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Laura Myers, Senior Editor

Welcome to the inaugural issue of the Journal of Knowledge and Best Practices in Juvenile Justice and Psychology. This journal comes from the vision of Dr. H. Elaine Rodney, Dean of the College of Juvenile Justice and Psychology, and Executive Director of the Texas Juvenile Crime Prevention Center at Prairie View A&M University. Dr. Rodney is responsible for the College, Center and graduate programs in Juvenile Justice, Juvenile Forensic Psychology and Clinical Adolescent Psychology. In six years, Dr. Rodney developed the programs and started a legacy for those who study and practice juvenile justice, forensic psychology, and clinical adolescent psychology.

The creation of this journal was part of Dr. Rodney's plan for the contributions juvenile justice and clinical adolescent psychology would make to their respective disciplines. With the leadership and experience of the faculty, Dr. Rodney asked that the journal be created from her ideas to impact the scientific field, as well as those who practice. Creating a new journal has never been an easy task, but under Dr. Rodney's leadership, support, and creative vision, the first issue has been completed.

The goal is to publish both qualitative and quantitative articles on juvenile justice policy, delinquency prevention, and evaluation. In the inaugural issue, the articles selected for publication through the peer review process cover a wide range of issues relevant to both the scholar and practitioner communities. Articles from the psychological perspective include Ward, McMahon, and Ingram's article on the risk factors associated with intimate partner violence perpetration among youth. An understanding of these issues brings light to prevention and remediation strategies designed to affect intimate partner violence among juveniles.

Edwards, Green, and Perkins' article is also from the psychological perspective and explores the issue of teen dating violence. These investigators link psychological aggression to ethnic identity and depression as they determine the risk and protective factors involved in teen dating violence. Like the Ward et al. article, an understanding of the psychological determinants of teen dating violence can be used to inform policy.

Arabian and Quartey's article uses psychology to suggest prevention strategies in their exploration of family bonding, violence risk, and school performance. The usefulness of such information is critical to policy reform and formulation in dealing with juveniles.

The remaining articles in the inaugural issue are written from a juvenile justice and delinquency orientation. Crawley and Ritsema suggest a more holistic approach to youth conflict in their analysis of school conflict and the cultural clashes among different groups found in schools. This research explores cultural identities and perceptions in such a way that those who work with school children will readily see the contributions of this type of investigation and the impact that could be made on policy.

Foulk and Rivers' article on juvenile transfer to adult court is a much needed annotated bibliography on juvenile transfer research. Those who study juvenile transfer and those who work in this part of the system will find this analysis very enlightening.

Kellum's article that proposes a pilot program on juvenile aftercare highlights the void faced by juveniles when they leave the system. Kellum's program involves a group of volunteers from responsible entities who come together to help reduce juvenile recidivism, relapse, and reincarceration. The impact on policy of such a program could be highly beneficial to the system and to youth.

The Twersky-Glasner article is criminological in nature and explores the development of a more population-appropriate criminality theory for deaf criminal offenders. Using extensive literature and theory, the investigator explores the issues of linguistic development delay and cultural dissonance for the deaf and hard of hearing population and the relationship to criminality. The implications of the ideas presented in the article for juveniles and those who work with juveniles are astounding.

I would like to thank all those who submitted articles for publication in the journal. Starting a new journal and getting support from the academic and practitioner communities can be difficult. The interest and enthusiasm for this new journal has been so exciting and fulfilling. For those whose articles were accepted for this issue, you are among an elite group to have been published in this inaugural issue. You have set a precedent for the journal and for that we are so pleased.

Now I will turn this Introduction over to Dr. Rodney, Editor-in-Chief, for her comments.

Dr. H. Elaine Rodney

I am very proud to be at Prairie View A&M University, which has given us the opportunity to create programs that are the first of their kind in the nation, to design a state-of-the-art building to house these programs, and now to publish a journal that will benefit the scientific community and that of those who practice. This journal is another milestone among our numerous accomplishments, and I owe a debt of gratitude to the University administration, the faculty, and the staff who have worked undauntingly to make our dreams come true. It is our hope that this journal will find its way among the nation's best and will be published for many years to come.

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The College of Juvenile Justice and Psychology at Prairie View A&M University is pleased to present the inaugural issue of its new refereed journal publishing relevant application research for the academic and practitioner communities of juvenile justice, forensic adolescent psychology, and criminal justice. The editorial staff is soliciting both qualitative and quantitative articles on juvenile justice policy, delinquency prevention, treatment, and evaluation. The journal is published in hard copy and electronically. All articles submitted for publication review should be sent electronically to the senior editor at laura_myers@pvamu.edu. The articles should follow the APA style and be typed in 12 point font. All inquires and submissions should be directed to the senior editor, Laura Myers.

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Identifying Risk Factors Associated with Intimate Partner Violence Perpetration Among Youth

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Abstract

Exposure to neighborhood violence, witnessing school violence, attitudes toward violence against women, perceived norms about violence, age, and sex, were modeled as risk factors for perpetration of physical violence within dating relationships. A total of 456 ninth grade students in rural Mississippi completed a Youth Dating Violence Survey. Gender (female), having attitudes accepting of violence against women, witnessing violence at school, and exposure to violence occurring in one's neighborhood were significantly related to perpetrating intimate partner violence.

Intimate partner violence (IPV) can start as early as middle school (Kreiter, Krowchuk, Woods, Sinal, Lawless, & DuRant, 1999; Macgowan, 1997) and is quite prevalent among youth, with 35% to 50% of adolescent dating relationships involving physical violence (O'Leary & Slep, 2003). Numerous physical (Kreiter et al., 1999; Roberts, Klein, & Fisher, 2003) and mental (Ellickson, Saner, & McGuigan, 1997; Lewis, Travea, & Fremouw, 2002; Roberts et al., 2003; Roberts & Klein, 2003) health consequences are associated with the experience of IPV. Because perpetration prevention as compared to victim intervention can have a greater impact on rates of violence, public health researchers have recently focused attention on understanding the risk factors that lead persons to become perpetrators of violence (National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, 2002).

Cicchetti and Lynch (1993) and Overstreet and Mazza (2003) propose the ecological-transactional model of violence as a conceptual framework for understanding existing literature and guiding future research efforts on prevention of violence among youth. The basic premise of the ecological-transactional model is that children function within multiple contexts or ecologies that influence each other (Bronfenbrenner, 1977; Cicchetti & Lynch, 1993). These ecologies vary in their proximity to the child and include: (a) the macrosystem, which is the most distal ecology and includes cultural values and beliefs; (b) the exosystem, which consists of the community settings in which the child lives; and (c) the microsystem, which represents the ecologies most proximal to the child, including the family and school environments and peer relationships.

Among other microsystem and exosystem risk factors, many researchers have found that those who perpetrate IPV are more likely to have witnessed violence in their homes (Chen & White, 2004; Roberts & Klein, 2003; Seimer, 2004; Short, et al., 2000; Whitfield, Anda, Dube, & Felitti, 2003) and communities (Hurt, Malmud, Brodsky, & Giannette, 2001; Malik, Sorenson, & Aneshensel, 1997; McFarlane, Groff, O'Brien, & Watson, 2003; Obeidallah, Brennan, Brooks-Gunn, & Earls, 2004) than those who do not perpetrate IPV. Consonant with the ecological-transactional model, violence in one context appears to beget violence in additional contexts.

Perpetrators of IPV are also more likely than those who do not engage in dating violence to have friends involved in IPV (Arrianga & Foshee, 2004; Foshee, Linder, MacDougall, & Bangdiwala, 2001; Pickett, Schmid, Boyce, & Simpson, 2002). The presence of peers supporting deviant behaviors will in turn influence perceptions of social norms (Pickett et al., 2002; Rickert, Vaughan, & Wiemann, 2002) and attitudes about the deviant behavior (Morris, Anderson, & Knox, 2002; O'Leary & Slep, 2003; Rickert, Wieman, Vaughan, & White, 2004). Perceived social norms about IPV (Pick-

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ett et al., 2002) and permissive attitudes toward the use of violence in a dating relationship (Foshee et al., 2001; James, West, Detters, & Armijo, 2000; Malik et al., 1997; O'Keefe & Treister, 1998) are risk factors for IPV perpetration. The studies cited above also support the tenants of ecological-transactional theory, specifically, that children are influenced by the many ecologies in which they develop.

Finally, additional studies conclude that the individual level risk markers of sex and age are associated with perpetration of IPV. Counterintuitive to general beliefs, multiple studies have concluded that females report perpetrating IPV more often than males (Foshee, 1996; James et al., 2000; Morris et al., 2002; Roberts & Klein, 2003; Silverman, Raj, Mucci, & Hathaway, 2001) while males report being physically abused by dating partners more often than their female counterparts (O'Keefe & Treister, 1998). Some authors speculate that the higher rates of perpetration found among females may actually reflect a greater willingness to disclose transgressions rather than being a reflection of actual behaviors (Chen & White, 2004). Generally, research concludes that age is a risk factor for IPV perpetration, with older persons more at risk than younger persons (Cotton, Resnick, Browne, Martin, McCarraher, & Woods, 1994; Pickett et al., 2002; Roberts & Klein, 2003; Silverman et al., 2001). The relationship between age and perpetration may be a direct function of time or opportunity to engage in deviant behavior.

Most of the research cited above has been conducted with samples of persons that are predominantly White. It is not known if these results can be generalized to minority populations. Therefore, the current study tested the hypothesis that age, sex, attitudes toward violence against women, perceived social norms, witnessing school violence, and witnessing neighborhood violence are significant risk factors associated with IPV perpetration among Black youth.

Method

Subjects

A total of 750 ninth graders from eight high schools in three counties within the Mississippi Mid-Delta Empowerment Zone participated in this study. The participation rate was 71%. The final sample consists of the 456 (60.8%) respondents who indicated they had "ever dated." Of the final sample, 96% is African American, and slightly more than half were male. The mean age of the participants was 14.87 years. The counties from which the sample was drawn were low income, with a median income of $15,000.

Measures

A 13-page Youth Dating Violence Survey was administered to ninth grade participants during 1999. Basic demographic information on sex, race, and age were collected.

A five-point Likert Scale ranging from 0 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree) was used to measure *Perceived Social Norms*. This scale was composed of two questions: 1. "If I walk away from a fight, I would be considered a coward or a chicken" and 2. "If I refuse to fight my friends will think I am afraid" with strong internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha = 0.64). Responses were summed for this variable.

Attitudes Toward Violence Against Women was measured by summing responses to the following two statements: "Most women like to be pushed around by men" and "It is okay for a man to hit his wife." Again, responses ranged from 0 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree) and the index had strong internal consistency (Cronbach alpha = 0.72).

We measured *Witnessing School Violence* with the following questions: "At school, how often have you seen others being: hit by a student; kicked or pushed by a student; badly beaten up; threatened with a knife or sharp weapon; attacked with a knife or sharp weapon; threatened with a gun; robbed; in a fight after drinking or getting high?" (Nadel, Spellman, Alvarez-Canino, Lausell-Bryant, & Landsberg, 1996). Responses ranged from 0 (never) to 3 (often) and were summed across items for an index score.

Exposure to Neighborhood Violence was assessed with the following questions: "In your neighborhood, how often have you heard of others being: hit; kicked; pushed or shoved; badly beaten up; threatened with a knife or sharp weapon; attacked with a knife or sharp weapon; threatened with a gun; shot at; robbed; in a fight after drinking or getting high?" (Nadel et al., 1996).

Self-reported *IPV Perpetration* was measured with a 15-item scale developed by Foshee, Linder, and Bauman (1996) for students in grades 8-9. We examined the lifetime prevalence of dating violence by examining IPV perpetration of youth who have ever dated with the following questions: "How many times have you ever done the following things to a person that you have been out on a date with? Only include when you did it to him/her first - does not include self defense: scratched them; slapped them; physically twisted their arm; slammed or held them against a wall; kicked them; bent their fingers; bit them; tried to choke them; pushed/grabbed/shoved them; dumped them out of a car; threw something at them but missed; burned them; hit them with a fist; hit them with something hard besides a fist; beat them up; assaulted them with a knife or gun." Response categories included 0 (never), 1 (1 to 3 times), 2 (4 to 9 times) and 3 (10 or more times). This scale had excellent internal consistency (Cronbach alpha = 0.93). Responses were collapsed into dichotomous categories for analytic purposes. A positive response to any item resulted in categorizing the individual as a perpetrator of IPV. Those who consistently across items

responded that they had never perpetrated violence on a date were categorized as nonperpetrators of IPV.

Procedure

Following IRB approval, parental consent and student assent was obtained for the administration of the 13-page Youth Dating Violence Survey. The survey was administered during school hours and took approximately 30 minutes to complete. This report is based on secondary data analyses which were performed using the Statistical Packages for Social Sciences (SPSS).

Result

Detailed descriptive information can be found in Table 1 which presents demographic characteristics of youth who reported that they had "ever been on a date" as a function of IPV perpetration status.

Of those adolescents who had ever dated, more than half (68%, n = 311) of girls and boys reported inflicting some form of physical violence on their date. Chi-square analysis was used to examine gender differences in the proportions of male and female adolescents who reported perpetration of each type of physical violence. Overall, significantly more physical violence perpetration was reported by females than by males ($X^2(1) = 7.08, p = .008$).

Table 1.
Demographic Characteristics of Youth Who Have Ever Been on a Date (N=456)

	IPV perpetrators		Non-IPV perpetrators		Total	
	n	%*	n	%*	n	%*
Race/Ethnicity						
Black	306	98.40	132	91.00	438	96.00
White	2	.01	11	.08	13	3.00
Other	3	.01	2	.01	5	1.00
Total	311		145		456	100.00
Sex						
Male	169	54.3	49	15.70	218	48
Female	142	45.6	96	30.80	238	52
Total	311		145		456	100
Age						
13	1	.003	0	0.00	1	.20
14	119	38.20	60	19.30	179	39.40
15	117	37.60	54	17.40	170	37.40
16	57	18.30	25	8.00	82	18.10
17	17	5.40	5	1.60	22	4.80
Missing					2	.10
Total	311				456	100

* Some percentages may not equal 100 because of rounding errors.

Table 2 shows the different types of violent acts measured and the percentage by gender of adolescents reporting perpetrating these acts against their dating partner. Male adolescents were more likely to have twisted an arm ($X^2(1) = 12.72, p < .001$) or slammed their date against a wall ($X^2(1) = 12.23, p < .001$). Adolescent females were more likely than adolescent males to have scratched ($X^2(1) = 51.87, p < .001$), slapped ($X^2(1) = 54.97, p < .001$), kicked, ($X^2(1) = 28.31, p < .001$), bitten ($X^2(1) = 9.74, p < .05$), thrown something at them but missed ($X^2(1) = 26.31, p < .001$), hit with a fist ($X^2(1) = 31.18, p < .001$), or hit their dating partner with something hard besides a fist ($X^2(1) = 12.78, p < .001$)

Table 2.
Type of Physical Dating Aggression by Gender

Type of Violence	Aggression Male (n=142)	Female (n=169)
Physical dating aggression		
Scratched	20.4	60.9**
Slapped	36.6	78.1**
Physically twisted arm	30.9	14.2**
Slammed/held against a wall	42.9	24.2**
Kicked	17.6	46.1**
Bent fingers	23.2	28.9
Bit	19.0	34.9*
Pushed, grabbed, shoved	57.7	63.9
Dumped out of car	4.9	5.3
Threw something that missed	26.7	55.6**
Burned	2.1	5.5
Hit with a fist	19.7	50.3**
Hit with something hard	10.5	26.6**
Beat up	9.1	13.6
Assaulted with a knife or gun	5.6	10.6

*p < .01, **p < .001

A Logistic Regression was modeled to test the hypotheses that age, sex, attitudes toward violence against women, perceived social norms, witnessing school violence, and witnessing neighborhood violence were significant risk factors associated with IPV perpetration among Black youth. As seen in Table 3, gender (being female; OR = 2.92, CI = 1.85, 4.59), having attitudes reflecting an acceptance of violence against women (OR = 3.24, CI = 1.04, 5.67), witnessing violence at school (OR = 1.05, CI = 1.01, 1.08), and exposure to violence occurring in one's neighborhood (OR = 1.03, CI = 1.03, 1.05) were significant risk factors for IPV perpetration.

Table 3.
Logistic Regression Summary of IPV Perpetration

Predictor Variable	Beta	Std Error	Odds Ratio	Significance
Sex	1.073	0.231	2.92	p=.0001*
Age	0.198	0.132	1.22	p=.132
Social norms	0.032	0.024	1.03	p=.305
Attitudes	1.175	0.577	3.24	p=.0418*
School violence	0.045	0.020	1.05	p=.011*
Nbrhd violence	0.025	0.016	1.03	p=.030*

*Indicates significant p values.

Discussion

Our results confirm those of earlier studies indicating that IPV is prevalent among young adolescents who date (Jezl, Molidor, & Wright, 1996; O'Leary & Slep, 2003). In this predominately African American sample, 69.1% reported perpetrating physical violence toward dating partners.

As hypothesized, the findings from this study indicate that exposure to community violence and witnessing violence at school predicted the likelihood of physical aggression directed toward dating partners. Of note, nearly 100% of the participants reported being aware of at least one incident of community violence and at least one incident of school violence. Those who were aware of more frequent occurrences in either setting were more likely to perpetrate dating violence than were those who were aware of fewer occurrences.

The social learning model (Bandura, 1977) has also been utilized to explain instances in which behaviors can be learned through observation and imitation of others. Consequently, this model can be applied, as well, to explain the possible impact of communities and school violence on adolescent aggressive behaviors. Violent communities and schools are replete with opportunities for youth to learn about conflict and the use of violence as a means of resolving conflicts. Therefore, some researchers believe that this perspective suggests the observation of violent behaviors in the socialization process (i.e., home, school, neighborhood), which is consequently directly modeled in later relationships with intimate partners (Chen & White, 2004).

Additionally, attitudes about the acceptability of dating violence can contribute to an understanding of dating aggression. Some researchers have found that accepting violence as a justifiable conflict-resolution tactic increases the risk of dating violence (O'Keefe & Treister, 1998). The present study found attitudes accepting violence against women to be positively associated with the likelihood of dating aggression.

While our results support those of studies indicating females are more likely to report perpetration of IPV than males, our hypothesis concerning age was not supported. Because all participants were drawn from ninth grade classes, it is likely that the age range of the sample was too constricted to properly test this hypothesis. Perceived social norms were not found to be a significant predictor of IPV perpetration because: (1) The youth in this study may not have felt pressure from their friends due the potentially intimate and private nature of dating. This assumption could be assessed in further research by asking where the aggression took place; (2) Perhaps the two questions used to measure perceived social norms did not capture the actual social norms that may influence their IPV behavior. Possibly a broader approach to perceived social norms involving context of IPV and friends' behavior (having friends who may or may not engage in violent behavior) may be a better predictor of IPV in adolescents.

There are several limitations inherent in the reported data. First, the data were gathered through self-reports of behaviors, and it is possible that some participants' report of partner violence could be biased toward social desirability. Moreover, because the term

'date' was not operationally defined, we speculate that there may be some youth who were misclassified. Second, the data were from a predominately Black, low-income, rural sample of youth and may not be generalizable to other Black populations of youth. Third, because the survey was school-based and surveyed only those enrolled in school at the beginning of the recruitment process, we may be excluding a subgroup of students with special risk factors for IPV perpetration, specifically high risk individuals who have been expelled from school due to disruptive behavior.

Because secondary data are so widely used, rarely are their limitations reported. However, we found that the school and neighborhood violence measures were not comparably worded with questions for the *School Violence Index* worded as 'seeing violence' and questions for the *Neighborhood Violence Index* worded as 'heard of violence'.

Even with these limitations, the study yields significant implications for researchers to consider when attempting to create, evaluate, and implement youth violence prevention and intervention programs for Black youth. Because IPV is intricately connected to witnessing violence in school and exposure to violence in the neighborhood, prevention programs should target multiple domains. It is important to recognize the interlocking matrix of social factors that contribute to violence among youth so that interventions are inclusive of indirect and confounding variables of influence. For example, future research should focus on whether relationship dynamics such as length, commitment, or intimacy moderate the relationship between attitudes toward violence against women, witnessing school violence, and exposure to neighborhood violence and IPV perpetration.

Being able to identify the etiology of IPV perpetration among rural Black populations of youth will allow researchers and educators to support and design programs that fully address risk factors and their varying levels. Preventing or reducing IPV will decrease the incidence of related social ills and create an environment intolerable of violence. Then, and only then, will healthy and responsible youth develop into healthy and responsible adults.

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The Cultural Dissonance of Deaf Criminal Offenders: Antecedents of Linguistic and Cultural Dissonance

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Abstract

Efforts to understand deaf and hard of hearing offender criminality need to take into account a number of important sociological and psychological factors that result from linguistic development delay and cultural dissonance that are unique to the deaf and hard of hearing offender population. These orientations can be usefully combined with existing theories of crime to produce a more population-appropriate criminality theory. Others, such as strain, labeling and secondary deviance, and developmental theories, are particularly promising. The purpose of the current investigation is to examine factors that derive from this theoretical orientation for their ability to explain deaf and hard of hearing criminality.

Criminological theories attempt to explain why people commit crimes. The classical theories of Beccaria (1764) and Bentham (1789) discuss crime as the result of rational thinking. The actor weighs the relative risks and benefits of committing a crime and then acts accordingly. Crime is thus viewed classically as a means to obtain material goods and benefits, which hopefully will outweigh the negative consequences experienced as a result of being brought to justice.

While classical theory explains why many offenders commit crimes, there are other instances where offenders are less able to make such rational cost/benefit analyses and are compelled, for other reasons, to commit crimes. However, there is a small population of criminal offenders whose behavior cannot be explained by any current theories. That population is comprised of deaf individuals who are part of the larger population of criminal offenders. This article examines the unique circumstances that might contribute to the development of criminality in this small group. Additionally, by distinguishing between the culturally deaf and the non-culturally deaf person, we attempt to show how that difference might also be an important factor in the development of criminality.

Historical Background of Issues Surrounding Deaf Culture and Language Acquisition

> "Sign language is an evil," avowed J. D. Kirkhuff a teacher at the Pennsylvania Institution of the Deaf and Dumb, in 1892 (as cited in Baynton, 1996).

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It seems antithetical to imagine that at one time, sign language was not the language of choice for educators of the deaf. From the late 1800s to early 1900s, Alexander Graham Bell was a very vocal and influential opponent of sign language. Aside from advocating eugenics to control the deaf population, he joined other 'oralists' in calling for legislation "to prevent the marriage of persons who are liable to transmit defects to their offspring" (Bell, 1884, as cited in Lane, 1999). An oralist opposes the use of signed languages by the deaf, insisting instead that they learn to read lips and speak orally.

Bell was also at the forefront of the movement to educate deaf children in a strictly oral fashion, which prohibited the use of sign language in the classroom by teachers or students. Mr. Bell believed that sign language was "essentially a foreign language" and that "in an English speaking country like the United States, the English language, and the English language alone, should be used as the means of communication and instruction - at least in the schools supported at public expense" (Baynton, 1996). Indeed, until recently at Gallaudet University (a liberal arts university for the deaf), the method of instruction was spoken English, thus relegating the use of sign language to informal student gatherings. It was not until the seminal work of William Stokoe, in the 1950s that American Sign Language (ASL) was finally given linguistic recognition as a viable language. William Stokoe was a linguist who researched American Sign Language extensively while he worked at Gallaudet University. From 1955 to 1970, he served as a professor and chairman of the English department at Gallaudet. He published "Sign Language Structure" and co-authored "A Dictionary of American Sign Language on Linguistic Principles." Through the publication of his work, he was instrumental in changing the perception of ASL from that of a broken or sim-

plified version of English to that of a complex and thriving natural language in its own right with an independent syntax and grammar as functional and powerful as any found in the spoken languages of the world. Because he raised the prestige of ASL in academic and educational circles, he is considered a hero in the Deaf community (Stokoe, 2004).

This background information demonstrates the development of the confusion felt to this day by parents of deaf children regarding educational orientation. Should hearing parents send their deaf children to schools where sign language is used for instruction and taught as the primary language, or should parents insist that their deaf children be educated orally, without the use of sign language, and without learning sign language? The answer to that question and the decisions made by parents is the linchpin upon which the discussion of acculturation and language acquisition rests.

To an earlier conglomerate of educators, (prior to the crusade of Mr. Bell), sign language was the liberator of deaf people from their cultural and linguistic confinement. For the generations following Mr. Bell's work, sign language was the instrument of their confinement (Baynton, 1996).

