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**Delinquency and Risk Factors:
Rehabilitation and Selected Early Childhood Projects**

© Steven Ahrens

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Submitted to the Department of Criminology,
University of Ottawa, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of the Master of Arts



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ABSTRACT

This thesis reviewed longitudinal studies on risk factors that correlate to delinquency. These risk factors include inconsistent and uncaring parenting, peer influence, school-based problems, family deviance, childhood anti-social behavior and relative poverty.

Meta-analysis studies on correctional rehabilitation programs showed that some of these risk factors are amenable to change through correctional rehabilitation programs.

Longitudinal research studies on selected early childhood intervention projects have found that addressing several of these risk factors early in the child's life holds considerable promise in reducing later delinquency in teen and adult years.

Caution has to be exercised, as early childhood intervention is not a panacea. It is only one type of crime prevention program. Early childhood intervention programs may be one effective method that can be used to reduce crime.

An effective program is one that addresses the scientifically identified risk factors to delinquency.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Importance of Delinquency Prevention

The central crux of this thesis is to identify strategies or programs whereby criminal behavior be humanely and efficiently reduced? How can the children who are “at risk” best be prevented from becoming delinquent teens and also be prevented from committing further offenses as adults?

Many children pass through these systems. They first enter the child welfare system often proceeding into the mental health care system, then into the juvenile justice system and finally into the adult correctional system. This common progression of “at risk” children through child and youth services and into adult institutional systems illustrates the inability of these social services systems to achieve their mandate either separately or in cooperation with each other. The pain and suffering that results from the failure of these social services is felt not only by these young children passing through these systems. These children become parents and often pass on their disadvantaged circumstances to their children and so on through generations.

The theme of this thesis asserts that criminological research has substantiated that a number of specific childhood risk factors correlate to later juvenile delinquency.

The second theme of this thesis contends that criminological studies have found that several programs, which address these risk factors, can substantially reduce the likelihood of future delinquency.

Third, criminological research concludes that the criminal justice system has proven to be somewhat ineffective at reducing crime, in part it does little to address the risk factors that

correlate to criminal behavior. The criminal justice system, by its very nature, can only respond after a crime has been committed and can do little to prevent crime.

Fourth, the implementation of preschool intervention is discussed. Several programs which focus on reducing these early risk factors are outlined and synthesized in this thesis. These programs include: the Perry Preschool Project (Schweinhart et al., 1993), the Yale Child Welfare Project (Seietz et al., 1985), the Houston Parent-Child Development Centre (Johnson and Breckenridge, 1982), the Syracuse University Family Development Research Program (Lally et al., 1988), Better Beginnings, Better Futures Project (Peters and Russell, 1994), and the University of Rochester Nurse Home Visitation Program (Olds et al., 1993). These programs are important in that they illustrate repeatedly through research evaluations that certain components of programs can effectively address early risk factors and reduce later criminality.

To reduce delinquency," it is important that we take action by using proven methods of intervention that will reduce criminal behavior. When discussing the importance of preventing crime and making communities safer, it is crucial that we not lose sight of the balance between how successful the approach is, and what the total economic and human cost of the intervention is for society. Efforts to reduce crime must respect the dignity and quality of human life for the victim, the offender and society.

2.0 Methodology

2.1 The Methodology of this Thesis

This thesis has been based on a literature review focused on studies of explanations of juvenile delinquency, correctional programs and early intervention programs focusing on parents, children and youth. It reviews primary and secondary research and longitudinal and meta-analysis studies of selected early intervention programs.

It researches three main areas: (1) risk factors of youth delinquency, (2) meta-analysis studies of the effectiveness (reduced recidivism) of correctional treatment, and (3) research from six experimental projects focusing on preschool aged children.

This thesis develops a list of risk factors which is then compared to factors amenable to correctional treatment programs for offenders and to the target behaviors of preschool programs.

Meta-analysis is the central method by which correctional treatment programs were analyzed. Mark Lipsey's analysis of 443 studies of treatment programs in an effort to determine "what works" is reviewed in this thesis.

Hagan (1993: 445) defines meta-analysis as, "Statistical analysis of data from many different studies dealing with the same research question in order to determine general findings." Meta-analysis involves the summarizing and comparing of statistical results of multiple data sets to produce cumulative conclusions and could be seen as "quantitative viewing".

The meta-analytical approach is not without limitations, but it does allow a synthesis of the findings of many studies with a decreased likelihood that reviewers of the literature are applying different criteria of effectiveness in the different studies (Andrews and Bonta, 1994: 187)

Its emphasis on quantification maximizes precision and replicability. The steps of meta-analysis research are little different from those of any good research review. These steps involve:

- Conceptualizing and specifying clearly the content of the research problem and its basic terms
- Searching the literature and selecting a representative set of studies relevant to the review
- Building a base of relevant data for the review by summarizing, describing and coding the features of separate studies and translating them into comparable categories and terms
- Analyzing the data base of studies for patterns of significant effects and for theoretically meaningful corrections;
- Providing a summary description of the results and some evaluation (Hagan, 1993: 228).

An obvious disadvantage of meta-analysis is that it is dependent on the quality of the original research and the conceptualizations and limitations of the initial research.

An advantage of meta-analysis is that in utilizing numerous studies it doesn't depend on the quality or reliability of only one study. It allows for the opportunity for replication and the research gains credibility when similar results appear in a number of independent studies. With secondary data sample sizes can be increased (by utilizing several studies), increasing its representativeness, and the number of observations which can lead to more encompassing generalizations. By making use of data already gathered by others, the meta-analysis researcher can conduct large-scale and even international analysis quickly and inexpensively.

This thesis first identified risk factors of delinquency from numerous longitudinal studies on delinquency. A list of early childhood risk factors was identified by David Farrington (1992). Second, meta-analysis studies by Andrews et. al. (1992) and Lipsey (1990) found consistently similar results with respect to the factors amenable to correctional treatment programs. Third, six early childhood intervention programs were reviewed with the focus being the programs ability to effect the list of risk factors. This research utilized longitudinal studies with experimental and control groups. Therefore this thesis drew on different types of research (longitudinal and meta-analysis) to reveal the basic importance of early childhood risk factors that place children at

greater risk of becoming in conflict with the law. These risk factors need to be effectively targeted for a given program to be effective whether this program is early childhood intervention, preschool focused, public school, or at the traditional corrections stage.

3.0 RISK FACTORS

3.1 An Outline Of Risk Factors Associated With Delinquency

This section provides an overview of current research findings on risk factors as they correlate to later juvenile delinquency and adult criminality. There is basic agreement among criminologists and social scientists as to what risk factors can be used to predict future criminality.

A large body of research confirms the following findings:

- 1) There is agreement on a number of social and psychological risk factors that precursor delinquency;
- 2) That these risk factors do influence the probability of later delinquency;
- 3) The onset, the frequency and the seriousness of early antisocial behavior all correlate to later delinquency;
- 4) Antisocial behavior and delinquency patterns become more difficult to change the longer they continue (Zigler, et al., 1992: 998).

Causational Vs. Correlational Factors

In predicting delinquency, it is important to note that what are often termed “causes” of delinquency are actually “correlates.” These “correlates” tend to increase the youth’s likelihood of being involved in delinquency but are not “causes.” Methodological problems arise when attempting to seek out the root “causes” of crime especially when using a social development type model to try to determine cause and effect in human behavior and criminality (Andrews, et al., 1992: 96). Research at present is not able to term these “risk factors” as being definite “causes” of future delinquency, however several studies have confirmed that a significant correlation exists between certain risk factors and the increased probability of a child becoming involved in delinquency.

Table 1: The Best Childhood Predictors of Later Offending

- (1) socioeconomic deprivation (low family income, large family size, poor housing)
- (2) poor parental child-rearing conditions (harsh or erratic discipline, parental conflict, poor supervision or monitoring, separation from a parent)
- (3) family deviance (convicted parents, delinquent sibling, sibling with behavior problems)
- (4) school problems (low intelligence, low attainment, high delinquency rate school)
- (5) hyperactivity-impulsivity-attention deficit (high daring, poor concentration, high restlessness) and
- (6) childhood anti-social behavior (troublesomeness, dishonesty, laziness)
(Farrington, 1992 in Mc Cord and Tremblay, 1992: 356).

There is a growing body of research that assists in developing a root “causes” analysis with a focus on preventive interventions. David Farrington (1992) lists the best childhood predictors of offending by males. See Table 1: The Best Childhood Predictors of Later Offending.

“Parenting variables turned out to be the most powerful predictor of general delinquency, (Loeber, 1991: 26; Tolan and Lorion, 1988: 559) followed by childhood antisocial behaviors, criminality or antisocial behavior of family members, poor educational achievement, separation from parents and socio-economic status” (Loeber and Dishion, 1983: 68). Among the strongest predictors of delinquency in boys are aggression, drug use and stealing (Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber, 1987: 325). Numerous studies agree that there is considerable continuity of antisocial behavior over time, not only between early aggression and later aggression but also between different manifestations of antisocial behavior, such as early aggression and later theft (Loeber, 1991: 24). Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber (1987) summarized the available studies and concluded that 70% to 90% of violent offenders had been highly aggressive when young (Loeber, 1991: 24).

It is also well documented that these risk factors do not have a strong correlational effect singularly but when various risk factors are found, in combination with others or have accumulated over time, there proves to be a strong correlation to later delinquency. See Figure 2 for the accuracy of various predictors of delinquency in relation to the age of the child at the time of prediction. See Figures 3 and 4 for the ordering, stacking and accumulation of problem behaviors; Loeber, 1991: 23. For example, as completely independent factors, neither income nor association with delinquent peers has a strong link to delinquency. But when several of these risk

factors are accumulated there is a strong correlation to delinquency. Some factors, such as “family functioning,” are much stronger than others.

