

2015, Vol. 9, No. 1

---

**JOURNAL OF  
KNOWLEDGE  
AND BEST PRACTICES  
IN JUVENILE JUSTICE &  
PSYCHOLOGY**

---

**Prairie View A&M University  
College of Juvenile Justice & Psychology  
Texas Juvenile Crime Prevention Center**

© 2015 College of Juvenile Justice & Psychology, Texas Juvenile Crime Prevention Center, Prairie View A&M University.  
All rights reserved.

The College of Juvenile Justice and Psychology at Prairie View A&M University invites papers for publication in the Journal of Knowledge and Best Practices in Juvenile Justice & Psychology. The journal seeks relevant application research for the academic and practitioner communities of juvenile justice, 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 review should be sent electronically to the senior editor [gsosho@pvamu.edu](mailto:gsosho@pvamu.edu). The articles should follow the APA style and be typed in 12 point font. All inquiries and submissions should be directed to the senior editor.

All submissions must be done electronically and manuscripts will be promptly refereed. Reviewing will be double-blind. In submitting manuscripts, authors acknowledge that no paper will be submitted to another journal during the review period.

For publication in Journal of Knowledge and Best Practices in Juvenile Justice & Psychology:

- ❖ Manuscripts must follow the APA style (as outlined in the latest edition of Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association.)
- ❖ The title of all papers should be centered and typed in caps on the first page with 12 point font.
- ❖ The title page must include the name, affiliation, title/academic rank, phone number, and the email address of the author(s).
- ❖ Submission of an electronic copy in MS Word as an attachment to co-editor: [gsosho@pvamu.edu](mailto:gsosho@pvamu.edu) maximum of 25 pages with references and tables. The submission must be entirely original.
- ❖ All papers must be typed, double-spaced, on regular 8.5" x 11" paper, and fully justified with margins set to 1-inch top, bottom, left, and right with 12 point font.
- ❖ Acknowledgment should be placed before references. Manuscripts that meet the above requirements will be published in the forthcoming volume of *The Journal of Knowledge and Best Practices in Juvenile Justice & Psychology*.

***Editor-in-Chief***

Tamara L. Brown, Ph.D.  
Dean, College of Juvenile Justice & Psychology  
Executive Director, Texas Juvenile Crime Prevention Center  
Prairie View A&M University  
Prairie View, TX 77446  
Phone: (936) 261-5205

***Senior Editor***

Gbolahan S. Osho, Ph.D.  
Associate Professor, Department of Justice Studies  
Prairie View A&M University  
Prairie View, TX 77446  
Phone: (936) 261-5236

# **Journal of Knowledge and Best Practices in Juvenile Justice and Psychology**

## ***Editor-in-Chief***

Tamara L. Brown, Ph.D.  
Dean, College of Juvenile Justice & Psychology  
Executive Director, Texas Juvenile Crime Prevention Center  
*Prairie View A&M University, Prairie View, Texas*

## ***Senior Editors***

Gbolahan S. Osho, Ph.D.  
Associate Professor, Department of Justice Studies  
*Prairie View A&M University, Prairie View, Texas*

## ***Editorial Advisory Board***

Erin Espinosa, *University of Texas, Austin, Texas*  
Delores James-Brown, *John Jay College, New York, New York*  
Ihekwoaba Onwudiwe, *Texas Southern University, Houston, Texas*  
Susan Ritter, *University of Texas, Brownsville, Texas*  
Barbara Scobey, *Texas Department of Aging and Disability Services, Austin, Texas*  
Alejandro del Carmen, *University of Texas, Arlington, Texas*  
Kathryn Sellers, *Kaplan University, Boca Raton, Florida*  
Donna M. Vandiver, *Texas State University, San Marcos, Texas*  
Scott H. Belshaw, *University of North Texas, Denton, Texas*  
LaDonna Brown, *Prairie View A&M University, Prairie View, Texas*

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Juveniles Who Commit Sexual Offenses<br>by Arthur .....  | 1  |
| Bullying of Disabled and Non-Disabled High School Students: A Comparison Using the Maine Integrated Youth Health Survey<br>by Guckenburg, Hayes, Petrosino, Hanson and Stern ..... | 13 |
| Six Northeast Los Angeles Residents Indicate Reasons Local Youth Join Gangs and Offer Suggestions for Lowering Violence<br>by Parra, Malgesini, Escobedo, Ballesteros.....         | 19 |
| Community-wide Awareness of Juvenile Justice Best-Practices and CTC in Texas<br>by Arungwa .....   | 23 |
| A Phenomenological Analysis of African American Students, Delinquent Behaviors and Future Academic Achievement<br>by Monell and Spencer .....                                      | 34 |
| The Argument for Moving Away From Residential Placement for Most Juvenile Offenders<br>by Dawkins .....  | 39 |



# Juveniles Who Commit Sexual Offenses

Jennifer R. Arthur  
University of Cincinnati

The study of juveniles as sexual offenders is relatively new. The purpose of this project is to evaluate existing data as it relates to juveniles who commit sexual crimes; specifically, why they offend, who they target, and which methods work best to reduce the rate of recidivism. Critical analysis of data demonstrates that juvenile sexual offenders abuse for a myriad of reasons, ranging from social to biological factors. Empirical research demonstrates that juveniles who are subjected to a multidisciplinary approach of treatment in youth-oriented programs are less likely to become repeat offenders than those who are placed in adult prisons.

*Keywords:* juveniles, sexual offenders, youth crime

Much research has been devoted to adult sexual offenders within the U.S. and throughout other nations (Knight & Sims-Knight, 2004). It has not been until the past decade or two, however, that the need to focus upon juvenile sexual offenders has come to the forefront of the criminal justice system (Gerardin & Thibaut, 2004). The lack of focus on juvenile sex offenders has been due largely to the fact that many people have viewed juvenile sexual behaviors as exploratory rather than predatory in nature (Gerardin & Thibaut, 2004). Juvenile sexual offenders' actions have also been attributed to drug use or behavioral disorders and have historically been excused as being a symptom of a larger issue (Gerardin & Thibaut, 2004). Even in instances where the behavior of a juvenile was obviously sexual and criminal, many in society have been reluctant to label an adolescent a sexual offender (Ryan, Lane, Davis, & Isaac, 1987). Family, clinicians, and communities have long chosen to disregard early warning signs, have downplayed abusive behaviors, and have denied the deviant nature of sexually aggressive teenagers (Ryan et al., 1987). Only recently has the term "juvenile sexual offender" been defined as "a youth who commits any sexual act with a person of any age, against the victim's will, or in an aggressive, exploitive, or threatening manner" (Gerardin & Thibaut, 2004, p. 80).

A shift in focus onto juvenile sexual offenders stems largely from the emergence of cultural awareness of the detriments of victimization, along with which has come a more accepting attitude of victims and an encouragement to report offenses (Gerardin & Thibaut, 2004). Despite the fact that too often victims are still blamed for the sexual crimes committed against them, society as a whole is more informed regarding the nature of sexual offenses, and overall, understands the importance of those who have been victimized reporting the crime. With this has come an increase in reporting of juvenile-related sexual crimes and the awareness that youth commit more sexually-motivated crimes than previously believed. For example, between the years 1983 and 1992, the state of Utah showed an increase of 834% in sexual crimes reportedly

perpetrated by juveniles (Gerardin & Thibaut, 2004). Similar increases are reflected at the national level. A recent analysis by the Associated Press found that on a national level, "the number of children under 18 accused of forcible rape, violent and nonviolent sex offenses rose from 24,100 in 1985 to 33,800 in 2004" (2007). Attempted rape and sexual assault constituted "violent offenses" in the Associated Press's analysis, and they used fondling, statutory rape, and prostitution to define nonviolent offenses (2007).

Despite the rise in reported offenses, it is imperative to understand that the number of reported cases represent only a fraction of actual offenses (Gerardin & Thibaut, 2004). Overall, sexual crimes are underreported; sexual crimes committed by youth are even less likely to be brought to the attention of the criminal justice system. For example, sexual crimes committed by juveniles are typically perpetrated against other juveniles, who are less likely to report the incident (Gerardin & Thibaut, 2004). Assault by a juvenile offender is also more likely to be treated as a youthful indiscretion as opposed to a crime, which may make adults involved less likely to report the assault to the police. However, recent estimates suggest that juvenile sexual offenders may account for as many as one-fifth of rapes in the U.S., as well as one-half of the cases involving child molestation (Gerardin & Thibaut, 2004).

Given the number of juvenile sexual offenses that occur in the United States and their reported rise over the past two decades, it is important to assess existing research and continue to evaluate the reasons that certain juveniles offend, remain aware of the types of crimes they commit, and ascertain the role the U.S. criminal justice system can play in incapacitating more serious delinquents, determining appropriate punishment for crimes, as well as treating at-risk youth to reduce the risk of recidivism.

## Characteristics of Juvenile Sexual Offenders

Like most other groups of offenders, juvenile sexual offenders are not a homogenous group (Righthand & Welch,

2004). Factors such as gender, history, biological issues, familial situations, and social influences all play a role in a child's development and behavioral patterns (Righthand & Welch, 2004). Juveniles who sexually offend have a varied combination of these factors which interplay with one another to create an individual who feels the need, and believes it is acceptable, to sexually assault another person.

Juvenile sexual offenders often exhibit certain personality characteristics, which can include poor social skills, obsessive self-absorption, manipulative and disruptive behavior, as well as lack of motivation in school (Nelson, 2007). Many offenders suffer from low self-esteem and lack impulse control; they often harbor deep fears of rejection; and they may feel extremely inadequate and believe that they easily let down others whether they are family members, teachers, or friends (Nelson, 2007). Although they may not be forthright with these emotions, and may not even be aware that they have them, quite often they are in place beneath the surface and subconsciously impacting the offender's thoughts and actions (Nelson, 2007). Lack of awareness, denial, or burial of these kinds of emotions often lead to depression, substance abuse, social phobias, as well as adjustment disorders, all of which can contribute to the larger issue of antisocial behavior (Nelson, 2007).

In particular, male juvenile sex offenders are more likely to hide or bury their feelings because they feel they are expected to be tough and fear being ridiculed or shamed for expressing themselves (Righthand & Welch, 2004). Their histories of unstable emotions, families, and social norms can lead them to feel exaggerated anger towards others, in particular women (Nelson, 2007). Inappropriate early exposure adult behavior is not uncommon in juveniles who sexually offend; often they have viewed dominance, intimidation, and aggression in ways that are unsuitable for children (Nelson, 2007). Because they lack the maturity to process many of the things to which they've been exposed, they become incapable of learning how to make age-appropriate choices. This impacts their behavior not only in the home, but in school and social settings as well (Nelson, 2007).

---

Jennifer Arthur lives in Ohio on Lake Erie. She holds a B.S. in liberal studies from Bowling Green State University and earned an M.S. in criminal justice from University of Cincinnati. Ms. Arthur's interests lie in gender issues and juveniles who commit sexual crimes. She currently teaches at Terra State Community College.

It is not uncommon for juvenile sexual offenders to have been exposed to inappropriate sexual imagery, such as

pornography, at a young age (Miranda, Biegler, Davis, Frevert, & Taylor, 2001). One study found that on average, juvenile sex offenders were exposed to pornography around the age of seven (Waite, et al., 2005). Coupled with having experienced dominant and aggressive behaviors from the adults in their lives, this often culminates in atypical, exaggerated, and hostile erotic fantasies, particularly in males (Nelson, 2007). This can lead to skewed ideas as to what constitutes normal, healthy relationships—offenders form value systems that are based upon inaccurate information, twisted beliefs, and abnormal attitudes (Nelson, 2007). Because they are exposed to dysfunctional families and anomalous perceptions of sexuality, they internalize what they perceive to be as "normal" and proceed to act upon those emotions and exhibit behaviors accordingly (Ryan et al., 1987).

As with all juveniles who sexually offend, female juveniles who commit sexual crimes are not a homogenous group (Roe-Sepowitz & Krysik, 2008). Estimates on how many female juvenile sexual offenders exist are not thought to be highly accurate due to the fact that male juvenile sexual offenders typically receive more attention (Roe-Sepowitz & Krysik, 2008). As with male juvenile sexual offenders, female offenses often go unreported (Roe-Sepowitz & Krysik, 2008), and because there is a double standard in society regarding young women and sexuality, even fewer cases may be reported (Vick, McRoy, & Mathews, 2002). Therefore, the suggestion that, "as a proportion of all juvenile sex offenders, females constitute between 5% and 10%," is a very rough estimate (Roe-Sepowitz & Krysik, 2008, p. 405). Because juvenile sexual offending is an area that is not well studied to begin with, female juvenile offenders receive even less attention; in the criminal justice system, they are often grouped with other female delinquents and typically do not receive assessment and treatment that is appropriate to their individual needs (Roe-Sepowitz & Krysik, 2008).

#### *ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS*

Family environment seems to be "a fundamental influence in the development of sexual offenses" (Nelson, 2007, p. 8). The majority of juveniles who sexually offend come from chaotic, disorganized environments in which there was little adult supervision (Hendriks & Bijleveld, 2008). One report found that almost half of adolescent female sex offenders come from single-parent families and received very little parental support (Hendriks & Bijleveld, 2008). Substance abuse is often high in this group of offenders, particularly given their young age, and nearly 9% in one study reported chronic, as opposed to intermittent, drug abuse among female juvenile offenders (Roe-Sepowitz & Krysik, 2008). Many of the offenders have had issues with school related to tardiness, suspension, and dropping out, and a surprisingly high number were indicated for special education classes (Roe-Sepowitz & Krysik, 2008).

Not only do juveniles who sexually offend typically grow up in unstable environments, but a large portion of them were subjected to abuse themselves; this means that not only do they come from dysfunctional families where emotional neglect is the norm, most juvenile offenders have been subjected to physical, verbal, and/or sexual abuse as well (Hendriks & Bijleveld, 2008). While childhood abuse does not automatically indicate a propensity for the victim to become an offender, there is "considerable evidence that sexual abuse is a risk factor in



sexually coercive behavior" (Knight & Sims-Knight, 2004, p. 36). It is estimated that anywhere from 19 to 80% of juveniles who sexually offend have, themselves, experienced sexual abuse, usually by someone in their immediate or extended family, a teacher, coach, or other trusted adult (Hendriks & Bijleveld, 2008).

In an effort to determine the manner in which past maltreatment acts as a predictor for juvenile male sexual aggression, researchers Knight & Sims-Knight (2004) conducted a study on latent traits on juvenile sexual offenders. Knight & Sims-Knight (2004) found that there are three pathways that begin with a juvenile being abused and end with the juvenile becoming an abuser. The first path is one that begins with physical/verbal abuse, which leads to antisocial behavior/aggression and ends with sexual coercion; the second path begins with physical/verbal abuse, which then leads to callousness/emotional traits, which leads to aggressive sexual fantasy, and ends in sexual coercion; and the third path begins with sexual abuse, then goes onto sexual fantasy, which moves into aggressive sexual fantasy, and ends with sexual coercion. Although these findings cannot be labeled as definite tests of causality, they do offer some insight into the correlation between juveniles who are abused and then go on to become sexual offenders (Knight & Sims-Knight, 2004).

#### *BIOLOGICAL FACTORS*

Juveniles who sexually offend are not only influenced by their environment, but by biological factors as well. Emerging research indicates that some individuals may be genetically predisposed to reacting to their environment in one way, while others are genetically predisposed to react in a different way (Wright & Beaver, 2005). Therefore, of two children raised in the same abusive familial environment, one juvenile may become a sexual offender and the other might not. Many genetic factors play off of one another in an abusive household—parents interact with each other and their children based upon their genetic make-up, and children can even influence the way their parents treat them due to traits that are already in place at birth (Wright & Beaver, 2005). The interaction between parents and children is much more complicated and dynamic than previously thought; these relationships ultimately affect a child's ability to cope with a dysfunctional family life, their ability to monitor self-control, and impact future relationships in potentially negative ways (Wright & Beaver, 2005).

Hormones are another biological aspect that can greatly impact the likelihood of offending (Wright & Beaver, 2005). All other issues aside, testosterone, 95% of which is produced in the testes, plays a major role in the development of male characteristics as well as in sexuality and aggression (Sapolsky, 1998). This indicates that males are more prone to sexually aggressive behavior than females based upon factors in place before they are even born.

The presence of testosterone alone does not indicate that a human being will be aggressive; it is only one factor in determining what makes a person violent (Sapolsky, 1998). However, it is an important aspect of the species, particularly when it interplays with environmental and social factors (Sapolsky, 1998). The vast majority of juvenile males do not

sexually offend, and not all who have been victimized go on to perpetuate their abuse onto others (Knight & Sims-Knight, 2004). However, statistics show that the bulk of sexual offenses, including those committed by juveniles, are perpetuated by males (Knight & Sims-Knight, 2004). Therefore, it remains important that levels of testosterone be studied and considered when evaluating juvenile sex offenders for treatment options.

#### *COGNITIVE ABILITY ISSUES*

Juveniles with intellectual disabilities who sexually offend present additional circumstances which can make treatment more difficult (Gerardin & Thibaut, 2004). Historically, sexually offensive behavior from juveniles with intellectual disabilities has been either dismissed or dealt with inappropriately for several reasons (Gerardin & Thibaut, 2004).

There is often a stigma attached to juveniles with intellectual disabilities in regard to their sexuality (Gardner & Griffiths, 2004). Because boundaries are frequently more challenging to clarify with juveniles who have intellectual disabilities than with typical children, or because adults may not understand how to correctly address the issue of sex with them, inappropriate sexual behavior sometimes takes place that is not properly explained and corrected (Gardner & Griffiths, 2004). This can lead to a cycle of behavior in which a juvenile with an intellectual disability perpetuates and eventually escalates unsuitable sexual activity because he or she does not understand it is wrong (Gardner & Griffiths, 2004).

Juveniles with intellectual disabilities have routinely been absolved of their behavior based upon their low cognitive ability (Gardner & Griffiths, 2004). Throughout history, many juveniles with intellectual disabilities have been considered dangerous and were considered a drain upon society. Any sexual activity by these individuals was treated as wrong and unsafe; reactions to their behavior were taken so far as to sterilize juveniles as they reached adulthood to ensure they did not procreate (Gardner & Griffiths, 2004). Today, many of the ideas regarding sexuality and people with intellectual disabilities remain, and too often, such individuals are denied basic sex education as well as access to responsible, loving, sexual relationships (Gardner & Griffiths, 2004). Sexual behavior is often punished, or treated as being dirty, which can result in sexual aggression (Gardner & Griffiths, 2004).

Conversely, when some juveniles with intellectual disabilities act sexually inappropriate, their caregivers might excuse their actions based upon the assumption that it is the disability causing the behavior and it should not be corrected (Gardner & Griffiths, 2004). Caregivers may see their charge as a perpetual child and rather than judge them on their actual cognitive abilities, they feel that mental age precludes the juvenile from being a sexual individual (Gardner & Griffiths, 2004). They neglect the physical changes and needs of their charge, or they fail to guide the charge regarding healthy relationships (Gardner & Griffiths, 2004). When is it assumed that a juvenile with an intellectual disability is not capable of understanding sex and the boundaries of others, it can set the stage for offensive behavior (Gardner & Griffiths, 2004).

The reality is that juveniles with intellectual disabilities are no more destined to sexually offend based upon the presence of their disability than they are to be criminals (Gardner &

Griffiths, 2004). An intellectual disability doesn't make a person a criminal or a sexual offender, nor does it mean they cannot grow into happy adults capable of healthy sexual relationships with boundaries. As with non-disabled juveniles who sexually offend, they are generally apt to engage in deviant behavior because of a combination of several factors, not based upon their disability alone.

### **The Victims of Juvenile Sexual Offenders**

Juveniles who are sexually aggressive exhibit behaviors such as obsessive masturbation, voyeurism, and exhibitionism (Miranda et al., 2001). Their drive to victimize others can manifest itself in a number of ways, such as fondling; oral sex; vaginal and/or anal penetration with fingers, inanimate objects, or penis; and/or inappropriate exposure to pornography (Miranda et al., 2001). In an effort to hide their abusive actions—not only to prevent being caught, but so they can continue to abuse—sexually abusive juveniles may threaten or bribe their victims, or use guilt as a means of ensuring their silence (Miranda et al., 2001).

It is estimated that 90% of juvenile sex offenders are male with a median age of 14 to 15 years old (Gerardin & Thibaut, 2004). More than 60% of contact offenses involve penetration, and sexual aggression has been found in males as young as three years-old, with the typical age of onset between the ages of six and nine years (Gerardin & Thibaut, 2004). Juvenile males who sexually offend have a tendency to fall into two categories regarding those whom they choose to victimize (Gerardin & Thibaut, 2004). The first category consists of juveniles who assault their peers or adults (Gerardin & Thibaut, 2004). These offenders tend to victimize females and strangers and they generally commit their crimes in public areas (Gerardin & Thibaut, 2004). For example, an estimated 15% of sexual crimes by juveniles occur in the school setting; this category of offender is generally more aggressive and is therefore less inhibited in regard to targeting victims (Gerardin & Thibaut, 2004). Youth in this category are more likely to have a history of non-sexual offenses, suffer from conduct disorders, and exhibit early and consistent antisocial behavior (Gerardin & Thibaut, 2004).

The second category is comprised of offenders who target children younger than themselves (Gerardin & Thibaut, 2004). Offenders in this group generally prefer male victims, are more likely to know the child they assault, and tend to commit their crimes in a home setting, e.g., the victim's home, the offender's home, or day care (Gerardin & Thibaut, 2004). The mean age for victims in this second category is seven to eight years of age, with the majority of them being siblings or a close relative of the offender's (Gerardin & Thibaut, 2004). In fact, in 90% of cases within this group, the victim and the offender know each other well (Gerardin & Thibaut, 2004).

Females who sexually offend do not generally prefer their victims to be one gender over another, and they are typically younger than males at the time of their first arrest for sexual assault (Vandiver, 2006). Data indicates the majority of female offenders abused one victim, with gender of those the victims fairly evenly split between male and female (Hendriks & Bijleveld, 2008). Of the smaller percentage of female

offenders with more than one victim, again, they were close to half being male and half being female (Hendriks & Bijleveld, 2008). Less than half of female offenders chose victims more than five years younger than them; almost a quarter chose victims between one to four years younger than them; nearly another quarter chose victims their same age; and only four percent victimized someone older than themselves (Roe-Sepowitz & Krysik, 2008).

Victimization of strangers by female juvenile sexual offenders is extremely rare. Current data indicates that the most commonly reported victimization by females is against a sibling, a group that includes half-siblings, step-siblings, as well as foster siblings (Roe-Sepowitz & Krysik, 2008). The second most common reported group is that of relatives, which is closely followed by children for whom the female juvenile offender babysits (Roe-Sepowitz & Krysik, 2008). Neighbors, classmates, and friends make up the remainder of those who are typically victimized by female juvenile sexual offenders (Roe-Sepowitz & Krysik, 2008).

As of 2008, only 10 studies had been published on female juvenile sex offenders (Hendriks & Bijleveld, 2008). It is possible that both society and professionals have difficulty accepting the fact that female juveniles can be capable of such behavior (Hendriks & Bijleveld, 2008). Another possibility, however, ties in with the male's role within society—it may be likely that many crimes committed by girls and young women are not reported because they are committed against males, who have additional hurdles to cross when admitting abuse (Hendriks & Bijleveld, 2008). The common social view is that males dominate sexually; therefore, when young males are abused, they may be less likely to come forward to seek assistance, or their parents may be less likely to believe them, particularly when the abuse has been perpetuated by a young female (Hendriks & Bijleveld, 2008).

### **Role of the Criminal Justice System**

#### *PROTECTION OF VICTIM(S)*

Most sexual offenders will, at some point, try to blame their victim for abuse that took place (Salter, 1988). They may contend that the victim looked older than their actual age, or that the victim is the one to initiated sexual advances (Salter, 1988). Juveniles who sexually offend are no different. Because such a large number of offenders have themselves been abused, they have learned to associate sex with affection; therefore, they may skew normal behavior in other children as a way of saying that "they asked for it," or that the victim was a consensual participant in the sexual activity (Salter, 1988). Adolescent males who abuse a younger sibling may shift blame on them by stating that the younger sibling was constantly hugging him or sitting on his lap, looking for attention, i.e., sex. A teen-age female who babysits children younger than herself may feel compelled to sexually abuse them as means of expressing her subverted anger at having been abused herself, or she may put the blame on the children for enticing her by running around the house naked after bathing. Once the lines of love, anger, affection, and sex have been blurred, it becomes difficult for offenders to accept that they are the ones perpetuating criminal behavior; their natural instinct, quite often, is to then blame the

victim (Salter, 1988).

Not only do offenders tend to place blame on the victim, throughout history, most clinicians blamed the victim, as well (Salter, 1988). Some literature exists as recent as the mid-1980's which insinuates that children who have been sexually assaulted are not as innocent as they may seem and in some ways either asked for the attention or at the very least, enjoyed it (Salter, 1988). Consequently, the concept of caring for and treating these young victims seems to often get lost within the scope of the criminal justice system. The focus tends to fall on how to best punish, treat, and rehabilitate juvenile offenders so as not to further destroy their lives, with the hope that they can become a part of society as a more "normal" person. But what obligation, if any, does the system have to the victims of juvenile sexual offenders?

First and foremost, the criminal justice system has an obligation to protect a child who has been victimized by a juvenile offender from any further harm. This may involve removing the victim from their home, or having siblings or relatives removed so that no further contact can take place (Salter, 1988). Parents who have learned about their child being abused may react in any number of ways; if they express anger or if there is talk of revenge against the juvenile offender, the criminal justice system may need to intervene in an effort to spare the victim from further distress (Salter, 1988).

It is imperative that the victim not be further traumatized by having their experience minimized by those who work within the system (Salter, 1988). Too often adults dismiss or downplay the ordeals that children have suffered; yes, they are resilient, but they are also easily frightened and impressionable (Salter, 1988). A child who has been victimized by another juvenile will most likely be experiencing confusion, low-self-esteem, fear, and perhaps even concern over what is going to happen to their abuser (Salter, 1988). Because so many juvenile offenders choose relatives or children who are close to their family as victims, it is not abnormal for a victim to care about his or her abuser; therefore, the criminal justice system must understand that under any and all circumstances, sexual abuse is harmful to a child, at no time should the victim ever be made to feel as if he or she is to blame (Salter, 1988). The system should act in a protective manner in an effort to make the victim feel safe as well as seeing to it that the victim, as well as the offender, is put in contact with proper resources for treatment (Salter, 1988).