This disparity between educational philosophies has resulted in the mish-mash of information that today's parents receive from their local school boards. The rights of parents and their special needs children were addressed in 1975 when the United States Congress passed legislation mandating special education for children with disabilities. This legislation, called the IDEA-Individuals Disabilities Education Act (20 U.S.C. 1400 et seq.), states that:

1. All children with disabilities have available to them a free appropriate public education that emphasizes special education, designed to meet their unique needs and prepare them for employment and independent living.
2. The rights of children with disabilities and their parents are protected.
3. Assistance shall be provided to states, localities, educational service agencies, and Federal agencies in providing for the education of all children with disabilities.
4. Assessments of the effectiveness of efforts to educate children with disabilities shall take place (20 U.S.C. 1400 et seq.)

The issue of education is very important in this discussion because it provides a prism through which the attending issues of socialization, acculturation, and linguistic attainment can be examined with regard to the criminal development of deaf inmates. Mayberry and Wodlinger-Cohen (as cited in Mindel & Vernon, 1987) state that an environment that contains little or no communication, coupled with little or no education, produces two very devastating consequences for the deaf child born of hearing parents - social and cognitive isolation. This type of isolation could lead to an anomic condition in which the child lacks the most basic tools of language and literacy to gain even low skilled employment and thereby would be marginalized and understandably drift into illegal activities to help provide a means for survival.

Schlessinger and Meadow (1978) stated that due to isolation, deaf children of hearing parents are characteristically deprived of contact with deaf adults who use sign language. These lost experiences may have a negative impact upon the ultimate self-concept of the child. This speaks to the lack of successful role modeling for many deaf children and the likely consequence that these children will not have occupational goals, further marginalizing them from the mainstream society.

Most deaf children are born into a unique linguistic situation. Their hearing loss prevents them from acquiring the naturally occurring spoken language of their homes. Since they cannot hear that language, they are unable to fully participate in the interactions with family members that are so crucial to language development. Consequently, they do not develop a strong linguistic base with which to express themselves and make sense of the world. Generally, this group of deaf children enters school linguistically, cognitively and experientially well behind their hearing peers who have the benefit of acquiring native language competence within their home environments (Griffith, Johnson, & Dastoli, 1985).

The theories outlined in this article, as well as the description of the impact of deafness on certain individuals, may provide a basis for understanding why non-culturally deaf people commit crimes. However, like all theories, they are only as useful as their practical applications and the strength of their empirical support.

Understanding Deafness in a Cultural Context

Culture can be defined as the patterns, traits, products, attitudes, and intellectual/artistic activity associated with a population. Based on this definition, members of the deaf cultural community are rightly described as having their own unique culture. The interaction between the individual and the collective culture of that individual, which influences identity formation, is a phenomenon that currently occupies much interest in the social sciences (Holland, Lachiocotte, Skinner & Cain, 1998).

To provide context to this discussion, this investigation will provide information about the differences between deaf people and culturally deaf people. Throughout this text, this investigation refers to culturally deaf people with an upper case 'D' and non-culturally deaf people with a lower case 'd.'

Culturally Deaf

The term culturally deaf refers to Deaf individuals who are born into deaf families and acquire American Sign Language as a first language. It also refers to hearing individuals who are born into Deaf families and also acquire ASL as a first language. These particular indi-

viduals are referred to as CODA's (children of Deaf adults).

Culturally Deaf people produce plays, books, artwork, magazines, and movies targeted at both Deaf, deaf, and hard of hearing audiences. In addition, the Deaf Cultural community engages in social and political activities exclusive to themselves. American Deaf Culture is not set in stone. It is a living, growing, changing thing as new activities are developed and the output of intellectual works increases. Members of the Deaf Cultural community identify themselves socially and culturally as Deaf. They maintain a clear-cut distinction between audiological deafness and socio-cultural deafness - sometimes referred to as "Attitudinal Deafness" (Janesick & Moores, 1992). Attitudinal Deafness is the notion that deafness is a normal state of being, one that is as equally rich in culture and opportunities as hearing. Culturally Deaf people do not see themselves as lacking something or as being inadequate compared to hearing people.

Sign language is the aspect of Deaf culture most closely identified with deafness. Deaf and hearing people who are native signers (they grew up with sign language) tend to have the most fluent signing skills.

Non-Culturally Deaf

For many deaf individuals, signing is not a natively learned skill, and it is a distinctly difficult task. These deaf individuals do not come from deaf families, nor do they have parents or family members who sign with them, reinforcing their own skills. They are born into hearing families who are neither native signers nor knowledgeable about deaf culture, and accordingly miss out on many opportunities to socialize with and have Deaf peers.

Many of these individuals were misdiagnosed or diagnosed too late to receive any of the early interventative modalities offered by school clinics which would result in the development of meaningful language acquisition. Indeed, many deaf children who are misdiagnosed are warehoused in "Special Education" classes where they are placed with children who have a variety of disabilities - emotional, cognitive, attentional, and/or physical (MacNeil, 1990; Nuru, 1993). Deaf children from hearing families are the only children who do not learn language from their parents.

Because of the central role that language plays in these essential areas, children who are deaf or hard of hearing are at a high risk for delays in communication and language development, poor academic achievement, delays in critical thinking skills, and problems with social and emotional development. Thus many deaf children are not given a proper grounding in sign language, nor do they have any deaf role models or peers with which to interact. By contrast, Deaf individuals from Deaf families generally have better communication and language skills than those who come from hearing families. Deaf persons from hearing families can develop good signing skills, but only if their family is supportive and learns to sign with them. If their families do not, the result is that deaf children often feel profoundly isolated emotionally, socially and, most importantly, linguistically. Since most deaf individuals do not learn to read or write English adequately (Sullivan & Vernon, 1979), they tend to lag behind their hearing counterparts developmentally as well.

Communication problems and differences in modes of communication often adversely impact the ability of individuals who are deaf or hard of hearing to develop friendships. People of every age view friendships as a vital part of their lives. The concept of friendship means having someone to spend time with, to learn from, to teach, to nurture and to be nurtured by (Luckner, Schauermann & Allen, 1994). Altschuler and Sarlin (1963) noted special vulnerabilities to developmental disturbance among deaf people.

Study Problem

There has been a paucity of research done about deaf offenders as a distinct population. Most research tends to focus on legal issues such as the various competencies (Rodda, Hughes, Chapman, Martin, Ferguson, & Schwardz 1998; Miller & Vernon, 2002) like fitness to plead, ability to communicate, etc. Some research does focus on deaf offenders, but only as particular subsets of the offending population - spousal abusers and sex offenders.

In the book Family and Mental Health Problems in a Deaf Population (Rainer, Altschuler, Kallman & Deming, 1963), there is a chapter by Klaber and Falek entitled "Delinquency and Crime." This chapter is the first formal study ever done on deafness and crime. It deals with a sample of 51 deaf criminals who came to the attention of a group of psychiatrists who were studying the New York State deaf population. Initially they attempted to obtain records from law enforcement, correctional, and state mental health officials, but none of these sources kept records based on hearing status. Consequently, the researchers were forced to depend upon 'word of mouth' and the recollections of these officials regarding cases they handled involving people who were deaf. The largest number of their cases (37.3%) fell into the classification of sex offenses (five cases of pedophilia, three of molesting females, three of promiscuity, one of indecent exposure, and seven of homosexuality). Legally, some of these sex offenses, for example, pedophilia, were classified as assaults or rapes and therefore fell into the category of violent crimes. Eight other cases (15.7%) were defined as assaults. There were four cases involving convictions for homicide (7.8%). The remaining 20 cases (39.2%) were for nonviolent crimes such as vagrancy, narcotics, bookmaking, etc.

Little research has been done on an aggregate of deaf offenders, breaking down the population by offense

type and level of severity. Much less has been written about the familial, educational, and peer relational antecedents of offending by the deaf. Combining the three perspectives (biological, sociological and psychological trait theories) into one integrated theory is a step in understanding this unique population. This investigation will discuss the implications of these findings for theory and policy.

Additionally, finding the population itself is difficult because there are very few statistics regarding the status of deaf offenders. For example, the findings of the American Speech and Hearing Association (ASHA, 2004) conservatively estimate that 10-15% of prison inmates in the United States have losses severe enough to warrant speech pathology, audiology, special education, and rehabilitation services.

However, the most recent survey of United States inmates in 1997 by the Federal Department of Justice demographic surveys of state and federal prisons reports that 30% of all inmates report a medical condition of some type. Of those 30%, only 5-7% report hearing loss. The ADA (Americans with Disabilities Act) 42 U.S.C.A. §§ 12101 et seq. has led some correctional institutions to try to identify and group their profoundly deaf inmates to centralize sign language interpreting and other special services mandated by law (Vernon & Greenberg, 1999). The attempt by authorities to identify and classify deaf offenders in their prison populations is motivated largely by the need to comply with the Federal standards of the ADA, not by any need to understand the motivation or reasons for the offending history.

Vernon and Greenberg (1999) explained that the reason there is such a dearth of research in this area is that no local, state, or national clearinghouse requires that disabled offenders be identified. This is a critical issue because lack of relevant literature makes it difficult to address and resolve the problems created by the combined effects of deafness and violence. The Annual Uniform Crime Report of the Federal Bureau of Investigation makes no reference to disabilities among offenders. No federal agency (Department of Justice, National Institutes of Health, Department of Education) receives this information from state and local sources, and no data are compiled. Thus, there is no direct way to assess the prevalence of this type of offender.

What criminological theories have in common is they generally describe "hearing" offenders who possess good to excellent auditory functioning. Criminological theories are developed to explain criminal behavior, but none have demonstrated much relevance when describing (or explaining) criminality within the Deaf population.

Are deaf offenders merely hearing offenders who cannot hear? Or is there a vast difference in the psychological and sociological functioning of a deaf offender? To answer that question, it is necessary to understand just how different socialization is for deaf individuals and to understand the difference between a Deaf and a deaf person.

A pre-lingual, deaf individual's hearing loss predates the acquisition of language, either born deaf or losing hearing prior to learning speech. While remaining aware of the fact that many members of the deaf community share a language and a culture, we should not assume that their cultural identity and needs are the same. Diversity of language skills, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, race, and level of overall disability are as common for those who are deaf as it is for the hearing.

No meaningful information currently exists on the level of acuity of incarcerated deaf individuals or the outcomes of their civil court cases as they relate to accommodations (ADA cases). Without this basic information, it is difficult to estimate the scope of the problem, although it is clearly an area fraught with injustice. Because of the failure to accommodate deaf individuals, mental health institutions and law enforcement agencies across America have been subjected to numerous consent decrees and lawsuits involving cases of deaf persons (Miller & Vernon, 2001; Raifman & Vernon, 1996). And because of this failure to accommodate the needs of deaf individuals, valuable opportunities to learn about this special population have been missed. The authors hope that this study can provide a broad basis for future studies by examining the impact of language development and acculturation upon criminal behavior, and in a smaller sense understanding how differences in these developmental stages affect an individual.

Deaf inmates' experiences in prisons are much more onerous than that of the hearing inmates. For example, Tucker (1988) and K. Miller (personal communication, 2001) each stated that in the typical state correctional setting, deaf inmates do not have equal access to psychosocial rehabilitation services. Deaf inmates face other challenges within the criminal justice system as well. Foremost among these challenges is their ability to understand what is being said to them, as well as their ability to communicate their thoughts and feelings. This inability is primarily linguistic, which has nothing to do with overall mental status, intelligence or competence. The difficulties that deaf individuals face begin with their arrest and continue throughout the trial and potential subsequent prison sentence (Twersky-Glasner, in press).

A literature review in the United Kingdom by Young, Monteiro and Ridgeway (2000) found that deaf inmates are more likely than their hearing peers to have mental health difficulties while in prison because of the way in which their communication needs compound the isolation and stress of prison life. The isolation is further compounded by the inaccessibility of the usual distractions like watching television and being in telephone contact with friends and relatives. In her study of the experiences of deaf and hard of hearing parolees and probationers, Rene-Alston (1998) found three main therapeutic and emotional issues discussed by her sub-

jects - frustration, fear, and isolation. The inmates' frustration was in the lack of communication between the subjects and others during the criminal justice proceedings (jail, trial, prison). Isolation and boredom were exacerbated by the lack of signing peers in the prison, as well as the lack of both TTY's and captioned television. Fear is compounded by the senses of isolation and frustration and is further exacerbated by the inmate' inability to communicate clearly with people around them, the fear of mistreatment by the officers, and the fear of the unknown. The studies cited above indicate terrible pressures facing deaf inmates during incarceration.

While this article is not about correcting these conditions, it is hoped that explaining these problems will generate more research about the conditions that precede incarceration and contribute to the development of criminal behavior by deaf people. If these criminal antecedents are uncovered and understood, it is hoped that future research will also be devoted to addressing the needs of deaf people.

These social conditions create a real sense of anomie for the deaf individual, which according to Merton (1938), manifests because the exhorted goals (in this context, social goals) are not capable of being attained. Generally, this is "Strain Theory" at its purist - the branch of social structure theory that sees crime as a function of the conflict between people's goals and the means available to attain them. Merton argued that the real problem is not created by a sudden social change, as Durkheim (1897/1997) proposed, but rather by a social structure that holds out the same goals to all its members without giving them equal means to achieve the goals. This lack of integration between what the culture calls for and what the structure permits causes deviant behavior.

Key questions to be asked for this research are:

1. The age at onset of hearing loss.
2. The family history of deafness (or lack thereof)
3. The age at the diagnosis of deafness.
4. The degree of hearing loss.
5. The subsequent school placement. (i.e., special education class, special deaf education class.)
6. If placed in a special education class, the ratio of deaf children to all other disabled children.
7. The fluency and literacy level attained by the offender in ASL and English. (e.g. signing ability, reading and writing skills, oral speech.)
8. The preferred method of communication.
9. Signing ability of the offender's parents, siblings and friends.
10. Highest school grade attained.
11. Prefers deaf or hearing friends and associates outside of prison.
12. The type of and severity level of offense: violent vs. property.
13. Arrest and conviction history.
14. Age at first offense.

Literature Review: Criminological Theories

The criminological theories most useful for explaining criminality in the deaf population are a combination of some of the positivistic theories - biological and psychological, as well as the sociological theories of Merton (1957, 1968) and Durkheim (1897/1997). Witte (1993) stated that criminological models see criminals as behaving in ways that they perceive to be in their own best interest. Furthermore, she stated crime requires the congruence of proclivity and opportunity. Proclivity may come from the biological or psychological states of individuals or from habitation or interactions with family and friends. Any models must recognize the biological, social, and psychological foundations of proclivity. Accordingly, theories regarding deaf individuals, while discussed individually, will combine the following socio-cultural theories in an integrated model in an attempt to explain criminal behavior. The biological positivist theory, examined and discussed separately in this study, is an equally compelling model of criminality among deaf offenders, although the focus of this piece is on social/psychological positivism.

Positivism is the branch of modern criminology that seeks to explain criminal behavior as a result of certain conditions, such as social, economic, biological, or psychological, that create such a force upon individuals that criminality is the unfortunate result. The influence of these conditions determines whether one will offend, depending upon the effect each might have upon the individual. However, individually these theories do not adequately explain this phenomenon but work better when integrated.

Biological positivism explains criminal behavior as a function of biological impairment. Brain injuries and hormones are just a couple of the theoretical determinants for criminality. For example, psychopaths are characterized as individuals who have no or little capacity for empathy or remorse and are highly impulsive. Early thoughts about psychopaths were that they suffered from "moral insanity." However, early research in this area showed that many psychopaths share a distinct brain dysfunction involving the limbic inhibitory system manifested as damage to the frontal and temporal lobes of the brain (Raine, Brennan, Mednick & Mednick, 1966). More recent research by Ishikawa, Raine, Lencz, Bihrle, and Lacasse (2001) stated that the overall body of research continues to support the frontal hypothesis.

When comparing the "unsuccessful psychopath" to the "successful psychopath" (success being defined as those psychopaths who are not incarcerated), Ishikawa, et al. (2001) state that intact prefrontal and autonomic functioning allows an individual to process cues in risky situations and make appropriate decisions. As such, the successful psychopath, who has intact functioning, may be more able to avoid conviction, whereas the unsuccessful psychopath, who lacks enhanced decision making during his criminal endeavors, may be more prone to apprehension and conviction. Thus, if one follows the

model by Ishikawa, et al., then an offender who was deafened by prenatal rubella exposure may be more likely to commit crimes and get caught because of the cognitive deficits he secondarily suffers from damage to the frontal lobes.

The following other factors must also be considered. Many of the major causes of hearing loss are also etiologies of brain damage (Braden, 1984). Examples include head trauma, premature birth, meningitis, prenatal rubella, and genetics. Thus, a disproportionate percent of hearing-impaired youth also have brain damage. Research has shown that brain damage and related neurological and biochemical factors are known to cause violence (Raine, et al., 1966; Ishikawa, et al., 2001). It seems logical to infer from these research findings that deaf people, whose deafness is a result of any of the foregoing causes, are at greater risk for and more susceptible to exhibiting violent behavior.

Indeed, correlates of violent behavior have been stated to include such factors as poverty, psychological factors such as dysfunctional families, as well as biological factors such as genetics or brain damage/head injury (Smith & Griffin, 2002). There has been a consistent reporting of high incidences of learning disabilities and poor verbal comprehension skills, and recent research has begun to examine the relationship between conduct disorders and specific deficits in the use and the understanding of language (Donahue, Cole & Hartas, 1994). Many deafened individuals, who are deaf as a result of pre-natal exposure to Rubella, also have co-morbid brain damage. Important data about the prevalence of Rubella-deafened violent inmates can be drawn from a study (Vernon & Greenberg, 1999) of 28 deaf murderers seen for psychological evaluation. Rubella was the major condition that accounted for the 60.7% (17 cases) incidence of brain damage in the subjects evaluated, some of which manifested in seizures.

A critical question is raised by this rarely considered correlation: Why is there a relationship between hearing loss (a disability) and violence (a behavior)? Several factors appear to influence this relationship. The first is education. Most prisoners charged with violent crimes are relatively young when first incarcerated. Most hearing loss in young people has its onset pre-lingually, prior to three years of age. Auditory deficits beginning at this early age greatly retard language growth and education by constricting vocabulary and impeding syntactical development. For children who are deaf, the average educational retardation is far greater (Braden, 1992). This retardation increases for both deaf and hard-of-hearing individuals as they get older, resulting in academic and behavioral problems (Vernon & Greenburg, 1999).

Another factor contributing to violence among hearing-impaired persons is their high prevalence of learning disability (Morgan & Vernon, 1994). This is due primarily to the aforementioned probability of brain damage in persons with pre-lingual onset hearing loss. Learning disabilities cause many of the same kinds of frustrations and aggression brought about by hearing loss. The presence of learning disability is associated with an increased rate of imprisonment (Winters, 1997). When the two disabilities are combined in one person, the likelihood of violent behavior increases exponentially.

In their study of deaf pedophilia (Vernon & Rich, 1997), the authors reviewed newspaper reports of 19 cases. This study reported on 20 deaf male pedophiles and two deaf female pedophiles that the authors psychologically evaluated They noticed in the group a relatively high percentage of cases of Primitive Personality Disorder, brain damage, Rubella as an etiology of deafness, and other mental illnesses. Biological positivism explains why some deaf people become criminal offenders. Moffitt theorized that neuropsychological impairments in childhood could extend into adulthood and cause criminal behavior (Moffitt, Caspi, Silva & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1996). The type of neuropsychological impairments caused by Rubella exposure is included in this typology.

However, not all deaf offenders suffer from brain damage or dysfunction. Many may simply suffer from deafness without any of the more pathologizing effects of illness. For this group of deaf offenders, the sociological and psychological perspectives are just as compelling and may offer more insight into why deaf people commit crimes.

Social Disorganization Theory (Hirschi, 1969) states that crime is seen as a product of uneven development in society with change and conflict affecting people's behavior. This theory emphasizes that society was organized when people were presumed to have developed agreement about fundamental values and norms with behavioral regularity. Social organization, or social order, exists when there is a high degree of internal bonding between individuals and institutions in a conventional society. Social integration refers to the degree of bonding or attachment of individuals to society.

Hirschi's Control theory is built on Durkheim's (1897/1997) concept of social solidarity - it is what keeps all members of high-risk groups from turning to crime. It is built on four elements of social bonding: Attachment to significant others, commitment to conventional goals, involvement in conventional activities, and belief in the moral standards of society. These social bonds tie individuals to the conventional beliefs, values, and activities of their parents, teachers, employers, and peers (Hirschi, 1969). As individuals become more attached to others, they are far less likely to become delinquent. The primary attachments and interactions are with parents, closely followed by the attachments to peers, teachers, religious leaders, and other members of a community.

Since a deaf child raised in a hearing environment is neither at home in the hearing world nor equipped with the skills to succeed in the deaf world, it is logical to assume (according to both strain and social disorganization theorists) that the child would develop anywhere

from deviant to criminal. Not only does the socialization process fail with peers during the school years, the deaf child also fails to be socialized even within his own family.

With respect to the early start/life-course-persistent route to offending, Moffitt (1993) argues that a key causal factor is poor or ineffective socialization. In the Moffitt model, a combination of physiological and environmental factors produces children with neuropsychological impairment. These impaired children have early deficits in intellectual, motor, executive, and social skills, and they exhibit early antisocial behaviors. The consequence is that parents are confronted with an unruly, disagreeable, and conduct-disordered child. While some parents have the necessary stock of parenting skills and resources to deal with such children, many do not. The combination of a behaviorally and temperamentally difficult child and an overwhelmed parent causes the socialization process to break down. The ultimate product is a child with strong propensities to engage in highly varied criminal and other problem behaviors over much of the remainder of the life course (Paternoster & Brame, 1997). Because neither the parents nor the child share a common language with which to communicate, any differences are either unable or are more difficult to breach between them.

Since no bond exists between the non-cultural deaf individual with either the significant others from hearing culture or the Deaf Culture, a sort of micro social-disorganization occurs. The deaf person is not equipped to master the elements of social bonding, as stated by Hirschi (1969). Black (1976) said that one of the theories of deviant behavior holds that a person who is poorly integrated is more likely to deviate. The questions about the deaf offenders in this study center upon such issues of marginalization due to language deficits and secondarily deviant behavior as a result of the stigma of being disabled.

Deviant behavior is more likely by a marginal person than by an integrated person. This marginalization may spring from a Mertonian sense of anomie, or the Cloward and Ohlin (1960) model of lack of opportunity, or from a lack of social bonding due to the difficulties of communication (e.g. Hirschi, 1969). The proposed study seeks to discover the depths of marginalization experienced by the deaf offender by analyzing the data against a framework of strain theories and developmental socialization theories. Each theoretical paradigm need not be mutually exclusive, as there might be evidence of both processes in the development of criminal behavior of deaf individuals.

Language and Socialization - Psychological Perspective

> “The deaf child, by virtue of his handicap, the illnesses that may cause it, the confused reaction of his parents, and the relative absence of early guidance, is particularly prone to develop emotional difficulties.” (Ranier, 1975, p. 16).

Articulation of social and emotional experiences through words and sentences is the key to social relationships. Socialization patterns have been noted to begin in early infancy, through early experiences with the mother, and by continued communication within the family. Research has shown that deaf children born to hearing families have significant language delays (Litowitz, 1987). Delays in language acquisition, and concerns about the quality of the language, raise interesting questions about the affects of deafness on the psychosocial staged theories of development, primarily those of Erikson (1968).

Erikson explained the entire life cycle as the resolution of eight distinct (and critical) stages. To resolve each stage and attain the next higher level of development, the child must balance between eight pairs of psychosocial extremes. Each stage is characterized by a different psychological ‘crisis,’ which must be resolved before moving to the next stage. If the person copes with a particular crisis in a maladaptive manner, the outcome will be more struggles with that crisis issue later in life. To Erikson, the sequence of each of the stages is set by nature. It is within these set limits that nurture works its ways.

Schlessinger and Meadow (1978), using an Eriksonian framework, discussed how deaf children master the sequential conflicts that are part of the developmental process. Deaf children of hearing parents suffer serious disadvantages in early communication interactions with their mothers. As language becomes an increasingly important component, the deaf child is less able to resolve the crises accompanying each stage. For example, Schlesinger and Meadow found that in negotiating between the extremes of ‘autonomy’ and ‘shame and doubt’ (Stage 2), many deaf children found particular meaning in being either extremely obedient or defiant.

However, behavioral problems and disorders may also be an expression of severe distress in deaf children. These problems may indicate family dysfunction, social economic problems within the family, specific negative life events, daily hassles, trauma, and so on. Behavioral problems and particularly defiant behavior in deaf children may be an expression of feelings of extreme powerlessness and anxiety, which are translated into more visible behavior. The risk for such behavior may be increased in deaf children because of communicative and cultural differences between the deaf child and the hearing environment (van Gent & Hendricks, 1994).