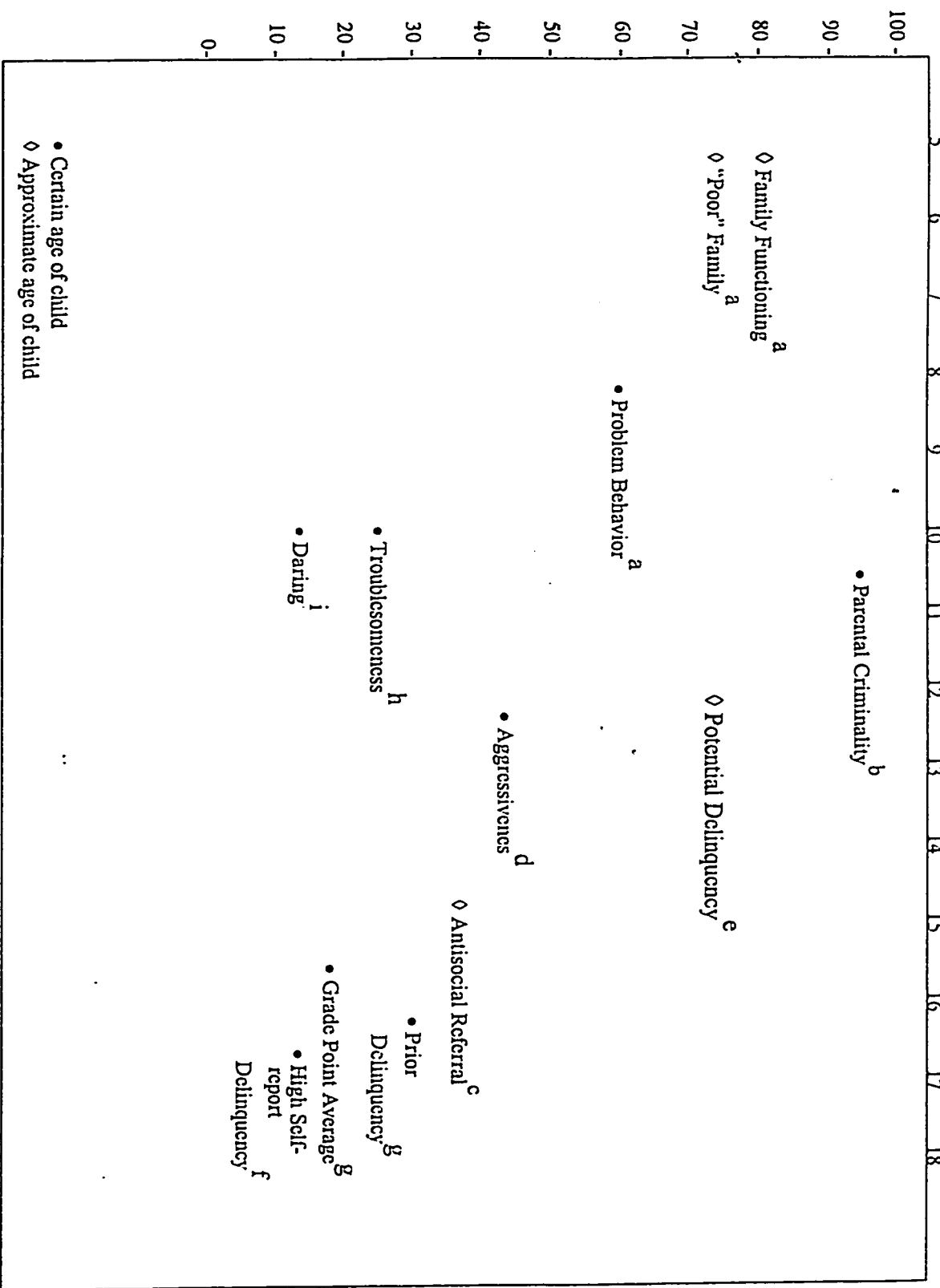
Using correlations to develop interventions needs to be done carefully. The value of a given intervention is difficult to assess when it has been based on correlations and not “causes.”

Risk Factors And Delinquency

Many prominent researchers have concluded that early antisocial behavior is one of the best predictors of later antisocial behavior (Loeber and Dishion, 1983: 68). Aggressive behavior in the early elementary grades is a precursor to delinquency in adolescence, whether measured by official records or by self-reports (Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber, 1987).

Loeber and Dishion (1983) have used a process called meta-analysis to be able, through systematic methods, to assign numerical values to rank order the predictors of delinquency over mere chance (See again p. 15 - Figure 2 The accuracy of various predictors of delinquency). Strong evidence exists that an early onset of severe antisocial behavior during childhood tends to continue into adolescence and greatly increases the risk of future chronic delinquency (Yoshikawa, 1994: 1002; Loeber, 1991: 24). The greater the variety, the more frequent and the more serious the antisocial behaviors, the greater the risk that antisocial and criminal behavior will continue into later adolescence and adulthood (Tolan and Guerra, 1994:253). It has also been noted by Loeber and others, that antisocial and disruptive behavior patterns have increasing stability with age, suggesting that behaviors become less malleable as children grow older (Zigler, 1992: 1003).

% Relative Improvement Over Chance



^a Craig & Glick, 1963
^b Robins et al., 1975

^c Robins, 1966
^d Havighurst et al., 1962

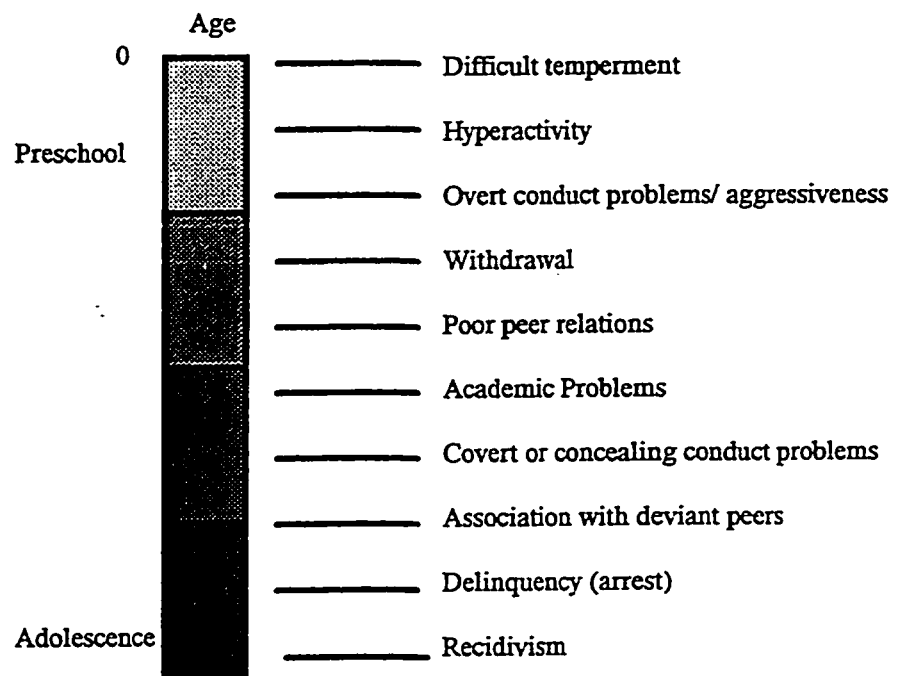
^e Scarpitti, 1964
^f Osborn & West, 1978

^g Polk, 1975
^h West & Farrington, 1973

ⁱ Farrington, 1973

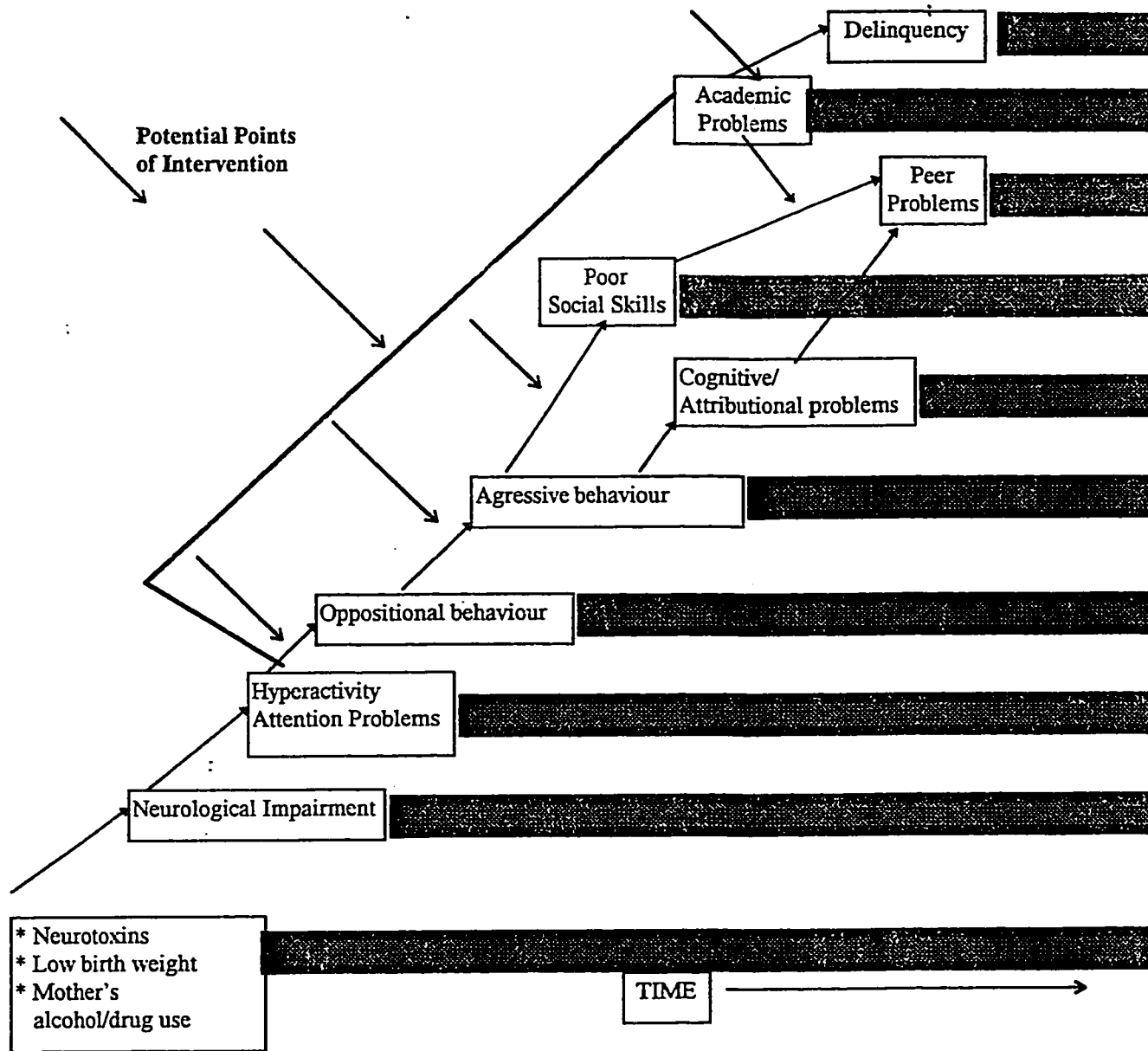
The accuracy of various predictors of delinquency in relation to the age of the child at the time of prediction.

FIGURE 2 - APPROXIMATE ORDERING OF THE DIFFERENT MANIFESTATIONS OF DISRUPTIVE AND ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOURS IN CHILDHOOD



(Loeber, Rolf, 1991: 26)

FIGURE 3 - HYPOTHESIZED MAXIMUM DEVELOPMENTAL SEQUENCE OF STACKING OF BEHAVIOURS IN HYPERACTIVE/INATTENTIVE YOUNGSTERS



(Loeber, Rolf, 1991: 26)

Can Juvenile Delinquency Be Predicted?

