you have a zero-tolerance policy in your school district?
- If so, have their ever been times when it created issues in resolving a disciplinary matter?

Report

- Group Report

History of Zero-Tolerance

- Coupled with the “Say No” campaign
- Alarm in increased drug usage and reported school violence
- Difference between the **Gun-Free School Zones Act and Gun-Free Schools Act**

Gun-Free School Zone Act (GFSZ)

- **Gun-Free School Zone** of 1990 (Bush Administration movement)
- 1995 ruled unconstitutional
- Violation of Commerce Clause (U.S. v. Lopez)
- Retooled in 1996 to fit Supreme Court wording (Clinton Administration movement)

Gun-Free School Zone Act (GFSZ) (Continued)

- (1) It shall be unlawful for any individual knowingly to possess a firearm at a place that the individual knows, or has reasonable cause to believe, is a school zone. Exception: This does not include possession of a firearm on private property that is not part of school grounds or possession of a loaded firearm by an individual who is licensed to do so by the State. (i.e. a concealed carry, weapon, or firearm permit).

Gun-Free School Zone Act (GFSZ) (Continued)

- (2) It shall be unlawful for any person, knowingly or with reckless disregard for the safety of another, to discharge or attempt to discharge a firearm.

Current Legislation

- **In general, the GFSZ Act of 1990 added two paragraphs in a new subsection (q) to Section 922 of Title 18 of the U.S. Code:**

  (1) It shall be unlawful for any individual knowingly to possess a firearm at a place that the individual knows, or has reasonable cause to believe, is a school zone. **Exception:** This does not include possession of a firearm on private property that is not part of school grounds or possession of a loaded firearm by an individual who is licensed to do so by the State. (i.e. a concealed carry, weapon, or firearm permit). (2) It shall be unlawful for any person, knowingly or with reckless disregard for the safety of another, to discharge or attempt to discharge a firearm.

Current Legislation (Continued)

- **Definitions were amended to Section 921(a) of the title:**
- The term *school zone* means in, or on the grounds of, a public, parochial or private school; or within a distance of 1,000 feet from the grounds of a public, parochial or private school. The term *school* means a school which provides elementary or secondary education, as determined under State law.

Gun-Free School Act

- **Vastly different** than "GFSZ"
- 1994 Act Limiting Federal Funds
- Legislation inspired increased use of zero-tolerance policies (*The Bulletin.* Spring, 2003)

Zero-Tolerance

- In your groups...

1. Outline the benefits of a zero-tolerance policy
2. Outline the drawbacks of a zero-tolerance policy

Group Report

- What did you find?

Benefits of Zero-Tolerance

- Compliance with 1994 GFSA
- Uniform approach to discipline (prevent DMC*)
- Dealt with issues, not people
- Gave uniformity to student expectations
- “Get tough” model
- Requires student accountability
- Focuses on **offenses** not **offenders**

Drawbacks of Zero-Tolerance

- Increases DMC claims (ABA, 2008)
- Male African-Americans made up largest group of suspensions/expulsions
- Led to significant increases in suspension/expulsion for non-violent behaviors (68%)
- 25% of staff equaled 70% of referrals (Skiba,2001)
- Phillip K. Howard “*Death of Common Sense” (1995)*
- My informal attire survey college and K-12/college
- Reduces creativity and creates shelter of bureaucracy
- Refuses to take into account offenders only offenses

Examples of "Gray"

- **Eagle Scout Video**
- 1999 mandatory conduct violation (10 day suspension) French teacher broadcast
- 2002 -33 kindergarten students suspended under Z-T policy
- 2003 –Student shot a paperclip at another student Level 4 conduct violation
- 2004 -13 year-old scary Halloween story –Future Halloween activities banned
- 2007 -Students in CA tribute to soldiers

Expansion of Zero-Tolerance

- Expanded past GUNS
- Weapons (as defined)
- Facsimile weapons
- Drugs (as defined)
- Terroristic behaviors
- Generally disturbed the peace of the school (D.C. example)

Issues

- "Kids are not going to respect teachers, administrators and police officers who cannot appreciate the situational differences between a plastic axe and a switch-blade" (unnamed Virginia attorney, *ABA-2007*)

Journal Entry

- On the following page, list some alternatives you would create to a zero-tolerance policy given the above situations (You will need these tomorrow).

Journal

- Alternatives to Zero-Tolerance

Exercise

- "Prison to Riches"
- Seeking the best of the best in this high stakes event

Exercise

- Winners - write down one word (only) that best describes you and your talents upon winning this exercise
- Losers- write down one word to describe the winners

Exercise

- Winners -write down one word (only) that best describes the losers
- Losers- write down one word to describe yourself at the end of this exercise

What is the Point?

- What does this exercise mean?

Clayton County Public Schools

Clayton County Georgia Case Study

Reducing Referrals
in the Juvenile Justice System

Fox Valley Technical College

Juvenile Justice System

- What elements does the Juvenile Justice System contain?
- Is Juvenile Justice really a system at all?
- Subcomponents with similar but at times conflicting interests
- Each with vastly different outcome goals

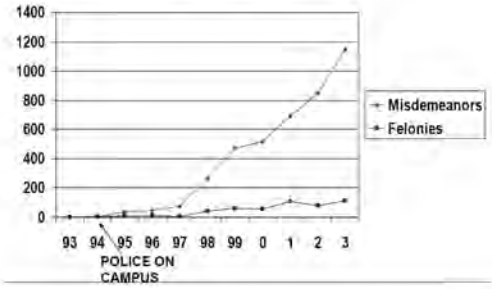
Fox Valley Technical College

Schools to Prison Pipeline

- Research project by NAACP and other groups
- Idea that victims and chronic offenders in the juvenile system continue into the adult system
- Self-fulfilling prophecy model

Fox Valley Technical College

MISDEMEANORS VS. FELONIES



EFFECTS OF POLICE PRESENCE WITHOUT PROTOCOL

- Administrators abandon disciplinarian role
- Police become disciplinarians
- Police are taken away from collecting intelligence about serious crimes about to occur
- Increase in court dockets
- Widen the net for detention
- Increase in probation caseloads
- Criminalize kids for typical juvenile behavior

STEP ONE

The Role of the Judge: Bringing the Stakeholders Together

Judge Steven Teske

- Wanted to create a model of cooperation
- Goal was to reduce minor offense referral to the juvenile court system

JUDICIARY: FORCE FOR CHANGE

GETTING THE STAKEHOLDERS TOGETHER

- Meet individually with School Superintendents and Chiefs of Police;
- Discuss the problem;
- Provide a one page outline of protocol objectives;
- Tell them that unilateral judicial edicts deprive community of their respective expertise in achieving favorable outcomes
- You need their HELP!

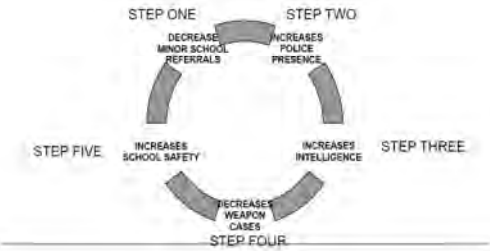
STEP TWO

Discuss the Objectives

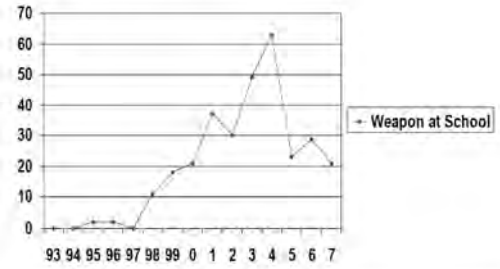
OBJECTIVES OF PROTOCOL

- Reduce misdemeanor school referrals to the juvenile court;
- Reduce probation caseloads that will increase supervision of high risk youth (the kids we are scared of);
- Give police more time to build rapport with students to gather intelligence on crimes about to occur;
- Overall, increase safety in the school and the community.

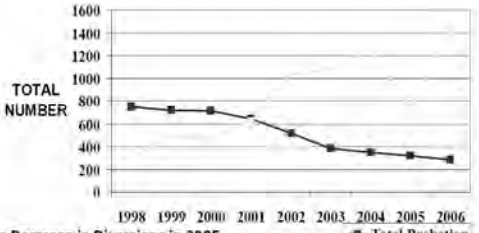
OBJECTIVE 1: PROTOCOL EFFECT ON SCHOOL SAFETY



PROTOCOL INCREASES POLICE INTELLIGENCE

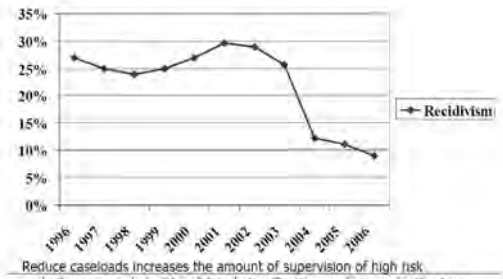


IMPACT OF SCHOOL PROTOCOL & DIVERSION ON PROBATION CASELOADS



The Decrease in Diversions in 2005 Corresponds to a Decrease in Referrals to The Court by 1048. The Decrease is the Result of Alternative Detention Protocols put in Place in 2004 & 2005.

IMPACT ON RECIDIVIST RATES AMONG PROBATIONERS



Reduce caseloads increases the amount of supervision of high risk probationers coupled with validated classification produces reduction in re-offense rates

STEP THREE

Identify a Neutral Moderator to Limit the Role of the Judge

THE FIRST STAKEHOLDERS MEETING

- Judge makes introductions;
- Judge explains objective (to reduce referrals to the juvenile court);
- Judge role is limited to bringing the stakeholders together;
- Judge has no veto power except if what is proposed is illegal;
- Judge is equal participant with stakeholders;
- Judge introduces moderator who establishes ground rules and meeting times and places;
- Appoint a scribe;
- Judge or court administrator may present a draft proposal to get discussion going (optional).

STEP FOUR

Negotiate Instrument

SCHOOL OFFENSE PROTOCOL AGREEMENT

- Focused Acts: Affray, DPS, DC, Obstruction
- First Offense/Warning
- Second Offense/Referral to Workshop
- Third Offense/Complaint Filed

School Offense Agreement Signed by all Police Chiefs, School Superintendent, Juvenile Judges, DFCS Director, and other partners on July 8, 2004

COUNTY OF CLAYTON
UNIFORM NOTICE OF OFFENSE
SCHOOL RESOURCE OFFICER

Upon Month_____ Day____ Year_____ at_____ a.m. p.m.
Name__________ DOB________ Male/Female
Grade____ Location________ School_______
Parent/Guardian________________ Address________

Offense________________ in violation of Code Section
__________ Remarks__________

WARNING LEVEL. You are hereby warned for the above-cited offense in violation of the laws of the State of Georgia and the code of conduct of the Clayton County Public School System. You are further warned that conduct involving certain focused acts that include fighting, disorderly conduct, obstruction of a police officer (failure to obey the lawful commands of a police officer), and disrupting the school may result in other action that may include attendance by the student and parent in a school conflict education class, mediation, or other program (failure to attend will result in the filing of delinquent charges against the student in the juvenile court) or filing of a complaint in juvenile court if the student has already attended such a program or if the conduct involves a felony or a non-focused misdemeanor act. A copy of this Warning will be sent to your parent, guardian or custodian and kept on file in the school office. You must conduct yourself in a manner required by the code of conduct provided to you and your parent, guardian or custodian and by the laws of the State of Georgia or you will be subject to further action.

REFERRAL LEVEL. You have been cited for the above offense and you and a parent, guardian or custodian will be referred to a program indicated below and sponsored by the Juvenile Court of Clayton County. You are being referred because you have previously been cited for a similar delinquent act and warned or the officer considers your conduct after investigation to constitute an act of "bullying" and immediate action to address your conduct is required. This referral will be sent to your parent, guardian or custodian, the Juvenile Court of Clayton County, and kept on file in the school office. This referral does not constitute a formal complaint to the juvenile court, but will be used by the court to arrange for your attendance at the program as indicated below. Failure to respond to the court or attend the program as instructed will result in formal action brought against the student by the filing of the above-cited offense in the juvenile court. SCHOOL USE ONLY

Parent notified by:
Phone In person Mail
Date of Notice________
You and your parent, guardian or custodian are referred to: School Conflict Education Workshop/Mediation/Other
____

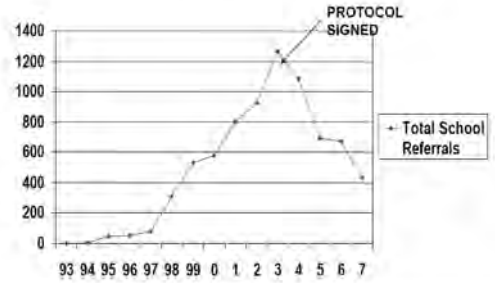
STUDENT ACKNOWLEDGEMENT AND RECEIPT: The undersigned hereby acknowledges service of the Warning/Referral and receipt of copy of same SIGNATURE

SRO CERTIFICATION: The undersigned has just and reasonable grounds to believe, and does believe, that the student named herein has committed the offense set forth SIGNATURE__________
Badge #_______
Original-SRO yellow-school pink-student Juvenile Court Fax-770-603-4111

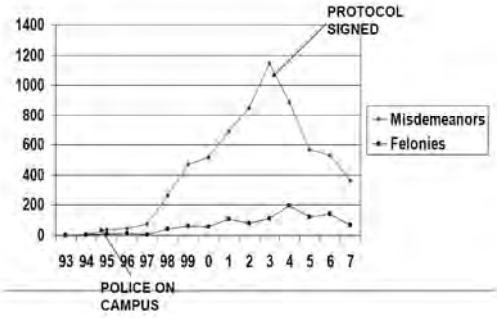
STEP FIVE

Collect Data & Conduct Periodic Reviews

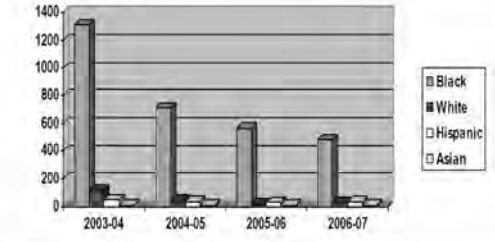
THE IMPACT OF THE PROTOCOL

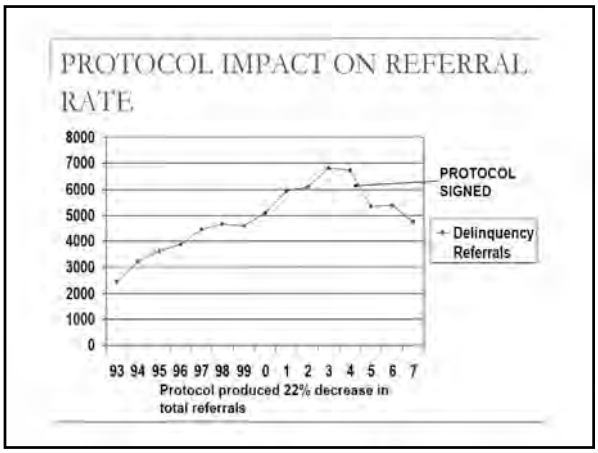


MISDEMEANORS VS. FELONIES



SCHOOL OFFENSE PROTOCOL: DISPROPORTIONATE MINORITY CONTACT





Resources

- http://www.clayton.k12.ga.us/schoolsupplies/uniform.asp
- https://www.clayton.k12.ga.us/gradebook/gbklogin1.asp

Safe Schools Symposium Journal

Journal

- My greatest challenge is:
- Resources and solutions are:

Journal

- Alternatives to Zero-Tolerance:

Additional Points from Training

Strengthening Interagency Partnerships for Safe Schools in Kenosha, Rock, and Outagamie Counties

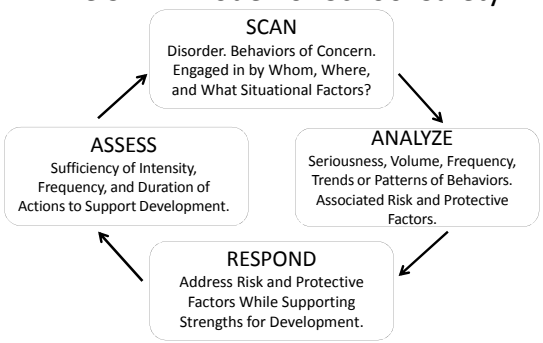
Threat Assessment: A Partnership Approach

Fox Valley Technical College
Criminal Justice Center for Innovation

What This Module Covers

- Refresher Overview of the SARA Model
- Deeper Look at Scanning
- Roles of Partners in Scanning
- Deeper Look Analyzing
- Roles of Partners in Analyzing

The SARA Model for School Safety



Deficit-Based with Strengths-Based

(William H. Barton, Indiana University, *Western Criminology Review,* 2006; modified)

DIMENSIONS	DEFICIT-BASED	STRENGTHS-BASED
Focus	Deficits, problems	Strengths, competencies
Assessment	Risk, needs, diagnosis	Gifts, talents, self-determination
Intervention	Treatment by professionals	Guidance by mentors
Youth's Role	Passive, stop misconduct	Active, begin exciting conduct
Context	Isolate youth, office-based	Engage youth, community-based
Goal	Symptom amelioration	Realization of potentials

Fox Valley TECHNICAL COLLEGE

SCANNING

Fox Valley TECHNICAL COLLEGE

Three Pathways to Disruptive Behavior and Delinquency

(Kelly, Loeber, Keenan, DeLamatre, 1997; OJJDP Research Program on Causes & Correlates of Delinquency)

Existing Incident Data Can Be Used for Scanning

At-Risk Behavior		High Risk Behavior	Offending Behavior
Authority Conflict	Authority Avoidance	Covert Offending	Overt Offending
Conduct disorder	Running away	Shoplifting*	Bullying*
Disruptive	Truancy	Theft	Physical* fighting
Disorderly conduct	Curfew violation	Larceny	Gang fighting
Defiant	Underage smoking	Vandalism	Assault
Oppositional	Underage drinking	Burglary	Robbery
Stubbornness	Substance abuse	Vehicle theft	Forcible rape
		Arson	Homicide

*Before Age Twelve

Fox Valley TECHNICAL COLLEGE

A Typical Behavioral Pathway of Chronic Violent Offenders

Problem Behavior →	Non-criminal Misbehavior →	General-Serious Delinquency →	Violent Offending
Oppositional Defiance Bullying	Truancy Fighting Alcohol use Use of illegal drugs	Shoplifting Theft Robbery	Assault

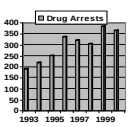
Early Childhood to Late Childhood | Late Childhood to Late Adolescence | Late Adolescence to Early Adulthood

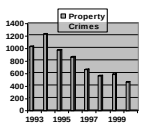
Fox Valley TECHNICAL COLLEGE

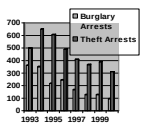
Example of Police Data Used to Measure Volume of Incidents Along Covert Pathway

Covert Pathway to Serious Delinquency

Minor Covert Substance Abuse → Serious Covert Property Crimes → Serious Delinquency Burglary & Theft







Fox Valley TECHNICAL COLLEGE

Understanding the Threat of Early Authority Conflict

(Percentage of Stubborn Misbehavior Children Whose Development Followed the Authority Conflict Pathway)

Stubborn Behavior → **Defiance & Disobedience** → **Authority Avoidance**

1 **2** **3**

Sample	Authority Avoidant Males (N)	Percent Who Followed Full Sequence (1,2,3) or Part Sequence (1,3; 2,3)	Percent With Authority Avoidant Behavior Only (3)
Youngest	**57**	**75.4%**	**24.6%**
Middle	**70**	**80.0%**	**20.0%**
Oldest	**44**	**57.0%**	**43.0%**

Fox Valley TECHNICAL COLLEGE

Understanding the Threat of Minor Covert Offending

(Percentage of Moderate to Serious Offenders Whose Development Followed the Covert Pathway)

Minor Covert Behavior → Property Damage → Moderate to Serious Delinquency

1 2 3

Sample	Moderate to Serious Delinquent Males (N)	Percent Who Followed Full Sequence (1,2,3) or Part Sequence (1,3; 2,3)	Percent With Moderate to Serious Delinquent Behavior Only (3)
Youngest	43	97.7%	2.3%
Middle	56	96.4%	3.6%
Oldest	103	95.1%	4.9%

Fox Valley TECHNICAL COLLEGE

Understanding the Threat of Minor Aggressive Offending

(Percentage of Moderate to Serious Offenders Whose Development Followed the Overt Pathway)

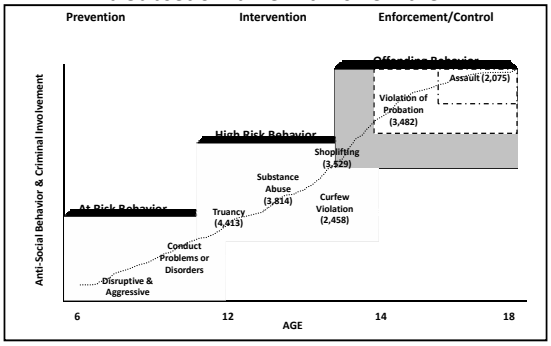
Minor Aggression → Physical Fighting → Violence

1 2 3

Sample	Violent Males (N)	Percent Who Followed Full Sequence (1,2,3) or Part Sequence (1,3; 2,3)	Percent With Violent Behavior Only (3)
Youngest	19	100.0%	0%
Middle	34	88.2%	11.8%
Oldest	41	97.6%	2.4%

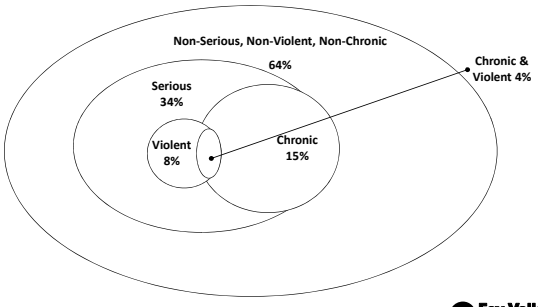
Fox Valley TECHNICAL COLLEGE

Serious Offenders are Typically a Subset of Earlier At-Risk Children



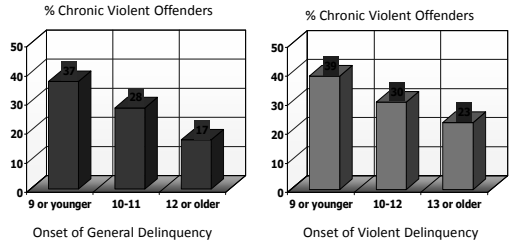
Most Serious Offending is Committed by a Small Percentage of Offenders Who Had Poor Responses Earlier

(Maricopa County, Arizona Study of 151,209 Juvenile Offenders)



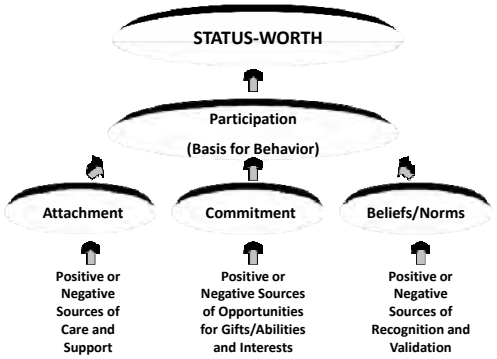
Fox Valley TECHNICAL COLLEGE

Relationship Between Age of Onset and Chronic Violent Offending



Fox Valley TECHNICAL COLLEGE

Behavior Within a Youth Development Perspective



Behavior is Not Only About the Act But Also About the Intention: Verification of Worth

- Self-Verification Theory: The intent to cause others to verify one's self-worth involves maintaining a stable view of self ; this is a crucial source of defining one's existence, organizing one's experience, and guiding social interaction *(Swann, Rentfrow and Guinn, 2003)*
- Conflicts emerge with individuals and places that do not or cannot provide verifying feedback, or validation
- Youth are most committed to individuals and places that provide this verification *(Swann, De La Ronde and Hixon, 1994)*

For Certain Youth the School Regimen is Not a Validating Experience

Public schools emerge as training centers for the new boredom, rehearsal halls for the sublimation of individuality to disciplined efficiency; and for those insufficiently socialized to [this boredom], the mental hospital, the prison, the juvenile lockup offer entire institutions dedicated to the enforcement of tedium

Jeff Ferrell

Theoretical Criminology, "Boredom, crime, and criminology," Vol. 8, No. 3, 2004

Scanning Focused Only Incidents Isn't Enough

More/Stricter Rules and More/Tougher Sanctions Generate More Contacts with Youth Who Use Such Contacts to Pursue Non-Conforming Goals

Public proof of character is provided when delinquents accept risks and keep their composure in the face of dangerous, challenging, and daring feats

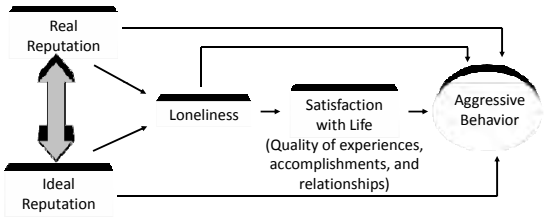
(Goffman, 1972)

Chronic rule-breakers do not miscalculate the visibility of their conduct or the damage it will do to their reputations; to the contrary, they foster this reputation

(Campbell, 1003; Carroll, 1994; Goldstein, 1994; Lagree & Fai, 1989)

Surveillance Used to Isolate Certain Kids Isn't Good Scanning

Increases the Loneliness of Youth Struggling to Enhance Their Reputation or Image Which Increases Aggressiveness
(Thus More Contact Becomes Necessary)



Buelga, Musitu, Murgui, and Pons, 2008, modified

Some Ways of Partnering in the Scanning Process

- Cooperation
- Coordination
- Collaboration

Let's Talk About It.

How are these ways of partnering being used to identify and track behaviors of concern?

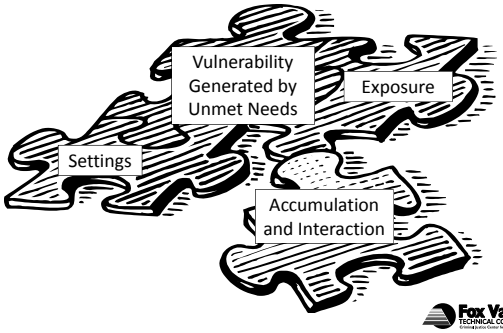
What are some needed improvements?

ANALYZING

Risk and Protective Factors

- Risk Factors: Conditions, attitudes, and behaviors that violate development and thus increase the likelihood of disordered neural processes and subsequent unhealthy status-seeking behaviors
- Protective Factors: Conditions, attitudes, and behaviors that guard development and thus increase the likelihood of orderly neural processes and subsequent healthy status-seeking behaviors

Understanding How Risk Factors Do Harm



Repeat Offending is Influenced by Risk Factors

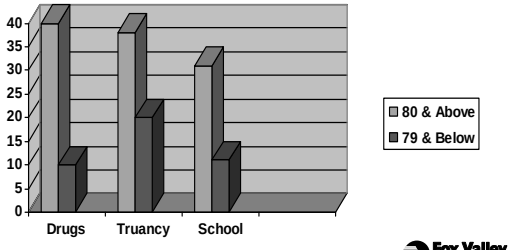
Risk Factors Associated with Chronic Offending in a Jurisdiction
(Based on Actual Juvenile Probation Department Risk Assessments)

Frequency Graph 1
Status Offending, Poor Family Relationships, Prior Assault

Repeat Offending is Influenced by Risk Factors

Risk Factors Associated with Chronic Offending in a Jurisdiction
(Based on Actual Juvenile Probation Department Risk Assessments)

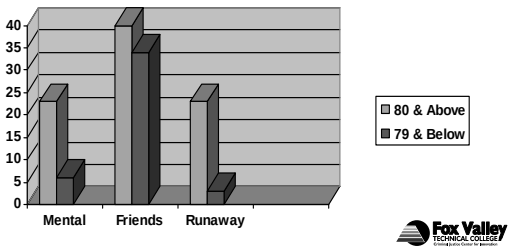
Frequency Graph 2
Use or Suspected Use of Drugs, Prior Truancy, Not Currently Enrolled in School



Repeat Offending is Influenced by Risk Factors

Risk Factors Associated with Chronic Offending in a Jurisdiction
(Based on Actual Juvenile Probation Department Risk Assessments)

Frequency Graph 3
Behavior or Mental Health Problems, Friends Involved in Delinquency, Prior Runaway Attempts



Risk Factors Scored to Assess Increased Likelihood of Repeat Offending in Eight Jurisdictions

1. Age at First Referral
2. Number of Prior Referrals
3. Nature/Severity of Current Offense
4. Prior Assault(s)
5. Prior Out of Home Placement
6. Drug or Alcohol Abuse
7. School Problems
8. Special Education
9. Peer Associations
10. Mental Health Instability
11. Family Problems/Parent Control
12. History of Running Away
13. Victim of Abuse or Neglect
14. Poor Supervision Adjustment

Offender Needs Assessment Items in Seven Jurisdictions

1. Substance Abuse
2. Family Relationships
3. Parent Problems
4. Parent Skills
5. Mental Health Stability
6. Intellectual Ability/Academic Achievement
7. Special Education
8. Employment/Vocational Skills
9. School Problems
10. Peer Relationships
11. Health/Hygiene
12. Sexual Adjustment
13. Victimization
14. Housing/Finances
15. Structured Activities
16. Independent Living Skills

The DART Model: Understanding Risk Factors in Relation to Developmental Tasks

(See Your Handouts)

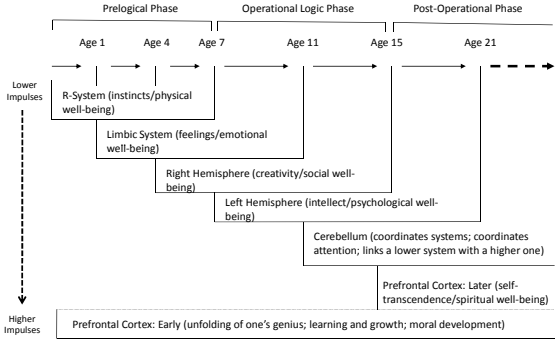
1. A broad community strengthening framework that can engage a variety of community-based organizations
2. Links risk factors with development in a way that avoids using the former to “pick out the high risk kids”

The DART Model: Understanding Risk Factors in Relation to Developmental Tasks (Continued)

(See Your Handouts)

3. Includes an excellent appendix of charts that lay out the stages of development and developmental tasks associated with each, thereby allowing greater precision in both analysis and response planning
4. Reinforces the understanding that risk factors don't "predict" bad outcomes, rather the absence of support for development in the face of risk factors often do
5. Thus, risk factors are about what we need to do, not what's wrong with the kid

Prolonged Exposure to Multiple Risk Factors Affects Brain Development



The Biology of Transcendence: A Blueprint of the Human Spirit, Joseph Pearce, 2002, modified

Risk Factors

Prenatal/Infancy Onward

Child	Family	School	Peer	Community
•Difficult Temperament •Hyperactivity •Impulsiveness •Low Cognitive Ability •Attention Deficit •Pregnancy/ Delivery Complications	•Young Mother •Maternal Depression •Parental Substance Abuse/Criminality •Poor Family Communications •Poverty •Serious Marital Discord			

Development of the R-System: The Origins of Trust and Mistrust

- R-System: action; habitual patterned activity; repeats same behaviors over and over again never learning from past mistakes; sensory-motor system and all processes that give wake state awareness in our body and world; stores early learning about the world

Development of the R-System: The Origins of Trust and Mistrust (Continued)

- Trust: formed when sensory-motor activity receives healthy feedback and stimulation which generates proactive and rewarding exploration and interaction; emotional engagement and attachment
- Mistrust: formed when sensory-motor activity receives unhealthy feedback and stimulation which generates defensive and unrewarding exploration and interaction; emotional withdrawal and detachment

Toddler/Preschool Onward

Child	Family	School	Peer	Community
•Early Onset of Problem Behavior •Persistent and Aggressive Behavior •Chronic Lying •Risk-Taking and Sensation-Seeking	•Lack of Guilt of Empathy •Harsh, Erratic Discipline •Maltreatment (Child Abuse or Neglect, Sexual Abuse)			•Television Violence •Advocating Child-Adult Sex Relations •Online Exposure to Sex Materials •Aggressive Online Sex Solicitation

Development of the Limbic-System: The Origins of Autonomy and Shame and Doubt

- Limbic System: feeling; incorporates sensory information from R-System into feeling states that are the basis of relationships; involves aversion-attraction, fight-flight, like-dislike, good-bad, angry-happy, sorrow-joy, and love-hate polarities; also intuitive intelligence
- Autonomy: learning to acquire and maintain pleasurable or rewarding sensory reports; handling stress and novelty in ways that eventually acquire positive feeling states; the will to be oneself; appropriate independence, self-esteem, pride