#### *PUNISHMENT OF OFFENDER*

Many issues surround the concept of punishment of a juvenile sexual offender. Too often, sexually aggressive behavior in minors is excused as normal exploration or a phase out which the adolescent will grow (Salter, 1988). However, given the fact that many adult sexual offenders relate the fact that they committed their first offense as an adolescent, it is important to adequately address sexually inappropriate behavior when it is exhibited by juveniles (Salter, 1988). The earlier a sexually aggressive minor receives intervention, the more likely it is that any patterns of sexually deviant behavior can be broken before they progress too far (Salter, 1988).

Not every juvenile who sexually offends is going to receive punishment, and for those who do, the penalty should

be age and crime-appropriate (Ryan et al., 1987). Certainly a 16-year-old male who breaks into a woman's home to brutally rape her for hours on end should be treated differently than an 11-year-old male who exposes his genitals to neighborhood kids. There is a spectrum that exists with sexually aggressive juveniles—certain actions are more violent and destructive than others (Salter, 1988). To punish all juveniles who display sexually inappropriate activities would over-burden the criminal justice system and would serve to either treat extremely sadistic offenders too leniently or less-violent offenders too harshly (which can, in the end, result in them becoming more violent) (Salter, 1988). It is important, then, to address each individual case as it is presented in the criminal justice system. Across-the-board punishment will only impact a small percentage of juvenile offenders (Salter, 1988). The key is assessing each offender, determining his or her needs, weighing those needs against public safety, and assigning punishment and/or treatment in accordance with the findings (Salter, 1988).

#### *JUVENILES' NEEDS*

Now that clinicians, the criminal justice system, and society as a whole have begun to recognize and address the serious nature of adolescent sexual offenses, more attention is being paid to research that indicates that the majority of adults incarcerated for sex offenses began committing sexual crimes during their juvenile years (Ryan et al., 1987). Increased awareness of the number of sexually aggressive acts committed by juveniles has brought about interest in observing the patterns of offenders across their life span (Ryan et al., 1987). What longitudinal data is beginning to show is that patterns do indeed exist—that sexual offending is often a cyclical model for abuse (Ryan et al., 1987).

Some experts refer to the etiology of juvenile sex offending as the "sexual assault cycle" (Ryan et al., 1987). When the histories of both adolescent and adult sexual offenders are studied, a high prevalence of sexual victimization during childhood is noted (Ryan et al., 1987). This high occurrence of childhood sexual abuse suggests a "reactive, conditioned, and/or learned behavior pattern", and the "progression from early behaviors reflects the reinforcing pattern in the development and perpetration of sexually abusive behaviors" (Ryan, et al., 1987, p. 386).

Lack of nurturing, betrayal of trust, or loss of parental bonds during infancy or early childhood, in conjunction with abuse, can perpetuate the cycle even further (Ryan et al., 1987). Because these individuals, especially when still minors, are typically acting out their own previous abuse, once they enter the criminal justice system, it is important to address specific needs they may have if there is any hope for ending the "sexual assault cycle" (Ryan, et al., 1987).

The most imminent needs of the juvenile who has sexually offended, once they enter the system, include psychological, social, medical, and cognitive factors. During the intake process, adolescents should be asked not only about abuse they have perpetrated, but also about abuse they have received (Vick, McRoy, & Mathews, 2002). In particular, close attention should be paid to queries regarding sexual abuse, despite the fact that it is very likely the juvenile will deny any has occurred (Vick, et al., 2002). Lack of acknowledgment of abuse during

the early stages of treatment is not unusual; if the adolescent has been abused, he or she may very likely feel unsafe discussing it, they may harbor guilt over it, or they may not even be aware that what they've been subjected to can be labeled as abusive (Vick, et al., 2002). The purpose is to introduce the topic to the juvenile so that it is understood that the issue is open for discussion (Vick, et al., 2002).

Clinicians and others within the system need to be properly trained to understand the needs of juvenile sexual offenders (Vick, et al., 2002). Few offenders are open about abuses they've perpetrated initially, and until they feel safe, they will most likely continue to deny the fact that they've acted inappropriately (Vick, et al., 2002). As these juveniles enter the system, boundaries need to be clear, especially regarding sexuality (Vick, et al., 2002). A juvenile who has abused and been abused typically has abnormal views regarding affection and sex (Ryan et al., 1987). Therefore, they can be even further psychologically and emotionally damaged by being put in a position where they can be abused again; therapists, case workers, officers of the law, and other representatives within the system need to clearly understand the precarious mental state of these juveniles in which one word or action can be misinterpreted by the adolescent (Vick, et al., 2002).

A juvenile sexual offender may have medical issues that need to be addressed, as well. Because a fair amount of juveniles who sexually offend suffer from mental health disorders, evaluation needs to include the possible necessity for drugs to help with ADD, ADHD, depression, bi-polar disorder, PTSD, and any other number of psychological disorders (Ryan et al., 1987). Also, if the juvenile has physical signs of abuse, those need to be addressed in a manner that does not further traumatize the adolescent. Physical and psychological factors must be handled by personnel in a way that does not diminish what the juvenile has experienced or further degrade their dignity (Ryan et al., 1987).

Many juvenile sex offenders lack social adequate social skills—often they have low self-esteem and lack self-awareness (Ryan et al., 1987). They may be introverted, have a negative self-image, feel isolated, expect rejection, or easily get lost in fantasies rooted in rage, fear, self-loathing, or deviant sexual imagery (Ryan et al., 1987). While some juveniles who sexually offend may come across as charming and full of social graces, in reality, most do not have the ability to process normal social relationships (Ryan et al., 1987). A child who has been abused and gone on to perpetuate the cycle of abuse generally has difficulty establishing typical social relationships and determining what the boundaries are regarding friendship, affection, and sex (Ryan et al., 1987). Therefore, it is important that they be surrounded by models of healthy, normal social relationships and that they receive assistance in learning how to form acceptable social bonds (Ryan et al., 1987).

As previously noted, juvenile sex offenders with cognitive disabilities pose further complications within the criminal justice system and often warrant more extensive attention than offenders without disabilities (Gardner & Griffiths, 2004). Such adolescents may have an even greater difficulty relating any abuse they may have suffered and they can face great obstacles in understanding that inappropriate, sexually aggressive behaviors they have exhibited are wrong

(Gardner & Griffiths, 2004). The needs of juvenile sex offenders with cognitive disabilities will quite possibly involve integrating specialists who are further trained in dealing with adolescents with below average cognitive abilities (Gardner & Griffiths, 2004). Cognitive disability is a concept that is not well-defined and there is a broad spectrum of disorders from which children can suffer (WebAIM, 2009). However, because adolescents with cognitive disorders do not process information, problem-solve, or comprehend or express written and verbal communication in the same manner as "typical" children (WebAIM, 2009), their needs within the criminal justice system are slightly different than other juveniles and must be taken into consideration when determining treatment options (Gardner & Griffiths, 2004).

#### *MANAGEMENT OF RISK FACTORS*

In 1996, a national survey found that 80% of juveniles who admitted to sexual offending had previously engaged in a non-sexual form of assault (Weinrott, 1997). To date, research indicates that juveniles who sexually offend share several problems which include trouble with school, emotional and mental health issues, and the most notably, history of abuse, typically of a sexual nature (Concepcion, 2004). Because of their young age, it is important to deal adequately with the factors that put them at risk for re-offending. Doing so may seem at odds with protecting the community; however, working with what is best for the offender actually protects society better, in the end (Concepcion, 2004). By exploring risk factors and how they impact treatment, the first step is taken in determining what the most effective treatment will be for juveniles who sexually offend (Kelley, Lewis, & Sigal, 2004). Examining how risk factors work in regard to treatment, facilities and therapists can provide better therapeutic outcome that address the underlying issues related to juvenile sexual offending, as opposed to simply punishing their behavior (Kelley et al., 2004).

The process of risk assessment begins immediately once a juvenile has been identified as having perpetrated sexually aggressive or abusive behavior (Witt, Bosley, & Hiscox, 2003). They generally enter the system after an arrest or after the child protection agency has been called in to investigate (Witt et al., 2003). Once the juvenile is in custody, determining the risks associated with him/her becomes a priority in an effort to determine the next step in dealing with them (Witt et al., 2003). Risk assessment evaluates the following: whether or not the juvenile can remain in the community, and if so, what level of supervision is indicated; the intensity of treatment interventions; whether or not there is a high level of future offenses; and whether the juvenile requires placement in a criminal facility, a residential treatment program, foster care, or can remain at home and receive outpatient therapy (Witt et al., 2003).

Presently, there are no empirically-based methods in place for assessing juvenile sex offenders and evaluating their risk factors (Prescott, 2004). Contemporary methods of risk assessment and treatments are based largely upon strategies developed for adults (Prescott, 2004). Those who work in the criminal justice system—clinicians, protective service workers, and representatives of the legal system—are often expected to offer their opinion, assessment, and prediction regarding juvenile sexual offenders (Prescott, 2004). This is usually a difficult task, given the lack of uniform processes that have been empirically

proven to determine risk factors and indicate the likelihood of recidivism (Prescott, 2004). Therefore, there remain extreme limitations in regard to assessing juvenile sexual offenders and predicting their changes of re-offending, both of which can have a negative impact on the method of treatment chosen for each individual (Prescott, 2004).

One current tool used to review risk factors is the Juvenile Sex Offender Assessment Protocol-II (J-SOAP-II) (Prentky & Righthand, 2003). The J-SOAP-II is a checklist developed to assist in the methodical review of risk factors that professionals have determined to be associated with juvenile sexual and criminal offending (Prentky & Righthand, 2003). The J-SOAP-II is geared toward males between the ages of 12 and 18 who have been found guilty of a sexual offense, as well as for non-adjudicated youths who have exhibited sexually aggressive behavior (Prentky & Righthand, 2003). Although the designers of the J-SOAP-II point out that it should not be used as the lone tool in determining a juvenile's risk of re-offending, they intend for it to be used as a guideline in helping evaluate risk factors in an effort to better treat offenders (Prentky & Righthand, 2003).

Prentky and Righthand (2003) include the caveat for those who utilize the J-SOAP-II, or any other means of evaluation for offenders, which is that those conducting the assessment have a responsibility to not only the community, but to the offender as well. Prentky and Righthand (2003) assert that the stakes are very high when evaluating sex offenders—in particular when dealing with juveniles who have committed sexual offenses. There is a fine line between protecting the general population "from genuinely high-risk youths, while on the other hand, possibly resulting in severe, life-altering consequences for low-risk youths" (Prentky & Righthand, 2003, p. 4). It is important to remember that juveniles are in a state of development, and that no aspect of them is yet complete; therefore, they must be viewed as unstable, moving targets that are in a state of flux (Prentky & Righthand, 2003, p. 4). Because of the organic nature of adolescence, Prentky and Righthand (2003) suggest that not only should professionals who utilize the J-SOAP-II be very familiar of the challenges involved in evaluating juveniles, they need also to be aware of the limitations of the J-SOAP-II and the tool be used to re-assess at a minimum of every 6 months.

Prentky and Righthand (2003) developed their tool based upon reviews that highlighted five important areas in juvenile offending: clinical studies of juvenile sex offenders; risk assessment and outcome studies of juvenile sex offenders; risk assessment and outcome studies of adult sex offenders; risk assessment and outcome studies of juvenile delinquency in general; and risk assessment studies on diverse populations of adult offenders. From there, they developed the J-SOAP-II, which is an experiment scale that consists of 23 categories which represent 4 sub-scales (Prentky & Righthand, 2003). Prentky and Righthand (2003) intended for the scales to represent the two major domains that are important for risk assessment with juvenile sex offenders, the first of which is sexual drive and sexual preoccupation, and the second of which is impulsive, antisocial behavior, as well as the two major areas that could potentially signal a change in behavior, which are clinical/treatment and community adjustment.

Another tool that is emerging and being tested as a means of assessing risk in juvenile sex offenders is the Estimate of Risk of Adolescent Sexual Offense Recidivism, or ERASOR (Prescott 2004). The ERASOR is a research-based checklist designed to aid in estimating the short-term risk of re-offending in juveniles between the ages of 12 and 18 (Worling, 2004). The ERASOR works by presenting unbiased coding instructions for 25 risk factors, 16 of which are dynamic with the remaining 9 static (Worling, 2004). Psychometric properties of ERASOR were determined by 28 clinicians who evaluated 136 adolescent males between 12 and 18 years of age using wide-ranging, quantifiable assessments (Worling, 2004). Early results regarding inter-rater agreement, item-total correlation, and internal consistency were found to support the reliability of the ERASOR, and the tool indicated suitable results when discerning between juveniles who have been found guilty of a sexual offense and non-adjudicated youths who have exhibited inappropriate sexually aggressive behavior (Worling, 2004).

A third assessment tool gaining in popularity is the Protective Factors Survey, or PFS (Prescott, 2004). The PFS has just concluded its phase IV field test as part of an ongoing effort to determine reliability and validity (FRIENDS, 2009). The PFS is unique in that it is a collaborative effort between the FRIENDS National Resource Center for Community-Based Child Abuse Prevention and the University of Kansas Institute for Educational Research and Public Service, in conjunction with parents, administrators, employees, researchers, experts who specialize in the area of family support, and many others who understand and deal with maltreatment and psychological measurement (FRIENDS, 2009).

The Protective Factors Survey uses self-administered pre- and post- evaluation surveys with caregivers who receive child maltreatment prevention services (FRIENDS, 2009). The surveys provide feedback to agencies as they attempt to find ways to improve the services they offer, which include the evaluation of risk factors in juvenile sex offenders (FRIENDS, 2009). The PFS evaluates protective factors in five areas: family functioning and resiliency; social support; concrete support; nurturing and attachment; and knowledge of parenting and child development (FRIENDS, 2009). PFS pre- and post- evaluation survey results endeavor to help service providers determine what is effective and what needs to be changed in regard to ways in which they evaluate and treat offenders (FRIENDS, 2009). By identifying problem areas, the PFS helps evaluators of juvenile offenders focus on improving protective factors for juveniles and their families (FRIENDS, 2009).

## **Recidivism**

### *RATES OF RECIDIVISM*

Many people assume that juvenile sexual offenders will become persistent in their sexually aggressive behavior and become recidivist in their actions (Zimring, Piquero, & Jennings, 2007). Public policy indicates juvenile offenders are similar, if not the same, as adult offenders and treats them in the same manner (Zimring et al., 2007). In some instances, they are treated even worse than adults when they are denied the right to a trial by jury (Tuoff, 2001). In other cases, juveniles who have sexually offended have been released back into the public and

have offended again (Langan, Schmitt, & Durose, 2003).

There is currently a debate taking place as to whether or not juvenile sex offenders should be registered in the same manner that adult sex offenders are registered (Craun & Kernsmith, 2006). People on either side of the argument see the issue of registry for juvenile sex offenders as flawed—for example, in the state of Illinois, by law, school officials are to be told when juvenile sex offenders enroll in their school (Casillas, 2005). However, many criminal justice services interpret the law differently, and some schools have discovered merely by chance that registered juvenile sex offenders are attending their school (Casillas, 2005). Such was the case for one mother in East Peoria, who, entirely by accident, found out that a 16-year-old boy who had been found guilty of sexually assaulting her 7-year-old son was actually in the same gym class as her older teen-age son (Casillas, 2005). In cases such as this one, parents and school officials feel that they have an obligation to protect children from juveniles who sexually offend, and the only way to do that is by creating and openly sharing a registry of offenders (Casillas, 2005).

The opposing side of this argument contends that by labeling juveniles as sexual offenders, society stigmatizes them, and by creating registries, troubled youth can become even more ostracized and less likely to pursue, stick with, and be successful in treatment (Fritz, 2003). A study on the registration of juvenile sex offenders in South Carolina determined that not only did registration of juveniles as sex offenders not act as deterrence, but in a small percentage of males, actually increased the risk of further charges (Letourneau, Bandyopadhyay, Sinha & Armstrong, 2009). Therefore, the issue of recidivism rates is clearly one which needs to be addressed by society in an effort to empirically determine how many juvenile sexual offenders actually re-offend.

The reality of recidivism rates within the juvenile sexual offender population is that there currently exists conflicting research regarding the likelihood of re-offending (Elkovitch, Viljoen, Scalora, & Ullman, 2008). Due to the fact that clinicians are often expected to determine the risk status of juvenile sex offenders without the aid of an empirically tested standardized assessment tool, it can be difficult to effectively assign juveniles to correct treatment programs (Prescott, 2004). Therefore, the accuracy of how juveniles are assigned to treatment plays a role in how likely they are to offend again once treatment has ceased (Elkovitch et al., 2008). Current researchers are attempting to determine rates of recidivism for juvenile sexual offenders despite the lack of standardized measurement tools and in spite of the fact that monitoring sexual offenses is fairly difficult.

These roadblocks make it difficult to establish concrete numbers on re-offending, which results in conflicting results. For example, one study conducted by Martinez, Flores, and Rosenfeld in 2007 concluded that rates of recidivism for juvenile sexual offenders were fairly low. Their study determined that approximately 19% of their sample criminally re-offended and 13% of the sample sexually re-offended (Martinez et al., 2007). Conversely, a study conducted in 2002 by Sjöstedt and Långström found a higher rate of 25% for criminal re-offending and 20% for sexual re-offending. This

study determined that when sexual and violent non-sexual numbers were combined, 39% of past offenders committed future crimes (Sjöstedt & Långström, 2002).

The possibility of sample types and sizes, treatment types, the ways in which recidivism is measured, and other contributing factors having an impact on the results of recidivism studies, is something that most researchers admit and attempt to address with further evaluation (Elkovitch et al., 2008). Nonetheless, the fact remains that there simply does not currently exist solid empirical data on the rates at which juvenile sexual offenders re-offend.

#### *EFFECTIVE TREATMENT PROGRAMS*

Despite the lack of solid numbers regarding how many sexually aggressive adolescents re-offend after being released from treatment, there are instances in which treatments have proven to be successful. As the criminal justice system continues to move forward regarding effective assessment and treatment of juvenile sex offenders, it is important to ensure that evidence-based, effective programs are made available to minors as part of their treatment program.

Only within the past two decades have adolescent juvenile offenders begun to receive treatment that is geared toward their younger age (Patel, Lambie, & Glover, 2008). Historically, they have been treated as adults, often times punitively punished with no attention paid to the fact that they are still developmentally immature (Patel et al., 2008). Because sexually aggressive adolescents are so complex, the issue of their treatment continues to garner attention and clinicians have come to realize that programs must be specialized and personnel be highly trained if they are to be successful (Calley, 2007). In fact, current research indicates that the complexity of juvenile sexual offenders requires much more intensive treatment and longer engagement of the professionals involved than do typical juvenile offenders (Calley, 2007). Proper treatment and evidence-based intervention are the key factors when dealing with juvenile sexual offenders; failure to design and implement effective programs staffed by trained personnel increases the likelihood that sexually aggressive behavior in these youth will continue into adulthood (Calley, 2007). Not only will that lead to more innocent victims, it will also put a strain on the criminal justice system (Calley, 2007).

Those working with juveniles in treatment programs often face multiple trials when working with juvenile sex offenders (Patel et al., 2008). Adolescents who have been caught abusing another often live in denial of their inappropriate behavior; they will most likely challenge the assessment that they belong in treatment and may exhibit attitudes of resentment, anger, and disinterest regarding the process (Patel et al., 2008). Therapists may very likely be facing an ambivalent and distrustful client who lacks the emotional maturity to comprehend that he or she needs to be in treatment (Patel et al., 2008). This can make progress even more difficult than anticipated.

As of 1994, there were over 800 treatment providers for juvenile sexual offenders and those numbers have increased (Nelson, 2007). The goal behind treatment programs is to prevent re-offending with the hope of re-integrating the juvenile back into society with the ability to cope and manage the factors

behind their abusive behaviors (Efta-Breitbach & Freeman, 2004). Cognitive-behavioral treatment is currently used frequently and is believed to be useful in modifying juvenile offenders' thought processes and actions (Nelson, 2007). This type of therapy involves the juvenile working on relapse deterrence, modifying distorted thoughts regarding their beliefs, building empathy, improving impulse control, working on appropriate social skills, managing anger, and learning sex education as well as the ways sex fits into a healthy relationship (Efta-Breitbach & Freeman, 2004). Cognitive-behavioral therapy has shown success in helping juveniles to "re-train" their brain to think a certain way which, in turn, impacts their behavior (Efta-Breitbach & Freeman, 2004).

Another model of therapy that is popular and shows empirical support for the recidivism rates of juveniles who have sexually offended is multisystemic therapy (Borduin, Schaeffer, Heiblum, 2009). Multisystemic therapy approaches juvenile dysfunction as more than just their sexual deviance; the offender is viewed within the context of their larger environment and as part of a system (Henggeler et al., 2009). Empirical research indicates this form of therapy can be effective because it involves the offender's family, peers, and community as part of an interrelated system, all of which impact one another (Henggeler et al., 2009). Hence, the deviant nature of the offender's beliefs is not the only issue addressed; his/her relationships with external influences are examined in an effort to see the offender as an entire being, not just a sexual offender (Henggeler et al., 2009). It is believed that when all aspects of an offender's life and influences are studied, more potential for effective change can be determined (Borduin et al., 2009).

Not only are types of treatments important, but treatment modalities are in need of further study as well. To date, very little research exists on the most effective form of treatment delivery (Efta-Breitbach & Freeman, 2004). Standard modalities generally begin with individual therapy, which can be effective in making the juvenile feel as if they have a safe place in which they can discuss personal abuse, offenses they have committed, and where they can work on accepting responsibility for their behavior and changing deviant thoughts and beliefs (Efta-Breitbach & Freeman, 2004).

Group therapy is also popular and can be an important means by which juveniles learn from others' experiences, setbacks, and growth (Efta-Breitbach & Freeman, 2004). There is also a peer-to-peer aspect of group therapy that benefits adolescents (Nelson, 2007). Receiving advice from peers who have lived through similar situations and survived comparable circumstances can often be a more effective means of education for adolescents—they may tend to feel less like they are being lectured and more like they are among friends (Nelson, 2007). Group therapy can also help to alleviate some of the feelings of isolation that many juveniles face, particularly those who were abused prior to offending (Nelson, 2007).

Family therapy is utilized when possible as a means of treatment for juvenile sexual offenders (Efta-Breitbach & Freeman, 2004). Family therapy is typically part of multisystemic therapy, in which program personnel believe "that behavior problems are multidetermined and multidimensional and that interventions may need to focus on

any one or combination of systems" (Borduin, Henggeler, Blaske, & Stein, 1990, p. 5). By including a juvenile offender's family in therapy, cognitive processes influenced by the family unit can be deconstructed and rebuilt, and issues such as parental supervision, family cohesion, denial of responsibility, and importance of appropriate boundaries can be addressed (Borduin et al., 1990).

Lastly, because so little data exists on what kinds of therapy are most effective in reducing recidivism of juvenile sexual offenders, it has become more acceptable in recent years to work with experimental treatments when dealing with this population (Longo, 2004). Because clinicians better understand that adolescents are not miniature adults, but are instead resilient, growing, maturing beings that generally have a large capacity for recovering from trauma, more attention and leniency are being given to alternative approaches to therapy (Longo, 2004). One example is a study that was conducted to evaluate the effect of yoga and meditation on the mental health of adolescent sex offenders (Derezotes, 2000). The purpose of the study was to determine the impact of including yoga and meditation techniques in conjunction, not in place of, existing therapy (Derezotes, 2000). The conclusion was reached that the addition of yoga and meditation created a positive impact on the overall outcome of juveniles who routinely participated in sessions (Derezotes, 2000). The adolescents involved reported feeling higher levels of trusting relationships with instructors; felt more empowered after learning methods of independent self-control and self-care; experienced value in developing the ability to calm and direct their minds; and enjoyed the sense of relaxation and actually viewed the relaxed state of consciousness as its own reward (Derezotes, 2000).

A second alternative form of therapy, art therapy, was studied in a group of serious juvenile offenders (Persons, 2009). This study indicated that the participants in art therapy found the ability to express themselves through art, rather than words, to be very beneficial (Persons, 2009). Rather than the expected resistance to therapy, this study found that the boys who participated—most of whom had committed very violent offenses—eagerly engaged in drawing, which led to expressive role playing, which led to open discussion of their hopes, fears, and physical and sexual abuse (Persons, 2009). To these violent juvenile offenders, art therapy meant movement, expression, reflection, concentration, stress-relief, less boredom, and an overall sense of higher self-confidence, all of which are positive steps toward effective change (Persons, 2009).

A third study worth mentioning is not related to a specific type of therapy, but is important to the topic nonetheless. Researchers sought to interview adolescent sexual offenders who had moved on past treatment and successfully re-integrated back into society (Franey, Viglione, Wayson, Clipson, & Brager, 2004). The goal of the researchers was to determine what it was about therapy that most helped the offenders and get their input as to what improvements need to be made (Franey et al., 2004). Franey et al. (2004) acknowledge that most studies focus on recidivism rates and reasons for re-offending; instead, this group of researchers wished to find out what does work directly from the juveniles who went through treatment and were considered to be successful.

In this study, participants were encouraged to discuss



their lives prior to, during, and post treatment, which was a 2-year day program (Franey et al., 2004). What they discovered is that despite having completed treatment, the juveniles continued to deal with many of the same issues that troubled them before entering the program, such as poor social skills, dysfunctional families, and negative peer pressure (Franey et al., 2004). All of the participants spoke of feeling guilt and embarrassment over the abuse they had perpetrated, and all were visibly uncomfortable upon returning to the site of their therapy (Franey et al., 2004). Most expressed the desire to "move on" and put their past as "sexual offenders" behind them (Franey et al., 2004).