Loeber and Dishion (1983: 96) have conducted a systematic review of prediction studies on delinquency and found that a multiple gating procedure is most efficient. There are three stages and each assessment stage (i.e., predictor) is seen as a screening gate and functions by further reducing the population sample down to a smaller and smaller risk group with increased accuracy (there is a progressive decrease in false positive errors without an accompanying increase in false negative errors). Loeber, Dishion and Patterson (1984: 14-17) concluded that the multiple gating procedure was successful in identifying delinquents. The gating device correctly identified 86% of the recidivists, had a false negative score of 5.8% and a false positive score of 43.8%. The false positive score seems high, however follow-up found that a large portion of these false-positives had admitted on a self-reported survey to further delinquency involvement. Moreover, the false positive percentage was derived from follow-up that took place when the sample was 12 years of age. Results at 12 years of age would tend to under-estimate the rate of delinquency, as the peak years for delinquency are later at 17 to 19 years. (Loeber, Dishion and Patterson, 1984: 28). The use of police contact and court statistics is also problematic when used as prediction criteria of delinquent behavior. There are two major reasons: (1) some individuals engage in identical delinquent behavior but go undetected by law enforcement; and (2) factors explaining delinquent behavior are theoretically tangled with factors responsible for official processing (Loeber and Dishion, 1983: 94).

Farrington, after reviewing predictors of delinquency, concluded that predictive efficiency “will not be improved by devising and using more sophisticated mathematical methods of selecting and combining variables into a prediction instrument, at least with our present methods

of measurement...” Instead, he suggested that, “advances in predictive efficiency will only follow the development of more valid, reliable and sensitive measurement techniques.” (Farrington and Tarling, 1985: 171)

Identification Of Onset

Using developmental theory, persistent delinquency is seen as an outgrowth of earlier aggressive or antisocial behavior. The difficulty comes in identifying when a clear onset of delinquency has occurred (Tolan and Guerra, 1994: 252).

3.2 Resiliency Factors

Resiliency is associated with both risk factors and protective factors (Mangham et al., 1994: 1). Protective factors can be viewed as being on the same continuum as risk factors but at the opposite end, having a positive effect rather than a negative effect. Risk factors, as have already been outlined, are numerous, inter-relational and cumulative in their effect. Protective factors are also numerous and vary in their importance and their ability to reduce the negative effects of risk factors. Resiliency is defined as, “...the capability of individuals, families, groups, and communities to cope successfully in the face of significant adversity or risk. This capability changes over time, is enhanced by protective factors in the individual/system and the environment, and contributes to the maintenance and enhancement of health.” (Mangham et al., 1994: 5) This definition expands the use of the term resiliency to include the level of the family and the community. Mangham et al., (1994) make the following statements regarding resiliency: 1) Resiliency, or at least some of the factors in resiliency, can be enhanced; 2) Resiliency is dynamic; and 3) Resilience is a positive process which is conducive to health.

Three broad categories of protective factors contributing to resiliency in individuals have been listed below: (1) individual factors (See - Protective Factors Within The Individual), and (2) familial and support factors (See - Familial And Support Factors In Individual Resiliency) (Mangham et al., 1994: 6-7).

Family Resiliency

In respect to the role of the family, Osborn (1990: 35) states that, "Indeed, the most powerful explanation for resilience in children might be resilience in parents - those who successfully cope with life's problems despite economic hardship, inadequate housing and other stresses." Hawkins et al., (1992) identify three categories of factors that protect against becoming delinquent, these include:

- (1) Individual characteristics - resilient temperament, positive social orientation, intelligence and skills;
- (2) Socialization factors - bonding, cohesion, and warmth during childhood;
- (3) The third category includes the norms, beliefs and behavioral standards that oppose delinquent behavior (Hornick et al., 1995: 59).

Table 2: Protective Factors Within The Individual**Personal Attributes:**

- sense of responsibility
- positive self-esteem/self-efficacy
- feeling of control over one's life
- feelings of optimism and positive expectations for the future
- social competence, social and interpersonal skills
- experiencing a positive event before or after the stressor
- becoming detached from or leaving conflict within the home or neighborhood
- support seeking

Educational / Vocational Qualities

- planning for future events such as jobs or education
- cognitive problem-solving abilities
- reading skills
- history of competence or success
(Mangham et al., 1994: 6-7).

Table 3: Familial And Support Factors In Individual Resiliency**Factors Internal To Family Relationships**

- positive parent-child attachment
- positive parent-child interactions
- effective parenting
- structure and rules within the household
- responsibilities for all family members in the home
- good family coping strategies and family hardiness
- parent or caregiver expectations of a positive future for their child

Factors External From The Family Of Origin

- becoming detached from conflict in family of origin
- supportive spouse
- strong extended family network
- supportive network beyond the family (e.g. friends)
- participation in extracurricular activities (e.g. church)
- positive school experiences
- responsibilities outside the home (e.g. job)
- opening of opportunities (e.g. volunteering, military service, job)
(Mangham et al., 1994: 6-7).

“Although some youth are exposed to multiple risk at the level of the community, family, and school, researchers indicate that the majority of young people who experience these risk factors do not become serious delinquents.” (Hornick et al., 1995: 59) The study of these children who seem to have resilient qualities will be of great benefit as the future programs and social development initiatives could be geared to focus on developing or enhancing these protective qualities.

Stopping The Cycle Of Disadvantage

Farrington (1993: 40) states it is clear from research that antisocial children tend to grow up into antisocial adults, and that antisocial adults tend to produce antisocial children. Sooner or later, serious efforts, firmly grounded on empirical research results... must be made to break this cycle (Farrington, 1993: 40). Lee Robins states, “Adult antisocial behavior virtually *requires* childhood antisocial behavior.” (cited in Mendel, 1995: 4) Yet for the most part, children who display warning signs of violence receive little focused attention. They may be punished by parents or teachers, or suspended from school, but seldom are they engaged in a well-designed program to address the underlying causes of their problem behavior (Mendel, 1995: 4).

Poverty - Is It A Predominate Factor?

How strong of a risk factor is poverty? “Poverty ...is fundamentally about inequality, exclusion, powerlessness, and humiliation. Although money is crucial, poverty is also a question of relationship rights; a question of how people are treated.” (Donnison, 1982:3)

In Canada more than a million children live in relative poverty. It is estimated that 1 in 6 children grow up in poverty. The Canadian Criminal Justice Association (1989: 9) report that

children of low-income families on welfare are 150% more likely to suffer chronic health problems, have poorer school performance and two times the rate of psychiatric disorder. “In 1986, 1.1 million Canadian children less than age 18 (i.e. almost 20% of all Canadian children) were growing up in poverty, and this number...was chiefly concentrated in single-parent female-headed families.” (Steinhauer, 1993: 15)

If there is no improvement in opportunity for these parents and no greater availability of day care or other programs, then it is likely that the number of persistent offenders will increase (Canadian Criminal Justice Association, 1989: 9). The results of longitudinal studies suggest that countries that have more child poverty and do not provide universal child care or other programs to reduce inequalities before the child goes into the school system will have more crime (Waller, 1991: 16). Waller (1991: 20) cites five major reasons for crime increases, these include: 1) relative child poverty; 2) blocked opportunity for youth; 3) isolation in families; 4) alienation from school; and 5) substance abuse. These negative outcomes from these factors can be reduced through the implementation of a high quality preschool program.

“We have to change or respond to those factors that can reduce child poverty, isolation in communities and school atmosphere.” (Waller, 1991: 20) Farrington found that of all the factors measured at age 8-10, low family income was the best predictor of general social dysfunction at age 32 (Doob et al., 1995: 126).

3.3 Conclusion

Considerable research has proven that a subgroup of children who have experienced a number of risk factors such as inconsistent parenting, family problems, early behavior problems, low school achievement and to a lesser degree relative child poverty are more likely to later

become involved in youth crime. Major longitudinal studies have found a strong link between several risk factors and early antisocial behavior, and then a further link to later antisocial and adult criminal behaviors. It is possible to predict which groups of children are more likely to become involved in criminal behavior later as youth and still later as adults.

Once individuals at risk of delinquent activity have been identified, the goal is to remove the risk factors or strengthen the child's or youth's resistance to these risk factors. Several protective factors can reduce the negative effects of risk factors. These protective factors are the "positive" opposites of the already mentioned risk factors. Developing these protective factors can reduce the risk of these "higher risk youth" becoming involved in delinquency. These protective factors include: positive parent-child interaction, effective parenting, structure and rules within the household, positive school experiences, social competence, social and interpersonal skills, planning for future events such as jobs/education, and a history of competence or success.

4.0 TACKLING RISK FACTORS WITH CRIMINAL JUSTICE

4.1 Rehabilitation - Certain Correctional Treatment Programs Have Proven Success

Correctional treatment programs are not the definitive solution to crime as the “root causes” of crime are not addressed by correctional programs. However, correctional treatment programs have been found to work.

The most famous of rehabilitation critics is Robert Martinson (1974) the author of, “What Works - Questions and Answers About Prison Reform.” Martinson stated that his study looked at over 200 of the best studies and did not uncover a sure way of reducing recidivism through traditional correctional programs (Martinson, 1974: 49). However he also stated that, “it is just possible that some of our treatment programs are working to some extent, but that our research is so bad that it is incapable of telling” (Martinson, 1974: 49). Martinson also stated that it may be possible that the programs aren’t yet good enough (suggesting that they could be improved), or that maybe deterrence to prevent criminal behavior in the first place is a better approach than programs to reform convicted offenders (1974: 49).

Regardless of the several possible conclusions that Martinson drew from his study, his research was broadly publicized as “nothing works” (Griffiths and Verdun-Jones, 1989:338). Martinson (1979: 254) stated, “I protested at the slogan used by the media to sum up what I said - ‘nothing works’.”

Robert Martinson in 1979 undertook a re-evaluation of correctional treatment programs and qualified his conclusions from 1974 and stated that, “contrary to my previous position, some specific treatment programs do have an appreciable effect on recidivism.” (1979: 244)

Gendreau and Ross (1979: 488-89) concluded from a review of evaluations of treatment programs that several types of programs did have a positive impact on those offenders who participated in them. Gendreau and Ross (1979: 488-89) also argued that if we abandon treatment in corrections, “we are encouraging the correctional system to escape its own responsibility. By labeling the offender as untreatable, we make it apparent to one and all that we cannot be held responsible for his/her improvement or his/her deterioration.” Since prisons and incarceration seem to be a staple sanction within the criminal justice system then, “...it would seem misguided to embrace a nothing works stance and forfeit the opportunity to learn more about how these resources can be employed in the most judicious way possible.” (Cullen and Gendreau, 1989: 1)

The notion of rehabilitation within prisons has been to a large degree dismissed by both academics and the general public. Rehabilitation has been seen by some of the public and the media as being “soft” on criminals who have caused great harm. However, “...despite treatment’s persistent criticism over the past decade, much of the American public continues to believe that rehabilitation should be an integral goal of the correctional process.” (Cullen and Gendreau, 1989: 13)

The most comprehensive review to date by Mark Lipsey (1990) found that of 443 studies 64% (285) found positive effects from treatment and that on average re-offending was reduced through treatment by 20%. Lipsey reduced this figure to a modest 10% to take into account that the offenses of many who re-offend may go unnoticed (Andrews, et al., 1992: 133). In fact the best treatments which were structured and focused, reduced re-offending by an average of 30% (Andrews, et al., 1992: 133). It is also important to note that Lipsey’s (1990) analysis was

conducted independently of Andrews et al. (1990) analysis and that these studies confirmed each others' findings. Many authors and many different studies have found that some approaches to treatment are more effective than others (see Andrews, 1979, 1980; Andrews and Kiessling, 1980; Gendreau and Ross, 1979, 1987; Glaser, 1974; Palmer, 1974; Ross and Fabiano, 1985) cited in (Andrews et al., 1992: 135) see also (Andrews and Bonta, 1994).