According to Erikson (1968), self-control and self-confidence begin to develop at Stage 2 when children can do more on their own. Toilet training is the most important event at this stage. Children also begin to feed and dress themselves. These are ways in which the toddler strives for autonomy. It is essential for parents not to be overprotective at this stage, as a parent's level of protectiveness will influence the child’s ability to achieve autonomy. If a parent is not reinforcing, the child will feel shameful and will learn to doubt his or her abilities.

Continuing along the path laid out by Schlessinger and Meadow (1978), Erickson's Stage 4 is equally important for the deaf child to master. The important event at this stage is attendance at school. As students, children need to be productive and do work on their own. They are both physically and mentally ready for it. Interaction with peers at school also plays an imperative role of child development in this stage. For the first time, the child has a wide variety of events to deal with, including academics, group activities, and friends. Difficulty with any of these leads to a sense of inferiority. Using an Eriksonian model to understand the psycho/social difficulties faced by children generally supports the notion that the quality of communication is fundamental to healthy socialization and later mental health.

The psychologist interested in deafness, particularly in children, needs to address one general and one specific question. The first question was articulated by Schlesinger (1978, as cited in *They Grow in Silence*, 1987 Mindel and Vernon, Eds.) who raised the question: Does the absence of early auditory stimulation, feedback, and then communication itself create a greater propensity toward behavioral patterns, or does this early profound deafness elicit responses from others (i.e., parents, teachers, siblings, and peers) that contribute toward a set of cognitive and behavioral deficits? That is, does deafness constitute a risk in the psychological development of those who are affected by it? The relationship between thought and verbal language, or between language and impulse control, or to social and emotional development, are some of the topics around which this dissertation research has developed.

Although her work focused on the special psychological traits of childhood autism, Margaret Mahler's (1968) basic theories can be useful in an analysis of the psychological process undergone by deaf children. Her definition of autism included the fact that these children shut out the part of the living world that demands emotional and social responses. She believed that autism could be traced to severely damaged ego functioning resulting from their inability to separate and 'individuate' from their mothers in the normal course of development.

However, because deaf children do not possess requisite linguistic skills, they remain more dependent on their mothers than do hearing children (Mindel & Feldman, 1987). Mahler's view on this type of dependence was that the central issue in the fragmentation of the autistic child's ego was the failure to develop a normal symbiotic relationship with their mothers, from whom they could emerge with strong, independent, and integrated egos, and be ready to treat the self and others as persons. "The salient feature of childhood psychosis is that individuation, i.e., a sense of individual identity, is not achieved" (Mahler, 1968).

Thus, it is clear that early language development, coupled with healthy, early communication and interaction with mothers (and other primary agents of socializations), is vital to the development of deaf children's sense of self and sense of the world around them. Indeed, Stein and Jabaely (1981) said that having an effective program of language development would be the best preventative mental health measure for reducing the prevalence of emotional and behavioral problems among deaf children and adults.

Merton and Young: Anomie, Cannibalistic, and Bulimic Societies

Merton (1938) argued that a society should be considered as a cross between its cultural goals, what its members should strive for, and the means that are to be legitimate ways that individuals should attain these goals. In an ideal society, the means should be available to all of its members to achieve their goals. General Strain Theory (GST), introduced by Agnew in 1992, focuses on the individual effects of strain, and how it is that strain then leads a person towards delinquency and crime. More individualized than the first strain theory that was introduced by Robert Merton, GST is considered at the micro level rather than the macro level (Seigel, 2003). Montgomery (2005) said that we might distinguish Merton's micro-level analysis of individual adaptations to given cultural contradictions from his macro-level analysis of the process by which social norms become legitimated or de-legitimated.

However, despite being more of a macro level of observation, Merton's strain theory is applicable to this general discussion regarding deaf offenders because it discusses the difficulties an individual faces when successfully navigating society's institutions, primarily education and employment, which are seen as the proper steps to take on the road to achieving success. Menard (1995) observed that Merton's model is best viewed as "an attempt to span both macrosocial and microsocial levels of analysis by tracing the *individual level* consequences of cultural and social-structural phenomena." With regard to his theories on social structure and anomie, Merton differentiated between the macro level anomie and the micro level strain that results from it by presenting a "strain theory of deviant behavior that holds people are more likely to pursue illegitimate means to attaining culturally prescribed goals when they are blocked from accessing the institutionalized means to these goals" (Featherstone & Deflem, 2003).

This theory can be applied to those deaf individuals who commit crimes because they can be said to have been blocked by the institutional means, such as linguistic competence, literacy, successful socialization, and academic competence. Consequently, they are much more likely to resort to illegitimate means to attain goals. Merton's theory of anomie suggests that disequilibrium between goals and socially acceptable means will result in the instability of legitimate means. This restricts certain individuals from attaining these goals and leads them or strains them toward deviant behavior.

Going to school, studying hard, and succeeding, lead to a diploma. A diploma and good educational record may lead to a good college. Graduating from college can lead to a good job. Hard work for an employer can then lead toward attaining success. Merton (1968) discussed five modes of adapting to strain that are caused by the limited access to socially approved goals and means. He did not mean that everyone who was denied access to society's goals became deviant. Rather the response, or mode of adaptation, depends on the individual's attitudes toward goals and the means to attain them. Conformity is the most common mode of adaptation. Individuals accept both the goals as well as the prescribed means for achieving those goals. Individuals who adapt through innovation accept societal goals but have few legitimate means to achieve those goals, thus they innovate (design) their own means to get ahead. The means to get ahead may be through robbery, embezzlement, or other such criminal acts.

In *ritualism*, the third adaptation, individuals abandon the goals they once believed to be within their reach and dedicate themselves to their current lifestyle. They accept their status in life and do nothing to reach higher or better themselves. They strive to remain free of strife, with the larger society, and wish to go about their business without attracting undue attention. *Retreatism* is the adaptation of those who give up not only the goals but also the means. They escape into a nonproductive lifestyle. Individuals who live in their parents' basements watching classic TV and smoking marijuana typify this particular mode. The final adaptation, *rebellion*, occurs when the goals and the means are rejected. Individuals create their own goals and their own means by protest or by criminal activity.

Cloward and Ohlin's (1960) theory draws attention to problems faced in the sequences of adaptation by older delinquents during emerging adulthood. Their theory states that it was easier for younger adolescents to use the illegitimate avenues to gain higher status, but as they became older, these same avenues became even more restrictive, thus intensifying frustration. This increased feeling of frustration created the pressures toward withdrawal or retreatist reactions.

The main emphasis of the "theory of differential opportunity systems" (Cloward & Ohlin, 1960) is on the intervening variables that account for the particular forms that crime and deviance can take (Cullen, 1988). Cloward (1959) had earlier shown how blocked access to illegitimate as well as legitimate opportunities would be a logical extension of Mertonian strain theory. An illegitimate opportunity is more than simply the chance to get away with a criminal or deviant act. It involves learning and expressing the beliefs necessary for sub cultural support. These beliefs constitute the main intervening variables in Cloward and Ohlin's (1960) strain theory. They explained why some individuals would adapt to strain in one way while others would adapt to strain in different ways. They said that adaptations were influenced by the social structure of the neighborhood or community in which the individual lived.

The theory relies upon previous work showing that communities vary by the extent criminal and conventional values are integrated (Kobrin, 1951). While the form that behavior takes depends on how well criminal beliefs are learned, the causal mechanism is a class-linked sense of injustice from actual or anticipated failure at achieving status by conventional standards. Our hypothesis can be summarized as follows: The disparity between what lower class youth are led to want and what is actually available to them is the source of a major problem of adjustment (Cloward & Ohlin, 1960).

Central to Cloward and Ohlin's strain theory are intervening variables that further help to determine the specific form that crime and deviance will take. Indeed, Schur (1971) talks about the role of status variables as influencing but not determining outcomes. "In relations to actual or suspected deviators and agents of social control … the parties' stocks of relevant resources and their relative capacities to wield or resist power are clearly important in shaping outcomes." In this context, Schur refers to the affect of status attributes in the shaping of outcomes, not to their having the sole determinative effect (Paternoster & Iovanni, 1989).

The intervening variable that stabilizes inner conflict and prepares the individual for recruitment into a subculture is withdrawal of legitimacy. Cloward and Ohlin (1960) discussed this variable as a "challenge to the legitimacy of the basic institutions of the society," separating crime from deviance. The beliefs that a subculture looks for are signs that an individual has given up hope of any fairness in the world. Withdrawal of legitimacy can be hypothesized to predict involvement in serious crime.

But if one is learning-disabled because of deafness, following the legitimate path towards success is much more difficult, if not impossible. The lack of parity with hearing peers in schools creates an inequality, and such inequality creates tension in the social system, a 'strain' that could potentially lead individuals to call it into question as well as look for other ways to achieve success. Success can mean either obtaining material wealth or goods, or it can mean obtaining the necessary goods for survival. In the case of deaf people who have neither been acculturated into the Deaf Culture nor attained reasonable literacy, the road to success is difficult.

Intrinsic in the notion of acculturation is the importance of cultural role models. As stated earlier, many deaf children never have the opportunity to meet Deaf adults, and thus lose the opportunity to model lawful, adult behavior. Jock Young (1999) sees the problems as a sort of hydraulic failure of the system to provide jobs that leads to a situation of 'social isolation,' wherein people do not lose the motive to work but the capacity to find work because of lack of positive role models. As Young (1999) said, cultural theories suggest that crime occurs because of a lack of culture, socialization, sym-

bolic embeddedness into society, community, and family.

Hans Eysenck's classic formulation (as cited in Young, 1999) involving three discrete levels is a useful illustration. Criminality occurs because: (a) The individual is genetically less capable of being socialized; (b) His or her family was inadequate at the business of social training; (c) The values socialized were incoherent, inconsistent, and contradictory. These three interacting levels of inadequacy come together to produce a lack of cultural incorporation of the individual.

Additionally, Young (1999), in defining anthropoemicism, noted that ancient societies absorbed their deviant members. Primitive societies deal with strangers and deviants by swallowing them up, by making them their own, and by gaining strength from them; thus, they are anthropophagic. Modern societies are anthropoemic - they vomit out deviants, keeping them outside of society or enclosing them in special institutions within their perimeters.

With regard to deaf children, society does both simultaneously. We mainstream them in our schools, force them to learn English speech, deprive them of their opportunities to learn and use ASL, and do not allow them to meet adult Deaf people who could serve as valuable mentors to them.

We are trying to 'eat them up' and make them more like us, so that their disability becomes invisible. At the same time, because of the failure of such policies, we ultimately have marginalized people, neither at home in the Deaf community nor in the hearing community. At this point, we 'spit them out' - they are deviant and they don't belong. This is a unique form of strain that, the proposed research posits, is experienced by deaf people who eventually turn to crime to simply attempt to succeed at living.

The affect of having inadequate language skill cannot be underestimated. Language is a vital component of cognitive, emotional, and social development. In the long term, poor language skills, such as the inability of the child to communicate, both to oneself and to others, can lead to behavioral outcomes like frustration and aggression.

Disability, Self-Concepts, and Secondary Deviance

Persons with disabilities desire to achieve acceptance by and integration into society. This philosophy is embodied by the ADA and creates an environment central to this process. However, persons with disabilities continue to be negatively affected by stigma and prejudice in social life (Nagler, 1993). For disabled individuals, exclusion from most of society, such as being sent to a special school in childhood and having difficulty finding employment as an adult, can become a continued reminder of the stigma associated with disability (Becker & Arnold, 1986). Going a step further, the fact that many deaf children are either warehoused in special education classes (where all disabled kids, regardless of the unique disability, are dumped) or are mainstreamed into hearing classrooms, their disabilities shine like a beacon to all of the non-disabled kids. The deaf child mainstreamed into a hearing classroom is still always going to be known as 'the deaf kid.' If he or she is dumped into the all-purpose special education class, then he or she is known as 'one of those kids.'

Li and Moore (2001) said that for some individuals, these experiences lead them to believe that they belong to a category most people view negatively, and that the social stigma they perceive impedes their personal adjustments to their disabilities. Disability is a physical or mental limitation in a social context - the gap between a person's capabilities and the demands of an environment. This gap is defined by society as socially undesirable, and people with disabilities are regarded by others, and by themselves, as deviating from what is believed to be normal or appropriate (Freidson, 1965 as cited in Li & Moore, 2001). These feelings of inadequacy and deviance can lead to secondary deviance, or as Scheff (1963) proposed, stigmas that cause individuals to see themselves as damaged. This change in self concept leads them into long term patterns of abnormal behavior.

Particularly relevant is Lemert's (1976) view of primary and secondary deviance, in which secondary deviance is defined as the behavior of a person who uses his or her disability (or primary deviance) as a means of adjustment to the problem caused by the label. A fundamental piece of the labeling theory is that there are negative consequences of stigmatizing certain individuals with a deviant label. In other words, social reactions play an important role in pressuring individuals to engage in further deviant actions (Traub & Little, 1985). Shur (1971) refers to the role that status variables play in influencing but not determining labeling.

Risk factors are personal characteristics or environmental conditions scientifically established to increase the likelihood of problem behavior. The risk and protective factor framework suggests that risk factors combine to contribute to and shape problem behavior over the course of adolescent development. While no single risk factor is more potent than another, the more risk factors present in life, the greater the probability of problem behaviors The risk factors discussed here are hypothesized to contribute to the development of criminality among deaf offenders, not to cause criminal behavior.

There is also a cumulative effect of these stressors, such that a prolonged exposure to risk factors increases the likelihood of negative outcomes. For example, while school failure in early grades may not be associated with antisocial behavior, it may become related if failure is repeated over a period of time. Consequently, as the number of risk factors increases, the accumulation exerts an increasingly strong influence on children.

One of the foci in this proposal is the role that language development plays in the development of criminal behavior. This is an important piece of this

phenomenon and must be discussed more thoroughly. Deaf people lack significant language skills and thus rely upon more visual cues and subtle differences in body language and behavior of others. There have been studies (Dodge, Price, Bachorowski & Newman, 1990; Kazdin, 1994; Fagan, 1998) about violent juvenile offenders that suggest that the ability to understand social cues of others and respond with appropriate language or behavior represents a way out of violence. The research has consistently reported a very high incidence of learning disabilities and poor performance on verbal tasks in cognitive ability tests among juvenile offenders. This research confirms that the majority of children and adolescents with behavior disorders have co-morbid language disorders. The disorders of language involve the ability to express and to understand language (Smith & Griffin, 2002).

Disability, as the consequence of hearing impairment, is the expression of a physical limitation in a social context - the gap between a person's capabilities and the demands of an environment (Li & Moore, 2001). This is much in line with the strain theories discussed earlier, that the means are not available to enable the individual to reach society's goals of success. This gap is further defined as being socially undesirable, and others often regard disabled individuals as deviating from what is normal or appropriate (Freidson, 1965). Low intelligence could lead to failure at school and the consequent drifting away from a route to a successful career. Failure at school could lead to low self-esteem.

Additionally, there is the notion of being 'bonded' to one's school where the importance of student bonding is that it improves student achievement and reduces problem behavior (Payne, Gottfredson, & Gottfredson, 2003). Research has shown that schools that have supportive relationships, common goals and norms, and greater participation increase the likelihood that students will become bonded to school. As discussed by Hirschi (1969), when students feel bonded to school, they feel as though they belong to the school, as though they are valued and accepted. Following this line logically, it is natural to hypothesize that the deaf students, who are already marginalized by their lack of language skills, are not as closely bonded to their schools.

It is not surprising that many of these children are not properly socialized. As Moffitt (1993) noted, a deficient early socialization is not likely to be modified by successful socialization in later life. Poorly socialized children enter schools unable to contend with the pressures of their academic or social lives. As a result, they confront failure and social rejection. Moffitt states these children miss out on opportunities to acquire and practice prosocial alternatives at each developmental stage.

In 1977, the U.S. Office of Education defined learning disabilities as:

> …a disorder in one or more of the basic psychological processes associated with understanding or the use of language. The result is dysfunctional listening, thinking, reading, writing, spelling, or math calculations. Learning disabilities include the condition of perceptual handicap, brain injury, minimal brain dysfunction, dyslexia, and developmental aphasia (Mindel & Vernon, 1987).

Merton (1957) asserted that education is the consensual method for attaining wealth. At the least, knowledge of basic skills is required to obtain a good job or to train for a profession. Young people suffering from learning disabilities or deafness lack these abilities.

An interesting artifact of people with the condition of disability is that while remaining burdened with multiple personal and social disadvantages, they are significantly vulnerable when involved in the criminal justice system. Offenders with intellectual disability (this includes linguistically deprived deaf offenders) are more likely to be "uneducated, unemployed, poor, members of an indigenous minority, have suffered from childhood neglect or abuse, have *deficits in social and communication skills*, and suffer from a behavior or psychiatric disorder" (Glaser & Deane, 1999).

Clearly, being disabled has its disadvantages. First, one must deal with the physical limitations and emotional adjustment to these limitations, as well as deal with the stigma associated with the disability, which often results in secondary deviant actions and then criminal justice sanctions. Deaf individuals are equally likely to suffer from the same privations as do intellectually disabled individuals, because many of their attendant problems spring from the same source - the inability to use and comprehend language.

Secondary deviance occurs when the societal response to primary deviance is such that the actor is prevented from functioning normally and resorts to deviant behavior. In the case of linguistically challenged deaf offenders, primary deviance could be construed as the lack of speech. The literature is very instructive on this point and must form the springboard from which future research with this population is undertaken.

According to Coleman (1950), many delinquent children have mental or cognitive deficits, and although the deficits themselves do not cause delinquency, the inability of the child to make social and school adjustments results in delinquency. Thus it is not the label that causes criminality, but the secondary problems associated with the label that can lead to criminality, most notably social adjustments.

Lemert (1976) explained that secondary deviance does not imply an absolute or deterministic position. Rather, if labeling occurs, the conditions under which an initial deviant state occurs may produce subsequent problems of adjustment for the individual. These problems may facilitate further deviant development (Paternoster & Iovanni, 1989). In the case of a poorly socialized, linguistically marginalized deaf child, the lack of socialization is both a consequence and function of the disability. It is a type of challenge - how does one become socialized if one does not have the language skills to socialize, but how does one learn the language if one is not socialized enough?

Implications for Further Research

The theories presented in this paper are not in any way dispositive of the question of why deaf people commit crimes. Certainly this has been a broad overview of some of the issues involved in the criminal development of deaf offenders and is still hypothetical at best. However, future research with this elusive population must be carried out to learn more about the special circumstances that might explain their criminality. If we learn more about the etiologies of criminal behavior in this group, prevention may be possible, and may be as simple as early identification as a deaf person and providing the appropriate education and social and cultural experiences.

Appropriate interventions would include providing regular hearing screenings, as well as educational placement made on the basis of the needs of the child according to best practice standards. For example, a deaf child should not be placed in a special education class in which children with different disabilities/needs are warehoused. They should be placed in proper deaf education classes. Interventions would also include outreaching with Deaf cultural resources to the families of deaf children, as well as opportunities to learn sign language for the deaf child and his or her family. These are just some of the ways to reduce cultural and linguistic disparity for these children and to promote better social bonding.

Conclusion

Vernon (1995) stated that an estimated 35-40% of inmates are hearing-impaired, of which 13-20% suffer a significant hearing loss. A population-based study of profoundly deaf defendants admitted to a maximum-security facility in the midwestern United States found the prevalence rate of pre-lingual deafness to be 5.1 per 1,000 inmates. The study concluded that this is *five times* higher than the rate for pre-lingual deafness in the general population, which is estimated at approximately 1% (Harry & Dietz, 1985; Young, Monteiro & Ridgeway, 2000).

Although there is a disparity between the various findings of prevalence rates of deafness among offenders, it is clear that the ratio of deaf inmates to hearing inmates is much greater than the ratio of deaf non-offenders to hearing non-offenders. Accordingly, it is important to try to learn as much as possible about this population so we can strive to develop the best, most efficient, and most useful strategies of intervention and rehabilitation. Using early screening, providing appropriate education, and instructing parents and other family members about the special needs of the deaf would be especially useful to deaf children, who are at the greatest risk of becoming criminal offenders.

Models of crime prevention are developed based upon the hearing population. There is a need for more proactive, specific models for the special needs of Deaf and deaf offenders. To accomplish the goal of developing programs to curb criminality in the deaf population, theories about the etiologies of criminal behavior must be researched more thoroughly.

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Strategies in Developing the Student Self: The Production and Maintenance of Collective Identities in a Midwest School Setting

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Abstract

Common strategies for addressing school conflict often fail to acknowledge or explore underlying tensions within student bodies resulting from cultural clashes between different groups of students. While these strains in peer relationships may not always directly produce eruptions of school violence, understanding the social and cultural forces that produce these conditions for conflict to occur aids in developing a more holistic approach to youth conflict. This study will explore how collective identities, or peer groups, are produced and maintained within a diverse suburban high school setting, and how different groups come to see themselves in opposition to others.

Commonly accepted strategies for addressing school conflict, especially violent school conflict, tend to blame and/or pathologize individual students for their various misbehaviors leading to conflict. While these strategies may have limited use in addressing specific, isolated altercations between students, they fail to acknowledge or explore underlying tensions within student bodies resulting from cultural and subcultural clashes between different groups of students. While these strains in peer relationships may not always play a direct role in producing eruptions of school violence, understanding them can provide a more holistic approach to youth conflict and can potentially direct better preventative measures for school violence.

This article explores the social and cultural forces that produce the conditions for conflict to occur within a student body. Through extensive interviews, focus group interactions, and direct observations, the study examines how collective identities, or peer groups, are produced and maintained within a diverse suburban high school setting, and how different groups come to see themselves in opposition to others.

The research examines how a student's sense of self develops and transforms relative to their peers and to schooling, and how they place themselves and come to be placed within certain social typologies. It further explores how members of peer groups come to see themselves differently than members of other groups, and examines whether these perceptions of difference strain peer relationships and produce conditions for conflict both within and between different groups. In doing so, the study seeks to determine whether peer groups employ different strategies for defining, conceptualizing, and interacting with tensions and potential conflicts based upon collective positioning within the student body.

Review of the Literature

High school students provide a unique population to study for several reasons. First, students at this juncture in life find themselves thrust into a complex system of social processes in which they must begin transforming the basis of their self-identity from their parents to their peer group. Second, cultural symbols (dress, language, etc.) play an essential role in defining a student's sense of self and projecting that self onto others (Eckert, 1989; Eder, 1995). Third, students from a wide array of social backgrounds are gathered from the surrounding community and are required to coexist within the confines of a school (Mac an Ghaill, 1995; Eckert, 1989). Finally, high school culture is known for creating and sustaining an arrangement of distinct peer groups organized in a complex system of social hierarchy and stratification (Kinney, 1993, 1999; Mac an Ghaill, 1995; Eckert, 1989; Eder, 1995).

One body of literature relevant to this area of study is associated with adolescent conflict and violence. Until recently, studies of adolescents focused almost solely on youth gang violence and delinquency. Earlier studies (Thrasher, 1927; Cohen, 1955; Miller, 1958; Cloward & Ohlin, 1960; Matza & Sykes, 1961) discussed how youth gangs used violence both to attain power and to create and maintain collective identities.

Later studies focused primarily on inner city gang activities and incorporated aspects of illegal ones ranging from drug trafficking to alcohol and drug consumption as essential elements of gang culture (Vigil & Long,

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1990; Moore, 1991; Sanders, 1994; Decker & Van Winkle, 1996). These studies, inadvertently or not, helped to produce certain assumptions held by researchers, politicians, and the general public about the nature of youth and conflicts among them. Youth conflict was defined primarily in relation to gangs, or as Morrill argued (Morrill, Yalda, Adelman, Musheno, & Bejarano, 2000), through the "gang lens." This contributed to the development of pragmatic approaches toward youth conflict that view an urban youth culture, which not only sees violence as a cultural norm, but also relies on it as a primary means of conflict resolution (Morrill et al., 2000).

Some researchers have recently attempted to break from this conventional understanding of conflict, which besides focusing primarily on youth gang culture, approaches the subject from an authoritarian, adult-oriented, crime-control perspective. Several studies in the past decade have explored youth gangs and criminal youth activity from the perspective of the actors themselves (Joe & Chesney-Lind, 1995; Shelden & Brown, 1997; Docuyanan, 2000). While these studies provide a much needed, youth-centered perspective of gang violence, they remain focused on a particular kind of gang-related youth culture, and are thus limited in their ability to explain the broader concept of youth conflict.

While criticizing studies of youth gangs as limited and narrow in their perspective of adolescents, other scholars worked to shift studies from centering on violence and gangs by developing a research framework based on exploring and examining youth culture. Instead of adhering to racial and stigmatized notions of youth, youth cultural studies view adolescents as individuals tied to their social, cultural, and physical locations, but actively constructing experiences and identities (Skelton & Valentine, 1998; Simmons, 2002; Fine & Weis, 1998).