However, almost all of the participants were passionate when discussing the reasons they had taken part in therapy, and most were eager to talk about the elements of treatment they had found particularly helpful (Franey et al., 2004). The participants talked about the importance of structure that therapy had provided, the benefits of peer support, the value of open communication—part of which entailed active listening skills—and the significance of therapeutic relationships in their treatment (Franey et al., 2004). The participants labeled accountability as the single most important concept in their recovery; each one noted that they continued to rely on their ability to hold themselves responsible for their actions, which led to them feeling as if they had reached a new level of maturity (Franey et al., 2004).

Because so few studies interview juveniles after treatment, Franey et al. (2004) gave adolescent offenders the opportunity to act as experts. Their study attempted to understand the efficacy of treatment from the very people who had gone through it and found it to be successful; such qualitative methods can prove to be useful in determining which aspects of particular programs are and are not effective (Franey et al., 2004). For example, the juveniles interviewed by Franey et al. (2004) felt that more emphasis should be placed on teaching life skills, such as money management, dealing with relationships more effectively, and other factors involved in day-to-day living (Franey et al., 2004). By conducting further research of this kind, clinicians and researchers will be better able to improve existing treatment programs (Franey et al., 2004).

### Conclusion

Because a high number of juvenile sexual offenders graduate to sexual crimes from non-sexual crimes, it is important to have an understanding of the factors involved that cause a juvenile to transition into sexual offending (Knight & Sims-Knight, 2004). Certain biological and environmental factors put a child at risk for becoming sexually aggressive, such as gender, mental or cognitive deficits, a dysfunctional family life, exposure to abuse, or having been subjected to abuse themselves (Hanser & Mire, 2008). It is important that the criminal justice system understands these risk factors and has a handle on how to best help juvenile offenders as well as their victims.

Although the focus on juvenile sexual offending is relatively new, there exists approximately two decades worth of research that can serve as a foundation for study. In spite of the

current research, much more needs to be done on the etiology and course of juveniles who are sexually aggressive (Knight & Sims-Knight, 2004). Evaluation of existing empirical research and the continuation of data collection are imperative to understanding and dealing with youth who sexually offend (Knight & Sims-Knight, 2004). As numbers of reported offenses rise, society must take a critical look at the factors that contribute to juveniles sexually offending, remain aware of the types of crimes they commit, and determine the most effective methods of dealing with them.

### References

- Associated Press. (2007). Sex offenders getting younger, more violent: Statistics show cases involving juveniles on the rise across United States. *MSNBC.com*. Retrieved from <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/19143411>.
- Borduin, C. M., Henggeler, S. W., Blaske, D. M., & Stein, R. (1990). Multisystemic treatment of adolescent sexual offenders. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 34, 105-113.
- Borduin, C. M., Schaeffer, C. M., & Heiblum, N. (2009). A randomized clinical trial of multisystemic therapy with juvenile sexual offenders. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 77(1), 26-37.
- Calley, N. (2007). Integrating theory and research: The development of a research-based treatment program for juvenile male sex offenders. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 85, 131-142.
- Casillas, O. (2005). Registry Flaws. *IRE Journal*, 28(6), 28-29.
- Concepcion, J. (2004). Understanding Preadolescent Sexual Offenders. *Florida Bar Journal*, 78(7), 30-37.
- Craun, S., & Kernsmith, P. (2006). Juvenile offenders and sex offender registries: Examining the data behind the debate. *Federal Probation*, 70(3), 45-49.
- Derezotes, D. (2000). Evaluation of yoga and meditation trainings with adolescent sex offenders. *Child & Adolescent Social Work Journal*, 17(2), 97-113.
- Efta-Breitbach, J., & Freeman, K. (2004). Treatment of juveniles who sexually offend: An overview. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 13(3/4), 125-138.
- Elkovitch, N., Viljoen, J., Scalora, M., & Ullman, D. (2008). Assessing risk of reoffending in adolescents who have committed a sexual offense: the accuracy of clinical judgments after completion of risk assessment instruments. *Behavioral Sciences & the Law*, 26(4), 511-528.
- Farr, C., Brown, J. & Beckett, R. (2004). Ability to empathize and masculinity levels: Comparing male adolescent sex offenders with a normative sample of non-offending adolescents. *Psychology, Crime & Law*, 10(2), 155-167.
- Franey, K., Viglione, D., Wayson, P., Clipson, C., & Brager, R. (2004). An investigation of successfully treated adolescent sex offenders. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 13(3/4), 295-317.
- FRIENDS National Resource Center for Community-Based Child Abuse Prevention. (2009). *The development and validation of the protective factors survey: A self-report measure of protective factors against child maltreatment phase IV report*. Retrieved November 19, 2009, from



- <http://www.friendsnrc.org/download/outcomeresources/pfs/phase4summary.pdf>
- FRIENDS National Resource Center for Community-Based Child Abuse Prevention. (2009). *Overview of the protective factors survey*. Retrieved November 19, 2009, from <http://www.friendsnrc.org/download/outcomeresources/pfs/PFS%20Overview.pdf>
- Fritz, G. (2003). The juvenile sex offender: Forever a menace?. *Brown University Child & Adolescent Behavior Letter*, 19(2), 8.
- Gardner, W.I., & Griffiths, D. M. (2004). Distinguishing mental illnesses from behavior disorders. *Psychiatric Annals*, 34(3), 185-192.
- Gerardin, P., & Thibaut, F. (2004). Epidemiology and treatment of juvenile sexual offending. *Pediatric Drugs*, 6(2), 79-91.
- Hanser, R., & Mire, S. (2008). Juvenile sex offenders in the United States and Australia: A comparison. *International Review of Law, Computers & Technology*, 22(1/2), 101-114.
- Hendriks, J., & Bijleveld, C. (2008). Recidivism among juvenile sex offenders after residential treatment. *Journal of Sexual Aggression*, 14(1), 19-32.
- Henggeler, S. W., Letourneau, E. J., Chapman, J. E., Borduin, C. M., Schewe, P. A., & McCart, M. R. (2009). Mediators of change for multisystemic therapy with juvenile sexual offenders. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 77(3), 451-462.
- Kelley, S., Lewis, K., & Sigal, J. (2004). The impact of risk factors on the treatment of adolescent sex offenders. *Journal of Addictions & Offender Counseling*, 24(2), 67-81.
- Knight, R., & Sims-Knight, J. (2004). Testing an etiological model for male juvenile sexual offending against females. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 13(3/4), 33-55.
- Langan, P. A., Schmitt, E., & Durose, M. (2003). *Recidivism of sex offenders released from prison in 1994*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice.
- Letourneau, E., Bandyopadhyay, D., Sinha, D., & Armstrong, K. S. (2009). The influence of sex offender registration on juvenile sexual recidivism. *Criminal Justice Policy Review*, 20, 136-153.
- Longo, R. (2004). An integrated experiential approach to treating young people who sexually abuse. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 13(3/4), 193-213.
- Martinez, R., Flores, J., & Rosenfeld, B. (2007). Validity of the Juvenile Sex Offender Assessment Protocol—II (J-SOAP—II) in a sample of urban minority youth. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 34, 1284–1295.
- Miranda, A., Biegler, B., Davis, K., Frevert, V., & Taylor, J. (2001). Treating sexually aggressive children. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 33(2), 15.
- Nelson, M. (2007). Characteristics, treatment, and practitioners: Perceptions of juvenile sex offenders. *Journal for Juvenile Justice Services*, 21(1/2), 7-16.
- Patel, S., Lambie, G., & Glover, M. (2008). Motivational counseling: Implications for counseling male juvenile sex offenders. *Journal of Addictions & Offender Counseling*, 22(2), 86-100.
- Persons, R. W. (2009). Art therapy with serious juvenile offenders: A phenomenological analysis. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*.
- Prentky, R. A., & Righthand, S. (2003). *Juvenile Sex Offender Assessment Protocol—II(J-SOAP-II) manual*. Justice Resource Institute, Bridgewater, MA.
- Prescott, D. (2004). Emerging strategies for risk assessment of sexually abusive youth: Theory, controversy, and practice. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 13(3/4), 83-105.
- Righthand, S., & Welch, C. (2004). Characteristics of youth who sexually offend. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 13(3/4), 15-32.
- Roe-Sepowitz, D., & Krysik, J. (2008). Examining the sexual offenses of female juveniles. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 78(4), 405-412.
- Ryan, G., Lane, S., Davis, J., Isaac, C. (1987). Juvenile sex offenders: Development and correction. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 11(3), 385-395.
- Salter, A.C. (1988). *Treating child sex offenders and victims*. Newbury Park, CA:Sage.
- Sapolsky, R. (1998). *The trouble with testosterone and other essays on the human predicament*. Simon & Schuster. Retrieved on November 18, 2009, from <http://www.anapsid.org/hormones.html>
- Sjöstedt, G., & Långström, N. (2002). Assessment of risk for criminal recidivism among rapists: A comparison of four different measures. *Psychology, Crime and Law*, 8, 25–40.
- Turoff, A. (2001). Throwing away the key on society's youngest sex offenders. *Journal of Criminal Law & Criminology*, 91(4), 1127-1152.
- Vandiver, D. (2006). Juvenile female and male sex offenders: A comparison of offender, victim, and judicial processing characteristics. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 50(2), 148.
- Vick, J., McRoy, R., & Matthews, B. (2002). Young female sex offenders: Assessment and treatment issues. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 11(2), 1.
- Waite, D., Keller, A., McGarvey E. L., Wieckowski, E., Pinkerton, R., & Brown, G. L. (2005). Juvenile sex offender re-arrest rates for sexual, violent nonsexual and property crimes: A 10-year follow-up. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 17, 313 - 331.
- WebAIM. (2009). The Center for Persons with Disabilities at Utah State University. Retrieved on November 18, 2009, from <http://www.webaim.org/articles/cognitive/>
- Weinrott, M. (1997). Juvenile sexual aggression: A critical review. Boulder, CO: Centre for the Study and Prevention of Violence.
- Witt, P., Bosley, J., & Hiscox, S. (2002). Evaluation of juvenile sex offenders. *Journal of Psychiatry & Law*, 30(4), 569.
- Worling, J. R. (2004). The estimate of risk of adolescent sexual offense recidivism (ERASOR): Preliminary psychometric data. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 16, 235–254.
- Wright, J. P., Beaver, K. M. (2005). Do parents matter in creating self-control in their children? A genetically informed test of Gottfredson and Hirschi's theory of low self-control. *Criminology* 43(4), 1169-1202.
- Zimring, F., Piquero, A., & Jennings, W. (2007). Sexual

delinquency in Racine: Does early sex offending predict later sex offending in youth and young adulthood? *Criminology & Public Policy*, 6(3), 507-534.

### **Acknowledgements**

It is with pleasure I thank the many people who made this project possible. First and foremost I wish to express my gratitude to my advisor, John Paul Wright, Ph.D. Before, during, and after this project, Dr. Wright provided encouragement, sound advice, and good company. He is an exceptional educator and friend; I would have been lost without him.

Amanda Kinard and Christine Orthmann served as my editors extraordinaire. They stepped in to offer support and assistance, usually on short notice, and kept me on track with formatting and writing. Both of these incredible women made me laugh and helped keep me sane.

Dean W. Dibling acted as my personal IT specialist, for which I will be forever grateful. He spent many late nights helping me solve technical issues, assisting with graphics and charts, and offering general encouragement while I pursued my degree.

My undergraduate professors Jeffery Welsh, Ph.D., and Kate Daly, Ph.D., both fostered a desire to think critically and were catalysts in changing my worldview. Because of their influence, I developed the ability to question that which society tells us is true and should be the norm, lessons I strive to pass along to my own students.

Lastly, and most importantly, I owe thanks to Tom and Enzo Capizzi. These two never stopped expressing interest and support during the years I worked and pursued my education full-time. Starting and raising a family is never easy, but Tom and Enzo encouraged me to follow my passion; I am a better person for having them in my life.

### **Dedication**

I dedicate my completed project to John Charles Moor. This beloved professor gave me the confidence to understand that I can achieve anything as long as I apply myself. He saw past my insecurities as an older student returning to college, dried my tears when necessary, and put me on the pathway to a successful academic career. I only wish this were a book I could devote to him.

# Bullying of Disabled and Non-Disabled High School Students: A Comparison Using the Maine Integrated Youth Health Survey

Sarah Guckenburg, Susan Hayes, Anthony Petrosino, & Thomas Hanson  
 WestEd

Alexis Stern  
 Consultant

The Maine Integrated Youth Health High School Survey (MIYHS) is a biennial survey of Maine students in grades 9-12. This study uses state-level data from the 2009 MIYHS to analyze and compare rates of reported bullying among disabled and non-disabled students. The analysis also accounts for location (on/off school grounds) or method of bullying (in person/online), disability status, and other demographic information provided by the survey, including gender, grade, race, and sexual orientation.

*Keywords:* bullying, schools, disability, school violence

The issue of bullying has gained national attention recently, especially in tragic cases where bullying has been linked to teenage suicide. National and state student surveys are capturing data on how many students experience bullying each year. National estimates of bullying prevalence vary, but one national survey indicates that in 2008-2009, 28% of students age 12-18 reported they were bullied at school in the past school year (DeVoe & Murphy, 2011).

One concern is whether certain groups of students, such as those self-reporting disabilities, are at greater risk for being bullied than other types of students. The research literature specifically examining this question in the United States is often limited to small studies in single schools or districts, but the few studies using research collected on a larger geographic basis, such as statewide, appears to indicate that the risk for being bullied is higher for disabled students. For example, Repetto et al. (2011) used the results of the Florida High School Exit Survey of graduating seniors to compare the high school experiences of students with and without disabilities in 40 Florida public school districts. The authors of the study found a number of significant differences in the perceptions of students with disabilities and their non-disabled peers, not least that students with self-reported disabilities were also more likely to report having been bullied or picked on in the course of their time in high school.

The Maine Integrated Youth Health High School Survey (MIYHS) represents an exceptional opportunity to conduct a more comprehensive statewide analysis specific to the relationship between disabled teens and experiences of bullying. The MIYHS is a biennial survey of Maine students in grades 9-12 which gathers self-reported data about students' physical, social, and emotional health. Given the MIYHS asks items of students about bullying and about their disability status, analyses of this relationship can be conducted. This paper summarizes the research literature, and then lays out the methodology, findings, and implications for future policy, practice and research.

## Literature Review

### *Bullying and Students with Disabilities*

One major concern for parents, educators and practitioners involved in the schools is whether disabled students are particularly at risk for being bullied. A common notion is that bullies pick on children who are "different" (Hoover and Stenhjem 2003; Flynt and Morton, 2007; Hergert 2004).

The available research indicates that disabled students are indeed more likely to be bullied. Much of this research, however, has been conducted outside the United States. Carter and Spencer (2006) reviewed eleven studies in this area that were published from 1989-2003. Eight were studies using students in European nations; the other three were based in the United States. This review concludes that students with visible and non-visible disabilities experienced bullying more than non-disabled peers, and disabled boys were particularly at risk. A 2011 qualitative review (Rose, Monda-Amaya, Espelage 2011) of bullying in special education found that disabled students educated in segregated or partially segregated settings "appear to be victimized more often than students with and without disabilities in inclusive settings." However, of the 32 studies included in this review, only 7 were based in the United States.

More recent European studies further support these findings. In a Swedish study, Holmberg (2010) reported that fourth graders in a Stockholm primary school who were diagnosed with attention-deficit disorder were significantly more likely to be bullied, than children not so diagnosed. Holmberg (2010) also reported that fourth graders who were diagnosed with attention-deficit disorder were significantly more to bully others, than were children not so diagnosed. A Swiss study reported that adolescents with physical disabilities or chronic health conditions were more likely to be victims of bullying, and when bullied, to be more depressed afterwards than students without disabilities (Pittet, Berchtold, Akre, Michaud, & Suris 2010). Most of the European studies are based on convenience samples of disabled youth, and compare such youth to another convenience sample of

non-disabled youth in a single school or district. For this reason, the sample likely does not reflect the larger population from which it is drawn.

Studies in the United States on this topic are less common than those reported in Europe, but since 2003, additional research has been conducted. For example, Twyman and her colleagues (2010) surveyed a convenience sample in one district of 100 children aged 8 to 17 years with identified “special health care needs” (i.e., learning disability, attention deficit disorder, autism spectrum disorder, behavioral or mental health disorder, or cystic fibrosis), and compared their bullying experiences to 73 children with no such diagnosis. Compared to the comparison group, children in the learning disabilities, autism spectrum disorders, and attention deficit disorder groups experienced significantly more bullying victimization than non-disabled children. In a study of middle school students in Roanoke, Virginia, Unnever and Cornell (2003) reported that students taking medication for hyperactivity were victimized at a higher rate than students not taking such medication (34% versus 22%). Conversely, however, White and Loeber (2008), in analyzing data from a longitudinal study of a cohort of youth in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, reported that placement in a special education program was not associated with being teased or disliked by peers.

The majority of this research indicates that students with disabilities are at greater risk for being bullied than students without disabilities. However, this research, particularly in the United States, is generally based on small studies conducted in a single school or district, using comparisons of convenience samples of disabled and non-disabled youth. While some analyses (Blake, Lund, Zhou, Kwok, and Benz 2012) have been conducted using national data on students with disabilities, their findings are limited by the lack of comparable data on a representative sample of non-disabled peers. This project improves upon these studies by examining rates of reported bullying for disabled versus non-disabled students using survey data representative of high school students from an entire state (Maine).

### *Research Questions*

To respond to our stakeholders’ interest in understanding the problem of the disabled youth and bullying, this project is designed to respond to four specific research questions:

1. Do high school students who have a disability report being bullied more than non-disabled students? What percentage of bullied students were disabled?
2. How do rates of reported bullying for disabled students vary by type of disability (physical/health disability and emotional/behavioral disability)?
3. How do rates of reported bullying for disabled and non-disabled students vary by location (on versus off school grounds) and method (in person versus electronic)?
4. How do rates of reported bullying vary within demographic categories such as gender, grade, race, and sexual orientation?

## **Methods**

### *Data Sources*

The MIYHS was a state effort to consolidate the existing surveys that were taking place at schools into one

effort. The 2009 MIYHS was the first administration of the consolidated survey, and was administered to students in grades K-12, who attended school during administration in representative samples of schools across the state.

This project only examined the high school sample of the MIYHS, and so sampling procedures are only described for that population. All 134 public and quasi-public high schools (i.e., private schools with 60% of its students that are publicly funded) in Maine were invited to participate in the survey in 2009. Of those schools, 108 high schools eventually participated in the administration. Passive consent procedures were used: parents of high school students were asked to let the school know if they did not consent to their child's participation. Students could also opt out of the survey on the day of administration. The 108 participating high schools had a total enrollment of 51,121 students; 40,329 took the survey (all students in the participating schools were invited to participate in the survey). Thus, the MIYHS high school survey achieved an 82 percent *school* response rate and a 79 percent *student* response rate, for an overall response rate of 65 percent. Of the 40,329 students that took the survey, 10,680 were included in this study. The reasoning behind selecting this subset of survey participants is explained below.

Because the responding schools and students may have led to a survey sample that is different on various characteristics than students from the sampling frame of all high schools, the MIYHS high school data were also weighted for school and student non-response (see the limitations section and Appendix A for information on how the data was weighted). Full details of the weighting can be found in the Methodological Summary for MIYHS (Pan Atlantic SMS Group, 2010a). There are four modules (A, B, C, and D) in the MIYHS survey, each with a different combination of questions. Classes were randomly assigned one of the four modules (Pan Atlantic SMS Group, 2010b). For the purpose of this report, we selected only the students who received module D because this was the only module containing both the disability and the bullying questions. A total of 40,329 students took the survey and 10,680 students were assigned module D. Due to missing student data, the unweighted number of students in individual analyses may not equal 10,680.

### *Definitions of Bullying, Students with Disabilities and Control Variables*

Definitions of bullying vary across researchers. For example, bullying has been defined by one group of researchers as “a form of aggression in which one or more children intentionally and repeatedly harass, intimidate or physically harm a victim” (Vreeman & Carroll, 2007). Olweus says a student is bullied when he or she is “exposed, repeatedly and over time, to negative actions on the part of one or more other students” (Olweus 1993, p. 9). Generally, most bullying definitions include intentional acts of harm, repetition, and some notion of a power imbalance between a victim and bully. For the purpose of this study, students who self-reported on the survey that, in the past 12 months, they had been bullied on school property, away from school property, or been electronically bullied such as through e-mail, chat rooms, instant messaging, websites or text messaging were identified as being bullied. It should be noted that the

MIYHS, like many other survey administrations, does not define bullying and allows students to self-define whether they have been a victim of it.

Defining students with disabilities is also challenging, as some research looks at particular disabilities such as physical disabilities while others examine emotional, behavioral or learning disabilities such as autism, attention deficit disorders, or learning disabilities. In their qualitative review of research on the relationship between bullying and disability in schools, Rose et al. (2011) note that the varying definitions of bullying make it difficult to compare results across studies. For the purpose of this study, the definition of a student with a disability is a student having a physical, long term health problem, emotional or behavioral problem, or a student who is limited in activities because of a disability or health problem (including physical health, emotional or learning problems) lasting or expecting to last more than six months. This is the definition used by the MIYHS.

Other demographic variables used in this analysis are defined by the MIYHS survey. For example, sexual orientation had four categories, heterosexual, gay/lesbian, bisexual, and unsure. Race and ethnicity had seven categories including American Indian/Alaskan Native, Asian, Black or African American, Hispanic, White, other races, multiple races. Grade level contains categories for grades 9, 10, 11, and 12 and gender is defined as male or female.

#### Analysis Plan

Descriptive statistical analyses were conducted to provide better understanding of the risk of bullying for students with and without disabilities. To provide this understanding, the project included a number of comparisons between disabled students and students who do not identify themselves as disabled. To test for differences between disabled and non-disabled students, Pearson's chi square tests were used, given that the independent and dependent variable were both nominal or categorical in nature, e.g., disabled/non-disabled and bullying/no bullying. A comparison between disabled and non-disabled students was judged to be statistically significant if it met the .05 (two-tailed) criteria.

### Findings

We organize the results by each of the four research questions below:

*Question 1: Do high school students who have a disability report being bullied more than non-disabled students?*

Students with disabilities are more likely than their non-disabled peers to be bullied. Almost 50 percent of 9<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> grade students who self-report a disability indicate they were bullied compared with approximately 28.5 percent of students who do not self-report such a disability (see Table 1). This result is statistically significant (chi= 352.8, p=.001).

Table 1: Percentage of students reporting that they were a victim of bullying, by disability status

| Disability Status                          |                 | %     | Standard Error | Chi-Square Value |
|--|-----------------|-------|----------------|------------------|
| Disabled                                   | Yes<br>(n=2282) | 49.90 | (1.2)          | 352.8*           |
|  | No<br>(n=7166)  | 28.50 | (0.8)          |                  |
| Long-term emotional or behavioral problems | Yes<br>(n=1426) | 56.00 | (-1.6)         | 406.1*           |
|  | No<br>(n=7497)  | 28.50 | (-0.7)         |                  |
| Physical or long-term health problems      | Yes<br>(n=1364) | 48.10 | (-1.7)         | 167.6*           |
|  | No<br>(n=7470)  | 30.20 | (-0.7)         |                  |

\*Significant at the .001 level.

*Question 2: How do rates of reported bullying for disabled students vary by type of disability (physical/health disability and emotional/behavioral disability)?*

Students with certain disability types, at least according to these data, are more likely to be bullied than others. For example, 56 percent of students with long-term emotional or behavioral problems reported being the victim of bullying (also see Table 1). This was statistically significant at the .001 level (chi=406.01). The likelihood of being bullied was somewhat lower for students with physical or long-term health problems (48.1 percent) than for those with long-term emotional or behavioral disabilities, but was still statistically significant (Chi=167.6, p=.001).

*Question 3: How do rates of reported bullying for disabled and non-disabled students vary by location (on versus off school grounds) and method (in person versus electronic)?*

Students with disabilities are also more likely than their non-disabled peers to be bullied in a variety of settings and contexts. For example, Table 2 shows that a statistically significant and higher percentage of students with disabilities report being bullied compared to their classmates on school property (33.6 vs. 18.0 percent, chi=237.9, p=.001) and away from school property (30.8 vs. 13.1 percent, chi=366.4, p=.001).

Table 2: Percentage of students reporting that they were a victim of bullying, by bullying characteristics and disability status, 2008-2009 school year

| Bullying Characteristics                   | % Disabled | Standard Error | % Non Disabled | Standard Error | Chi Square Value |
|--|------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|
| Bullied on school property (n=2007)        | 33.60      | (1.2)          | 18.00          | (0.6)          | 237.9*           |
| Bullied away from school property (n=1586) | 30.80      | (1.2)          | 13.10          | (0.6)          | 366.4*           |
| Bullied via electronic means (n=1768)      | 31.40      | (1.2)          | 15.90          | (0.6)          | 252.9*           |

\*Significant at the .001 level.

Students were also asked about cyber bullying. Table 2 also shows that students with disabilities report being bullied more often than their classmates via electronic means (31.4 vs. 15.9 percent). This difference was also statistically significant (Chi=252.9, p = .001).

*Question 4: Within demographic categories such as gender, grade, race, and sexual orientation, what percentage of bullied students were disabled? (Note: To examine this question, only students who reported being bullied were included in the analysis.)*

When investigating student-level characteristics associated with bullying, differences in the percentage of disabled students being bullied emerge within race/ethnicity and sexual orientation categories, but not by gender or grade-level. Table 3 indicates that there was no statistically significant difference in the percentages of male and female students with disabilities who were bullied.