Don Andrews, et al., (1992: 131) cite a lengthy list of researchers that have found that at least 40% and up to 80% of the better controlled studies of correctional service reported some evidence of positive effects of treatment service. Andrews and Bonta (1994: 176) state that rehabilitation does occur and that the rehabilitation of offenders is the result of matching the appropriate correctional program to the offender's criminogenic needs. The positive findings of these studies accentuate the importance of quality programming within corrections and disprove the myth that "nothing works" or that incarceration should be utilized strictly as a means of incapacitation or punishment. Andrews, et al., (1992: 133) stated that, "...it appears that even some form of "alternative" treatment (that is, doing something) is better than "no" treatment (that is, doing nothing)." "A growing body of data suggests not only that many interventions are successful but also that it is becoming increasingly possible to decipher the principles of effective correctional treatment." (Cullen and Gendreau, 1989: 13)

Generally, the best models of treatment are cognitive-behavioral and social learning: modeling, graduated practice, role playing, reinforcement, extinction, resource provision, concrete verbal suggestions (symbolic modeling, giving reasons, prompting), and cognitive restructuring (Andrews, et al., 1992: 152).

Don Andrews, professor of psychology at Carleton University (1994: 3) concludes that:

- 1) Official punishment without the introduction of correctional treatment services does not work.
- 2) Providing correctional treatment services that are inconsistent with the principles of risk, need, and responsivity does not work.
- 3) What works is the delivery of clinically and psychologically appropriate correctional treatment service, under a variety of setting conditions that may be established by the criminal sanction.
- 4) The delivery of appropriate correctional treatment service is dependent upon assessments that are sensitive to risk, need and responsivity.

Correctional treatment programs should not simply be lumped together and discarded.

Some programs are effective (See next page, Table 4: Indicators of Effective Programs). They serve a real need for offenders. “Those treatments that are helpful must be carefully discerned and increased; those that are harmful or impotent eliminated.” (Martinson, 1979: 258)

A Simple Solution?

The traditional criminal justice system approach appears to provide a simple solution for reducing crime. If a certain crime is occurring too often, the solution would be to simply legislate more severe punishment for that particular crime. Legislative change may appear to be a solution, but this is not the case.

4.2 The Limitations Of The Traditional Criminal Justice System Approach

The present criminal justice system has two major disadvantages. First, that it is largely ineffective in reducing crime and making communities safer and, second, that the system is too costly in economic and social terms. These disadvantages undermine precisely what the criminal justice system is designed to achieve - a reduction in crime and a subsequent reduction in the social and economic costs of crime.

Table 4: Indicators Of Effective Programs**Individual Intervention**

- Criminogenic factors addressed
- Matching according to responsivity
- Uses concrete cognitive behavioral approaches

Strong Theoretical Basis

- An empirically-validated theory underlying the intervention
- Structured follow-up

Dissemination Of Effective Programs

- Printed training/program manuals

Staff Training

- Trained and clinically supervised service deliverers
- Workers are enthusiastic and engaged
- Workers are able to handle their authority without domination/abuse
- Workers are able to recognize antisocial thinking, feeling and acting, and are able to demonstrate and reinforce concrete alternatives
- Workers are predisposed to offer concrete problem solving and to engage in skill building (Andrews, 1994: 9).

Table 5: Criminogenic Risk Factors That Correlate To Delinquency

The Ministry of Community and Social Services funded research in 1990-91 that focused on youth at risk. This research was conducted by Alan W. Leschied, Don A. Andrews and Robert D. Hoge. Even taking into account other cultures, (USA and Great Britain) they found surprising similarities in the characteristics of youth at risk of becoming offenders. (See below for a list of risk factors).

- Behavioral history
- Early and current family conditions (low levels of affection/cohesiveness/monitoring)
- Interpersonal relationships (generalized indifference, weak effective ties)
- Lower class origins (a consistent but modest predictor variable)
- Peer influence (association with antisocial/drug using other; isolation from non-criminal other)
- Personal attitudes/values/beliefs/feelings (high tolerance for deviance in general)
- Personal educational/vocational/social-economical achievement
- Personal temperament, aptitude and early behavioral history
- Problems in the family of origin
- Psychopathology
- School-based risk factors
- Other factors (being male, young, variety of neuro-psychologic indicators)

Predictors of chronicity, both from cross-sectional and longitudinal studies include:

- Early and generalized problematic behaviors
- Weak attachment to ties of convention (family, teachers, peers)
- Low levels of involvement in conventional pursuits
- Delinquent associates
- Antisocial attitudes, feelings and cognitions (Andrews, Leschied and Hoge, 1992: 2-3).

The traditional criminal justice system does perform a role within society and cannot simply be eliminated or ignored. However, other more efficient possibilities for reducing crime may need to be considered.

In this section I will discuss legislation change, the reliance on incarceration and the effectiveness of such an approach. Second, I will outline the costs of the present justice system in economic and social terms.

Is Legislative Change The Answer?

The entire criminal justice system is unable to have any impact on a significant number of offenders as a significant amount of crime goes undetected. Approximately 50% of common crime is brought to the attention of the police but less than 5% ever reaches the courts (Waller, 1991: 24). Therefore the justice system response to crime seems ineffective as it is too little (only 5%). Often offenders have committed several previous offenses before they ever enter the court room.

Second, the “get tough” approach to crime seems to be ineffective. For example in California between 1988 and 1992 there was a 70 percent increase in investment in traditional anti-crime responses (cops, courts and corrections) which coincided with a 300 percent increase in prison population from 1980 to 1992. Despite this huge expenditure on cops, courts and corrections, crime rates have remained unchanged (Hornick et al., 1995: 56).

It is simply impractical to attempt to control crime through criminal justice legislation. More legislation will do little to ameliorate the “causes” of crime. It diverts efforts and resources away from other possible methods of crime prevention and gives the public a false sense of security which is followed by even greater despair when crime rates continue to increase or at

least are not significantly reduced. This failure will in turn produce a response suggesting that the initial legislation was not strong enough and that even more severe and more punitive legislation reform is needed to solve the crime problem.

Relying On Incarceration

Richard Mendel (1995: 1) states that, "...relying only on increased incarceration to eliminate America's persistent crime epidemic flies in the face of evidence and logic." Today the U.S. has three times more violence than any other industrialized country and four times as many people incarcerated (Waller, 1991: 23).

Incarceration doesn't seem to be a very effective solution to reducing crime. It is even questionable whether having an offender charged and brought to court will reduce crime or effect future offending. A Canadian study completed by Kristina Kijewski (1983: 201) found that whether an offender was charged and processed by the courts or simply cautioned by police made no difference on their future police reported offending.

"Large locked, secure juvenile correctional institutions have been found to operate like other closed and self-contained systems, places in which outside influences are minimal. Social supports from the community are not cultivated and youth return less capable of functioning in a responsible manner than when they went in." (Hornick et al., 1995: 82) Prison terms invariably isolate the offender from his or her family and virtually destroy community supports which are crucial to reintegration at the time of release. Waller (1974: VII) conducted a study of men released from prison and found that what is needed is, "...a major realignment of the time and energies of those engaged in the fields of correction and related organizations towards the

alleviation of those problems associated with employment, family and community relationships, and alcoholism which are at the root of most failures following release.”

The justice system response to criminal behavior is unable to effect the “root causes” of crime. See Table 1: The Best Childhood Predictors of Later Offending (Farrington, 1992) and see Table 5: Criminogenic Risk Factors That Correlate To Delinquency (Andrews, 1994: 9).

The Committee for Economic Development, an American organization, stated “to succeed in helping children at risk, we must respond to the whole child from prenatal care through adulthood.” (MacKillop and Clarke, 1989: 6) It seems to be of central importance to act on the “root causes” of crime within the person’s entire life from the prenatal stage (Meisels and Shonkoff, 1990: 454), to the preschool stage (Schweinhart et al., 1993: 222), and even through post incarceration (Waller, 1974: VII). It has been said that incarcerated offenders have been habilitated and have managed to start new, non-criminal lives not because of the criminal justice system, but rather often in spite of the system (Waller, 1974: 214).

The greatest hope for more significant reductions in crime appear to lie in addressing the “root causes” of crime more so than in improving correctional treatment programs for imprisoned offenders, although such program improvements would also be beneficial. There seems to be logic in addressing problems early, that if left unresolved, will place an individual at greater risk of becoming involved in delinquency.

Diversion Movement

There is a basic assumption that prisons and juvenile institutions are simply ineffective, they neither rehabilitate nor deter and may actually make things worse by strengthening criminal commitment (Cohen, 1979: 342). From this ideology stemmed the movement towards the use of

community alternatives which were thought to be more humane, more effective, more cost efficient and at the very least they “can’t be worse.” (Cohen, 1979: 342) The benevolent state had apparently lost faith in the prison rehabilitation model and moved towards policies of decriminalization, diversion, and decarceration in an effort to, “do less harm rather than more good.” (Cohen, 1979: 343) Cohen outlines how this state effort to use diversion tactics actually led to a widening of the social control net. Cohen maintains that the coercive features of the state moved from inside the institutions to outside the institutions into the community. “Community corrections” blurred the boundaries of what had previously been a clear distinction of freedom or captivity (Cohen, 1979: 344). Cohen states that on the surface the diversion movement appeared as a great ideological thrust away from institutions and state intervention (Cohen, 1979: 346). However, the major result of this movement was an increase rather than a decrease in the total number of people within the system. These diversionary alternatives were in reality not “alternatives” at all, but were new programs which supplemented the existing system and expanded it, reaching new populations (Cohen, 1979: 347). Hence, Cohen describes this as the “thinning of the mesh” and the “widening of the net” (1979: 347). By “thinning the mesh” Cohen means increasing both the *amount* of intervention and the *intensiveness* of “treatment” for both non-serious and the serious offenders. By “widening the net” Cohen suggests that the opening of the net or the reach of the social control net is expanded. This expansion occurs at the “shallow end” (less serious offenders) rather than at the “deep end” (more serious offenders). “Diversion” was initially designed to reduce the use of incarceration. However, this has not been the case, but rather in practice less serious offenders who would have been previously let go are now “caught” in diversion programs (Cohen, 1979: 347).