Researchers of youth culture often position their study within the context of schooling. Adolescent student ethnographies explore how schools impact the development of youth cultures by dictating certain norms related to the development of 'educated persons' (Levinson & Holland, 1996), authority, and power held by administrators and teachers (Mac an Ghaill, 1995). They examine how students interact with these structured norms and with each other to develop and act out both individual and collective identities.

Additionally, since youth culture is profoundly impacted by social and cultural locations, some scholars focus critically on student experiences in relation to race, (Bejarano, 2001; Fordham, 1999), class (Willis, 1977; Macleod, 1987; Reichert, 2002), and gender (Mac an Ghaill, 1995; Eder, 1995; Simmons, 2002; Thorne, 1994). The cultural approach affords researchers significantly greater freedom in defining youth outside the "gang lens" and provides a much broader, more holistic scope through which to observe adolescents.

A team of researchers (Adelman & Yalda, 2000; Morrill et al., 2000) recently sought to broaden the narrow scope of youth violence research by approaching conflict from a youth culture perspective within the context of schooling. They used a variety of methods within an ethnographic framework including participant observation, interviews, focus groups, and mapping exercises. In addition, this team used an urban school's English department to elicit brief written narratives from students of situations in which they experienced conflict with their peers. The researchers used a variety of different analytical approaches in assessing these narratives. Morrill et al. (2000) focused on students' styles of storytelling and found that they used one of four language styles to narrate their conflicts: action tales that reinscribe taken-for-granted assumptions about roles, moral tales reflecting violations of normative commitment, expressive tales that recount emotional responses, and rational tales reflecting unsequential decision-making. Adelman and Yalda's (2000) approach focused on how young people create and confront conflict and found that not only was conflict not immediately associated with violence by many respondents, but that physical violence was "neither young people's first nor their only response to conflict." Rather, youth in this study often addressed and resolved conflict in ways that were 'productive' in terms of social development without relying on school staff or administrators.

In addition to drawing from prior youth violence and youth cultural studies, the current research adheres loosely to tenets of symbolic interactionism insofar as this theoretical framework asserts that individuals live in a symbolic world, and learn and share meanings of symbols through social processes. Symbolic interactionism operates under the premise that everyday interaction and exchanges of symbols with others plays a powerful and pervasive role in how individuals think about and define themselves (Goffman, 1959; McCall & Simmons, 1978; Cooley, 1902; Stryker, 1980).

Cooley argued in 1902 that an individual's sense of self does not exist as an entity separate from the outside world, but rather is based upon a continuous dialogue with that outside world during social interaction. Cooley used the term "looking-glass self" to describe this dialogue, and explained that others' evaluations of and reactions toward an individual are essential in how that individual develops a sense of self. Groups play a key role in this process, and as individuals interact with their members, they create a cultural and social context or foundation that shapes individual self-development.

One important study that is relevant in understanding symbolic interactionism and adolescence is Snow and Anderson's 1987 study on homeless people. The researchers discuss how social identities are attributed to or projected onto individuals by others based upon their "appearance, behavior, and the location and time of interaction." Snow and Anderson make a distinction between social identities based upon others' perception and personal identities based upon one's own self-perception. Researcher David Kinney (1993) later argued that this dichotomy of perceptions is important in adolescent research because they commonly categorize

other individuals through social interaction while simultaneously searching for a personal identity.

Other studies focus specifically on adolescents within the context of schooling and explore how individual agents (students) derive meanings from cultural and subcultural symbols within their specific cultural contexts (e.g. Hollingshead, 1949; Mac an Ghaill, 1994; Eder, 1995). A large number of these researchers have found that peer groups formed within adolescent school cultures are arranged in a social hierarchy and are given labels that implicitly or explicitly reflect both their status and their perceived cultural values (Hollingshead, 1949; Schwartz & Merten, 1967; Eckert, 1989; Eder, 1995). Studies also found that this hierarchy, and more importantly, where students were placed within this hierarchy, is a powerful determinant of their self-perceptions and the perceptions of others (Rosenberg, 1965; Schwartz & Merten, 1967; Eckert, 1989, Eder, 1995).

Our study adds to this body of knowledge by exploring more specifically the relationship between peer group culture, informal rules of social hierarchy, and peer conflict. This study in some ways echoes the research described above in that it seeks to explore youth culture, peer relationships, and schooling from the perspective of the (young) actors involved rather than from a more traditional, authoritarian perspective. This study also builds upon prior research by incorporating peer groups as both a primary aspect of adolescent school culture, and an important variable in understanding youth conflict. In doing so, the study seeks to create yet another theoretical bridge between youth violence and youth cultural studies.

Method

The current research effort was conducted using a qualitative case study approach. Because of the non-tangible attributes of the phenomena under consideration, this strategy was considered the most feasible approach for gathering baseline subject data. In a 2003 article, O'Sullivan, Rassel, and Berner held that qualitative descriptive study designs afforded researchers an abundance of data readily accessible for understanding and interpreting. The authors went on to submit that descriptive research designs often eliminated flawed reason and afforded significant insights. When designed, coordinated and analyzed carefully, qualitative designs have the capacity to generate valuable, theoretically grounded notions for more empirically advanced investigations of causality. This study's approach provides an objective study of one research entity (student identity in relation to youth culture and school violence) at one point in time (Winter, 2005; Berg, 2004).

Case study research has been defined as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used (Yin, 1994). Consequently, researchers hold that an advantage of the case study strategy is the triangulation of multiple sources of information (Neuman, 2000), including interviews, direct observations, participant observation, documents, archival information, and physical artifacts. A further benefit of the case study is its value as an exploratory tool. When research endeavors to understand the details of how a social phenomena occurs and/or why it may have come about, case studies are often ideal.

Research Design

After obtaining the appropriate permissions from school administrators, the researchers randomly recruited individuals within the East High School (an alias) student body (n = 122) to complete a voluntary, structured, open-ended survey to identify and describe what they perceive as distinct subgroups within the student body. The survey requested labels for the subgroups identified, and descriptive attributes that profile each subgroup and its members (dress, speech, activities, behaviors, etc.). The researchers subsequently analyzed the data garnered to identify different typologies that emerged, as respondents commonly understood them. Once compelling typologies were identified and described, select groups were considered.

Next, to identify and recruit research respondents (from the groups identified by the survey data), investigators employed a respondent-driven sampling method (Heckathorn, 1997; 2002). First, student "guides" (current students familiar with the above mentioned criteria) were enlisted to access individuals from the student body for each of the subgroups under consideration. Potential respondents were advised by the student recruit about the current research project and were requested to notify the investigators if they were interested in participating. Forthcoming students were then requested to participate in a focus group interview where primary research topics (friendships, high school, etc.) were presented and facilitated by the research moderator. Moreover, these students were asked to recruit other study respondents who also met the same identified group attributes as their own, thereby indirectly self-identifying their own perceived group membership. Ranges of four to six students were recruited for each of the focus groups.

Finally, over the course of a two-week period in early 2005, individual focus groups populated by members of a distinct group typology were conducted in a private conference room in the school during the students' focus classes (study hall). After getting assent of focus group participants, researchers asked each group structured, open-ended questions about their friendships, other students in the school, peer-to-peer conflict, and schooling in general. These questions were designed to allow students to take the interview dialogue in the directions they felt were important, thus

yielding responses that were both unique to their group and rich in sociological data.

Analysis and Discussion

A content analysis of survey responses indicated several trends. First, in response to a question asking students to list and provide descriptions of each peer group existing at East High School, three groups appeared with markedly greater frequency than others:

"Preps" or "Preppy"
(appeared in 81 or 66.2% of responses)

"Goths" or "Gothics"
(appeared in 98 or 79.5% of responses)

"Ghetto" or "Black"
(appeared in 70 or 57.3% of responses)

Other trends also emerged relative to how respondents described these three groups. Descriptions of Preps typically made reference to wealth, privilege, and elitism. Consider the following responses to this survey question:

Question 1: Please list and provide a description of each peer group or 'clique' that exists at [East]. Feel free to list as many groups as you wish, and understand that you can name these groups anything that you feel accurately represents them. When describing the groups, please include any characteristics that you feel make each group unique or different than other groups.

Preps - Stuck-up, spoil, think that they all that.

Preps - People who spend $6,000 on a pair of jeans.

Preps - The 'Popular People'. Wear nice clothes, make-up, good hair. Think they're better than most people and can get away with more things.

Preps - You have your preps to see who has more money.

Preps - Consist of skinny girls and buff guys. Always Abercrombie [a designer clothing retailer marketed toward young adults] clad beautiful people, almost always rich.

Respondents primarily described Goths in reference to their dress and perceived attitudes:

Goths - Usually white, dark clothing, scary looking, usually depressed, hate authority.

Goths - Dark clothes and make-up. Dyed black hair. Depressed.

Goths - Weird, messed up people.

Goths - Those that don't believe in God, who usually have depression problems or suicidal.

As seen here, many respondents expressed a range of negative attitudes from skepticism to overt disdain toward Goths. Respondents often called into question the "authenticity" of Goth members:

Goths - Wear black, think they have it bad but they don't, cut themselves for attention, and the world hates them.

Gothic - Individuals who think they need sympathy or pretend to commit suicide.

The gothic kids which are the ones who wear black all the time and who are very dramatic about a lot of issues.

Goths - FAKE!!! People at this school act 'gothic' to gain attention and don't even know what it really means.

Issues of racial tension and prejudice emerged in many white respondents' descriptions of the "Black" or "Ghetto" group. Respondents who used the term "Ghetto" typically attached to it various, usually negative, racial and cultural stereotypes:

Ghetto people - Fubu, Ecko [two clothing brand names], fros, speak in a language I can't understand, reverse discriminate.

Ghetto Black - Problems with everyone, outspoken, annoying.

Ghetto Kids - 'Urban' kids, usually black, stand in the middle of the hallway, cop an attitude about absolutely nothing, loud, feel way too entitled because of race, use entirely improper English, problems with authority.

The mere act of using the term "Ghetto" to characterize a racial typology implied in this context a direct connection between race, class, and culture with virtually no distinctions. While the term "Ghetto" by definition implied poverty, lack of social mobility, and lack of access to resources, white respondents in this survey frequently used this term to characterize a racial minority.

> "Ghetto - Poor, trashy and undisciplined. They wear huge clothes that do not fit. They don't take any responsibility and probably won't amount to anything if they don't change who they are."

Responses like this, which unabashedly maintain negative and generalized views of the "Ghetto" group, clearly demonstrated the existence of a pervasive cultural conflict, in which black students were ultimately expected to conform to certain cultural norms in order to be seen by some of their white counterparts as legitimate members of the student body. One notable trend was that white respondents making blatantly negative comments about black students typically avoided actually using the term "Black" to describe that typology. Students using the term "Black" either described the group using more "neutral" terms, such as "wear baggy clothes," or provided no descriptions at all. Rather, respondents likely saw the term "Ghetto" as more racially neutral and thus more socially appropriate to use than the term "Black" or "African-American," especially when attaching overtly racist comments to this term. From these observations, it might be concluded that the use of the term "Ghetto" absolved respondents from seeing themselves or being seen as racist.

The researchers concluded that it would me most useful to further explore the Prep, Goth, and Ghetto typologies at East High School based on the data and content analysis of this survey. Focused group interviews of students within these three typologies served not only to provide additional evidence for the existence

of these specific groups, but also to further develop an understanding of how individual agents within these typologies perceived themselves as a collective group, especially in relation to other groups.

Typologies of Student Identity

Preps

Most of the students who participated in interviews as members of the "Prep" group expressed surprise and even embarrassment at being identified by their peers as "Preps." When asked if they observed the East High School student body as being divided into peer groups or cliques, they gave somewhat apprehensive responses. One student stated, "it's more like friendship groups than cliques," indicating a perception of group divisions that are more loosely based and less exclusive than is traditionally understood. Other "Prep" students echoed this sentiment:

> "It isn't like it is in the movies or TV, where there are these huge clique problems and everyone is trying to be like someone else. Groups are a lot looser and less structured."

In fact, the consensus among the Preps was that membership to any peer group was most significantly a matter of "personal choice." One student explained that she felt "no pressure to be one thing."

When asked what characteristics they had in common, one prep group member described active involvement in school activities:

> "I guess if we had to give basic characteristics about all our friends, it would be that we're involved in school activities; we're on student council and yearbook, we go to sporting events and we have school spirit. We all have self-confidence and we're outgoing."

This commonality demonstrated that this group sought to forge identity, as well as power and influence, through legitimate, normative means. Student council and yearbook, for example, provided opportunities to attain a larger circle of influence by offering them certain limited responsibilities in making decisions that affect the student body as a whole.

If students possess more power than other students, Prep group members explained, it is because of individually developed 'leadership' and 'persuasion' skills. Thus, no specific peer groups are more powerful than others; the emphasis, again, was on the individual.

Prep group members also expressed an understanding of racial, social, and economic commonalities. Consider the following dialogue:

> "I kind of hate to say this, but I guess one thing we all have in common is that we're all like middle-upper class, and white."
>
> "Yeah, but that's not why we're friends."
>
> "No, it's not. I'm just saying that we all have that in common."

The researcher responded to this by asking why these students were friends, to which the subjects cited a relatively long history of friendship, i.e., they had known one another and been friends since the fifth or sixth grades. Thus, while members of the Prep group saw certain racial, social, and economic differences between themselves and other students at East High School, they did not believe these differences influenced their perspective or choice of friends.

Members of the Prep group did mention the "Goths" when asked about different peer groups, and described members of this group as "dramatic," "always trying to rebel against the norms," and "trying to rebel against the Prep group." "They're depressed," one student said. "I feel sorry for them."

Goths

When asked if the student body at East High School was divided into peer groups, all Goth group members participating in the interview answered with a resounding 'yes.' In fact, one student said it is more divided than other schools she had observed. The other students agreed.

> "That's because of immature, close-minded, stupid, stupid, *stupid* people." (the others laugh and nod)
>
> "Some high schools are better because, in this school, people have lots of opportunity. Everything is basically just handed to them. They're spoiled; they're not forced into being resourceful."

When asked what different peer groups exist at East, the first word from all respondents was "Preps." One student added, "The preppy people and the Goths are at war." When asked what was meant by 'war,' she replied:

> "It's like, there was this one war, I can't remember what war, but both sides were waiting and then one person, *one* person, fired a shot. It's the shot heard around the world. No one knows who fired that shot, but then everyone started fighting, and now it's so bad that no one knows how to stop it."

Here, a Goth group member utilized symbolically violent language to describe an ongoing conflict between the Prep and Goth groups. Interestingly, Goth group members did not describe any specific incidents of violence between members of the two groups in the conversation that followed about this conflict. Rather, the 'war' between Preps and Goths appears to be a cultural and ideological conflict. Consider the Goth members' descriptions of preps:

> "They're cookie cutters. They don't like people who break the mold. They're all THE SAME. They have no personality and no minds. They want to be someone else. Take the path of least resistance. They're the people who watch TV or movies, and buy the clothes they see on TV. They don't think. They don't feel. They're shallow.

They're scared of people who wear all black. Preps are 'bred' by their parents to think and act the way they do. They mock and make fun of Goths and punks."

"Ever since Columbine, everyone has been really afraid of Goths and punks - you know, people who wear black."

Here, Goth members' primary criticisms of the Prep group include charges of conformity and lack of individuality. Another theme that surfaces here echoes a Goth member's previous statement of students "not [being] forced into being resourceful" - a notion of 'taking advantage' of having things too easy. Thus, a unifying ideological characteristic of Goth members seemed to exist in placing a great deal of value on struggle or hardship as a catalyst for developing creativity and individuality.

Goth members stated that they and almost all of their friends come from 'broken homes,' and cited this as a possible factor in determining Goth membership. Another primary factor, they said, was a struggle with depression. One student said,

"I kind of took a poll and asked a bunch of my friends if they are or ever were on antidepressants. And honestly, I would say that about nine out of ten of them have. Almost all of us have struggled with depression at some point."

Half of the members in this study's Gothic focus group stated that they take antidepressants on a regular basis.

"Ghetto" or Black Students

Like the surveys, interviews with students in the "Ghetto" or black typology revealed compelling and pervasive race-related issues. The dialogue served to expose both subtle, insidious issues related to covert racism and white privilege, as well as overt, unconcealed attitudes and actions of racism. The entire interview time with students in this group was spent discussing race and racial tension, not just within the student body, but also within the body of school staff and administrators.

When asked whether different groups exist within the student body at East, one student replied, "There's a big separation between different groups. A big line between them." This separation, as perceived by these students, was largely a separation of race. "There's a big race gap here," a student stated. "You can see it just walking down the hallway." Another added,

"Yeah, white people always sit in front at sports games and on the buses, and the black people always sit in the back. Cliques form because some people are uncomfortable with others."

The black students in the interview discussed an appreciation for the reputation for academic excellence that East High School has in surrounding communities. All students agreed that receiving a diploma from East is in some ways better than receiving one from one of the neighboring city schools because of this reputation. However, they took issue with how their presence alone seems to draw so much negative attention in the school. They explained that many teachers at East "are racist, they act like they ain't got the time to explain things to us."

"I'll ask a question in class, and the teacher will be like, (gasps) 'you still don't understand this?' And then a white kid will ask a question, and she won't say nothing to him."

The students also complained that some staff and administrators "don't enforce the rules the same for everyone." They discussed how black students seemed to be targeted more for disciplinary problems, and cited examples of staff members singling them out of a racially mixed crowd of tardy students for discipline.

These students also related several incidents ranging from subtle prejudice to overt racism. For example, seen written on a bathroom wall: "We don't owe you niggers shit." This blatantly racist statement was reflective of a cultural conflict that exists in both the surrounding community and the student population at East, and speaks to a number of different issues. First, it operates under the premise that all black students do, in fact, believe something is 'owed' to them by the white majority, while concurrently leaving vague what that 'something' actually is. Second, by saying 'we', this statement claims a certain sense of solidarity of white individuals who stand behind this statement. Third, it seeks to intimidate and degrade black students by using symbolically violent language.

"Last week this girl come up to me and ask, 'I heard black people can't take showers every day cause they skin fall off.' She said her momma told her that."

"Even the music on the bus is racist. They play country. We asked if they would play [a local rap, rock, and top 40 station], because they play black music, and they play white folks' music too. They said no. No black people listen to country. That's racist."

There are not necessarily any clear indications whether the student asking questions about black persons' hygiene had malicious intent, or whether the bus driver's refusal to play anything but country music was the result of a purposeful decision to create racial tension. However, these incidents do indicate a considerable lack of understanding and sensitivity that can be understood in relation to notions of covert racism and white privilege.

When asked to describe differences between black and white students, the general consensus from this group was that "we think white people are spoiled, and they think we're violent." Consider the following dialogue:

"White kids, they come home, take off their shoes and have a snack. They say hello to their Mexican nanny, eat around the dinner table, and talk about they problems at school. Then they do their homework, and then they ain't

> got nothing else to do, so they go to bed, and can't wait to go back to school the next day."

> "Black people, we got things to do. Most of us is poor, so we have jobs. Sometimes we have to go to parties and stuff too. I know that ain't the best reason to be out, but we have lives. Then we come home at like 10 or 11, and we have chores to do. We don't have no nanny."

> "Yeah, and dinner will be in the fridge. Only time we have family dinner is on Thanksgiving or Christmas."

> "So then by the time we're done with all that, it's like 12 or 1 in the morning. Who wants to do their homework at 1 in the morning? And who wants to get up the next day for school?"

While these statements stereotype white students, they reveal certain structural and cultural differences between white and black that these students understood as impacting racial discrepancies in academic performance. They make reference to wealth and privilege, i.e., the "Mexican nanny" and removing shoes prior to entering the house, as well as references to home life and social support. These issues were developed further in the following dialogue:

> "White parents are nicer than black parents. You see on TV, a kid be crying and his mom will be huggin' him and asking what's wrong. My momma would just be like, boy, I'm gonna hit you if you don't stop crying."

> "Yeah, white parents take their kids hiking, they go up north on fishing trips, and they go to Florida in the summer. We go to like [large metropolitan cities in the same state] to see relatives. That's like two hours away!"

> "I mean, yeah, man, I've seen those commercials for Disney World and stuff. I'd like to do that."

When asked which peer groups at East were more popular than others, members of this group explained there were 'white popular' and 'black popular.' they stated that both groups were fairly equal, but the white popular had an 'edge' over the black popular because white parents had closer relationships with staff and administrators.

When asked which peer groups were more powerful than others, one student stated, "Black people are at the top. White people are intimidated by black people." The others agreed. Interestingly, they seemed to take a certain satisfaction in this power through intimidation, and at times acted in ways that appear to be purposely intimidating. Considering the bleak picture for black students presented by the data in this study, this power through intimidation seems to be the only avenue for power and influence to which this peer group has access. "The staff say racism is over," one student said. "It's not over."

Symbols and Identity

The students in this study often stated that observing others' physical appearance was the primary method they used in categorizing their peers. One student said,

> "This school is so huge, it's impossible to really get to know everyone for who they are, so sometimes….I guess it's just natural to jump to conclusions about people based on, like, the clothes they wear and stuff."

Dialogue on the subject of appearance and clothing occurred in all three focus groups, and interview participants displayed styles of dress unique to their specific peer group.

Preps

As stated before, these group members expressed a certain level of embarrassment at being labeled 'preps' by their peers. One student, wearing sweatpants and a sweatshirt during the interview, used her clothing as a reason to separate herself from the traditional 'prep' stereotype of obsessing over appearances. "As you can probably see," she said, gesturing toward her clothing, "I don't really care what I look like." Another prep group member said she wore [designer brand] clothing because it was "cute, not because I'm trying to be something."

Dress for Prep group members thus seemed to be viewed more as a display of individual prestige or fashionable expression than as a primary means of group membership or identity. Indeed, the surprise these individuals expressed at being labeled Preps by their peers indicates a general lack of awareness of Prep group identity altogether. This is consistent with other parts of the Prep group interview, where these students emphasized individual choice over collective identity.

Goths

Unlike the prep group members, Goth group members viewed their dress as an integral part of their individual and collective identities. In an article found in the school paper, one Goth group member explained that black clothing was utilized by members of the Goth peer group as a physical expression of emotional pain, and a way to openly identify with feelings of depression and despair.

Another notable theme that surfaced within the Goth discussion of dress related to a perception of fear. Goth group members expressed keen awareness of the stereotypes they embodied symbolically through their dress. However, these students did not seem to take any particular satisfaction in this fear, but rather referred to it simply as another instance of Preps' lack of understanding. Rather than as a strategic effort to instill fear in others, Goth group members seemed to utilize the black clothing as a symbolic representation of withdrawal from Prep norms or standards. Interestingly, all students stated their parents were and/or continued to be resistant to the black clothing, and accused them of failing to see the 'bigger picture.'

At the time of the interview, three of the four students were dressed in virtually all black; the other stu-

dent, wearing jeans and a t-shirt, explained that his parents would not allow him to dress in predominantly black clothes.

"Ghetto" or Black Students

While students in this focus group briefly discussed the pressures students face to "wear the right stuff," they viewed their clothing styles as adhering to informal rules of fashion rather than as an avenue for symbolizing a specific individual or collective identity. These students also expressed confusion and frustration toward school dress code rules banning 'do rags, baseball caps, and sagging pants, complaining that these rules unfairly and disproportionately targeted black students. Additionally, they recounted incidents where administrators temporarily prohibited students from wearing plain white t-shirts, plain pink t-shirts, 'white on white' (a white t-shirt with another white t-shirt worn over it), and 'black on white' (a white t-shirt with a black t-shirt worn over it). Students explained that administrators cited reports of these t-shirt colors and combinations being related to youth gang symbols and activity and suspended students who violated these rules at will.

While school officials and staff interpreted hats and 'do rags as symbols of gang activity and viewed pants-sagging as projecting an unprofessional image and apathetic attitude toward schooling, the students in this interview interpret hats, baggy clothing, pants-sagging, and 'do rags in similar ways to how the Prep group members viewed their own clothing styles-as symbols of youth culture and representations of fashionable expression. This difference in cultural understanding evidently created friction between some black students and administrators, and in the interview, led to charges of racism in rule-making and rule-enforcement.

Limitations

While the current study has elicited valuable sociological information for further consideration in both developing grounded theoretical understandings of how student identity is constructed and furthermore how such identities are interrelated with inter-group and intra-group violence, there were innate drawbacks to the research relative to the method. Specifically, experimental applications and assessments of proposed interventions/treatments advanced by means of inductive case study findings were not available via qualitative descriptive research strategies.