Table 3: Percentage of bullied students with disabilities, by student characteristics, 2008-2009 school year

| Student Characteristics | %                                | Standard Error | Chi-Square Value |
|-------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------|------------------|
| Gender                  | Male (n=1442)                    | 34.30 (1.6)    | 0.948            |
|                         | Female (n=1631)                  | 36.00 (1.6)    |                  |
| Grade Level             | Grade 9 (n=941)                  | 33.70 (1.8)    | 2.4              |
|                         | Grade 10 (n=889)                 | 35.30 (2.4)    |                  |
|                         | Grade 11 (n=692)                 | 35.00 (2.2)    |                  |
|                         | Grade 12 (n=517)                 | 37.90 (2.5)    |                  |
|                         | American Indian or Alaska Native | 30.90 (5.1)    |                  |
| Race /Ethnicity         | Asian                            | 32.20 (7.1)    | 43.8*            |
|                         | Black or African American        | 30.1 (5.6)     |                  |
|                         | Hispanic                         | 30.10 (5.2)    |                  |
|                         | White                            | 51.40 (1.2)    |                  |
|                         | Other Races                      | 33.00 (13.5)   |                  |
|                         | Multiple Races                   | 52.20 (5.3)    |                  |
|                         | Heterosexual                     | 30.90 (5.1)    |                  |
|                         | Gay or Lesbian                   | 32.20 (7.1)    |                  |
| Sexual Orientation      | Bisexual                         | 30.1 (5.6)     | 167.0*           |
|                         | Not Sure                         | 30.10 (5.2)    |                  |

\*Significant at the .001 level.

Note: Students may fall in more than one category; results do not always add up to 100%. The analyses were done using weighted data; sample sizes reported in the tables represent the un-weighted totals of the students responding to the survey.

Table 3 indicates that disabled students' grade-level is also not associated with bullying. The prevalence of bullying in grades 9-12 ranges from 34-38%, and these differences between grade levels were not statistically significant.

However, race/ethnicity does seem to be related to incidents of bullying. Hispanic students with disabilities, disabled students who reported their race as "Other," and those who reported being of multiple races were significantly more likely than their peers in other race/ethnicity categories to be bullied (see Table 3). It should be noted that some of the sample sizes in

specific cells are very small, and so the results need to be interpreted with caution. The differences across the different ethnic groups, however, is statistically significant at the .001 level ( $\chi^2=43.8$ ).

Finally, Table 3 also shows that heterosexual students seem less likely to be bullied than disabled students who report being gay/lesbian, bisexual, or not sure. Students with disabilities who identify as bisexual or who are “not sure” of their sexual orientation reported higher rates of bullying than students with disabilities who identify as gay or lesbian. This difference was statistically significant at the .001 level ( $\chi^2=167.0$ ).

### Limitations

The proposed data analyses are limited to the variables available in the data set. The bullying items do not specify the types of bullying behavior that students were victimized by (e.g., physical bullying such as pushing and shoving). In addition, the disability items do not provide further data on the specific types of disabilities--beyond broad categories--that students may have (e.g., autism, ADHD). This, however, is a very common structure for state and national surveys such as the YRBS (U.S. Centers for Disease Control, 2010). Comparisons between state or district and national results can be found online at [http://www.cdc.gov/HealthyYouth/yrebs/state\\_district\\_comparisons.htm](http://www.cdc.gov/HealthyYouth/yrebs/state_district_comparisons.htm).

A second limitation is that the MIYHS represents responses by students in grades 9-12 to a self-report survey. As a result, this analysis relies on student reports of their own classification as a victim of bullying and whether they self-identify as having a disability. Although self-report is considered an improvement over official reports because bullying victims are often reluctant to report victimization to school officials (Petrosino, Guckenburg, DeVoe, & Hanson 2010), self-reports are susceptible to other biases. It should also be noted that students were not asked directly about learning disabilities when asked about their disability status. Ideally, other measures related to bullying status and disability would be derived from independent observation or other means; the MIYHS data are limited, however, to the self-report by a single student.

Another limitation to note is that although the data was weighted for school and student non-response, disability status was not one of the variables used to weight the data. Therefore we can't definitively state that this represents all disabled students in the state.

### Discussion

As far as we know, the results of the analyses presented here provide the first examination of the relationship between bullying and disability using a statewide sample. Three major findings emerged in the course of this study.

First, findings from national and international research that indicate that students with disabilities are at risk for bullying were supported: high-school students with disabilities in Maine are more likely than their non-disabled peers to be

bullied. While students with either physical or emotional/behavioral disabilities were at-risk for being bullied, students with emotional/behavioral disabilities were more likely to be bullied than students with physical disabilities.

Second, this increased risk existed across location and type of bullying. Students with disabilities were more likely to experience bullying on or off school grounds or via electronic means (e.g., “cyber-bullying”).

Third, specific groups of students with disabilities; Hispanic students, students of “other” races, students of multiple races; and students who identify as gay, lesbian, bisexual or who are not sure of their sexual orientation are even more likely to be victimized by bullying than other disabled students.

The information gleaned from the MIYHS data set about the extent of the bullying problem in Maine can help policymakers and practitioners target their support and interventions to the most vulnerable students and the contexts in which bullying is most likely to take place. Any efforts undertaken in Maine to combat bullying should take into account that students with disabilities are particularly at-risk as well as consider the specific student-level factors that seem to be related to increased reports of bullying.

### References

- Blake, J.J., Lund, E.M., Zhou, Q., Kwok, O., & Benz, M.R. (2012). National prevalence rates of bully victimization among students with disabilities in the United States. *School Psychology Quarterly* 27(4), 210-222. doi: 10.1037/spq0000008
- Carter, B.B., & Spencer, V.G. (2006). The fear factor: Bullying and students with disabilities. *International Journal of Special Education* 21(1), 11-23. Retrieved from <http://www.internationaljournalofspecialeducation.com/articles.cfm?v=2006&v=21&n=1>
- DeVoe, J.F., & Murphy, C. (2011). Student Reports of Bullying and Cyber-Bullying: Results From the 2009 School Crime Supplement to the National Crime Victimization Survey. *U.S. Department of Education, NCES, 2011-336*. Retrieved from <http://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2011336>
- Flynt, S.W., & Morton, R.C. (2007). Bullying prevention and students with disabilities. *National Forum of Special Education Journal* 19(1), 1-5. Retrieved from [http://www.nationalforum.com/Electronic\\_Journal\\_Volumes/Flynt\\_and\\_Morton\\_Bullying\\_Prevention\\_and\\_Students\\_with\\_Disabilities.pdf](http://www.nationalforum.com/Electronic_Journal_Volumes/Flynt_and_Morton_Bullying_Prevention_and_Students_with_Disabilities.pdf)
- Hergert, L. F. (2004). *Bullying and students with disabilities: Summary report of parent focus groups*. Newton, MA: Education Development Center. Retrieved from <http://www.urbancollaborative.org/pdfs/Bullying.pdf>
- Holmberg, K. (2010). The association of bullying and health complaints in children with attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder. *Postgraduate Medicine* 122(5), 62-8. doi: 10.3810/pgm.2010.09.2202
- Hoover, J. & Stenhjem, P. (2003). Bullying and teasing of youth with disabilities: Creating positive school environments for effective inclusion. *Issue Brief: Examining Current Challenges in Secondary Education and Transition* 2(3).



- Retrieved from [http://www.ncset.org/publications/issue/NCSETIssueBrief\\_2.3.pdf](http://www.ncset.org/publications/issue/NCSETIssueBrief_2.3.pdf)
- Olweus, D. (1993). *Bullying at school: What we know and what we can do*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Pan Atlantic SMS Group (2010a). 2009 Maine Integrated Youth Health Survey: Methodological Summary. Portland, ME: Author. Retrieved on March 29, 2014 from [https://data.mainepublichealth.gov/miyhs/files/2011MIYH\\_SMethodologyReport.pdf](https://data.mainepublichealth.gov/miyhs/files/2011MIYH_SMethodologyReport.pdf).
- Pan Atlantic SMS Group (2010b). 2009 Maine Integrated Youth Health Survey: High School Report. Portland, ME: Author. Retrieved on March 29, 2014 from [https://data.mainepublichealth.gov/miyhs/files/Summary\\_Reports\\_PDF-State/2009HS--Summary-Report.pdf](https://data.mainepublichealth.gov/miyhs/files/Summary_Reports_PDF-State/2009HS--Summary-Report.pdf).
- Petrosino, A., Guckenburg, S., DeVoe, J., and Hanson, T. (2010). What characteristics of bullying, bullying victims, and schools are associated with increased reporting of bullying to school officials? (Issues & Answers Report, REL 2010–No. 092). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Evaluation and Regional Assistance, Regional Educational Laboratory Northeast and Islands. Retrieved on March 29, 2014 from <http://ie.ed.gov/ncee/edlabs>.
- Pittet, I., Berchtold, A., Akre, C., Michaud, P.A., & Suris, J.C. (2010). Are adolescents with chronic conditions particularly at risk of bullying? *Archives of Disease in Childhood*, 95(9): 711 - 716. doi: 10.1136/adc.2008.146571.
- Repetto, J.B., McGorray, S.P., Wang, H., Podmostko, M., Andrews, W.D., Lubbers, J., and Gritz, S. (2011). The high school experience: What students with and without disabilities report as they leave school. *Career Development and Transition for Exceptional Individuals* 34(3), 142-152. doi: 10.1177/0885728811414699.
- Rose, C.A., Monda-Amaya, L.E., and Espelage, D.L. (2011). Bullying perpetration and victimization in special education: A review of the literature. *Remedial and Special Education* 32, 114-130. doi: 10.1177/0741932510361247.
- StataCorp (2009). *Stata Statistical Software: Release 11* College Station, TX: StataCorp LP.
- Twyman, K.A., Saylor, C.F., Saia, D., Macias, M.M., Taylor, L.A., & Spratt, E. (2010). Bullying and ostracism experiences in children with special health care needs. *Journal of Developmental and Behavioral Pediatrics*, 31 (1), 1 – 8. doi: 10.1097/DBP.0b013e3181c828c8.
- Unnever, J.D. and D.G. Cornell (2003). Bullying, self-control and ADHD, *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 81 (2) 129-147. doi: 10.1177/0886260502238731.
- U.S. Centers for Disease Control (2010). Comparisons Between State or District and National Results. Retrieved on March 29, 2014 from [http://www.cdc.gov/HealthyYouth/yrbs/state\\_district\\_comparisons.htm](http://www.cdc.gov/HealthyYouth/yrbs/state_district_comparisons.htm)
- Vreeman, R. C., & Carroll, A. E. (2007). A systematic review of school-based interventions to prevent bullying. *Archives of Pediatric and Adolescent Medicine*, 161(1), 78-88. doi:10.1001/archpedi.161.1.78.
- White, N.A. & Loeber, R. (2008). Bullying and special education as predictors of serious delinquency. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 45 (4), 380 – 397. doi: 10.1177/0022427808322612.

## Appendix A

### Sampling and Weighting Procedures

This study used data from MIYHS that was weighted to account for student and school non-response. The purpose of weighting the data is to provide as accurate a picture as possible of high school students in Maine. Weights (“Finalwt\_ABCD”) are used in the MIYHS to take non-response into account to provide more accurate estimates of population parameters.

Also, the MIYHS is not a simple random sample, which many common statistical procedures assume. Instead, the survey is based upon a stratified, multi-stage cluster sample design. The complex sampling design utilized required the use of sample weights to derive accurate point estimates and adjustments for clustering and stratification to compute standard errors. To estimate statistics, standard errors, and significance tests, the Taylor series linearization method using the primary sampling units and strata variables available in the dataset was implemented. The Taylor series linearization approach is the default method used in the survey commands in Stata 11 (the analysis software used by this project) used to handle complex survey data (StataCorp 2009).

## Acknowledgements

The authors thank the following people for their comments and assistance at various stages of the project: Jerry Bailey, Nancy Birkhimer, Pam Buffington, Rebecca Carey, Trevor Fronius, Gary Henry, Natalie Lacireno-Paquet, Melanie Lanctot, Pamela MacDougall, Susan Mundry, Jan Phlegar, Julie Riordan, and Maria Ttofi. The report is based on a technical assistance report that was written with support from the Institute of Education Sciences to the Regional Educational Laboratory, Northeast and Islands.



## Six Northeast Los Angeles Residents Indicate Reasons Local Youth Join Gangs and Offer Suggestions for Lowering Violence

Fernando Parra  
 California State University Pomona

Frank Malgesini, Emma Escobedo, Anna Cecilia Villarreal Ballesteros  
 La Universidad Autonoma de Chihuahua in Chihuahua, Chih., Mexico

Six long-time Los Angeles residents in a community with feuding Chicano gangs provide reasons local youth join gangs. Provided reasons correlate with their suggested interventions and meeting with community stakeholders and gang member to address gang violence and its resolution. The rationale for evaluating long-time residents is that police and newspaper reports, and even gang members themselves may provide biased views on the topic. These long-time residents are in a position to provide credible reasons for why the youth in their community join the local gangs that if taken seriously should provide a realistic basis for positive change. The respondents have all named the gangs active in their community. Some of the gangs are historical and well-established and have longevity in the community: Big Hazard, Eastside Clover, Avenues, among others, were around when the respondents were in their youth and before. Other gangs, Eastlake, Lincoln Heights, and Parkside among them, are relatively recent but still have over 25 years in the community and are becoming well-established.

*Keywords:* youth, join gangs, Los Angeles

Gang violence and other direct murders of youth by other youth (especially drive-by, and now walk-up shootings) have been a concern in the United States for well over four decades. This is especially true in the African American and Latino communities of the inner cities. Lincoln Heights in Northeast Los Angeles, although getting better; no major shootings in the last 6 months of 2014 and early 2015. Many describe the area as a war zone. The Chicano gangs have been feuding for over 4 decades, costing numerous lives, as well as injuries, and the prison life-time incarceration of many young men.

Five of our six respondents have lived for most of their lives at the epicenter of gang violence that has been, until recently, taking place on a regular basis and for many years. One continued teaching at the local high school until her recent retirement and remains very active politically in the community. She grew up in the area and knows it well. There were two decades that particularly experienced an increase in the use of firearms. This was 1980s and 1990s and on into the new century. Although gang conflict in the 1960s involved an occasional gun, from the 1980s until recently gunfire was heard regularly in the community. Shootings were the norm. Interestingly, during the mid1990s, walk-up shootings seemed to have replaced the drive-by shootings.

The residents we have interviewed have been affected personally by the violence and have not wavered in their desire to see an end to the senseless violence. That these long-time residents have not abandoned their community speaks well for their love of their community. Their morale solidarity is palpable. Over the years all have attended, at one time or another, community meetings, called by the district city councilman, addressing issues of gang violence. The sounds of gunfire, police helicopters, and ambulance sirens are constant reminders of the problem. The streets in the evening are isolated with all the businesses closed and boarded up. Night life for

families is nonexistent in Lincoln Heights. Except for a few bars and all the businesses quickly close up when evening arrives covering their windows with siding. The streets are not safe especially for teenagers. Over the last 40 years, there has been at least one person shot and often killed on every half-block of the main streets of the community. Most community members know personally someone killed or badly hurt as a result of gang violence. In trying to understand why youngsters join gangs we have sought to interview five long-time residents with a history in the community. We did not seek the police or newspaper accounts, or gang members' explanations for the reasons elaborated upon by Moore (1993) who suggests that the police may frame their insights in a criminal perspective that is obviously of interest to them; and the newspapers are often interested in sensationalizing gangs to sell their paper. The gang members themselves may not offer unbiased perspectives either since they may have an interest in shaping their responses to those of the interviewer, especially if they think they have something to gain from the interviewer.

The six key Chicano respondents are designated in this study by their occupations: Detention Service Officer, Librarian, Teacher, Security Guard, Vehicle Repair worker. They were specifically selected for their long-time residence, experience; sophistication and knowledge of the community to provide their views on why youth have been joining the local warring gangs for over four decades. The majority of respondent's "greatly favor" with a few noting that they "somewhat favor" that business leaders, police, social workers, and other stakeholders along with residents and gangs should come together at community meetings. This choice correlates with the question: "What can help change the situation for the better?"

The extensive everyday experience in the community of these five respondents allowed them to develop the understanding of the causes and the situated intimacy with the effects of gang membership that form the rationale for the study. "The shootings

people see on television we see from our front yard,” states the Detention Service Officer, who along with neighbors has witnessed shootings directly in front of him in the early afternoon and during the week to say nothing of the weekend when gunfire is usually intense. The Librarian for years regularly repainted the front wall of his home quietly removing gang graffiti that the local gang continually redecorated. Along with others he has endured the fear frequent gunfire brings to people in the community and has responded along with the other residents by attending community meetings whose attendees often sought police solutions. Over the years residents like these respondents have gained a sophistication that allows them to understand the confusion behind the often naive suggestions proposed not only by some of the residents, but also by some of the police and city council field deputies and the city councilperson himself. On occasion, city officials and their representatives from the District Attorney’s office, the LAPD and other institutions are apt to unintentionally mislead the community regarding the realistic effectiveness of their offices in dealing with gang members. For example, it is not automatic that an arrest and subsequent testifying against a person insures her incarceration. Rather, it could just as well have an adverse effect on the witness; and the community members know this. Suggestions such as these could endanger the witness, as the alleged perpetrator does not necessarily stay locked up, if arrested. The alleged perpetrator may obtain bail or his lawyer may gain his release on a technicality. The residents know all this and the officer giving such advice may appear naive with such suggestions.

Longevity in the community should yield unique insights regarding the problem with gang youth. Often research is inaccurate or biased since findings are only as good as the data collected and even accurate data requires interpretation by persons deeply involved in the daily life of the community. The respondents in this study are long-time residents with no self-interest in providing a slanted or self-serving view of the topic. They are beyond believing change will occur from the top down. They have learned to cope with the gang crisis often by addressing the problem themselves; and, yes often by calling the police, only to get a busy signal, or getting a late response from the police and little if any understanding from the city council and relevant public institutions. This has been the situation over the years. They have dealt with the problem themselves and their insights if taken seriously may provide a basis for change, if not in the immediate future perhaps over the long term. They suspect that if the violence occurring in this area were to happen on the Westside, the response from police (often disrespect and poor insight) and other agencies (city council catering to business rather public interests) would never be tolerated.

### Theoretical Framework

Vigil’s Multiple (1993, 2002) Marginality Theory posits the view that Chicano youth are marginalized in multiple areas. Those youth that are “regular” members, which are the ones generally responsible for most problems have usually lived much more problematical lives from those youth that are only “transitional” gang members. According to Vigil (1993):

Multiple marginality refers to being outside the mainstream of Anglo-American society and its access to wealth and power in such a way that the following differences become evident: ecological: visual/spatial distinctions; economic: underclass, secondary labor market; social: family strain, school failure; cultural: nested subcultures, syncretic cholo; and psychological: adolescent status crisis, group identity. (p. 99)

Vigil (2002) believes that the police, schools, and the family are the major institutions in an adolescents’ life and that they need to address the gang situation.

### Respondent Profiles

Six key respondents were queried. At the time of the study, the respondents were one 55 year-old high school woman teacher-counselor at Abraham Lincoln High School, a 56 year-old woman bank secretary, a 57 year-old male librarian (now retired) for the *Los Angeles Times*, a 45 year-old male Detention Service Officer at Central Juvenile Hall, a retired 65 year-old male security guard, and a retired 78 year-old male vehicle body worker. The librarian and bank secretary are married to each other but both have lived in Lincoln Heights all their lives. All are Mexican American. Two of the respondents are women. All were born in the United States. Parents of two of the respondents were born in Mexico. Four of the respondents are Democrats. Two lean toward the Democrats but chose neither party in the questionnaire. All are Catholic; four respondents attend church once a week and the other two once every six months or less. The men are all veterans with honorable discharges. The Vehicle Repair Worker served in combat during World War II. As of this report all, but one, still reside in Lincoln Heights. None of the respondents has a police record. All of them are eligible to vote.

### Locus

Lincoln Heights is located in Northeast Los Angeles under the jurisdiction of the Hollenbeck Division of the Los Angeles Police Department. It is home to several active gangs. Among what Vigil (1993) calls the established gangs are Happy Valley, Hazard, East-Side Clover, Dog Town, Rose Hill. The Avenues are nearby but under the Northeast police jurisdiction. They, however, come in contact with the other gangs by attending Lincoln High School. The Avenues have feuded with Happy Valley over time, for example. Besides these historical and traditional gangs of the community are others that are more recent (25 years or less in existence); the Eastlake gang, the Lincoln Heights gang, Parkside, Thomas Street, Alta Street gang, and a section of the 18<sup>th</sup> Street gang which has existed outside of Lincoln Heights much longer. Its origins are in South (Central) Los Angeles, near the USC campus. Los Angeles has been described by Sheldon, Tracy & Brown (2004), as a city having a chronic gang problem. There was a time established gangs existed only on the periphery of Lincoln Heights. The middle of the community described as “no mans (sic) land.” About 25 years ago, the more recent gangs came into existence. It needs to be noted that although we refer to each gang as one, there are multiple gangs within each named one, for example the Happy Valley gang has multiple gangs within the geographical area so named. That is to say that multiple cliques are usually part of the larger *varrio* (neighborhood). In the case of Happy Valley the cliques are age-graded.

The respondents have seen the transitions of the community from a largely Italian neighborhood, to Mexican American, to today—largely Latino migrant of which a majority is Mexican, with a substantial Asian, (largely Vietnamese and Chinese) influx. According to the Los Angeles Almanac & U.S. Census Bureau (City of Los Angeles Population by Community & Race 2000 Census) the total population of Lincoln Heights is 29,129. Of this, 29 percent (8,484) are white alone, 24 percent (6,913) are Asian, and 72 percent (20,897) are Hispanic. African Americans are few at 0.88 percent (255). The median household income in 1999 was \$23, 591. The established gangs were around when the respondents were young. In the 1960s some gangs would have been closer to the community, meaning they would have had positive relationships with the adults. One resident (not of this sample) remembering the Happy Valley Midgets stated, “You guys were noble.” That gang had stable family households with family earners, despite being lower working class. The parents were not older gang members, and none of the families from which this gang’s members came lived in the housing projects. They would all have been described as decent families as opposed to street families in Anderson’s (1999) typology.

### Methods

Of thirty-six respondents interviewed by the principle author, six respondents personally acquainted to the first author for as long as they have lived in the community were selected for in-depth interviews. Their longevity in the area, centrality of their position (where their homes are located), experience and perceptiveness of the gang problem were the principle reasons for their selection. The central questions of the study are:

1. How is the gang defined?
2. What interventions do they favor to combat gang violence?
3. Are respondents willing to have a community meeting wherein the police, community leaders, business leaders, residents, and most important, known gang members are present to consider the problems facing their community?

This third question came from Weston’s (1993) study in Las Vegas Nevada. Buttressing the interviews was a standard interview guide with other questions not treated in this paper, but will be elaborated in future papers. The respondents have remained available for elaboration and have continued to provide input regarding the gang problem in the community.

In this study we are especially interested in their suggestions for interventions in addressing gang violence. Three respondents filled out the questionnaire themselves and two were interviewed face to face by the first author who recorded the responses on the research instrument.

### Results

The first question posed: Why do you believe young people join gangs in your neighborhood? This question elicited the following responses identified by respondent’s occupation: High School teacher and counselor: “Many factors: [lack of] parental supervision, programs, reading below grade level, self-esteem-peer pressure.”

Bank secretary: “Not many activities for the young; not enough supervision. Unfortunately, the members get their ‘family’ unity from the gang.”

Detention Officer: “Lack of opportunity in jobs.”

Librarian: “Hopelessness, a need to belong, peer pressure, broken families, dysfunctionality within the home, history of gang affiliation within the family.”

Security guard: “No discipline; like in the old days when parents spanked. In school, they’ve done away with paddling. Teachers have no power.”

Vehicle repair worker: “Make a name for themselves; prove to people they are somebody; family irresponsible; family members, gang members too.”

The specific results in this section showed a direct correlation of responses with selected area of intervention: family history of gang membership, broken and dysfunctional families, lack of family supervision (family intervention), poor reading levels, lack of self-discipline, and high drop-out rates (educational), lack of self-worth, peer pressure (psychological), lack of jobs, and opportunity (economic), and alienation-wanting to make a name for themselves, sense of hopelessness, need to belong (social).

All of the respondents agreed to a community meeting that include all the stakeholders, mentioned *supra*, in the community including the gang members.

### Discussion

Vigil’s (1993, 2002) multiple marginality elements appear to be implied in all of the responses of the respondents. An “opportunities” model which has been found to work the best when working in cities like Los Angeles (Shelden et al., 2004) provides the type of interventions suggested by our respondents. Homeboy Industries which falls within this model has been successful in providing services to hard-core gang members. Father Gregory Boyle S.J. has concentrated on employment as most important element with legal, psychological, educational, and other services. In January of 2007 Homeboy Industries relocated to China Town near Lincoln Heights and continues to today in 2015 to provide services. For L.A. County, success rate in recidivism is 20 percent. Homeboy success is 70 percent. As Shelden et al (2004) have determined: the least successful model is police suppression, a model often applied in the recent past in Los Angeles. Having Homeboy Industries nearby is a positive turn for the better for Lincoln Heights.

Significantly, resident responses correlate with the question of whether they would “favor having a community meeting bringing together community educators, business and political leaders, social workers, the police, and gang members.” The responses appear to suggest reasons for joining gangs can be changed by the will to change the basis of why youth join gangs. Those having a stake in the safety, prosperity, and future of the Lincoln Heights community coming together and meeting together to discuss the issues directly can certainly be the start in effecting positive social change. A noteworthy precedent of all stakeholders, that includes gang members, is available from Nevada (Weston, 1993) wherein, when all the stakeholders came together to address the issue of gang violence, the result was a lowering of gang violence, despite an increase in gang

membership. Still, everyone was happy as a result of the lowering of violence which was everyone's main concern as it is in Northeast Los Angeles.

Understanding that key and respectable people from the community are willing to include members from across the community should give the official leadership such as the Los Angeles City Council's office notice regarding an effective and realistic method to curb violence in this community. More police on the street does not necessarily decrease crime, but involvement by various sectors of the community along with the police can make a difference as evidenced by the Weston (1993) study, and the success at Homeboy Industries, as well as the willingness of the Lincoln Heights community might just do the job. These respondents, who are credible witnesses to the history of gangs, their activities, and police response, in their community offer realistic insights for achievable goals of greatly decreasing violent gang activity.

Moore (1993) and Monti (1993) has suggested gang research is often compromised by the researchers themselves when they rely on police or newspaper accounts of gang issues, problems, and definitions, and even when they rely on the gang members themselves who may have the self-interest of appearing favorable to the researcher in the telling of their story. These community respondents, on the other hand, only have the self-interest of alleviating some if not all of the violence in their community. They have been around a long time and the city leadership ought to listen. When they suggest gang member participate in community meetings they will be there to remind the gang members of their behavior and their expectations of them, while the gang members can express their concerns in the community. Both can agree to help end the violence by

dialogue. It is worth noting that it is not the number of respondents, but the insights and knowledge based on the experience provided by longevity in the community that provides the prescience for greatly decreasing if not eliminating gang violence.