Stanley Cohen proves this failure of “diversion” statistically by observing how incarceration rates in Western society have not decreased, but have increased for both adults and juveniles while diversion programs and alternatives have also rapidly expanded (Cohen, 1979: 347).

It seems ludicrous that the criminal justice system reformers could have been so wrong about diversion. Still today diversion is seen by many as the “great” solution. “Diversion has been hailed as the most radical application of the non-interventionist principle short of complete decriminalization.” (Cohen, 1979: 348) Cohen points out that in fact, the entire juvenile court was itself the product of a reform aimed at “diversion” from the adult system (Cohen, 1979: 348).

Cohen makes the suggestion that the justice system reformers have to be aware that “good intentions” aren’t good enough. “For observers, all this, is an index of how good theory produces bad practice: each level diverts to the next level and at each level vested interests (like job security) ensures that few offenders are diverted right out.” (Cohen, 1979: 349)

Economic Costs Of Crime

Criminal activity of all types is a burden on society. First, crime imposes economic costs from the loss and destruction of public and private property. Theft increases product costs for consumers as businesses need to recoup their losses. Recent statistics on automobile theft cites the annual loss of property at \$1.6 billion, this being higher than credit card fraud (\$73 million) or bank robberies at (\$3.5 million) (CCJS, 1996: Brief Jan. 25). Second, “anti-crime” measures incur a great liability upon society through the funding of cops, courts and corrections. Added to this are the private costs of “anti-crime” measures such as insurance, alarms, and private security. Finally, from the sample surveyed for the Canadian Urban Victimization Survey (1982), health

costs included 50,500 nights of hospitalization, and lost work days totaled 405,700 (Round Table, 1993: 54).

The Canadian criminal justice system including cops, courts and corrections cost \$9.57 billion dollars in 1992/93 (CCJS, 1994: 14 no. 16). The cost of incarcerating each young offender is approximately \$200 per day and \$75,000 per year (Doob et al., 1995: 111). Some estimates of incarceration are even higher. Attorney-General, Marion Boyd reports the cost of keeping an adult in jail is over \$800 a week, approaching \$50,000 a year, while the cost of keeping a young offender in custody is more than \$1,900 per week or nearly \$100,000 per year (Wilkes, 1994: 37).

Furthermore, studies indicate that what makes prisons even more unnecessarily costly is that high percentages of incarcerated youth are neither serious nor chronic offenders (Schwartz, 1992), and that many of these youth could be placed much more cheaply in the community without compromising public safety (Hornick et al., 1995: 82). Doob et al. (1995: 110) reported that over 80% of custody dispositions are for offenses other than violence. These facts on their own seem to suggest that the justice system and specifically the incarceration of many non-violent young offenders (approximately 20,000) is not the most efficient use of tax dollars (Doob et al., 1995: 111). The Department of Justice estimates that non-violent custody time for young offenders cost Canadian taxpayers \$262.6 million dollars per year (Doob et al., 1995: 115). The number of youths in custodial facilities in Canada has increased 21% from 1986/87 to 1993/94 to total 4,866 (CCJS, 1995: 15 no. 7). The spending on adult custodial services increased by 24% from \$1.17 billion in 1988/89 to \$1.45 billion in 1992/93 (a \$280 million increase) while during this same period the number of adult inmates in provincial and federal correctional institutions increased by 15% (CCJS, 1994: 14 no. 16). Not only are the number of adults incarcerated increasing (15%) but the proportional cost per inmate is increasing at a greater rate as well (24%).

The Canadian Sentencing Commission also recommends that only offenders who are deemed a danger to public safety should be imprisoned and that imprisonment should be used only as a last resort. Although this has been consistently repeated by appointed Justice Committees and Commissions, little progress has been made in this regard (1987: 77). (See next page Figure 5 - Social and Economic Costs of Crime)

Social Cost Of Crime

The social costs of crime, although more difficult to calculate a monetary value for, are just as burdensome amounting to substantial economic cost. The social costs of crime are not only shouldered by victims, but also by the rest of society in general. These costs include, physical injury, psychological trauma and the debilitating effects of the fear of crime - especially for women and the elderly (Round Table, 1993: 55). Compounding the costs of crime for victims is the all too often further victimization of the victim by the justice system (Round Table, 1993: 56). For example, victims of crime sometimes find the police response unsatisfactory and the court process a grueling ordeal. Finally, social harm is also caused when non-violent offenders are imprisoned. Offenders also experience victimization while in prison. The prisons are often extremely violent and unsafe places to live, where physical and sexual assaults are commonplace. Although this factor is often overlooked, social harm to offenders has serious social and economic consequences for the general public, as well as the offender. These people are often released back into society more socially disadvantaged, more unable to find employment and less able to cope and live a crime-free lifestyle than when they first entered prison.

Further, both guilty and innocent persons who are brought before the courts face serious repercussions with respect to their jobs, their professional careers and their social lives (Round

Table, 1993: 58). Their family and others close to them also experience hardships. The most common hardships are money, child care, the raising of children and loneliness (Round Table, 1993: 59). Females and especially single-parent mothers are faced with even more difficulties, such as finding someone to care for their child when they need to attend court and finding someone to permanently care for their children if they are incarcerated (Round Table, 1993: 59).

4.3 Conclusion

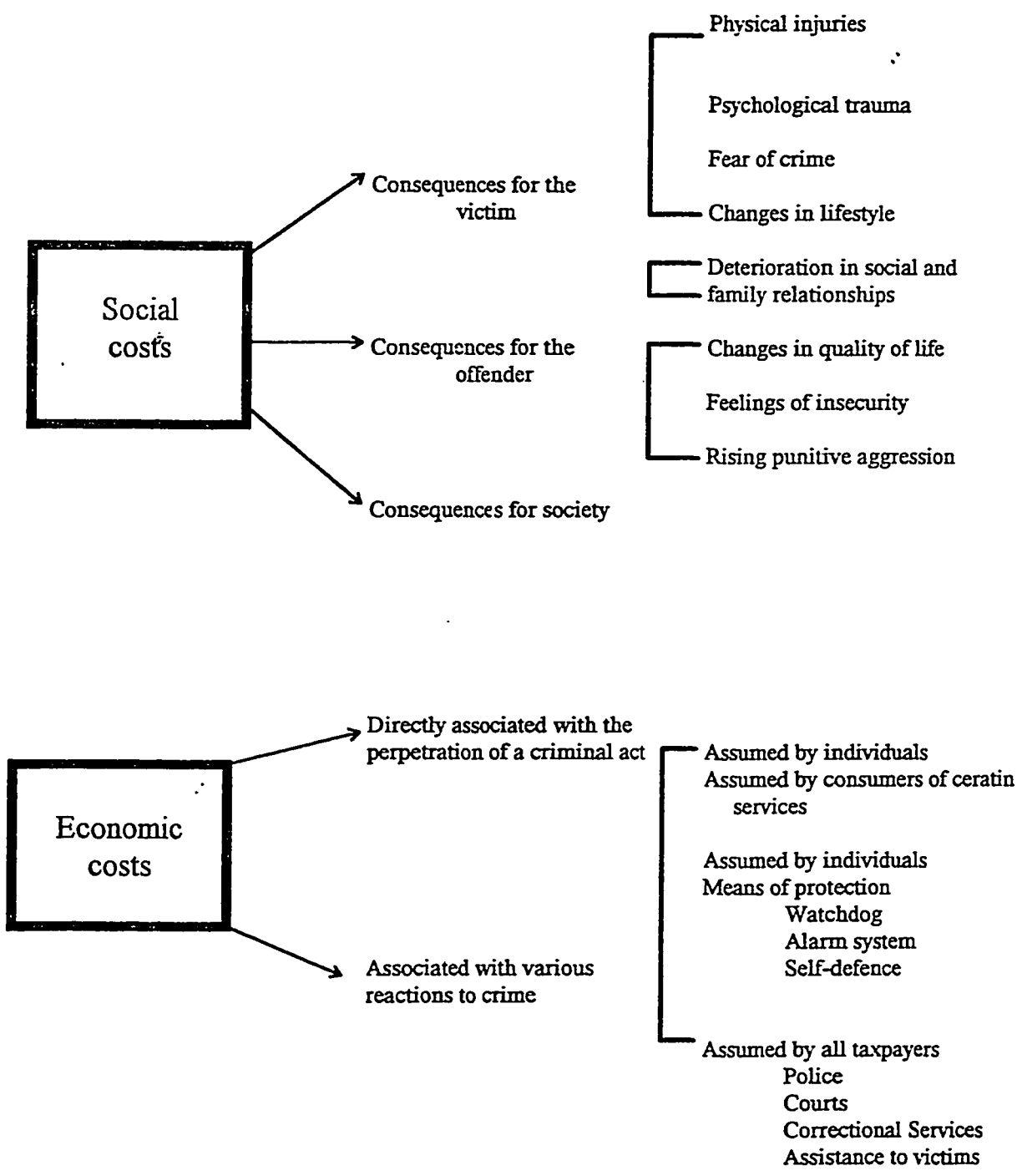
The traditional criminal justice system response to crime is enormously expensive and only marginally effective at rehabilitating offenders and reducing crime.

Treatment programs have been evaluated and certainly disprove the notion that “nothing works”. However, the success of these programs is limited to, on average, a 10% reduction in offending and although definitely significant, this will do nothing to prevent the many crimes that were committed prior to apprehension and treatment.

Approximately 50% of common crime is brought to the attention of the police but less than 5% ever reaches the courts (Waller, 1991: 24). Therefore the criminal justice system response to crime seems ineffective as it is too little (only 5%) and too late as the criminal justice system is unable to prevent crime before it has occurred. Often offenders have committed several previous offenses before they ever enter the court room. Some “crime surveys suggest that about 2 in 100 offenses committed result in a criminal conviction....” (Home Office, 1993: 29)

The present criminal justice system is too costly in economic and social terms. These disadvantages undermine precisely what the aims of the justice system are: the protection of the innocent; the habilitation of the deviant; a reduction in crime; and a subsequent reduction in the social and economic costs of crime.

FIGURE 4 - SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC COSTS OF CRIME



(Round Table, 1993: 50)

Community alternatives to prisons or diversion programs were thought to be more humane, more effective and more cost efficient. These were new programs which supplemented the existing system. Unfortunately their main effect was to expand it, reaching new populations, bringing more people under the net of social control than ever before and creating greater expense for taxpayers.