Moreover, different information sources examined within a qualitative context (triangulation) may actually sometimes generate unintended limitations, in that these sources of information are often studied using dissimilar research procedures, rendering them to questionable validity. Finally, case study strategies are often critiqued for the low number of data points utilized, which may in turn generate research findings that are incapable of producing highly reliable and/or generalizable findings.

Conclusions

This study reveals a student population with deep cultural and racial divisions. Groups that appeared outside the set standards and norms seemed to be on some level marginalized and snubbed by other students, and occasionally by staff and administrators. One noteworthy finding was that each group - the Preps, Goths, and Black students - all appreciated the diversity within the student body. Consider the following quotes:

> Prep: "The diversity here is really good…like if you go to [local private Christian school], everyone there is exactly the same; there is no diversity. It's like everyone there lives in a bubble. This school is better because it's more like real life. There are all kinds of different people, and you have to learn how to get along with everyone."
>
> Goth: "Diversity is good, but everyone is fencing themselves off from everyone else."
>
> Black student: "The diversity is good, but there needs to be more equal enforcement of the rules."

As seen here, students seemed to value diversity, but the data indicated that they are somehow barred from taking advantage of the opportunities diversity affords them. The gaps between groups appear, in many ways, virtually unbridgeable.

This study provides some limited explanations for the existence of these gaps. Cultural and racial differences between students produce differing and often contradictory values systems, which in turn produce the types of inter-group tensions seen in this study. Differences in positions of status within the student body's social hierarchy also seem especially relevant in how students see themselves and/or their group in relation to others.

For example, members of the Goth and Ghetto groups were fully aware of certain structural constraints inhibiting them from holding positions typically allocated to those more closely aligned with the Prep group, whereas members of the Prep group attributed virtually everything to personal choice, and seemed to have considerable difficulty in seeing these constraints, if they could see them at all.

Staff and administrators also seemed to be (at times) contributing to the gaps rather than actively seeking to eliminate them. The research indicates that school rules, enforcement of these rules, and attitudes toward students can serve to further alienate and disenfranchise certain groups of adolescents from schooling. When students are excluded, denigrated, and ostracized by their peers, and then experience similar treatment from staff, one could conclude this would have a dramatic effect on how students come to see themselves in relation to school.

This research indicates a need to develop more holistic strategies for student integration. Simply placing them in the same building or classroom appears to accomplish little or nothing in bridging cultural and racial gaps. Social stereotypes and prejudices can and do continue to flourish on a large scale in this environment. The research seems to suggest that action-centered strategies aimed specifically at bridging these gaps must be developed and used by school administrators, staff, and students. While rifts between student peer groups are, in many ways, reflective of divisions in the larger community outside the school walls, establishing and maintaining a welcoming educational community seems largely contingent on reducing or eliminating these divisions. If students recognize the importance of diversity in education, but lack the tools to act, providing them with these tools seems to be a necessary priority for staff and administration.

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An Analysis of Issues Concerning the Appropriateness of Juvenile Transfer to Adult Courts

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Abstract

The divergent schools of thought regarding juvenile court systems suggest that changes are needed. However, there is a crucial need for researchers to address the most fundamental concern, the appropriateness of juvenile transfer. The purpose of this annotated bibliography is to address this concern by compiling various sources of research on the subject of juvenile transfer and its appropriateness. This document also provides a broad list of available sources and distills the most relevant on this topic.

Since its inception in the late 1890s, the juvenile justice system has experienced many changes (Butts & Mears, 2001; Grannello & Hanna, 2003; Jenson & Howard, 1998; Jenson, Potter & Howard, 2001). The juvenile justice system was originally formed for rehabilitation purposes, to protect children from the adult system of justice, and to avoid the negative stigmas associated with a criminal conviction (Butts & Mears, 2001; Granello & Hanna, 2003). A lesser known reason was for the prevention of crime. It was argued that the courts should be able to take charge of delinquent juveniles and shape them for productive re-entry in the community under the assertion of parens patriae. Furthermore, a separate juvenile system would prevent the courts from having to abide by the restrictions placed on adult criminal proceedings.

An added benefit of the newly established juvenile court was more responsiveness to the developmental and social capacities of juveniles. The system was intentionally arranged to address misbehavior on an individual basis with an emphasis on psychological factors. However, beginning in the 1960s and 1970s, the Supreme Court delivered several rulings that significantly changed juvenile court systems. First, the idea of rehabilitation quickly changed to one of diversion. Instead of rehabilitating young offenders, juveniles were sent to treatment programs focused on socioeconomic factors (Granello & Hanna, 2003). Interventions began to address environmental and other external factors and focused less on changing psychological characteristics. Still, for the most serious offenders and those who committed deeds of violence, juvenile judges had the ability to send them to adult courts.

The problem that developed was that adult court systems had no procedural rules in place. Adult court systems lacked the structure needed to determine specifically which juveniles should be sent to adult courts. Judges did not give juveniles access to proper counsel or allow them proper hearing (Klein, 1998). It was at this time that the Supreme Court allowed juveniles the basic procedural rights afforded to adults, but only if they went through adult court systems.

In the 1980s, the juvenile system changed again when its philosophy swayed from treatment to punishment, following public sentiment and a rise in violent juvenile crime rates (Granello & Hanna, 2003). While each state set its own policies on juvenile transfer, many states developed similar guidelines. Ultimately, the changes led to a significant increase nationwide in the number of juveniles bound over to adult courts (Butts & Mears, 2001; Granello & Hanna, 2003; Jenson & Howard, 1998). While many states believed that the adult court would provide juveniles with procedural rights, they also still believed that juveniles passing through would receive treatment based on individual needs. Moreover, states believed juveniles would receive more lenient sentences than the adults.

However, that is not what happened. Juveniles in the adult system did receive procedural rights, but they did not receive necessary treatment based on individual needs. In addition, juveniles still had to follow mandatory minimum sentencing laws, just as the adults, and juveniles received longer sentences than if they had stayed in the juvenile system (Tanenhaus & Drizin, 2003).

Recent evidence and a review of outcome studies suggests that the punishment of juveniles placed in adult criminal justice systems leads to a lack of treatment, longer sentences, and increases in recidivism. Further-

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more, punishment in the adult system often results in teaching juveniles how to commit new crimes (Heide, Spencer, Thompson & Solomon, 2001; Lane, Lanza-Kaduce, Frazier, & Bishop, 2002; Redding, 1999).

Critics of the juvenile court believe that it should be completely abolished because there is no longer a distinct difference between the two courts. However, these same critics recognize that if abolished, adult courts need to begin considering a juvenile's age while passing sentence and waiving the mandatory sentences that are applied to adults (Feld, 1998). In addition, it is also suggested that adult criminal courts formally recognize cognitive, social, and moral development as mitigating factors prior to sentencing juveniles (Morse, 1998).

While critics want to abolish the juvenile system, others believe it should remain in existence, but only if some changes occur. Followers of this school of thought believe the system should be reconstructed to provide procedural protections, additional financial and social supports for recently released juveniles, and follow-up case management (Geraghty, 1998; Lane et al., 2002; Redding, 1999).

In compiling this bibliography, the authors completed a comprehensive search of databases that index professional literature. The databases searched include: *PsycInfo, Psychology and Behavioral Sciences Collection, Social Science Citation Index, Medline, Sociological Abstracts, Sociological Collection, Social Sciences Index, Social Work Abstracts, and LexisNexis Academic Universe*. Databases most useful in returning a variety of articles include PsycInfo, Psychology and Behavioral Sciences Collection, and Social Science Citation Index. The keywords used in the search include *juvenile transfer, juvenile delinquency, transfer to adult court, juvenile justice, social policy, and transfer laws.*

The researchers grouped the articles from a search of the literature into three progressive classes. The first class focuses on the history of and trends in the juvenile justice system since its inception. The second class of articles focuses on the transfer of juveniles to the adult court system. The third class focuses on the appropriateness of transferring juveniles into the adult system. The articles in each section are in alphabetical order.

To provide a system to classify the relevance of each article to the topic, the researchers devised a rating system. The system is based on a scale ranging from one to five, with five meaning the article has the most relevance to the topic of the appropriateness of juvenile transfer. A rating of three signifies that the article covered the basic issues in the topic but does not provide any new information or lead to new directions for research. The rating system should not be used to select sides of the argument.

Trends in the Juvenile Justice System

Butts, J., & Mears, D. (2001). Reviving juvenile justice in a get-tough era. *Youth & Society, 33(2)*, 169-198.
Rating: 5

The authors provide a complete history of the juvenile justice system from how and when it started to the changes and their underlying motivations. The authors also provide research evidence suggesting that some interventions work well with juvenile offenders (i.e., multisystemic therapy), while other interventions are less effective or completely ineffective (i.e., boot camps, simple incarceration, longer sentences). The article also challenges the public and policy makers to put more consideration into long-term effectiveness of interventions over short-term solutions. Findings indicate that the most effective and efficient program targets interventions and punishments to individual juveniles instead of making sweeping decisions.

Granello, P., & Hanna, F. (2003). Incarcerated and court-involved adolescents: Counseling an at-risk population. *Journal of Counseling & Development, 81(1).* 11-18.
Rating: 3

The changes that have taken place in the juvenile justice system since its development in the late 1800s are presented. Addressed are the financial aspects of incarceration versus prevention and the unavailability of treatment for incarcerated youths. A unique aspect of this article is a discussion of current and past treatment approaches in working with incarcerated adolescents. The implications are that no one justice system, juvenile or adult, and no one treatment approach works best for all offenders. Consider this article if you are interested in treatment approaches for at-risk adolescents. The article is also a good introduction to how legal policy has directed psychological treatment of incarcerated adolescents.

Jenson, J., & Howard, M. (1998). Youth crime, public policy, and practice in the juvenile justice system: Recent trends and needed reforms. *Social Work, 43(4)*, 324-333.
Rating: 4

This is a history of the juvenile justice system and trends in juvenile crime rates are presented. It also discusses the difficulties in trying to draw conclusions of causality through arrest records, and between youth crime rates and public policy. The authors propose that the cyclic fluctuations of juvenile crime rates and juvenile policy are misleading, as empirical evidence suggesting the two are connected is limited and does not account for demographic, social, or political factors associated with the fluctuations. Finally, the authors call for graduated sanctions, matching offenders to treatment and punishment based on offending history and individual needs. The article highlights the need for policy reforms, varying treatment approaches and, most importantly, educating the public on actual crime rates.

Jenson, J., Potter, C., & Howard, M. (2001). American juvenile justice: Recent trends and issues in youth offending. *Social Policy & Administration, 35(1),* 48-68.

Rating: 5

A brief discussion of the recent trends in juvenile offenses including estimates of the types of crime committed and the rates and patterns over the past three decades is presented. The authors also provide a synopsis of past and current responses to juvenile crime, from decriminalization and rehabilitation, to juvenile incarceration and transfer to adult courts. This article is distinctive because it considers the role of mental health problems and substance use/abuse in juvenile crimes, and it looks at gender differences in rates of crime. This article is a great introduction to the juvenile court system and highlights important areas that policy makers should consider a priority when making decisions.

Lane, J., Lanza-Kaduce, L., Frazier, C., & Bishop, D. (2002). Adult versus juvenile sanctions: Voices of incarcerated youths. *Crime & Delinquency, 48(3),* 431-455.
Rating: 4

This article compares the juvenile corrections system versus the adult system based on the impact each system has on juveniles. The authors conduct an exploratory study to both examine juveniles' perspectives on their experiences in each system, and to try to determine if long-term change will result in juveniles being punished in one system over the other. The article notes both the benefits and the harm that juvenile offenders believe are a result of the current system of inconsistent sanctions. The authors discuss the rating levels of the juvenile system, low-end to deep-end placement, and the lack of differentiation when juveniles are placed in the adult system. This article is unique because it takes a different perspective, that of incarcerated youths, to explore whether the systems are meeting their goals. The article explores implications and gives directions for further research in this area.

Macallair, D., & Males, M. (2004). A failure of good intentions: An analysis of juvenile justice reform in San Francisco during the 1990s. *Review of Policy Research, 21(1),* 63-78.
Rating: 3

The authors studied San Francisco's juvenile probation department records from 1988-1998. The analysis suggests that despite structural reforms of the city's juvenile justice system to target prevention and diversion of first-time offenders, there was no evidence of change in the system. Instead, reforms meant to decrease the number of detainees actually widened the net to include processing lower-risk youths into the juvenile system. In addition, the study reveals striking differences in racial, ethnic, and gender arrest and detention patterns. The article provides a strong argument for policy reforms to target the high-risk juvenile populations already in the system and a need to design programs that help reduce the disproportionate rates of minority confinement. While raising important questions about the direction and viability of current trends in juvenile justice reforms, the article fails to provide guidance on where and how reforms should be made.

Redding, R. (1999). Examining legal issues: Juvenile offenders in criminal and adult prison. *Corrections Today, 61(2)*, 92-124.
Rating: 5

In this article there is a discussion of recent trends in the justice system and current public sentiment calls for sentencing juveniles to adult prison and "throwing away the key." The article provides a thorough review of recent research and compares the outcomes of sending juveniles through adult courts versus retaining them in the juvenile system. Evidence suggests that criminal prosecution does not provide added protection for communities nor does it have a deterrent effect, but instead it increases recidivism and decreases legal protections that sending juveniles through the criminal court was supposed to provide. The article concludes by discussing directions for legislative reform and pointing out areas that need further research. A well-balanced article between law and psychology provides a comprehensive picture of issues surrounding adult transfer.

Juvenile Transfer to Adult Court

Cohn, A. W. (1999). Juvenile justice in transition: Is there a future? *Federal Probation, 63*, 61-68.
Rating: 3

This is a focus on the restructuring of administration in the juvenile justice system. Emphasizing improving practices, policies, and procedure, the article argues that the mission of the juvenile court is the protection of society by correcting children who break the law, the protection of children from abuse and neglect, and the preservation and strengthening of families. While the article questions the future of the juvenile justice system, it does a poor job of predicting its course.

Heide, K. M., Spencer, E., Thompson, A., & Solomon, E.P. (2001). Who's in who's back: Follow-up data on 59 juveniles incarcerated in adult prison for murder or attempted murder in the early 1980s. *Behavioral Sciences and the Law, 19,* 97-108.
Rating: 4

This article provides the demographics of individuals mostly affected by juvenile transfer and discusses family background information, school, employment history, and prior delinquency records of juvenile transfers. It concludes with a discussion of the importance and need to better handle violent juveniles. The concern with this article is that it was conducted only in Florida, so the results may not be a proper representation of other states.

Klein, E. K. (1998). Dennis the Menace or Billy the Kid: An analysis of the role of transfer to criminal court in juvenile justice. *American Criminal Review, 35,* 371-410.

Rating: 4

An investigation of the different ways that juveniles are transferred to criminal courts was performed for this article. The author uses historical court cases and developmental psychology to assess juvenile transfer. An element of the report mentions how society's view of young black males influenced tougher laws on juvenile offenders. This article is good for individuals seeking research on how psychology influences juvenile transfer.

Redding, R.E. (2000). *State transfer laws. Juvenile Justice Fact Sheet.* Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia, Institute of Law, Psychiatry, & Public Policy.
Rating: 5

A complete overview of state transfer laws explains the four broad categories for which juvenile transfer occurs. The article also discusses relevant factors considered when ordering a transfer and is an excellent and concise explanation of juvenile transfer laws. It is written for individuals who are unfamiliar with the legal system.

Salekin, R. T., Yff, R. M. A., Neumann, C. S., Leistico, A. R., & Zalot, A. A. (2002). Juvenile transfer to adult courts: A look at the prototypes for dangerousness, sophistication-maturity, and amenability to treatment through a legal lens. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law, 8,* 373-410.
Rating: 5

This article provides a thorough review of juvenile transfer by judges, which makes it unique. The article provides a detailed review of the possible implications for public policy and an overview for individuals unfamiliar with juvenile transfer.

Scott, E. S., & Grisso, T. (1997). The evolution of adolescence: A developmental perspective on juvenile justice reform. *Journal of Criminal Law & Criminology, 88,* 137-190.
Rating: 3

The author assesses the moral, cognitive, and social differences between adults and delinquent youth. Findings indicate that there is a substantial difference in these factors between youth and adults. Using the developmental perspective provides a clear framework for assessing the current state of juvenile justice. The article provides clear recommendations for responding to the crimes of adolescent offenders and a detailed feedback on how policy changes may influence the interventions of delinquent youth.

Tanenhaus, D. S., & Drizin, S. A. (2003). Owing to the extreme youth of the accused: The changing legal response to juvenile homicide. *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 92,* 641-707.
Rating: 5

A researcher curious about which type of juvenile transfer was more prevalent engaged in this study. The author provides some astonishing numbers concerning African-American youth transferred to adult courts in all categories. The highest percentages of youth prosecuted as adults were African-American, including more than 85% of drug charges and 57% of violent offenses. Overall, the author focuses on how rigid the response to juvenile crime was during the 20th century.

Research on the Appropriateness of Juvenile Transfer to Adult Court

Feld, B. C. (1998). Abolish the juvenile court: youthfulness, criminal responsibility, and sentencing policy. *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 88*, 68-137.
Rating: 4

Discussed in this article is the criminal delinquency jurisdiction of juvenile courts. It includes a clear and precise explanation of why the juvenile court system should be abolished and replaced with formal recognition that youthfulness is a mitigating factor. It contains both personal opinion and historical legal history in support of abolishing the juvenile court. The most useful area in this article is Part III, in which the author argues that juvenile court deficiencies reflect a fundamental flaw in its conception rather than a century long failure of implementation.

Fried, C., & Reppucci, N. (2001). Criminal decision making: The development of adolescent judgment, criminal responsibility and culpability. *Law & Human Behavior, 25(1),* 45-61.
Rating: 5

This article challenges the rationale of a juvenile justice system that holds adolescents to adult-like standards of criminal responsibility and culpability. After conducting a study of the influence of psychosocial factors on criminal decision making in adolescents, the authors determined that it appears that there are developmental differences in decision making and the exercise of judgment between juveniles and adults. In particular, there appears to be a U-shaped function where adolescents in the middle of the age continuum appear less mature than those at either end. The authors discuss explanations for this difference and the implications for the practice of sentencing juveniles to adult prisons.

Geraghty, T. F. (1998). Justice for children: How do we get there? *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 88*, 190-241.
Rating: 2

This article discusses why the juvenile justice system should be restructured and not abolished and provides readers with a guided tour through the lives of juveniles affected by juvenile transfer. Although this article is enjoyable to read, the author provides too much opinion and not enough concrete evidence. This article is weak compared to current research.

Grisso, T. (1997). The competence of adolescents as trial defendants. *Psychology, Public Policy and Law, 3(1),* 3-32.

Rating: 3

From this research, evidence of the developmental abilities needed to face a criminal trial is provided. Since the studies examined are not confined to delinquent juveniles, they provide a developmental baseline for the capacity of juveniles to participate in a criminal trial. The article identifies the abilities needed and the types of deficits juveniles possess. Evidence suggests that compared to adults, adolescents have less understanding of matters related to a trial, and when the abilities are available, juveniles do not use them in a dependable or consistent manner. The author suggests that juveniles have significant developmental deficits that impair their capacity to participate effectively in a criminal trial, and the author proposes five types of legal reforms.

Morse, S. J. (1998). Immaturity and irresponsibility. *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 88*, 15-68.
Rating: 4

This article provides a broad view of the criteria of responsibility. The term "responsibility" is not only defined, but it is explained on behalf of both the juvenile and the juvenile justice system. The author explains juvenile behavior from a social science and a legal view while providing an explanation of juvenile responsibility; the author does not provide a realistic solution to the problem.

Reppucci, N. (1999). Adolescent development and juvenile justice. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 27(3),* 307-326.
Rating: 5

Thorough consideration to the concept and history of adolescence, the development of and changes in the juvenile justice system, and the level of developmental maturity in juveniles are provided in this article. Three developmental factors of critical importance in considering adolescent competence are reportedly linked to behavior and decision making in youths: the influence of others, risk perception, and temporal perspective. The article also provides a brief overview of state statutes regarding juveniles and the inconsistencies within state laws. Consideration of developmental, emotional, and idiographic issues in transfer cases are outlined for future research. This is a good article that pulls together psychological research and legal policy, highlighting the differences between juveniles and adults, and recognizing the need for clarity and operationalization of policy and procedures concerning juveniles.

Steinberg, L., & Scott, E. (2003). Less guilty by reason of adolescence: Developmental immaturity, diminished responsibility and the juvenile death penalty. *American Psychologist, 58(12)*, 1009-1018.
Rating: 5

The authors argue that by law, culpability is mitigated when an individual's capacity to make decisions is diminished, the act was coerced, or the act was out of character. Emerging data on cognitive, psychosocial, and biological development in juveniles suggests that they have a level of immaturity that mitigates their criminal culpability, much like that of the mentally retarded or mentally ill. Substantial research supports the ideas that adolescents' decisions are driven more by rewards and less by risk, they are significantly influenced by peer pressure, and they are more likely to act impulsively. The authors discuss relevant cases and propose avenues for further research.

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Teen Dating Violence, Ethnic Identity and Depression in Inner City African American Youths and Young Adults

Correlates of Psychological Aggression among Victims and Aggressors

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Abstract

The exploratory research examines: (1) the incidence and prevalence of teen dating violence in the form of psychological aggression among inner city African American middle school, high school, and college age youth (N=215); (2) the differences among these age groups; (3) the differences between males and females in these age groups; and (4) the relationship of psychological aggression to depression and identity. The preliminary report described herein examines depression and identity correlates of psychological aggression at the three age grades. A statistical analysis was performed to determine the strength of association between the hypothesized risk factor (depression) and the hypothesized protective factor (ethnic identity) and psychological aggression. We hypothesized a positive correlation for depression as it is considered a risk factor for teen dating violence. We hypothesized a negative correlation for ethnic identity with respect to psychological aggression as ethnic identity development is considered a protective factor.

Teen Dating Violence Among Inner City African Americans

Adolescence marks the developmental transition from childhood to adulthood. It is characterized by rapid cognitive and biopsychosocial changes propelling the rise of peer influences, individuation and autonomy, and the formation of an adult identity. The onset of dating and an intense sexual involvement make for the exhilarating ups and downs of this phase of life. For some teens, though, adolescence may be confusing, depressing, and emotionally crippling. Dating violence - psychological, physical, and sexual aggression - may have its behavioral origins in this developmental period. Forced sexual intercourse between people who know each other most often happens between the ages of 16 and 24 (Parrot, 1985). Homicide related to domestic and/or dating violence in African American communities is almost six times higher than that of other populations (Websdale, 2003). Violence in a formative teenage dating relationship, among children as young as 12 years old, may lead to life-long intimate partner violence issues.

The Centers for Disease Control [CDC] (2000) reported that the average dating violence prevalence for high school and college students is 22% and 32% respectively. Silverman, Raj, Mucci, and Hathaway (2001) reported dating violence prevalence rates of 20% for high school adolescent girls. Halpern, Oslak, Young, Martin and Kupper (2001) reported victimization prevalence rates for psychological aggression at 32% and minor physical violence at 12% among 7th through 12th graders in dating relationships. Teenage dating violence is associated with sad, hopeless feelings, binge drinking, cocaine or inhalant use, multiple sex partners, nonuse of condoms, and ethnicity (Howard & Wang, 2003).

The effects of race and ethnicity on teen dating violence are inconclusive. Some studies show that blacks experience higher rates of physical violence than whites, other research reports higher rates for whites than for Hispanics, or no racial or ethnic differences (Carlson, Worden, van Ryn & Bachman, 2000). Sorenson and Siegel (1992) argue that African Americans appear to be particularly at risk for dating violence. Other studies (Clark, Beckett, Wells & Dungee-Anderson, 1994; Stets 1991; West & Rose, 2000) consistently report the likelihood that both physical and psychological aggression is sustained and inflicted by as many African American females as males.

Inner city is defined in this study as residing in a large Midwestern city and attending a public school that is 95% to 100% African American in that city. In addition, inner city status, at the college level, is defined by

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attendance at a large, predominantly black, urban- commuter state university in the same city where the student population is 90% African American.

Psychological aggression is sometimes referred to as emotional abuse. It involves any act intended to denigrate, isolate, or dominate a partner. It is intended to control victims, in part, by creating actual and emotional dependence, and reducing the victims' sense of self worth, competence, and value (Stets, 1991). Psychological aggression can include verbal abuse, such as insults, criticism, ridicule, name calling, discounting, and discrediting; demonstration of extreme jealousy and possessiveness; the monitoring of behavior; accusations of infidelity; threats of harm to the victim, and damage to or destruction of personal property (Marshall, 1999). We chose to begin this series of analyses with examination of psychological aggression because less is known about this form of dating violence than others, and because psychological aggression is strongly correlated with physical and sexual assault (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000) and may be a precursor to other forms of dating violence (O'Leary, 1999).