Development of the Limbic-System: The Origins of Autonomy and Shame and Doubt (Continued)

- Shame and Doubt: inability to acquire positive feeling states in the face of stress and novelty; withdrawal through fight or flight; survival through willfulness, isolation, low self-esteem, self-rejection

Mid-Childhood To Early Adolescent Onward

Child	Family	School	Peer	Community
•Stealing •Precocious Behavior (Sex/AOD Abuse) •Positive Attitude Toward Problem Behavior •Victimization •Exposure to Victimization •Low Self-Esteem •Chronic Depression •External Focus	•Domestic Violence •Poor Parental Supervision •Running Away From Home •Thrown Away •Delinquent Siblings	•Poor Academic Achievement •Truancy •Negative Attitude Toward School (Low Commit) •School Transition	•Delinquent Peers/Siblings •Peer Rejection •Juvenile Drug-Trafficking •Fighting	•Poverty •Community Disorganization (Crime and Violence) •Low Neighborhood Attachment •Adult Prostitution •Running Away From Institutions

Development of Right and Left Hemisphere Systems:
The Origins of Initiative and Industry and Guilt and Inferiority

- Right Hemisphere: relational thinking; creativity; sympathy, empathy, compassion; imagination and ability to respond intelligently to new and unknown situations
- Left Hemisphere: intellectual thinking; analytic logic; control over learning and routines; concepts, rules, and logic for ways of doing things

Development of Right and Left Hemisphere Systems:
The Origins of Initiative and Industry and Guilt and Inferiority (Continued)

- Initiative: discovering positive ways to find out the person one is going to be; capacity to pursue levels of self that are challenging to achieve
- Industry: finding out what one can accomplish and doing so
- Guilt: inability to move toward the kind of person one can be
- Inferiority: lack of established or learned ways to accomplish things that express what one can do and become

The DART Model: Understanding Risk Factors in Relation to Developmental Tasks

(See Your Handouts)

1. A broad community strengthening framework that can engage a variety of community-based organizations
2. Links risk factors with development in a way that avoids using the former to "pick out the high risk kids"
3. Includes an excellent appendix of charts that lay out the stages of development and developmental tasks associated with each, thereby allowing greater precision in both analysis and response planning

The DART Model: Understanding Risk Factors in Relation to Developmental Tasks (Continued)

(See Your Handouts)

4. Reinforces the understanding that risk factors don't "predict" bad outcomes, rather the absence of support for development in the face of risk factors often do. Thus, risk factors are about what we need to do, not what's wrong with the kid

Mid To Late Adolescence Onward

Child	Family	School	Peer	Community
•Weapon Carrying •History of Physical or Sexual Assault •Seriously Restricted Future Orientation	•Homelessness •Recruitment into Prostitution by Family Member(s)	•School Dropout	•Gang Membership	•Sexual Behavior of Unattached Males •Recruitment into Prostitution by Pimps and Organizations

Development of the Prefrontal Lobes System:
The Origins of Identity and Identity Diffusion

- **Prefrontal Lobes:** higher thinking; conscience; thinking about being and becoming; self-reflection; combines Left and Right Hemisphere processes into "vision-logic" or aspirations to become more than one already is; hunger for heightened experiences

Development of the Prefrontal Lobes System:
The Origins of Identity and Identity Diffusion (Continued)

- **Identity:** the will to be oneself is actualized and accomplishments express one's unique contributions to the common good; a sense of purpose or direction for one's life
- **Identity Diffusion:** uncertainty about one's role in and contribution to the common good; lack of a sense purpose or direction for one's life

Some Basic Approaches To Examining Risk Factors

Risk Factors	Individual	School-Wide	Community-Wide
Early Onset	Talk with teachers, parents, family members	In-School Suspensions Out-of-School Suspensions Discipline Reports School Psychologist	Arrest Reports Disorderly Conduct Calls Petty Crimes Data
Positive Attitude	Talk with teachers, parents, family members	Discipline Reports School Surveys	Arrest Reports Field Interrogation Reports
Delinquent Peers	Talk with teachers, parents, family members	Offense Reports Juvenile Court Records Informants	Arrest Reports Juvenile Court Records
Poor Academic	Talk with teachers, parents, family members	Grades Standardized Tests	Grades Standardized Tests
Peer Rejection	Talk with teachers, parents, family members	School Social Worker	Informants

Some Basic Approaches To Examining Risk Factors

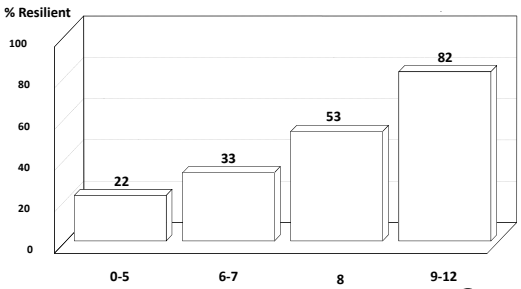
Risk Factors	Individual	School-Wide	Community-Wide
Availability of Firearms	Talk with teachers, parents, family members	Weapons Confiscated School Survey	Firearm Sales Firearm-related Crimes
Gang Membership	Talk with teachers, parents, family members	Informants School Surveys Visual Identification	Gang Data Field Interrogation Reports
School Dropout	Talk with teachers, parents, family members	School Dropout Rate	Arrest Reports Juvenile Court Records
Unemployment	Talk with teachers, parents, family members	After-School Loitering Self-Reports	Teen Employment Rates
Drug Dealing	Talk with teachers, parents, family members	Drugs Confiscated School Surveys Informants Visual Identification	Drug-related Arrests Other Agencies (DEA, ATF)

Protective Factors

SEARCH Institute; adapted

Fox Valley TECHNICAL COLLEGE

Relationship Between Protective Factors and Resilience at Grades 8 and 9 (High Risk Youth Only)



Fox Valley TECHNICAL COLLEGE

Prenatal/Infancy Onward

CHILD	FAMILY	SCHOOL	PEER	COMMUNITY
Family support	Positive family communication			

Toddler/Preschool Onward

Child	Family	School	Peer	Community
•Feeling safe at home, school, neighborhood	•High expectations •Family boundaries •Parent involvement in schooling	•Caring school climate		•Caring neighborhood

Mid-Childhood/Early Adolescent Onward

CHILD	FAMILY	SCHOOL	PEER	COMMUNITY
Service to others Values: caring, equality, social justice, integrity, honesty, responsibility, restraint	Time at home	Planning and decision-making Achievement motivation Bonding to school	Interpersonal competence Cultural competence Resistance skills Peaceful conflict resolution Positive peer Influence	Community values youth Creative activities Youth programs Neighborhood boundaries

Mid to Late Adolescence Onward

CHILD	FAMILY	SCHOOL	PEER	COMMUNITY
Positive Identity: sense of personal power, sense of purpose, positive view of future		School engagement		Adult role models Youth as resources Other adult relationships

Some Ways of Partnering in the Analysis Process

- Cooperation
- Coordination
- Collaboration

Let's Talk About It.

How are these ways of partnering being used to analyze frequent problem behaviors or trends?

What are some needed improvements?

Strengthening Interagency Partnerships for Safe Schools in Kenosha, Rock, and Outagamie Counties

Threat Reduction: A Partnership Approach

Fox Valley Technical College

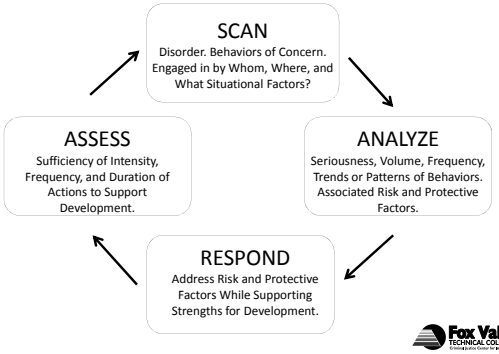
Criminal Justice Center for Innovation

What This Module Covers

- Deeper Look at Responding
- Roles of Partners in Scanning
- Deeper Look at Assessing
- Roles of Partners in Analyzing

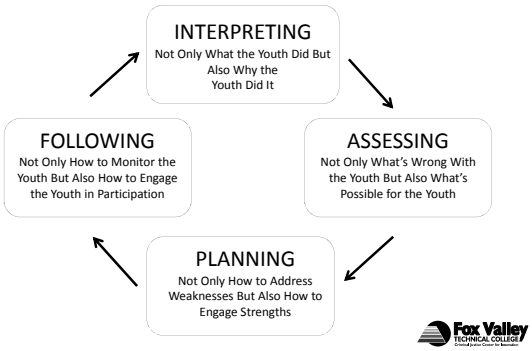
RESPONDING

The SARA Model for School Safety



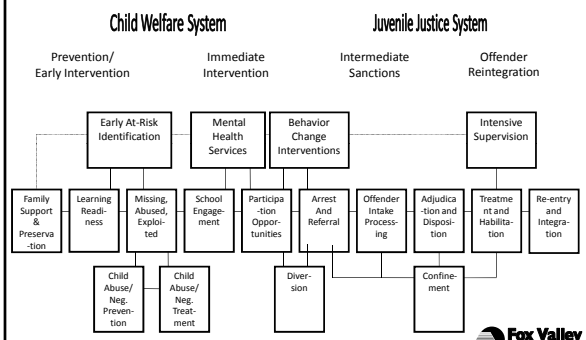
Positive Model for Response Development

(Alternatives to Suspension, Expulsion, and Arrest When Possible)



Fox Valley Technical College

Essential Cross-Disciplinary Management Processes



Fox Valley Technical College

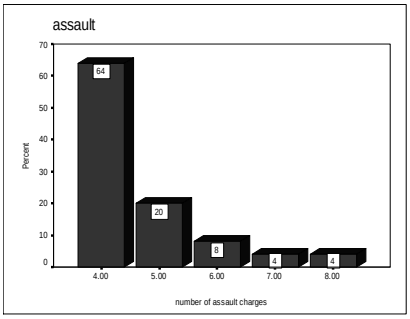
Findings From a Community Not Adequately Engaged in Information-Sharing: Repeat Offenders

N=25

The average number of prior assaults is 4.64

Sixty-four percent (16 youth) of the youth had four prior assault charges

Thirty-six percent (9 youth) of the youth had 5 or more prior assault charges

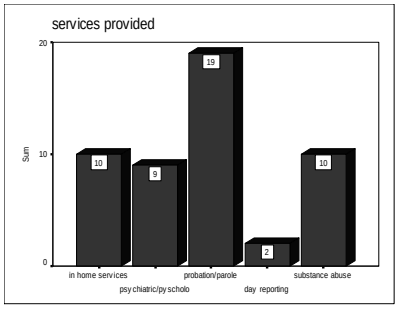


Fox Valley Technical College

Having Programs Was Not Enough Without Shared Assessment Information Guiding Responses

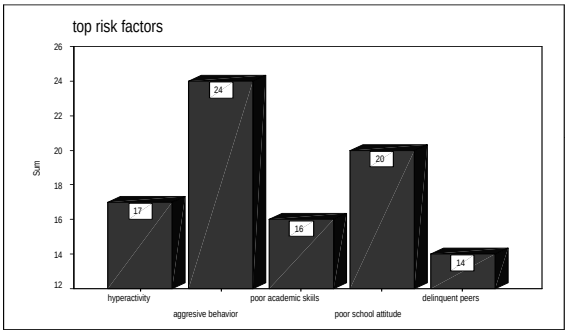
Most services provided was probation/ parole
• Nineteen youth (73%)

Second most services were:
•in-home services 10 youth (38%)
•substance abuse 10 youth (38%)

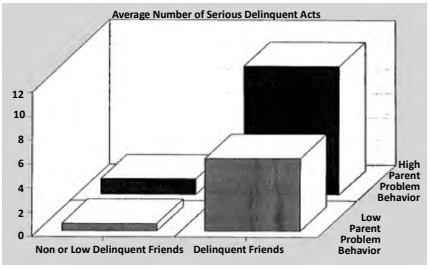


Fox Valley TECHNICAL COLLEGE

Services Provided Did Little to Lessen Offenders' Vulnerability to Risk Factors



Finding From Addressing Two Key Risk Factors:
Parent Problems and Delinquent Friends

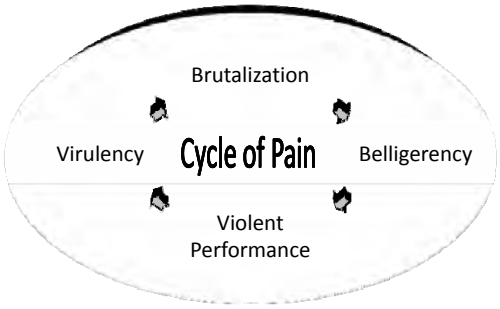


Fox Valley TECHNICAL COLLEGE

The SHIELD Strategy
Police Working With Agencies to Address Risk Factors
(See Your Handouts)

- Officers identify children/youth exposed to risk factors (e.g., domestic violence, gang activity, neglect, etc.)
- Officers rely on referral process supported by team of school, community, and agency staff
- Risk assessment instrument determines level of risk for general delinquency and gang activity
- Range of options tailored to address youth's risk exposure

Interpretation That Considers How Negative Experiences Cause R-System to Hijack the Brain



Source: Richard Rhodes as summarized by John Breeding, Ph.D. in *True Nature and Great Misunderstandings: On How We Care For Our Children According To Our Own Understanding*

Brutalization:
Coarse or Cruel Treatment Activates R-System

- First Component: forced subjugation by an authority or more powerful person or system (real and perceived)
- Second Component: personal horrification at seeing others of one's group subjugated
- Third Component: violent coaching; assigned the role of violent novice by someone, usually older

Belligerency: R-System Reaction to Coarse or Cruel Treatment

- Brutalized, violated individual broods over questions: "Why have I not fought back?" and "What can I do?"
- Defending image of self from experiences of submission, powerlessness, shame, guilt, and humiliation
- Reaches an inner mitigated solution: "I will fight back!"

Non-Empathetic Performance: R-System Engages In Dominating Others

- Chooses opportunities for "bad behavior" or provocations that "justify" it
- If Defeated: reevaluates behavior (can also be repeat of brutalization)
- If Victorious: actions likely to continue, expand, and intensify

Virulency: Identity Shift from Victim to Victimizer

- Gains notoriety after being victorious in a negative action
- Gains power of "social trepidation;" being feared or respected
- Devises "brutal" ways of establishing reputation and a feeling of pride

Assessment, Planning, and Following

- Identify Strengths: gifts or natural abilities, talents or what gifts become when they are used, and competencies or capabilities that support using one's talents
- Base planning on establishing arrangements whereby the youth participates in challenging activities that involve his or her gifts (discovering them), talents (using them), and competencies (skill sets that allow talents to be used in positive ways). Also address needs (e.g., treatment, social support, tutoring, family support, etc.)

Assessment, Planning, and Following (Continued)

- Ensure at least one adult remains connected to the youth in relation to the above for at least a year

Zero Tolerance Policies Short-Circuits Good Assessment

(Promoting School Connectedness: Evidence from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health, 2002)

- Found "school connectedness" the only school-related variable protective of eight different health risk outcomes among youth
- Main developmental needs associated with connectedness include steadily increasing opportunities for autonomy, demonstration of competence, support from adults, and acceptance by peers
- School connectedness found to be lower in schools that suspend students for minor infractions and use Zero-tolerance policies which mandate harsh punishment for first occurrence of an infraction

Beyond Zero Tolerance
School Discipline Approaches

- Employ measures that increase competencies and that avoid exclusion (except as a last resort)
- Turn mistakes into learning opportunities rather than failures meriting punishment
- Keep non-serious, non-habitual offenders out of the formal juvenile justice system

Beyond Zero Tolerance
School Discipline Approaches (Continued)

- Embed all disciplinary action in a relationship between the child and one or more caring adults
- Involve youth in establishing codes of honor and goals (e.g., school-wide attendance goal)

Beyond Zero Tolerance:
Classroom Management Strategies

- Classroom management programs that increased school connectedness and promoted self-discipline found after one year 30%-100% fewer students were sent to the principal's office for acting out in class, fighting, or assault
- Recommended Techniques:
  1) set clear expectations for individual responsibility and conflict resolution
  2) consistently acknowledge all students
  3) invite students to participate in classroom management, including help in setting grading criteria

A Bad Way of Responding: Embarrassment Shaming Tactics Cause More Contacts

Disintegrative – vs – Reintegrative Shaming

Disintegrative shaming involves feeling foolish, ridiculous, inadequate, defective, incompetent, awkward, exposed, vulnerable and insecure; and having low self-esteem (Hagan and McCarthy, 1997)

A Bad Way of Responding: Embarrassment Shaming Tactics Cause More Contacts (Continued)

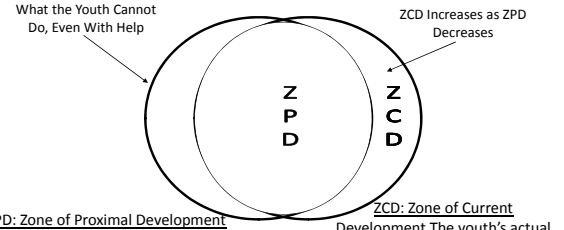
Disintegrative – vs – Reintegrative Shaming

Becomes a self-conscious emotion involving feelings of worthlessness or weakness [that places distance between] one's perception of self and ideal images of self (Tibbetts, 1997)

Reintegrative shame arises from secure attachments to those in authority and generates a desire to preserve the bond, or right the balance. This is what Restorative Justice is all about

A Good Way of Responding:

Mastering New Competencies: Reduce Gap Between Actual and Ideal Self
(Lev Vygotsky's Social Development Theory, 1934)



ZPD: Zone of Proximal Development Distance between the youth's actual development level as determined by independent problem-solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem-solving under adult guidance

ZCD: Zone of Current Development The youth's actual or current level of development as determined by effective independent problem-solving that involves action at the edge of their current competencies

Strength-Based Approaches Offer Exciting Turning Point Experiences to Youth

- Evidence from longitudinal studies suggest that turning points can positively alter developmental trajectories despite prior high risk profiles (Laub & Sampson, 2003; Werner & Smith, 2001)
- Such turning points provide the youth with a new cognitive framework for interpreting her/his world and place in it

Strength-Based Approaches Offer Exciting Turning Point Experiences to Youth (Continued)

- A strengths-based assessment provides youth with the opportunity to identify and/or develop their personal competencies and the role they can play in their school, peer groups, and community (Rapp, 2002)

Social Competencies

- Sense of humor
- Flexibility
- Empathy and caring
- Communication skills

Problem-Solving Competencies

- Generating alternative solutions
- Planning well
- Negotiating demands and producing change
- Critical thinking

Autonomy Competencies

- Appropriate independence (e.g. resistance skills)
- Sense of personal power
- Internal locus of control
- Adaptive distancing

Sense of Purpose And Future Competencies

- Positive goal-directedness
- Persistence and hardiness
- Delaying gratification
- Belief in a bright future

LINC Study Findings: Unintended Results Of Responses That Don't Focus on Strengths

- Higher rates of suspension/expulsion contributed to higher rates of violence
- Ninety-one percent of property offenders/drug dealers had been suspended once
- A strong association between expulsion and delinquent behavior
- Suspended boys responsible for three times more delinquent acts

Ways of Partnering in the Response Process

- Cooperation
- Coordination
- Collaboration

Let's Talk About It.

How are these ways of partnering being used to respond and formulate alternatives to suspension, expulsion, and arrest?

What are some needed improvements?

ASSESSING

Is Response Reducing Vulnerability?

- Each developmental stage possesses a heightened vulnerability to certain risk factors
- Effective responses must intervene at the optimum time in a developmentally appropriate fashion

Is Response Reducing Exposure?

- The duration and/or frequency of exposure influences extent of harmfulness
- Effective responses lessen duration and/or frequency of child's exposure

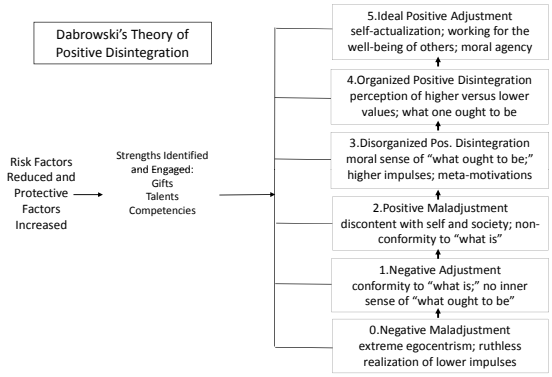
Is Response Lessening Accumulation and Interaction

- The larger the number of risk factors the greater the harm
- Effective responses address multiple risk factors simultaneously

Is Response Improving Settings?

- The extent of a setting's deterioration or disorder influences severity of risk exposure
- Effective responses provide services to the child and also improves peer group interactions, school, neighborhoods, and community

Is the Child on an Upward Developmental Trajectory?



Some Ways of Partnering in the Assessing Process

- Cooperation
- Coordination
- Collaboration

Let's Talk About It.

How are these ways of partnering being used to assess the effectiveness of responses?

What are some needed improvements?

Strengthening Interagency Partnerships for Safe Schools in Kenosha, Rock, and Outagamie Counties

Developing Effective Protocols

Fox Valley Technical College

Criminal Justice Center for Innovation

Three Points for Protocols

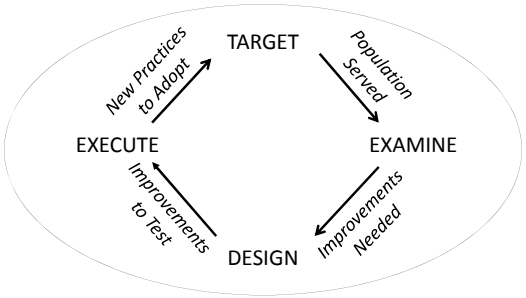
(This Afternoon Your Team or Group Will Develop One for Each: A Total of Three Protocols)

Prevention ⟷ Intervention ⟷ Enforcement

Universal	Selective	Early	Immediate	Control	Reintegrate
All Populations; Before Problems	Specific High-Risk Groups	Problem Behavior Starting	Problem Behavior Underway	Arrest, Adjudicate, Sanctions	Probation, Treatment, Monitoring

Alternatives to Suspension, Expulsion, Arrest

Process for Developing Interagency Protocols at Each Point



What Targeting Involves

1. Identification of population and related point in the system for which improvements are desired/needed (i.e., case review, seeing lots of the same type child not being served well, etc.)
2. Identification of existing agencies/programs involved with the population and/or operating at related point in the system

What Targeting Involves (Continued)

3. Identification of policies and procedures of the existing agencies/programs related to the target population
4. Identification of agency/program through which population is or can be consistently and easily reached (i.e., lead agency for the protocol)

What Examining Involves

1. Explore how critical dynamics related to the targeted population play into undesirable behaviors or situation
2. Determine priority needs for targeted population
3. Determine priority risk factors for targeted population

What Examining Involves (Continued)

4. Determine priority protective factors for targeted population
5. Specify what you want to change about the behaviors or situation of target population
6. Specify what needs to be improved in the responses of agencies/programs in order to produce change(s)

What Designing Involves

Figure out 2-4 new things that involved agencies/programs can do together for better service/response to target population

1. Specific individual or agency actions/procedures
2. The sequence and timeline for doing so
3. How each individual/agency will know what others are doing
4. How each individual/agency will know when to do its part
5. How each individual/agency will know when everything has been done and desired outcomes or situation achieved

What Executing Involves

1. Carrying out the specific individual or agency actions or procedures and adjusting them as needed
2. Following the sequence and timeline for doing so and adjusting them as needed
3. Sharing information as needed so that individuals and/or agencies will know what the others are doing

What Executing Involves (Continued)

4. Each individual or agency doing its part at the right time and/or making adjustments in doing so
5. Sticking with the process until desired outcome or situation is achieved, or until it is determined that the protocol doesn't work and a new one needs to be designed

Strengthening Interagency Partnerships for Safe Schools in Kenosha, Rock, and Outagamie Counties

Case Review and Team or Group Planning: Developing Protocols

Fox Valley Technical College

Criminal Justice Center for Innovation

Important Points to Remember

1. This case provides an overview of how a child progressed through the system
2. You are not developing a protocol about this case. But about your local situation, which this case helps you think about
3. It is fine to talk about actual cases with which you are familiar or cases that you want others to become aware of

Important Points to Remember (Continued)

4. This process is a brief simulation. An opportunity to practice the planning process and develop an experimental protocol to try out for about three months
5. In a real life protocol planning process, using this kind of case review process would be excellent. Protocols would be adjusted as information from the SARA process becomes available

Social Autopsy of a Child Born April 26, 1984

Date	Nature of Complaint	Agency	Action Taken
02/09/90	Abuse Complaint	DCS	Counseling
11/17/90	Neglect Complaint	DCS	Counseling
10/22/92	Absence from School	School/DCS	Counseling
11/15/92	Truancy	School/DCS	Counseling
04/16/93	Child Health	School/DCS	Action Deferred
08/26/93	Maltreatment	Police/DCS	Counseling
09/14/93	Truancy	School/DCS	Counseling
02/09/94	Truancy	School/DCS	Counseling
03/27/94	Neglect Complaint	Police/DCS	Juv. Court - Prob.
08/14/94	Neglect Complaint	Police/DCS	Custody Transfer

Date	Nature of Complaint	Agency	Action Taken
10/27/94	Abuse Complaint	DCS	Counseling
*7/19/96	Neglect Complaint	DCS	Counseling
10/27/96	Truancy	School/DCS	Deferred
11/16/96	Fighting in School	School	Counseling
11/24/96	Shoplifting	Police	Detention (1 day)
12/11/96	Truancy	School	Counseling
01/05/97	Fighting in School	School	Juv. Court - Prob.
01/26/97	Truancy	School	Counseling
02/23/97	Neglect Complaint	DCS/Juv. Court	Parental Counseling
03/16/97	Abuse Complaint	DCS	Foster Care
05/10/97	Shoplifting	Police	Probation
05/18/97	Fighting in School	School	In-School Suspension
05/22/97	Truancy	School	Probation

Date	Nature of Complaint	Agency	Action Taken
06/23/97	Assaulted by Adult (victim)	Police	Therapy
07/03/97	Shoplifting	Police	Probation
07/14/97	Contributing to Delinquency of Minor (victim)	Police	Counseling
07/24/97	Neglect Complaint	DCS	Counseling
08/29/97	Neglect Complaint	DCS	Unfounded
10/21/97	Fighting - Assault	Police	Probation
10/23/97	Truancy	School	Counseling
11/09/97	Runaway	DCS/Police	Shelter
01/16/98	Runaway	DCS/Police	Foster Care
04/22/98	Abuse Complaint	DCS	Foster Care

Date	Nature of Complaint	Agency	Action Taken
10/11/99	Truancy	School	Counseling
10/23/99	Runaway	DCS/Police	Detention
11/23/99	Shoplifting	Police	Juv. Court - Prob.
12/12/99	Loitering	Police	Probation
12/17/99	Loitering	Police	Dismissed
12/23/99	Public Intoxication	Police	Juvenile Detention
01/14/00	Truancy	School	Suspension
01/16/00	Runaway	Police	Returned Home
01/19/00	Runaway	Police	Returned Home
01/22/00	Loitering	Police	Juvenile Detention
01/28/00	Fighting and Assault	Police	Juvenile Detention (30 days)
03/26/00	Theft of Property	Police	Probation
04/17/00	Drug Possession	Police	Detention (5 days)
04/28/00	Runaway	Police	Deferred

Date	Nature of Complaint	Agency	Action Taken
05/16/00	Prostitution	Police	Deferred
07/20/00	Arrested w/Adult - Robbery	Police	Detention
10/28/00	Prostitution and Drugs	Police	Deferred
11/14/00	Drug Possession	Police	Released to Parent
11/16/00	Physical Abuse (victim)	Police	Released to State
12/24/00	Prostitution	Police	Released after bond hearing
01/28/00	Assault	Police	Juvenile Detention
03/14/00	Motor Vehicle Theft	Police	Juvenile Detention
06/11/00	Agg. Assault	Police	Juvenile Detention
09/21/00	Murder	Police	Remanded to Adult Court

Tab Three

Strengthening Interagency Partnerships for Safe Schools in Kenosha, Rock, and Outagamie Counties

Action Toolkit

Fox Valley Technical College
Criminal Justice Center for Innovation

Environmental Scan

Target Problem Behaviors	Type of Problem Behavior Threat	Nature of Present or Potential Threat Posed to School Safety
Attention Deficit/ Hyperactivity Disorder	Authority Conflict (Early Oppositional Behavior) Conflict with legitimate authority figures rather than respect for authority figures	
Early & Persistent Oppositional Defiant/Aggressive Conduct		
Truancy/Poor School Attendance	Authority Avoidance (Status Offending/ATOD Abuse Behavior) Conflict with authority figures rather than respect for authority figures	
Running Away		
Persistent Staying Out Late		
Substance Abuse		
Shoplifting	Covert Offending (Property Offending Behavior) Lying, vandalism, and theft rather than honesty and respect for authority	
Vandalism		
Theft/Burglary		
Drug-Selling		
Physical Fighting (incl. gang fighting)	Overt Offending (Aggressive/Person Offending Behavior) Aggressive as opposed to positive interpersonal and social problem-solving	
Physical/Sexual Assault		
Assault with Firearm (or other weapon)		
Gang Activity		

Source: Loeber & Hay, 1997 (adapted)

Environmental Scan Data

Target Problem Behaviors	Data Indicators	Do You Have These Data?	
		Yes	No
Attention Deficit/ Hyperactivity Disorder	Elementary & middle school students classified ADHD		
Early and Persistent Defiant/ Antisocial Conduct	Elementary & middle school disciplinary actions for defiant/aggressive misbehavior		
Truancy/Poor School Attendance	Truancy rate or annual number students classified truant		
	"Average daily attendance" rate		
Running Away	Juveniles referred for running away		
	Juveniles arrested or "picked up" for running away		
Persistent Staying Out Late	Juveniles "picked up" for curfew violations		
Substance Abuse	School disciplinary actions for substance abuse		
	Suspensions and expulsions for substance abuse		
	Delinquency intakes including charge of drug abuse/possession		
Shoplifting	Juvenile arrests for shoplifting		
	Delinquency intakes including charge of shoplifting		
Vandalism	Reported incidents of vandalism or graffiti on school property		
	Delinquency intakes including charge of vandalism or graffiti		
Theft/Burglary	Reported incidents of theft on school property		
	Delinquency intakes including charge of theft or burglary		
	Juvenile arrests for theft or burglary		
Drug-Trafficking	Juvenile arrests for drug-trafficking		
	Delinquency intakes including charge of drug-trafficking		
Physical Fighting (incl. gang fighting)	Reported incidents of fighting on school property		
	Suspensions and expulsions for fighting		
Physical/Sexual Assault	Reported incidents of physical assault on school property		
	Delinquency intakes including a charge of physical assault		
Assault with Firearm (or other weapon)	Juvenile arrests for assault with firearm		
	Delinquency intakes including charge of firearm possession		
Gang Activity	Juvenile gang-related arrests		

Targeting Social Disorder Problems

All of the problem behaviors cannot be adequately addressed by any single change effort. Selecting one or two priority problem behaviors to target with a project is advisable. A few criteria for use in helping the community make this selection are as follows:

- ***Urgency*** of the problem behavior (actual or potential harm of the behavior(s) on a daily basis; imminence of the threat to public safety).
- ***Prevalence*** of the problem behavior (large or potentially large number of events or percentage of children/youth exhibiting the behavior).
- ***Trend*** of the problem behavior (low but increasingly higher over time or high and not significantly declining over time).
- ***Momentum*** of existing efforts to address the problem behavior (wide range of resources already pre-positioned).
- ***Obstacles*** to addressing problem behavior (success in one to two years highly likely due to small number of obstacles).

Priority Problem Behavior Situation	Rationale for Selection

Risk Factors

	Child	Family	School	Peer	Community
Prenatal/Infancy Onward	Difficult temperament Hyperactivity Impulsiveness Attention deficit Low cognitive ability Pregnancy/delivery complications	Young mother Maternal depression Parental substance abuse/antisocial or criminal behavior Poor parent-child communications Poverty/low socio-economic status Serious marital discord			
Toddler/ Preschool Onward	Early onset of problem behavior Persistently aggressive/disruptive behavior Lying Risk-taking and sensation-seeking	Lack of guilt, lack of empathy Harsh and erratic discipline practices Maltreatment or neglect			Television violence
Mid-Childhood/ Early Adolescent Onward	Stealing Precocious: Sex & substance abuse Positive attitude toward problem behavior Victimization and exposure to victimization	Domestic violence	Poor parental supervision Poor academic achievement Truancy Negative attitude toward school (low commitment) School transitions	Delinquent peers/ siblings Peer rejection	Low SES Community disorganization (crime & violence)
Mid-Adolescent/ Early Adulthood Onward	Gun ownership Drug dealing Unemployment		School drop-out	Gang membership	

Source: U. S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, *Juvenile Justice Bulletin: Serious and Violent Juvenile Offenders*, May 1998

Note: Risk factors may be viewed as conditions, attitudes, and behaviors (e.g.; negative catalysts) that the child or youth must overcome in order to follow his/her line of talent and engage in talented performances that make positives differences (JVD Consulting, LLC, 2009).