5.0 Tackling Risk Factors with Prevention

5.1 What Is Crime Prevention?

Crime prevention initiatives are efforts that stop crime from occurring. “They are often divided into those that reduce the opportunities for occasional offenders to commit crime - opportunity reduction - and those that reduce the social and economic situations that generate persistent offenders - social development.” (Waller, 1991: 26)

Crime prevention approaches can be contextualized into three distinct developmental stages of possible influence. Brantingham and Faust (1976: 284) defined these three stages as follows: “(1) primary prevention, directed at modification of criminogenic conditions in the physical and social environment at large: (2) secondary prevention, directed at early identification and intervention in the lives of individuals or groups in criminogenic circumstances; and (3) tertiary prevention, directed at prevention of recidivism.” These stages include primary crime prevention where the target is the general public, secondary crime prevention where the target is high risk groups or situations and tertiary crime prevention where the target is core groups or situations involved in crime. Primary prevention measures are general policies of ministries that are not targeted specifically toward the outcome of crime prevention, but a reduction in crime is a byproduct of the policy or program (Waller, 1991: 26). The underlying premise is that such a program aimed at the entire population is worthwhile in its’ own right irrespective of a direct impact on delinquency. Secondary prevention measures are initiatives that are targeted at those individuals or situations which are thought to be more at risk of committing crimes (Waller, 1991: 26). The program interventions that are discussed in this thesis chapter 6.0 are secondary crime prevention programs. These programs are not aimed at the general public but are specifically

aimed at an identified “at risk” population. These children as outlined in chapter 2.0 will be experiencing numerous risk factors for them to be directed into a secondary crime prevention program such as a preschool program or nurse home visitation program. Tertiary prevention is action that is taken after a crime has occurred with the intention of preventing further crime from occurring (Waller, 1991: 26). This may take the form of rehabilitative programming for offenders. (See next page Table 6 - Model of Possible Strategies for Reducing Crime - Note Socioeconomic Development and Primary and Secondary Target Populations).

In Table 6: Model of Possible Strategies for Reducing Crime, the Round Table (1993) presents a chart on reducing crime. The strategy of action is (1) Prevention; (2) Socioeconomic Development; (3) Opportunity Reduction; (4) Accountability which could be termed “Promoting Responsibility”; (5) Dissuasion or “Deterrence”; and (6) Repression or “Law Enforcement”. In respect to this Table (# 6) the focus of this thesis lies in the target - Secondary Prevention.

Table 7: A Two-Dimensional Typology Of Crime Prevention, by Van Dijk (1997, presentation) reveals a multitude of crime prevention programs. The focus of this thesis lies in “Secondary offender oriented prevention” or group # 2 in Figure 5: A Two-Dimensional Typology Of Crime Prevention.

In 1976 Brantingham and Faust discussed three distinct stages: (1) Primary Prevention; (2) Secondary Prevention; (3) Tertiary Prevention. The Round Table (1993) furthers this by discussing these three stages and also six possible strategies for intervention to be incorporated at each of the three stages. In 1997 international researcher Van Dijk, the head of Strategic Development for the Dutch Ministry of Justice, (see Table 7 and Figure 5) looks at these three stages (Primary, Secondary and Tertiary) but then divides “prevention” into three groupings: Offender oriented prevention; Situational oriented prevention and; Victim oriented prevention.

TABLE 6: MODEL OF POSSIBLE STRATEGIES FOR REDUCING CRIME

<i>Strategy</i>	<i>Target</i>		
	GENERAL POPULATION (PRIMARY)	POPULATION AT RISK (SECONDARY)	DELINQUENT POPULATION (TERTIARY)
PREVENTION (action on causes)	Universal day care system for preschool children	Support program for very young single mothers	Community tutoring for ex-inmates
SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT	Access to education	Support for pupils in difficulty in order to keep them in school	Compensatory work programs
OPPORTUNITY REDUCTION	Changes in residential construction standards and urban development plans	Installation of cameras in convenience stores	Parole requirements
ACCOUNTABILITY	Drug addiction awareness Promotion of community involvement	Campaign against vandalism in particularly affected neighbourhoods Neighbourhood watch	Rehabilitation of violent spouses Mediation Drug addiction support groups
DISSUASION	Roadblocks (to control drunken driving)	Policy addressing domestic violence	Prompt, certain and adapted sentences
REPRESSION		Tightening of surveillance in certain neighbourhoods	Special investigative operations by the police

(Round Table, 1993: 115)

Table 7: A Two-Dimensional Typology Of Crime Prevention

Target groups: *Offenders, Situations, Victims*

Developmental stage of the crime problem: *Primary, Secondary, Tertiary* (Van Dijk, 1997: presentation)

Primary offender oriented prevention	Secondary offender oriented prevention	Tertiary offender oriented prevention
Academic Enrichment	Apprenticeships	Alternative Sanctions
Advertising	Bootcamps/wilderness camps	Child care
After-school activities (latchkey children)	Communication skills	Community-based corrections
Aftercare	Education projects	Curfew
Education in the law	Employment Skill-building	Diversion
Information campaigns (vandalism, tax invasion)	Foster parenting	Electronic monitoring
Intensive training	Inner city empowerment	Intensive supervision probation
Parent education and training	Out-of-home placements	Restitution
Police Talks in school	Scared straight programs	Training courses for DWI
Recreation and social activities	Social Development	Victim-offender mediation
School discipline code	Truancy patrols (police)	Vocational training/Curriculum
Family support services	College Scholarships	Conflict resolution
Mental health care access	Job creation/placement	Gang intervention
Outreach	Mental health screenings	Mentoring
Outreach services	Parental involvement	Periodic drug testing
Substance abuse education	Summer jobs for youth	Anger management therapy
Intervening in biological and psychol. develop.	Cognitive-behavioural techniques	
Pharmacologically managing of behavior		
Prevalence of genetic markers (MAOA)	Learning attitudes that discourage violence	Eliminating foods with high tyramine
Reduce exposure to environmental toxins	Peer-training in how to resist addiction	Relapse prevention therapy
Primary situational oriented prevention	Secondary situational oriented prevention	Tertiary situational oriented prevention
Architectural design	Access control (entry phones)	Behavioral Geography and criminal behavior
Building safety and security	Burglar alarms	Crime analysis / Crime mapping
Checklists for criminologically sound designs	Business watch / security	Closing criminogenic places
Clear impact statements	Caretakers (concierges)	Focused or saturation policing
Defensible space	Clean-ups	Hot spots/Crime locations
Defensible site selection	Closure of access points	Increased policing patrols
Designing design/renovation	Community policing	Licensing policies
Designing programs	Employee screening	Micro-environments of violence
Improving domestic door and window locks	Extra ticket inspection staff	Offender mobility
Insurance	Fencing	Police crackdowns
Intervening as situational measure	Improved visibility	Problem oriented policing styles
Opportunity reducing techniques	Increased staffing of facilities	Reduce amount of cash in tills
Security inspections/surveys	Landscaping	Target removal
Securing column locks	Private security guards	Trouble spot clustering
Target hardening	Rapid repair	Video control/CCTV
Vehicle passages/corridors	Surveillance by employees (formal)	Public private partnerships
Warning	Reducing weapon lethality	Disruption tactics for illegal markets
Primary victim oriented prevention	Secondary victim oriented prevention	Tertiary victim oriented prevention
Awareness of victimization risks	Block parent programs	Civil protection orders
Crime stoppers programs	Citizen patrols	Crisis counseling
Deflecting	Door-step campaigns	Police referral schemes
Mass-media campaigns/publicity	Emergency phone lines	Police-victim communication
Property marking /Operation identification	Escort services	Post-trauma counseling
Public education/information	Guardian Angels	Rape Crisis Centers
Public meetings	Municipal bylaw changes	Repeat victimization prevention
Public speaking presentations	Neighborhood watch	Self-help groups
Social information campaigns(elderly, violence)	Safe houses for children	Victim assistance (projects)
Self defense training	Services to the elderly/isolated	Victim impact statement
Self surveys	VIP-protection	Victim notification
Tool anti-drug/weapon policies	Shelters	
Identifying routine activities	Domestic violence hotline	

Figure 5: A Two-Dimensional Typology Of Crime Prevention

	Developmental stage of the crime problem		
	<i>Primary</i> (general public)	<i>Primary</i> (risk groups/situations)	<i>Tertiary</i> (core groups/situations)
Target groups			
<i>Offenders</i>	1	2	3
<i>Situations</i>	4	5	6
<i>Victims</i>	7	8	9

(Van Dijk, 1997: presentation)

Within this framework this thesis can be boxed in “Secondary offender oriented prevention or Tertiary offender orientated prevention” or groups 2 and 3 (Figure: 5). Van Dijk’s research (Table 7) illustrates how this thesis on selected early childhood projects is limited to only dealing with but one of a multitude of crime prevention programs. The aim of this thesis is not to address the other two stages (Primary or Tertiary Prevention) or other prevention strategies. This thesis is also not going to address other target groups such as the victim oriented prevention group or situational oriented prevention group. Many situational crime prevention programs do produce large reductions in crime however this thesis is concentrating on “secondary prevention” (Table 6) or “secondary offender oriented prevention” (Table 7).

Crime Prevention Through Social Development

“As a community, we would be hard pressed to find a better investment for our dollar than early childhood programs which relieve the burden of suffering in our society, contribute to the quality of our children’s futures and increase the potential for creativity and productivity among our citizenry.” (MacKillop and Clarke, 1989: 8)

The social development approach to delinquency prevention is based on 30 years of research, identifying risk factors for drug abuse and delinquency (Hawkins, Catalano, and Associates, 1992; Hawkins and Weiss, 1980; 1985), and is similar to the public health models used to combat various diseases (Hornick et al., 1995: 57). “The realization that prevention is often more effective than treatment has led to great advances in the public health sector...the same preventative approach could work for crime.” (MacKillop and Clarke, 1989: 1)

“If we ignore the problems faced by children at risk of becoming offenders, we will certainly suffer the consequences.” (MacKillop and Clarke, 1989: 1) “Violence is not a random,

uncontrollable, or inevitable occurrence...there is overwhelming evidence that we can intervene effectively in the lives of young people to reduce or prevent their involvement in violence.”

(American Psychological Association - Commission on Youth and Violence; cited in Mendel, 1995: 11).

5.2 The Advantages Of The Crime Prevention Approach

The Canadian Criminal Justice Association (1989) stated that, “crime will never go away entirely, but we can make enormous progress in preventing it. We owe it to ourselves, and our quality of life in Canada, to make our communities as safe as they can be.” Serge Bruneau stated, “Crime prevention should not be perceived as an expenditure, but rather as an investment, crime prevention is a necessary and productive investment.” (Standing Committee, 1993: 24)

The Timing Of Intervention

The question is often raised whether it is more beneficial to intervene early at the preschool age or whether it is more productive to intervene at an age closer to adolescence? Is it best to intervene when the child is most malleable or do the early effects tend to dissipate or become untrackable?

The development of a “root causes” approach to crime prevention is based on the belief that earlier intervention may be more efficient and produce more favorable results than would later intervention. This crime prevention through social development approach focuses on risk factors of delinquency. The objective is to increase opportunities for the socially disadvantaged so as to lessen their risk of future criminal involvement. “Crisis-oriented programs emphasizing counseling and social casework are ineffective largely because they come too late. By the time children reach these programs, often after referral by court personnel, they are already in a long

history of antisocial interaction with parents, schools, and community - that is not easily reversed.” (Zigler, 1992: 997) These children need to have their problems identified and acted upon earlier.