Ethnic Identity and Depression Among African American Youth

Ethnic identity has been defined as a dynamic, multidimensional construct that refers to one's sense of self as a member of an ethnic group that claims a common ancestry and shares a similar culture, race, religion, language, kinship, or place of origin (Phinney, 2003). African American youth appear to have a strong need to identify that is motivated by an awareness of belonging to a distinct racial group that has a shared perception or experience of racial discrimination and social oppression (Akbar, 1996; Ward, 1995). For these youth, ethnic identity becomes an important and overruling aspect of the personality, and issues related to ethnic identity may be more important for them than for their majority counterparts (Helms, 1990).

Some researchers have found a positive relationship between ethnic identity and psychological adjustment (Nghe & Mahalik, 2001; Pierre & Mahalik, 2005), ego development and self esteem (Phinney, 1995), successful school performance (Bernal, Saenz, & Knight, 1995; Taylor, Casten, Flickinger, Roberts, & Fulmore, 1994), and resiliency (Belgrave, Chase-Vaughn, Gray, Addison & Cherry, 2000; Chase-Vaughn, Gray, Addison, & Cherry, 2000; Miller, 1999). Others have reported a negative relationship between ethnic identity and the display of antisocial and violent behavior among minority adolescents (Biafora, Warheit, Zimmerman, Gil, Apospori & Taylor, 1993; Jagers & Mock, 1993; Arbona, Jackson, McCoy, & Blakely, 1999). Ethnic identity development has been found to be negatively associated with cigarette smoking (Parker, Sussman, Crippens, Elder, & Scholl, 1998), high levels of anxiety (Carter, 1991), feelings of inferiority, inadequacy, and depression (Munford, 1994; Pyant & Yanico, 1991). Terrell and Taylor (1980) found that a strong sense of racial identity was associated negatively with violence against peers.

A lack of positive ethnic identity may be a contributing factor to the often reported greater frequency of aggressive or violent behaviors among African American youth as compared to their white counterparts (Fox, Connolly, & Snyder, 2005). These investigators were unable to find any studies that examined the relationship between teen dating violence and ethnic identity among African American youth, but clearly ethnic identity may serve as a protective factor with respect to dating violence among inner city African American youth.

Depression has been identified as both antecedent and consequent of dating violence. Risk factors associated with dating violence for both the aggressor and the victim consistently include depression (Tjaden & Thoemes, 2000; Carlson et al., 2000). The relationship between stressful life events and psychological symptoms associated with depression is well researched (Kessler, 1997; Van Os, Park & Jones, 2001). African Americans appear to have higher levels of psychological symptoms associated with depression as the result of psychological stressors associated with racism and discrimination (Walden, 1994; Aldwin & Greenberger, 1987). From 1980 to 1995, the suicide rate among African American males aged 10 to 14 years increased 233% compared to 120% for comparable whites. During that same period, the suicide rate for African American males aged 15 to 19 years increased 126% compared to 19% for comparable whites (National Center for Health Statistics, 1980-1995). African American adolescent girls who have recently felt sad or hopeless experience a twofold increase in the likelihood of being a victim of dating violence (Howard & Wang, 2003).

A theoretical framework for understanding and preventing mutually violent dating relationships among inner city African American youth must focus on age and gender differences, individual influences (depression), and contextual issues having to do with how one makes sense of one's adaptation to society (ethnic identity). The research described in this study examines: (1) the incidence and prevalence of dating violence in the form of psychological aggression among inner city African American middle school, high school, and college age youth in dating relationships (N=215); (2) the differences in dating violence among these age groups; (3) the differences between male and female victims/aggressors in these age groups; and (4) the relationship of psychological aggression to depression and ethnic identity. We hypothesized a positive correlation for depression and a negative correlation for ethnic identity with respect to dating violence in the form of psychological aggression.

Method

Subjects

The subjects were middle school children who participated in a summer 2004 violence prevention program and high school students who participated in an Upward Bound summer 2004 residence program at a predominantly African American university in a large Midwestern city. College age participants were students who enrolled in fall 2004 semester classes for undecided majors at the same university. All participation was voluntary.

From the entire subject population, 239 questionnaires were collected. Of the 239, 7 were not used because 5 were Hispanic and 2 were white. Of the 232 remaining, 2 were unusable due to incomplete or incorrect information. Thus, the total sample was 230 subjects. Of the 230 subjects, 15 (6.5%) had never dated. This left the sample of those who had dating experience at 215 subjects.

Table 1 lists the demographic characteristics of the sample population (N=230). Table 2 provides the demographic characteristics for the sample subjects with dating experience (N=215), as these subjects were the focus of the study. Females were overrepresented in the dating sample at 64.5%, and males were underrepresented at 35.5%. The middle school sub-sample had female-male representation at 52.2% and 47.8% respectively. The high school sub-sample had female-male representation at 61.6% and 38.4% respectively. The college sub-sample had similar female overrepresentation, with females and males at 69.0% and 31.0% respectively. The total sample mean age was 16.9, and the dating sample mean age was 16.8. The dating sample had a minimum age of 11 and a maximum age of 25. College students represented 55.3% of the sample while middle school and high school students combined represented 44.7% of the sample.

Table 1.
Demographic characteristics for the sample subjects with dating experience

Demographic data	
Total questionnaires completed	147 females 92 males 239 total
Number in usable sample	142 females 88 males 230 total
Number with dating experience	138 females 77 males 215 total

	Sex (in %)	
Experiment	Female	Male
Total questionnaires completed	61.5%	38.5%
Total sample	61.7%	38.3%
215 dating sample	64.5%	35.5%
Middle school (6th-8th)	52.2%	47.8%
High school (9th-12th)	61.6%	38.4%
College (13th-15th)	69.0%	31.0%

Table 2.
Demographic characteristics for the sample subjects with dating experience

	Mean age		
Experiment	Min	Max	Mean
Total sample	11	25	16.99
Dating sample	11	25	16.89
Middle school (6th-8th)	11	14	12.26
High school (9th-12th)	14	18	16.14
College (13th-15th)	17	12	18.44

	Grade level (in %)		
Experiment	Total	Sample	Dating Sample
Middle school (6th-8th)	10.8	11.3	10.8
High school (9th-12th)	35.6	36.5	33.9
College (13th-15th)	53.6	52.2	55.3

Measures

A self-report questionnaire entitled the "Conflict Tactics Scale-2" (CTS2) was used to measure dating violence. The CTS2, a 78-item, paper and pencil questionnaire, contains a list of tactics one might use while engaged in a conflict with a partner. It measures psychological, physical, and sexual aggression between partners and the use of negotiation to deal with conflict. It contains five scales: Negotiation (6 items), Psychological Aggression (8 items), Physical Assault (12 items), Injury (6 items), and Sexual Coercion (7 items). The five scales have reported internal consistency coefficients as follows: Psychological Aggression = .79; Physical Assault = .86; Sexual Coercion = .87; Injury = .95, and Negotiation = .86 (Straus, Hamby, Boney-McCoy, & Sugarman, 1996; Rathus & Feindler, 2004; CDC, 1998).

This is the first in a series of reports involving the data. The Negotiation, Physical Assault, Injury, and Sexual coercion data was not included in this round of analysis to make the data more manageable and will all be reported separately. As stated above, we chose to begin this series of analyses with examination of psy-

chological aggression because less is known about this form of dating violence than others and psychological aggression may be a precursor to other forms of abuse (O'Leary, 1999).

Ethnic identity was measured by using a 15-item assessment instrument. The ethnic identity assessment measures the importance of African American ethnic pride. Respondents are presented with questions about their ethnicity and asked how they feel about it or react to it (Phinney, 1992). The Ethnic Identity Assessment has a reported internal consistency of .66. Depression was measured by using a five-item assessment instrument called the modified depression scale (CDC, 1998). This scale measures the frequency of depressive symptoms in the past month. It has been utilized with students aged 10-18 and has internal consistency of .74.

Data was collected during regular program class activity. A short statement describing the nature and purpose of the study was delivered to participants by the study investigators, who distributed and collected the questionnaires with assistance from the program personnel and classroom instructors. Signed dual informed parent consent and participant assent for all minors were obtained. The parent consent forms were obtained in advance and the minor participant assent form was obtained at the time of data collection for those minors with parental consent. Signed informed consent for participants over age 18 was obtained before participation.

Results

Incidence and Prevalence

The data was analyzed to determine subject's rate of reporting prevalence and incidence of experiencing dating violence. Prevalence was defined as reporting that dating violence ever happened before in life. Incidence was defined as reporting that dating violence happened in the past year. Table 3 presents the prevalence and incidence rates for inflicting psychological aggression in a dating relationship for males and females from the three age groups. Table 4 presents the prevalence and incidence rates for sustaining psychological aggression in a dating relationship for males and females from the three age groups.

Table 3.
Prevalence/Incidence Rates (%'s) for Inflicting Dating Violence - Psychological Aggression

College	High school	Middle school
Male 78.4/64.9	Male 64.3/60.7	Male 63.6/54.5
Female 90.1/81.5	Female 86.7/77.8	Female 66.7/58.3

Table 4.
Prevalence/Incidence Rates (%'s) for Sustaining Dating Violence - Psychological Aggression

College	High school	Middle school
Male 78.4/64.9	Male 64.3/60.7	Male 72.7/63.6
Female 85.2/79.0	Female 75.6/66.7	Female 66.7/58.3

Inflicting Psychological Aggression

College Age

Nearly 80% of all college age males reported inflicting some type of psychological aggression ever in life and about 65% reported inflicting some type of psychological aggression in the past year. The most common psychological aggression inflicted by college age males was swearing and shouting, while destroying something that belonged to a partner or threatening to hit a partner were the least common.

The investigators found that 90% of all college age females reported inflicting some type of psychological aggression ever in life and about 82% reported inflicting some type of psychological aggression in the past year. College age females were similar in that swearing and shouting were most commonly inflicted but at higher rates than college age males. College age females reported higher rates of both prevalence and incidence for all measures of inflicting psychological aggression.

High School Age

We found that 64% of the high school males reported inflicting some type of psychological aggression ever in life and 61% reported inflicting some type of psychological aggression in the past year.

High school males reported a similar pattern with swearing and shouting most common inflicted psychological aggression but high school males did more shouting, more name calling and more accusing a partner of being with someone else.

High school females reported a prevalence rate of 87% and an incidence rate of 78%. High school females reported more psychological aggression than their male counterparts except for the incidence of destroying something that belonged to a partner.

Middle School Age

Males reported a prevalence rate of 64% and an incidence rate of 55%. Middle school females reported a prevalence rate of 67% and an incidence rate of 58%. Middle school females reported shouting and swearing as the most commonly inflicted psychological aggres-

sion, but these females reported less aggression than their high school and college age counterparts, and their rate of reporting psychological aggression was about the same as the middle school males.

Sustaining Psychological Aggression

College Age

The investigators found that 78% of the college age males reported ever sustaining some type of psychological aggression and 65% reported sustaining some type of psychological aggression in the last year. The most common forms of sustaining psychological aggression from a partner for the college age males was being sworn at, shouted at, and being accused of being with someone else. College age females reported a prevalence rate of 85% and an incidence rate of 79%. For the college age females, the most common forms of sustaining psychological aggression was similar to that of the college age male - being sworn at, shouted at, and being accused of being with someone else. However, college age females reported higher rates of sustaining psychological aggression from a partner than their male counterparts on all measures except having a partner destroy something.

High School Age

Males reported a prevalence rate of 64% and an incidence rate of 61%. For the high school age male, the most common forms of sustaining psychological aggression was being sworn at, shouted at, and being accused of being with someone else. High school females reported a prevalence rate of 76% and an incidence rate of 67%. The most common forms of sustaining psychological aggression for high school females were again similar to the college age pattern - being sworn at, shouted at, and being accused of being with someone else. High school males reported higher rates of being sworn at, called names, and having something destroyed. However, high school females reported higher rates on all other measures of psychological aggression.

Middle School Age

Males reported a prevalence rate of 73% and an incidence rate of 64%. The most common forms of sustaining aggression for middle school males were also similar - being shouted at and being called names. Middle school females reported a prevalence rate of 67% and an incidence rate of 58%. The most common form of sustaining psychological aggression reported by middle school females was being shouted at. Middle school males reported higher rates of sustaining psychological aggression for being called names, being shouted at, being spited, and being threatened than their female counterparts.

Frequency of Experiencing Violence

To further analyze the results, we derived a mean index score utilizing the incidence (i.e., the past year) data by summing the scores on the individual items and then dividing the sum by the number of items for that scale. Each item was scored on a Likert-type scale from one to six as described below:

How often did this happen?

0 = this never happened
1 = once in the past year
2 = twice in the past year
3 = 3 - 5 times in the past year
4 = 6 - 10 times in the past year
5 = 11 - 20 times in the past year
6 = more than 20 times in the past year

The investigators obtained a mean index score for psychological aggression for males and females at each age group. This analysis, unlike the prevalence and incidence rate analysis, allows examination of the frequency of experiencing teen dating violence. In other words, analysis of the mean index scores goes beyond whether one has experienced violence to provide information about how often one inflicted or sustained violence. Tables 5 and 6 present the mean score and standard deviation for the psychological aggression scale for males and females at each age group.

Table 5.
Mean Index Score and Standard Deviation for Inflicting Psychological Aggression*

	Mean	Standard Deviation
Middle males	0.86	0.67
Middle females	1.04	0.99
High school males	1.18	1.19
High school females	1.91	1.46
College males	1.20	1.14
College females	2.27	1.54

* Measured on a scale of 0 to 6.

Table 6.
Mean Index Score and Standard Deviation for Sustaining Psychological Aggression*

	Mean	Standard Deviation
Middle males	0.74	0.88
Middle females	0.63	0.68
High school males	1.20	1.30
High school females	1.29	1.07
College males	1.40	1.35
College females	1.98	1.54

* Measured on a scale of 0 to 6.

Figures 1 and 2 present the graphs of the mean index scores on inflicting and sustaining psychological aggression at each age-grade level and provides an alternative manner of looking at the data. As can be seen, females more frequently inflict psychological aggression on their partners than do their male counterparts at each age-grade level. For males, inflicting psychological aggression increases until it appears to level off during high school and college.

The female pattern of inflicting aggression is clearly different. Inflicting psychological aggression increases steadily (more than doubling) from the middle school, across high school, to college age. At the same time, however, females appear to more frequently sustain psychological aggression from their partners only at the college level. The results for sustaining psychological aggression from a partner at middle school and high school age appear to increase similarly for both males and females. By college age, the female's frequency for sustaining psychological aggression has steadily increased to nearly fourfold compared to a far less dramatic increase for their male counterparts.

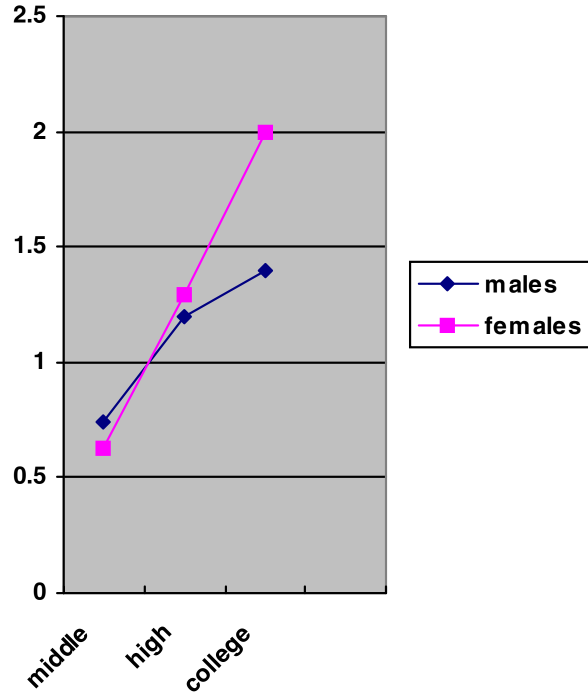

Figure 2. Sustaining Psychological Aggression*

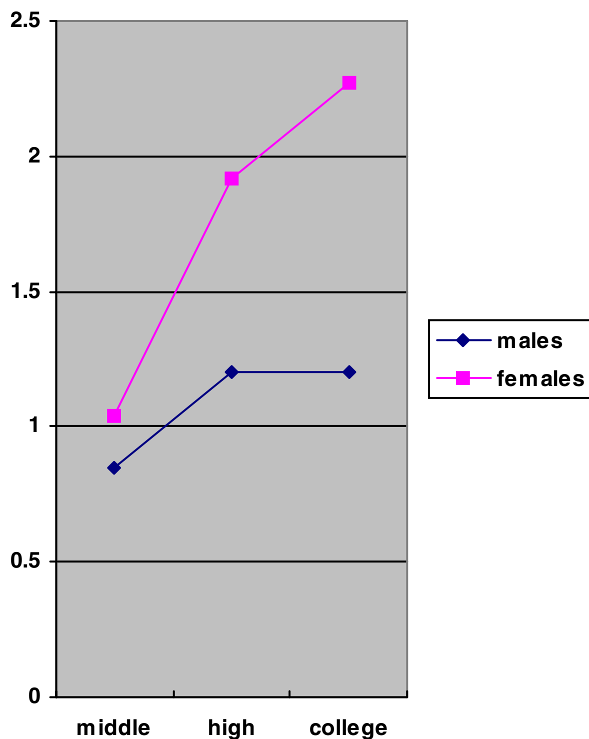

Figure 1. Inflicting Psychological Aggression*

The investigators analyzed the data to examine correlations between the mean index score for psychological aggression and depression and ethnic identity. As discussed above, ethnic identity was measured using a 15-item assessment instrument. The ethnic identity assessment measures the importance of African American ethnic pride by presenting respondents with questions like "I am happy that I am a member of the ethnic group I belong to." Respondents were presented with such questions about their ethnicity and asked how they felt about it or reacted to it. Each item was scored on a Likert-type scale from one to four as described below:

1 = Strongly Agree
2 = Somewhat Agree
3 = Somewhat Disagree
4 = Strongly Disagree

The investigators obtained a mean index score for ethnic identity by summing the scores on the individual items and then dividing the sum by the number of items. Table 7 presents the mean index scores and standard deviation for ethnic identity. Mean index scores were highest among college age females (3.50) followed by college age males (3.42). Middle school age females (3.39) and middle school age males (3.30) had the next highest mean index ethnic identity scores followed by the high school age subjects whose scores were lowest of all.

Depression was measured by using a 6-item assessment instrument called the modified depression scale. It is designed to measure the frequency of depressive symptoms. Respondents were asked to indicate how they had been feeling during the past month. Each item was scored on a Likert-type scale from one to four as described below:

0 = Never
1 = Seldom
2 = Sometimes
3 = Often
4 = Always

The investigators obtained a mean index score for depression by summing the scores on the individual items and then dividing the sum by the number of items. Table 7 presents the mean index scores and standard deviation for depression. The mean index score for depression was highest among high school age females (2.52) followed by college age females (2.44). Middle school age females (2.06) and high school age males (2.07) had the lowest mean index scores for depression.

Table 7.
Mean Index Scores and Standard Deviation for Ethnic Identity and Depression***

	Mean	Standard deviation
Ethnic identity		
Middle school males	3.30	.40
High school males	3.19	.37
College males	3.42	.30
Middle school females	3.39	.39
High school females	3.19	.37
College females	3.50	.24
Depression		
Middle school males	2.33	.90
High school males	2.07	.60
College males	2.36	.74
Middle school females	2.06	.72
High school females	2.52	.75
College females	2.44	.77

*Ethnic identity scores measured on a scale of 1 to 4.
**Depression scores measured on a scale of 0 to 4.

Lastly, the investigators examined the simple correlation of depression (the hypothesized risk factor) and ethnic identity (the hypothesized protective factor) to psychological aggression. As stated above, the investigators hypothesized that depression would have a positive correlation to psychological aggression and that ethnic identity would have a negative correlation to psychological aggression. We utilized Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficient using an alpha level of .05 for the analysis. Table 8 presents the results for this analysis.

The hypothesized relationship was found for the measures reaching the level of statistical significance with the exception of ethnic identity and psychological aggression for the middle school age females. Depression had a statistically significant positive correlation with inflicting psychological aggression for both college age males ($r = .29, p < .05$) and females ($r = .30, p < .01$). Depression had a statistically significant positive correlation with inflicting psychological aggression for high school age males ($r = .38, p < .05$). As for sustaining dating violence, depression had a statistically significant positive correlation with sustaining psychological aggression for college age females ($r = .21, p < .05$).

Depression had a statistically significant positive correlation with sustaining psychological aggression for high school age females $r = .27, p < .05$). There was also a statistically significant positive correlation between depression and sustaining psychological aggression for both middle school age males ($r = .83, p < .01$) and females ($r = .66, p < .01$).

There was a statistically significant negative correlation between ethnic identity and inflicting psychological aggression for both high school ($r = -.37, p < .05$) and middle school age males ($r = -.70, p < .05$). There was a statistically significant negative correlation between ethnic identity and sustaining psychological aggression for both high school age males ($r = -.40, p < .05$) and high school age females ($r = -.29, p < .05$). The investigators found an unexplained statistically positive correlation between ethnic identity and both inflicting ($r = .57, p < .05$) and sustaining ($r = .56, p < .05$) psychological aggression for middle school females.

In other words, the mean index scores for dating violence in the form of psychological aggression were correlated with the risk and protective factors in the direction predicted except for the middle school age females.

Table 8.
Ethnic Identity and Depression Correlates of Teen Psychological Aggression

	Aggressor		Victim	
	Depression	Identity	Depression	Identity
Middle school males	.31	-.70*	.83**	-.14*
Middle school females	.49	.57*	.66*	.56*
High school males	.38*	-.37*	.33	-.40*
High school females	.24	-.18*	.27*	-.29*
College males	.29*	.08	.22	-.04
College females	.30**	.03	.21*	.04

*p=.05, **p=.01.

Discussion

The investigators chose to begin this series of analyses with examination of psychological aggression because less is known about this form of dating violence than others, and because psychological aggression is strongly correlated with physical and sexual assault (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000) and may be a precursor to other forms of dating violence (O'Leary, 1999). The research described in this study examines: (1) The incidence and prevalence of psychological aggression among inner city African American middle school, high school, and college age youth in dating relationships; (2) The differences in psychological aggression among these age groups; (3) The differences between male and female victims/aggressors in these age groups; and (4) The relationship of psychological aggression to depression and ethnic identity. The investigators hypothesized a positive correlation for depression and a negative correlation for ethnic identity with respect to psychological aggression.

The investigators found patterns, by age and by gender, related to the type of psychological aggression inflicted and sustained. College and high school females, in our sample, reported higher prevalence and incidence rates of sustaining psychological aggression than their male counterparts. College and high school females also reported higher prevalence and incidence rates of inflicting psychological aggression than their male counterparts. Middle school females reported higher prevalence and incidence rates of inflicting psychological aggression than their male counterparts, while middle school males reported higher prevalence and incidence rates of sustaining psychological aggression. There was a steady increase in prevalence and incidence rates at all three age-grade levels, as expected, with middle school students reporting lower rates than high school students, and high school students reporting lower rates than college students. Analysis of the mean index scores allowed analysis of how often one inflicted or sustained violence, and we found gender differences wherein the college age female appears to both inflict and sustain psychological aggression more frequently than her male counterpart.

The hypothesized relationship of depression and ethnic identity to psychological aggression was found for those variables reaching the level of statistical significance with the exception of ethnic identity and psychological aggression for the middle school age females.

The sample appears to have higher prevalence and incidence rates of psychological aggression in line with others that have used similar inner city African American youth (West & Rose 2000; Jezl, Molidor, & Wright, (1996).

This has been a preliminary analysis, and the plan is to continue with more analyses of the physical assault, physical injury, sexual assault, and negotiation data mentioned above, and those results will be reported as the analyses are completed. The investigators want to conduct future studies designed to examine the broader aspects of ethnic identity, perhaps through longitudinal designs and qualitative methods. For example, ethnic identity may operate differently in relationship to dating violence for the middle school female, and this difference might help explain the positive correlation between ethnic identity and violence for these girls. Qualitative data would be useful in attempts to better understand this phenomenon. While the higher rate of both prevalence and incidence of psychological aggression at the high school and college age for females as compared to their male counterparts is of concern, it appears that this trend has its origin at the middle school level where the results partly contradict the study hypotheses. Prevention efforts at the middle school age that are better informed about the role of ethnic identity formation might help to ameliorate the later increase in psychological aggression observed in the females. Along these lines, research comparing middle school children from Afrocentric-oriented schools to those in traditional pub-

lic schools might allow testing of the effects of ethnic identity on dating violence. Lastly, it appears that prevention efforts need to start prior to middle school age, perhaps with attitudes and beliefs about the opposite sex and about relationships for elementary age children, especially given the observed prevalence rates for psychological aggression among our middle school sample.