### References

- Anderson, E. (1999). *Code of the streets: Decency, violence, and the moral life of the inner city* NY: W.W. Norton & Co.
- Los Angeles Almanac & U.S. Census Bureau. *City of Los Angeles Population by Community & Race 2000 Census*.
- Monti, D.J. (1993). Origins and problems of gang research in the United States, Cummings S. & Monti, D. J. (1993). *Gangs: the origins and impact of contemporary youth gangs in the United States*. N.Y.: SUNY.
- Moore, J. (1993). Gangs, drugs, and violence, in Cummings S. & Monti, D. J. (1993). *Gangs the origins and impact of contemporary youth gangs in the United States*. N.Y.: SUNY.
- Shelden, R.G., Tracy, S.K., & Brown, W.B. (2004). *Youth Gangs in American Society*. CA: Wadsworth.
- Vigil, D. (1993). The established gang, in Cummings S. & Monti, D. J. (1993). *Gangs: the origins and impact of contemporary youth gangs in the United States*. N.Y.: SUNY.
- Vigil, J. D. (2002). *A rainbow of gangs: Street cultures in the mega-city*. Austin: University of Texas.
- Weston, J. (1993). Community policing: An Approach to youth gangs in a medium-sized city. In Miller, J., Cheryl L. M., & Malcolm W. K. 2001. *Youth gangs in American society*. CA: Roxbury.

## Community-wide Awareness of Juvenile Justice Best-Practices and CTC in Texas

Samuel Arungwa  
 Texas CTC

Awareness is a critical first step towards community-wide adoption of best-practices and the Communities That Care (CTC) is one of the best-practices in juvenile justice. Therefore the CTC can be used as a proxy for all best-practices, and the success any CTC depends, in part, on the CTC-Awareness of the stakeholders. However, the justice literatures have not examined how communities “measure” and “manipulate” their level of CTC-Awareness. This awareness gap is widening, leaving most communities with no apparent awareness of best-practices. Using data from a university survey, the current study provides an empirical measure of CTC-Awareness and how awareness is manipulable. The policy implications are discussed, along with recommendations for future research.

*Keywords:* Community-wide Awareness; Best-practices; Communities that Care (CTC); Evidence-based programs (EBPs); College-educated adults (CEAs); Juvenile justice; measurability; manipulability.

Best-practices have quickly become popular with federal juvenile justice leaders, and numerous studies have been conducted to discover best-practices for local communities. There are now more than a dozen different fields of study or career clusters in colleges and communities across the globe and each of them are at different stages of participation in supporting best-practices. The field of juvenile justice is no different in keeping track of best-practices for communities. One of the best ways to examine the awareness of best-practices is to try and “follow the money” that governments spend on it. The federal government plays a huge role in best-practices by disbursing grants to college communities that that promote best-practices. A shining example is the federal online directory called “Crime-solutions” which is hosted by the Justice department (Crime solutions, 2015). This directory contains most of the best-practices that has been peer-reviewed and found to be effective by federally appointed government researchers. In theory, the universal access to the ubiquitous internet technology allows the government to publish best-practices throughout each year. Presumably, the internet information and communication technology (ICT) should have been allowing communities to adopt and implement the federally supported best-practices. The bigger question, therefore, is whether this diffusion of information on the web is actually happening. If communities are being properly made aware of best-practices, why are most of them still using the less effective tradition-based practices?

There seems to be a flawed presumption of “community-wide awareness” of best-practices. Many seem to believe that the local communities should already know about best-practices, especially since those practices are regularly listed on the internet. But precious little has been done to test this community-wide awareness thesis. Specifically, juvenile justice researchers do not even seem to know whether the

awareness of best-practices is measurable and manipulable, especially in most of the college communities. Measurability - being able to track the “levels” of community awareness, is important because millions of dollars are spent each month to create awareness and stakeholders need to know the effectiveness of their investments towards awareness. But equally important is the related notion of manipulability of awareness - the ability to increase or decrease the levels of awareness in community juvenile justice. The chief benefits of best-practices are that they are the most effective and efficient methods to prevent the socioeconomic problems that plague communities. Without a better understanding of how to measure and manipulate awareness, the college communities are not able to become aware of best-practices, let alone hold their leaders accountable for relative unawareness. A brewing crisis in America is the unawareness of best-practices in majority of local communities.

Unlike the other fields of study such as medicine and community healthcare, which are more advanced in best-practices, the field of juvenile justice does not seem to hold anyone responsible for community-wide best-practices. Most communities are still using tradition-based practices in their juvenile justice systems, and there is no evidence that these communities are receiving any awareness of the best-practices. Added to this lack of awareness, is the missing voice of colleges, and this alone makes the question of awareness very compelling. Since there are many best-practices to choose from, this study used the Communities That Care (CTC) as a proxy for all of them. This representation is appropriate because the CTC is a proven “operating system” that help local communities to prioritize and adopt the best-practices they need (Kuklinski, Briney, Hawkins, & Catalano, 2012). The CTC is therefore a “delivery system” for best-practices.

This research study is intended as a starting point for providing some answers for community leaders and policymakers

who must grapple with the consequences of awareness or the lack thereof. Specifically, do colleges have awareness of local Juvenile justice best-practices? Are there demographic differences in the awareness of best-practices, and do the college communities have the resources to create awareness for best-practices within the juvenile justice communities?

### **Definitions of Some Key terms and phrases in the study**

*Community-Wide Awareness:* The strategic education of all individuals and groups within a defined geographical location, such as a city, neighborhood, or district.

*Juvenile Justice Best-Practices:* These are the most effective and efficient processes for solving prioritized problems within a community. “A practice is a general category of programs, strategies, or procedures that share similar characteristics with regard to the issues they address and how they address them” (Crime solutions, 2015, p.1). By contrast, “a program is a specific set of activities carried out according to guidelines to achieve a defined purpose” (Crime Solutions, 2015).

*The dual Benefits of Best-Practices:* The adoption of best-practices can offer a set of significant benefits, including community-wide “**effectiveness**” and “**efficiency**” (Kuklinski et al., 2012). Any program or practice is judged to be effective when there is a strong scientific evidence to prove that it works to bring positive outcomes and results. Similarly, best-practices such as the CTC are considered “efficient” when they yield returns on the investments. In other words, effectiveness answers the questions of whether the best-practice does work, while efficiency verifies that that the best-practice is also profitable. The CTC is more than 100% profitable because it has been shown to return more than \$5 for every \$1 invested (Kuklinski et al., 2012).

*Awareness of Best-practices vs. Traditional-practices:* Traditional-practices are the opposite of best-practices and they include any set of programs that have not been scientifically proven or classified as best-practices. The term awareness is a form of “knowledge” or “education” that often requires a certain level of curiosity by. Leaders can naturally make a conscious effort to create awareness within their community and jurisdiction.

### **Literature Review**

There are thousands of at-risk juvenile delinquents located in each of the hundreds of college communities (cities and counties) within the state of Texas. Despite the availability of best-practices for juvenile justice systems, most Texas communities are not investing in them. This will suggest that a lack of “community-wide awareness of best-practices” might be a major issue in Texas. This section of the paper examined some of the relevant literature on the issues of awareness, as well as the related issues of empirical measurability and manipulability of community-wide awareness. By definition, “awareness” is synonymous with “knowledge” or “perception”. Awareness can be created and shared with others. In

community-wide awareness, the focus is on the awareness that can be communicated to and from everyone inside a geographical community such as the local county or city within a state. As with any project, economic resources, such as land, labor, and capital must be properly invested to achieve the best possible levels of community-wide awareness. Over the last few decades, the resources related to the “internet” or web has proven to exert the most significant influence on how community-wide awareness is created and shared. Specific and interdisciplinary coverage of this internet or web revolution can be found in the literature.

### **Resources for Community-wide Awareness**

Scientific advancements in technology and the internet has become the default innovation for community-wide awareness of juvenile justice best-practices. Within the last decade, every Local County and college in Texas have gained access to internet technologies that can support awareness. Access to personal computers (PCs) and mobile devices have never been easier for Texans:

*Voice over Internet Protocol (VoIP):* The VoIP technology enables individuals with the ability to make phone calls using a broadband internet connection or Wi-Fi, instead of traditional phone lines. With this technology, people are easily able to make phone (international and local) using their computer and can forgo purchasing a landline services (Federal Communications Commission, 2015) In addition to the governments, the technology giants such as Facebook and Google are also investing heavily to bring free community-wide information and communication technology (ICT) programs and apps to every community. For years, these free apps, such as WhatsApp and Google-voice, have been available for anyone to download and use in their smartphone. Over one billion user’s located more than one million neighborhoods are successfully using free ICT to communicate with billions of their friends and family.

*Community-wide Internet Access:* Apart from access to personal computers which is now ubiquitous, almost every community in America and the globe have guaranteed public and community access to internet-connected computers for their residents. From public libraries, to schools and colleges, access to internet-connected computing is becoming a public right, and not a privilege for the few lucky ones. In a recent presidential directive titled ConnectED, the Obama administration sort to guarantee internet-connected computer access to every school and student in America (White House, 2015) Based on the most recent report in his last state of the union address, president Obama believes that his ConnectED initiative is on track to connect every American child to daily high-speed internet within five years (White House, 2015).

*Internet Access for Community-wide Awareness:* In their current study, Falck, Mang, and Woessmann (2015) examined the effect of classroom computers on student achievements and found “positive effects for using computers to look up information” (Falck, Mang, & Woessmann, 2015) Participants in the study included more than 150,000 students from over 30 nations across the globe. The study also noticed that the positive effects found in

the study were higher for students from higher socio economic status. Interestingly, the analysis indicated “no effects of using computers to practice skills” (2015, p.1). The second finding of “no effects on skills” should be both surprising and disappointing to those who have been fighting the political and social battles to connect everyone to the internet. One important point that the authors seem to have missed is that “awareness” of best-practices is a primary resource for every student and community, and that most communities in their study suffer from “unawareness” of best-practices. Universal access to the internet-connected computers, as the study indicated, is an effective resource for preventing lack of awareness. The computers allowed a community of students to effectively “look up information”. The results of this study is therefore a key indication that the federal ConnectED initiative is a champion for creating “awareness” in America (White House, 2015)

*Keepod - The \$7 PC:* Keepod technology has reduced the costs of internet access by allowing people to have a personal computing experience in the palm of their hand. Keepod allows users to reuse computers that are younger than eight years old. These old computers, that would be tossed away, due to their inability to perform like new, are able to be booted from a small usb device operating system (OS), called a Keepod. At the price of \$7, the Keepod technology allows users to carry around their own personal OS, which can be used to share one computer between multiple users (Keepod, 2015).

*Cell phone ownership:* undergrads 96%, grad students 99%, community college students 94%: (Pew Research Center, 2011).

#### **Awareness as Critical First Step towards Best-Practices**

Awareness as critical first step: (pg. 16 dissertation) (Frese, Stanley, Kress, & Vogel-Scibilia, 2001; Goldman et al., 2001) Federal government support for EBPs, SAMHSA grant (pg. 67) (Substance Abuse & Mental Health Services Administration [SAMHSA], 2013c). Consumer competence increased using higher education and awareness (pg. 16) (Reiser, 1992). EBPs available for juvenile justice leaders (pg. 75) (Greenwood, 2008)

Like most state governments, the Texas state government supports community-wide awareness of juvenile justice best-practices. Reporting on the most recent meeting of the National Governors Association Center for Best Practices, McLeod’s work reviewed three important strategies that state governments can use to support juvenile justice best-practice which includes: Limit involvement of lower-risk youth in the juvenile justice system; Redirect resources from incarceration to community-based alternatives; and improve information sharing and the use of data across youth-serving systems (McLeod, 2015)

Although in principle, each of the governors appears to support best-practices, there is ample reason to question the strength of their resolve to fully embrace them. For instance, there was no suggestion that any of the governors will use executive powers to persuade all community leaders under them to adopt the three best-practices under review. Also, the report (McLeod, 2015) did not indicate that community leaders had any

awareness of this presentation in real-time, as did the Governors. And yet, it is the community leaders, not necessarily the Governors, that must agree to adopt each of the best-practices being discussed.

#### **Public-Private Resources for Community-wide Awareness**

Yale University researchers and Coca Cola Company have collaborated to support governments that show strong willingness to support (WITS) for awareness of best-practices (Wong, 2013) Experts believe that the Coca-Cola Company is the global leader in creating community-wide awareness. Their best seller

Communities may choose to implement best-practices after they become unaware of what the benefits for them. At the very least, the awareness of best-practices should include the basic understanding of the dual benefits of effectiveness and efficiency. For instance, millions of dollars are available every day, which colleges know about, on sites such as (U. S. Department of Health & Human Services [HHS], 2015). Colleges have expertise on writing grants, but rarely is the expertise shared with the local communities. Further, most local communities are unaware of such expertise and resources. In 1971, literature was published about the Chicago Women’s Liberation Union’s advice on how to build consciousness awareness groups. To form a consciousness awareness groups they advised to meet weekly with group of 12 or less, collaboratively discuss a different topic, both personal and professional, every week. After group consensus is built, action projects are created, using friend referrals, new groups can be started using two original group members and continue this process groups are formed across the country (Chicago Women’s Liberation Union [CWLNU], 1971)

#### **College Partnerships with County Criminal Justice Planning Groups**

College and community partnerships criminal justice plans (HGAC, 2015): The criminal justice plan is an executive order from the Texas Criminal Justice Office and this document is hosted by the “Regional Councils of Government” online. Therefore, making this document accessible all around the world

**Awareness of Community Directory of Best-Practices:** The significance of hosting community criminal justice plan online is that all crime-problems for every community, which therefore accessible to every CEA. The criminal justice plan from each community represents a cry for help because they are seeking awareness of best-practices, something only colleges can provide for them. Each of the community across the state of Texas and the nation have prioritized their juvenile justice issues. However, they don’t see to be aware of best-practices to address those juvenile justice problems and there is some evidence that colleges do participate in the criminal justice planning. A review of HGAC community plans shows that local communities received help from Sam Houston State University and Prairie View A&M University (PVAMU). The current author is one of those who participated in planning from PVAMU as part of his doctoral dissertation and field work for this paper (Waller County Plan, 2015). In 2001, for Michigan State University President, Mary Sue Coleman warned that universities must “partner or perish”.

### **Possible Reasons for Unawareness**

Academic freedom (1 or 2 references) - association of college: Colleges have the discretion to decide what goes on the syllabus or curriculum. Therefore it is difficult to hold them accountable for best-practices. Willful blindness: Key leaders in power sometimes ignore best-practices, because it can be a liability if they know they are supposed to follow best-practices and do not. Plausible deniability: Denying that you know about an event, person, or program, etc.(pg. 90) (Heffernan, 2011)

### **Service-Learning for Awareness of Best-Practices**

The recruitment of volunteers is a critical first step and low hanging fruit for supporting awareness in communities (Pew Research Center, 2013a). According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, between the years September 2013 and September, 62 million people volunteered for or on behalf of organizations, while women often volunteered at higher rates than men. The age group of people who were most likely to volunteer was those between 35 to 44 years. Whites and blacks volunteered at higher rates than any other races (26 and 19 percent respectively). Individuals employed compared to the unemployed volunteered nearly at the same rate (27 percent and 21 percent respectively), with all volunteers spending nearly 50 hours each in one year on volunteer activities (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics [BLS], 2015) The average number of students volunteering: Scheduled service learning online/campus (pg. 63) (Bringle & Hatcher, 2000; Einfeld & Collins, 2008) Adolescent diversion project (pg 87) (ADP) as recruitment college students ((Eby, K. K., Mackin, J. R., Scofield, M. G., Legler, R. E., & Davidson, W. S., 1995) Colleges are underutilized (Officer, Grim, Medina, Bringle, & Foreman, 2013)

### **Colleges Supporting Awareness of Best Practices**

Donating college resources to support awareness for best-practices is no longer novel, but rather it is a practice that is already entrenched into the culture of many top colleges, for many decades. Some of the colleges that invest in juvenile justice best-practices are located in the state of Pennsylvania, Utah, Massachusetts, and Colorado.

### **Resources for Awareness**

One way to explain the lack of “awareness” is that colleges and communities may not have the economic resources to create “awareness of juvenile justice best-practices”, let alone to sustain it. However, awareness is not necessarily an expensive task, and the literature is not indicating that colleges and communities are spending too much on the awareness on best-practices. On the contrary, it is increasing possible for college communities to rely on donation to create and sustain awareness, at no extra cost.

### **Awareness and Volunteering**

Throughout history, humans have always donated and volunteered their personal resources for the greater good of the community. In the American volunteer literature, the college communities in each of the 50 states volunteer at different rates. By far the largest contrasts exist between the states of Utah and New Jersey where the rates of student volunteers are 48% and

18% respectively (Corporation for National and Community Service [CNCS], 2013). Texas students ranked in the bottom five at about 20% overall (CNCS, 2013). According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics (2015), the most recent data show that more than 60 million Americans volunteered in 2014, especially when they were invited to help out (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics [BLS], 2015). The government defines volunteers as persons (mostly adults) who do unpaid work (BLS, 2015, para. 1).

Some important demographic differences, such as race, gender, and status, were noticed amongst the volunteers. Researchers found that Whites volunteered more than Blacks, and that women volunteered more than men. One of the most notable findings was that the educational levels of volunteers correlate positively with the quantity and quality of volunteering. Without exception, those with the most education were more likely to volunteer, compared to those with lower educational achievement (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics [BLS], 2015) Compared to past years, the college-educated adults (CEAs) were more likely to volunteer more hours, and more likely to perform the professional tasks that require higher-education (BLS, 2015, para.7). Another important highlight of this survey was the nature of activities performed by the volunteers. Two of the top three volunteer activities were (a) fund-raising, and (b) teaching or tutoring (BLS, 2015, para. 15). Finally, the researchers learned that volunteers, especially the college-educated adults, were more likely to volunteer for an organization after a member of the organization asked them to help. The two types of organizations that attracted the most number of volunteers were either religious or educational facilities (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics [BLS], 2015).

With very little exceptions, this 2014 survey was very similar to those of past years on the subject (Corporation for National and Community Service [CNCS], 2006; Corporation for National and Community Service [CNCS], 2007; Corporation for National and Community Service [CNCS], 2013). This (BLS) longitudinal survey is very significant for the creation and sustaining of community-wide awareness. (2015). Other experts have corroborated the notion that a “cognitive surplus” of volunteer time and talents exist for activities, such as community awareness (Shirky, 2010). Volunteerism represents an untapped opportunity for colleges and religious organizations to invest millions of hours towards the awareness of best-practices in their community. (Shirky, 2010; U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics [BLS], 2015). In a recent Op-Ed written by John Sharp, the Texas A&M Chancellor, touted how his system is now ranked as the most fiscally responsible in Texas (Sharp, 2015).

The chancellor further emphasized that: Respect is one of the core values we help instill in every Aggie student, and we at The Texas A&M University System treat our students, their parents, and the taxpayers of Texas with respect when it comes to giving them value for their dollar (Sharp, 2015):

1. Strengthen science and NIJ’s scientific endeavors;
2. Encourage a more multidisciplinary approach to helping the nation’s criminal justice practitioners solve problems;
3. Define and quantify impact;
4. Encourage racial and ethnic diversity in our investments;
5. Foster researcher-practitioner partnerships.



## Methods

### Population

This study measured the community awareness of juvenile justice best-practices among 150 college-educated adults (CEAs). The primary site of this study was the colleges inside the Prairie View A&M University (PVAMU), which is located within the Houston Galveston Area Council (H-GAC). The H-GAC is one of the largest regional communities in the state of Texas. Like most of the states in America, Texas is divided into very large and complex regional communities known as Councils of Governments (COGs). Each of the geographical COG areas contain hundreds of smaller inter-dependent communities, with distinct and complex systems or forms of governmental structures. Examples of the many types of communities within each COGs include: Counties, Precincts, Cities, Neighborhoods, School districts, and Colleges. The H-GAC comprise of 13 counties, including Waller County, where PVAMU is located. The location of this study was significant because PVAMU is the only public university that offers a comprehensive undergraduate, graduate masters, and doctorate degrees in juvenile justice (Prairie View A&M University [PVAMU], 2010).

### Sample

This study sampled 150 CEAs, who were adult students or employees that either completed at least one college course or obtained a degree. Initially 200 CEAs were given the Willingness to Support best-practice survey, but 50 were disqualified for failure to complete the survey. This sample attended PVAMU or worked at the local college district. College districts are also known as college town.

### Procedures

The researcher selected this particular sample because they happen to be the most educated and most valuable resource to implement best-practices. Further, CEA students were considered the catalyst while professors are champions for best-practices in juvenile justice. According Hawkins and Catalano, the role of catalyst and champions are crucial to implementing best-practices (Hawkins & Catalano, 2002). The researcher asked department heads of CEAs for permission to participate in this study. In addition, the researcher also met with participants to complete this survey, when necessary. The researcher met with CEAs and asked for their participation in this study. In addition, the researcher asked participants to refer other CEAs with similar qualities as them to participate in survey. Further, according to their preference, participants were given a paper survey or an online qualtrics survey, which took about 30 minutes to complete. For brevity, only a few important highlights are covered in the current study.

### Protection of Participants

Before taking the survey, participants learned about the nature study. They were notified by the researcher that there would be minimal discomfort throughout the survey. Data analyzation was completed using a group aggregate level, anonymously, while participant names and signatures were separated from survey results. These results are being stored under lock and key

by the researcher, who has sole access.

### Instrument Research Design

The purpose of the survey use in this study was to measure each participant's willingness to support best-practices. Before taking the survey, participants were also made aware of the best-practice in juvenile justice. The survey used for this study was designed by the researcher and validated by experts in instrument design, who also specialized in juvenile justice. Participants answered nearly 33 questions, using a likert scale with four possible answers: strongly disagree, disagree, agree, or strongly agree. The instrument was organized in five separate sections, which included demographic data, historical outlook on best-practices, rewards, willingness and accountability for awareness of best-practices. This study was designed to gather information that helps key leaders or champions understand the importance of willingness to support best-practice. Further, a review of the literature did not capture the selected variables of interest. However, this research adds to minimal literature about awareness of best-practices in juvenile justice.

### The Dependent Variables and Independent Variables

This study focused on the dependent variable: best-practice awareness. Several significant independent variables were included in this survey. The variables include age, race, gender, job status, and education. The educational level of CEAs participants was particularly an important variable to measure because best-practices are designed to be led by individuals with these qualities. Measuring CEA's educational level in support of awareness for best-practices in juvenile justice helps us understand the level of CEAs education on its influence on awareness and willingness to support best-practice.

## Results

Three research questions were used to test the measurability and manipulability of "community-wide awareness of juvenile justice best-practices" in Texas. To best represent the diversity of best-practices, the Communities That Care (CTC) model (Kuklinski et al., 2012) was used as a proxy for all possible best-practices in the State of Texas and elsewhere. Most of the participants were African American university students between 25 and 45 years old. The university was used as a microcosm of typical college community adults that would most likely participate in the awareness of best-practices in Texas. The Communities That Care (CTC) model was used as a proxy for juvenile justice best-practices in this study. The participants were asked to rate their levels of awareness or perception about the CTC model.

Table 1: Demographic distribution of respondents

| Variable | Number | Percent |
|----------|--------|---------|
| 18-25    | 28     | 16.7    |
| 26-35    | 41     | 32.8    |
| 36-45    | 59     | 21.7    |
| 46-55    | 19     | 18.2    |
| >56      | 3      | 3.5     |
| Total    | 150    | 100.0   |

| <b>Race</b>                      |     |       |
|----------------------------------|-----|-------|
| African America                  | 120 | 80.0  |
| White/Caucasian                  | 14  | 9.3   |
| Latino                           | 11  | 7.3   |
| Asian                            | 2   | 1.3   |
| Pacific/Islander                 | 1   | .7    |
| Others                           | 2   | 1.3   |
| Total                            | 150 | 100.0 |
| <b>Gender</b>                    |     |       |
| Male                             | 46  | 30.7  |
| Female                           | 104 | 69.3  |
| Total                            | 150 | 100   |
| <b>Highest College Degree</b>    |     |       |
| Some college credits             | 80  | 53.3  |
| Associates degree                | 25  | 16.7  |
| Bachelor's degree                | 25  | 16.7  |
| Master's degree                  | 8   | 5.3   |
| Doctor's degree                  | 4   | 2.7   |
| Other                            | 8   | 5.3   |
| Total                            | 150 | 100.0 |
| <b>College Status</b>            |     |       |
| Freshman                         | 44  | 29.3  |
| Sophomore                        | 54  | 36.0  |
| Junior                           | 25  | 16.7  |
| Senior                           | 4   | 2.7   |
| Master's student                 | 6   | 4.0   |
| Doctor's student                 | 7   | 4.7   |
| Not a student                    | 10  | 6.7   |
| Total                            | 150 | 100.0 |
| <b>Employment Status</b>         |     |       |
| Student Worker                   | 9   | 6.0   |
| Staff (Full-time)                | 8   | 5.3   |
| Staff (Part-time)                | 7   | 4.7   |
| Faculty Tenured                  | 9   | 6.0   |
| Faculty Non Tenured              | 3   | 2.0   |
| Administrator/Management         | 2   | 1.3   |
| N/A (Not a college employee)     | 112 | 74.7  |
| Total                            | 150 | 100.0 |
| <b>Volunteer hours per month</b> |     |       |
| 1-2 hours                        | 74  | 49.3  |
| 2-4 hours                        | 41  | 27.3  |
| 4-5 hours                        | 25  | 16.7  |

|            |     |       |
|------------|-----|-------|
| 5-10 hours | 8   | 5.3   |
| 11> hours  | 2   | 1.3   |
| Total      | 150 | 100.0 |

Research Question 1. Do colleges have awareness of Juvenile justice best-practices?