Herein lies the value of early childhood intervention (secondary crime prevention) programs. These programs need to be set-up to target disadvantaged children, parents and families as a whole who are experiencing many of the risk factors that have been mentioned. “Early identification and treatment of children at risk of future criminal behavior is probably one of the most effective means of ensuring the long-term protection of society.” (Doob et al., 1995: 78) Dr. E. Barker, President of the Canadian Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, emphasized the importance of a child’s first three years of life. He stated that children need to be raised, in these early years, learning of affection and developing their capacity to respond to affection. Attempts to teach a child such social values that are crime-free, later in life, is largely doomed (Standing Committee, 1993: 10).

The Need For Day Care

A primary crime prevention intervention whose target is the general population such as universal day care is of great value and would prove indispensable in promoting the healthy development of children in this country. However the concepts of universal day care, primary crime prevention, and a targeted preschool enrichment program, secondary crime prevention, should not be confused.

Universal day care, primary crime prevention, will not replace a high quality targeted preschool program. The whole purpose of the targeted program, secondary crime prevention, is that it is specialized and designed to meet the specific needs of disadvantaged children. A

universal program can simply not offer such specialization. The implementation of both universal day care, primary crime prevention programs, and specialized high quality preschool programs, secondary crime prevention programs, for the disadvantaged would be a far superior solution than simply implementing one or the other, but such a proposal is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Hewlett states there is no doubt that the need for day care is increasing in the United States. In 1950 12% of preschoolers had working mothers; in 1990 57% of preschoolers had working mothers; and it is estimated that in the year 2000, 70% of preschoolers will have working mothers (Steinhauer, 1993: 16). This increasing need for day care is similarly occurring in Canada as more mothers are working and single parent families are now more common.

The shortcoming of the present system is that there is no universal point of access to services, like the school system, for preschool children. A relatively small proportion of preschool children attend licensed day care programs. The majority of those who are not cared for by a family member during the day, are enrolled in unlicensed or informal care arrangements (The Waterloo Regional Social Resources Council, 1990: 11).

Disadvantaged people have less money and as a result are less able to spend money on preschool programs. This is a real problem that can only be overcome by the public provision of special high quality preschool programs for disadvantaged children (Lawrence Schweinhart, Personal Communication, 1995).

The previous Ontario Social Services Minister Tony Silipo stated, "Ontario could take the first step toward universal child care by early next year." (Queen's Park Bureau, 1994) Silipo stated to the Ontario Coalition for Better Child Care that, "The fundamental philosophical shift is it would change the nature of the child-care system from one that is based on a needs test - welfare based - to one that recognizes it as the good public service that we all want it to be." The

recent change in provincial government has brought cuts in social services and universal child care seems more and more unlikely.

A 1994 Ontario report entitled “Yours, Mine and Ours” suggests that the province “take a population-based approach” to the problems of Ontario’s children and youth (Doob et al., 1995: 85). This report states,

By giving *all* children and youth a better start in life and better chances for healthy development, we create a more equitable and healthy society. In that way, we will be tackling some of society’s most entrenched problems -- poverty, violence, racism, and sexism. We will get at the root causes of problems rather than just the symptoms. People are concerned about violence in schools, for example, but that sort of behavior does not suddenly appear out of nowhere. Law enforcement, after the behavior has appeared, will not substantially lower the rate of these behaviors. By promoting healthy development from before birth to adulthood, we will help more children to acquire the coping and learning skills they need to grow up healthy. [In addition, we will help] more young people to have the sense of belonging and self-esteem they need to become effective, participating members of society. (Ontario, 1994: 44)

Zigler et al., (1992: 997) concluded that present research suggests early interventions can reduce the population risk, but that further follow-up intervention is also needed as one-time intervention is not the total panacea for the prevention of delinquency.

The Advantages Of A Targeted Preschool Approach

Targeted secondary crime prevention programs are based on the assumption that risk is not evenly distributed among the population and that the effects of the intervention may vary between individuals. Targeted programs are often concentrated on particular risk factors.

The advantage of universal primary crime prevention programs is that they can address certain risk factors that are present in entire populations. But because universal programs are applied to entire populations they are usually less intensive than targeted programs. Targeted

secondary crime prevention programs need to include some type of selection procedure to ensure that the selected population have the risk factors that the program aims to ameliorate.

Targeted secondary crime prevention efforts have the advantage of being more sharply focused on certain risk factors, more intensive for the selected population and although costing more per child, targeted programs may be more cost effective than a broad universal program. The targeted approach is more efficient as it assists those who need it most. Today in the midst of deficit reduction a targeted preschool program makes the most economic sense.

Selection

A targeted preschool program creates some uncertainty as to whom should be considered for admission into the program. Naturally, a targeted preschool program cannot be open to everyone in the community. But how should the limitations be decided?

The targeted program will not have the problem of being too limited if it is funded so as to be able to service all those preschoolers who are at high risk. However, regardless of funding it is virtually impossible to provide service for all youth who would benefit, therefore a limit has to be set. In some ways this limit depends on the fiscal resources available and the demand that each individual preschool centre faces.

Only those preschoolers who most need the service, due to being high need or high risk, will be granted the service. Those preschoolers who are not as high risk or as high need will not be permitted into the program.

One possible method of selecting the high need children and attracting parents to the program would be to employ out-reach workers to interview mothers and children throughout the

community to determine which children would benefit most from such a program. These high risk children and their parents would then be referred to the preschool program.

Another more subtle method of selection for the high quality preschool program would be to provide a subsidy to mothers who take part in training or education that is offered at the preschool centre.

Encouraging fathers or mothers on the grounds that they participate in self-improvement programming has the function of selecting those parents most likely to actively participate in their child's development. Such a selection process will attract those parents who need the subsidy and are also willing to work to create a better future for their preschooler. Those parents of very high risk preschoolers who refuse to participate in the training programs will still be able to have their child attend but will not receive the extra subsidy. This extra subsidy is an added incentive for parents to become more involved in their child's development, which was a key feature of the Perry Preschool Project.

The number of preschoolers enrolled could also be limited to a certain geographic neighborhood or area of the community.

Regardless of what numerical limit is set, those preschoolers who attend the preschool, depending on the quality of the program, may benefit substantially. The implementation of such targeted preschool, secondary crime prevention programs would be a great improvement over the current situation.

5.3 Limitations Of The Crime Prevention Approach

One major disadvantage of the crime prevention approach is that it is a long-term initiative. It doesn't produce immediate visible results that might benefit the political leaders

attempting to implement such programs. Social development through crime prevention approaches take considerable planning and organization to develop, implement and evaluate. These long-term initiatives require long-term, sustainable funding. In some aspects, crime prevention through social development is a brave new step away from the norms of the traditional criminal justice system approach. Crime prevention through social development doesn't appeal to vengeful special interest groups, or to right wing groups who cling to the myth that harsher penalties and increased use of incarceration will be cost effective in reducing crime.

One criticism voiced at community sanctions, diversion programs and new crime prevention programming is that they bring more people under the widened net of social control. Crime prevention, it can be argued, is not a new model or a transformation of the criminal justice system at all. It has been stated by some criminologists that this "new" crime prevention approach is simply a net-widening program (Cohen, 1985: 38). Diversion initiatives have proven to expand the net of social control (Cohen, 1979: 347). The California Youth Authority undertook a special study to determine the extent of "net widening," and found that an estimated one-half of the juveniles under short term control would have been released had it not been for the existence of the diversion projects (Ludman, 1984: 97).

Problems of "net-widening" and "labelling" can still occur with early childhood intervention programs however these issues are not as obvious at such a young age. Children who would otherwise not have contact with social services and special education may find themselves centered out from other children at a young age and thus "labeled" possibly "pre-delinquent", "anti-social", or in the very least "different" from the other children. Differential treatment can have a negative "labelling" effect in regards to disadvantaged children or youth. Here the "at risk individual must be considered having the potential for crime with the result being

a, “tendency to justify new and preemptive forms of social control” (Hastings in O’Reilly-Fleming, 1996: 325). Premature and inappropriate assignment of the “potential offender” label can contribute to the crime problem (Faust, 1973: 42). Earlier intervention at the preschool age may be less obtrusive in that the child with the help of a high quality preschool program may be able to then enter the mainstream school system and not require special education in elementary school. If the child doesn’t require to attend special education classes this will greatly reduce the labelling effects on the child throughout these elementary years.

5.4 Conclusion

Numerous studies and reports have argued the importance of crime prevention and stated the limitations of focusing only on the traditional criminal justice system response to crime. If we are honestly attempting to prevent crime, we must shift our attention from after the crime has occurred, to before the offender first became involved in delinquency. Therefore, the focus should not be on cops, courts and corrections but on socioeconomic development aimed at lessening the conditions that correlate to persistent crime and violence. (Round Table, 1993: 183). These conditions that correlate to crime were outlined and listed previously in chapter 3.0 entitled “Risk Factors” and chapter 7.0 “Analysis of Risk Factors, Correctional Rehabilitation and Early Childhood Investment”. Most researchers in the field of delinquency prevention agree that early intervention in the form of secondary crime prevention programs targeting high risk children holds the most promise.

Universal day care (primary crime prevention) and high quality preschool programs (secondary crime prevention) both have separate but complimentary roles to play in the reduction of child poverty and the healthy development of children. Results from longitudinal studies

suggest that countries that have more child poverty and do not provide universal child care or other programs to reduce inequalities before the child goes into the school system will have more crime.

A universal day care program which also includes a high quality preschool program for children of greater need, would be the most effective method and produce the best results as far as reducing risk factors and subsequent crime. However due to fiscal constraints, the second best possible approach is to focus on only those children of greater need, and to reduce their risk factors that correlate to later delinquency through the implementation of targeted high quality preschool (secondary crime prevention) programs across Canada.

This chapter outlined different crime prevention frameworks as presented by Brantingham and Fraust (1976), the Round Table (1993) and Van Dijk (1997). This thesis on selected early childhood projects is limited to dealing with just one type of program of a multitude of possible crime prevention programs. See tables 6 and 7.

6.0 HIGH RISK CHILDREN - EXAMPLES OF PREVENTATIVE INTERVENTIONS

6.1 The Perry Preschool Project

The Perry Preschool longitudinal study found that high quality, active learning programs for young children living in poverty cut in half these participants' crime rate through adolescence and up to age 27 (Schweinhart and Weikart, 1993: 1). In addition, this program significantly increased participant's earnings and property wealth as adults. A cost-benefit analysis estimates that the return to taxpayers was \$7.16 for every dollar that was invested in these preschoolers (Schweinhart and Weikart, 1993: XVIII).

The Perry Preschool Project was conducted between 1962 and 1967. This project involved the study of 123 African-American children ages 3-4 who were living in poverty and deemed at risk of school failure. Study participants were defined as children living in poverty. These socioeconomic conditions included: parent's educational and occupational status, family size and housing and welfare status (Schweinhart et al., 1993: 232).