Risk Factors Likely to Correlate with Authority Conflict Problem Behavior

Authority Conflict Problem Behavior	Stages of Development			
	Prenatal-Infancy Onward	**Toddler-Preschool Onward**	**Mid Childhood-Early Adolescence Onward**	**Mid to Late Adolescence Onward**
Attention Deficit/Hyperactivity	Marital discord/family conflict Perinatal conditions (premature birth, low birth weight, drug exposure) Teen pregnancy/parenting	Poor child-rearing practices		
Early & Persistent Defiant/Antisocial Conduct	Poor child-rearing practices Prolonged separation from parents/caregivers Poor emotion regulation	Maternal depression Parental isolation/low support Child maltreatment Poverty	Community violence	

There is strong interaction among perinatal risk (premature birth, low birth weight) and negative characteristics of the infant's immediate environment.
Community violence as a risk factor for early and persistent defiance/aggressiveness is reinforced by family/community poverty.

Risk Factors Likely to Correlate with Authority Avoidance Problem Behavior

Authority Avoidant Problem Behavior	Stages of Development			
	Prenatal-Infancy Onward	**Toddler-Preschool Onward**	**Mid Childhood-Early Adolescence Onward**	**Mid to Late Adolescence Onward**
Truancy/Poor School Attendance	Poverty Domestic violence	Poor parental supervision High mobility	Academic failure Out-of-School suspension Substance abuse	
Running Away		Childhood victimization	Truancy Family conflict Antisocial peers	
Persistent Staying Out Late		Poor parental supervision	Truancy Antisocial peers	
Substance Abuse			Truancy Availability of drugs Peer substance abuse Norms favorable toward substance abuse Family history of substance abuse Family conflict Low school commitment	

Runaways' delinquency involvement is likely to be chronic (Howell).
In a study of homeless and runaway adolescents in four Midwestern States, Whitbeck and colleagues (1999) found that street experiences such as affiliation with deviant peers, deviant subsistence strategies, risky sexual behaviors, and drug and/or alcohol use amplified the effects of early family abuse on victimization and depressive symptoms of young women.
In a survey of youth in shelters and on the streets of Toronto, it was found that family class background and its connections to erratic and explosive parenting, parental rejection, and family disruption, along with school experiences, account for youth's decisions to take to the streets (Howell).

Risk Factors Likely to Correlate with Covert Offending Behavior

Covert Offending Problem Behavior	Stages of Development			
	Prenatal-Infancy Onward	**Toddler-Preschool Onward**	**Mid Childhood-Early Adolescence Onward**	**Mid to Late Adolescence Onward**
Shoplifting		Poverty	Low cognitive ability Truancy Substance abuse Multiple delinquency behavior	Delinquent peers/siblings
Vandalism		Poverty	Low cognitive ability Truancy	Delinquent peers/siblings Gang involvement
Theft/Burglary		Poverty	Low cognitive ability Truancy	Delinquent peers/siblings Gang involvement
Drug-Trafficking		Poverty	Low cognitive ability Truancy Substance abuse Violent conduct Multiple delinquency behavior	Delinquent peers/siblings Gang involvement Weapon-carrying

In the Denver study, 72% of male drug sellers self-reported having committed violent acts, compared with 24% of non-sellers (Howell).
Van Kammen and Loeber (1994) found that Pittsburgh juvenile' initiation into drug selling is associated with a significant increase in weapon carrying. Of all the young men at age 19 who carried a weapon, 64% were also involved in selling drugs (Howell).
Initiation of drug selling was strongly related to previous involvement in multiple types of delinquency (Howell).

Risk Factors Likely to Correlate with Overt Offending Behavior

Overt Offending Problem Behavior	Stages of Development			
	Prenatal-Infancy Onward	**Toddler-Preschool Onward**	**Mid Childhood-Early Adolescence Onward**	**Mid to Late Adolescence Onward**
Physical Fighting (incl. gang fighting)	Domestic violence Child maltreatment	Poverty Early aggressiveness Violent victimization Hyperactivity/risk-taking Family conflict	Low cognitive ability Truancy Attention deficit/ hyperactivity Antisocial peers Substance abuse	Norms favorable toward violence Gang involvement
Physical Assault	Domestic violence Young motherhood Low maternal educational attainment Child maltreatment	Poverty Early aggressiveness Violent victimization Hyperactivity/risk-taking Parental criminality Family conflict	Low cognitive ability Truancy Attention deficit/ hyperactivity Property offending Substance abuse Delinquent peers	Norms favorable toward violence
Assault with Firearm (or other weapon)	Domestic violence Child maltreatment	Poverty Early aggressiveness Violent victimization Hyperactivity/risk-taking Family conflict	Exposure/access to firearm Low cognitive ability Truancy Attention deficit/ hyperactivity	Norms favorable toward violence Firearm-carrying
Gang Activity	Child maltreatment	Poverty Early aggressiveness Violent victimization Hyperactivity/risk-taking Parental criminality Family conflict	Availability of drugs Learning disability Academic failure Low school attachment Substance abuse Aggressive conduct Truancy Antisocial peers	

For both males and females, the profile of those at greatest risk [for engaging in physical assault] was that of a young, conduct-disordered adolescent reared by physically punitive and substance-abusing parents, who upon reaching late adolescence, engaged in antisocial and other risk-taking behavior (Woodward and Fergusson, 2000:254).

Some Risk Factor Data Indicators

Risk Factors	Settings	Possible Data Indicators
Difficult temperament (Prenatal-Infancy Onward)	Child	Anecdotal information from family support programs
Hyperactivity/Attention Deficit (Prenatal-Infancy Onward)	Child	Children diagnosed ADHD
Low cognitive ability (Prenatal-Infancy Onward)	Child	Early to late childhood aptitude test scores
Pregnancy/delivery complications (Prenatal-Infancy Onward)	Child	Drug-exposed newborns Fetal alcohol newborns Premature and/or low birth weight rates
Early and persistent defiant/ aggressive behavior (Toddler-Preschool Onward)	Child	Elementary school disciplinary referrals for defiant or aggressive behavior
Stealing (Mid Childhood-Early Adolescence Onward)	Child	Reported incidents of theft on school property
Early sexual involvement Mid Childhood-Early Adolescence Onward)	Child	Teen pregnancy rate Anecdotal information from students and/or parents

Risk Factors	Settings	Possible Data Indicators
Substance abuse (Mid Childhood-Early Adolescence Onward)	Child	School suspensions and expulsions for substance abuse Delinquency referrals for substance abuse
Victimization and exposure to victimization (Mid Childhood-Early Adolescence Onward)	Child	Incidents of bullying in school Incidents of fighting in school Domestic violence
Illegal weapon-carrying (Mid Adolescence-Late Adolescence Onward)	Child	Weapons confiscated on school grounds Juvenile arrests for weapon-related offenses
Unemployment (Late Adolescence Onward)	Child	Teen employment rate Anecdotal information
Teen/Young mother (Prenatal-Infancy Onward)	Family	Number or rate of teen pregnancy/births Number/rate births to women under age 22
Parental substance abuse (Prenatal-Infancy Onward)	Family	Adult arrests for DUI Adult arrests for illegal drug use or possession
Parental criminal involvement (Prenatal-Infancy Onward)	Family	Overall adult arrest rate

Risk Factors	Settings	Possible Data Indicators
Poor parent-child communications (Prenatal-Infancy Onward)	Family	Anecdotal information
Poverty/low socioeconomic status (Prenatal-Infancy Onward)	Family	Rate of percentage of families in poverty Percentage of students qualifying for free or reduced cost lunch
Serious marital discord (Prenatal-Infancy Onward)	Family	Divorce rate
Harsh and erratic discipline practices (Toddler-Preschool Onward)	Family	Anecdotal information
Child maltreatment (abuse) (Toddler-Preschool Onward)	Family	Child abuse and neglect rate or incidents
Domestic violence (Mid Childhood-Early Adolescence Onward)	Family	Police calls for domestic violence or spousal abuse
Poor parental supervision (Mid Childhood-Early Adolescence Onward)	Family/School	Police calls for juvenile loitering or disturbances

Risk Factors	Settings	Possible Data Indicators
Poor academic achievement (Mid Childhood-Early Adolescence Onward)	School	Student achievement test scores Student retention rate or percentage
Truancy (Mid Childhood-Early Adolescence Onward)	School	Truancy rate or percentage of student truant
Low commitment/negative attitude toward school (Mid Childhood-Early Adolescence Onward)	School	Average daily attendance rate
School transitions (Mid Childhood-Early Adolescence Onward)	School	Student mobility rate
School drop-out (Early to Late Adolescence)	School	School drop-out rate
Delinquent or antisocial peers or siblings (Mid Childhood-Early Adolescence Onward)	Peers	Juvenile delinquency as a percentage of total juvenile population
Peer rejection (Mid Childhood-Early Adolescence Onward)	Peers	Anecdotal information

Risk Factors	Settings	Possible Data Indicators
Gang involvement/membership (Early to Late Adolescence)	Peers	Gang-related arrests and/or delinquency referrals Overall incidents of gang-related offending
Television violence (Toddler-Preschool Onward)	Community	Anecdotal information
Economic deprivation (Mid Childhood-Early Adolescence Onward)	Community	County or city poverty rate
Community disorganization (Mid Childhood-Early Adolescence Onward)	Community	County or city crime rate Incidents of crime by various city or county geographical areas
Availability of firearms (Mid Childhood-Early Adolescence Onward)	Community	Firearm-related crime as percentage of overall crime Rate, number, of percentage of population owning a firearm
Availability of drugs (Mid Childhood-Early Adolescence Onward)	Community	Drug-related arrests as a percentage of total arrests Illegal drugs seized

Special Risk Factors and Data Indicators

Risk Factors	Settings	Possible Data Indicators
Community violence	Community	Number or percentage of violent crimes reported
Parental isolation-low support	Family	Number or percentage of single-headed households
Multiple delinquency behavior	Child	Percentage of juvenile offenders with three or more offenses
Low maternal educational attainment	Family	Percentage or number of mothers/parents not attaining a high school diploma
Family conflict	Family	Domestic violence Runaways
Property offending	Child	Delinquency referrals for property damage
Learning disability	Child	Number or percentage of students classified as learning disabled

Risk Factors	Settings	Possible Data Indicators
Norms favorable toward violence	School/Community	Incidents of violence on school grounds Adult and juvenile arrest for violent offenses
Norms favorable toward substance abuse	School/Community	Substance abuse-related school incidents Adult and juvenile drug-related arrests
Out-of-school suspension	School	Number or percentage of out-of-suspensions and expulsions
High mobility	Community	New residents to city or county (growth rate) In-migration – out-migration rates

Several Significant Risk Factors in the Youth/School/Community	Youth/School/Community Strengths That Can Counter or Overcome the Risk Factors

Protective Factors

	Child	Family	School	Peer	Community
Prenatal/Infancy Onward	**Support:** Family Support	**Support:** Positive family communication			
Toddler/ Preschool Onward	**Empowerment:** Feeling safe at home, at school, in the neighborhood	**Boundaries and Expectations:** High expectations Family boundaries Support: Parent involvement in schooling	**Support:** Caring school climate		**Support:** Caring neighbor-hood
Mid-Childhood/ Early Adolescent Onward	**Empowerment:** Service to others **Positive Values:** Caring Equality and social justice Integrity Honesty Responsibility Restraint	**Constructive Use of Time:** Time at home	**Social Competencies:** Planning and decision-making **Commitment to Learning:** Achievement motivation Bonding to school Homework Reading for pleasure **Boundaries and Expectations:** School boundaries	**Social Competencies:** Interpersonal competence Cultural competence Resistance skills Peaceful conflict resolution **Boundaries and Expectations:** Positive peer influence	**Empowerment:** Community values children and youth **Constructive Use of Time:** Creative activities Youth programs Religious commu-nity **Boundaries and Expectations:** Neighborhood boundaries
Mid-Adolescent/ Early Adulthood Onward	**Positive Identity:** Personal power Self-esteem Sense of purpose Positive view of personal future		**Commitment to Learning:** School engagement		**Boundaries and Expectations:** Adult role models **Empowerment:** Youth as resources **Support:** Other adult relationships

Source: The Search Institute, 1999 (adapted)

Organizing the Protective Factors into Four Categories Associated with Connecting

Caring and Support	Participation Opportunities
Family support	Positive family communication
Feeling safe at home, school, and neighborhood	Service to others
Parental involvement in schooling	Time at home
Bonding to school	Planning and decision-making
Caring school climate	Positive peer influence
Caring neighborhood	Creative activities
Community values youth	Personal power (autonomy)
Other adult relationships	Youth programs/activities
Self-esteem	School engagement
	Youth as resources

High Expectations	Healthy Norms
Family high expectations for children	Caring
Family boundaries	Equality and social justice
Achievement motivation	Integrity
School boundaries	Honesty
Neighborhood boundaries	Responsibility
Interpersonal and cultural competence	Restraint
Resistance skills	Religious community
Peaceful conflict resolution	Sense of purpose
	Positive view of personal future
	Adult role models

Several Significant Protective Factors Present or Needed in Youth/School/Community	Some Actions by Which the Protective Factors Can be Supported or Established

Gifts and Talents

Gifts
(Circle the numbers that correspond with the youth's gifts or possible gifts.)

Areas	Several Types of Gifts
1. Physical	1. Strength, flexibility, balance 2. Coordination, sharp reflexes 3. Physical endurance 4. Seeing, hearing, smelling, feeling or touching, tasting 5. Physical toughness, high tolerance of physical pain and exhaustion 6. Unconscious physiological operations (e.g.; good heart, lungs, digestion, response to physical stress, sexual drive)
2. Social and Emotional	7. Handling demands and making things happen 8. Staying loose under pressure 9. Sensitive 10. Sense of independence 11. Distancing myself from negative people, places, things 12. Self-discipline; self-regulation; self-control 13. Goals for myself 14. Persistence and not giving up easily 15. Optimism, sense of a positive future 16. Leadership 17. Awareness of other people's feelings 18. Awareness of my own feelings
3. Intellectual	19. Thinking clearly, critical thinking, analytic thinking 20. Memory 21. Observation 22. Judgment 23. Verbal expressiveness, communication skills 24. Argumentation 25. Concentration, focus
4. Creative	26. Originality 27. Empathy, caring, compassion, mercy, justice, sympathy, love 28. Inventiveness, coming up with solutions 29. Imagination 30. Artistic expressiveness 31. Humor
5. Spiritual	32. Sense of high self-worth or self-esteem 33. Sense of personal power 34. Self-transcendence (e.g,. going beyond self to help others) 35. Sense of calling (e.g., a strong feeling about why I'm in the world) 36. Sense of mission (e.g., an idea about my special role in the world) 37. Sense of purpose (e.g., an idea about what my role is to accomplish) 38. Sense of vision (e.g., an idea about what changes my role in the world can make)

Talents
(Circle the numbers that correspond with the youth's talents or possible talents.)

Areas	Several Types of Talents
1. Physical	1. Lifting, moving, running, carrying, jumping, etc. well 2. Complex physical maneuvers and quick physical reactions 3. Intense physical activity for long periods of time 4. Seeing, hearing, smelling, feeling, or tasting more intensely than others 5. Physical roughness, handling physical injury
2. Social and Emotional	6. Handling difficult situations and getting good results 7. Resolving conflicts, managing the "give-and-take" in situations 8. Being sharp, insightful; seeing into "how people and things really are" 9. Resistance skills, self-reliance, self-confidence 10. Defining and maintaining personal boundaries 11. Self-control, self-management, delaying gratification 12. Keeping my "eye on the ball," figuring out what my action will lead to 13. Being tough, determined, refusing to quit in the face of adversity 14. Hopefulness, "looking at the bright side," positive attitude 15. Setting directions for myself and following them; setting directions for others and helping them follow them 16. Solving problems, being diplomatic, handling things delicately 17. Attentiveness to my actions, feelings, and thoughts
3. Intellectual	18. Planning, figuring things out 19. Reminiscing, recalling, describing details about what I've seen, heard, or done 20. Mentally "picking things apart," being watchful, examining things 21. Decision-making, choosing, seeing differences, being smart about things 22. Using language and words interactively; choosing words precisely, being persuasive, public speaking, story-telling 23. Debating, convincing others, proving my point, forming reasons and drawing conclusions 24. Attentiveness, awareness, thinking things over, single-mindedness
4. Creative	25. Being creative, coming up with something new 26. Attachment with others, friendship-building, intimacy 27. Ingenuity, cleverness, taking initiative or being a self-starter 28. Seeing possibilities beyond the actual situation I'm in 29. Making or doing music, dance, drama, poetry, drawings, etc. 30. Telling jokes, being funny, creating merriment, being amusing
5. Spiritual	31. High regard for myself even when my actions aren't the best 32. Awareness of my gifts, what I can do, what I can become one day 33. Awareness of the universe and my place in it; awareness that I'm part of something bigger than myself 34. Feeling like I'm here to be a part of something larger than myself 35. Awareness that I have a unique role in the world 36. Contributing to something larger than myself and feeling like I am almost every day 37. Seeing what my family, school, friends, community, or the world can be or ought to be, and trying to make it happen

Empowering the Youth to Know What He or She Can Do

Two of the Youth's Special Talents	List Things That Can Be Done With Each Talent in Relation to Each Area Below	
	My Family	
	My School and/or Peers	
	My Community	
	My Family	
	My School and/or Peers	
	My Community	

Examples of How the Youth's Talents Can Be Called Upon

Several Domains of Performance		Examples of Related Talents	Examples of What a Youth Can Do (Talented Performances)
Primary Areas Human Social	Self	High regard for self	Maintaining a good diet and exercise.
	Family	Being innovative	Figuring out ways to have dinner together more.
	School	Problem-solving	Coming up with a solution for reducing school fights.
	Peers	Lifting, moving	Helping a friend's family move to a new house.
	Neighborhood/ Community	Seeing possibilities	Hosting a drug-free party.
Secondary Areas Cultural Political Financial Built Natural	Sports/Athletics	Endurance	Cross-country running.
	Social Action	Being tough	Protecting other youth from bullies.
	Arts/Crafts	Dance	Starting a dance troupe.
	Knowledge	Using language	Arguing for a new skateboard park.
	Religion/ Spirituality	Awareness of universe	Getting one's family to recycle better.
	Governance/ Politics	Decision-making	Being part of a youth advisory council.
	Business/ Commerce	Intense physical activity	Making money by mowing neighbors' lawns.
	Workmanship/ Technology	Inventiveness	Creating an online network with friends.
	Nature/ Plant & Animal Life	Being insightful	Organizing an adopt-a-pet for stray animals.

Protocol Development Tools

Target Population Selected	Reason(s) for Selection

Agencies/Programs Serving or Related to Target Population	Key Contacts

Review of What's Already Being Done

List the current actions or procedures of the agencies/programs that are working with the target population. Or what each agency/program basically does regarding the target population. Each should be very brief, focused only on the highlights or "the main stuff" that is done. (You will need this later for developing the protocol.)

Agencies/Programs Related to Target Population	Summary of Current Agency/Program Actions or Procedures

Review Questions on Current Agency/Programs Actions

1. Any obvious duplication of efforts? Or do two or more agencies/programs do "pretty much" the same thing?

2. Any obvious gaps in efforts? Or are there any “spots” at which it seems obvious that the child can “fall through the cracks,” not get help needed, etc.?

3. Which agency/program seems to be in the best position to consistently make contact with or identify or find individuals in the target population?

4. Is this agency/program willing to be the lead agency/program in carrying out this protocol? (This role does not mean “being in charge.” It means that the protocol to be designed begins with this agency/program; or it is the start point in the sequence of actions that will be involved in the protocol.)

Our Interagency Protocol

Target Population:

Priority Needs:

1.

2.

3.

Priority Risk Factors:

1.

2.

3.

Priority Protective Factors:

1.

2.

3.

Targeted Improvements or Changes (Behaviors of Population and/or Related Situation):

1.

2.

3.

Action or Procedure Steps	Agency/Program Responsible
1.	
2.	
3.	
4.	
5.	
6.	
7.	
8.	

Steps to insure that each individual or agency/program knows what the others are doing.

1.

2.

3.

Steps to insure that each individual or agency/program will know when to do its part.

1.

2.

3.

Steps to insure that each individual or agency/program will know when everything has been done and desired behaviors or situation achieved.

1.

2.

3.

Gap Analysis: How Well Our Protocol Will Serve/Address the Target Population

Type of Gaps	Pertinent Issues/Barriers (List Additional Ones You Can Think Of)	We're OK	We're Not OK
Availability Agency actions or procedure listed above insure or will allow that services needed or wanted by persons in the target population are of a sufficient amount.	Waiting lists Enrollment limits Eligibility requirements Limited space Hours of work don't match victims' schedules		
Accessibility Agency actions or procedures listed above insure or will allow services to be acquired by all in the target population who need/want it.	Location of services Cost of services Transportation		
Appropriateness Agency actions or procedures listed above insure or will allow services to address pertinent characteristics of the target population.	Gender Culture Race/Ethnicity Socioeconomic status Educational level Language (i.e., need for interpreter)		
Adequacy Agency actions or procedures listed above insure or will allow needs, risk factors, and protective factors to be addressed with sufficient intensity, frequency, and duration.	Limits placed on number of counseling sessions Group meets only once a month		

Tab Four

Resources

This tab contains resources and scholarly articles for strenthening interagency partnerships for safer schools. The following resources can be found in the order below.

- First, Do No Harm
- Law Enforcement Referral of At-Risk Youth Shiled Program
- Protecting Adolescents from Harm
- Supporting Youth by Strengthening Communities

First, Do No Harm

How Educators and Police Can Work Together More Effectively to Preserve School Safety and Protect Vulnerable Students

A CHHIRJ Policy Brief

by Johanna Wald and Lisa Thurau

March 2010

Charles Hamilton Houston
Institute for Race & Justice
Harvard Law School

FIRST, DO NO HARM: HOW EDUCATORS AND POLICE CAN WORK TOGETHER MORE EFFECTIVELY TO KEEP SCHOOLS SAFE AND PROTECT VULNERABLE STUDENTS

By Johanna Wald and Lisa Thurau
CHARLES HAMILTON HOUSTON INSTITUTE FOR RACE AND JUSTICE • POLICY BRIEF • MARCH 2010

Introduction

A decade after police officers have become a ubiquitous presence in public schools across the country, their purpose and impact remain shrouded in mystery. The responsibilities, daily functions and goals of "school resource officers" (SROs) are often subject to very different interpretations by police and school officials within districts, and poorly understood by parents, students, and even the courts. There is surprisingly little data available about how they interact with school officials and students, or about the numbers, types and reasons for arrests and court summonses they make of students while deployed in schools.

Yet, the implications of a constant police presence in schools for students—particularly students of color, low-income students, and students with disabilities—are enormous. Studies show that these vulnerable populations are disproportionately suspended, expelled, arrested and summonsed to juvenile court for behaviors committed in schools.[1] Without clearer guidelines, laws, policies and practices protecting them, and without stronger oversight of administrators' directives and police actions in school, these students are at heightened risk of being pushed out of school and needlessly thrust into the criminal justice system.

This policy brief offers recommendations for how school resource officers can be more effectively deployed in public schools. It provides an overview of how and why police moved in such critical masses into middle and high schools across the country, identifies studies that have examined some of the consequences of placing police in schools, and summarizes major findings from a series of interviews the authors conducted during 2008-2009 of police chiefs and school resource officers in 16 Massachusetts school districts. The last section of this brief offers recommendations for steps that we believe schools, districts, and state legislatures can take to maximize the benefits of placing school resource officers in school, while reducing the likelihood of criminalizing student behaviors that should be handled more appropriately within the school environment.

Overview

Since the mid-1990's, police have been deployed in public schools in unprecedented numbers. Often referred to as "School Resource Officers" (SROs), these law enforcement professionals have assumed a variety of roles that range from strict enforcers of disciplinary codes and laws, to "case workers," to "keepers of the peace," to "an extra pair of hands" for school administrators. The rapid increase in the numbers of officers placed permanently in school buildings, from an estimated 9,446 in 1997[2] to a current presence of approximately 17,000 nationally,[3] came about through the convergence of several interrelated events and trends, including: (1) the availability of federal funds to support police in schools through the Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) program; (2) high visibility shootings in schools, most notably Columbine in 1999, that created a wave of fear about violence in schools throughout the country, and harsh new "zero tolerance" policies in schools; and (3) aggressive "tough on crime" rhetoric about juveniles nationally, including the infamous use of the term "superpredator" to describe an anticipated[4] wave of merciless youth offenders (with a highly racialized sub-text), and the passage of new laws stiffening penalties against them in every state.

These concerns conflated to create extensive school-based police involvement across the nation in the name of security. Many schools devoted increasingly large proportions of their resources and attention to containing the

violence and chaos they viewed as likely to occur when so many potential lawbreakers gather in one place.[5] Not surprisingly, behaviors such as schoolyard scuffles, shoving matches, and even verbal altercations—once considered exclusively the domain of school disciplinarians—took on potentially sinister tones and came to be seen as requiring law enforcement intervention.[6]

In response, two camps quickly formed regarding this expanded role for police in schools. On the one hand, police officers, school and government officials, and many parents believed they were needed to squelch violence and crimes, and to keep schools safe and orderly. New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg encapsulated this view when he beefed up police presence in "Impact Schools" in New York City. "We launched the Impact Schools initiative in order to put a stop to the culture of crime and disorder that was ruining the educational opportunities for our students." Similarly, in another instance, when school officers were accused of unnecessary force, a police chief was quoted as saying: "School safety agents are the backbone of school security…They take front-line responsibility for keeping schools safe." [7]

The other camp, composed of civil rights, legal and youth advocates, as well as parent and community organizations, expressed distress and concern about what they characterized as the growing criminalization of student behaviors that in the past would have been addressed through a call to parents or after school detention. Some have argued that officers' and principals' stated concerns about safety actually mask the true purpose of placing police in schools: to exclude youth who do not conform to behavioral, attitudinal or educational demands, or who may bring test scores down. They cite the enactment of new laws such as "Disrupting Public Schools" and "safety ordinances" that could be interpreted so broadly as to criminalize almost any student misbehavior.[8] One study, for example, examined data from several school districts in Florida and found that schools gave harsher punishments to low-performing students during "testing windows." The authors concluded that school officials used "selective discipline" to "reshape the testing pool" in order to keep low-performing students home on testing days.[9]

Reports and Studies on Role and Impact of Police in Schools

Although data on school-based arrests are very difficult to obtain, the Advancement Project, the NAACP-LDF, Building Blocks for Youth, the ACLU, Applied Research Center, and individual scholars, including Jennifer Obidah, Victor Goode, Ronnie Casella, and Matthew Theriot have released reports or studies that document incidences of school-based arrests in specific schools and districts.[10] In 2005, the Advancement Project's report, *Education on Lockdown: The Schoolhouse to Jailhouse Track*,[11] examined the role of police in three school districts—Denver, Chicago, and Palm Beach County—and concluded that "schools are overreaching by inappropriately adopting law enforcement strategies that are leading students unnecessarily into the juvenile or criminal justice system."[12] The Advancement Project has since created action kits and started a website to help community groups advocate for less punitive approaches to school discipline.[13]

The American Bar Association, in its reports on the effectiveness of juvenile justice systems in specific states, also expressed the concerns of several juvenile judges over the growing numbers of school-based court referrals. In a 2003 ABA report about Ohio entitled, *Justice Cut Short*,[14] one judge complained that Ohio schools were trying to "dump" disciplinary cases into the courts: "There is a perception at least that when we started putting cops in schools that teachers took it as an opportunity

to use the cop for disciplinary issues…"[15] Another ABA report on North Carolina found that disproportionate representation of minority students in the juvenile justice system was the result, in part, of the large numbers of referrals coming from schools. The report stated that "it was apparent that North Carolina school systems refer large numbers of juveniles to the juvenile court system, frequently in situations that could and should have been addressed by the school system itself….it was reported in one county that 2/3 of delinquency case complaints come from the public school system. Children as young as 6 and 7 are referred to court for issues that seem clearly to relate to special education status."[16]

In 2003, the House of Delegates of the ABA voted to adopt the recommendation of its Commission on Youth at Risk urging schools and courts to "reduce criminalization of truancy, disability-related behavior, and other school related conduct." The delegates, in recognition of the ABA's extensive reporting on the racially disparate impacts of zero tolerance, resolved to urge "federal and state legislatures to legally define, and assure standardized on-going monitoring, reporting, and accountability for, measuring graduation rates, school dropout rates, school truancy, and disciplinary violations resulting in student suspensions and expulsions, with data disaggregated by race, disability and other disparately affected populations, and ensure that no group of students is disparately subjected to school discipline or exclusion."[17]

More recently, the ACLU published a report in 2008 entitled, *Hard Lessons: School Resource Officer Programs and School-Based Arrests in Three Connecticut Towns.*[18] It examined the School Resource Officer program in three schools in Connecticut and found serious structural flaws, including a lack of clarity about the role of SROs, and troubling racial disparities in the reasons for, and number of, students arrested. The report makes a series of recommendations concerning clarifying program objectives, improving training, evaluation, and data collection, and reducing potential harm to vulnerable populations.

Another study, authored by Matthew Theriot and published in the *Journal of Criminal Justice*,[19] provides some quantitative confirmation of the positions taken on both sides of this debate. Professor Theriot compared arrest rates at 13 schools with an SRO to those at 15 schools without an SRO in the same school district. He found that having an SRO in the building predicted a decrease in arrests for the most serious offenses, such as assault and weapons charges, but an increase in arrests for "disorderly conduct," which are generally considered the most minor, and subjective, offenses committed by students in schools. Theriot's findings would seem to support law enforcement claims that the presence of SROs may deter students from bringing in weapons or engaging in assaults in school, as well as arguments made by children's advocates that the increased deployment of SROs in schools is leading to the criminalization of behaviors that could be handled more appropriately by school disciplinarians.

Increasingly, advocates' efforts to restrict the discretion accorded to police to arrest students in school are meeting with success. After the release of its report, The Advancement Project worked with a community group, Padres y Jovenes Unidos, to rewrite Denver Public Schools' disciplinary code and change practices. Among other changes, the code now stipulates that "referrals to the police are only available for the most serious misconduct."[20]

In June 2009, the Florida legislature passed a bill that sharply limits the offenses for which students can be arrested in school and requires all school districts to draw distinctions between students who "pose a real threat to the school and those who merely exercise bad

judgment."[21] It eliminates minor fist fights and other small offenses from those requiring notification to police. Connecticut recently passed a bill (not yet operational) that limits the offenses for which students can be suspended. In Clayton County, Georgia, Juvenile Judge Stephen Teske observed that far too many students were being referred to his court for minor misbehaviors in school. He spearheaded a successful effort to bring together police, school officials, and juvenile justice officials to rewrite school disciplinary codes so as to reduce court referrals. Judge Teske now provides technical assistance to other judges and organizations throughout the country seeking to undertake similar processes in their school districts. The Birmingham School District in Alabama recently adopted this approach to reform its disciplinary and policing strategies.

Major Findings from Massachusetts Study

Between November 2008 and May 2009, the authors conducted interviews with school police chiefs and school resource officers in 16 school districts in Massachusetts. We attempted to secure interviews in rural, urban and suburban districts from across the state. In addition, we requested school-based arrest data and Memoranda of Understanding (MOUs) between police and school systems from every district we interviewed. Unfortunately, record-keeping in this area is notoriously inadequate, not just in Massachusetts but across the country. None of the departments provide more than tallies, making it impossible to disaggregate arrests by race, sex, special education status, grade or school. In some departments, police do not differentiate between school-based arrests and other juvenile arrests. One large urban police department's data collection system—in our judgment the best in the state—divided all collected data by month and school and provided daily tallies of arrests for different charges. But this was the exception rather than the rule. Finally, the data we did receive typically document only arrests, and do not include summonses or referrals to clerk magistrates. While referrals to clerk magistrates usually have less serious consequences for students than arrests, they nonetheless thrust youths into the juvenile justice system, disrupt the educational process, and can accelerate their alienation from school and likelihood of dropping out.[22]

Despite these limitations, there are a number of surprising and important findings that we drew from these interviews, summarized below:

1. Contrary to the assumptions of many, there is tremendous variation in approaches to school policing used by police officers and school districts.