Table 2: Personal Perception of CTC

|                   | Frequency | Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|-------------------|-----------|---------|--------------------|
| Strongly Disagree | 47        | 31.3    | 31.3               |
| Disagree          | 35        | 23.3    | 54.7               |
| Agree             | 31        | 20.7    | 75.3               |
| Strongly Agree    | 37        | 24.7    | 100                |
| Total             | 150       | 100     |                    |

Figure 1 shows that from this study, nearly half of participants, initially became aware of the CTC best-practices. Furthermore, the other half of participants either strongly disagreed or disagreed that this was their first time learning about best-practices in juvenile justice. The data from this study revealed that the participants' level of awareness for Juvenile Justice best-practices was similar across all answer choices. For instance, Table 4 shows participant knowledge on awareness, where 31.3% strongly disagree, 23.3% disagree, 20.7% agree, and 24.7% strongly agree.

Figure 1: I am learning about CTC for the first time from this survey

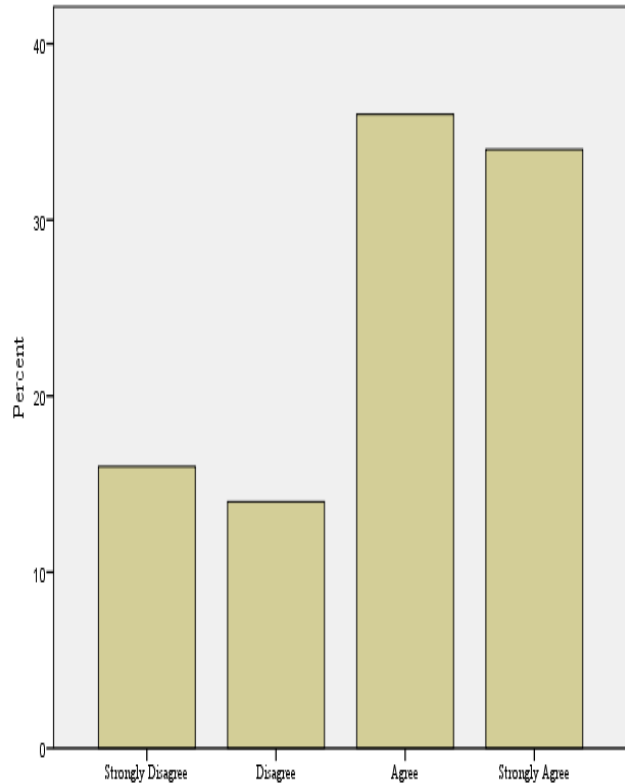


Figure 2: I have known about CTC for more than a year before this survey

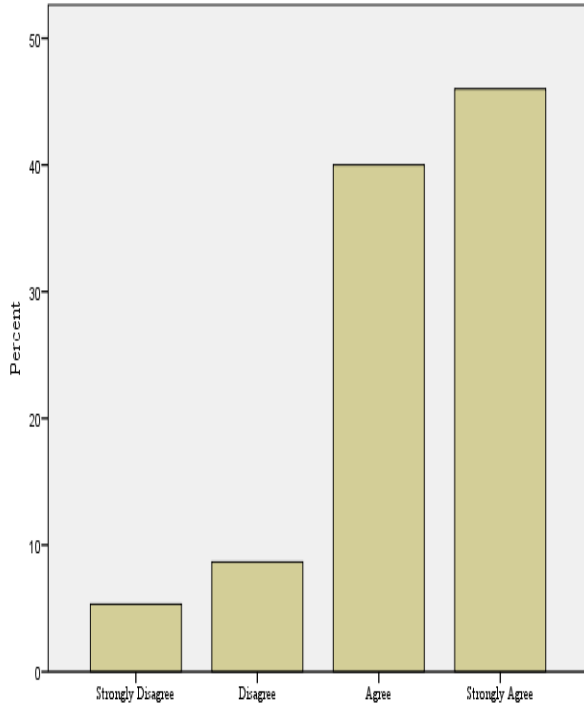


Figure 4: I have always known that CTC will benefit me and my college communities

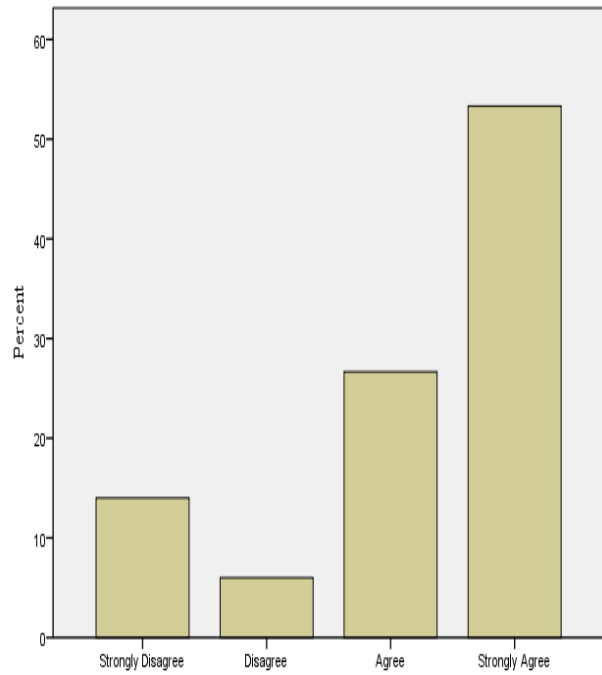


Figure 3: I initially found out about CTC from another college-educated-adult (CEA)

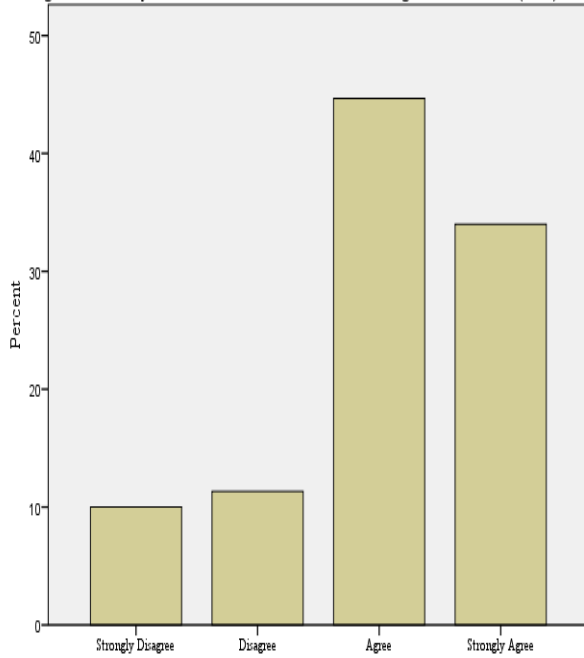


Figure 5: I have visited the CTC website on WWW.COMMUNITIESTHATCARE.NET

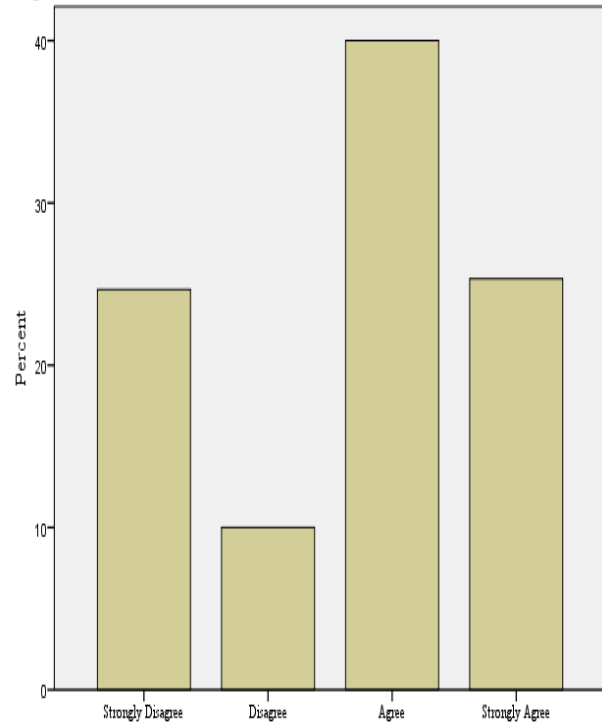
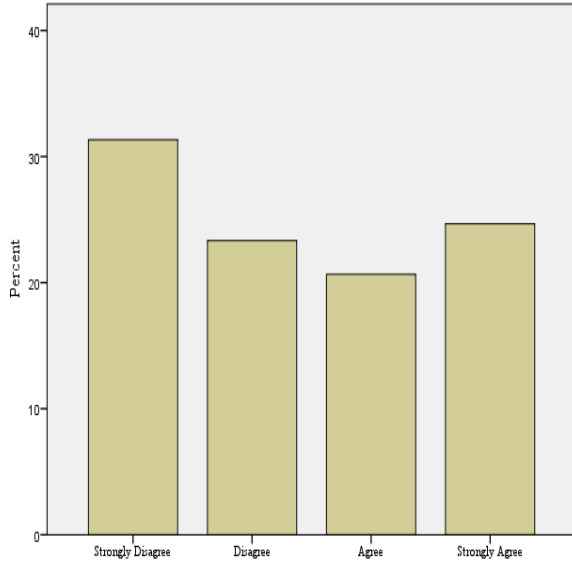


Figure 6: Personal Perception of CTC



Research Question #2. Are there demographic differences in the awareness of juvenile justice best-practices? Results from this survey indicated differential levels of awareness of best-practices between men and women. Among genders, the responses were statistically significantly different concerning the awareness of best-practices.

Table 3. Relationship between Gender and Level of Perception of CTC

|  | Gender | Personal Perception of CTC |          |       |                | Total |
|--|--------|----------------------------|----------|-------|----------------|-------|
|  |        | Strongly Disagree          | Disagree | Agree | Strongly Agree |       |
|  | Male   | 17                         | 10       | 10    | 9              | 46    |
|  | Female | 30                         | 25       | 21    | 28             | 104   |
|  | Total  | 47                         | 35       | 31    | 37             | 150   |

$\chi^2 = 14.111, df = 6, p = 0.028$

The levels of perception for best-practices in juvenile justice was measured among participants in various ethnicities. In exception to African American, there was no statistical difference in awareness for best-practices among participant race/ethnicity. However, Table 4 shows that African Americans were less likely know about awareness of best-practices.

Table 4. Relationship between Race/Ethnicity and Levels of Perception of CTC

| Race Ethnicity   | Personal Perception of CTC |          |       |                | Total |
|------------------|----------------------------|----------|-------|----------------|-------|
|                  | Strongly Disagree          | Disagree | Agree | Strongly Agree |       |
| African American | 34                         | 31       | 28    | 27             | 120   |
| White/Caucasian  | 9                          | 2        | 0     | 3              | 14    |

|                   |    |    |    |    |     |
|-------------------|----|----|----|----|-----|
| Latino            | 2  | 1  | 3  | 5  | 11  |
| Asian             | 1  | 0  | 0  | 1  | 2   |
| Pacific /Islander | 0  | 0  | 0  | 1  | 1   |
| Other             | 1  | 1  | 0  | 0  | 2   |
| Total             | 47 | 35 | 31 | 37 | 150 |

$\chi^2 = 19.741, df = 15, n = 0.182$  Note.

In this study, participant age was a statistically significant factor regarding their perception of best-practices. For instance, Table 5 indicates that individuals between the ages of 36 through 45 were less aware of best-practices than any other age group.

Table 5. Relationship between Age and Level of Perception of CTC

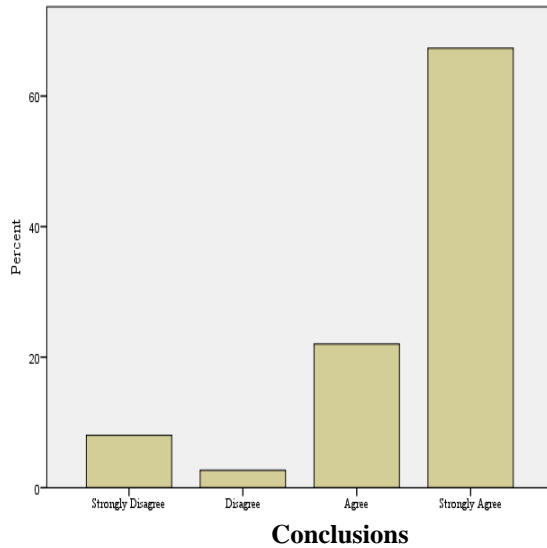
|       | Personal Perception of CTC |          |       |                | Total |
|-------|----------------------------|----------|-------|----------------|-------|
|       | Strongly Disagree          | Disagree | Agree | Strongly Agree |       |
| 18-25 | 4                          | 9        | 6     | 9              | 28    |
| 26-35 | 8                          | 12       | 12    | 9              | 41    |
| 36-45 | 29                         | 10       | 10    | 10             | 59    |
| 46-55 | 5                          | 3        | 3     | 8              | 19    |
| 56>   | 1                          | 1        | 0     | 1              | 3     |
| Total | 47                         | 35       | 31    | 37             | 150   |

$\chi^2 = 21.058, df = 12, p = 0.05***$

Research Question 3. Do colleges have the resources for awareness of best-practices?

The economic resources that create awareness of best-practices include land, labor, and capital. This research question focused mostly on labor (volunteer time and talent) from college adults because the literature show that the participants already have free access to the resource of land and capital. In addition, this study argues that local colleges have human resources (students, professors, and staff) who are willing to participate in practices. For instance, Figure 2, indicates how people believe they should be awarded for participating in best-practice programs. This data shows that 80% of participants believe they should be noticed or rewarded, always, for people helping people become aware of best-practices. Any important finding or conclusion to from this key research question is that over 80 percent of respondents wanted to participate in best-practices and may believe these practices are valuable enough to receive reward and recognition.

Figure 9: I should always be rewarded or recognized for CTC service-learning (CTC-SL)



This study suffered from certain obvious limitations or delimitation that makes it difficult to generalize the findings to every community. Some of the issues are worth mentioning to caution the readers and provide some directions for future researchers on the subject of awareness. First, the data was collected using convenient sampling techniques as part of a bigger dissertation study on the willingness to support (WITS) for Communities that Care (CTC). Best-practices often recognize the randomized control method as the gold standard for this kinds of data collection and sampling. Also, the analysis was limited to only the variables that were tested for in the WITS-Survey instrument. As a result, many factors that motivated the levels of awareness found in this study may have been inadvertently left out.

Secondly, there is the issue of “social desirability” which occurs when respondents feel pressured to give politically correct answer that they believe to be more socially acceptable. People sometimes lie to protect themselves from potentially embarrassing situations (Thompson & Phua, 2005) Although the participants were all college-educated adults (CEAs) and were encouraged to be honest, it was highly likely that some could have given the answers that they feel will be acceptable to their fellow participants. If so, this could have affected the high levels of awareness that the study showed.

In addition to the above limitation, the author deliberately imposed some delimitations regarding the levels of resources and willingness to support (WITS) of this participants. Although this was not allowed in the current study, it may serve some readers better to be able to juxtapose the WITS of study participants with the levels of awareness or resources. People with more resources may have been more willing to invest in awareness of best-practices. Including other types of analysis would have been beyond the scope of this basic awareness study.

However, in consideration of the above limitations and delimitations, the huge significance of the current study should never be lost on the readers. This is the first time, as far as the author is aware, that a study has been conducted on the

community awareness of best-practices in Texas. It therefore serves as a proof of the concept that awareness is both measurable and manipulable.

### Recommendations

The colleges and researchers in the juvenile justice system should devote more attention to monitoring the awareness of best-practices. A monthly report on the levels of awareness of best-practices is ideal because this can prevent policymakers from becoming “willfully blind” (Heffernan, 2011) about some of the most critical best-practices they need. The current study recommendation is based on the author’s assumption that colleges want to be made aware of best-practices in the justice system. This may seem presumptuous to some juvenile justice stakeholders. Indeed, there is no proof that most colleges have the willingness to support (WITS) for best-practices. Any college can actively sustain a CTC-Center for their community, and yet only less than 1% of colleges are currently doing so. Therefore future studies must test this hypothesis in order to establish whether colleges have any WITS for best-practices. With very little variation, the WITS of any college can easily be verified with a simple monthly survey, such as the WITS4CTC-survey used for the current study. While experts can argue that this survey is not perfect, it does represent an unprecedented effort and a benchmark to build upon.

Over time, the responses of college leaders can be compared to their actual behaviors and policy decisions on best-practices. For instance, college leader that claims to have 100% WITS for best-practices, should be reasonably expected to allocate some of their college resources to the same best-practices they support. Any discrepancies between the purported WITS and actual support can be reconciled over a longitudinal period of months and years. The current study has set forth the definitions of the basic concepts that any college community can use to understand their individual and collective “awareness” for local juvenile justice best-practices. There is no college group or individual that is responsible for creating regular awareness of best-practices.

### Policy Implications

A number of policies in the state of Texas communities and elsewhere have been implicated in this study, including the current accountability standards, or the lack thereof, for measuring and manipulating the awareness of best-practices. The results in this study show that college and community leaders have a clear responsibility and impact on awareness. Prior to this study, it was not clear how leaders control the very process of communicating best-practices to their communities. Each policy-maker must decide whether to support or suppress the awareness machine for their jurisdiction. This clarity will give Texas voters a chance to decide whether to invest in best-practices, or they can continue with what has been described as “the same old tired and ineffective traditional practices” (Greenwood & Turner, 2009). The prevailing traditional policies appear to rely on the criminal justice agents for crime prevention. Traditional criminal justice agents include police officers, the court systems, and correctional agents. The local reliance on these traditional have proven be disastrous given the abysmal on the ground. For instance, this

study has revealed how every college can easily activate their community-wide efforts for juvenile justice best-practices. While a few colleges have already done this by rewarding their members who support best-practices, most colleges have not taken this voluntary step. The time is now to invest in community-wide best-practices in Texas and the globe.

## References

- Abrami, P. C., & Perry, R. P. (1976). Recruitment of college volunteers for community service organizations using the lecture method. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 4(4), 369-377.
- Arungwa, S. C. (2014). The willingness to support evidence based juvenile delinquency prevention programs: An empirical survey of college-educated-adults for communities that care. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Texas A&M University System, Texas.
- Bringle, R. G., & Hatcher, J. A. (2000). Institutionalization of service learning in higher education. *Journal of Higher Education*, , 273-290.
- Chicago Women's Liberation Union [CWLU]. (1971). How to start your own consciousness-raising group. Retrieved from <http://web.archive.org/web/20040212200503/http://www.cwluherstory.com/CWLUArchive/crcwlu.html>
- Corporation for National and Community Service [CNCS]. (2006). College students helping america.. Retrieved from [http://www.nationalservice.gov/pdf/06\\_1016\\_RPD\\_college\\_full.pdf](http://www.nationalservice.gov/pdf/06_1016_RPD_college_full.pdf)
- Corporation for National and Community Service [CNCS]. (2007). Volunteering in america: 2007 city trends and rankings. Retrieved from [http://www.nationalservice.gov/pdf/VIA\\_CITIES/VIA\\_cities\\_summary.pdf](http://www.nationalservice.gov/pdf/VIA_CITIES/VIA_cities_summary.pdf)
- Corporation for National and Community Service [CNCS]. (2013). College student volunteer rates. Retrieved from <http://www.volunteeringinamerica.gov/rankings/States/College-Student-Volunteer-Rates/2013>
- Crime Solutions. (2015). About CrimeSolutions.gov. Retrieved from <http://www.crimesolutions.gov/>
- Eby, K. K., Mackin, J. R., Scofield, M. G., Legler, R. E., & Davidson, W. S. (1995). The adolescent diversion project. In Ross, R. R., Antonowicz, D. H., Dhaliwal, G. K. (Ed.), *Going straight: Effective delinquency prevention and offender rehabilitation* (pp. 79-108). Ottawa, Canada: Air Training and Publications.
- Einfeld, A., & Collins, D. (2008). The relationships between service-learning, social justice, multicultural competence, and civic engagement. *Journal of College Student Development*, 49(2), 95-109.
- Falck, O., Mang, C. & Woessmann, L. (2015). Virtually no effect? different uses of classroom computers and their effect on student achievement. Retrieved from <file:///home/chronos/u-bc5809b2197f9411393a790ab8be4c5244ba018c/Download/s/SSRN-id2589781.pdf>
- Federal Communications Commission. (2015). Voice over internet protocol (VoIP). Retrieved from <https://www.fcc.gov/encyclopedia/voice-over-internet-protocol-voip>
- Frese, F. J., Stanley, J., Kress, K., & Vogel-Scibilia, S. (2001). Integrating evidence-based practices and the recovery model. *Psychiatric Services*, 52(11), 1462-1468.
- Goldman, H. H., Ganju, V., Drake, R. E., Gorman, P., Hogan, M., Hyde, P. S., & Morgan, O. (2001). Policy implications for implementing evidence-based practices. *Psychiatric Services*, 52(12), 1591-1597.
- Greenwood, P. (2008). Prevention and intervention programs for juvenile offenders. *The Future of Children*, 18(2), 185-210.
- Greenwood, P., & Turner, S. (2009). An overview of prevention and intervention programs for juvenile offenders. *Victims & Offenders*, 4(4), 365-374. doi:10.1080/15564880903227438
- Hawkins, J., & Catalano, R. (2002). Communities that Care—Tools for community leaders: A guidebook for getting started. Retrieved from <http://www.sdr.org/ctcresource/Community%20Building%20and%20Foundational%20Material/Tools%20for%20Community%20Leaders.pdf>
- Heffernan, M. (2011). *Willful blindness: Why we ignore the obvious at our peril* (1st ed.). New York, NY: Walker.
- Keepod. (2015). Keepod, the \$7 PC. Retrieved from <http://keepod.com/>
- Kuklinski, M. R., Briney, J. S., Hawkins, J. D. & Catalano, R. F. (2012). Cost-benefit analysis of communities that care outcomes at eighth grade. Retrieved from <file:///home/chronos/u-bc5809b2197f9411393a790ab8be4c5244ba018c/Downloads/nihms340711.pdf>
- McLeod, J. (2015). Strategies for improving outcomes for justice involved youth. Retrieved from <http://www.nga.org/files/live/sites/NGA/files/pdf/2015/StrategiesForImprovingOutcomes.pdf>
- Officer, S. D. H., Grim, J., Medina, M. A., Bringle, R. G., & Foreman, A. (2013). Strengthening community schools through university partnerships. *Peabody Journal of Education*, 88(5), 564-577. doi:10.1080/0161956X.2013.835152
- Pew Research Center. (2011). College students and technology. Retrieved from <http://www.pewinternet.org/2011/07/19/college-students-and-technology/>
- Pew Research Center. (2013a). American adults better educated than ever before. Retrieved from <http://www.pewresearch.org/daily-number/american-adults-better-educated-than-ever-before/>
- Prairie View A&M University [PVAMU]. (2010). PVAMU mission statement. Retrieved from <http://www.pvamu.edu/pages/602.asp>
- Reiser, S. J. (1992). Consumer competence and the reform of american health care. *JAMA: The Journal of the American Medical Association*, 267(11), 1511-1515.
- Sharp, J. (2015). The Texas A&M university system leads the way in fiscal responsibility. Retrieved from <http://chancellor.tamus.edu/texas-university-system-leads-way-fiscal-responsibility/>
- Shirky, C. (2010). *Cognitive surplus: Creativity and generosity in a connected age*. New York, NY: Penguin Press.

- Substance Abuse & Mental Health Services Administration [SAMHSA]. (2013c). FY 2013 grant request for applications (RFA) for the strategic prevention framework partnerships for success (SPF-PFS). Retrieved from <http://www.samhsa.gov/Grants/2013/sp-13-004.aspx>
- Thompson, E. R., & Phua, F. T. (2005). Reliability among senior managers of the Marlowe–Crowne short-form social desirability scale. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 19(4), 541-554.
- U. S. Department of Health & Human Services [HHS]. (2015). About the grants.gov program management office. Retrieved from <http://www.grants.gov/web/grants/home.html>
- U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics [BLS]. (2015). Volunteering in the united states, 2014. Retrieved from <http://www.bls.gov/news.release/volun.nr0.htm>
- Waller County Plan. (2015). Waller county community criminal justice plan. Retrieved from <http://www.h-gac.com/safety/justice/planning/planning.aspx>
- White House. (2015). Remarks by the president after meeting with task force on 21st century policing. Retrieved from <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2015/03/02/remarks-president-after-meeting-task-force-21st-century-policing>
- Wong, R. (2013). Coca-Cola and partners go the last mile: Improving access to medicines and supplies in Tanzania. Retrieved from [http://deliver.jsi.com/dhome/newsdetail?p\\_item\\_id=27283756&p\\_token=8F55DDA3802E8AAD4AEF05770652269C](http://deliver.jsi.com/dhome/newsdetail?p_item_id=27283756&p_token=8F55DDA3802E8AAD4AEF05770652269C)

## A Phenomenological Analysis of African American Students, Delinquent Behaviors and Future Academic Achievement

Jack S. Monelland Brittany Spencer  
 Winston-Salem State University

The following grant funded (Research Initiated Program, FY 2013-2014) study explored Winston-Salem State University student's prior participation in juvenile delinquent and or deviant behaviors. It further expanded on how effective deterrents and alternative programs assisted study participants in abstaining from continued delinquency which lead them to Winston-Salem State University. The sample consisted of ten African American male and female full-time undergraduate students between the ages of 19-21 (that participated in some form of juvenile delinquent or deviant behavior between the ages of 9-16). The findings presented various reasons for delinquent/deviant behaviors stemming from sociological, environmental and socioeconomic circumstances. Study results showed mixed outcomes in intervention programs as opposed to punishment. Sample participants, though motivated to desist from crime because of fear of harsh punishments, were receptive to the various programming required of them through various juvenile justice and educational requirements. This study further concluded that low socioeconomic status was a motivator behind the students' participation in delinquency and that each of them viewed a college education as vital to economic success and a positive alternative to delinquency.

Keywords: *juvenile delinquency, effective deterrents, alternative juvenile programs, education, Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs)*

In looking at juvenile delinquent indicators, the literature (educational/criminological) continues to suggest that poor academic performance correlates to delinquency, particularly for African and Latino youth. According to a report by Soifer (2010), "for every African American youth from 10-17 years of age, in the District of Columbia, 3 out of 10 teenagers would not graduate from high school; one would become truant, and one delinquent." These numbers are not exclusive to the Nation's Capital, nor larger cities, but all communities nationwide.