The present study is limited in that the population studied came from one inner city setting and was a convenience sample. Further study might randomly sample more varied inner city settings. In addition, there are well known problems with self-reports, and adolescents might be more likely to confound reporting with grandiosity, adolescent rebellion, and identity issues (Jezl et al., 1996). Finding higher rates of sustaining psychological aggression for middle school males and higher rates of inflicting psychological aggression for middle school females is also problematic. Are these boys over-reporting to somehow compensate for their abusiveness? Could a boy's sarcastically over-reporting victimization be considered socially desirable? With such thoughts in mind, the findings must be interpreted cautiously, especially as the research reported in this study is exploratory and the analysis only preliminary. More research on psychological aggression among younger, middle school age African Americans is needed. Also, school officials and parents should pay more attention to this phenomenon, applying appropriate sanctions where possible, since it appears that such aggression becomes pervasive with age, and that females eventually bear the brunt of the victimization.

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Aftercare When There is No Aftercare
Policy Solution and Evaluation Plan Proposal

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Abstract

Juvenile justice systems that release offenders without court-ordered supervision are not addressing the needs of parents as guardians over young law breakers. Help for parents needs to come from the professional community, the neighborhood, the school system, and the juvenile justice system. Hence, this article proposes that a group of volunteers from these entities be assembled into a pilot program with the goal of reducing juvenile recidivism, relapse, and reincarceration. This program aims to guide juvenile offenders into successful reintegration into the community and prevent reincarceration/relapse of youths released from juvenile corrections facilities with no court-ordered supervision. A developmental evaluation will be conducted from the behavioral objectives approach to gauge the impact and effectiveness of a 12-month pilot program.

Someone once said, "Children don't come with an instruction manual." For the most part, they were right. There is no book or manual that can tell someone how to best raise their child under all circumstances. Considering that, how then does the juvenile justice system expect a parent to keep their child from recidivating after being released from a juvenile corrections institution? If some juvenile offenders are released under the supervision of a probation or parole "aftercare" officer subject to certain conditions and restrictions, what or who is to keep the juveniles who are released with no court-ordered supervision into the custody of their parents/guardians from relapsing and being reincarcerated?

Parents need all of the help they can get when it comes to raising their children, especially system-involved juveniles. Nearly 6% of school-age youth in the United States are processed through juvenile justice systems each year (Stephens & Arnette, 2000). Technical violations (e.g., drug abuse, drinking, truancy, curfew violations, and fighting) are some of the greatest contributors to reincarceration of juvenile offenders. Jarjoura (2000) insists that "staying out of trouble" in the first few months after release increases the possibility of youths maintaining work in a legitimate labor market, reaching their educational goals, and developing independent lifestyles.

As the concern grows regarding soaring rates of recidivism, overcrowded juvenile corrections institutions, and rising costs of youth incarceration, there has been an effort to find alternatives to confinement through the use of community collaboration. Altschuler, Armstrong, and MacKenzie (1999) explain that there is a growing interest among jurisdictions to learn more about what works in promoting law-abiding behavior in the community. This interest stems from the fact that prolonged incarceration of juvenile offenders does not work. The authors cite the following reasons as to why more practitioners do not wholly rely on prolonged incarceration. Juvenile corrections institutions are exceedingly expensive, dangerously overcrowded, and use of juvenile incarceration has not demonstrated a measurable reduction in juvenile arrests following the release of offenders.

The policy issue is simple: An intervention is needed to promote successful community reintegration and reduce repeat offending by youths released from juvenile corrections facilities. The intervention should be based on the specific needs of the juvenile offender (e.g., strengthening the family, increasing family supervision and communication, reducing recidivism, and increasing problem-solving skills). Additionally, a full collaborative effort on the part of juvenile courts, correctional facilities, aftercare agencies and service providers, community service agencies, and family members should be implemented as a part of the intervention.

The primary focus of the proposed pilot project is on youth whose actions have led to their detention or incarceration. The project needs a dedicated group of juvenile justice professionals (e.g., social workers, probation officers, criminologists, educators, judges, political leaders, and practitioners) who are willing to volunteer their time in the name of saving youths from a life of crime. Many juveniles are referred to juvenile courts by this same group of people for behavior condi-

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tions that require intervention by the public social control system. Counseling, mental evaluations, treatment (mental and substance abuse), employment training, educational and recreational programs, assistance with health care, transportation (public and private), birth control and sex counseling, and mentoring are the main sources of "aftercare" that will be offered to the youths released from various Texas juvenile corrections institutions. This group of volunteers will center on keeping the juvenile's mind focused on the goal of successful reintegration into the community, re-enrollment in school, graduation from high school, post-school employment, and other adolescent bonds to society.

This pilot project will be based in Houston, Texas and on the campus of Prairie View A&M University (about 50 miles west of Houston). A proposed Volunteer Aftercare Program (VAP) should contribute to the development of similar programs throughout the state of Texas and eventually the nation. The primary stakeholders, or Board of Directors (Principal Researcher, Faculty Advisor, Department Head, and Dean of the College), in this pilot project will assess similar programs currently in operation or under development. They will also conduct a relevant review of the research, including theoretical literature on the implementation and operation of a program for juveniles released into the custody of their parents with no court-ordered supervision.

A training guide for the pilot program will be developed to direct state and national juvenile correctional agencies. The pilot program is slated to start in September 2006 and end in September 2007. This time period coincides with the beginning and ending of a full school term to accommodate graduate students, faculty members, and administrators working on the project. The 12-month pilot program will be assessed for impact and process evaluation. After assessment, the program may be implemented and tested in several other jurisdictions.

Literature Review

When considering crime and justice, Congress recognizes that it cannot anticipate the many circumstances surrounding all crime or enact laws that include all conduct that is criminal and all that is not (LaFave, 1964). Moreover, juvenile justice systems that release delinquents without court-ordered supervision are not addressing the needs of guardians. Parents are expected to make sure that their recently-released child reaches, remains, excels, and returns home from school, develops healthy friendships, remains drug free, acquires juvenile social bonds (part-time employment, school programs, and church groups) and receives medical and drug treatment (if needed).

Moreover, juveniles raised in single-parent households where the mother is the head of the home are reportedly more likely to commit delinquent acts and to engage in drug and alcohol use than youths from households with two parents (McLanahan & Booth, 1989, 1994). Quoting Barr (1992), about 70% of juveniles in state reform institutions derive from fatherless homes. Hence, the proposed pilot program must focus on improving family equality.

Need For Mentoring and Additional Services For Discharged Youth

According to Altschuler and Armstrong (1994), property offenders, not violent offenders, are more likely to recidivate; thus, there is a need for modes of survival for released youth (e.g., employment opportunities, bonds to society, and community organization). The authors also mention several other resources that recently released juvenile offenders need, including collaborative monitoring, intensified programming (educational, mental, and substance abuse), individualized assessments, and an individualized checklist of risk factors to gauge the youth's chances of reoffending. According to research, the risk factors that contribute to juvenile relapse and reincarceration include the age of the youth, the number of prior offenses, family pressures, peer pressures, low school performance (learning disabled, emotionally disturbed, and mentally retarded), substance abuse, and low self-esteem. All of these risk factors must be addressed in the implementation and evaluation of the pilot program.

What Works and What Does Not Work in "Aftercare" Services for Juvenile Offenders

Relying strongly on surveillance and monitoring of juvenile offenders while skimping on treatment and service-related options provides neither a reduction in recidivism nor an improvement in behavioral skills (Altschuler, et al., 1999). The authors believe that successful reintegration is correlated with active, direct intervention in the home community of the juvenile offender. Jurisdictions must develop programs that focus on allocating sufficient staff, funds, and resources (e.g., contracting public and private partnerships, cost sharing, and in-kind contributions). In an earlier article, Altschuler and Armstrong (1994) explained that individualized planning related to aftercare services should begin as soon as the youth has been incarcerated. This planning will allow professionals to address the juvenile's needs while in the facility and coordinate them with resources needed outside of the facility. Thus, the juvenile corrections facility, aftercare service providers, and community resource agencies must be accessible to each other. Family and friends must be involved on a continuous basis in activities, events, and programs to offset the risk of recidivation by juvenile offenders.

Many jurisdictions that handle juvenile offenders are fragmented and disconnected in their handling of youth (Altschuler, et al., 1999). The authors believe that discretion is mishandled by many decision makers regarding court dispositions, institutional aftercare, and

aftercare supervision and discharge. Additionally, some juvenile corrections institutions do not properly prepare youth for reintegration into the community. Many of the lessons enforced while inside the facility are not reinforced outside of the corrections institution. Altschuler and Armstrong (1994) offer several solutions to the fragmented work of many juvenile justice institutions regarding the release of juvenile offenders, including gaining more opportunities for youth to have greater community interaction and involvement, more collaboration among professionals involved with the juvenile offender, more specialized monitoring and testing, more reward and punishment options, vocational training, more living arrangement options upon release, social skills training, and more feedback from the juvenile offender.

Similar Programs That Offer Aftercare Services To Discharged Youth

In their study funded by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Altschuler, et al. (1999) examined several juvenile aftercare initiatives and briefly described the findings and implications from each of their evaluations. One program, the Philadelphia Intensive Probation Aftercare Program, had all of the makings of a great aftercare plan except for one missing variable - no defined goals for reducing criminality (supervising officers focused on contact instead of treatment and services). Thus, there was high aftercare team turnover and program confusion. After a total revamp of the initiative, the program's evaluators (Sontheimer & Goodstein, 1993) found the program to be effective, as the intensive aftercare group in comparison to the control group exhibited a lower number of rearrests.

Greenwood, Deschenes, and Adams (1993) evaluated the Skillman Intensive Aftercare Project in Pittsburgh and found that there was no difference in arrest or drug use between the experimental and control groups, even though they used several advised components (e.g., pre-release contacts, supervisory contacts in the community, assistance with stabilizing the family, community resources, and good role-modeling). The authors believe the program results were due to a lack of offender specialization and lack of time and dedication to the program by aftercare workers. Additionally, many of the families in the program viewed delinquency as the youth's "personal problem" and were not interested in changing their own behavior. However, Kvaraceus (1969) explained that, "An informed and disinterested citizenry is a prerequisite to effective social planning." For an aftercare program to be successful, Greenwood et al. recommend a greater emphasis on treating substance abuse, improving family functioning, and targeting younger juvenile offenders.

The U.S. Department of Justice's Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention in a joint initiative with the U.S. Department of Education's Safe and Drug-Free Schools Program created the Youth Out of the Education Mainstream (YOEM) program. YOEM focuses on at-risk youth who skip, drop out, or are fearful of attending school, have been suspended or expelled from school, and need help reintegrating into mainstream schools from juvenile detention and correctional settings (Stephens & Arnette, 2000). Lastly, Jarjoura (2000) developed the Aftercare by IUPUI through Mentoring (AIM) Program in 1996, evaluated its progress from 1997 to 1999, and found that youths who participated in the AIM Program with a mentor were significantly less likely to be reincarcerated (64%), in comparison to the control group which did not participate in the AIM Program.

Methodology of Intervention

The proposed program is a theory-driven, pilot intervention based on several different aftercare programs. It is not, however, an actual aftercare program, as the supervision, services, and mentoring are all voluntary on the part of professionals and juvenile offenders. The youths in this pilot program will have been released into the custody of their parents with no court-ordered supervision. In other words, they have "served the time for the crime" and are free to come and go as they please (under the auspices of their parent or guardian). The pilot program has an identifiable philosophy (full professional and community collaboration in the successful reintegration of juvenile offenders) and the proposed Volunteer Aftercare Program (VAP) intervention will be implemented in line with this philosophy. The theories that define the program's general goals and elements include social control (needed bonding), strain (needed modes of survival via community resources), and social learning (need of good peer/adult influence).

This intervention will require a great deal of collaboration on the part of all professionals and agencies involved. School officials will have to be willing to work and share information with juvenile justice professionals, government employees, and parents. The group of professionals will have to be willing to swiftly address family concerns and consistently monitor the youth's progress in the program. A minimum level of training and orientation for all involved, including the juvenile offenders, will be required to help guide the intervention. Juvenile courts and institutions, educational facilities, child mental health and social service agencies, employment and vocational trainers, and substance abuse treatment agencies must work together for the pilot program to succeed. The Board of Directors (Board) will oversee the planning, managing, implementation, and assessment of the pilot program.

The Board will choose a group of six professionals (Group) from the community for the pilot project. The group will include one judge, one police officer, one juvenile probation officer, one educational liaison, one Texas legislator, and one community liaison (e.g., social

worker). This Group will oversee 12 juvenile offenders released to the community with no court-ordered supervision. The low number of professionals and youths involved in the program should provide better one-on-one interaction between the two groups. For the purposes of a developmental evaluation to be conducted throughout the pilot project, there will also be a second group (control group) of 12 juvenile offenders released from similar correctional institutions who will not be invited to join the program. Letters inviting the professionals to participate in the pilot program will be mailed to dozens of agencies across Houston. The professionals who show an interest in being a part of the program will be interviewed and assessed. An application process will help the Board screen the volunteers and adequately match the group of professionals with the youths before they leave the juvenile corrections facility. A determination will be made as to whom the Board will accept once all of the references are contacted and the application process and interviews are complete. Group members will be required to make a year-long commitment to the pilot program as well as collaborate and share information in an effort to design specialized plans for the youth and their families.

Once the Group is chosen, the Board will inform it of its duties and responsibilities in helping the youths with a successful reintegration back into the community. One of the Group's main goals is helping parents keep their child from reentering the juvenile justice system. The Group will also be responsible for making referrals to community resources for the youth (e.g., Big Brothers/Big Sisters and WorkSource). The Group will work approximately 20 hours per month and make approximately 10 contacts per month in person and over telephone with the youths. It will also keep detailed information about the level and type of contact it has with the youth.

Certain members of the Group will be asked to assess juvenile offenders before they are discharged from secure confinement. This assessment will give parents and youths a chance to plan for reintegration back into school and the community. The pre-release plan completed by the juvenile corrections facility will be combined with the assessment completed by the Group and altered as needed.

Other members of the Group will be asked to monitor the juvenile offenders in their natural settings (e.g., the police officer will conduct drive-bys of school and group outings involving the youth). This monitoring effort will allow the Group to recognize when juvenile offenders are straying off or staying on course, as well as halt any circumstances that may prompt the youth to misbehave. The surveillance provided by the volunteers will not include urine tests or electronic monitoring, as the youths in this pilot program are not under any court-ordered supervision. All of the collaborative efforts, community referrals, individualized assessment plans, and mentoring/monitoring should make for a healthy community and school reintegration plan, with very limited relapse/reincarceration.

The target population and the control group of juvenile offenders for the pilot program will be chosen for the project according to background and seriousness of offense, as well as greatest risk of repeat offense. According to Altschuler and Armstrong (1994), targeting low-risk juveniles for aftercare services leads to subsequent reincarceration. Determining which juveniles are at the highest risk of recidivating will be a collaborative effort between the juvenile corrections facility and the Group.

A total of 24 youth will be accessed through several different juvenile corrections facilities across Texas. The youths will have to be released into homes in Houston and the surrounding area, as the Group and the pilot program will be based in Houston and on the campus of Prairie View A&M. Some special-needs youth, including juveniles who have severe mental health problems, and sex offenders, will not be invited into the program.

Juveniles in single-parent homes will be given precedence, as research reports many juvenile offenders who recidivate are reared in single-parent households. The age of the youth will also help determine if they are chosen for the program, as youths aged 16 to 18 are reportedly arrested at a higher rate. To remain in the program, juvenile offenders must follow the prerelease plan and individualized assessment (a specific list of goals set forth for the juvenile offender) completed by the Group. Any rebellion and/or deviation from the specialized plan will result in the commencement of the graduated consequences. The first deviation from the individualized plan will result in a warning. The second deviation from the plan will result in the loss of one or more incentives. The third deviation may result in expulsion from the pilot program or placement in a short-term residential facility after a review of the case by the Group and the Board.

Alternately, youths that achieve the goals set forth by the Group will be rewarded. All youth who remain crime-free, stay in school, make good grades, and become involved in community programs for the duration of the year-long pilot program will receive a $500 scholarship to attend any school of higher education (including vocational school).

The Group will serve as mentors to youths and advisors to parents. Youths will be matched with a professional based on both of their backgrounds. However, the juvenile offender will be able to call upon any of the professionals for advice, counseling, and guidance in any area. Any subject the professional is not qualified to address will be referred to another professional within the community, as this pilot project is seeking successful community reintegration and there must be a community-wide effort in the solution to the problem of relapse and reincarceration.

Juvenile offenders and their parents will be offered incentives to remain in the program for its entire 12 month period. All of the arrangements for the incentives will be conducted by the Board. The incentives include

a bi-weekly $25 gift certificate to a local grocery store, field trips for the family (e.g., Johnson Space Center, Six Flags over Texas, SeaWorld of San Antonio), and a monthly city bus pass and/or a $50 gas gift certificate. The Group will be able to use the time spent working with the youth and their families as part of the community service requirements of their respective jobs. Other incentives offered to the Group include an end-of-the-year banquet with awards of recognition for service.

The Board will hire an evaluator to collect data about everyone involved with the pilot program. Surveys will address the services offered to the juvenile offenders and the help they provided for the 12 youths and their families. Juvenile offenders will complete a pre-and-post self-report survey to address issues of substance abuse, progress in school, and attachment to social bonds. For the purposes of this project, social bonding, according to control theorist Hirschi (1969), includes belief (socialization), involvement (time), commitment (stake in society), and attachment (role models). All youth that are reincarcerated will be expelled from the program and factored into the statistics of the data (may be a limitation/threat to internal validity).

There will be three mandatory training meetings for the Group and the parents of the juvenile offenders. The Board will hire outside consultants to come in and train the Group about how to best implement plans for youths' readjustment into the community. The Group will also be trained in how best to interact with the youths, their parents, and each other as one collaborative unit. The parents of the juvenile offenders will be trained in a similar fashion, as some will need to gain the urgency and importance of requiring their children to follow the prerelease plans and individualized assessment plans set forth by the Group.

How is the VAP intervention different from similar aftercare programs? The Volunteer "Aftercare" Program will serve juvenile offenders who have served time in a juvenile detention or corrections facility and have been discharged with no court-ordered supervision. Many programs serve as helpmates to aftercare agencies, but this program will serve youths who have only parent or guardians as their means of supervision and support.

Objectives of the Volunteer "Aftercare" Program

The Board and the Group will primarily seek to maintain public safety, guide juvenile offenders into successful reintegration into the community, provide collaborative treatment and support services to juvenile offenders after being released back into the community, and work to prevent reincarceration/relapse of youths released with no court-ordered supervision. They will also order an evaluation of the pilot program, secure methods of data collection (via observations, interviews, and searches of official and unofficial records), and distribute a report to stakeholders (primary, secondary, and tertiary) and all other interested parties. The results of the evaluation will be used to garner additional funds for continued success of the VAP intervention and similar programs around the state of Texas and eventually the nation.

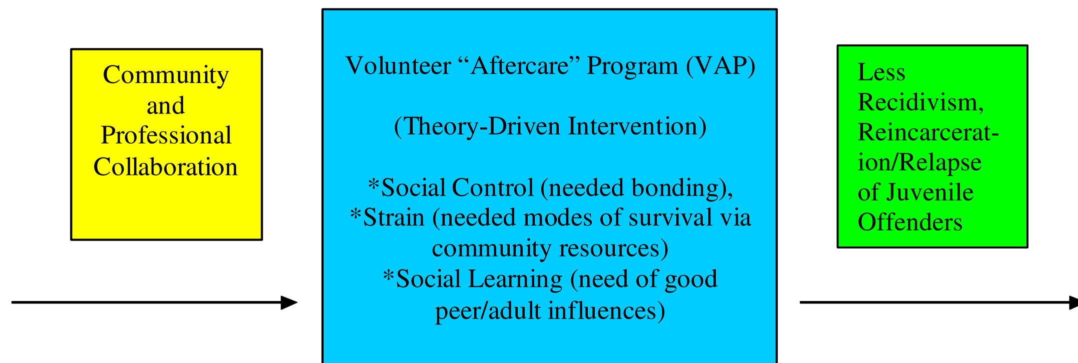
Evaluation Plan

The VAP intervention is slated to begin in September 2006 and end in September 2007. The Board, along with the Group, must keep a tight reign over the pilot program and its implementation, to maintain quality control and to determine the overall effectiveness of the program. In executing the process evaluation, the hired evaluator must establish an ongoing management information system to ensure the validity of the data. The quality and extent of implementation must be assessed through selective interviews of the Board, the Group, juvenile offenders, and parents or guardians. There will be a daily collection of data (e.g., interviews, official records, tracking forms, observations, and surveys) to assess the operation and performance of the pilot program.

Evaluation Design

The evaluator will conduct a developmental evaluation for the VAP intervention from the behavioral objectives approach to help the Board judge the effectiveness of the pilot project. Goals for the VAP intervention have been determined by the Board, as well as the standards for reaching those goals. The evaluator will measure the performance of the Group and the juvenile offenders by using surveys, conducting observations and interviews, and using official records. The information gained from the evaluation will be distributed by the Board in many forms (e.g., executive summary, memos, press releases, e-mail, and conference workshops). Figure 1 is a diagram of the research question.

Figure 1. Evaluation Design



The evaluator must be culturally aware of his or her surroundings, as juvenile offenders will derive from varied backgrounds. The evaluator must also be charismatic, professional, and have high standards of achievement. The evaluator will perform a needs assessment as well as an expectations assessment for the Board, the Group and the juvenile offenders. The developmental evaluation will have a pretest-post test control group design, as the evaluator will gather data on the two groups before and after the VAP intervention. The control group of 12 offenders will derive from the same correctional institutions throughout Texas, but will not be assigned to the Group. The control group will receive no intervention services, as the VAP intervention will only be tested on the experimental group.

Matching of the two nonrandom groups will be conducted to reduce the threats to internal validity. The quasi-experimental design will operate under purposive sampling, as the specific juvenile offenders will be chosen because of their position in the juvenile justice system (e.g., discharged with no court-ordered supervision) and background characteristics (e.g., family characteristics, prior record, age, and seriousness of offense). Qualitative data analysis will be performed by the evaluator to understand and describe the phenomenon being evaluated and focus on the categories and themes that emerge from the data collected from the observations. Quantitative data analysis will also be conducted and the following descriptive statistics will be used: Chi-Square, Correlations, Frequency Distributions, and Logistical/Multiple Regression. The evaluator is attempting to find a difference in the reintegration outcomes of the two groups.

The pilot program must follow the originating principals and provisions for the data to be valid and the model to be testable. The design of the pilot program and the elements involved must remain consistent throughout the 12-month process. Factors that will be measured for success of the pilot program include recidivism, behavioral outcomes, school success, emotional attachments (social bonds), and cognitive outcomes (effectiveness of counseling; mental and substance abuse). These variables will be assessed and measured for the full duration of the pilot program (it will be a full year after the youths' release from the juvenile corrections institution when the program ends).

The evaluator will collect the evaluation data from a behavioral objectives approach to determine the purpose of the evaluation, determine the questions to be answered by the evaluation, and determine how to collect the data. In addition to general data collection, it is important to assess and document the resources referred by the Group and the monitoring, mentoring, and counseling patterns of the Group. The evaluator will also assess how many juvenile offenders remain in the program, how many turnovers occur within the Group, and the overall performance of the youths in the program.

The evaluator, along with the Board, will decide what questions to use on the surveys. There will be multiple choice questions on the surveys (similar to the Likert Scale) and open-ended questions to help judge the perception of the VAP intervention. The evaluator's goal is to obtain a very high response rate from everyone surveyed, thus the program will continue the use of incentives throughout the program (e.g., city bus pass/gas card, grocery gift certificates, field trips, and scholarships). Observations will be conducted in several places throughout the evaluation (e.g., school classroom, family outings, workshops and training sessions, and field trips).

In managing the developmental evaluation, the evaluator will monitor evaluation tasks set forth by the Board, monitor the Group as it performs its job, remain committed to staying on schedule, monitor the costs of the evaluation, and keep the stakeholders (Board) informed of the progress of the evaluation and any potential problems.

The evaluator must identify potential problems for the evaluation project before beginning the evaluation and develop solutions for the anticipated problems. Timely reports and feedback about the pilot program will make for easy adjustments and changes before the

program is steered off course. The evaluator must keep the Board informed about the progress of the evaluation. Evaluation results will be reported in a comprehensive report that is easy to read and use.