2. The decision to arrest or issue a court summons rather than to use traditional school disciplinary measures is often based on subjective reasoning.

3. Officers maintain that placing SROs in the school building, rather than relying upon a "call for service" model, will *reduce* the number of school-based arrests over a period of time.

4. Many officers care deeply for, and express tremendous dedication to, students.

5. Officers' lack of training is problematic.

6. Officers consider the use of clerk magistrate hearings (or other forms of diversion programs) to be more effective in changing student behaviors than immediate referral to juvenile court.

7. Officers uniformly perceive school administrators to be unschooled in criminal law.

8. SROs are expected to reflect and reify schools' views of their students.

9. There is little internal or external oversight of the work of SROs or examination of their overall effects on school climate.

10. As presently structured, accountability for misconduct is demanded solely of students.

1. **Contrary to the assumptions of many, there is tremendous variation in approaches to school policing used by police officers and school districts.**

At one end of the continuum, some departments espoused the authoritarian/zero tolerance approach in which surveillance and reports of misconduct, from fights to behavior considered "disruptive," put youths at risk of arrest—whatever the context. On the other end, one SRO department openly proclaimed a "case worker" approach in which the officers viewed themselves as resources, and often as advocates, for youths and their families within the school system. Several SROs noted that they frequently recommended more lenient treatment of students than school officials, and often asked school officials to consider an incident within the context of a child's entire life, rather than to take a rigid approach to behavioral code violations. For example, one explained: *"We got a call about a kid stealing sandwiches from the cafeteria. They [school administrators] want him arrested. We get there and talk to the kid and hear that he hasn't eaten since yesterday…. we're not going to arrest in those situations."* In fact, this continuum of approaches was observed even *within* some of the larger police departments and school systems.

The way in which SROs treated fist fights in school offers an example of these different approaches. Many officers recognized that fighting among teenagers is normal if not normative. But their responses to a test scenario varied greatly as a function of the extent to which they felt it necessary to implement a zero tolerance policy for fighting—policies derived from the school's code or of their own making. Again, much of the decision was determined by context. Officers fairly routinely reported that school administrators' and teachers' responses to fights were "hysterical."[23]

All SROs surveyed were asked how they respond to the same scenario, in which two girls are fighting in a school hallway. During the course of the fight, one girl kicks the other. SROs come upon the fighting girls and separate them. The scenario explicitly involved kicking because such conduct often occurs during fights and can be charged as an assault and battery with a dangerous weapon, a "shod foot." In Massachusetts, this charge is a felony and allows a principal to indefinitely suspend a student while charges are pending.[24] We noted two approaches to officers' decision-making concerning this scenario. One officer characterized these as *giving you an opportunity for intervention or for suppression.* In one approach, the officers made an effort to *understand* the origins and larger context for the fight, and to consider various options for a response:

- Are the girls fighting in school to be safe?
    - These officers perceived that many fights occurred in school because youth hoped officers would referee the fights and break them up before they became dangerous.

- Are any of these girls known to be special education students or experiencing severe problems at home?
- Is anyone injured?
- What is the severity of the injuries?
- Don't I know you?
    - "Frequent flyers" (students who were frequently in trouble in school) got less benefit of the doubt and fewer opportunities to explain themselves or take advantage of [yet another] mediation option.
- What's the subtext of the fight?
    - Is one of these girls resisting gang recruitment? Is there a boy involved? Is there bullying? Is one girl a victim of the other?

In contrast, the officers following a strict zero tolerance approach thought about the incidents in the manner chiefs described as a "black and white street cop." This approach was characterized by an approach to *stop and control* the incident:

- The rule is no fighting in school:
    - Is this a first fight for the girls involved?
    - If so, clerk magistrate summons.
    - If not, arrest.
- How severe is the fight?
    - Can we charge for assault and battery with dangerous weapon or aggravated A&B with serious bodily injuries?
    - Were weapons used?

2. The decision to arrest or issue a court summons rather than to use traditional school disciplinary measures is often based on subjective reasoning.

The factors that determine whether a student is referred to the court (either through a summons or through an arrest) or subject only to school discipline are often defined by an officer's personality, a youth's demeanor and attitude, the extent of pressure put on the SRO by school officials, and the availability of alternatives for dealing with the youth. Several officers also told us that they made arrest decisions based upon what they knew about the student's family background and history. For example, one SRO explained his approach to dealing with a boy who threatened his girlfriend because she was receiving texts from other boys. He said that he knew the youth's family and that "the kid is basically raising himself. His parents both work two jobs and are never home."[25] The officer planned to call the boy's mother, arrange a home visit, and work with the school to refer the boy to an anger management class. Conversely, another officer explained to us that he was inclined not to give a young woman who had become disruptive at school the benefit of the doubt, in part because her family life was "a mess" and he knew she would not receive any guidance at home. It became clear that decisions about whether a student's behavior crossed into the "criminal" category were often based on the experiences and temperaments of the officers and predilections of school officials more than on any set of guidance or protocols they had received.

We also found that officers turned to law enforcement responses in the absence of other strategies or mechanisms in place in schools for dealing with student misbehaviors. For example, one officer described arresting a 10 year old boy for opening the front door to the school after he had been told repeatedly not to do so by the assistant principal. *"What else was there for me to do?… I had to arrest him. He was driving the A.P. berserk and not listening to any of us."*

3. **Officers maintain that placing SROs in the school building, rather than relying upon a "call for service" model, will reduce the number of school-based arrests over a period of time.**

The SROs we interviewed in almost every district strongly insisted that, when a police officer operating on a "call for service" basis relies solely on a school administrator's characterization of an incident, in conjunction with the administrator's pressure to have the student removed from the school, the likelihood of arrest is greater. In schools where an SRO is a daily presence and member of the school community, the SRO, students, and administrators become more familiar and comfortable with one another, and arrests decrease, sometimes dramatically. Unfortunately, we were unable to confirm these claims because of a lack of accurate data, available over several years, on school-based arrests in these districts. The study cited earlier in this brief, authored by Matthew Theriot, both supports and refutes this contention. Theriot found that the presence of an SRO does reduce arrests for serious offenses, such as assaults and weapons possession, but increases arrests for the more subjective, and minor, offense of "disorderly conduct."

4. **Many officers care deeply for, and express tremendous dedication to, students.**

Officers counsel students, go the extra mile to meet with their families, and attend school dances and sports events. In one case, an officer organized a talent show to help students with low self-esteem find their voice and pride. The commitment of these officers was expressed in their willingness to use "non-incident" time to joke and talk with students in the hallways, cafeteria and gym. In some schools, the racial, ethnic, and class similarity between officers and students was a major source of bonding and empathy. These SROs clearly felt this work was the highest form of "giving back," which also appeared to reduce the number of arrests they made at school over time.

5. **Officers' lack of training is problematic.**

Many officers take courses offered by the National Association of School Resource Officers (NASRO), but these are not required by the state or district. Moreover, NASRO instruction often focuses on "getting officers out of the patrol car and into the schools." It tends to emphasize technical training, such as a review of laws determining whether *Miranda* warning must be given and the deployment of security devices and cameras within schools. The officers with whom we spoke did not receive training in mediation, basic de-escalation techniques, or in detecting symptoms and behaviors of youths who have been exposed to violence, trauma, or abuse. They rarely had any formal knowledge of, or training in, adolescent psychology or development, how to secure the respect and cooperation of youths, or on the behavioral precautions and protections that need to be taken with youths on Individual Education Plans (IEPs). In many schools, this lack of training limits the arsenal of strategies available to SROs to use in place of arrest or summons.

6. **Officers consider the use of clerk magistrate hearings (or other forms of diversion programs) to be more effective in changing student behaviors than immediate referral to juvenile court.**

The officers explained that many youths perceive that once they are referred to juvenile court, they have no incentive to behave well. If this finding is validated statistically, it has huge implications for keeping youth out of the formalized operations of the juvenile justice system, for encouraging the creation of more diversion programs (particularly ones that spare students suspension and lengthy absences from school) and for reducing the speed at which youths are placed on the track pushing them out of school and into the criminal justice system.

7. **Officers uniformly perceive school administrators to be unschooled in criminal law.**

Many SROs told us that they believe school administrators do not understand under what circumstances students may be arrested. They also frequently complained that teachers and administrators asked them to intervene in situations that were clearly school discipline matters. They commonly expressed the view that, when school officials and teachers failed to establish orderly environments, they turned too quickly to law enforcement solutions. This seemed particularly true in school systems where many of the teachers were relatively inexperienced. As one SRO summed it up: "*Over-using police leads to teachers losing authority and control over their classroom.*" Another noted that: *"We're not going to arrest a kid for refusing to obey a teacher but that's what they want us to do. We have to draw the line."*

8. **SROs are expected to reflect and reify schools' views of students.**

SROs are expected to accept school officials' labeling of, and attitudes toward, certain students. We noted distinct differences between attitudes expressed by SROs in suburban and rural schools with largely homogenous white student populations, and those expressed by SROs assigned to urban schools with predominantly African American and Latino student bodies. SROs viewed suburban administrators as more protective of their schools' reputations, to the point of ignoring or denying criminal activity in schools. In contrast, many believed that urban administrators were more likely to take a harder line on disciplinary code violations and were quicker to ask police to issue court referrals and arrests.

9. **There is little internal or external oversight of the work of SROs or examination of their overall effects on school climate.**

The lack of interest in collecting accurate or detailed data about school-based arrests and summonses by most police and school departments was striking. It is also worth noting that the Massachusetts Department of Education and the Executive Office of Public Safety seem equally uninterested in collecting, analyzing and making public this data. This gap in information makes it extremely difficult to contest or verify police claims about reductions in school-based arrests over time, and makes them vulnerable to claims that they are over-arresting or arresting in a biased manner. In most schools, neither SROs nor school officials give formal notification to parents and students of the existence of SROs, the scope of their role and powers in school-based activities, or students' due process rights. In some schools, SROs and school officials meet regularly. In others, the relationship between police and school officials is entirely informal

and focused only on incidents. In only one of the 16 departments that we visited were officers given explicit protocols for their conduct in the schools. External review of school officials and SRO practices is conducted only by clerk magistrates and courts, which have no public reporting obligations.

10. As presently structured, accountability for misconduct is demanded solely of students.

The title "School Resource Officer" suggests that these professionals bring additional resources to a school environment. Our interviews suggest that, in fact, some SROs feel that one of their primary functions is to provide a caring adult and role model for students in school. However, in our observations, SROs rarely develop any resources beyond the traditional tools of law enforcement. School officials rely on SROs to address problematic behavior instead of expanding their repertoire of non-law enforcement responses (i.e. therapeutic, public health, restorative justice, peer mediation) to disruptive students and incidents. What this means is that, despite the best intentions of individual school resource officers, the presence of police reinforces and strengthens a school's ability to exclude and remove problematic students, rather than secure additional resources and services to help them. Arguably, cities' allocation of funding for police diminishes funding available for school-based counseling services. This process of exclusion and criminalization also transfers the burden of accountability and blame entirely to youths, without requiring any of the adults involved—the teacher, the principal, the SRO or the police chief—to assess or monitor his or her own role in creating environments that are not conducive to positive learning or respectful interactions.

Recommendations for Reforms

> We must care and give to those in need whether they like us or not. Ineffective discipline is when we fail to be fair…The focus of discipline should be on creation of a corrective action plan rather than punishment for punishment's sake. The plan should emphasize training and remediation along with more creative interventions designed to correct deficits in performance…[26]
>
> --Sheriff Lee Baca, Los Angeles Sheriff's Department Statement on Education Based Discipline for Police Officers

The following recommendations are predicated upon our acknowledgement that school resource officers have become an accepted fact in most schools. In general, we found that their presence enjoys widespread parental and community support. In the absence of large budget cuts to police departments, they are likely to remain fully engaged in most high schools, and many middle and even elementary schools, in the foreseeable future. Thus, we put forth suggestions that we believe will maximize the benefits and "resources" derived from their continued involvement in schools, capitalizing on the opportunity this offers for "training and remediation along with more creative interventions" for youth, while minimizing the potential for harm to vulnerable students.

Summary of Recommendations

1. Schools and SROs Should Clearly Define the Consequences of Certain Behaviors and Communicate Those Consequences to Students and Parents.

2. The Federal and State Departments of Education Should Mandate Better and More Comprehensive Data Collection About School Arrests and Summonses from School and Police Departments.

3. School Districts Should Mandate Community Oversight.

4. States and Districts Should Require More and Better Training for SROs.

5. Schools Should Replace Zero Tolerance with Graduated Sanctions and Implement Programs Aimed at Addressing Root Causes of Student Misbehavior.

1. Schools and SROs Should Clearly Define the Consequences of Certain Behaviors and Communicate Those Consequences to Students and Parents

In particular, they should identify those behaviors that may lead to arrest or court summons. Youths rarely understand, or are even aware of, the law and the consequences of their conduct. Indeed, officers often reported to us that students held many incorrect assumptions about criminal law and legal process. Further, in view of the level of discord among adults (including teachers, administrators, SROs, and the courts) about how to treat certain behaviors, it is clear that such distinctions are highly subjective and no doubt confusing to youths. For these reasons, we strongly recommend:

- School districts should closely examine and follow the approach now in place in Denver, Colorado, Clayton County, Georgia and Birmingham, Alabama Public Schools. In those systems, an agreement has been worked out by all parties, and communicated to students and parents, that law enforcement intervention by means of either arrest or summons will be limited to certain offenses. Emphasizing an educational "teachable moment" and socializing role for SROs should be the focus of SRO involvement in such a model. It is essential that students and their families, school officials, and SROs are clear about what conduct will trigger police intervention and put students at risk of summons or arrest.
- The State Department of Education should mandate, as a key element of SRO programs, the creation of an explanatory guide and presentation on how school administrators and SROs will respond to particular behaviors and the consequences that students risk enduring. In our study, only five of the 16 police departments recognized that students need express notice and explanation of how both disciplinary rules and criminal law work in the school environment. In those schools SROs typically developed and implemented extensive orientation programs for the students to make clear "the rules of the house." Greater clarity about what conduct will lead to an arrest in a school may also empower

youths and their parents to observe and challenge how the law and discipline are implemented in their schools.

- In the absence of such proactive measures by the school systems, Massachusetts advocates should consider bringing a legal challenge to the "disturbing school assembly" statute on grounds that it is constitutionally overbroad and vague.

2. The Federal and State Departments of Education Should Mandate Better and More Comprehensive Data Collection on School Arrests and Summonses From School and Police Departments

The data collected on school arrests and summonses in Massachusetts schools is inadequate and requires immediate attention. Given the potentially devastating impact of involving youths in the juvenile justice system, and evidence of "frivolous" or inappropriate school-based arrests (ranging from charging a youth with disturbing school assembly for refusing to take off his hat to charging a youth with assault and battery with a dangerous weapon for throwing a notebook in jest), it is critical that detailed and comprehensive data be kept by both the schools and the police about law enforcement intervention in school-based incidents. This data should include the age, race, sex, grade, and disability status of any student who is arrested or summonsed to court, a brief description of the incident precipitating the arrest, the name of arresting officer, and the school official or teacher who pressed for the arrest or summons. This data collection should be a required part of the MOUs that exist between all schools and police departments.

3. School Districts Should Mandate Community Oversight

A major weakness that we identified in most SRO programs is the lack of oversight of the use of police in school generally and officers' actions specifically. Many SROs are dedicated and compassionate professionals who have defined their job so as to both keep schools safe and provide help and resources to students. Nonetheless, it is clear that too much discretion has been built into their jobs, which raises the very real risk that some SROs will over-arrest students, will target certain students for harsher penalties than others, and will insist upon a law enforcement solution to what should be a therapeutic response. Without appropriate oversight, the same applies for school officials, who may choose to use SROs inappropriately, to call officers to respond to what should be school disciplinary issues, and to use law enforcement intervention to "push out" certain students.

Thus, while maintaining confidentiality of individual students, we recommend that a community board that includes parents, youth advocates and social service providers regularly review all school-based incidents leading to law enforcement intervention to ensure that no abuses, racial profiling, or other targeting of certain students or groups of students is taking place. If, for example, one SRO or teacher or school administrator is responsible for most law enforcement referrals, then the Board will have an opportunity to flag this as a concern and address it. Similarly this community board could review the adequacy of information given to students and their families about the difference between an action that will receive discipline and one that could lead to an arrest.

Finally, just as schools which fare poorly on the MCAS are scrutinized, schools where more than 3% of the students have been arrested or summonsed by SROs should trigger an immediate audit by the state Department of Education and the Attorney General's office. They should investigate the number of charges, the kinds of behavior being charged, the types

of students who are being charged, whether charges are being overused in certain schools and by certain school officials, and the use of alternative sanctions that will not result in criminal records.

4. States and Districts Should Require More and Better Training for SROs

School Resource Officers who interact daily with students—some of whom are deeply troubled—and make decisions that will profoundly affect their lives, need far more knowledge and training about: (1) adolescent development and psychology; (2) strategies for diffusing potentially volatile situations; (3) recognizing symptoms of trauma, abuse, and exposure to violence—and the behaviors such exposure tends to produce—in children and adolescents; (4) recognizing manifestations of students' disabilities protected under federal and state disability laws; (5) the effects of poverty and concentrated community disadvantage on adolescents' behavior; and (6) the short and long-term effects of court involvement, including detention, on the likelihood of recidivism and disengagement from school. The International Association of Chiefs of Police supports training to "improve police department/school relationships to be more effective, expanding the SRO role to provide non-traditional, in-school services."[27] Many SROs have a strong instinctive and empathic understanding of the students they interact with, but their experience and gut-level understanding needs to be augmented with the latest and most current knowledge about adolescent psychology and development. These types of training are particularly important for SROs working in schools with large numbers of youths of color, immigrant youth, and youths living in poverty. Such training should be required by state legislatures for all police working in schools.

5. Schools Should Replace Zero Tolerance with Graduated Sanctions and Implement Programs Aimed at Addressing Root Causes of Student Misbehavior.

Schools should implement interventions and programs, such as Positive Behavioral Interventions Systems (PBIS), trauma-sensitive training, and restorative justice practices that replace zero tolerance with graduated sanctions and that aim to address root causes of student misbehaviors. Schools need to change their orientation away from punishment and back toward efforts to constructively change students' behavior, and make use of "teachable moments." Research clearly shows that students feel more "connected" to schools when they perceive their teachers to have high expectations for good behavior, demonstrate that they care, and implement discipline fairly and tolerantly.[28] A student's sense of "connection" to school is associated with a host of positive outcomes, including reduced likelihood of engaging in violence, substance abuse or becoming pregnant. When school officials do implement these programs, it is important that they include SROs in any training or education offered to teachers and counselors. This will ensure that students receive a consistent approach to discipline from all adult members of the school community.

Conclusion

Clearly, police are here to stay in schools. In most districts, they enjoy strong external support. At least one study has confirmed that their presence seems to reduce the number of serious incidents, such as weapons possession, that occur in schools. Our interviews also suggest that many SROs care deeply about the students they oversee and strive to develop positive relationships with them. Often they become role models for these students, attend their athletic and social events, counsel them

informally, and even advocate on their behalf to school officials.

At the same time, there is an inherent danger in allowing a law enforcement approach to adolescent misbehavior trump an educational perspective. Police are trained to view certain incidents, such as shoving matches or food fights, as potentially dangerous or violent, where educators may see in these the "teachable moment." We must remember that, historically, schools have played a "loco parentis" role and are well-positioned to effectively deal with these types of relatively minor disruptions through restorative justice, graduated sanctions, or public health approaches. These approaches ensure that students will face consequences for their actions and be required to make amends, but will also stay in school and out of the court system.

Referring a student to juvenile court or arresting him or her in school should be an action of last resort, made only when the student is a danger to him or herself or to the school community. These decisions, whether they are made by SROs or by school officials, should be subject to far more transparency and careful review than is currently the case. Such actions can permanently derail a student's academic future, put him or her at risk of dropping out, create a stain on his or her permanent record, and increase the likelihood that he or she will be pushed deeper into the criminal justice system. At the very least, these encounters often traumatize youths and isolate them from the school community during a developmental period when their greatest need is for connections with healthy peers and adults.

Currently, students are being arrested too often in school because of larger systemic failures on the part of adults: failures to create healthy and positive learning climates, to provide mental health and health services, or to offer adequate training in adolescent psychology, effects of exposure to violence, and classroom management techniques to teachers, school resource officers and other school officials. These failures can be rectified. Our recommendations are designed to ensure that the best aspects of the SRO programs—the feelings of comfort and security that they provide to parents and communities, the reduction in serious crimes, and the caring relationships that many of these professionals develop with students—are maintained, while the potential for abuse and unnecessary criminalization of vulnerable students are reduced.

About the Authors

Johanna Wald is the Director of Strategic Planning at the Charles Hamilton Houston Institute for Race and Justice at Harvard Law School.

Lisa Thurau is the Founder and Executive Director of Strategies for Youth. Formerly, she served as policy specialist and Managing Director of the Juvenile Justice Center of Suffolk Law School.

Special Thanks

To the Schott Foundation for Public Education, the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation and the Open Society Institute for their support of the research cited in this policy brief.

ENDNOTES

[1] For a summary of some of the studies citing disproportionality, see Pamela Fenning and Jennifer Rose, "Overrepresentation of African American Students in Exclusionary Discipline: The Role of School Policy," in 42 *Urban Education* No. 6, pp. 536-538 (2007), published by Safe Publications. Available online at: http://uex.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/42/6/536.pdf

[2] See Randall R. Beger, "Expansion of Police Power in Public Schools and the Vanishing Rights of Students," 29 *Social Justice* No. 1-2, p. 122 (2002), based on a 2000 Bureau of Justice Statistics.

[3] Estimate of NASRO–the National Association of School Resource Officers.

[4] Notably, this incredibly politically popular prediction of juvenile crime, characterized by Alan Fox's use of the term "superpredators," did not

materialize. Juvenile crime plummeted 37% between 1993 and 2002, and continues to remain at its lowest levels since 1975. When proof of the lower rates of violent crime committed by juveniles was used to challenge Fox's characterization of youth as "temporary sociopaths" who would wage a "coming teen crime storm," Fox remarked in an interview with USA *Today* that he never meant "bloodshed" and admitted that his claim was "just trying to get attention." Mike A. Males, *Framing Youth: 10 Myths About the Next Generation,* Common Courage Press, 1999, at p. 87.

[5] See Ronnie Casella, *Punishing Dangerousness Through Preventative Detention: Examining the Institutional Link between Schools and Prisons*, presented in 2003 at the Civil Rights Project conference on the School to Prison Pipeline. Available online at: http://www.civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/pipeline03/research03all.php

[6] A recent report surveying arrests of youth, *Arresting Children,* found that while pre-teen and teen arrests for most offenses and especially violent offenses were far lower in 2006 than they were in 1980, they increased respectively 19.6% and 19.5% for simple assault. The data also showed that the majority of arrests for pre-teens occurred in school. This data may suggest that one of the long-term effects of expanding the role of SROs is an increase in the numbers of younger children arrested while in school for fist fights, shoving matches, and other behaviors that rarely warranted police intervention in the past. See Jeffrey A. Butts and Howard N. Snyder, *Arresting Children: Examining Recent Trends in Preteen Crime,* Chapin Hall Center for Children, University of Chicago, 2008. An example of the environment that led to the deployment of police in so many schools can be found in a *New York Times* article entitled, "After Shootings, Nation's Schools Add to Security," by David Firestone, *New York Times,* August 13, 1999. The article stated that "many students returning to school will find metal detectors and armed security guards at the door," and that these new policies "all are a direct reaction to the shootings this spring at high schools." Students in Massachusetts also returned to a police presence in their schools in the fall of 1999. See, "Local Schools Reopening with A Police Presence," by Robert Preer, *The Boston Globe*, Sept. 3, 2000, p. 1, "When students in the Boston suburbs return to school this year, many will greet not only teachers, principals, and classmates, but also their school police officer. Supported by a multimillion-dollar federal grant program, communities across Massachusetts and the nation are hiring armed, uniformed officers to work full time in public schools. In the past year, municipal officers have been assigned to the schools in East Bridgewater, Foxborough, Middleborough, Randolph, Weymouth, and the Whitman-Hanson and Bridgewater-Raynham regional school districts. Brocton has a 12-person school police force, which is separate from the city Police Department but which reports to Police Chief Paul F. Studenski. 'In the aftermath of the shootings at Columbine and in other places, law enforcement increasingly is being introduced in the public schools, especially in the suburbs,' said Jack Levin, a criminologist and director of Northeastern University's Brudnick Center on Violence."

[7] See Jennifer Medina, "Safety Agents are Defended After Two Arrests at City School," *New York Times,* October 11, 2007.

[8] See, for example, studies on Toledo's "safe school ordinance" by Victor Goode, and on effects of new "disrupting public schools" law by Jennifer Obidah, presented at the 2003 Civil Rights Project conference, The School to Prison Pipeline. Available at: http://www.civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/pipeline03/research03all.php. Investigation into the extent of statutes similar to that of Massachusetts General Law Chapter 272, Section 40, for "disturbing school assembly" located 13 similar statutes in other states: Arizona, A.R.S. Section 13-2911; California Education Code, Sec. 32210; Georgia, O.C.G.A. Section 20-2-1181; Iowa 718.3; Maryland, M.D. Code Education Section 26-101; Montana, M.C.A. 20-1-206; Nevada, N.R.S. 392.910; North Dakota, N.D.C.C. 15.1-06-16; Rhode Island, Gen. Laws 1956, Section 11-11-1; South Carolina, S.C.C.A. Section 16-17-240; South Dakota, S.D.C.L. Section 13-32-6; Texas, Texas Education Code Ann., Section 37.123; Utah, U.C.A. Section 53A-3-503 and 76-9-103. Judith Browne of the Advancement Project, was quoted in an article in *The Nation* as saying: "We're seeing very minor conduct becoming a criminal act. Things a police officer might not arrest someone for in a bar fight, we're seeing schools calling in police to make arrests for....It could be a student who refuses to sit down in class, or the spitball," she said. "In addition to getting the three-to-five-day suspension, these kids are getting arrested." *Discipline and Punish: Zero tolerance policies have created a 'lockdown environment' in schools* by Annette Fuentes, *The Nation*, December 15, 2003.

[9] See David N. Figlio, "Testing, Crime and Punishment," 90 *Journal of Public Economics* Issues 4-5, pp. 837-851, (May 2006). Available online at: http://bear.cba.ufl.edu/figlio/crime.pdf

[10] See, for examples, studies presented at the 2003 Civil Rights Project conference, The School to Prison Pipeline. Available online at: http://www.civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/convenings/schooltoprison/synopsis.php

[11] Advancement Project, *Education on Lockdown: The Schoolhouse to Jailhouse Track*, March 2005. Available online at: http://www.advancementproject.org/reports/FINALEOLrep.pdf

[12] Ibid, p. 9.

[13] See http://www.stopschoolstojails.org

[14] American Bar Association Juvenile Justice Center, *Justice Cut Short: An Assessment of Access to Counsel and Quality of Representation in Delinquency Proceedings in Ohio,* March 2003. Available online at: www.njdc.info/pdf/Ohio_Assessment.pdf

[15] Ibid, Chapter 3.

[16] American Bar Association Juvenile Justice Center, *North Carolina: An Assessment of Access to Counsel and Quality of Representation in Delinquency Proceedings,* October 2003, p. 6. Available online at: http://www.ncids.org

[17] American Bar Association, Commission on Youth at Risk, Commission on Homelessness and Poverty, Report to the House of Delegates, Recommendation 118B, 2003.

[18] American Civil Liberties Union, *Hard Lessons: School Resource Officer Programs and School-Based Arrests in Three Connecticut Towns*, A Report of the American Civil Liberties Union and the ACLU of Connecticut, November 2008. Available online at: http://www.aclu.org/racialjustice/edu/37767pub20081117.html

[19] Matthew T. Theriot, "School Resource Officers and the Criminalization of Student Behavior," *Journal of Criminal Justice (2009),* p.280-287

[20] For more information, see http://www.stopschoolstojails.org/padres-jovenes-unidos-denver.html

[21] Florida Department of Juvenile Justice, Press Release, *Zero Tolerance Bill Passes Legislature*, May 1, 2009. Available online at: http://www.djj.state.fl.us/Communications/pr/2009/pr050109.html

[22] Notably, during the course of the study, police department's use of pre-arraignment diversion programs was mentioned only once.

[23] Consider, for example, the story of a fifth grader being interrogated after drawing a "picture in art class of an Internet game figure wearing a timer on his belt and a cartoon bubble over his head saying he had a bomb. School officials waited a full day before calling police and the Fire Department and conducting a two-hour interrogation of the 10-year-old without a parent present, said the boy's mother...No bomb was found, but the boy was suspended for two days." "When School Needs counter student rights: Questioning Raises legal issues for some," Kay Lazar, *The Boston Globe,* Mar. 27, 2008.

[24] Under Massachusetts General Laws Chapter 71 Section 37H1/2, principals may indefinitely suspend students charged with a felony, such as assault and battery with a dangerous weapon, the principal "for a period of time determined appropriate" or pending the conclusion of juvenile proceedings, if the principal deems the student's continued presence in school would have a substantial detrimental effect on the general welfare of the school."

[25] Id.

[26] Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department, Leadership Message from Sheriff Lee Baca, *#001 Psychology of Discipline*, July 30, 2007.

[27] See International Association of Chiefs of Police, *Youth Violence Summit Recommendations*, December 28, 2001. Available online at: www.theiacp.org/PublicationsGuides/ResearchCenter/NationalPolicySummits/CMSDetail/tabid/398

[28] Clea A. McNeely, James M. Nonnemaker, Robert W. Blum, "Promoting School Connectedness: Evidence from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health," 72 *Journal of School Health* No. 4, pp. 138-46 (April 2002). Available online at: www.mnssc.state.mn.us/docs/school_climate/AddHealth_Study.PDF

The Charles Hamilton Houston Institute for Race and Justice
125 Mt. Auburn Street, Third Floor • Cambridge, MA 02138
Phone: 617-495-8285 • Website: www.charleshamiltonhouston.org

U.S. Department of Justice
Office of Justice Programs
Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

OJJDP
John J. Wilson, Acting Administrator
November 2000
JUVENILE JUSTICE BULLETIN

Law Enforcement Referral of At-Risk Youth: The SHIELD Program

Phelan A. Wyrick

The demand for effective approaches to prevent juvenile delinquency and subsequent adult criminal behavior is growing across the Nation. The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) actively supports the development, evaluation, replication, and dissemination of information about promising and effective approaches to delinquency prevention. The City of Westminster Police Department in Orange County, CA, has developed an innovative strategy for enhancing the prevention of delinquency by improving the use of existing community resources. This Bulletin provides an overview of Westminster's Strategic Home Intervention and Early Leadership Development (SHIELD) program. SHIELD uses contacts that law enforcement officers make in the normal course of their duties to identify at-risk youth and connect them with community resources. By improving coordination among law enforcement, social services, community service providers, and the school system, the SHIELD program facilitates early identification and treatment of at-risk youth who might otherwise be overlooked.

The SHIELD program was initiated in 1996 and funded through the California Governor's Office of Criminal Justice Planning with Byrne Block Grant funds from the U.S. Department of Justice's Bureau of Justice Assistance. The logic and design of the SHIELD program grew out of the recognition that law enforcement officers frequently encounter youth who are exposed to conditions that predispose them to later delinquency and adult criminal behavior. Furthermore, the status and position of police and sheriff's departments allow them to serve as unifying elements in communitywide efforts to prevent delinquency.

Identifying Youth At Risk of Delinquency

Seasoned law enforcement officers in departments around the country have come to recognize early warning signs for later delinquency. Responding to calls, officers enter homes where youth have been exposed to domestic violence, drug and alcohol abuse, gang activity, neglect, and other criminal behavior. Officers see youth who have been exposed to crime and violence on the streets, in their schools, and among their peers. Many experienced officers know delinquent youth whose first encounters with law enforcement were as victims of crime or as family members of someone who was arrested. Officers frequently recognize that such victimization experiences and exposure to criminal and delinquent family members are related to later offending.

From the Administrator

Police officers play a crucial role in the juvenile justice system, one that extends beyond enforcing the law. The police officer on the beat has first-hand knowledge of the community and its youth—knowledge that can prove a valuable asset in efforts to prevent delinquency.

Initiated in 1996, with funding from the Bureau of Justice Assistance, the Westminster, CA, police department's Strategic Home Intervention and Early Leadership Development (SHIELD) program takes advantage of contacts made by law enforcement officers to identify youth at risk of delinquency and refer them to appropriate community services.