In 2012, 91% of juveniles completed high school compared to 84 % in 1975, stated a report by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP, 2014). Compared to Caucasian youths, African American and Latino youth had substantial increases in completion. This significance is quite poignant, particularly to the representative sample, as the data collected conveyed how such academic involvement/achievement allowed for students to refrain from future delinquent activity and ultimately continue with undergraduate studies.

According to Reynolds, Temple, Robertson & Mann (2001), and their study of Chicago school aged children, the researchers presented how early childhood intervention, in relation to educational advancement and preparation (Pre-K), provided successful results for young people abstaining from delinquency and later criminality. In their longitudinal analysis of 1,539 low income African American children, 3 of their major outcomes (high school completion, juvenile arrests for violent and non-violent offenses, and grade retention or special education placement for identified youths) proved significant results.

Understanding that early indicators/precursors to delinquent and criminal behaviors are critical, as was highlighted in the researcher's prior analysis of juvenile

delinquents; the study presented how identified precursors can contribute to delinquency/criminality (Monell, 2005) if early interventions are not implemented. In the following study (Reynolds, et.al., 2001), Children based out of Chicago who were involved in early intervention programs had better educational and social outcomes up to 20 years old. In North Carolina, program implementation focusing on intervention and addressing indicators has been critical in the drop in delinquency. Within the state, juvenile delinquency has seen a steady decline for the last five years (NC Department of Public Safety Division of Juvenile Justice, 2011 Annual Report).

### Theoretical Framework

Juvenile delinquency is defined as conduct by a minor that is subject to legal action. A juvenile is generally defined as an adolescent between the ages of 7-17. Delinquent contact is defined as school referrals, arrests, intake, or placement into any type of deterrence or alternative program. The deterrence and alternative programs presented in this study includes mediation programs, school referrals, community service, and probation.

This qualitative study focused on the effective deterrents and alternative programs that created desistance in delinquency among juveniles. In looking at a theoretical framework to conceptualize the research direction, David Farrington's "Family Influences on Delinquency" (2010), was instrumental in formulating a theoretical approach. Farrington (2010) discussed the importance of understanding how Social learning, Attachment, Strain, and Social Bonding are critical in being able to assess juvenile behavior to that of their parents.

John Bowlby's Attachment Theory posits that children, who are not emotionally attached to nurturing and contributing members to society, are prone to delinquency (Farrington, 2010). It is further discussed that Social Learning Theory states that children's behavior is dependent upon parental rewards and



punishments in regards to their behavior (Farrington, 2010). The Strain Theory posits that negative treatment by peers or adults can foster delinquency and create aggression in children as a form of coping with the maltreatment (Farrington). The Social Bonding Theory discussed by Farrington relates a juvenile bond to society to delinquency. If a juvenile has a strong bond to society, they are less likely to become delinquent. If they have a disdain for social interaction and community involvement, the juvenile is more likely to participate in delinquent activity.

Hirschi's (1969) social bonding theory postulates that social interaction and social bonds creates desistance in delinquency as well as holding positive positions within an individual's community. These bonds, titles, or positions preoccupy juveniles and former delinquents by showing them their self-worth, and keeping them focused on being contributing societal members. Assimilation into the normalcies of society creates a barrier between former delinquents and delinquency continuation.

Further, the key social institution of importance was college. Students desisted from engaging in delinquency because of a realization of the negative pathways that they were headed down, as well as the socioeconomic benefits of higher education. Ultimately, students desisted in delinquency as they distanced themselves from poisonous environments, and peers, to pursue academic interests in a nurturing and positive setting. Family members that participated in criminal activity created weaknesses in the bond between juveniles and society. Not being positive role models, and contributing members of society, allowed juveniles to consider criminal activity and delinquency the norm. Parents not spending an adequate amount of time with juveniles or setting positive examples for them by being active members within their communities, have allowed and forced juveniles to seek attention from negative outlets and peers.

## Methods

The purpose of this phenomenological study was to examine how education and additional supportive measures deterred future delinquent behaviors in a group of African American students at Winston-Salem State University. The objective was to explore what behaviors took place, and further, what supportive measures affected or impacted the deterrence of possible delinquent behaviors. Participants shared their insight and perceptions as they experienced the phenomenon (Alshorfat, 2011) allowing the principal investigator to gain more insight into their earlier behavioral reflections. This method of inquiry was quite appropriate as it provided for a more in-depth understanding into the occurrences faced by the students during their middle school and high school academic years.

### Sample

The population for the study was ten undergraduate African-American students attending Winston-Salem State University who had prior delinquent contact with school administrators, social services agencies or the juvenile justice system (see Chart 1). The sample consisted of male and female African American students who had some contact during their

adolescent years (ages 9-16).

Chart 1 - Demographics

| #   | Age | Contact | Type of Contact            | Gender | Second Contact | Class ification         |
|-----|-----|---------|----------------------------|--------|----------------|-------------------------|
| S1  | 21  | 16      | Shoplifting<br>Misdemeanor | Female | 17             | Senior<br>Fresh<br>man  |
| S2  | 19  | 16      | Larceny<br>School          | Female | 16-17          |                         |
| S3  | 20  | 12      | Referral<br>School         | Female | 15-12          | Junior                  |
| S4  | 20  | 12      | Referral                   | Female | 15-12          | Junior                  |
| S5  | 21  | 15      | Shoplifting<br>School      | Male   | No             | Senior                  |
| S6  | 21  | 9       | Referral<br>School         | Male   | 13             | Senior                  |
| S7  | 21  | 12      | Referral                   | Female | 15             | Senior<br>Sopho<br>more |
| S8  | 19  | 15      | Shoplifting<br>Misdemeanor | Male   | 15             |                         |
| S9  | 19  | 16      | Larceny                    | Female | 19             | Freshman                |
| S10 | 20  | 14      | Theft                      | Female | No             | Junior                  |

The students identified were enrolled as undergraduates at Winston-Salem State University within the ages of 19-21, and ranged from freshman to senior classifications. Students selected met the criteria through purposive sampling. The purposive sampling method was used intentionally to identify certain characteristics or behaviors exhibited by the participants. Students were interviewed until a repetition in patterns or suspected themes were identified and additional information was no longer produced through analysis (Mason, 2010). In this case, two sets of interviews were conducted. One interview focusing on the students' prior sociological/academic history and the second interview concentrated more on their experiences post-adolescent contact and at Winston-Salem State University.

### Design

A phenomenological design was selected for this study because it allowed for a deeper exploration of students' perceptions of community and academic supports or perceived barriers that impacted delinquent behaviors. As stated by the literature, phenomenological research is useful in understanding opportunities and barriers (Burnett, 2009). All interviews were conducted by the author, 9 done in person, and 1 on the phone. Interviews lasted from 25-45 minutes and were audio recorded. Though open-ended, the range of questions covered various areas from family history, educational (K-12) contacts, socio-economic levels, juvenile justice/court contact and academic achievement. This series allowed for the data captured to identify several overarching themes. The use of semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions was quite useful for this research inquiry and assisted in achieving saturation. As with phenomenological research, the participants were allowed to expand on their experiences with little restrictions to gauge a more in depth analysis of how their adolescent deviant behaviors impacted their lives as adults.

### *Data Analysis*

All interviews were audio recorded utilizing the MAXApp software on an iPad. Demographic information was coded by number and access to interviewees' personal information was only available to the principal investigator. For added security measures, all transcriptions were password protected. Once completed, interviews were transcribed and uploaded using NVivo 10 data management software. Transcripts and audio recordings were reviewed simultaneously for consistency and efficacy.

The data was analyzed using the process of free imaginative variation. As one of the objectives was to identify specific themes relevant to why students desisted from future deviant behaviors, this proved to be the most beneficial method of initial analysis to identify themes. Each participant was entered as a node in addition to the series of questions asked. Questions were then analyzed corresponding to each participant. The objective in analyzing the responses was to see common themes, phrases and commonalities between the participants and responses to the series of questions. Participant responses were analyzed for common themes and reoccurring phrases were identified during the data analyzing process. Highlighted words and phrases were stored under corresponding categories. Phrases were examined for frequency of response and phrase patterns within each node.

Node structures were independently analyzed. Hard copies of the node structures were generated. Node structures were analyzed for reoccurring words or phrases. Words and phrases were highlighted in assigned colors for each node to identify patterns. Nodes were analyzed for a high frequency of color and word or phrase patterns. Highlighted repeated words and phrases from initial categories were triangulated with patterns in node structures to detect similarities. Reoccurring words and phrases were identified as themes based on repetition of designated color and high frequency of word patterns.

## **Results**

In analyzing the data from the interviews, several themes emerged that covered areas of interest. The four overarching themes identified were:

- Family Impact on Delinquency
- Experience with Schools, Courts, and Intervention Programs
- Students Aspiring to Further their Education
- WSSU Impact on Students

These themes were recognized by the frequency of responses and similarities in language and word usage by participants. In organizing the segments, data was coded which highlighted similar trends and ideas conveyed to the principal investigator (Manser & Mitchell, 2012). As the objective of the design was to capture various phenomena into their past and current behaviors, these themes assisted with achieving that objective.

### *Theme 1 - Family Impact on Delinquency*

In looking at various reasons for delinquent behaviors among juveniles, one of the major predictors commonly identified in the literature, both criminal justice and social work, is how family dynamics impacts or affects juvenile deviancy and or delinquent behaviors. According to Straus (1994),

juveniles act out, in some cases aggressively, because of their earlier exposures to family violence and negative behaviors.

Newcomb and Loeb (1999) further expanded on how "mothers who endorse non-normative (deviant) attitudes, engage in criminal activities, and experience drug problems would have limited parenting skills and create a less accepting, more cold, and more rejecting environment for their children" (p. 177).

In reviewing participant responses, 60% of them stated their family influenced or exposed them to deviant/delinquent behaviors. They further added that they committed additional offenses after that initial contact. S1 responded, "my cousin was already a thief so she gave us advice on how to steal." S2 responded, "fighting and getting into trouble was easy because her cousin was always with her and pushing her to fight."

Much of the discussion for Theme 1 addressed issues related to how prior family negative actions contributed greatly in reference to delinquent/deviant behaviors. According to Q7 – "Do you feel that your upbringing contributed to your initial delinquent contact?" the responses varied from family members either actively participating in criminal activities or promoting the participants to engage in negative behaviors. For the remainder of the participants (40%), family environment or criminal behaviors were not prevalent in their own behaviors.

### *Theme 2 - Experiences with Schools, Courts, and Intervention Programs*

Theme 2 explored participants' experiences with the schools, courts and intervention programs. Their responses were consistent with the social science literature in relation to community programs and interventions. For teenagers residing in the nation's capital, "four DCPS high schools reported three crime related incidents for every four days of the 2007-2008 school year (Mulhausen, D., Soifer, D. & Lips, D, 2008, p.8).

In North Carolina, where the K-12 educational systems have school resource officers, there have been instances where an increased number of school referrals because of behavioral issues experiences by teachers within the classroom setting. Where in-school suspensions (ISS) are always optional, there are higher numbers of minority students referred to outside parties.

Theme 2, participant responses expanded on how intervention programs effectiveness and their experiences in schools assisted them in desisting from future delinquent actions. Participants conveyed overall favorability with earlier interventions (both in schools and community) were higher than the previous theme.

Theme 2 had more positive experience with school and court interventions as opposed to other types of interventions (therapy/groups). Though some of the school experiences were limited to non-clinical approaches, as well as community service programs for court requirements, the participants disclosed that those types of programs were more effective in keeping them from re-offending. As the study aimed at showing whether desistance to delinquency/crime was a direct result of constructive programming for adolescents, these results provided more clarity as to what worked for these participants.

Oftentimes, the arguments at creating effective programs for adolescents or even adult offenders are that it's not cost effective. Greenwood (2008) states that "investing in successful delinquency-prevention programs can save taxpayers seven to ten dollars for every dollar invested, primarily in the form of reduced

spending on prisons” (p.185). The investments early on could potentially deter more long term criminal activities in juveniles which would be more cost burdensome to the taxpayer. In reviewing some of the responses for this theme, S10 in queried on the following question (Q5) – “*What deterrence programs were you required to attend, and were they effective?*” She responded that “I had to take a life skills class and do community service at the recycling distribution center. Working 8 hour days, coming home tired and dirty made me appreciate hard work and that stealing was wrong.” For S5, though he wasn’t required to attend a program but indicated that his court involvement for stealing was a deterrent enough, particularly in the way he hurt his mother throughout the judicial process.

### *Theme 3 - Students Aspiring to Further their Education*

This theme was critically important for various reasons. Much of the research correlates academic access, involvement and progress with success. Obtaining data on why young people, particularly African American teenagers, desired to continue with academic pursuits was an area quite important to educational administrators and practitioners alike. The responses to this theme conveyed that all participants (n-10) wanted to attend college as adolescents. Where you saw differences in rationale was split between three sub-themes. For 2 participants, their motivation to attend college was influenced by their court involvement. For S1 – the courts gave her the option of getting a job or going to college. “As a senior, I felt that going to college would not only help me but my mom as well. More importantly, I knew the courts would not be as lenient with me if I kept appearing before them.”

For S10, her interest in attending college was both court influenced and self-motivation. S10 shared that in her initial contact, she was required to attend school and abide by court required interventions. Her involvement in these programs (volunteering and life skills classes) allowed for her to reflect on her behaviors. Soon after participating, she realized that college would be her only option out of her current circumstances. Additionally, during the time she was about to get her license, this added to her shift in negative behaviors. She stated, “It put it all in perspective. I wanted to get my license and I wanted to go to college.”

### *Theme 4 –WSSU Impact on Students*

Historically Black Colleges and Universities continue to be important components and conduits to education for predominately African American students in the southern region of the United States. This theme was critically important to focus on as it related to the educational options and progress of African American students.

All of the participants stated that their time at Winston-Salem State University were overwhelmingly positive in helping them develop academic, personal and civic growth. Despite not being the first academic choice for several participants; S1, S4, S5, 70% of the sample chose to attend WSSU as a first option and were satisfied with their selection. In the data collection phase where the principal investigator was attempting to gauge why and how Winston-Salem State

University was significant in the participant’s growth, the following questions was posed:

*“How has your experience here at WSSU, impacted you, changed you, and helped you mature into the student you are today? How did your experience shape how you view your past? Would you have experienced the same support academically, socially, at a predominately white institution (PWI)?”*

The following were the participants’ responses:

S5 – “I think I would have had the same experience but it just would have been more culturally diverse. However, I’m glad I attended an HBCU because the school chose to accept me unlike institution within the University of North Carolina system who rejected me because of my temper on the tennis court.”

S6 – “It has made me appreciate being African American more. Attending an HBCU has made me more responsible and it gives hope to black students as far as academics, mentoring and cultivating young African Americans. I do not believe attending a PWI would have been more beneficial because I have more access to my professors and resources at WSSU, an HBCU, compared to my friends who attended PWIs.”

S7 – “It helped me mature, work hard and stay on my toes academically. It has helped me grow and made me spiritually open to the world. I feel like attending an HBCU has kept me culturally grounded. Attending a PWI would have possibly allowed for me to socialize more in a manner that may have hindered my education. I am glad I attended WSSU, an HBCU.”

S8 – “I have learned to be more patient, organized and how to deal with my anger. Although PWIs tend to present as more methodical and professional, I am proud to have attended WSSU, an HBCU. My time here has afforded me a chance to grow and mature and ultimately gain control of my anger issues, particularly when presented with situations which could have possibly ended up worse.”

As most of the responses conveyed, participants’ tenure at WSSU has been favorable and preferable compared to attending a PWI. Looking at the research dating back to the 1980s, the literature has been somewhat limited in its overall analysis of how such institutions benefit the intellectual and social growth of African American students compared to predominately white institutions. What the research suggested then, and it still holds true, is that African American students tend to do well in three areas, academic success, cognitive growth and retention.

According to Pascarella, Smart, Ethington, and Nettles (1987), attending an HBCU was positively associated with students’ remaining in college and earning a bachelor’s degree. Nagda, Gregerman, Jonides, Hippel, & Lerner (1998), further elaborated on how successful retention efforts were in African American

students, particularly sophomores. Nagda et. al (1998) understanding this, presented promising results related to how successful students were with faculty-student relationships.

### Conclusion

The purpose of conducting this study was to explore some of the earlier experiences by African American students at Winston-Salem State University as it related to adolescent behaviors and delinquency. One of the primary objectives was to expand on prior research conducted (Monell, 2005) that investigated early precursors to social problems and then violence by adolescents (n=1715). Previous indicators such as dysfunctional family practices and counseling/ intervention services while detained were areas where results provided significant results through regression analysis models (p = .001). These earlier indicators were used as base questions for the present study which asked questions related to home/environmental factors and intervention services.

Another objective was to highlight how despite engaging in earlier delinquent/behavioral acts, participants were able to continue to be productive in society and embark on educational pursuits. This area or overarching theme, Theme 4, was quite important as it explored how WSSU impacted students' intellectual, cognitive and sociological development. One example was a newly developed program, Faculty – in – Residence, which housed faculty members in residence halls throughout the campus. Going into its third year, the response from the student body and administrators have been favorable.

As the program grows, its impact on the student body should continue to create positive relationships between faculty members and students, hence, eliminating the common barriers often seen at various institutions.

One of the broader objectives is to expand this study to other HBCUs throughout the University of North Carolina system to evaluate consistency among the African American students throughout the various campuses. Further, once completed, cross analysis with all UNC system universities would then allow for a more robust analysis of African American students at both, HBCUs and PWIs.

### References

Alshorfat, S. S. (2011). The impact of a mandated educational reform program on Jordanian teachers' work lives. *International Journal of Applied Educational Studies*, 12(1), 57-70.

Burnett, C. (2009). Research into literacy and technology in primary classrooms: An exploration of understandings generated by recent studies. *Journal of Research in Reading*, 2(1), 22-37. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9817.2008.01379.x.

Farrington, D. (2010). Family Influences on Delinquency in Springer, D & Roberts R (Eds.). *Juvenile Justice and Delinquency*. (Sudbury, Massachusetts – Jones & Bartlett).

Greenwood, P. (2008). Prevention and Intervention Programs for Juvenile Offenders. *The Future of Children*, Volume 18, Number 2, Fall 2008, pp. 185-210.

Hirschi, T. (1969). *Causes of Delinquency*.

Manser, T., and Mitchell, L. (2012). Strengths and weaknesses of specific interview methods and qualitative data analysis strategies in identifying team performance requirements. *Proceedings of the Human Factors and Ergonomics Society Annual Meeting*, 56(840), doi: 10.1177/1071181312561176

Mason, M. (2010). Sample size and saturation in PhD studies using qualitative interviews. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 11(3), 1-19.

Monell, J. (2005). *Early Precursors of Social Problems in Juvenile Delinquents, and their Relation to Adult Criminal Behavior*. (Doctoral Dissertation). UMI - ID: 3188005.

Mulhausen, D., Soifer, D. & Lips, D. *School Safety in Washington, DC: New Data for the 2007-08 School Year*, joint publication of the Lexington Institute and the Heritage Foundation. August 28, 2009, p. 8.

North Carolina Department of Public Safety Division of Juvenile Justice. (2012). *2011 Annual Report*. Raleigh, NC.

Nagda, B. A., Gregerman, S. R., Jonides, J., Hippel, W., and Lerner, J. S. (1998). Undergraduate student-faculty research partnerships affect student retention. *The Review of Higher Education*, 22(1): 55-72.

Newcomb, M., & Loeb, T. (1999). Poor parenting as an adult problem behavior: General deviance, deviant attitudes, inadequate family support and bonding, or just bad parents? *Journal of Family Psychology*, 2, 175-193.

*OJJDP Statistical Briefing Book*. Online. Available: <http://www.ojjdp.gov/ojstatbb/population/qa01501.asp?qaDate=2012>. Released on August 29, 2014.

Pascarella, E., Smart, J., Ethington, C., and Nettles, M. (1987). The influence of college on self-concept: A consideration of race and gender differences. *American Educational Research Journal*, 24(1): 49--77.

Reynolds, A., Temple, J., Robertson, D. & Mann, A. (2001). Long-term Effects of an Early Childhood Intervention on Educational Achievement and Juvenile Arrest: A 15-Year Follow-up of Low-Income Children in Public Schools. *JAMA*. (18):2339-2346. doi:10.1001/jama.285.18.2339.

Soifer, D. (2010). *Education Strategies for Reducing Juvenile Crime in the Nation's Capital. Technical Report*. The Lexington Institute, Arlington, VA.

Strauss, M. (1994). *Violence in the lives of adolescents*. New York: W.W. Norton.

# The Argument for Moving Away From Residential Placement for Most Juvenile Offenders

Marika Dawkins  
 University of Texas Rio Grande Valley

This paper examines the theoretical and empirical argument for moving away from residential placement for juvenile offenders. To that end, the use of residential placement for juvenile offenders and incarceration for adult offenders are compared to shed light on the inconsistencies between rhetoric and actual practices as related to the deterrence theory. While residential placement and incarceration are generally regarded as two separate mechanisms, the literature suggests that residential placement is counterproductive and the U.S. must continue to reassess its approach to juvenile offending.

*Keywords:* community treatment, deterrence, juveniles, residential placement, incarceration

When there is an increase or perceived increase in crime many blame the rehabilitative goals of the justice system, which is seen as having responded with a “slap on the wrists” for dangerous criminals (Bernard, 1992). During the mid-1980s and early 1990s, the seriousness and frequency of juvenile offending increased, influencing lawmakers to pass laws supporting harsher sanctions for juvenile offenders. As such, the 1980s marked the start of the “get-tough” era where there was a shift in emphasis from rehabilitation to punishment. In response to tougher sanctions, additional residential facilities were created for juvenile offenders. Incarceration is commonly regarded as a corrective response with the potential to influence an individual’s behavior through rehabilitation and/or deterrence (Sweeten & Apel, 2007). While many researchers have examined the impact of incarcerating adults in jails and prisons on behavior and/or crime, very few have examined the nexus between residential placement and delinquency.

On the association between incarceration and crime there is a negative relationship, whereby an increase in incarceration is related to a decrease in the crime rate (examples include Devine, Shelley, & Smith, 1998; Johnson & Raphael, 2010; Marvell & Moody, 1994, 1997, 1998; Spelman, 2000a, 2000b, 2005; Washington State Institute for Public Policy, 2003). Other researchers (for example, DeFina & Arvanites, 2002; Stahlkopf, Males, & Macallair, 2010) have highlighted the complex relationship between incarceration and crime as well as questioned the deterrent effects of incarceration. With many empirical studies highlighting the effectiveness of incarceration (Devine, Shelley, & Smith, 1998; Johnson & Raphael, 2010; Marvell & Moody, 1994, 1997, 1998; Spelman, 2000a, 2000b, 2005; Washington State Institute for Public Policy, 2003), it is not surprising that incarceration has been the primary policy for addressing crime in the U.S. It is regarded as having value as both a specific and a general deterrent. Given the purported success of incarceration for adult offenders, it was only a matter of time before lawmakers advocated similar measures for juvenile offenders.

## Deterrence Theories

Although juvenile residential placement is often justified on rehabilitation grounds, in actual practice, the focus

has shifted to placement for deterrent purposes since the 1980s. Deterrence is theoretically informed by the classical school of thought, which has its origin in the writings of 18<sup>th</sup>-century philosophers, Cesare Beccaria and Jeremy Bentham (Akers & Sellers, 2009). They argued that everyone has some level of free will in making decisions and that punishment can deter individuals from criminal behaviors, based on the certainty, swiftness (celerity) and severity of the punishment. Deterrence is one of the oldest and most prevalent strategies for crime prevention. Proponents of the deterrence theory posit that, if individuals believe that the legal punishment exceeds the probable gain from offending, then they will not commit crimes (Akers & Sellers, 2009). Deterrence then, is deeply rooted in choice (Hoffmann, 2011). In other words, individuals choose to offend based on the benefits and costs of offending. Those individuals who offend may then be punished and/or incapacitated based on the offense committed. Incapacitation is a non-behavioral mechanism, usually in the form of incarceration and is aimed at preventing active offenders from reoffending (Nagin, 1998).

Nagin (1998) identified three main categories of deterrence studies - interrupted time-series, ecological, and perceptual (Nagin, 1998). Interrupted time-series studies analyze the outcomes of both directed and specific policy interventions such as “police crackdowns on open-air drug markets” (Nagin, 1998). These studies generally suggest that intervention has some temporary effects. Ecological studies employ natural variations in sanctions and crime rates across time and space to estimate deterrence effects. These types of studies search for a negative relationship between crime rates and sanctions for deterrence effects. More recent deterrence literature focuses on the third type, perceptual studies. Perceptual studies are those that attempt to link perceptions of risk and of the severity of punishment to self-reported delinquency and crime (Nagin, 1998). These data generally come from surveys. Regardless of the method, the aim is to prove the presence (or lack thereof) of deterrence effects.

Deterrence may also be classified based on the severity of the punishment leading to a subsequent decrease in crime or offending. This remains a challenge because the response to sanctions in the general population includes an assessment of how people rationalize certain behaviors. There is also the challenge of observing a non-effect (the amount of crime that

would have occurred but did not given the sanction). Often the sanctions under examination are capital punishment or lengthy incarceration. While some researchers find supporting evidence for the deterrence and incapacitation theories (for example, Drago, Galbiatis, & Vertova, 2009; Levitt, 1998; Sweeten & Apel, 2007), others do not (examples include Dawkins & Sorensen, 2015; Kellermann, Fuqua-Whitley, Rivara, & Mercy, 1998; Kessler & Greenberg, 1981; Kovandzic & Vieraitis, 2006; Stahlkopf, Males, & MaCallair, 2010).

Complicating the application of deterrence and incapacitation theories to juveniles is research that finds that juveniles are less rational decision makers (Hoffmann, 2011; Ward, n.d.). Therefore, the applicability of these theories to juvenile behavior is questionable. Perhaps, the reality lies somewhere in between and juveniles are less rational than adults but not wholly irrational decision makers. Thus, residential placement may deter some juveniles from committing similar offenses.