In creating a supportive evaluation environment, the Board will stress the benefits of the program to all volunteers and participants, link the evaluation to the goals and mission of the VAP intervention, keep all stakeholders (primary, secondary, and tertiary) involved in the evaluation process, discuss and share evaluation successes, emphasize the use of the findings and results, and use the evaluation to build individual, team, and organizational learning capacities. The Board will support the evaluator in all ethical endeavors and provide adequate financial resources. The Board will also perform a meta-evaluation to critique the evaluator's progress in conducting the developmental evaluation.

Table 1.
Timeline

Date	Event
September 2006	Prerelease planning, mentor matching, and individualized assessments of juvenile offenders by Group.
October 2006	Orientation of parents and youth into program; first self-report surveys completed by youths and parents.
November 2006	Community resources and referrals begin.
December 2006	First mandatory training session/workshop for Group, parents and youths; update on needs assessment (of youth).
January 2007	First analyses of collected data (on experimental group and control group) on program implementation conducted by evaluator.
February 2007	First scheduled field trip: Johnson Space Center.
March 2007	Second mandatory training session/workshop for Group, parents and youths; update on improvements of youth (e.g., school, family relations, peers).
April 2007	Update given to Board by Group on monitoring/surveillance of youth; changes or improvements implemented (if needed).
May 2007	Second scheduled field trip: Six Flags over Texas.
June 2007	Third mandatory training session/workshop for Group, parents and youths; comparison of program assumptions and outcomes thus far (e.g., recidivism, school improvements, social bonding, etc.).
July 2007	Third scheduled field trip: SeaWorld of San Antonio.
August 2007	Awards banquet for Group and youths; recognition of accomplishments of youths and parents; quick face evaluation of program effectiveness.
September 2007	Second self-report survey completed by youth and parents; analyses of ALL data (e.g., interviews, surveys, observations, tracking forms, official data) collected by evaluator for both groups of juvenile offenders (experimental and control).
December 2007	Report of evaluation results distributed to program stakeholders, parents, youth, and general public.

Funding Source for Intervention

As an amendment to the Juvenile Justice Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) created the Juvenile Mentoring Program (JUMP) in 1992. JUMP awards grants to local governments or nonprofit organizations that pilot programs with local education agencies that facilitate mentoring between adults and juvenile offenders. OJJDP sponsors about 170 JUMP agencies in the United States. The mentoring programs share three common goals: improving academic performance, reducing school dropout rates, and preventing delinquent behavior. Youth involved in mentoring programs are less likely to use drugs, be physically aggressive, and less likely to be truant in comparison to

juvenile offenders who are not involved in mentoring programs (OJJDP JUMP Report, 1998). This is a potentially good source of funding for the VAP intervention.

Conclusion and Summary

Transition of youths out of a very structured environment with specialized care and intensive supervision into a less structured environment (e.g., school, neighborhood, and family household) can present potential problems for everyone involved in the transitional process. However, there are strategies to help design an effective program for successful transition of juvenile offenders from correctional systems back to school and community environments. These strategies include recruiting specialized service providers (e.g., counselors and consultants) and agency staff (e.g., social workers and probation officers) based in the community; providing joint staff training (e.g., community and professional), establishing interagency case management (e.g., full collaboration of all involved), and applying techniques to juvenile offenders that worked for them when they were confined after they are discharged (Altschuler, et al., 1999).

The VAP intervention in this proposal is very similar to the Altschuler and Armstrong (1994) model. Assessing the juvenile offender before he or she is released from the juvenile corrections institution; training volunteers in the community to work with juvenile offenders and their families; requiring full collaboration among the group of six professionals, community members, family members, and agency staff; and finally, applying modes of surveillance and monitoring to juveniles in a similar manner to what they received while they were in secure confinement. These are all very important components of the VAP pilot project.

Future Efforts

The VAP Board of Directors would like to establish programs similar to the one that will be based in Houston and on the campus of Prairie View A&M University. One program would utilize several graduate students as mentors to the juvenile offenders. The graduate students would be required to take a training course at the university and would receive credit for the course toward their respective degree(s). We hope to bring the VAP intervention and the proposed graduate-student-run program to other members of the Texas A&M University system and eventually the nation.

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Youths' Family Bonding, Violence Risk, and School Performance: An Empirical Investigation

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Abstract

This paper empirically examines, in the context of regression methodology, the link between family bonding, violence risk, and the school performance for 12 or older and under 12 youth groups. Data from the pretest results of the youths from the Lincoln University Family Center Program 2004-2005 were used for this analysis. Investigators found some encouraging results. The investigations have identified a number of significant predictors with their effect sizes. Some predictors were classified as risk and some others as protective factors. The results of this study are preliminary and suggestive and point to future research direction. However, these results may provide important tools for developing prevention strategies.

One of the most challenging issues in recent decades is youth violence, which has been the subject of extensive research. The U.S. Surgeon General (2001) documented numerous studies and findings concerning youth violence. Chapter 4 of the report, which is used as a major source of reference in this paper, provides a summary review and discussion of literature on the risk factors and protective factors from the perspectives of both childhood and adolescence. In this report, the risk and protective factors are defined as follows:

> "A risk factor is anything that increases the probability that a person will suffer harm. A protective factor is something that decreases the potential harmful effect of risk factor. Risk factors increase the probability that a young person will become violent, while protective factors buffer the young person against these risks."

The literature on youth violence has documented two groups of research. The first group includes a large body of studies and investigations which have identified various risk predictors and measure their predictive values. These studies have linked youth violence to a number of risk factors, such as individual, family, peer group, school, and community. The second group, which is a new area of violence research, includes studies which have sought to identify and measure the effects of protective factors on youth violence.

The results of these studies have provided a basis for intervention and prevention programs. There is an area in youth violence literature which might blur the distinction between risk and protective factors. To explain this, consider the cause/effect relationship between school performance and violent behavior. If poor school performance is a risk factor, then would this increase the probability of the violence risk or lead to violent behavior? If good school performance is a protective factor, then would this decrease the probability of the violence risk or lead to a nonviolent behavior? It is important to clarify this by conducting more research and finding more evidence before developing or designing an effective prevention program.

The purpose of this article is to examine empirically, in the context of regression methodology, the impact of family bonding on violence risk and school performance. Section II provides a brief review of the family factor. Section III describes the methodology. Section IV provides the estimation results. The final section offers concluding remarks and limitations of the study.

Review of Literature on Family Factors

This section reviews the results of the studies related to family characteristics or attributes. There is no doubt that family characteristics can influence the behavior of youth. Such attributes can be classified as risk factors which may lead to violent behavior, or protective factors which may have a buffering effect on violence. This review heavily draws on chapter 4 of the U.S. Surgeon General Report (2001).

Studies have addressed the problem of violence from the perspective of youth development stage. Some factors may constitute risks during one stage of the

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youth's development but not another. The risk factors that predict violence in one stage of development may not necessarily have the same predictability in another stage of development. Therefore, literature has documented findings and evidence on the causal relationship between violence and the risk factors for different stages of development. In other words, whether the risk factors exert strong, moderate, or small effect on violence depend on the youth's development stage.

Family risk factors are classified as early risk factors (age 6-11) and late risk factors (age 12-14). Family risk factors with a summary of the research findings are discussed below.

Socioeconomic status/poverty

Socioeconomic status is generally classified as parents' education, occupation, and income. This status has a moderate effect on violence. For example, poorly educated parents may not be able to help their children with school work. Poor neighborhoods give the children less access to recreational and cultural opportunities. Limited social and economic resources contribute to parental stress, child abuse and neglect, damaged parent-child relations, and family breakup, which are all risk factors with small effects in childhood. Low socioeconomic status as a late risk factor has no strong or moderate effect during adolescence.

Antisocial parents

Violent and criminal parents are an environmental rather than a genetic risk factor. Children learn violent behavior by observing their parents. Attachment to violent and criminal parents is likely to lead to violent children. Attachment to nonviolent/non-criminal parents, a possible protective factor, may have a buffering effect on the risk of violence. Antisocial parents as a risk factor have no large or moderate effect on violence during adolescence.

Poor parent-child relations

Poor parent-child relations are the early risk factors with small effect on youth violence. Harsh, lax, or inconsistent discipline is somewhat predictive of later violence. Other family conditions, such as high stress, large family size, or marital discord also exert a small effect later. For adolescents, the poor parent-child relations category includes inadequate supervision and monitoring of activities and low parental involvement, as well as inappropriate discipline. All have small effects. Parental abuse also exerts small effects.

Broken homes

A broken home is another early risk predictor with small effect. The broken home category includes divorced, separated, or never-married parents, or a child's separation from parents before age 16. The separation from parents has a small effect on violence. Broken homes also exert small effects on the violence for adolescents.

Abusive parenting and neglect

Abusive parenting in general and neglect in particular are predictors of later violence with small effects. Both have large effects on mental health problems, substance abuse, and poor school performance.

Family conflict

Family conflict is a risk factor for violence among adolescent males with small effect. No results were documented for adolescent females. Being male is one of the risk factors in childhood with moderate effects. Boys are far more likely than girls to be violent and aggressive. It should be noted that most family risk factors lose their predictability power during adolescence largely because of peer influence. Family risk factors lose predictive value relative to peer risk factors, such as weak social ties to conventional peers, antisocial or delinquent friends, and membership in a gang.

The effect of early and late family risk factors on violence for ages 15 to 18 is summarized in Table 1. The effect size is measured by a bivariate or a simple two-variable correlation coefficient (r). The table indicates that different family risk factors emerge before puberty (age 6-11) and after puberty (age 12-14) and that the same risk factors have different effect sizes in these periods.

Early family risk factors having a moderate effect size include low socioeconomic status/poverty and antisocial parents. There are no large or moderate effect sizes for late family risk factors.

Factors such as warm, supportive relationships with parents and other adults have been identified in the Report of the U.S. Surgeon General (2001) as protective family factors with no significant effect on risk for violence. Few, if any studies have been conducted to link the family factors to the youths' school performance as investigated in this article.

Table 1.
Effect sizes of early and late family risk factors for violence

Early family risk factor (Age 6-11)	Effect size: r	Late family risk factor (Age 12-14)	Effect size: r
Poor parent-child relations	0.15	Poor parent-child relations	0.19
Harsh or lax discipline	0.13	Harsh or lax discipline	0.08
		Low parental involvement	0.11
Broken home	0.09	Broken home	0.10
Separation from parents	0.09		
Abusive parents	0.07	Abusive parents	0.09
Neglect	0.07		
Other family conditions	0.12	Other family conditions	0.08
		Family conflict (Males only)	0.13
Antisocial parents	0.23	Antisocial parents	0.16
Low family socioeconomic status	0.24	Low family socioeconomic status	0.10
Being male	0.26	Being male	0.19

Note: Large effect size (r >=0.30), moderate effect size (r = 0.20 - 0.29), small effect size (r < 0.20).
The information in this table is reproduced from chapter 4 of the U.S. Surgeon General Report (2001).

Method

This section develops regression models to investigate the statistical relationship between family bonding, violence risk, and academic performance. In addition to family bonding, the parent's marital status and gender are included in the model. Violence risk and academic performance are the dependent variables. Family bonding, marital status, and gender are the independent variables (predictors) of the model. The data used in this study come from the Lincoln University Family Center Program 2004-2005. The youths were selected by the school system in Jefferson City, Missouri, to participate in the program. From a sample of 85 youths, 35 were in the under 12 age group and 50 were in the 12 or older age group. Forty one of the youths were male and 44 youths were female. Fifty one youths were African American, 17 were Caucasian, and 17 were from other ethnic groups.

The Violence Risk Regression Model

$Y_i = ß_0 + ß_1X_i + ß_2D_{1i} + ß_3D_{2i} + \mu_i$ (1)

Where:

Y_i = Violence risk score per youth

X_i = Family bonding score per youth

D_{1i} = 1 If the youth's parents are married

D_{1i} = 0 Otherwise (single)

D_{2i} = 1 If the youth is male

D_{2i} = 0 Otherwise (female)

μ_i = The error term

The parent's marital status and gender factors are two categorical or qualitative variables which can be quantified by using dummy variables D_1 and D_2.

The Academic Performance Regression Model

$Z_i = ß_0 + ß_1X_i + ß_2D_{1i} + ß_3D_{2i} + \mu_i$ (2)

Where:

Z_i = Academic performance score per youth (the youth's scores on mathematics, reading and spelling). Other variables were defined earlier.

In equation (1), the parameter ($ß_1$) measures the effect of family bonding on the risk of violence. A negative $ß_1$ indicates strong family bonding, and a positive $ß_1$ indicates weak family bonding. Strong family bonding is likely to decrease the violence risk and can be classified as a protective factor. Weak family bonding is likely to increase the risk of violence and can be classified as a risk factor. The investigators chose single-parent female to be the benchmark group; this is the group to which comparisons are made. The intercept $ß_0$ is for both female and single parent group, and ($ß_2 + ß_3$) are the differences in intercepts between married-parent male and single-parent female.

The parameters ($ß_2$) and ($ß_3$) measure the effects of gender and marital status (holding the family bonding and marital status factors constant) on the risk of violence. These parameters have the following interpretation: Since male = 1 when the youth is male and female = 0 when the youth is female, then $ß_2$ is the difference in violence risk between males and females, given other factors are constant. A negative $ß_2$ indicates that on average, the violence risk for males is lower than for females, and a positive $ß_2$ indicates the opposite. Since

married = 1 when the youth's parents are married and single = 0 when the youth's parent is single, then $ß_3$ is the difference in the violence risk between the youth's married parent and single parent, given family bonding and gender are constant.

Equation (2) is estimated separately for academic performance components of mathematics, reading, and spelling. Youths with strong family bonding (weak family bonding) are likely to perform well (poorly) in school. Strong family bonding along with the married parent factor is likely to create a learning environment for the youths at home. The youths do well (poorly) if $ß_1$ and $ß_2$ parameters are positive (negative). The effects of gender and marital status factors on school performance can be interpreted the same way as before.

In estimating the spelling component, the reading variable is also added to the regression equation (2). The inclusion of the reading variable as another predictor of spelling performance is justified because the youths who have well-developed reading habits and are being encouraged or motivated by their parents and the school to read are likely to perform well on the spelling component.

The estimation procedure, model selection, and evaluation criteria were set as follows. First, a correlation matrix was estimated to identify the degree of association or correlation between the variables of the model. This matrix provides essential knowledge about the basic relationship among the variables. Second, a series of evaluation criteria were used to select the best regression model. These are described in the Appendix. Whether these predictors are statistically significant and whether they can be classified as risk or protective factors are investigated next.

Data and Empirical Results

The data for the variables in this study were obtained for a sample of 85 youths from the Lincoln University Family Center 2004-2005 program. We were unable to take a broad sample of youths due to the inability to access youth not affiliated with our program. The data were collected from the youths' pretest results on the Violence Risk Assessment, Family Bonding, and academic performance evaluation instruments. The instruments were selected from the Family and Community Violence Prevention (FCVP) Program. Violence was measured by the Violence Risk Assessment Index (VRAI). Family bonding for youth age 12 and older was measured by the Family Environment Scale (FES). This instrument includes the following five subscales: Cohesion, Conflict, Control, Achievement, and Active-Recreational. Family bonding for youth under age 12 was measured by Family Bonding - Individual Protective Factor Index. Academic performance was measured by the Wide Range Achievement Test (WRAT-3) for Mathematics, Reading, and Spelling. The data for these variables are standard scores and are expressed in logarithmic form. All estimations were conducted using Microfit 4.0 (Pesaran & Pesaran, 1997).

Before discussing the estimation results of the model, preliminary summary data is discussed. Of the 85 youth in the study, 50 were either 12 years of age or older, while 30 of the youth were under the age of 12. Of the older group, the majority were female (58%) and in the younger group, the majority were male (57%). Marital status of parents varied across the two groups. For the older group, parents were less likely to be married (24%), while in the younger group, they were more likely to be married (37%). In the older group, 58% of the parents were separated, divorced, or never married. In the younger group, 50% of the parents were separated, divorced, or never married.

From the correlation analysis, the size of the correlation coefficient determines the degree of association, and the sign of the coefficient shows the initial indication of whether the variable is a risk factor or a protective factor. For example, for 12 or older, the VRAI and control variables have the highest positive correlation of 34%. This means that the control variable is a risk factor. The VRAI and the cohesion variables have the lowest negative correlation of about 6%, indicating that cohesion is a protective factor. The positive (negative) sign of the correlation coefficient identifies variables as a risk factor (protective factor) respectively. The same observations can be made for other variables of the model.

The regression equations (1) and (2) were estimated for 12 or older and under 12 groups. The criteria of model selection and evaluation were applied to find the best regression model. The results of the best regression model, along with adjusted R^2, Durbin Watson Statistic (DW), and T - ratio (probability) are reported in Tables 2 through 7.

Table 2.
The violence - family bonding estimation results - 12 or older (n=50) - VRAI

Dependent Variable	$ß_0$ (intercept)	$ß_1$ (conflict)	$ß_2$ (control)	$ß_3$ (active recreation)	$ß_4$ (married parent)
VRAI	0.38	0.37*	0.25**	0.29**	-0.14*
T-Ratio	0.36	3.06	1.95	1.98	-3.55
(Probability)	(0.72)	(0.004)	(0.057)	(0.054)	(0.001)

Note: Adj. R^2 = 0.27, DW = 1.83, * Significant at 1%, ** Significant at or about 5%

Table 3.
The violence - family bonding estimation results - 12 or older (n=50) - Reading

Dependent Variable	$ß_0$ (intercept)	$ß_1$ (cohesion)	$ß_2$ (control)	$ß_3$ (achievemt)	$ß_4$ (married person)	$ß_5$ (gender)
Reading	3.92*	0.24**	-0.40**	0.29**	-0.33**	0.13***
T-Ratio	0.36	(2.10)	-1.96	1.98	2.10	1.91
(Probability)	(0.000)	(0.041)	(0.057)	(0.054)	(0.042)	(0.063)

Note: Adj. R^2 = 0.13, DW = 1.81, * Significant at 1%, ** Significant at or about 5%, *** Significant at 10%.

Table 4.
The violence - family bonding estimation results - 12 or older (n=50) - Spelling

Dependent Variable	$ß_0$ (intercept)	$ß_1$ (active recreation)	$ß_2$ (married parent)
Spelling	1.05*	0.17**	0.61*
T-Ratio	2.53	2.01	8.34
(Probability)	(0.015)	(0.05)	(0.000)

Note: Adj. R^2 = 0.63, DW = 2.33, * Significant at 1%, ** Significant at or about 5%

Table 5.
The Academic Performance - family bonding estimation results - Under 12 (n=35) - VRAI

Dependent Variable	$ß_0$ (intercept)	$ß_1$ (family bonding)	$ß_2$ (married parent)	$ß_3$ (active recreation)
VRAI	3.64*	0.08	-0.07**	0.07
T-Ratio	24.02	1.34	-1.72	1.66
(Probability)	(0.000)	(0.19)	(0.096)	(0.106)

Note: Adj. R^2 = 0.10, DW = 2.08, * Significant at 1%, ** Significant at 10%.

Table 6.
The Academic Performance - family bonding estimation results - Under 12 (n=35) - Math

Dependent Variable	$ß_0$ (intercept)	$ß_1$ (family bonding)	$ß_2$ (married parent)	$ß_3$ (gender)
Math	4.35*	0.09	0.05	-0.12
T-Ratio	28.04	1.37	1.26	-2.98
(Probability)	(0.000)	(0.179)	(0.22)	(0.006)

Note: Adj. R^2 = 0.19, DW = 1.93, * Significant at 1%

Table 7.
The Academic Performance - family bonding estimation results - Under 12 (n=35) - Spelling

Dependent Variable	$ß_0$ (intercept)	$ß_1$ (family bonding)	$ß_2$ (married parent)
Spelling	2.05*	0.08**	0.50*
T-Ratio	24.02	1.34	7.26
(Probability)	(0.000)	(0.084)	(0.000)

Note: Adj. R^2 is adjusted coefficient of determination. DW is the Durbin-Watson statistic
* Significant at 1%, ** Significant at 10%.

Several observations can be made from the tables for both groups. For the 12 or older group, no satisfactory results were obtained for math performance, and all the predictors were found to be insignificant. For the under 12 group, no satisfactory results were obtained for reading performance. The family size factor was also included as an additional predictor in all regression models, but was found to be insignificant and dropped.

12 or Older Group

VRAI results

The conflict, control, and active recreation components of family bonding were all positive and statistically significant. Therefore, all can be classified as risk factors. The cohesion, achievement, and the gender (male) were not significant and were dropped from the model. The married parent marital status factor was negative and significant. This factor can be classified as a protective factor which may have a buffering effect on the VRAI. For example, lower scores on the conflict, control, and active recreation variables were predicted to lower the VRAI score by 37%, 25%, and 29% respectively. Holding other factors fixed, the difference in the VRAI between married parent and single parent was -0.14. This means that the VRAI for youths with a married parent is predicted to be lower than the VRAI for youths with a single parent by about 13%.

If the dependent variable is expressed in natural log, and one of the independent variables is a dummy variable, then the value of the dummy variable coefficient is estimated as follows: If b is the estimated coefficient for the dummy variable, then the relative change in the dependent variable with respect to the dummy variable can be obtained as (antilog of estimated b-1) * 100; that is, as (eb - 1) * 100. See Damodar (2003) for a discussion. With b = -0.14, the exact percentage is calculated as follows: (e-0.14 - 1) * 100 = 13.06%.

Academic performance results

For reading performance, the cohesion and achievement components of family bonding were positive and significant, indicating that they are risk factors. The control component was negative and significant, which is a protective factor. The conflict, active recreation, and gender were not significant.

The gender variable was included in the model because it had a little explanatory power. For example, lower scores on the cohesion and achievement were predicted to decrease the reading score by 24% and 29%, respectively, and a higher score on the control was predicted to decrease the reading score by 40%.

The reading score for the youths with married parents was predicted to be higher than the youths with a single parent by about 12%, holding other factors constant. For spelling performance, the active recreation was positive and significant, a protective factor. This increased the spelling score by 17%. The effect of reading score on spelling performance, as expected, was positive and highly significant. A high score on reading is expected to increase the spelling score by 60%.

Under 12 Group

VRAI and academic performance results

The researchers found no significant predicators for VRAI. For math performance, only the gender factor was found to have a negative and significant effect. The math score for the male-youth was predicted to be lower than the math score for the female-youth by about 11%, holding everything else constant.

For spelling performance, the family bonding-individual protective index was positive and significant at 10%, and the reading score was also positive and significant. The marital status and gender factors were found to be insignificant and dropped from the model. Youth reading score was found to be a strong significant predictor of spelling performance. The summary of the significant effect size and classifications of the predictors as risk and protective factors are presented in Table 8.

The effect size is measured by the value of the predictor coefficient (ß), which was obtained from the estimated regression models.

This study has identified a number of significant risk and protective predictors. These findings can be described as tentative or suggestive and by no means establish any definitive trends. More studies are needed, and the findings must be replicated to produce consistent evidence that could be used for effective prevention strategies.

Table 8.
Classification of risk and protective factors and their effect size.

Outcome	Risk factor predictor	Effect size: ß	Protective factor predictor	Effect size: ß
		12 or older group		
VRAI				
	Conflict	0.37	Married parent	-0.14
	Control	0.25		
	Active recreation	0.29		
Reading				
	Control	-0.40	Cohesion	0.24
			Achievement	0.33
			Married parent	0.13
Spelling				
			Active recreation	0.17
			Reading	0.61
		Under 12 group		
VRAI			Married parent	-0.07
Math	Gender (male)	-0.12		
Spelling			Family bond	
			Protective index	0.08
			Reading	0.50

Conclusion

This article has examined the causal links between the violence risk, academic performance, and family bonding. The results of our investigations must be considered preliminary until replicated. Nevertheless, the findings are encouraging since several factors were identified as significant risk and protective predictors of violence risk and academic performance. The small sample of the youth using the data only from Lincoln University Family Center, not including other individuals, family, school, peer, and community characteristics, have greatly limited our investigations. All these may point to future research needs and directions which might help to develop or design effective strategies for intervention and prevention.

References

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Appendix

The adjusted R^2. The closer to 1, the better the regression fit. Insignificant variables were dropped from the model unless they increased the adjusted R^2.

Diagnostic Tests:

- Functional form or regression specification error test. The Ramsey's Reset Test determines whether the regression Model was specified correctly.
- Serial or Autocorrelation Test.
- The Durbin-Watson Statistic (DW- Statistic) is used to check for the evidence of serial correlation.
- Heteroscedasticity Test
- Checks for the evidence of heteroscedasticity. If heterscedasticity was present in the model, then White's Test of heteroscedasticity is used to correct the problem.
- Normality Test
  Based on a test of skewness and kurtosis of the regression residuals.

Most Econometric Packages report these statistics. A detailed explanation of these statistics is provided in Gujarti (2003).