Not only are officers familiar with the youth in their communities, they are increasingly knowledgeable about risk and protective factors related to delinquency. This Bulletin describes how the SHIELD program mobilizes these assets to identify youth at risk of involvement in violent behavior, substance abuse, and gang activity and to address their needs through a multidisciplinary team approach involving representatives from the community, schools, and service agencies.

I trust that this Bulletin—targeted to law enforcement, policymakers, community organizations, and others concerned about juvenile justice issues—will assist other communities in their programming to shield youth from delinquency.

John J. Wilson
Acting Administrator

Current research on the risk factors that distinguish youth who are more likely to become involved in delinquency from those who are less likely to do so confirms and expands on what some law enforcement officers already know. Risk factors can be defined as conditions in the environment or in the individual that predict an increased likelihood of developing delinquent behavior (Brewer et al., 1995). Risk factors for delinquency and violence are generally described in five categories: community, individual, peer group, school related, and family (Brewer et al., 1995; Hawkins et al., 1998). Community risk factors include poverty, physical deterioration, availability of drugs, and high crime rates. Individual risk factors include childhood hyperactivity, aggressiveness, and risk taking. Peer group risk factors include association with a peer group that has favorable attitudes toward delinquency and gang membership. School-related risk factors include early and persistent antisocial behavior and academic failure. Finally, family risk factors include family conflict, family management problems (e.g., failure of caretakers to set clear expectations, lack of supervision, and excessively severe punishment), and favorable attitudes toward and involvement in crime and violence (for further discussion of risk factors for delinquency see Gottfredson and Polakowski, 1995; Howell, 1997; Hawkins et al., 2000).

OJJDP's longitudinal, prospective research on the causes and correlates of delinquency has found that delinquency and violent behavior stem from the accumulation and interaction of risk factors in the five categories described above (Thornberry, Huizinga, and Loeber, 1995; Hawkins et al., 1998). The probability of violence and delinquency increases (sometimes dramatically) with increases in the number of risk factors (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 1998). For example, a study of 411 South London boys found that the percentage of boys convicted for violence more than doubled in the presence of 1 risk factor but increased tenfold in the presence of 4 or 5 risk factors (Farrington, 1997).

Researchers have also identified a number of protective factors that provide a buffer against risk factors (Hawkins, Catalano, and Miller, 1992; Thornberry, Huizinga, and Loeber, 1995). These include individual factors (e.g., high intelligence and positive social orientation),

factors related to social bonding (e.g., supportive relationships with family members or other adults), and healthy beliefs and clear standards of behavior (e.g., norms that oppose crime and violence). Because protective factors also tend to have cumulative effects, youth who have or are exposed to a large number of protective factors show greater resilience in coping with the risk factors in their lives than do those with fewer protective factors.

Although the understanding of risk and protective factors is increasing, questions remain about how police and sheriff's departments can best use this information. Law enforcement administrators who want to prevent delinquency may be discouraged by the perceived practical difficulties of coordinating a prevention program, especially because most departments are already very busy just responding to calls for service. Administrators at the Westminster, CA, Police Department considered these issues when they created the SHIELD program. Instead of designing a program in which services are delivered directly by the police department, they developed a coordinated mechanism that uses a multidisciplinary team to identify at-risk youth and connect them to existing services in the community.

The SHIELD Program

The SHIELD program is designed to accomplish two primary goals. First, it uses the contacts that police officers make in the course of their normal duties to identify youth who they think are likely to become involved in violent behavior, substance abuse, and gang activities. At-risk youth are identified as those who are exposed to family risk factors such as domestic violence and other criminal activities in the home. Second, SHIELD provides youth with services that are tailored to meet their individual needs by using a multidisciplinary team of representatives from the community, schools, and service agencies. The primary mechanism that supports these goals is the youth referral process.

To illustrate how the SHIELD program represents a change in traditional law enforcement activities, consider the following scenario:

> A 911 emergency operator answers a call from a woman in panic. The caller states that her husband has just beaten her and is still in the house. A patrol car is dispatched to the scene. Officers find a bruised and shaken woman waiting in her front yard with her 12-year-old son and 5-year-old daughter. The youth witnessed the abuse but were not physically harmed. The officers learn that the husband is currently intoxicated and has a history of abusing his wife.

A typical law enforcement response to such a situation is to apprehend the husband, assess the woman's need for medical attention, and determine the extent to which the welfare of the children was compromised. In cases where officers find evidence of child endangerment, Child Protective Services (CPS) may be asked to intervene. CPS may determine that home conditions pose a significant threat to the children and take steps to remove them from the home. However, this action is generally reserved for only the most serious cases. Because of legitimate concerns about the potential negative effects of removing children from the home, many children are left in homes where violence and criminal behavior are common. Police frequently have few alternatives when family risk factors exist but CPS determines that the children's welfare is not compromised to the extent necessary to remove them from home.

The SHIELD youth referral process gives officers a procedure for providing assistance to youth who are exposed to family risk factors. In the scenario described above, the responding officers would be required to do little more than their normal reporting to initiate the SHIELD

referral process. The names and ages of the two children would be included in the police report as standard procedure because both were witnesses to the offense. The officers would be required only to determine which schools the youth attend and mark a box on the police report form that indicates a potential SHIELD referral.

The SHIELD Referral Process

At the outset of the SHIELD program, all officers in Westminster were given the following orders as part of the youth referral protocol:[1]

> Police personnel are required to obtain the name, age, and school attended of any minor youth living in a home where a report is filed involving the following police activity: family violence of any type, neglect or abandonment, gang activity, drug sales or usage, arrests made associated with alcohol abuse, or any other call for service where the welfare of minor youth is at risk due to the behavior of older siblings or adults living in, or frequenting, the home.

The SHIELD program model (see figure on page 4) outlines the process of events that are involved in facilitating intervention through the SHIELD program. Whenever an officer responds to an incident or makes an arrest, he or she completes a standard report to document the details of the contact. If the officer identifies a youth as having been exposed to risk factors, he or she marks a box on the police report and forwards a full copy of the report through departmental channels to the SHIELD resource officer (SRO).[2] On receiving a report, the SRO assumes responsibility for administering the SHIELD program and screens the case to determine whether the circumstances make the youth appropriate for SHIELD intervention. In the early stages of the program, the SRO simply used the family risk factors that were noted in the youth referral protocol to verify that the reporting officer had correctly identified a youth from the target population. More recently, the Westminster Youth Delinquency and Gang Involvement Risk Assessment instruments were developed by drawing heavily on Lipsey and Derzon's (1998) synthesis of longitudinal research examining predictors of delinquency. These instruments are used to strengthen the screening process and prioritize access to services based on the level of risk each youth faces.

The risk assessment instruments enable the SRO to place youth in low-, medium-, or high-risk categories for both general delinquency and gang involvement. Separate instruments were created for youth at ages 6–11 and 12–14 to increase sensitivity to the differing effects of risk factors on youth at different developmental levels.[3] In addition to these instruments, an inventory of protective factors is used to supplement the assessment. These risk assessment instruments and procedures are in the testing phase, but they are already proving useful in setting priorities for referral and treatment.

If the SRO deems a case appropriate for SHIELD intervention, he or she creates a student referral report, which contains a short synopsis of the incident as it pertains to the youth, demographic information about the youth and his or her family, contact information for the parents, and information from the assessments of both risk and protective factors. The SRO then sends the student referral report to the Youth and Family Resource Team. This multidisciplinary team includes officials from the local school district, such as the pupil personnel administrator, the district nurse, a specialist in drug abuse prevention, and school principals; counseling staff from a community service provider; a county social worker; the Westminster Community Services Recreation Supervisor; the SRO; and a second officer formerly assigned to Drug Abuse Resistance Education (D.A.R.E.). Beyond the core group of members who attend regular weekly meetings, the team may invite additional members, such as teachers and school counselors, who are familiar with a given youth. The disclosure of confidential information to such a multidisciplinary team for use in prevention and intervention is authorized by the State of California's Welfare and Institutions Codes, sections 827–830.1.

When they receive the student referral report, the members of the Youth and Family Resource Team consider a range of school- and community-based treatment options and make recommendations for treatment. However, treatment recommendations are often enhanced by information that goes beyond the original student referral report. Team members familiar with the youth frequently provide additional information that allows the team to understand the youth's circumstances more fully. This sharing of information leads to better informed treatment recommendations than would be provided by any agency or service provider working alone.

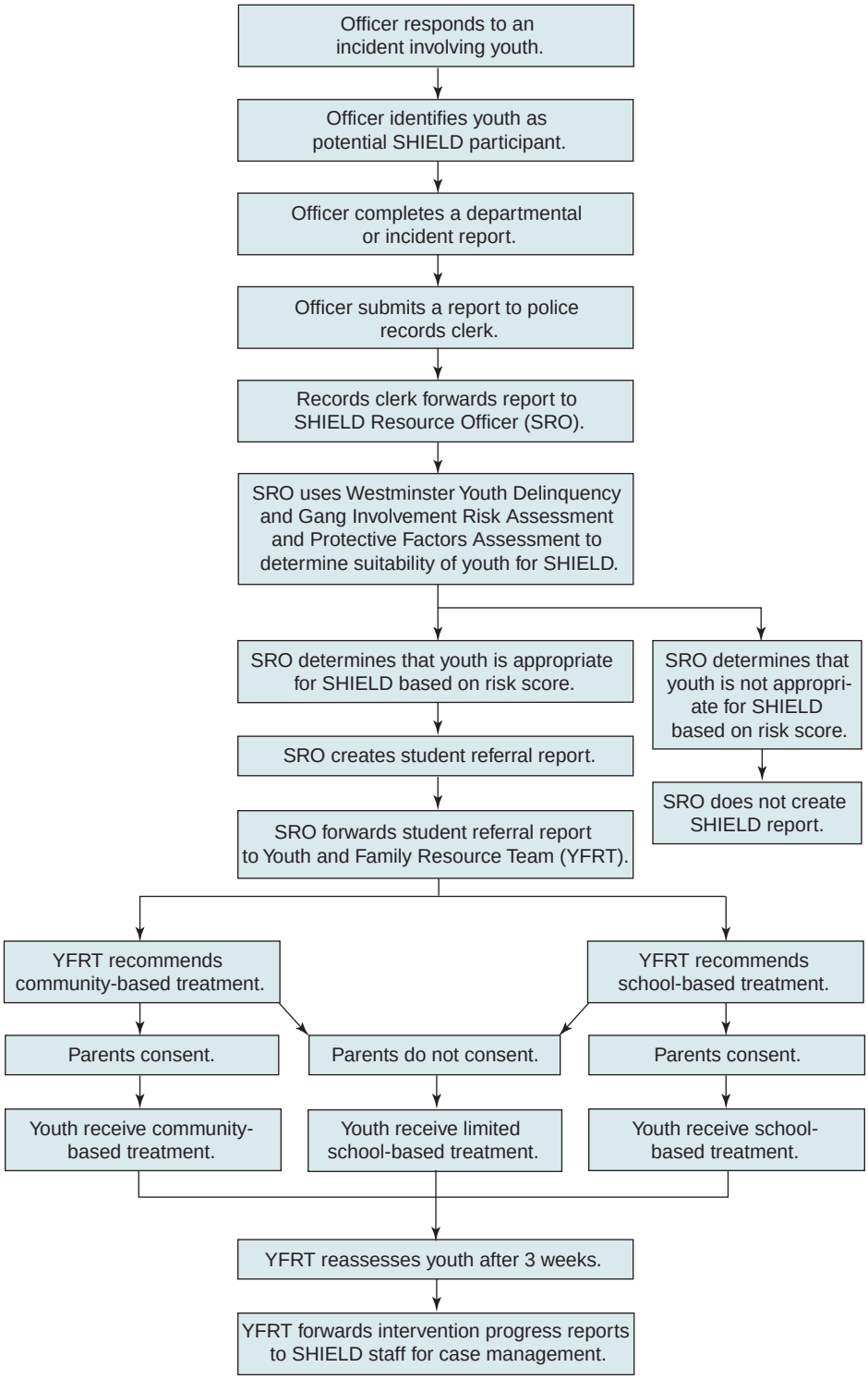
Depending on the recommendation, treatment may or may not require parental consent. For example, if the Youth and Family Resource Team recommends that a youth receive individual counseling from a community treatment provider, parental consent generally is necessary. However, in cases where the team recommends informal school-based monitoring of the youth, no parental consent is required. Treatment providers such as school counselors and community-based service providers are generally responsible for getting parental consent when it is necessary. In the early stages of the program, treatment providers were also responsible for notifying parents of their

[1] The description of the SHIELD referral process presented here draws on information from Kent and Wyrick, 1998.

[2] This position title should not be confused with the same abbreviation commonly used for school resource officers. In the case of Westminster, however, the SHIELD resource officer did formerly serve as a school resource officer.

[3] Researchers have noted the importance of recognizing developmental factors in prevention programming (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 1998; Tatem-Kelley et al., 1997).

The SHIELD Program Model



child's referral to the SHIELD program. Some parents were upset when they learned that the police department had referred their child to the program. Because many youth in this program are exposed to domestic violence, the parent who is in the position to provide consent for treatment may also be the one who created the risk factors in the home or allowed them to exist in the first place. Therefore, the process of obtaining parental consent is often delicate. In response to this issue, the SRO now contacts parents directly when their child is referred to the program. During this contact, the SRO describes the program and addresses any questions or concerns that the parents have. The SRO will make two attempts to contact a parent by telephone and will resort to sending a letter only if these two attempts are unsuccessful. In some cases, the SRO makes home visits.

The Youth and Family Resource Team reassesses the treatment recommendations and progress of each youth 3 weeks after the initial recommendation. While a youth is involved in treatment, the service providers send monthly progress reports to the SHIELD staff at the Westminster Police Department. These reports allow for ongoing tracking and reassessment of the services provided to program youth.

Services for At-Risk Youth

SHIELD relies on services that are already in the community. The program works closely with all of the local schools and the local Boys & Girls Club. During the first year of the program, 60 percent of youth who were referred to SHIELD received services in some form (Kent and Wyrick, 1998). Individual and group counseling were commonly used in both school and community settings. Issues covered in counseling varied based on the circumstances of the individual youth, but common themes included anger management, goal setting, pregnancy prevention, conflict resolution, and other coping skills. In some cases, treatment plans for youth were more specialized. For example, one youth who had a history of drug involvement and exposure to family violence served as an assistant instructor for a summer program on drug use prevention and received individual coun-

seling related to setting and achieving goals.

Informal school-based monitoring is also frequently included in treatment plans. Informal monitoring may be used in conjunction with other treatment or as a stand-alone treatment when the youth show a low level of risk in conjunction with many protective factors or when parental consent for more intensive treatment is not granted. When teachers and administrators are aware of the risk factors that a student faces outside the classroom and they are actively monitoring that student, they are more likely to detect and respond to early signs of problem behavior, abuse, or neglect.

Challenges for Implementation

Relying on alternatives for treatment that already exist in the community poses a challenge for implementation of the SHIELD model. The development of SHIELD exposed gaps in the services available to youth in Westminster. As the program has evolved, members of the multidisciplinary team have tried to fill these gaps to provide a more complete and coordinated system of services. For example, schools serve as a primary resource for the program, but during the summer months, school-based services like counseling and instruction are not available. To address this concern, the Westminster Boys & Girls Club increased services and resources during summer months and prioritized SHIELD youth based on who had the greatest need for continuing services.

Even during the academic year, schools have varying resources for providing services to students. In Westminster, the workload of qualified counselors and school psychologists at the high school level is much heavier than that of their counterparts at the elementary or middle school level. As a result, high school youth were not receiving the same level of focused preventive treatment as younger students. In response, multidisciplinary team members coordinated to arrange for a supervised counseling intern from the Boys & Girls Club to be assigned to the high school. The school provided space for the intern to meet with SHIELD program youth during school hours. This arrangement helped to fill a gap in service availability for high school youth who were recommended for school-based counseling services.

In some cases, meeting needs meant developing entirely new programs. Recognizing the limited resources that were available for leadership development, the Westminster Police Department collaborated with local middle schools to create the Westminster Youth Academy (formerly known as Warner Youth Leadership Academy). This program is a school-based effort to improve academic performance and build leadership and planning skills, thereby enhancing the protective factors in the lives of at-risk youth. An assessment of short-term behavioral and academic outcomes revealed that SHIELD youth who participated in the Academy significantly improved in attendance and grade point average relative both to their own earlier performance and to the performance of a comparison group of non-Academy students (Wyrick and Kent, 1998).

Westminster has not eliminated every deficit in services for at-risk youth. For example, services that target non-English-speaking youth in a culturally appropriate way are still needed, and treatment options for children under age 5 remain limited. Nevertheless, by even identifying needs that it cannot immediately fulfill, SHIELD has allowed Westminster to begin working on solutions for affected youth.

Supporting Factors

The development of the SHIELD program in Westminster benefited greatly from four supporting factors. First and foremost, the program received visionary leadership and support from the administration of the Westminster Police Department, which—by recognizing the importance of targeted prevention and the role of law enforcement support for community collaboration in delinquency prevention—made the SHIELD program possible. Second, Westminster secured Federal block grant funding to initiate the program and support it through its early development. However, external funding has not been required for continued program operation beyond the period of the initial grant. Third, the development of the Youth and Family Resource Team and the provision of services to youth benefited from the strong community ties and collaboration that the police department had already established. Fourth, the presence within the Westminster Police Department of a Research and Planning Office with a full-time social psychologist and several research associates allowed for an internal formative evaluation during the first year of SHIELD program operation and a 1-year followup. The evaluation facilitated the development of SHIELD by identifying unanticipated obstacles to full implementation and providing timely feedback to program administrators from a trusted source.

Measuring Program Success

Any evaluation of program effectiveness depends on the criteria that are chosen to determine success. If connecting youth to community resources and services is the criterion for success of the SHIELD program, then it is clearly a success. Of the 43 randomly selected youth who were tracked during the first year of operation, 60 percent received services of some kind, 26 percent could not be contacted because they were no longer in the community (e.g., the family had relocated, or the youth had run away), and 14 percent were still in the community but did not receive services because of parental refusal (Kent and Wyrick, 1998).

If delinquency prevention among targeted youth is the criterion for success, then judgments are more difficult to make. The use of multiple treatment modalities and providers across the community makes an impact evaluation of the SHIELD program challenging. Outcomes are largely dependent on the quality of the services and programs to which youth are referred. The formative evaluation included a qualitative assessment of participant satisfaction with the counseling provided through SHIELD, and the results were promising. The findings from the evaluation of the Westminster Youth Academy also reflect positively on the SHIELD program (Wyrick and Kent, 1998). However, results of these evaluations are short term and are limited to a portion of the youth who are engaged in the program. In the absence of impact evaluation data for each treatment modality in the community, assessment of the overall level of delinquency prevention that SHIELD has brought to Westminster is impossible. Even if such an evaluation were conducted, the potential for generalizing from the

findings would be limited because of the unique combination of services available in the community. Nevertheless, the identification and referral activities stand as the central program elements of SHIELD, and these show great promise as a model for the mobilization of community resources to prevent delinquency.

Replication of SHIELD

The administration of the Westminster Police Department believes that focused delinquency prevention is an important component of its law enforcement and community protection responsibilities. The SHIELD program was designed to allow the police department to contribute most effectively to community-based delinquency prevention efforts. By drawing on the experiences in Westminster, law enforcement agencies in other communities may replicate the SHIELD program and modify it to suit their local needs.

Of the supporting factors noted above, the only one that must exist prior to replication is strong administrative support within the law enforcement agency. A history of community collaboration and strong ties to service providers and schools is important and will help any program, but these are not critical preexisting conditions. When a law enforcement agency decides to replicate SHIELD, the first step is to assemble the Youth and Family Resource Team. Agencies represented on this team should assist in considering modifications to the referral process and assessing the availability of local services. Although a systematic assessment of services available in the community was not done in Westminster prior to program implementation, such an assessment would benefit any replication effort. This assessment, also known as a resource inventory, should examine a variety of factors (for example, the types of services available and their service capacity, the length of waiting lists, the extent and quality of recordkeeping, and the number and condition of facilities) to identify service providers, highlight untapped resources, and uncover gaps in services available to youth. A local college or university research partner may be available to assist with this effort at low cost. Additional information on conducting needs assessments and resource inventories can be found in Witkin and Altschuld (1995) and Kettner, Moroney, and Martin (1999).

The SHIELD program is not expensive; staff time is the primary expense for law enforcement. In Westminster, the SHIELD program is staffed by one full-time officer and two half-time police interns. The interns are responsible primarily for assisting with the development of student referral reports for the Youth and Family Resource Team and maintaining a computerized case management system. The officer carries out administrative functions of the program, participates in Youth and Family Resource Team meetings, and completes risk assessment instruments for youth.

Conclusion

The unique position of local law enforcement agencies in communities allows them to play important roles in the early identification of at-risk youth. Programs and approaches that take advantage of this position and provide a clear mechanism for linking at-risk youth to services in the community show great promise for preventing delinquency. The SHIELD program is continuing to evolve in its effort to better meet the needs of youth in the community and better mobilize resources to support this effort. The critical supporting factor for the SHIELD program is not funding—it is the commitment and support of law enforcement administrators and personnel who are dedicated to preventing delinquency. Local law enforcement agencies are encouraged to consider replication and adaptation of SHIELD in their jurisdictions.

For Further Information

For more information about the SHIELD program, contact:

Captain Andrew Hall
City of Westminster Police Department
8200 Westminster Boulevard
Westminster, CA 92683
714–898–3315, ext. 302

References

Brewer, D.D., Hawkins, J.D., Catalano, R.F., and Neckerman, H.J. 1995. Preventing serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offending: A review of evaluations and selected strategies in childhood, adolescence, and the community. In *A Sourcebook: Serious, Violent, and Chronic Juvenile Offenders*, edited by J.C. Howell, B. Krisberg, J.D. Hawkins, and J.J. Wilson. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, pp. 61–141.

Farrington, D.P. 1997. Early prediction of violent and nonviolent youthful offending. *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research* 5:51–66.

Gottfredson, M.R., and Polakowski, M. 1995. Determinants and prevention of criminal behavior. In *Psychology and Policing*, edited by N. Brewer and C. Wilson. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, pp. 395–412.

Hawkins, J.D., Catalano, R.F., and Miller, J.Y. 1992. Risk and protective factors for alcohol and other drug problems in adolescence and early adulthood: Implications for substance abuse prevention. *Psychological Bulletin* 112(1):64–105.

Hawkins, J.D., Herrenkohl, T., Farrington, D.P., Brewer, D., Catalano, R.F., and Harachi, T.W. 1998. A review of predictors of youth violence. In *Serious and Violent Juvenile Offenders: Risk Factors and Successful Interventions*, edited by R. Loeber and D.P. Farrington. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, pp. 106–146.

Hawkins, J.D., Herrenkohl, T.I., Farrington, D.P., Brewer, D., Catalano, R.F., Harachi, T.W., and Cothern, L. 2000. *Predictors of Youth Violence.* Bulletin. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

Howell, J.C. 1997. *Juvenile Justice and Youth Violence*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Kent, D.R., and Wyrick, P.A. 1998. *Police Referral of Youth to Community Resources: A Formative Evaluation of Interagency Cooperation in Serving Youth at Risk of Delinquency*. Westminster, CA: City of Westminster Police Department, Research and Planning Office.

Kettner, P.M., Moroney, R.M., and Martin, L.L. 1999. *Designing and Managing Programs: An Effectiveness-Based Approach*. 2d ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Lipsey, M.W., and Derzon, J.H. 1998. Predictors of violent or serious delinquency in adolescence and early adulthood: A synthesis of longitudinal research. In *Serious and Violent Juvenile Offenders: Risk Factors and Successful Interventions*, edited by R. Loeber and D.P. Farrington. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, pp. 86–105.

Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. 1998. *Serious and Violent*

Juvenile Offenders. Bulletin. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

Tatem-Kelley, B., Loeber, R., Keenan, K., and DeLamatre, M. 1997. *Developmental Pathways in Boys' Disruptive and Delinquent Behavior*. Bulletin. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

Thornberry, T.P., Huizinga, D., and Loeber, R. 1995. The prevention of serious delinquency and violence: Implications from the program of research on the causes and correlates of delinquency. In *A Sourcebook: Serious, Violent, and Chronic Juvenile Offenders*, edited by J.C. Howell, B. Krisberg, J.D. Hawkins, and J.J. Wilson. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, pp. 213–237.

Witkin, B.R., and Altschuld, J.W. 1995. *Planning and Conducting Needs Assessments: A Practical Guide*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Wyrick, P.A., and Kent, D.R. 1998. *Delinquency Prevention Through Police and School Collaboration: Program Outcomes of the Warner Youth Leadership Academy*. Westminster, CA: City of Westminster Police Department, Research and Planning Office.

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention is a component of the Office of Justice Programs, which also includes the Bureau of Justice Assistance, the Bureau of Justice Statistics, the National Institute of Justice, and the Office for Victims of Crime.

Acknowledgments

Phelan A. Wyrick is a program manager in the Research and Program Development Division of OJJDP. He formerly served as a research associate in the Research and Planning Office in the Westminster, CA, Police Department.

The author would like to thank Chief James I. Cook, Captain Andrew Hall, and Douglas R. Kent for their review and support of this Bulletin.

Share With Your Colleagues

Juvenile Justice Clearinghouse
Publication Reprint/Feedback
P.O. Box 6000
Rockville, MD 20849–6000
800–638–8736
301–519–5600 (fax)
E-mail: askncjrs@ncjrs.org

U.S. Department of Justice
Office of Justice Programs
Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

Washington, DC 20531

Official Business
Penalty for Private Use $300

PRESORTED STANDARD
POSTAGE & FEES PAID
DOJ/OJJDP
PERMIT NO. G–91

Reprinted from JAMA © The Journal of the American Medical Association September 10, 1997 Volume 278 Copyright 1997, American Medical Association

Original Contributions

Protecting Adolescents From Harm

Findings From the National Longitudinal Study on Adolescent Health

Michael D. Resnick, PhD; Peter S. Bearman, PhD; Robert Wm. Blum, MD, PhD; Karl E. Bauman, PhD; Kathleen M. Harris, PhD; Jo Jones, PhD; Joyce Tabor; Trish Beuhring, PhD; Renee E. Sieving, PhD; Marcia Shew, MD, MPH; Marjorie Ireland, PhD; Linda H. Bearinger, PhD, MS; J. Richard Udry, PhD

Context.—The main threats to adolescents' health are the risk behaviors they choose. How their social context shapes their behaviors is poorly understood.

Objective.—To identify risk and protective factors at the family, school, and individual levels as they relate to 4 domains of adolescent health and morbidity: emotional health, violence, substance use, and sexuality.

Design.—Cross-sectional analysis of interview data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health.

Participants.—A total of 12 118 adolescents in grades 7 through 12 drawn from an initial national school survey of 90 118 adolescents from 80 high schools plus their feeder middle schools.

Setting.—The interview was completed in the subject's home.

Main Outcome Measures.—Eight areas were assessed: emotional distress; suicidal thoughts and behaviors; violence; use of 3 substances (cigarettes, alcohol, marijuana); and 2 types of sexual behaviors (age of sexual debut and pregnancy history). Independent variables included measures of family context, school context, and individual characteristics.

Results.—Parent-family connectedness and perceived school connectedness were protective against every health risk behavior measure except history of pregnancy. Conversely, ease of access to guns at home was associated with suicidality (grades 9-12: $P<.001$) and violence (grades 7-8: $P<.001$; grades 9-12: $P<.001$). Access to substances in the home was associated with use of cigarettes ($P<.001$), alcohol ($P<.001$), and marijuana ($P<.001$) among all students. Working 20 or more hours a week was associated with emotional distress of high school students ($P<.01$), cigarette use ($P<.001$), alcohol use ($P<.001$), and marijuana use ($P<.001$). Appearing "older than most" in class was associated with emotional distress and suicidal thoughts and behaviors among high school students ($P<.001$); it was also associated with substance use and an earlier age of sexual debut among both junior and senior high students. Repeating a grade in school was associated with emotional distress among students in junior high ($P<.001$) and high school ($P<.01$) and with tobacco use among junior high students ($P<.001$). On the other hand, parental expectations regarding school achievement were associated with lower levels of health risk behaviors; parental disapproval of early sexual debut was associated with a later age of onset of intercourse ($P<.001$).

Conclusions.—Family and school contexts as well as individual characteristics are associated with health and risky behaviors in adolescents. The results should assist health and social service providers, educators, and others in taking the first steps to diminish risk factors and enhance protective factors for our young people.

JAMA. 1997;278:823-832

From the Adolescent Health Program, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis (Drs Resnick, Blum, Beuhring, Sieving, Shew, Ireland, and Bearinger), and the Carolina Population Center, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (Drs Bearman, Bauman, Harris, Jones, and Udry and Ms Tabor).

Reprints: Michael D. Resnick, PhD, Adolescent Health Program, Box 721, 420 Delaware St SE, Minneapolis, MN 55455 (e-mail: resni001@tc.umn.edu).

NUMEROUS REPORTS have documented the health status of youth in the United States, concluding that the main threats to adolescents' health are predominantly the health-risk behaviors and choices they make.[1-18] Data indicate that more than 3 of every 4 deaths in the second decade of life are caused by social morbidities: unintentional injuries, homicides, and suicides. Juvenile homicide rates have continued to escalate until recently,[17] and suicide rates among adolescents aged 14 years or younger have increased by 75% over the past decade.[3] Cigarette smoking among teenagers has increased by as much as 2% per year since 1992, when 19% of high school seniors reported smoking. Marijuana use has increased in each of the last 3 years among 8th-, 10th-, and 12th-grade students.[19]

For editorial comment see p 864.

Some children who are at high risk for health-compromising behaviors successfully negotiate adolescence, avoiding the behaviors that predispose them to negative health outcomes; while others, relatively advantaged socially and economically, sustain significant morbidity as a consequence of their behaviors. These issues of vulnerability and resilience have stimulated an interest in the identification of protective factors in the lives of young people—factors that, if present, diminish the likelihood of negative health and social outcomes.[20-26] Of the constellation of forces that influence adolescent health-risk behavior, the most fundamental are the social contexts in which adolescents are embedded[20]; the family and school contexts are among the most critical. Yet, how adolescents' connections to these contexts shape their health-risk behaviors is poorly understood.

In the present analysis we seek to identify particular risk and protective factors at the school, family, and individual levels as they relate to 4 broad domains critical to adolescent health and morbidity (emotional health, violence, substance use, and sexuality), using data collected as part of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health).

Table 1.—Dependent Variables

Variables	Select Descriptors of Variables	No. of Items Constituting Variable (Reliability Coefficient)
Emotional distress	In the past week or past year: felt depressed, lonely, sad, or fearful, moody, cried, or had a poor appetite	17 (α=.87)*
Suicidality	In the past year: seriously thought about committing suicide or attempted 1, 2, or more times	2
Violence	In the past year: had a physical fight, injured someone, was in a group fight, threatened someone with a weapon, used a weapon in a fight, or shot or stabbed someone	8 (α=.82)*
Substance use		
Cigarette use	A 7-category composite variable from never smoked to smoked >1 pack/d	4
Alcohol use	Frequency: an 8-category variable from never/almost never to daily/almost daily used alcohol	2
Marijuana use	A 7-category composite variable from never used to used marijuana ≥ 6 times in past month	3
Sexual behaviors		
Age of sexual debut	Age at first intercourse: a continuous variable, with nonsexually active youth handled as event not having occurred	1
Pregnancy history	Among sexually experienced females ≥15 y, those who ever reported a history of pregnancy; dichotomous yes/no variable	1

*For most measures including 3 or more items, Cronbach[23] α coefficient was used to assess internal consistency.

METHODS

The Add Health Design

Add Health is a longitudinal study of adolescents in grades 7 through 12 and the multiple social contexts in which they live. The primary sampling frame included all high schools in the United States that had an 11th grade and at least 30 enrollees in the school (N=26 666). From this a systematic random sample of 80 high schools was selected proportional to enrollment size, stratified by region, urbanicity, school type, and percentage white. For each high school, the largest feeder school (typically a middle school) was also recruited when available. Overall, 79% of the schools contacted agreed to participate, for a final sample of 134 schools. Schools varied in size from fewer than 100 to more than 3000 students.

The schools provided a roster of all enrolled students and 96% (n=129) hosted a confidential in-school survey from September 1994 to April 1995. The survey was completed by 90 118 of 119 233 eligible students in grades 7 through 12. The in-school survey was administered only once, in year 1. Survey data will be the subject of future reports.