Implicit in the idea of incarceration is the hope that such punishment will have rehabilitative effects on the offender. Rehabilitation is a complicated concept that focuses on the character of an offender and to some extent the offense. It aims to reform an offender's character and outlook on society so that he or she will refrain from committing future offenses while functioning in society. Prior to the mid-1970s, rehabilitation was a main part of the U.S. incarceration policy, and offenders were encouraged to develop certain social skills necessary for reintegration into society (Benson, 2003). Since the beginning of the 1970s, the rehabilitative ideal has been in decline and was dismissed by many as ineffective (Martinson, 1974). Ideally, rehabilitation is a goal of corrections, and it has experienced a resurgence in support in recent years; however, punishment remains as a part of the justice response.

### The "Get-tough" Era

As a nation, the U.S. implemented several "get tough" measures at the height of the crack-cocaine epidemic in the mid-1980s. The "War on Drugs" was intensified and the message was evident- those found guilty would be punished harshly and to the full extent of the law. As mentioned previously, during this same period, juvenile offending increased significantly, both in severity and frequency. The disturbing increases in juvenile offending contributed to the popularization of terms such as "super-predators" and "time ticking bombs" which became the headlines for the juvenile delinquency problem (Levitt, 1998). Chung, Little, Steinberg, and Altschuler (2005) noted that the increase in violent offending among juveniles fed into the perception that juveniles were involved in more serious crimes. This shifted the nation's focus to juvenile offenses. The growth and changes in juvenile delinquency resulted in more focus on the offense rather than the offender. More recently, in 2012, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) reported an estimated 1.8 million arrests of juveniles in 2009. During the same period, about 49,000 juveniles were arrested for aggravated assault. With respect to murder, the estimated number of juvenile offenders increased by more than 30% between 2003 and 2006, before experiencing a 10% decline in 2009. Thus the 10% decline was much smaller than the 67% decline in juvenile murders from 1994 to 2003 (National Center

for Juvenile Justice, 2014). The Campaign for Youth Justice (2012) noted that, each year, an estimated 1.7 million cases are handled in U.S. juvenile courts. These cases (approximately 4,600 each day) usually focus on juveniles charged with a delinquency (the equivalent to crimes committed by adults). Clearly, the issue of juvenile delinquency is a major concern for not just the juvenile justice system, but also for society and legislators. It is this growing concern that has led lawmakers to believe in instituting measures or policies that are expected to alter the attitudes and behaviors of youth. To that end, a number of correctional programs have been put in place to address the juvenile delinquency concerns, increased use of residential placement being only one of them.

### Residential Placement

Residential placement is any placement outside of the youth's home. It has been a treatment response for youth deemed to have emotional disturbances and mental health diagnoses including substance abuse (Little, Krohn, & Thompson, 2005). As a costly option, it is normally reserved for youth suffering significantly from substance abuse or very disruptive psychiatric problems leading to their being too unruly to be treated in the general community (Justice Policy Institute, 2009). The *residence* is an environment in which minors are placed with other minors for "at least one night" with the objective of meeting certain needs, including educational, health, and/or other developmental (Little, Krohn, & Thompson, 2005). Herein, *minor* refers to an individual under the age of 18. Residential placement/facilities can be secure or non-secure based upon a number of factors regarding the offender's personal characteristics and/or offense. Whether the residential facility is secure or non-secure it is expected to be rehabilitative; offering support and helping juveniles learn from their mistakes (Justice Policy Institute, 2009).

Residential placement, ideally, is intended to be a place of care and support, which should foster youth development. The underlying rationale for the use of residential placement is also inherent in the philosophy upon which the juvenile court was originally founded; the idea that juveniles should receive individualized treatment. At the core, then, residential placement for juvenile delinquents is intended to correct negative and disruptive behavior that may adversely affect the future choices and options of minors. As such, at least theoretically, the focus is intended to be on juvenile delinquents/offenders as oppose to their offenses. With such a focus, offenders are seen as being amenable to treatment and their best interest is given precedence over punishment. In this sense, the use of residential placement represents a crossroad for the juvenile offender because it is the last phase of the juvenile justice system before the offender is transferred to the criminal justice system. Any residential restriction is a punishment (Hudson, 2003). OJJDP (n.d.) suggests that the most severe punishment the juvenile court can impose involves limiting a juvenile's freedom through residential placement.

Based on a biennial survey on Juvenile Residential Facility Census, which is conducted by the OJJDP, there are more than 900 facilities identified as residential treatment centers/facilities (Hockenberry, Sickmund, & Sladky, 2009). In these facilities, there are approximately 80,000 juveniles housed (Sickmund, 2010), but the Justice Policy Institute (2009)

suggested that on any given day, there are about 90,000 juveniles held in residential facilities throughout the nation. The Children's Defense Fund-Ohio (2012) suggests there are about 70,000 juveniles in residential facilities while Hockenberry (2014) finds about 61,000 being held both pre-adjudication and pre-disposition in the U.S.

Of course, there is no perfect system or approach for dealing with juvenile delinquents and, admittedly, the actual operation of these facilities is not uniform in or across states. Overall they are comparable to prisons (Justice Policy Institute, 2009). Given that residential placement for juvenile offenders is comparable to adult incarceration (prison/jail), the impact of incarceration on delinquency should be comparable. Likewise, the underlying rationale for incarceration is similar to that of residential placement. The assumption is that such placement is intended to disrupt delinquent behavior and prevent future recidivism. The effectiveness of incarceration has been examined both from a specific and general deterrence perspective, but the effectiveness of residential placement has not been subjected to such empirical tests or theoretical review.

### **Similarities between Residential Placement and Incarceration**

Historically, there were no legal distinctions between juvenile and adult offenders, nor were there separate justice systems in the United States until the 1800s (Hoffmann, 2011). Much of the changes in the juvenile justice system have mirrored changes in the adult criminal justice system. This includes the shift from a rehabilitation focus prior to the 1970s to one of deterrence and incapacitation in more recent times. Since the "get-tough" movement of the 1980s, the twenty-first century has brought a return to rehabilitation as a focus for juveniles with a greater emphasis on community treatment as opposed to residential placement in the interest of using the least restrictive appropriate response. Findings provided by the Survey of Youth in Residential Placement (SYRP) on a nationally represented sample of 7,073 youth in custody in 2003 reveal that juvenile facilities vary in organizational complexity, layout, and size (Sedlak & McPherson, 2010). The findings also revealed that youth in residential facilities have committed a number of different offenses, and offenders were comparable from program to program. Further, some facilities housed juveniles because the juvenile court wanted to protect them from abuse or neglect, although some have been placed in these facilities voluntarily by family members for treatment. Of the youth in residential facilities, the survey revealed that approximately 59% indicated it would take more than an hour for family members to visit them whereas 28% stated it would take more than three hours for their family members to visit them (Sedlak & McPherson, 2010). Evidence indicates that most of the juveniles held in residential facilities had been adjudicated for nonviolent offenses (Justice Policy Institute, 2009). Therefore, it is concerning to find that some of the common disciplinary measures include both manual labor and solitary confinement. SYRP findings indicate that one-third of juveniles in custody have reportedly been isolated, that is, being confined to their rooms with no direct contact with other residents, or being locked up alone. Other juvenile delinquents would sometimes be transferred to another facility.

Based on national data, the Justice Policy Institute (2009) found that roughly 36% of all juvenile facilities are near or exceeding maximum capacity. Evidence of suicidal behavior, psychiatric problems, other stress-related illnesses, and widespread abuse (Justice Policy Institute, 2009; the Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2011) found in these residential facilities undermine any rehabilitative intentions. They exist in large measure then for community protection. In reality, however, many of these issues are a mirror image of what transpires in the criminal justice system where many offenders suffer from similar problems, including suicidal behavior and psychiatric issues, and are also incarcerated for nonviolent offenses. The Sentencing Project (2014) reported that approximately 47% of the state population in 2011 were there for a nonviolent offense.

If residential placement operates as initially planned, it can certainly address the juvenile delinquency problem. For example, issues such as cognitive behavioral skills, substance abuse, and emotional health, as well as attitude problems are likely to impede development and may be addressed in residential facilities. Residential staff are also expected to supervise and protect juveniles from any potential harm (both from themselves and fellow residents), treat them humanely and help them to prepare for reintegration into their communities.

### **Studies linking Incarceration to Deterrence**

Regarding the incarceration of adults Marvell and Moody (1994), Besci (1999), Levitt (2001) and Spelman (2005), found that, as incarceration increases, there is a decrease in the crime rate. Ritchie (2011) reviewed the evidence on imprisonment and deterrence, and concluded that despite an inverse relationship, the relationship between incarceration and crime is statistically insignificant. Recent evidence indicates there is no significant impact, or at least indicates that increased use of incarceration leads to a decrease in the inverse relationship over time (Kovandzic & Sloan, 2002; Kovandzic & Vieraitis, 2006; Liedka, Piehl, & Useem, 2006), while some of the other studies suggest no significant findings or a decrease in crime type (for example, a decrease in property but not in violent offenses) (DeFina & Arvanites, 2002; Donhue & Levitt, 2001; Raphael & Winter-Ebmer, 2001). Researchers such as Blumstein (2008) claimed that incarceration is effective for certain types of crimes and that may help explain the disparities in some findings. Dawkins and Sorensen (2015) found that an increase in the use of residential placement also leads to an increase in property offenses, which could be explained by replacement offenders. As a result, the findings from the study could therefore be nullified when considering replacement offenders. In sum, these studies in regard to incarceration and deterrence suggest the debate is far from settled.

### **Paucity of Research on Residential Placement and Deterrence**

Levitt (1998) examined the relationship between juvenile offending and punishment. In doing so, he used an economic approach to assess the changes in expected punishment and the corresponding influence on subsequent criminal behavior. He used state-level panel data with about 2-year intervals from 1978 to 1983 to approximate the response of

juvenile offending to criminal justice punishment while keeping certain factors such as percentage Black and the relative punitiveness by cohort constant. His findings revealed that it is effective to place a juvenile in confinement as a crime fighting strategy. Levitt also found that both juveniles and adults respond similarly to punishment. He suggested that part of the deterrence argument rests on the notion that more severe penalties would send a message to offenders that “crime does not pay,” thereby lessening future criminal participation. In contrast to this position, is the notion that confinement can further criminal involvement. Levitt found evidence suggesting that juvenile offending is responsive to more severe penalties. Overall, Levitt’s findings offer support to the tenets of the deterrence and incapacitation theories (mainly the severity of punishment).

Other researchers such as Kellermann, Fuqua-Whitley, Rivara, and Mercy (1998) evaluated crime prevention strategies in an attempt to understand the nature of youth violence, and found that results for many have been disappointing. These researchers acknowledged that while there were no specific examinations of juvenile justice strategies, based on their review of programs, the evidence indicates that incarcerating juvenile offenders is counterproductive and incarceration might only work on a short-term basis, not long-term. Similarly, Dawkins and Sorensen (2015) in a study on the impact of residential placement on juvenile offending found confinement to be counterproductive, that is, they did not find support for the deterrence and incapacitation theories or evidence that confinement (residential placement) subsequently reduces delinquent involvement. These findings appear to undermine the tenets of the deterrence and incapacitation theories.

The conflicting findings on incarceration and crime may be attributed in part to the variations across and within states in residential placements. There are also broader contextual factors that could impact the crime rate. In regard to juvenile offenders, findings and studies about the deterrent effects for adults are expected to result in similar deterrent effects for juveniles because the deterrence theoretical framework is the same. Therein is the goal of specific deterrence where it is expected that punishment will deter the offender from committing future offenses, and general deterrence (to deter other potential offenders). Relatedly, lawmakers and many in the public are also interested in sending a message to potential offenders that crime “does not pay” with sufficiently severe penalties. This has been a part of the “get-tough” measures of the mid-1980s and early 1990s.

In more recent years several researchers have advocated for a shift from confinement to community-based treatment for juvenile offenders. This renewed approach is based on the lack of evidence linking public safety directly to increases in the incarcerated juvenile population (Justice Policy Institute, 2009). The Justice Policy Institute (2009) also suggested that states with an increased incarcerated juvenile population were less likely to see significant decreases in crime when compared to states that lowered their incarcerated juvenile population. The Annie E. Casey Foundation (2011) suggested that based on several studies, in general, juvenile confinement is not as effective in reducing juvenile offending as other strategies. Dawkins and Sorensen’s (2015) study utilized random effects to estimate the impact of residential

placement on juvenile delinquency. In doing so, they used state-level panel data from 1997 to 2011, with roughly 2-year intervals, and variables such as African American male youth, children living below the poverty line, sworn police office per capita, region (states’ location- south vs other), and high school graduation rates were examined. They found that using residential placement to address juvenile offending is ineffective. Such a finding appears to be consistent with recent studies that seemingly question the efficacy of incarceration as a deterrent. For example, one report out of Texas by Fabelo, Arrigona, Thompson, Clemens, and Marchbanks (2015) indicates there has been a significant drop in crimes committed by youth after its shift from state-run detention facilities for youth to a community-centered approach. Overall these recent findings support Miller’s (1998) call, nearly two decades earlier, for less residential placement and the need to return juveniles to their communities.

## Conclusion

It is expected that if incarceration has a real deterrent effect on crime, then it should be evident in both the short- and long-term, and that was not found in the Dawkins and Sorensen’s (2015) study. Consistent with such a finding is the recent trends in Texas’ Department of Juvenile Justice (2010 and later) that emphasize greater use of community services instead of residential placement, which to date have yielded favorable results (the Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2011; Fabelo, Arrigona, Thompson, Clemens, & Marchbanks, 2015; the Justice Policy Institute, 2009). Overall there has been a decline in juvenile offending rates (Johansson, 2013), which some have attributed to either reforms or community-based treatment (Fabelo, Arrigona, Thompson, Clemens, & Marchbanks, 2015), while a recent National Center for Juvenile Justice (2014) report suggests the reasons for the decline are unclear.

Juveniles differ from adults in their capacity to weigh the consequences of their actions. Other researchers have also pointed out; juveniles generally see their behaviors as “experimental” or “living in the moment” (Hoffmann, 2011). As the frontal lobe of the brain continues to develop until individuals are into their twenties, the “planning skills,” rational and conscious thought in juveniles remain questionable (Hoffmann, 2011 citing Segalowitz & Davis, 2004). Therefore, the rational choice model’s applicability to juveniles’ decision-making in the real-world appears problematic. As such, diminished capacity and culpability are of grave concerns, especially among juveniles. These factors certainly undermine the deterrence and incapacitation theories based on youth brain research, despite the rhetoric by some in the public and the “get-tough” policies advocated by lawmakers. The application of the deterrence and incapacitation theories to juvenile offenders, however, is necessary and should continue to be evaluated by different researchers.

The problem of juvenile delinquency is of concern, and must be addressed; however, the use of residential placement as a deterrent-based juvenile justice response is inadequate. Labeling theorists, such as Braitwaite (1989), suggest harsh sanctions are unlikely to be effective. These theorists claim that punitive sanctions such as residential placement (both secure and non-secure) will unfairly interrupt normal development and the socialization process rather than serving as a positive



reinforcement. Residential placement should be regarded as a last resort to addressing delinquency because of its potential to result in greater harm and the increased likelihood that juveniles are more likely to enhance their delinquent skills due to its criminogenic (juveniles are surrounded by negative influences such as other delinquent peers) environment, whereas family support and community treatment are regarded as more positive avenues. The Correctional Association of New York (2010) has also found that juveniles released from detention are more likely to recidivate than those given alternative punishment in the community. Therefore, the juvenile justice system must set realistic goals for both juveniles and the justice system that can result in measurable outcomes. The OJJDP has undertaken a number of initiatives to find alternatives to residential facilities for juveniles in recent years, but more needs to be done to address the conditions of residential placement that are still being used to house juvenile offenders including those such as chronic and incorrigible offenders for whom residential placement is necessary. While recent data (Hockenberry, 2014; Sickmund, Sladky, Kang, & Puzzanchera, 2015) indicate less frequent use of residential placements, there is room for the trend to continue nationwide in the best interest of the child and society.

### References

- Akers, R. L., & Christine S. S. (2009). *Criminological theories: Introduction, evaluation, and application* (5th ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Benson, E. (2003). Rehabilitation or punish? *American Psychological Association*, 34, 46-47.
- Bernard, T. J. (1992). *The cycle of juvenile justice*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Besci, Z. (1999). Economics and crime in the States: *Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta Economic Review First Quarter*, 39-56.
- Blumstein, A., & Wilson, J. Q. (2008). Incarceration and crime: Two national experts weigh in. Public Safety Performance Project. Retrieved from: [http://www.pewstates.org/uploadedFiles/PCS\\_Assets/2008/the%20impact%20of%20incarceration%20on%20crime.pdf](http://www.pewstates.org/uploadedFiles/PCS_Assets/2008/the%20impact%20of%20incarceration%20on%20crime.pdf)
- Braithwaite, J. (1989). *Crime, shame and integration*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Campaign for youth justice. (2012). Key facts: Youth in the juvenile justice system. Retrieved from: <http://www.campaignforyouthjustice.org/documents/KeyYouthCrimeFacts.pdf>
- Chung, H. L., Little, M., Steinberg, L., & Altschuler, D. (2005, February). Juvenile justice and the transition to adulthood. MacArthur Foundation Research on Transitions to Adulthood and Public Policy. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, Department of Sociology. Retrieved from: <http://transitions.s410.sureserver.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/08/chung-juvenile-just-formatted.pdf>.
- Dawkins, M., & Sorensen, J. R. (2015). The impact of residential placement on aggregate delinquency: A state-level panel study, 1997-2011. *Criminal Justice Policy Review Journal* 26, 85-100. First Published Online on May 29, 2014. DOI: 10.1177/0887403414534854
- DeFina, R. H., & Arvanites, T. M. (2002). The weak effect of imprisonment on crime: 1971-1998. *Social Science Quarterly*, 83, 635-653.
- Devine, J. A., Shelley, J. F., & Smith, M. D. (1988). Macroeconomic and social control policy influences on crime rate changes - 1948-1985. *American Sociological Review*, 53, 407-420.
- Donohue, J. J., & Levitt, S. D. (2001). The impact of legalized abortion on crime. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 116, 379-420.
- Drago, F., Galbiati, R., & Vertova, P. (2009). The deterrent effects of prison: Evidence from a natural experiment. *Journal of Political Economy*, 117, 257-280.
- Fabelo, T., Arrigona, N., Thompson, M. D., Clemens, A., & Marchbanks, M. P. (2015). Closer to home: An analysis of the state and local impact of the Texas Juvenile Justice Reforms. Report, Justice Center- Public Policy Research Institute. Retrieved from: <http://csgjusticecenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/texas-JJ-reform-closer-to-home.pdf>
- Hockenberry, S. (2014). Juveniles in residential placement, 2011. Retrieved from <http://www.ojjdp.gov/pubs/246826.pdf>
- Hockenberry, S., Sickmund, M., & Sladky, A. (2009). Juvenile residential facility census, 2006: Selected findings. Retrieved from <https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/ojjdp/228128.pdf>
- Hoffmann, J. P. (2011). *Delinquency theories: Appraisals and applications*. New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group.
- Hudson, B. (2003). *Understanding justice: An introduction to ideas, perspectives and controversies in modern penal theory* (2nd ed.). Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Johansson, P. (2013, March). *Employing evidence based practices: The politics of juvenile justice, Texas style*. In featured roundtable presented at the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, Dallas, TX.
- Johnson, R., & Raphael, S. (2010). How much crime reduction does the marginal prisoner buy? *Journal of Law and Economics*, 55, 275-310.
- Justice Policy Institute. (2009). The costs of confinement: Why good juvenile justice policies make good fiscal sense. Retrieved from: [http://www.justicepolicy.org/images/upload/09\\_05\\_REP\\_CostsofConfinementJJPS.pdf](http://www.justicepolicy.org/images/upload/09_05_REP_CostsofConfinementJJPS.pdf)
- Kellermann, A. L., Fuqua-Whitley, D. S., Rivara, F. P., & Mercy, J. (1998). Preventing youth violence: What works? *Annual Review of Public Health*, 19, 271-292.
- Kessler, R. C., & Greenberg, D. F. (1981). *Linear panel analysis: Models for quantitative change*. San Diego: Academic Press.
- Kovandzic, T. V., & Sloan, J. J. (2002). Police levels and crime rates revisited: A county-level analysis from Florida, 1980-1998. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 30, 65-76.
- Kovandzic, T. V., & Vieraitis, L. M. (2006). The effect of county-level prison population growth on crime rates. *Criminology and Public Policy*, 5, 213-243.
- Levitt, S. D. (1998). Juvenile offending and punishment. *The Journal of Political Economy*, 106, 1156-1185.
- Levitt, S. D. (2001). Alternative strategies for identifying the link between unemployment and crime. *Journal of Quantitative*

- Criminology*, 17, 377-390.
- Liedka, R.V., Piehl, A. M., & Useem, B. (2006). The crime-control effect of incarceration: Does scale matter? *Criminology*, 5, 245-275.
- Little, M., Krohn, A., & Thompson, R. (2005). The impact of residential placement on child development: Research and policy implications. *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 14, 200-209.
- Martison, R. (1974). What works? Questions and answers about prison reform. *The Public Interest*, 35, 22-54.
- Marvell, T. B., & Moody, C. E. Jr. (1994). Prison population growth and crime reduction. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 10, 109-140.
- Marvell, T. B., & Moody, C. E. Jr. (1997). The impact of prison growth on homicide. *Homicide Studies*, 1, 205-233.
- Marvell, T. B., & Moody, C. E. Jr. (1998). The impact of out-of-state prison population on state homicide rates: Displacement and free rider effects. *Criminology*, 36, 513-535.
- Miller, J. G. (1998). *Last one over the wall: The Massachusetts experiment in closing reform schools* (2nd ed.). Columbus: Ohio State University Press.
- Nagin, D. S. (1998). Criminal deterrence research at the outset of the twenty-first century. *Crime and Justice*, 1, 1-42.
- National Center for Juvenile Justice. (2014). Juvenile offenders and victims: 2014 national report. Retrieved from: <http://www.ojjdp.gov/ojstatbb/nr2014/downloads/chapter3.pdf>
- Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. (2012). Juvenile arrests. Retrieved from <http://www.ojjdp.gov/ojstatbb/crime/qa05101.asp?qaDate=2009>
- Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. (n.d.). Juveniles in corrections. Retrieved from <http://www.ojjdp.gov/ojstatbb/corrections/overview.html>
- Raphael, S., & Winter-Ebmer, R. (2001). Identifying the effect of unemployment on crime. *Journal of Law and Economics*, 44, 259-283.
- Ritchie, D. (2011). Sentencing matters: Does imprisonment deter? A review of the evidence. Sentencing Advisory Council. Lonsdale Street: Bigprint. Retrieved from: [www.sentencingcouncil.vic.gov.au](http://www.sentencingcouncil.vic.gov.au).
- Sedlak, A. J., & McPherson, K. S. (2010). Conditions of confinement: Findings from the survey of youth in residential placement. Retrieved from: <http://www.cclp.org/documents/Conditions/OJJDP%20Conditions%20Brief%20May%202010.pdf>
- Segalowitz, S. J., & Davies, P. L. (2004). Charting the maturation of the frontal lobe: An electrophysiological strategy. *Brain and Cognition*, 55, 116-133.
- Sickmund, M. (2010). Juveniles in residential placement 1997-2008. OJJDP Fact Sheet. Washington, D.C: U.S. Department of Justice. Retrieved from: <https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/ojjdp/229379.pdf>.
- Sickmund, M., Sladky, T. J., Kang, W., & Puzanchera, C. (2015). Easy access to the census of juveniles in residential placement. Retrieved from: <http://www.ojjdp.gov/ojstatbb/ezacjrp/>
- Spelman, W. (2000a). The limited importance of prison expansion. In A. Blumstein & J. Wallman (Eds.), *The crime drop in America* (pp. 97-129). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Spelman, W. (2000b). What recent studies do (and don't) tell us about imprisonment and crime. *Crime and Justice*, 27, 419-494.
- Spelman, W. (2005). Jobs or jails? The crime drop in Texas. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 24, 133-165.
- Stahlkopf, C., Males, M., & Macallair, D. (2010). Testing incapacitation theory: Youth crime and incarceration in California. *Crime and Delinquency*, 56, 253-268.
- Sweeten, G., & Robert, A. (2007). Incapacitation: Revisiting an old question with a new method and new data. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 23, 303-326.
- The Annie E. Casey Foundation. (2011). No place for kids: The case for reducing juvenile incarceration. Retrieved from: [http://www.aecf.org/OurWork/JuvenileJustice/~media/Pubs/Topics/Juvenile%20Justice/Detention%20Reform/NoPlaceForKids/JJ\\_NoPlaceForKids\\_Full.pdf](http://www.aecf.org/OurWork/JuvenileJustice/~/media/Pubs/Topics/Juvenile%20Justice/Detention%20Reform/NoPlaceForKids/JJ_NoPlaceForKids_Full.pdf)
- The Children's Defense Fund-Ohio. (2012). Mental health screening in juvenile detention facilities. Kids count. Retrieved from <http://www.cdfohio.org/assets/pdf-files/mental-health-juvenile.pdf>
- The Correctional Association of New York. (2010). Juvenile Detention in New York City. Retrieved from [http://www.correctionalassociation.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/detention\\_fact\\_sheet\\_2010.pdf](http://www.correctionalassociation.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/detention_fact_sheet_2010.pdf)
- The Sentencing Project. (2014). Facts about prisons and people in prison. Retrieved from: [http://sentencingproject.org/doc/publications/inc\\_Facts%20About%20Prisons.pdf](http://sentencingproject.org/doc/publications/inc_Facts%20About%20Prisons.pdf)
- Ward, J. M. (n.d.). Deterrence's difficulty magnified: The importance of adolescent development in assessing the deterrence value of transferring juveniles to adult courts. Retrieved from: <http://jjlp.law.ucdavis.edu/archives/vol-7-no-2/2.%20Deterrences%20Difficulty.pdf>
- Washington State Institute for Public Policy. (2003). *The criminal justice system in Washington State: Incarceration rates, taxpayer costs, crime rates, and prison economics*. Retrieved from: <http://www.wispp.wa.gov/rptfiles/SentReport2002.pdf>