School administrators also completed a half-hour self-administered questionnaire yielding information on the provision of health services, school policies, school environments, and characteristics. Two phases of school administrator data were collected 1 year apart, beginning in year 1. A total of 130 administrator questionnaires were completed in year 1 and are included in this analysis.

The Main In-Home Sample

From students on the school rosters as well as students who were not on an enrolled roster but who completed an in-school questionnaire, a random sample of 15 243 adolescents stratified by grade and sex was selected for in-home interviews; 12 118 (79.5%) completed the 90-minute interviews. Of these, 75% had completed an in-school questionnaire.

The first phase of in-home interviews was conducted between April and December 1995 and is the focus of this report. A second phase was collected a year later. Data collected during the in-home phase of Add Health provide information on sensitive health-risk behaviors such as drug and alcohol use, sexual behavior, and criminal activities in addition to detailed information on health status, health service utilization, family dynamics, peer networks, romantic relationships, decision making, aspirations, and attitudes. During the more sensitive portions of the interview, adolescents listened to questions through earphones and directly entered their responses into a laptop computer, thereby greatly reducing any potential for interviewer or parental influences on their responses.

For 85.6% of the participating adolescents, a parent (in most instances a mother) also completed a half-hour interview in year 1. Parent interview data are not included in this article.

Through a set of linked identifiers—the in-school and in-home data sets and the school administrator and parent surveys—school administrator and parent surveys were merged. Extensive precautions were taken to maintain confidentiality and to guard against deductive disclosure of participants' identities. All protocols received institutional review board approval. More detailed methodologic information is available in a separate article.[27]

Analysis and Reporting

A series of checks for invalid and inconsistent responses resulted in deletion of 546 (4.5%) of the core sample of 12 118 adolescents. Each case in the core sample was assigned a weight based on the sampling design so that the sample is nationally representative of US adolescents in grades 7 through 12. These sample weights were used in every statistical procedure with the exception of Cox regression (which does not permit weighting in SAS).

The final sample of 11 572 adolescents was randomly partitioned into exploratory and validation samples of approximately equal size. Investigators identified theoretically relevant and empirically significant independent variables with the exploratory sample; confirmatory analyses were completed and results are reported for the validation sample. Separate analyses were performed for grades 7 and 8 and 9 through 12 except for pregnancy history, for which questions were restricted to females aged 15 years and older regardless of grade and age of first intercourse, which latter category included both sexes and all grades regardless of sexual experience. An analysis modeling age of first intercourse excluded sexually experienced youth who reported having intercourse before age 11 years (2.0% of the sexually experienced subsample) on the assumption they represented a distinct subgroup of youth who had been sexually abused or had participated in nonconsensual sex.[28]

Items used in the measurement of the dependent and independent variables were identified from a variety of standardized, validated instruments used in national and state surveys of adolescents. Dependent variables were selected to capture the major indexes of adolescent health and risk behaviors (Table 1).[29] Independent variables were derived from a resiliency framework, which posits that young people's vulnerability to health-compromising outcomes is affected by both the nature and number of stressors as well as the presence of protective factors that buffer the impact of those stressors (Tables 2 and 3). Adverse or successful outcomes are described as emanating from the interplay of environmental factors, familial factors, and individual characteristics.[30-33] Individual characteristics reflect both genetic predispositions (eg, the timing and tempo of puberty) and social and cognitive development variables

Table 2.—Generic Independent Variables

Variables	Select Descriptors of Variables	No. of Items Constituting Variable (Reliability Coefficient)
Family context		
Parent-family connectedness	Closeness to mother and/or father, perceived caring by mother and/or father, satisfaction with relationship to mother and/or father, feeling loved and wanted by family members	13 (α=.83)*
Parent-adolescent activities	No. of different activities engaged in with mother and/or father in past 4 wk (summed)	10 for mother 10 for father
Parental presence	A parent present: before school, after school, at bedtime, or at dinner (summed)	
Parental school expectations	Mother's and/or father's expectations for you to complete high school and college	2 (r=0.45)†
Family suicide attempts and/or completions	Suicidal attempts and/or completions by family members in the past 12 mo	2
School context		
School connectedness	Feel that teachers treat students fairly; close to people at school; feel part of your school	6 (α=.75)*
Student prejudice	On a 5-point scale, agreement that students in school are prejudiced	1
Attendance‡	Quasi-continuous variable (average daily attendance)	1
Dropout rate‡§	Estimated dropout rate by grade in school	6
School type‡§	Five categories: comprehensive public, magnet public, parochial, technical, other	9
Classroom size‡	Average size of class from ≤20 to ≥35	1
Master's degree‡	% of teachers with master's degree from ≤10% to ≥90%	1
College‡	Proportion of students who are college bound	1
Parant-teacher organization‡	% of parents involved with a parant-teacher organization, ranging from does not exist to ≥90%	1
Individual characteristics		
Self-esteem	On a 5-point scale (agree to disagree): good personal qualities, a lot to be proud of, like yourself, feel loved and wanted, as good as other people	10 (α=.86)*
Religious identity	Pray frequently, view self as religious, affiliate with a religion	3
Same-sex attraction or behavior§	Ever had same-sex romantic attraction or same-sex intercourse	3
Perceived risk of untimely death	Perceive self at risk for untimely death	1
Paid work ≥20 h/wk§	No. of hours per week worked for pay during school year	1
Self-report of physical appearance§	Appear older or younger than most age mates	1 each
Repeated a grade§	Repeated 1 or more grades	1
Grade point average	Available grades in English, math, history/social studies, and science in most recent reporting period	4

*For most measures including 3 or more items, Cronbach[29] α coefficient was used to assess internal consistency.
†Pearson correlation coefficient was used to assess reliability of 2-item measures where appropriate.
‡Derived from school administrator questionnaire.
§Item coded dichotomously, eg, yes/no, any/none.

(eg, self-image, future perspective). Longitudinal studies by both Werner and Smith[25] and Quinton and Rutter[39] have identified the role of environmental and familial contexts as well as individual characteristics in promoting heightened or diminished well-being among children who have experienced multiple life stressors.

In the present analysis, school characteristics (ie, school type, dropout rate, attendance rate, classroom size, teacher training, characteristics of student body), including "school connectedness"—a concept that emerges from the interactions of the individual with the school environment[40,41]—are used to represent a key environmental force in the lives of in-school youth. Familial factors incorporate 4 components: parent-family relationships (connectedness, shared activities, parental presence); norms and expectations for adolescent behavior (school achievement, sexual behaviors); parental modeling (family suicide involvement); and household features (access to weapons, substances).[30,31,37] Individual characteristics include such factors as employment, academic performance, and sexual orientation as well as self-belief components including religious identity and self-esteem.[25,39]

Independent variables within each context were divided into 2 sets: generic (those that were expected to be associated with every dependent variable, such as parent-family connectedness, school connectedness, and self-esteem) and domain-specific variables (those that applied to specific dependent variables such as household access to alcohol, school policies on fighting, and knowledge of condom use). In the present analysis, the selection of risk and protective factors was guided by an emphasis on variables that can be used for assessment or are amenable to prevention and intervention efforts.

All dependent and independent variables were standardized separately for each grade category to a mean of 0 and an SD of 1 before conducting the multivariate analyses, except for dichotomous variables and age at first intercourse. In the case of multi-item scales, individual items were standardized before summing items to form scales; summed-scale scores were restandardized to a mean of 0 and SD of 1. Consequently, parameter estimates can be interpreted as standardized β (with the exception of dichotomous variables); within any particular analysis, odds ratios and relative risks can be compared with each other for effect size.

Multivariate Analysis

Our analytic strategy was to highlight relevant variables, their measurement, and the interrelationships of variables within domains. This broad approach provides a foundation for future, more focused analyses. The impact of each of the 3 contexts (family, school, and individual characteristics) on each of the adolescent health and risk behaviors was assessed using multiple linear regression for the continuous and quasi-continuous outcome variables, logistic regression for pregnancy history, and Cox regression for age of sexual debut. Each of these analyses controlled for the effects of key demographic variables: sex, race, ethnicity, family structure, and

Table 3.—Domain-Specific Independent Variables

Variables	Select Descriptors of Variables	No. of Items Constituting Variable
Sexual behavior domain		
Perceived parental disapproval of adolescent sex	On a 5-point scale, perceived mother's and/or father's disapproval of their adolescent having sex at this time with anyone or a special person	2 (r=0.82)*
Perceived parental disapproval of adolescent contraception	On a 5-point scale, perceived mother's and/or father's disapproval of their adolescent using contraception at this time	2
Length of time since sexual debut	Interval, in months, between first intercourse and the current date	6
Effective contraceptive use with first/last sex	Use of oral contraceptive pills, Norplant, Depo-Provera, intrauterine device, condoms, or condoms plus female barrier method with first/last sex (response categories: neither, 1, or both occasions)	6
Substance use in connection with sex	Level of alcohol and other drug use involved with first/last sex	6 (α=.65)†
Sex in exchange for drugs or money‡	Ever given sex in exchange for drugs or money	1
Virginity pledge‡	Made public or written pledge to remain a virgin until marriage	1
Perceived benefits of sexual activity	On a 5-point scale (strongly agree to strongly disagree), having sex would relax you, give you physical pleasure, make you more attractive, make you less lonely	5 (α=.70)†
Perceived obstacles to contraceptive use	On a 5-point scale (strongly agree to strongly disagree), birth control is a hassle to use, too expensive, interferes with pleasure, requires too much planning ahead, conveys that you are looking for sex	7 (α=.62)†
Perceived susceptibility to pregnancy	On a 5-point scale (strongly agree to strongly disagree), perceived chance of getting pregnant after having unprotected sex on a single occasion in the near future	1
Perceived consequences of pregnancy	Pregnancy: one of the worst things that could happen at this time, would be embarrassing, would force growing up too fast	8 (α=.70)†
Condom use knowledge	Knowledge regarding correct use of condoms (summed)	No. correct of 5
Contraceptive use self-efficacy	Confidence in ability to use contraception or to refuse sex in various situations	3 (α=.65)†
School-based reproductive health services on premises‡§	Family planning counseling services, sexually transmitted disease treatment, or prenatal or postnatal services	4
Violence, emotional distress, and suicidality domains		
Household access to guns‡	Reported easy availability of a gun in the home	1
History of victimization and/or witnessing violence	Within the past 12 mo, witnessed or been a victim of a shooting or stabbing	5 (α=.66)†
Weapon carrying	Weapon carrying at school, in connection with substance use	4 (α=.74)†
Sale of illicit drugs	Any sale of illicit drugs within the past 12 mo	1
Involvement with deviant/antisocial behaviors	Destruction of property, theft, skipping school in past year; ever suspended or expelled from school	10 (α=.78)†
Body image	Perceived weight, from very underweight to very overweight	1
School policies on fighting§	Warning/minor action, suspension, or expulsion for fighting with or injuring a student or teacher or carrying a weapon at school	4
Mental health services at school‡§	Emotional counseling, rape counseling, or programs for dealing with effects of violence provided on school premises	3
Substance abuse domains		
Household access to cigarettes‡	Reported easy availability of cigarettes in the home	1
Household access to alcohol‡	Reported easy availability of alcohol in the home	1
Household access to illicit substances‡	Reported easy availability of illicit drugs in the home	1
School policies on smoking§	Warning/minor action, suspension, or expulsion for smoking at school	1
School policies on alcohol§	Warning/minor action, suspension, expulsion for possessing or drinking alcohol at school	2
School policies on illicit drugs§	Warning/minor action, suspension, expulsion for possessing or using drugs at school	2
Substance use programs at school‡§	Drug education, drug abuse, or alcohol abuse program	3

*Pearson correlation coefficient was used to assess reliability of 2-item measures where appropriate.
†For most variables including 3 or more items, Cronbach[23] α coefficient was used to assess internal consistency.
‡A dichotomously categorized variable, eg, yes/no, any/none.
§Derived from a school administrator questionnaire.

poverty status. In these analyses, race was categorized as black vs non-Hispanic white as the reference group; ethnicity as "other" ethnic group, which included subcategories of Hispanic (98% white, 2% black), Asian/Pacific Islander, American Indian, and "other" (1% designated 2 or more ethnic identities) vs non-Hispanic white as the reference group; family structure as 2 parents in the home vs 2 parents not in the home; and poverty status as 1 or more parents on welfare vs neither parent on welfare. While a simple indicator of poverty status, this designation has been shown to work with adolescent respondents.[42,43]

Because of the complex patterns of intercorrelation between variables from each of the 3 contexts, the total variance in each dependent variable explained by a combination of family, school, and individual context measures is typically less than the sum of the variances explained by each context analyzed independently.

To ensure adequate control for demographic effects, in the first step of analyses demographic variables were forced into regression equations and retained regardless of their statistical significance. In the second step of analyses, the set of generic independent variables was introduced; significant generic measures along with demographic variables were retained in subsequent regression models. In the third step of analyses, a set of domain-specific independent variables was introduced into regression models, and significant domain-specific measures were retained. In a fourth and final step, the models developed on the exploratory sample were cross-validated by recomputing parameter estimates on the vali-

Table 4.—Distribution (Percentage) of Risk Behaviors by Demographic Variables

Demographic Variables	Risk Behavior: Emotional Distress*	Suicide Attempt (≥1)	Violence Perpetration*	Smoke ≥6 Cigarettes/d	Alcohol (Beer or Wine) Use ≥2 d/mo	Marijuana Use at Least Once in Past Month	Had Sex	Pregnancy History†
Grade								
7th-8th	17.7	3.7	9.2	3.2	7.3	6.9	17.0	11.8
9th-12th	18.4	3.6	7.8	12.8	23.1	15.7	49.3	19.4
Sex								
Male	15.7	2.1	11.0	10.0	20.1	13.5	39.9	...
Female	20.1	5.1	5.7	9.2	15.6	11.9	37.3	18.6
Geography								
Urban	18.6	3.5	9.0	6.9	14.9	11.1	37.7	22.4
Suburban	17.5	3.7	8.2	10.2	19.2	13.8	38.2	17.6
Rural	19.9	3.6	8.4	11.9	17.7	10.5	41.9	15.7
Region								
West	20.7	4.3	8.5	5.4	15.3	14.9	31.7	18.9
Midwest	20.4	4.2	8.4	12.8	18.4	15.0	38.0	18.9
Northeast	18.2	3.6	8.8	11.3	19.5	15.0	35.8	13.9
South	17.4	3.0	8.1	8.2	17.7	9.0	42.8	19.7
Poverty								
Parents receive welfare	23.2	4.7	13.0	10.2	16.1	15.3	44.9	24.0
Parents do not receive welfare	17.2	3.6	7.6	9.5	18.1	12.4	37.9	17.7

*Continuous variable reported as a mean score; higher score indicative of higher risk.
†Percentage of those who are sexually active.

Table 5.—Percent Variance in Dependent Variables Explained by Each Context Independently, After Controlling for Demographic Factors*

Dependent Variables	Demographic Factors†: Grades 7-8	Demographic Factors†: Grades 9-12	Family Context: Grades 7-8	Family Context: Grades 9-12	School Context: Grades 7-8	School Context: Grades 9-12	Individual Characteristics: Grades 7-8	Individual Characteristics: Grades 9-12	3 Models and Demographics Combined‡: Grades 7-8	3 Models and Demographics Combined‡: Grades 9-12
Emotional distress	4.2	5.9	14.6	13.5	17.6	13.1	21.8	21.0	30.0	27.1
Suicidality	1.0	1.2	4.8	7.0	3.1	3.0	2.5	5.9	7.1	9.8
Violence	6.6	8.0	6.5	4.8	7.1	5.8	43.9	49.8	44.4	50.6
Substance use										
Cigarette use	2.2	6.2	6.4	7.8	3.7	5.7	11.4	10.0	14.5	14.4
Alcohol use	1.0	2.9	8.5	6.1	5.6	4.3	7.1	7.3	13.7	12.5
Marijuana use	1.6	2.0	5.6	8.6	4.8	5.8	4.8	7.4	10.2	13.7

*For history of pregnancy and age of sexual debut, no R^2 available using logistic regression or Cox regression.
†The factors include poverty status, family structure, race, ethnicity, and sex.
‡Explanatory variables significant in the 3 context-specific analyses were retained in the combined analysis regardless of changes in significance due to intercorrelations among them.

dation sample, with all retained variables from the estimation analysis forced into the validation analysis. Thus, independent variables found in final models included the full set of demographic variables as well as generic and domain-specific measures that remained significant on cross-validation. For linear regression analysis, potential design effects resulting from the use of a cluster sampling design were adjusted with the use of a mixed-models linear regression procedure (SAS PROC MIXED)[44] with specified use of a block diagonal covariance structure.

RESULTS

Prevalence of Behaviors by Demographic Variables

The distribution of key risk behaviors in the national sample of adolescents is presented in Table 4. Prevalence data are presented by grade group, place of residence, region, self-reported poverty status, and sex.

Emotional Distress and Suicidality.—Two indicators of risk to adolescents' emotional well-being were assessed: emotional distress (a recent history of physical and emotional symptoms of distress) and suicidality (a history of suicidal ideation and attempts in the past year). Overall, 87.4% (10 010/11 453) of adolescents indicated that they had neither suicidal thoughts nor attempts over the past year. A total of 10.2% of girls (599/5745) and 7.5% of boys (428/5708) reported having considered suicide without having attempted it over the past year, while 3.6% of all adolescents (415/11 453) (5.1% of girls [295/5745] and 2.1% [120/5708] of boys) reported suicide attempts. Of adolescents, 3.6% (412/11 438) reported a parental suicide attempt during the previous year, while 0.9% of the young people surveyed (103/11 438) reported suicide completions among their parents.

Family Context.—Family context variables explained 14% to 15% of the variability in emotional distress (9th-12th graders and 7th-8th graders, respectively) and 5% to 7% of the variability in suicidality for all adolescents (Table 5). The key aspect of family context that accounted for these relationships, after controlling for the influence of demographic factors, was parent-family connectedness (Table 6). The presence of parents at key times during the day (at waking, after school, at dinner, and at bedtime), shared activities with parents, and high parental expectations for their child's school achievement were also moderately protective against emotional distress for both younger and older adolescents. A recent family history of suicidality was associated with higher distress as well as adolescent suicidality.

Except for parent-family connectedness, no family context variables significantly protected against adolescent

Table 6.—Explaining Emotional Distress, Suicidality, and Violence (Parameter Estimates and *P* Values)*

Variables	Emotional Distress		Suicidality		Violence	
	Grades 7-8 (*P* Value)	Grades 9-12 (*P* Value)	Grades 7-8 (*P* Value)	Grades 9-12 (*P* Value)	Grades 7-8 (*P* Value)	Grades 9-12 (*P* Value)
Family	n=1785	n=3760	n=1790	n=3789	n=1787	n=3758
Parent-family connectedness	−.37 (<.001)	−.33 (<.001)	−.17 (<.001)	−.24 (<.001)	−.21 (<.001)	−.13 (<.001)
Parent-adolescent activities	.06 (<.01)	.04 (<.05)	...	...	...	...
Parental presence	−.07 (<.01)	−.06 (<.001)	...	...	...	...
Parental school expectations	−.07 (<.01)	−.08 (<.001)	...	...	...	−.07 (<.001)
Recent family suicide attempts/completions	.09 (<.01)	.07 (<.001)	.12 (<.001)	.06 (<.001)	.13 (<.001)	.07 (<.001)
Household access to guns†	...	...	...	.13 (<.001)	.14 (<.01)	.27 (<.001)
School	n=1800	n=3812	n=1788	n=3799	n=1792	n=3803
School connectedness	−.43 (<.001)	−.36 (<.001)	−.17 (<.001)	−.18 (<.001)	−.27 (<.001)	−.26 (<.001)
Perceived student prejudice	.06 (<.01)	.06 (<.001)	...	...	...	...
Individual	n=1754	n=3628	n=1768	n=3865	n=1769	n=3892
Self-esteem	−.38 (<.001)	−.38 (<.001)	...	−.21 (<.001)	...	...
Same-sex attraction or behavior	...	.23 (<.001)	...	...	...	...
Perceived risk of untimely death†	.10 (<.001)	.14 (<.001)	.08 (<.001)	.06 (<.001)	.05 (<.01)	...
Paid work ≥20 h/wk†	...	.16 (<.001)	...	...	...	...
Appears older than most†	...	.17 (<.001)	...	.27 (<.001)	...	...
Appears younger than most†	.20 (<.01)	...	...	...	...	...
Repeated a grade†	.22 (<.001)	.12 (<.01)	...	...	...	...
Grade point average	−.14 (<.001)	−.07 (<.001)	−.12 (<.001)	...	−.07 (<.001)	...
History of victimization/ witnessing violence	...	...	...	...	.30 (<.001)	.44 (<.001)
Weapon carrying	...	...	...	...	.18 (<.001)	.22 (<.001)
Deviant behavior	...	...	...	...	.28 (<.001)	.22 (<.001)
Drug selling†	...	...	...	...	.39 (<.001)	.11 (<.001)

*Ellipses indicates that the variables were excluded from the final model.
†Item coded dichotomously, eg, yes/no, any/none. Risk estimate compares reporting affirmatively to item with all others.

suicidality. However, having a gun easily available at home was slightly associated with suicidality for older adolescents. Overall, 24.2% of respondents (2771/11 468) reported that guns were easily accessible at home.

School Context.—School context had a limited but consistent influence on adolescent emotional health, accounting for 13% to 18% of the variability in emotional distress among older and younger adolescents, respectively, and 3% of the variability in suicidality (Table 5). School connectedness was associated with lower levels of emotional distress and suicidal involvement among both younger and older adolescents (Table 6). Perceived student prejudice was associated with emotional distress among both groups of students. No other aspect of the school environment was associated with either emotional distress or suicidality.

Individual Characteristics.—Individual characteristics accounted for 21% to 22% of the variability in emotional distress among students and for 3% to 6% of the variability in suicidality among 7th and 8th graders and 9th through 12th graders, respectively (Table 5).

Self-esteem was inversely related to emotional distress, regardless of grade (Table 6). Other factors associated with emotional distress, regardless of grade level, included: being held back 1 or more grades in school, a low grade point average, and perceived risk of untimely death. Among 9th through 12th graders, emotional distress tended to be higher among those with same-sex attraction or behavior, those working 20 or more hours per week, and those who reported looking older than their peers. More emotional distress was reported by 7th and 8th graders who indicated looking "younger than most."

A smaller set of individual characteristics played a role in suicidality. Suicidality across grade cohorts was associated with a perceived risk of an untimely death. Low self-esteem and appearing older than one's peers was associated with suicidality among 9th through 12th graders, while a low grade point average showed significant association with suicidality among 7th and 8th graders.

Involvement in Violence.—Although most young people reported never having been the victim of violent behavior, 24.1% (2767/11 486) indicated they had been a victim. Additionally, 12.4% of students (1425/11 490) indicated that they had carried a weapon over the previous 30 days.

Family Context.—Controlling for demographic factors, family variables explained relatively little of the variability in violence perpetration, 7% and 5% among younger and older students, respectively (Table 5). Items associated with higher levels of violence for all students included household access to guns and a recent history of family suicide attempts or completions (Table 6). Factors associated with somewhat lower levels of interpersonal violence included parental and family connectedness. In addition, higher parental expectations for school achievement were weakly associated with lower levels of violence among older adolescents.

School Context.—School context accounted for 6% to 7% of the variability in violence among students (Table 5). Specifically, higher levels of connectedness to school were associated with somewhat lower levels of violence, applicable to both student cohorts (Table 6).

Individual Characteristics.—Individual characteristics accounted for 44% of the variability in violent behavior among 7th and 8th graders and 50% of variability among 9th through 12th graders (Table 5). Among both younger and older adolescents, involvement in violence was associated with having been a victim or a witness to violence, frequency of carrying a weapon, involvement in deviant or antisocial behaviors, and involvement in selling marijuana or other drugs within the past year (Table 6). Among younger students, interpersonal violence was associated with lower grade point average and higher perceived risk of untimely death.

Table 7.—Explaining Substance Use (Parameter Estimates and *P* Values)*

Variables	Cigarette Use		Alcohol Use		Marijuana Use	
	Grades 7-8 (*P* Value)	Grades 9-12 (*P* Value)	Grades 7-8 (*P* Value)	Grades 9-12 (*P* Value)	Grades 7-8 (*P* Value)	Grades 9-12 (*P* Value)
Family	n=1760	n=3687	n=1785	n=3783	n=1776	n=3656
Parent-family connectedness	−.19 (<.001)	−.13 (<.001)	−.24 (<.001)	−.14 (<.001)	−.18 (<.001)	−.19 (<.001)
Parent-adolescent activities	...	−.04 (<.001)	...	...	...	...
Parental presence	...	−.06 (<.001)	...	−.13 (<.001)	−.07 (<.01)	−.08 (<.001)
Parental school expectations	...	−.05 (<.01)	...	...	...	...
Recent family suicide attempts/completions	.09 (<.01)	.04 (<.01)	...	...	...	...
Household access to substances†	.25 (<.001)	.38 (<.001)	.32 (<.001)	.22 (<.001)	.75 (<.001)	1.00 (<.001)
School	n=1768	n=3737	n=1785	n=3796	n=1773	n=3669
School connectedness	−.19 (<.001)	−.25 (<.001)	−.23 (<.001)	−.21 (<.001)	−.22 (<.001)	−.24 (<.001)
Individual	n=1705	n=3542	n=1721	n=3584	n=1735	n=3463
Self-esteem	...	−.11 (<.001)	−.08 (<.001)	−.05 (<.01)	...	−.09 (<.001)
Religious identity	−.07 (<.01)	−.08 (<.001)	−.06 (<.01)	−.11 (<.001)	...	−.10 (<.001)
Same-sex attraction or behavior†	...	...	...	−.19 (<.01)	...	.17 (<.05)
Perceived risk of untimely death	.11 (<.001)	...	.06 (<.01)	...	.10 (<.001)	.06 (<.001)
Paid work ≥20 h/wk†	...	.37 (<.001)	...	.33 (<.001)	...	.20 (<.001)
Appears older than most†	.33 (<.001)	.21 (<.001)	.38 (<.001)	.34 (<.001)	.20 (<.01)	.22 (<.001)
Repeated a grade in school†	.18 (<.01)	...	...	...	...	...
Grade point average	−.24 (<.001)	−.21 (<.001)	−.15 (<.001)	−.13 (<.001)	−.18 (<.001)	−.16 (<.001)

*Ellipses indicate that the variables were excluded from the final model.
†Dichotomously categorized variable, eg, yes/no, any/none. Risk estimate compares reporting affirmatively to item with all others.

Substance Use

Cigarette Use.—Overall, 25.7% of adolescents (2907/11 293) reported being current smokers, with 9.2% of females (524/5681) and 10.0% of males (563/5612) smoking 6 or more cigarettes per day.

Family Context.—Family context measures explained 6% to 8% of the variability in frequency of cigarette use among younger and older groups (Table 5). Variables associated with some increased frequency of cigarette use among both groups included easy household access to cigarettes and family history of recent suicidal behavior (Table 7). Nearly 1 in 3 respondents (31.4% [3602/11 468]) reported that cigarettes are easily available at home with little sex variability. High levels of connectedness to parents and family members were associated with somewhat less frequent cigarette use among both groups. Among 9th through 12th graders, less frequent cigarette use also had small but significant associations with more frequent parental presence in the home, greater number of shared activities between adolescents and their parents, and higher perceived levels of parental expectations related to adolescent school completion.

School Context.—School variables accounted for only 4% of the variability in cigarette use frequency among 7th and 8th grade students and 6% of the variability among 9th through 12th grade students (Table 5). Among both younger and older students, high self-reported levels of school connectedness were associated with less frequent cigarette use. No other school context variables were significantly associated with cigarette use (Table 7).

Individual Characteristics.—Individual characteristics explained 11% of the variability in cigarette use among 7th and 8th grade students and 10% of variability in this behavior among 9th through 12th graders (Table 5). Correlates of increased frequency of cigarette use among both student cohorts included appearing older than peers and low grade point average (Table 7). Correlates of use among younger students included high perceived risk of early death and having repeated a grade in school. Among older students, working 20 or more hours per week was associated with increased cigarette use. Items slightly associated with decreased frequency of cigarette use included high levels of personal importance placed on religion and prayer among all students and, among older students, high levels of self-esteem.

Alcohol Use

Overall 17.9% of students (2042/11 436) reported drinking alcohol more than monthly, with 9.9% (1129/11 436) drinking at least 1 day a week.

Family Context.—Family context variables accounted for 9% of the variability in frequency of alcohol use among 7th and 8th grade students and 6% of the variability among 9th through 12th grade students (Table 5). For both groups, easy household access to alcohol was associated with more frequent alcohol use (Table 7). As with cigarettes, alcohol was readily available in over a quarter (28.5% [3268/11 474]) of respondents' homes. High levels of connectedness to parents and family members were associated with less frequent alcohol use among both groups of students. Among older students, more frequent parental presence in the home was associated with less frequent use.

School Context.—School variables accounted for 4% to 6% of variability in frequency of alcohol use among students (Table 5). High levels of school connectedness were associated with less frequent alcohol use among both groups (Table 7).

Individual Characteristics.—Individual characteristics explained 7% of the variability in frequency of alcohol use among both groups of students (Table 5). Items associated with increased frequency of use for both younger and older students included self-report of appearing older than peers, low grade point average, and low self-esteem (Table 7). Among 9th through 12th grade students, increased alcohol use was also associated with working 20 or more hours per week and same-sex attraction or behavior. For 7th and 8th grade students, perceived risk of untimely death was associated with more frequent use. High levels of importance placed on religion and prayer appeared to be a significant protective factor among both groups.

Marijuana Use

One quarter of all young people (25.2% [8315/11 116]) reported ever having smoked marijuana, with 12.7% (1406/11 116) reporting that they had smoked at least once during the previous month. About 6% (670/11 116) of females and males were heavy users (using 4 or more times during the previous 30 days).

Table 8.—Predicting Sexual Behaviors (Parameter Estimate, *P* Value, 95% Confidance Interval [CI], and Relative Risk [RR] or Odds Ratio [OR])

Variables	Age of Sexual Debut	Pregnancy History
	Grades 7-12 RR* (95% CI)	Sexually Experienced Females ≥15 y OR* (95% CI)
Family	n=5017	n=909
Parent-family connectedness	0.85 (0.81-0.88)	...†
Recent family suicide attempts/completions	1.07 (1.03-1.12)	...
Perceived parent disapproval of adolescent sex	0.79 (0.75-0.83)	...
Perceived parent disapproval of adolescent contraception	0.75 (0.71-0.79)	0.65 (0.53-0.81)‡
Parental-adolescent activities	...	0.69 (0.56-0.85)
School	n=5177	n=1007
School connectedness	0.77 (0.74-0.81)	...
Average daily attendance	0.95 (0.91-0.99)¶	...
Parochial school‖	0.78 (0.63-0.97)¶	...
Individual	n=4982	n=863
Religious identity	0.93 (0.89-0.97)§	...
Same-sex attraction or behavior	1.39 (1.17-1.65)‡	...
Perceived risk of untimely death‖	1.11 (1.06-1.16)‡	...
Paid work ≥20 h/wk‖	1.36 (1.21-1.53)‡	...
Appears older than most‖	1.56 (1.38-1.78)‡	...
Pledge of virginity‖	0.25 (0.19-0.33)‡	...
Grade point average	0.80 (0.76-0.84)‡	...
Appears younger than most‖	0.83 (0.69-0.99)¶	...
Effective contraceptive use first/last sex	...	0.73 (0.60-0.88)§
Time since sexual debut	...	1.76 (1.41-2.19)‡
Perceived consequences of pregnancy	...	0.61 (0.51-0.73)‡

*Value <1 associated with decreased risk (increased age of sexual debut).
†Ellipses indicate that the variables were excluded from the final model.
‡*P*<.001.
§*P*<.01.
‖Dichotomously categorized variable, eg, yes/no, any/none. Risk estimate compares reporting affirmatively for item with all others.
¶*P*<.05.

Family Context.—Family context measures explained 6% to 9% of the variability in marijuana use among both groups of students (Table 5). More frequent marijuana use was associated with easy household access to illicit substances in both age groups (Table 7). High levels of parent-family connectedness were associated with less frequent marijuana use, as was a greater frequency of parental presence in the home.

School Context.—School variables explained 5% to 6% of the variability in marijuana use among students (Table 5). For both groups, high levels of school connectedness were associated with less frequent use. No other school factor was related to marijuana use (Table 7).

Individual Characteristics.—Individual characteristics accounted for 5% of variability in frequency of marijuana use among 7th and 8th graders and 7% among 9th through 12th graders (Table 5). Among both groups of students, appearing older than age mates, low grade point average, and perceived risk of untimely death were associated with more frequent marijuana use (Table 7). Among 9th through 12th grade students, working 20 or more hours per week and same-sex attraction or behavior were associated with greater use. Protective factors, evident among high school students only, included personal importance placed on religion and prayer and high levels of self-esteem.

Sexual Behaviors

Approximately 17% (646/3788) of 7th and 8th graders and nearly half (49.3% [3754/7614]) of 9th through 12th graders indicated that they had ever had sexual intercourse.

Family Context.—Significant family factors associated with delaying sexual debut included high levels of parent-family connectedness, parental disapproval of their adolescent being sexually active, and parental disapproval of their adolescent's using contraception. Recent family suicide attempt or completion was associated with a slightly increased risk of early sexual debut (Table 8).

School Context.—Three factors were associated with some delay in sexual debut: higher levels of connectedness to school; attending a parochial school; and attending a school with high overall average daily attendance (Table 8).

Individual Characteristics.—Adolescents who reported having taken a pledge to remain a virgin were at significantly lower risk of early age of sexual debut (Table 8). Nearly 16% of females (911/5715) and 10% of males (539/5692) reported making such pledges. A higher level of importance ascribed to religion and prayer was also associated with a somewhat later age of sexual debut, as was self-report of appearing younger than peers and a higher grade point average. Self-report of looking older than peers, working 20 or more hours per week, same-sex attraction or behavior, and perceived risk of untimely death were all associated with earlier sexual debut.

History of Pregnancy

Among sexually experienced females aged 15 years and older, 19.8% (369/1869) reported having ever been pregnant.

Family Context.—A greater number of shared activities with parents and perceived parental disapproval of adolescent contraceptive use were protective factors against a history of pregnancy.

School Context.—No school factors were associated with students' pregnancy histories.

Individual Characteristics.—A history of pregnancy was associated with length of time since age of sexual debut. Protective factors included perceived (negative) consequences of becoming pregnant and use of effective contraception at first and/or most recent intercourse.

COMMENT

The goal of this study has been to identify school, family, and individual protective factors and risk factors for major areas of adolescent morbidity. It is clear that when demographic characteristics are controlled, social contexts count. Specifically, we find consistent evidence that perceived caring and connectedness to others is important in understanding the health of young people today. While these findings are confirmatory of other studies, they are also unique because they represent the first time certain protective factors have been shown to apply across the major risk domains.

Family

With notable consistency across the domains of risk, the role of parents and family in shaping the health of adolescents is evident. While not surprising, the protective role that perceived parental expectations play regarding adolescents' school attainment emerges as an important recurring correlate of health and healthy behavior. Likewise, while physical presence of a parent in the home at key times reduces risk (and especially substance use), it is consistently less significant than parental connectedness (eg, feelings of warmth, love, and caring from parents). The home environment also plays a role in shaping negative health outcomes. If homes provide a venue in which adolescents have easy access to guns, alcohol,

tobacco, and illicit substances, adolescents are more likely to have an increased risk of suicidality, involvement in interpersonal violence, and substance use. In this context we note that restricting access to tobacco both within and outside the home is a focus of the recent surgeon general's report on smoking and health.[45] The present data support the importance of those recommendations. It supports the notion of restricting access to alcohol; those who grow up where alcohol is easily accessible may be more likely to drink as teens. And it supports the American Medical Association's recommendation[46] to remove guns from the home, as those with easy access to guns in the home were more likely to be violent and more likely to attempt suicide.

Hewlett[47] and Fuchs and Reklis[48] have identified the time deficit that surrounds many of the children of the United States: the increasing scarcity of time that parents have for their children, driven largely by workforce pressures. Compared with 1960, children in the United States have lost, on average, 10 to 12 hours per week of parental time.[49] The present study confirms the importance of time availability of parents for their children. While the monitoring function is important, time availability becomes critical in those variables that constitute family connectedness and parental activities. As economic and social policies press both parents into the workforce, consideration should be given to the sequelae for children when flexible time options are not made available.

School

Connectedness with school is another protective factor in the lives of young people. Indeed, other population-based studies have suggested that school connectedness, along with an adolescent's sense of connectedness to parents, family, and other adults, serves as a protective factor against a variety of risk behaviors.[23] Steinberg[49] has described how school engagement is a critical protective factor against a variety of risky behaviors, influenced in good measure by perceived caring from teachers and high expectations for student performance. While much emphasis is placed on school policies governing adolescent behaviors, such policies appear in the present analysis to have limited associations with the student behaviors under study.

Individual

A number of individual characteristics emerged as salient correlates of risky behaviors across a variety of domains in this analysis. In the sample, 17.9% (1366/7638) of 9th through 12th grade students reported working during the school year at least 20 hours per week. Greenberger and Steinberg[50] cautioned against adolescents' working long hours, focusing on the adverse consequences of fatigue as well as excessive leisure income. The present study affirms that 20 or more hours per week of work during the teenage years is associated with higher levels of emotional distress, substance use, and earlier age of sexual debut; although, as emphasized by Bachman and Schulenberg,[51] this association must be examined longitudinally.

Low grade point average and being retained in school were related by varying degree to higher levels of emotional distress, substance use, involvement in violence, and earlier onset of sexual intercourse. Byrd and colleagues[52] have reported that after adjusting for multiple potential confounding variables, old-for-grade high school students were significantly more likely to be involved in a multiplicity of risky behaviors. The prevalence of adolescents who are retained at least 1 year (21.3% [2462/11 561]) and the associated health-risk behavior problems suggest that targeted strategies for all young people who have school-related learning and behavior problems warrant closer examination. Consistently, it appears that those who are academically at risk are at high risk in other ways as well. The "full-service school" as a community-based vehicle for organization and delivery of educational, social, and health services provides an excellent framework for community planning and action to address the health and educational needs of young people who are highly distressed and engaged in serious health-compromising behaviors.[53]

To be "out of sync" for grade level is clearly a risk factor but so too is perceiving oneself as physically older than age mates independent of one's chronological age. These findings are consistent with those of Brooks-Gunn and Peterson[54] and Peterson and Crockett.[55] The present analyses indicate that not only did those who perceived themselves as looking older than peers initiate intercourse at a younger age, but they were also more likely to use cigarettes, alcohol, and marijuana. They were also significantly more likely to have participated in violence and to have expressed emotional distress and suicidality than adolescents who saw themselves as looking age-appropriate. Except for emotional distress, the same behavioral vulnerabilities were not seen in general for those who reported appearing younger than their age. To be out of sync from peers, thus, appears to put a young person at risk. While perceived difference from age mates can be explored with adolescents during preventive health assessments and physical examinations, such perception does not lend itself to direct preventive or intervention efforts.

Among the nearly 88% (9945/11 326) of the population who reported having a religion, the perceived importance of religion and prayer was protective. Those who ascribed importance to religion and prayer tended to have a later age of sexual debut and were also less likely to use all substances. This is consistent with other studies of risk and protective factors that link religiosity, spirituality, and religious identity with "conventional" behaviors.[23,56] While the work of Werner and Smith[25] suggests that religiosity would also be protective against emotional distress, there is nothing in the present study to support that finding.

It is tempting to compare our prevalence data for major adolescent risk behaviors with other national school-based data sets such as the Youth Risk Behavior Survey.[45] However, such direct comparisons should be undertaken with care. Each data set uses particular approaches to measurement (ie, single-item vs multi-item indicators), and, more importantly, there are branching patterns in the questionnaires that lead to different results. For example, 1 instrument asks all respondents questions about suicide attempts, while another survey asks this question of students who acknowledged previous suicidal ideation. Such comparisons will be undertaken in more detail in the future.

CONCLUSION

This is the first report from the Add Health study, the first nationally representative data set including longitudinal data on the health status, risk behaviors, and social contexts of adolescents. These analyses are limited insofar as they do not incorporate the longitudinal in-home or parent data sets.

There is a generation of research yet to be done using the Add Health data set. These analyses should add to our understanding of adolescent health, risk behaviors, resilience, and protective factors—especially adolescent development over time. This study, although cross-sectional, should assist health and social service providers, educators, and others in taking the first steps of establishing priorities and committing to practices and programs that enhance protective factors as well as reduce risk.

This research is based on data from the Add Health project, a program project designed by J. Richard Udry, PhD, and Peter S. Bearman, PhD, and funded by grant PO1 HD31921 from the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development given to the Carolina Population Center, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, with cooperative funding participation by the National Cancer Institute; the National Institute of Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism;

the National Institute on Deafness and Other Communication Disorders; the National Institute on Drug Abuse; the National Institute of General Medical Sciences; the National Institute of Mental Health; the National Institute of Nursing Research; the Office of AIDS Research; the National Institutes of Health (NIH); the Office of the Director, NIH; the Office of Research on Women's Health, NIH; the Office of Population Affairs, Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS); the National Center for Health Statistics, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, DHHS; the Office of Minority Health, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, DHHS; the Office of Minority Health, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Health, DHHS; the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, DHHS; and the National Science Foundation.

The authors wish to thank Elizabeth McAnarney, MD, and Robert DuRant, PhD, for their careful review of early manuscript drafts; Blake Downes and Michelle Burlew for their statistical consultation and assistance; and Linda Boche for her patience and perseverance in numerous manuscript and table revisions.

Persons interested in obtaining data files from the National Longitudinal Study on Adolescent Health should contact Jo Jones, PhD, Carolina Population Center, 123 W Franklin St, Chapel Hill, NC 27516-3997 (e-mail: jo_jones@unc.edu).

References

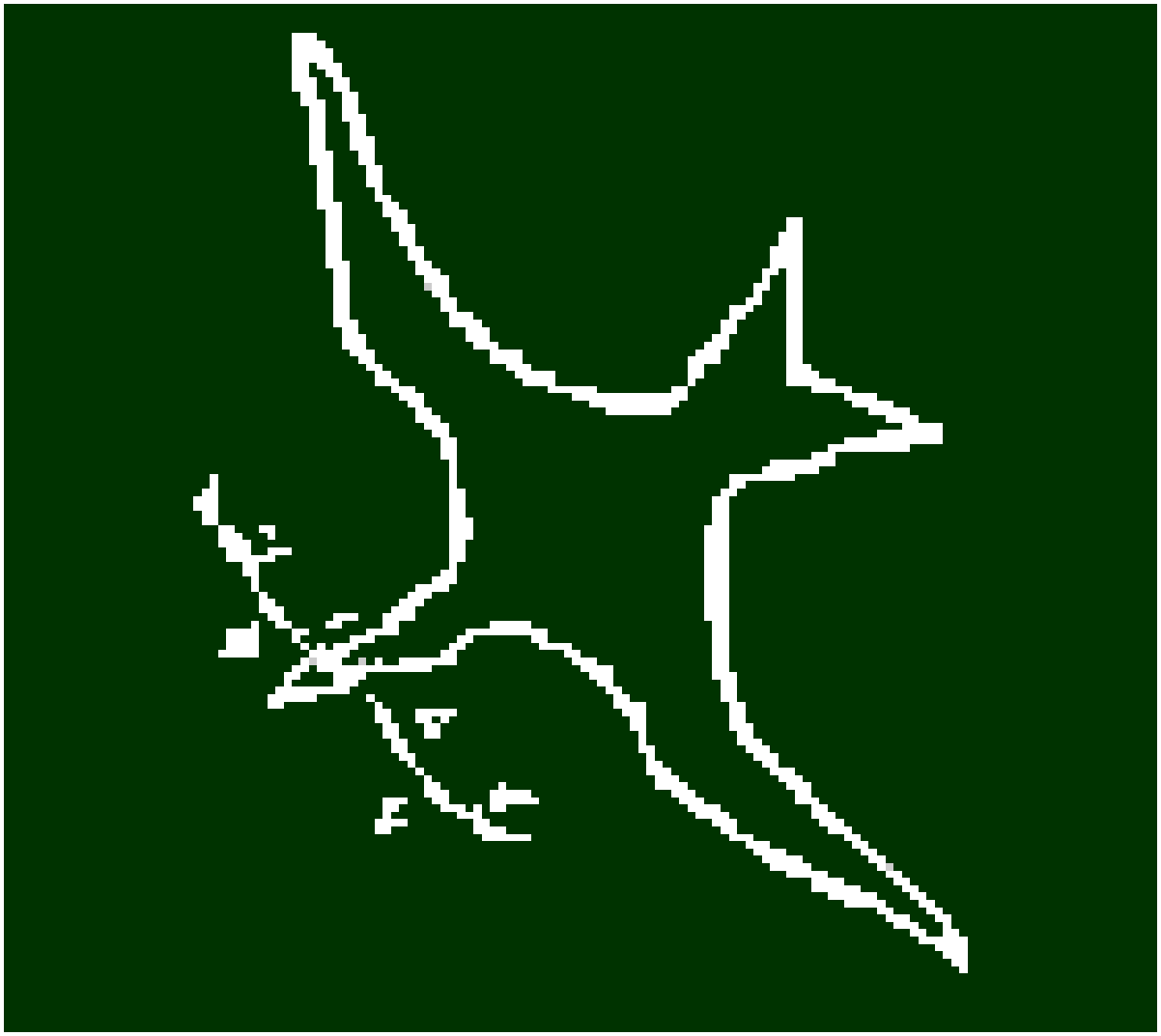
1. *Kids Count Data Book: State Profiles of Child Well-being.* Baltimore, Md: Annie E Casey Foundation; 1997.
2. Children's Defense Fund. *The State of America's Children: Yearbook, 1996.* Washington, DC: Children's Defense Fund; 1997.
3. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. *Mortality Trends: Causes of Death and Related Risk Behaviors Among US Adolescents.* Atlanta, Ga: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention; 1993.
4. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. *Adolescent Health State of the Nation.* Atlanta, Ga: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention; 1995. Publication 099-4112. Monograph series 1.
5. Centers for Disease Control. Health risk behaviors among persons aged 12-21 years—United States. *MMWR Morb Mortal Wkly Rep.* 1992;43: 213-235.
6. Perry C, ed. *Preventing Tobacco Use Among Young People: A Report of the Surgeon General.* Washington, DC: US Dept of Health and Human Services, Public Health Service; 1994:5-10.
7. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Premarital sexual experience among adolescent women—United States, 1970-1988. *MMWR Morb Mortal Wkly Rep.* 1991;39:929-932.
8. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Measuring the health behavior of adolescents: the Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance System and recent reports on high-risk adolescents. *Public Health Rep.* 1993;108:1-96.
9. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Sexual behavior among high school students—United States,1990. *MMWR Morb Mortal Wkly Rep.* 1992;40:885-888.
10. Alan Guttmacher Institute. *Sex in America's Teenagers.* New York, NY: Alan Guttmacher Institute; 1994.
11. National Research Council, Commission on Behavioral and Social Science and Education, Panel on High Risk Youth. *Losing Generations: Adolescents in High Risk Settings.* Washington, DC: National Academy Press; 1993:64-68.
12. Millstein S, Petersen A, Nightingale E. *Promoting the Health of Adolescents: New Directions for the 21st Century.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press; 1993.
13. American Medical Association. *Guidelines for Adolescent Preventive Services.* Chicago, Ill: American Medical Association; 1994.
14. Hechinger F. *Fateful Choices: Healthy Youth for the 21st Century.* New York, NY: Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, Carnegie Corporation of New York; 1992.
15. McAnarney E, Beach RK, Casamassimo P, et al. Adolescence. In: Green M, ed. *Bright Futures: Guidelines for Supervision of Infants, Children and Adolescents.* Arlington, Va: National Center for Education and Maternal and Child Health; 1994:196-259.
16. Irwin C, Brindis C, Holt K, Langlykke K, eds. *Health Care Reform: Opportunities for Improving Adolescent Health.* Arlington, Va: National Center for Education and Maternal and Child Health; 1994.
17. Sells CW, Blum R. Morbidity and mortality among US adolescents: an overview of data and trends. *Am J Public Health.* 1996;86:513-519.
18. Blum R, Beuhring T, Wunderlich MJ, Resnick M. Don't ask, they won't tell: health screening of youth. *Am J Public Health.* 1996;86:1767-1772.
19. Johnston L, O'Malley P, Bachman J. *National Survey Results on Drug Use From the Monitoring the Future Study, 1975-1994.* Rockville, Md: National Institute on Drug Abuse; 1996:1.
20. Rutter M. Resilience: some conceptual considerations. *J Adolesc Health.* 1993;14:626-639.
21. Luthar S, Ziegler E. Vulnerability and competence: a review of research on resilience in children. *Am J Orthopsychiatry.* 1991;61:6-22.
22. Hawkins J, Catalano R, eds. *Communities That Care: Action for Drug Abuse Prevention.* San Francisco, Calif: Jossey-Bass Publishers Inc;1992:8-24.
23. Resnick MD, Harris LJ, Blum RW. The impact of caring and connectedness on adolescent health and well-being. *J Paediatr Child Health.* 1993;29 (suppl 1):S3-S9.
24. Garmezy N. Resiliency and vulnerability to adverse developmental outcomes associated with poverty. *Am Behav Scientist.* 1991;34:416-430.
25. Werner E, Smith R. *Overcoming the Odds: High Risk Children From Birth to Adolescence.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press; 1992.
26. Perry C, Kelder S, Komro K. The social world of adolescents: families, peers, schools in the community. In: Millstein S, Petersen A, Nightingale E, eds. *Promoting the Health of Adolescents.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press; 1993:73-96.
27. Bearman P, Jones J, Udry JR. *The National Longitudinal Study on Adolescent Health*: Research Design. Chapel Hill, NC: Carolina Population Center; 1997. [Available at: http://www.cpc.unc.edu//projects/addhealth/design.html].
28. Resnick MD, Blum RW. The association of consensual sexual intercourse during childhood with adolescent health risk and behaviors. *Pediatrics.* 1994;94:907-913.
29. Cronbach L. Coefficient alpha and the internal structure of tests. *Psychometrika.* 1951;16:297-334.
30. Werner E. High-risk children in young adulthood: a longitudinal study from birth to 32 years. *Am J Orthopsychiatry.* 1989;59(1):72-81.
31. Radke-Yarrow M, Zahn-Waxler C. Research on children with affectively ill parents: some considerations for theory and research on normal development. *Dev Psychopathol.* 1990;2:349-366.
32. Sameroff JA, Seifer R. Early contributions to developmental risk. In: Rolf J, Masten AS, Cicchetti D, Nuechterlein KH, Weintraub S, eds. *Risk and Protective Factors in the Development of Psychopathology.* Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press; 1989:52-66.
33. Rutter M. Psychosocial resilience and protective mechanisms. *Am J Orthopsychiatry.* 1987;57: 316-331.
34. Richmond JB, Beardslee WR. Resiliency: research and practical implications for pediatrics. *J Dev Behav Pediatr.* 1988;9:157-163.
35. McLloyd VC. The impact of economic hardships on black families and children: psychological distress, parenting, and socioemotional development. *Child Dev.* 1990;61:311-346.
36. Allen JP, Aber JL, Leadbeater BJ. Adolescent problem behaviors: the influence of attachment and autonomy. *Psychiatr Clin North Am.* 1990;13:455-467.
37. Garmezy N, Masten AS, Tellegen A. The study of stress and competence in children: a building block for developmental psychopathology. *Child Dev.* 1984;55:97-111.
38. Hauser ST, Jacobson AM, Wertlieb D, Brink S, Wentworth S. The contribution of family environment to perceived competence and illness adjustment in diabetic and acutely ill adolescents. *Fam Relations.* 1985;34:99-108.
39. Quinton D, Rutter M. *Parental Breakdown: The Making and Breaking of Intergenerational Links.* Aldershot, England: Avebury; 1988.
40. Hawkins JD, Catalano RF, Miller JY. Risk and protective factors for alcohol and other drug problems in adolescence and early adulthood: implications for substance abuse prevention. *Psychol Bull.* 1992;112:64-105.
41. McBride CM, Curry SJ, Cheadle A, et al. School-level application of a social bonding model to adolescent risk-taking behavior. *J Sch Health.* 1995;65: 63-68.
42. Looker D. Accuracy of proxy reports of parental status characteristics. *Sociol Educ.* 1989;62:249-260.
43. Kayser B, Summers G. Tho adequacy of student reports of parental SES characteristics. *Sociol Methods Res.* 1973;1:298-305.
44. Littell RC, Milliken GA, Stroup WW, Wolfinger RD. *SAS System for Mixed Models.* Cary, NC: SAS Institute Inc; 1996.
45. Kann L, Warren CW, Harris WA, et al. Youth risk behavior surveillance—United States, 1995. *MMWR Morb Mortal Wkly Rep.* 1996;45(SS-4):1-84.
46. Koop CE, Lundberg GD. Violence in America: a public health emergency. *JAMA.* 1992;267:3075-3076. Corrections: *JAMA.* 1992;268:3074 and 1994; 271:1404.
47. Hewlett S. *When the Bough Breaks: The Cost of Neglecting Our Children.* New York, NY: HarperCollins Publications Inc; 1991:90-93.
48. Fuchs V, Reklis D. The status of American children. *Science.* 1992;255:41-46.
49. Steinberg L. *Beyond the Classroom: Why School Reform Has Failed and What Parents Need to Do.* New York, NY: Simon & Schuster; 1996:62-77.
50. Greenberger E, Steinberg L. *When Teenagers Work: The Psychological and Social Costs of Adolescent Employment.* New York, NY: Basic Books Inc Publishers; 1986.
51. Bachman JG, Schulenberg J. How part time work intensity relates to drug use, problem behavior, time use and satisfaction among high school seniors: are these consequences or merely correlates? *Dev Psychol.* 1993;29:220-235.
52. Byrd RS, Weitzman M, Doniger A. Increased drug use among old for grade adolescents. *Arch Pediatr Adolesc Med.* 1996;150:470-476.
53. Dryfoos JG. *Full-Service Schools: A Revolution in Health and Social Services for Children, Youth and Families.* San Francisco, Calif: Jossey-Bass Publishers Inc; 1994:1-17.
54. Brooks-Gunn J, Peterson AC, eds. *Girls at Puberty: Biological and Psychosocial Perspectives.* New York, NY: Plenum Publishing Corp; 1983.
55. Peterson AC, Crockett L. Pubertal timing and grade effects on adjustments. *J Youth Adolesc.* 1985; 3:47-62.
56. Jessor R, Jessor S. *Problem Behavior and Psychological Development: A Longitudinal Study of Youth.* New York, NY: Academic Press; 1977.

Printed and Published in the United States of America

Supporting Youth by Strengthening Communities:

Helping Children Grow and Preventing Problem Behaviors

The DART Model: Linking Development and Risk Together



Kirk R. Williams, Nancy G. Guerra, and Delbert S. Elliott

Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence

Supporting Youth by Strengthening Communities:

Helping Children Grow and Preventing Problem Behaviors

The DART Model: Linking Development and Risk Together

Kirk R. Williams
Nancy G. Guerra
Delbert S. Elliott

1999

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Development of this publication was made possible with support from the Annie E. Casey Foundation.

Printing and dissemination was mad possible with support from the Annie E. Casey Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

CSPV-013

Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence
Institute of Behavioral Science
University of Colorado, Boulder
1877 Broadway, Suite 601
Boulder, CO 80802
Phone: (303) 492-1032 Fax: (303) 443-3297
E-mail: cspv@colorado.edu
www.colorado.edu/cspv

TABLE OF CONTENTS

SUPPORTING YOUTH BY STRENTHENING COMMUNITIES: How to Help Children Grow and Prevent Problems at the Same Time

Introduction

Communities across the United States are mobilizing to support children, youth, and families. A variety of approaches have been used, ranging from grassroots efforts to involve citizens in children's lives to strategic reorganizations of local programs and policies. On the one hand, many of these efforts are designed to help all children grow into healthy adult. On the other hand, more intensive responses have focused on the prevention or remediation of specific problems behaviors among the most troubled or "at-risk" youth.

Too often, these two approaches — those that promote youth development and those that focus on preventing problems behaviors — have been cast as rival or competing approaches. Although the two approaches have different objectives and often focus on different populations, we believe they can compliment each other *if a comprehensive framework is used to bring them together to address the needs of today's youth*.

This comprehensive framework must help communities decide how best to use resources to help all children grow and develop into healthy adults. At the same time, it must also help communities organize prevention efforts that address many different types of problems, such as violence, teenage pregnancy, and substance abuse. Instead of providing different "programs" for different "problems," a comprehensive approach should lead to a seamless system of integrated services for children, youth, and families. This includes promoting community ownership of youth problems and involvement in their solution.

How can we create a seamless system that addresses the challenges and complexities of growing up in today's world? First, we must begin by thinking about what all children need to succeed at different stages of their development and in different settings. This is what we call understanding the *dynamics of development*. Next, we must look at what happens when children have problems navigating the developmental course, and how these problems, if uncorrected, increase a child's chances of experiencing emotional or behavioral difficulties later on. This is what we call *linking development to risk for problem behaviors.* Finally, we must realize that many other circumstances that are independent of development also put children and youth at greater risk for specific problem behaviors. This is what we call *identifying risk factors independent of development*.

We describe a comprehensive framework that can help communities identify how best to help children become healthy adults, while reducing risk for problem behaviors at the same time. We call this framework the **DART model**, which stands for **Development and Risk Together.** The DART model builds on youth development and risk-focused approaches, with a particular emphasis on the importance of mobilizing community resources and activities to support the successful development of all young people as well as to meet the special needs of at-risk youth. This model should be useful for foundations, policy-makers, community agencies and others who wish to develop comprehensive programs, policies, and services for youth and build community capacity.

The DART Model emphasizes the potential of each young person, with the understanding that this potential is greatly influenced by the settings in which youth live. At any given stage of development, young people with unique mixtures of strengths and limitations seek to master developmental tasks, and they do so in different communities and across different social contexts. The greater the supports that surround them, the greater the chances that they will accomplish essential developmental tasks and meet the "performance standards" of the settings in which they live. These adjustments, in turn, foster a strength-building process that prepares them for their next steps along life's course. The DART Model also recognizes that barriers can cause youth to stumble and possibly interfere with accomplishing developmental tasks. The result can be a painful failure to meet behavioral expectations and a building-up of the problems that young people must overcome.

To return to our earlier discussion, the DART Model can help communities develop a seamless system of services to promote development and prevent problems by focusing on three important areas: (1) the dynamics of development; (2) linking development to risk for problem behaviors; and (3) identifying risk factors independent of development. Each of these areas is discussed separately; however, they care best understood as they relate to people and communities. Therefore, we introduce the DART Model and these related concepts by telling a story about one boy's life, Randy's story. We conclude this paper by providing an example of how the DART Model could be used to guide community planning and mobilization efforts, with a particular focus on violence prevention, by discussing a hypothetical community we'll call Centerton.

Randy's Story

Randy is an 18-year-old African-American high school graduate who is headed to college to major in theater. He has a winning smile, a charming personality, and a good sense of humor. Attractive and physically fit, Randy has always been popular in school with both students and teachers. His personal characteristics serve him well. By all accounts Randy is on his way to a fulfilling life.

But life was not always so pleasant for Randy.

His first five years were happy. He had nurturing parents who gave him a sense of security and filled his world with toys, other children, and family get-togethers. There were regular visits from relatives, with all the significant adults in his life focused on loving and nurturing him.

But then came his entry into school. From the start, he couldn't quite figure out the rhythms and reasons for activities and how to meet his teachers' expectations. It all seemed so foreign and distant from the familiar comforts of home. As Randy moved through elementary school, his struggles intensified. He simply wasn't learning to read and write as the pace expected for most children his age.

Randy didn't understand why things that seemed easy for other children were so hard for him. Self-doubts surfaced ("I'm just dumb"), impairing his motivations ("I can't do that"), and spilling over into nonacademic areas ("I can't do anything right"). Soon he greeted school day mornings

buried beneath blankets, crying, and pleading with his parents to stay home. Weekends were greeted like a war-torn warrior looking for cover. Randy's problems at school began to seep into his life like a corrosive fluid, eroding his self-image, his bond to school, his confidence, and his sense of achievement.

To make matters worse, Randy also became fearful of the violence in his neighborhood. While his parents had managed to protect him from the dangers of the streets while he was young, his growing independence meant that he had to get around on his own. Although he was always careful to avoid gang areas as he walked to and from school, he realized that many times things happened simply by being "in the wrong place at the wrong time." The trash, broken bottles, and graffiti that marred his neighborhood also bothered him: he said, "It makes the buildings look nasty and it's unfair to the builders who took a long time to make them."

As Randy entered the fifth grade, his mother grew increasingly concerned. He seemed to be slipping farther behind in school, and was more and more reluctant to leave home. When his mother asked his teacher what was wrong, she said not to worry, all children are different. Besides, she said, there weren't enough resources in the school for Randy to get special attention. But Randy's mother knew something was wrong. Being the strong and assertive woman she is, she pushed the school to conduct special testing. Soon it was discovered that Randy had a severe learning disability. Because his mother had pushed so hard, not only was the problem diagnosed, but appropriate services were soon made available.

Still, Randy's mother wondered if too much damage had been done. Would he be able to catch up academically with the other students? Would he be able to regain the self-confidence he had lost along the way? Would needed services be there to support Randy's development and learning into adulthood?

As it turns out, Randy was quite fortunate. He found many teachers who were sensitive to his struggles and reinforced his efforts to improve. There were also many efforts to clean up his neighborhood, and he was less and less fearful of being outside. Perhaps the biggest boost to his growth and development was a drama teacher, Mr. Reidell, who he met as a freshman in high school. In Mr. Reidell's class, Randy discovered acting. Not only did he love entertaining others, he was also good at it. Mr. Reidell had also just earned a graduate degree with an emphasis on teaching students with learning disabilities. He helped Randy learn the lines of a script from tape recordings, which gave him a more concrete method of learning that didn't require the same techniques as reading a book. Randy's success with drama put him on the road to personal accomplishment.

The rest of Randy's high school career was golden. By his junior year, he was determined to get out of all special education classes, and by his senior year he had done so. When Randy graduated from high school, he won no academic awards, but he was an academic winner. With the aid of positive personal characteristics and support from family and school, he was able to overcome his limitations and the difficulties of his neighborhood, and find his own path to a healthy and productive future.

A Different Outcome

Clearly, Randy faced many difficult challenges in his young life. Yet, he was also very fortunate. He had many personal strengths, including a good personality and keen sense of humor. He also had a loving family who nurtured him from birth, and an assertive mother who made sure his problems were corrected. His drama teacher, Mr. Reidell, was a positive role model who helped him bridge the world of theater and the world of school.

But what might have happened to Randy if his personal strengths were undiscovered and the contextual supports that helped him to develop in a positive way were absent? What if he did not have nurturing parents and informed teachers? What if his special needs had not been diagnosed, and his school failure blamed on laziness and weak will? And what if his early frustration with school became so intense that he drifted out of school on a river of rage, taking his anger and physical prowess to the streets? Given these circumstances, it's easy to see how Randy's outcome could have been very different. Same boy, same community, with many different possible outcomes.

The point is that young people like Randy can thrive — despite personal limitations or contextual barriers – when personal strengths are identified, channeled into constructive avenues, and supported by the people and settings in which they live. In other words, if resources are mobilized to support children and youth along the course of development, it is more likely that outcomes will be positive. However, in order to support children's development, we must first understand how development unfolds, or what we have called the *dynamics of development*.

The Dynamics of Development

Anyone who has been around young people can see that remarkable changes occur from birth into adulthood. Children are utterly dependent when they are born, and still greatly dependent on the tender cooperation of others for several years after birth; independence occurs over a period of almost twenty years. With increasing maturation and experience, the child develops more varied and flexible ways of responding to the environment. Milestones such as the advent of language, logic and hypothetical reasoning allow the developing child to draw on a wider array of responses to internal and external demands.

Although development is an ongoing and gradual process, it is also helpful to classify development into specific *developmental stages*. These stages are by no means exclusive, but can help us organize out thinking about typical advances that occur together around the same point in time. The primary stages for youth development are generally categorized as:

- Infancy (ages 0-1)
- Early Childhood (ages 2-5)
- Late Childhood (ages 6-10)
- Early Adolescence (ages 11-14)
- Late Adolescence (ages 15-18)

Many well-known writers such as Erik Erikson and Harry Stack Sullivan have talked about the basic needs that characterize each stage of development. For example, Erikson describes the basic need of infancy as the development of a sense of trust. Sullivan talks about the infant's need for tenderness. In both cases, the central theme is the importance of feeling secure; without such security that infant feels distressed and fearful. Understanding the central need of each developmental stage can provide critical insights into social and personality development. However, it tells us less about the specific accomplishments or milestones to expect at each stage. For this we turn to a discussion of developmental tasks.

Developmental Tasks

Many studies of child development have identified a variety of *developmental tasks* for each stage of development. These takes represent accomplishments or milestones that serve as markers of normative development. They can be divided into three primary areas: physical, cognitive, and social/emotional. Appendix A presents a brief overview of some of the key cognitive and social/emotional tasks for young people; the focus is on these two domains because they have received the most attention in the field of youth development and prevention of problem behaviors.

The listing of developmental tasks in Appendix A is not exhaustive but merely reflects examples of a variety of factors that relate to successful adaptation during different developmental stages. The tasks are based on research by professionals who study the processes of human development. Consulting such "expertise" is an important part of applying the DART Model, as is consulting the expertise of local community residents.

By mastering developmental tasks, children lean skills and behaviors that allow them to meet the "performance standards" or the behavioral expectations of their social groups. Mastery of age-specific tasks also prepares young people for successful passage into the next developmental stage.

For example, in Randy's case, failure to master academic tasks in late childhood began to interfere with the accomplishment of other developmental tasks of that stage, such as the development of a positive self-image. When Randy began to master these academic tasks, although later in development, he was still able to catch up in the social/emotional arena. His story carries a message of hope because it suggests that it is rarely too late to intervene to help a child or teenager who has failed to master earlier developmental tasks. Randy's story shows that past developmental difficulties can be "made up" later; they do not necessarily lock a person into an unchangeable pathway through life. Like Randy, young people can encounter turning points along the way that can change the direction of their life course.

In addition, it should be mentioned that some youth will need to accomplish additional tasks that are culture-specific. For example, by the time they reach high school, first generation bicultural children must learn to navigate between two cultures — the culture of their parents and the American culture of their peers. In addition to attending to what research shows, communities that wish to enhance the development of their youth should draw on the rich knowledge they have about the specific developmental tasks for children from different cultural backgrounds.

Whatever the developmental tasks, if they are not accomplished, future problems are more likely. In some cases, problem behaviors such as violence may serve as a substitute for unmet developmental tasks. For example, a key developmental task of adolescence is accomplishing a sense of autonomy and personal efficacy. For Randy, this was made easier when he discovered his love of the theater. Youth who do not find efficacy in positive school and community settings may turn to violence, for example, to establish an identity, and earn the respect of some peers Violence thus serves a "function" for some youth in terms of accomplishing a developmental task.

Because early experiences can affect children in more or less enduring ways, efforts to help children master developmental tasks must begin when they are very young or even before they are born. As the saying goes "as the twig is bent, so grows the tree." Still, although early efforts are needed, it is also important to realize that it's "never too late." That is, children are surprisingly resilient and can often bounce back from adverse circumstances with extra help and attention. As was seen in Randy's story, failure to accomplish developmental tasks does not necessarily mean that youth are doomed to problem behaviors. Young people are active participants in their development and can make choices that help remedy past shortcomings. Randy was able to overcome childhood failure as he built on his personal strengths. In addition, Randy was fortunate to find support in his family and at school, some of the key contexts of development. Let us now turn to a discussion of the role of these and other contexts in children's development.

The Contexts of Development

Today, there is a growing interest in many different contexts of human development and how they affect individuals at different points in time. Clearly, the family is a primary social context for children, and it is particularly important during the first few years of life. In addition to their families, children are also involved with friendship groups, schools, and neighborhoods — other important contexts of development — that influence the way they feel, think, and act as they grow older. These contexts also change in their relative importance over time. For example, the peer group is a more important context for adolescents than it is for infants. Appendix B provides a chart that details the many different contexts of development and how they can vary in importance over the life course.

Some social contexts are rich in resources that can increase the chances of successful youth development. They are full of *developmental supports* that help youth accomplish developmental tasks and make healthy adjustments. In many cases, these supports are "naturally-occurring" in specific contexts. For example, Randy's ultimate success was due, in part, to an extremely loving and nurturing family. A primary resource of Randy's family was the close and caring relationship they were able to provide for him. In other cases, supports must be "planned," such as health promotion or prevention and intervention programs that are part of a community-wide service delivery system.

In all cases, not only must developmental supports be *available*, they must also be *appropriate* and *accessible*. This point is particularly critical when thinking about planning for community services. For example, many communities have opened youth centers, only to discover that few

youth spend time there. On the one hand, the programs at the youth center simply may not be appropriate for the age group served. Or, the programs may cater to one group of youth, neglecting the needs and values of other teenagers. A more basic problem involves lack of accessibility, meaning teenagers have no way of getting there or getting home. In, fact, agencies often report that lack of transportation is the biggest single problem they face in providing services for youth and their families.

Just as social contexts can be rich in developmental supports, they may also have *developmental barriers* that stand in the way of young people who are attempting to master developmental tasks. Some parents have poor parenting skills; other families are plagued by alcoholism and abuse. In some communities, there may be widespread violence and poorly maintained public parks or recreational facilities. Barriers in the neighborhood certainly intensified Randy's struggles. Like Randy, many young people growing up today live in resource-poor communities, such as those in inner city neighborhoods or in isolated, extremely poor rural areas.

The concept of developmental supports and barriers can be applied to both individual case management and community planning efforts. At the individual level, each person experiences some unique contexts (such as their family) and some shared contexts (such as their community). In this manner, an individual profile of supports and barriers within each developmental context can be described. For each individual, it is also possible to build on the supportive features of these contexts in hopes of tipping the balance to increase supports and enhance positive developmental outcomes. For instance, Randy had a number of developmental barriers in his neighborhood, but he had a very supportive family context.

In terms of planning for community services, it is also possible to describe programs, practices, and policies that serve as supports as well as additional supports that are needed. Describing barriers that must be overcome is equally important. When supports are identified or proposed, the can also be evaluated in terms of their appropriateness and accessibility. When barriers are identified, it is important to realize that some barriers are more easily remedied than others. For instance, deteriorating recreation facilities can be a barrier to youths' social skill development that can be remedied through clean-up and restoration efforts. Other barriers such as concentrated poverty or hostilities between racial and/or ethnic groups often are more difficult and take longer to change.

The point is that youth develop in contexts, and that the features of social contexts go a long way in shaping developmental outcomes. But individuals also experience and even shape their social contexts in different ways, in part, because of the unique set of personal characteristics they bring to these contexts. Let us now turn to a discussion of the role of personal characteristics in the developmental process.

Personal Characteristics

All youth have inborn or acquired positive characteristics. These are the *strengths* they bring to any situation. For example, some children have an easy temperament that allows them to deal calmly with frustrating experiences. Randy's strengths included and engaging personality and good sense of humor; these traits helped him develop supportive relationships with his parents and teachers, helped

him find his place in school, and created a pathway for him to travel successfully through early and late adolescence.

In addition to strengths, young people also have *limitations* — inborn or acquired characteristics that interfere with their ability to adjust successfully to life's circumstances. A child with low "impulse control," for example, may throw frequent temper tantrums that overtax the patience of a caregiver. The result may be a strained relationship between the two, with insufficient nurturing that may interfere with developmental tasks related to attachments and trust in others. This, in turn, may also result in later problems with peers, including peer rejection.

Individuals differ in their combinations of strengths and limitations, and personal limitations can be offset by other strengths and supports. Randy's learning disability could have derailed his development if other important personal strengths and contextual supports had not been present, so the net balance of strengths outweighed limitations. The important point is that we must help children and youth build on their strengths and compensate for their limitations as they navigate the course of development.

Linking Developmental Tasks with Risk for Problem Behaviors

The DART Model assumes that a focus on the developmental tasks of youth is essential because that focus can: (a) provide a guide for broad-based youth developmental and prevention efforts that are beneficial to all youth in a community, and (b) be used to plan efforts to prevent problem behaviors, particularly among those youth who are most troubled or at-risk.

Grantmakers and those who design or fund programs for children and youth may ask how prevention efforts can be linked to the developmental tasks of children and adolescents. In the previous section, we described how efforts can be mobilized to help children master specific developmental tasks by building on individual strengths and contextual supports. Rather than providing a list of "assets" or other "good things" to help all children in a giving community, a focus on developmental tasks provides a specific guide for youth development programming. This programming should foster the healthy development of all youth, with specific recommendations for youth at each developmental stage.

Youth development strategies have also been used as prevention tools. It is our premise that the DART Model, with its focus on developmental tasks, provides a mechanism for understanding the relation between development and prevention of problem behaviors. In some cases, risk of problem behaviors increases when developmental tasks are not mastered. For example, learning to read is am important developmental task of childhood, with poor reading achievement identified as a risk factor for aggression and other problem behaviors. In Randy's case, his school failure could have led him on a downward spiral of academic disengagement possibly resulting in delinquent behavior. In other cases, failure to accomplish one developmental task may subsequently interfere with the accomplishment of other developmental tasks. For example, infants and young children must learn to control and regulate their emotions. Failure to accomplish this task may further interfere with other developmental tasks such as attachment to parents and academic achievement.

Using the DART Model, many risk factors can be recast in terms of how they relate to the accomplishment of developmental tasks. Rather than provide general lists of risk or protective factors linked to specific types of problem behaviors, the DART Model emphasizes the processes by which many identified risk factors are linked to problem behaviors via their influence on developmental outcomes. An advantage of this approach is that prevention and intervention strategies can be designed to impact a range of problem behaviors that are linked to development, rather than promoting specific programs for specific problem behaviors.

Appendix C is a chart that lists the social-emotional developmental tasks of early adolescence and the risk factors of violence that may be associated with them. It is designed to illustrate the connection between risk factors and the mastery of developmental tasks by providing some examples of risk factors that result from earlier unmet developmental tasks or risk factors that are barriers to the mastery of developmental tasks. Many of the risk factors commonly linked with problem behaviors such as violence can be re-examined in terms of how they relate to accomplishing a range of developmental tasks. For example, parental reliance on coercion could interfere with a child's accomplishment of several tasks, including achieving autonomy, self-control, self-regulation, and skills for intimate relationships.

Risk Factors Not Related to Development

The DART Model places a primary emphasis on understanding and attending to the developmental needs of youth. It also integrates a risk-focused approach by recasting many risk factors as unmet developmental needs or barriers to development. However, development issues alone are not the only predictors of problem behaviors. If a community is concerned with specific youth problems such as violence, teenage pregnancy, or substance abuse, it is also important to identify problem-specific risk factors that are not directly related to developmental processes.

For example, the availability of guns in a neighborhood can increase the risk of lethal violence, while community policing efforts can decrease that risk. The impact on risk of these community factors not directly related to the mastery of specific developmental tasks. Rather, their impact is through other processes such as deterrence. Similarly, in some cases specific information, for instance about how to prevent AIDS, can decrease risk of independence of developmental issues.

The DART Model is a comprehensive framework that brings youth development and risk-focused approaches together, while also acknowledging that programs that attempt to prevent some problem behaviors must also target risk factors that fall beyond the domain of youth development.

Applying the DART Model: An Illustration Focusing on Preventing Youth Violence

The DART Model can be considered a starting point for grantmakers, program planners, and others wishing to organize, implement, and evaluate programs to promote youth development and prevent problem behavior. A central theme of this model is that comprehensive planning should lead to a *seamless* system of integrated services that addresses both development and prevention of problem behaviors. However, it is also true that communities vary greatly in terms of the level and types of services they provide as well as the degree to which they are concerned about one or more youth problems behaviors. They also vary in terms of their readiness to address comprehensive planning versus problem-focused planning.

At the broadest and most general level, the DART Model can be used for general planning for youth development. For example, a community may wish to provide services for all children ages 0-18 that are coordinated across systems such as schools, health care, and child welfare. The DART Model suggests that developmental tasks be specified for each stage of development, and that policies, practices, and programs be linked to children's accomplishment of these developmental tasks across relevant contexts. Another important consideration would be how to assess and follow children to identify those most in need of special help or remediation along the way. If more comprehensive planning is warranted that integrates prevention of problem behaviors, developmental tasks could be linked to the specific problem behaviors of concern, and additional risk factors could be described.

In other cases, communities often organize around the prevention of a particular problem or set of problems. Sometimes this can be the result of a specific event, such as a school shooting. Other times this may come about because of an escalating problem that sparks community concern like teenage drug use. The DART Model can be used to develop problem-focused prevention strategies, with an emphasis on integrating youth development and risk-focused approaches. The potential use of the DART Model for this type of effort is illustrated by an example of how a hypothetical community might apply it to the problem of youth violence. The example is organized around six questions that are specifically related to this problem. We also emphasize how answers are likely to vary in different settings and cultures.

The six DART Model questions addressing youth violence:

- What is the nature of the youth violence problem, both nationally and locally?
- Who are the youth to be served, what is their stage of development, and which social contexts are most important?
- What developmental tasks should be accomplished by youth to be served, and which are most closely associated with youth violence?
- What are the developmental supports and barriers in the community that promote or interfere with youths' accomplishment of developmental tasks?
- What are the additional risk factors for youth violence?
- Are new programs or activities needed or can existing services be reorganized to increase supports, minimize barriers, and reduce associated risk factors?

Our hypothetical community (we'll call it Centerton) is a working-class town located approximately 30 miles from a large urban center in the Midwestern United States. Over the past few years, Centerton has undergone a number of changes. First, one of its major employers, Allied Metals, moved south to Florida, leaving more than 3,000 workers without jobs. Many of these people lived in West Centerton, where Allied was located. As residents moved in search of jobs, many of the houses were left vacant.

Soon, the city manager, chief of police, and fire chief began to realize that West Centerton was generating a higher-than-proportionate number of police and fire calls. Domestic violence, fights, and drug use were increasing, particularly among teenagers. For the first time, it appeared that some of the more organized urban gangs were moving in.

Together the explored the DART Model's first question focused on youth violence: ***What is the nature of the problem, both nationally and locally?***

Addressing youth violence is a daunting task. The committee soon realized that different people had different opinions about the nature of the problem. They decided first to get an accurate picture of the national youth violence problem. They had access to a number of recent publications from the Department of Justice, and compiled a brief overview of national trends. They discovered startling changes in the picture of youth violence. For example, they saw that youth violence has become more lethal, is concentrated in urban areas and perpetrated largely by males, more frequently involves handguns than in the past, peaks during the late afternoon hours, is short-lived during adolescence, and only infrequently continues into adulthood.

But what did that tell them about the situation in West Centerton? They all knew that things were getting worse, but they didn't really have accurate information about the local problem. They decided to compile data from available sources including the police department, schools, and local hospitals. They also decided to hold several focus groups for residents to understand their perspective on youth violence programs. Because residents are in touch with diverse local cultures and conditions, they can serve as "key informants" in this area, and their insights are critical for any type of strategic planning process.

The initial data they gathered confirmed that West Centerton indeed had a growing youth violence problem. Both non-lethal and lethal offences had almost doubled over the past four years. They were startled to find that handgun use had nearly tripled. In terms of related problems, the high school graduation rate had gone from 86% four years ago to 63% in the previous year. Agency representatives on the planning group also confirmed that the situation for youth was growing more difficult, with fighting and other problems on the upswing. Although there were more and more children with no after-school supervision, program attendance seemed to be down.

At the neighborhood meeting, residents reported an increasing fear of gang activity, particularly in light of a recent drive-by shooting. Because the local police did not track whether crimes were gang-related or not, this was important information for the planning group. What emerged was a picture of an increasingly serious youth violence problem in West Centerton that involved both

gangs and guns. Over a period of several months, the stakeholders in Centerton explored the DART Model's second question: ***Who are the youth to be served, what is their stage of development, and which social contexts are most important?***

A developmental approach to youth violence prevention suggests that programs and services should be available for children from the earliest stages of development. A central theme of the DART Model is that prevention strategies will be most effective if they address the process of human development at different stages of childhood and adolescence, and in the most important social contexts during those stages.

However, because resources are often limited, it is necessary to make hard choices about who will receive services and where. Public outcries about drive-by shootings will not be satisfied by programs that provide prenatal care to young mothers, for example. Although such early interventions are clearly important, immediate and pressing problems must also be addressed.

Accordingly, communities with serious and escalating problems of youth violence may choose initially to focus on prevention activities with youth in the early and late adolescent stages of development. Communities with youth violence problems that are less pressing may choose to begin by addressing areas where there are the biggest service gaps for children and youth. In all cases, however, community residents should be center stage in determining what is needed to address developmental issues and problem behaviors of youth in their community.

In the case of Centerton, community members decide to focus on the young people at greatest risk. These youth were in the stages of early adolescence (11 to 14 years) and late adolescence (15 to 18 years). The peer group, school, and neighborhood were identified as the most important social contexts. Participants in the Centerton project then addressed the third question posed by the DART Model: ***What developmental tasks should be accomplished by youth to be served, and which are most closely associated with youth violence?***

As was noted earlier, Appendix A provides a list of major cognitive and social/emotional developmental tasks for the stages of youth development discussed previously. The listing is not exhaustive, and the developmental tasks are not equally relevant for all youth in all settings. The list is offered as a guide to thinking about developmental tasks for youth; as noted earlier, communities need information about their youth in order to determine what tasks should be addressed.

Centerton leaders decide to focus primarily on social/emotional tasks. They were very interested in helping adolescents develop a positive personal identity, increasing their capacity for rewarding personal relationships, and improving their moral reasoning skills. In their community focus groups they learned that many of the teenage boys were drawn to the city gangs because they could gain almost instant "status" and recognition. Their identity was connected to being tough rather than working hard in school and having a good job.

The next step for the planning group was to answer: ***What are the developmental supports and barriers in the community that promote or interfere with youths' accomplishment of developmental tasks?***

The role of contextual supports and barriers in promoting development is an important feature of the DART Model. Even the most distressed communities have some features that support (or can be mobilized to support) youth development. This approach will help avoid sweeping generalizations about the advantages or limitations of a specific community. For example, although community poverty often creates many barriers to successful development (largely due to insufficient resources and services), strong faith organizations can be extremely influential in promoting successful youth outcomes.

The members of the planning group began to think of the supports in West Centerton. They were glad to be focusing on the positive characteristics of their community and soon realized that it had many strengths. Among the supports identified were a number of available service programs for recreation, counseling, and social skills development. The members of the planning group were sure that opportunities for positive engagement such as these would facilitate youths' identity development, relationship skills, and moral growth. Other supports identified included a strong network of community leaders, who were motivated to seek solutions and engage citizens, and a very responsive school system.

They also identified some barriers. Few job opportunities were available for teenagers, a problem that had gotten worse after Allied Metals left town. Not only were jobs unavailable, but the job prospects for local youth looked grim, which seemed to have a demoralizing effect. The increasing influence of gangs from the nearby city was also identified as a barrier, particularly because the apparently quick and easy road to "status" and money seemed to hold great allure for many local youth. Finally, they identified growing ethnic rivalries at the high school as a barrier to building positive relationships.

The group then explored that DART Model's fifth question: ***What are the additional risk factors for youth violence?***

To apply the DART Model effectively to prevention of specific problems, it is also important to identify additional risk factors that are not related to identify additional risk factors that are not related to development. In the case of West Centerton, one of the biggest problems was the increasing availability of guns. Most of the youth who had participated in focus groups said that most anyone could get a gun within a few hours. They also mentioned the increasing number of abandoned buildings that served as hotbeds of illegal activities, making nearby residents more fearful.

The residents of West Centerton also felt that the police presence in their community was dwindling. One woman complained that it had taken police 45 minutes to respond to her call about a burglary in progress. Others said they felt that the police were insensitive to the racial tensions in their community and often made it worse.

The planning group then decided to bring all this information together to answer the final DART Model question: ***Are new programs or activities needed or can existing services be recognized to increase supports, minimize barriers, and reduce associated risk factors?***

Overall, the planning group realized that although a number of programs and services were available, they were not focused directly on the problem of serious youth violence or gangs. They were committed to enhancing their programming for adolescents, with particular attention on identifying and serving the most troubled youth. They were particularly interested in ways to increase youths' peer relations skills and provide opportunities for positive engagement with peers and others in schools and neighborhoods. They also realized that the neighborhood barriers would need to be addressed before other supports could take hold. Although they realized that an organized, comprehensive response would tale some time to develop and implement, they decided to begin with the following activities:

- *The city would address the contextual barriers of run-down or abandoned buildings and neighborhood deterioration. It would install additional street lights, tow away unlicensed cars, replace crumbling curbs and gutters, immediately clean graffiti, and increase the frequency of street sweeping. It would also begin a program to tear down abandoned buildings and explore the possibility of providing tax incentives to businesses that moved into West Centerton.*

- *The city would also address the identified risk factor of police involvement and response by establishing a community policing program, with offices in West Centerton. Further, they would look into diversity training programs to increase cultural sensitivity among police officers. Finally, they would increase surveillance of gang activity and particularly focus on getting guns away from youth.*

- *The high school would develop a relationship skills program as part of their regular health curriculum. The program would not be limited to conflict resolution or peer mediation skills but would provide training in a variety of skills related to positive social relationships. Opportunities for positive social engagement would also be enhanced through a cross-age tutoring program, where seniors would be matched with younger students needing academic and personal guidance.*

- *The YMCA would develop a business/community mentoring program where the most troubled youth would be matched with a community mentor. The focus would be on developing "shadowing" programs in order to give youth more exposure to skills and opportunities in the business world.*

Participants in West Centerton recognized that much remained to be learned about the specific needs of individual youth in the community. They planned to meet regular and on an ongoing basis to share what they were learning and to assess their progress in preventing youth violence.

Conclusion

The DART model provides grantmakers, policy-makers, and community leaders with a comprehensive approach to the many and complex issues that surround the topic of youth development and prevention of problem behaviors. The model incorporates a way for those who are conducting strategic planning to consider development and risk within a common framework. It addresses building individual strengths and increasing contextual supports. Moreover, these issues are addressed as they relate to important variations in the needs of children and youth as they grow older.

The DART Model differs from more general youth development approaches in several ways. As described earlier, a focus on developmental stages suggests that any efforts to promote youth development must clearly describe how they are linked to the developmental needs of children and youth at each stage. For example, parental supervision of homework may be important for young children but interfere with the development of autonomy for adolescents. Too often, listings of "good things" for positive youth development are not placed in age-appropriate contexts.

In addition, although the DART Model provides general guidelines for age-specific milestones, it also encourages an assessment of whether these (or other milestones) are most relevant for youth in a given cultural and community setting. As discussed earlier, some developmental tasks, such as those faced by bicultural youth, may be unique to a particular group of individuals. In other cases, more normative tasks such as the development of personal autonomy may also look different across diverse cultures. In some neighborhoods, such as those rife with racial tensions, youth may face yet other important developmental tasks in navigating their particular social context.

Although the DART Model recognizes the importance of supporting the successful development of all youth, it also emphasizes the successful development of all youth; it also emphasizes the importance of strategies to reach specific individuals with particular needs. In this manner, it shares some features of most risk-focused approaches that describe different levels of preventive intervention involving "general" versus "targeted" approaches. Because youth differ in their strengths and limitations, and because they experience different contextual supports and barriers, it is unlikely that all youth have the same needs to ensure successful development. Within this framework, one method for identifying youth who need services (and the services they need) focuses on creating individual assessment profiles that document mastery of relevant developmental tasks, as well as areas in need of improvement. This may be done at a general preventive level for all youth or may be used for youth exhibiting problem behaviors.

Given that this model is rather broad in scope, we believe it can be applied to a number of different programmatic and service efforts ranging from community planning to individual assessment and case management. Because community mobilization has often focused on strategic planning around a specific problem behavior, we have provided an example of its potential application to the problem of youth violence. Still, we believe that the DART Model will be most useful for comprehensive strategic planning to integrate promotion and prevention efforts into a seamless system of services for children, youth, and families.

Glossary of Terms

The DART Model (Developmental and Risk Together) — A comprehensive framework for promoting the positive development of young people that brings together issues of youth development and risk for problem behaviors. The model, which can serve as a guide for strategic planning, associates developmental tasks with developmental stage and environments in which children live.

Developmental stages — A series of stages comprised of age-related advances that follow a logical sequence and contribute to a young person's ever-increasing complexity of feelings, thoughts, and actions.

Developmental tasks — Accomplishments or milestones that serve as markers of normative development across physical, cognitive and social-emotional domains.

Social contexts of development — The environment (including family, school, friends, and neighborhoods) that surrounds children and youth and influences the way they think, feel, and act, as they grow older.

- Developmental supports – Resources in relevant social contexts that increase the chances of positive youth development such as safe neighborhoods, adequate recreation programs, and opportunities for youth involvement.

- Developmental barriers- Factors in relevant social contexts that stand in the way or reduce the chances of successful youth development, including abusive families and violent neighborhoods.

Personal characteristics — The characteristics that exist in all youth. These include:

- Strengths – Inborn or acquired individual traits that help youth accomplish developmental tasks, such as an easy temperament that allows an individual to be calm when faced with frustrating experiences.

- Limitations – Inborn or acquired characteristics that hinder youths' ability to make successful adjustments, such as low impulse control.

Appendix A

Key Cognitive and Social/Emotional Development Tasks

Infancy (Ages 0-1)

	Task	Description	Example
Cognitive Domain	Establish early neural connections	Nerve cells in the brain are pre-wired in a rough blueprint that is refined via experience and social interactions.	Unless some systems such as vision are exercised early on, they will not develop.
	Begin language acquisition	Early connections for understanding and reproducing language begin even before birth.	By 6 months, babies can recognize vowel sounds; babbling is a precursor to patterned speech.
	Acquire ability to use symbols in thought and action	There is an increasing use of words, pictures, gestures, or signs to represent experiences and concepts.	By 12 months, babies can pretend a number of actions, including eating, drinking, and sleeping.
Social/Emotional Domain	Learn to express and regulate simple emotions	Babies display emotions such as fear, distress, anger, sadness, joy, and happiness.	During infancy, babies improve their ability to cope with emotional arousal.
	Use “social referencing” in novel situations	Towards the end of infancy, babies learn to use a caregiver’s expressions as cues for responding.	When unsure how to respond in an unusual situation, babies look to and mimic caretakers’ responses.
	Establish secure attachment to primary caregiver	An enduring emotional tie between an infant and caregiver is formed.	Securely attached infants explore novel situations and are at ease with strangers.
	Engage in social interaction based on reciprocity	Babies can engage in mutual exchanges with partners such as “patty-cake,” for example.	During infancy, babies improve in interaction skills such as taking turns with others.

Early Childhood (Ages 2-5)

	Task	Description	Example
Cognitive Domain	Continue to establish neural connections	During the early years a human brain forges quadrillions of connections, or synapses.	By age 2, a child's brain contains twice as many synapses as an adult's brain.
	Acquire language skills and build vocabulary	During the preschool years, children rapidly expand their vocabulary, grammar, and use of language.	By age 5, a child's vocabulary may be as high as 10,000 words.
	Increase use of symbols in thought and action, including early knowledge of numbers	Use of words, pictures, or signs to represent experiences and concepts continues to develop.	Preschool children become increasingly sophisticated at making distinctions between what is pretend and what is real.
Social/Emotional Domain	Learn to express and regulate complex emotions	Preschool children display emotions such as shame, guilt, and anxiety; they also assume a more active role in managing their emotions.	By the end of the preschool period, children are more able to exercise self-control and reflect on actions.
	Expand self-awareness and build self-confidence	The child becomes aware of his or her existence as a separate individual.	Children know how their behaviors and intentions are distinct from others.
	Engage in cooperative play with peers	Preschoolers become more competent in their interactions with peers and others.	Children are more able to play interactive games in social settings.
	Develop awareness and understanding of others	Preschoolers recognize that other people are independent agents.	Children realize other children's feelings can be different than their own.

Middle Childhood (Ages 6-10)

	Task	Description	Example
Cognitive Domain	Continue to establish neural connections and eliminate those that are used less often	Around age 10 or earlier, the brain's excess connections (synapses) undergo a dramatic pruning.	Although the brain is flexible and resilient during these years, the ability to rebound from trauma or deprivation declines with age.
	Acquire ability for logical and systematic thought	Children can use multiple pieces of information simultaneously	In middle childhood, children perceive underlying reality despite superficial appearance; they think about their own thinking
	Develop literacy, reading, and basic math skills	Children move from word/concept recognition to become competent readers and writers; basic mathematical computations can be performed.	By age 10, children can read long books divided into chapters; math skills include fractions.
Social/Emotional Domain	Increase ability to express and regulate emotions	Children know that different emotions can be felt at the same time.	Children are increasingly able to cope with frustration and to delay gratification.
	Expand self-awareness to include psychological dimensions	Children know that people have an inner, private self; they also define self in relation to others.	By age 9 or 10, children make comparative judgments, such as "I am the tallest person in my class."
	Develop a sense of industry and personal efficacy	Children are increasingly aware of personal mastery and their own responsibility for successes.	Children with high personal efficacy do well on tasks requiring self-control.
	Improve social skills such as problem-solving and perspective-taking	Social relations reflect an understanding of others' viewpoints.	Behaviors such as sharing are offered to address an inequality or perceived need.
	Learn rules for social behavior across contexts	The influence of peer group is accompanied by increased attention to social rules and conventions.	During this period, children's play primarily involves games with rules.
	Develop a sense of right and wrong based on absolute moral constraint	Children believe that behavior is either totally right or totally wrong.	Children make moral judgments that focus heavily on the consequences rather than the intentions of others' actions.

Early Adolescence (Ages 11-14)

	Task	Description	Example
Cognitive Domain	Focus neural functions through a decrease in the number of connections	The brain becomes less flexible and pathways become more specialized.	Specialized pathways improve higher-level cognitive abilities such as abstract reasoning.
	Increase ability to engage in formal operations	Using principles of logic allows adolescents to think more abstractly and systematically.	Youth are able to construct logical arguments and see fallacies in others' logic.
Social/Emotional Domain	Begin to establish a positive personal identity, including an increase self-awareness	Young adolescents recognize that various parts of the self are parts of a whole; they also explore ways they are unique or different from others.	The characteristic self-consciousness of adolescence stems from an increased concern that others are watching.
	Achieve an increased level of closeness with peers	In early adolescence, youth develop close relations with peers of the same gender.	The emergence of same-gender cliques begins during this time.
	Develop ability to take the third-person perspective	Young adolescents can see both self and others from an outside, or third-party, viewpoint.	During this period, adolescents can see relationships as ongoing mutual understandings.
	Develop a sense of morality based on social and situational factors	Young adolescents see morality as related to the situation and to social agreements rather than absolute standards.	During this period, adolescents focus on intentions when making moral judgments.

Late Adolescence (Ages 15-18)

	Task	Description	Example
Cognitive Domain	Increase ability to engage in "formal operations"	Experiences such as secondary school education foster the development of logical and abstract thinking.	"Formal operations" represents a form of reasoning that is more evident in cultures with an orientation toward science and technology.
	Increase focus of learning for vocational and career orientation	During late adolescence, youth begin to identify specific areas of interest and prepare for entry into the workforce.	About 75% of high school seniors hold part-time jobs; this experience serves to prepare youth for work.
Social/Emotional Domain	Develop an autonomous and positive personal identity	Adolescents make decisions and take actions that display increased independence.	During late adolescence, youth make career choices, anticipate future roles, and commit to certain values and lifestyles.
	Achieve an increased level of closeness with peers in intimate relationships	As adolescents strive for greater intimacy with friends and partners, they experience a deeper sense of commitment to relationships.	Adolescents begin to describe relationships in terms of loyalty, fidelity, and trust.
	Acquire new status in family based on independence	Relationships with parents become more equal as youth grow more independent and responsible.	As desire for autonomy increases, adolescents often become more rebellious and resistant to rules.
	Develop a sense of morality based on abstract principles	Obligations to others and society are seen as a basis for moral judgments.	Adolescents can focus on abstract principles underlying right and wrong, such as fairness and justice.

Appendix B

Ecological Life Course Development

Ecological Life Course Development Conceptual Matrix

Developmental Stages

Social/Ecological Contexts	Infancy	Early Childhood	Late Childhood	Early Adolescence	Late Adolescence	Early Adulthood	Middle Adulthood	Late Adulthood
Societal/Community*								
Neighborhood								
Family								
School								
Friends								
Intimate Partner/Family								
Work								
Legal/Justice System								

* Includes both structural and cultural components

TERTIARY

SECONDARY

PRIMARY

SOURCE: Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence
NH13: 07-23-96

Appendix C

Developmental Tasks and Their Relation to Risk Factors

Developmental Tasks and Their Relation to Risk Markers

Social/Emotional Developmental Tasks of Early Adolescence	Risk Factors that are Unmet Developmental Tasks	Risk Factors that Interfere with Mastering Developmental Tasks
Achieve an increase level of closeness with peers	Peer rejection, gang involvement	Poor social and interpersonal problem-solving skills
Develop the ability to take the third-person perspective	Lack of perspective taking skills	Authoritarian parenting style
Develop a sense of morality based on social and situational factors	Immature moral reasoning skills	Inconsistent family discipline and reliance on coercive practices
Begin to establish a positive personal identity, including an understanding of self across time and situations	Low self-esteem	Unemployment, economic disparity, sexism, and racism