The cost-benefit savings from this project is the result of less crime, less court time, fewer correctional costs, less personal and property damage and fewer insurance costs. Another positive factor included higher income earned by these participants being employed as opposed to being on social assistance or being incarcerated.

The Perry Preschool Group claims that their project was successful because it had a snowball-like effect where the preschool better prepared the children for school, the children were more positively received by teachers. This results in a stronger commitment to school, better

academic performance and success in school which they relate to lower delinquency rates, higher employment rates and higher income levels.

The program's success is derived from three aspects of an active learning curriculum (Schweinhart et al., 1993: 228). First, the program allows the preschooler the opportunity to express their intentions and develop plans, which Schweinhart et al., believes carries over to being able to create plans and express themselves well later in life. Second, the program allows the child to experience through trial and error, generate new ideas, make choices, practice and succeed. Third, the children are encouraged to reflect on their accomplishments during "recall" or "review time". These children develop a sense of personal control and this is seen as a major factor for later success in life.

"This study and similar studies suggest that high-quality programs for young children produce significant long-term benefits because they

- empower children by encouraging them to initiate and carry out their own learning activities
- empower parents by involving them as full partners with teachers in supporting their children's development
- empower teachers by providing them with systematic inservice curriculum training and supportive curriculum supervision"

(Schweinhart and Weikart, 1993: 6).

Schweinhart et al., (1993: 230-31) concluded the following: (1) The program seemed to provide a framework for adult success by alleviating some of the negative effects of poverty on school performance, social responsibility, adult economic status and family formation. Further, since this study is now 30 years old it appears these outcomes have been permanent. (2) Both members of the program group and the no-program group, who have followed traditional patterns of intervention such as school remediation, special education and criminal-justice measures, have not seen considerable improvement in their lives. (3) The effects of this program seemed to be

different for males and females. Females were more likely to stay in school and graduate. Although the program didn't seem to effect the male drop-out rate, it did lead to better adjustment in society and a distinct lessening of criminal and antisocial behavior. (4) The program seemed to promote school and community success, and the children seemed to interact more positively with people and tasks. This success was not based on any intellectual improvement or academic knowledge. (5) The economic benefits for the program participants and tax payers in general far outweigh any costs of operating the program.

The purpose of the preschool program was not to increase the child's IQ. Studies have shown that any increase in IQ is only short-term and does not have the long-term benefits that the Perry Preschool Program has accomplished (Schweinhart et al., 1993: 226). The success of the Perry Preschool Program is not based on academic knowledge but is based in the early development of positive underlying habits, skills and dispositions (Schweinhart et al., 1993: 226).

High quality is the key to this program. The program is defined as a high quality, active learning program for 3 to 4 year olds over a 2 year period. This consisted of daily 2.5 hour sessions held Monday to Friday and weekly 1.5 hour home visits to parents with 4 adults trained in early childhood education serving 20 to 25 children (Schweinhart et al., 1993: 233).

Seitz (1990) offers a slightly different explanation, emphasizing that the extensive home visits had the result that the, "parents became better socializers of their children across all the years intervening between the time the preschool program ended and the longitudinal data was collected" (Zigler, 1992: 1000).

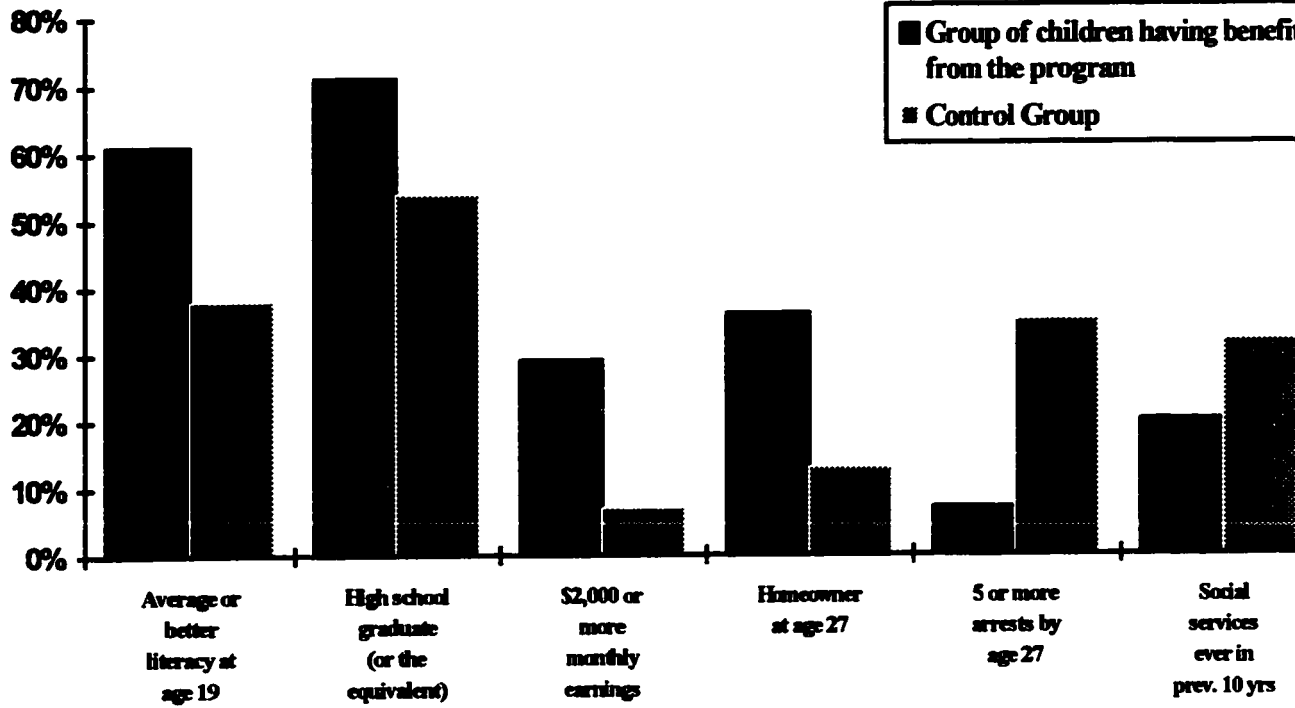
"While no single factor assures success in life, the sense of personal control is certainly a major force" (Schweinhart et al., 1993: 229). The potential benefits of implementing a high quality preschool program are enormous in both financial and human terms (Edward Zigler,

forward of Schweinhart et al., 1993: 249). The Perry Preschool Program appeared to have a strong effect on the criminal behavior of the program group as they were arrested only half as often as the control group. The Perry Preschool Program also found the program had positive effects on quality-of-life factors, such as family formation, health, and social relations.

Tolan and Guerra (1994: 256) acknowledge that the Perry Preschool Project was successful and boasts long-term benefits of delinquency prevention. For the most disadvantaged of groups the early intervention programs may need to be maintained over an even longer period of time (Tolan and Guerra, 1994: 256).

This study offers extraordinary results. However, as (Schweinhart and Weikart, 1993: 10) state, “High-quality active learning early childhood education should be part of a multifaceted effort to solve national social problems, it is far from the only solution. Its role should be neither overrated nor underrated.”

This program does have some qualifications that require mention. The program was not successful for all the participants and should not be regarded as a “cure” to solve poverty. To confront the problem of poverty requires much broader social-policy action relating to unemployment, welfare dependence, crime, drug abuse and improved access to education at all levels. The final qualification is that this program consisted of four high quality aspects: (1) A developmentally appropriate curriculum; (2) inservice training and ongoing curriculum supervision; (3) parental inclusion and; (4) an effective and appropriate assessment procedure; a monitoring system and a reasonable child-adult ratio (Schweinhart et al., 1993: 231).

FIGURE 6 - HIGH SCOPE PERRY PRESCHOOL PROJECT MAJOR FINDINGS

6.2 Yale Child Welfare Research Program

This project focused on 17 impoverished mothers who were raising young children. It lasted just under three years, beginning during pregnancy and ending at 30 months postpartum (Seitz et al., 1985: 378). The project consisted of home visits by clinical and public health nurses. During these home visits mothers were counseled in resolving practical, family and personal problems such as acquiring food or shelter, gaining education or employment and dealing with family stresses.

Program families fared better in many ways including : the mothers achieving more education (beyond high school), smaller family size and a greater period of time between births, and greater socio-economic status, defined as self-supporting (87% for the program group vs. 53% for the control group) (Seitz et al., 1985: 386).

The children also benefited in different ways, teacher interview data showed that

... control boys were likely to show aggressive, acting-out pre-delinquent behavior serious enough to require such actions as placement in classrooms for emotionally disturbed children or suspension from school (Seitz, 1990: 86).

The program children, over the 10 year follow-up period, "saved" \$1,120 per child per year in requiring less support services and court hearings than the control group. The total benefits accrued from the savings of the program group over the control group equaled \$40,000 (Seitz et al., 1985: 389). In a 10 year follow-up it was discovered that the program's estimated economic value could have been increased had a complete cost benefit analysis been done (Barnett and Escobar, 1987: 402).

6.3 Houston Parent-Child Development Center

Similar to the Yale Project this study focused on parent-oriented intervention. This intervention began in 1970 as an alternative to Head Start, with the objective of preparing economically disadvantaged children to enter school with cognitive and social skills that would reduce the academic disadvantages they would otherwise have (Johnson and Breckenridge, 1982: 306). The guidelines of this project included “(a) working with children from birth to 3 years of age, (b) training mothers to be effective teachers of their children, and (c) providing comprehensive services to counter the effects of poverty.” (Johnson and Breckenridge, 1982: 306) This study consisted of an intensive 2-year parent-child education program for children ages 1-3 and their parents. The 128 families were randomly assigned to program or control groups. (Johnson and Breckenridge, 1982: 305). The program is structured into two stages first beginning when the child is 1 year old. The first year included home visits and weekend workshops for the entire family. Weekend sessions were scheduled to include fathers and siblings in the program. The home visits address many issues of infant development (Johnson and Breckenridge, 1982: 306). During the second year the children attended morning nursery school four days a week while the mothers attended child management and homemaker classes (Johnson and Breckenridge, 1982: 306). Community services and language classes continue with evening classes including fathers. Homemaker lessons include sewing, buying strategies, and health and safety in the home. Group discussions include ideas on child care and management. Mothers also practice interaction techniques with their children. Many of these interactions are videotaped and the mother-child interactions are reviewed by all participants. The entire program requires approximately 500 hours of participation time over the two-year period. The first longitudinal follow-up showed that at ages 4 to 7, boys in the control group were more destructive,

overactive, negative attention-seeking and were less emotionally sensitive than children in the intervention group. At 5 to 8 years post program (Grades 2 to 5), intervention children showed fewer aggressive, acting-out behaviors and were less hostile and more considerate than control children (Johnson and Breckenridge, 1982: 306). Program mothers were shown to be more affectionate, to use more praise, to be more encouraging of their children's verbalizations, to provide more appropriate play materials, to be more emotionally and verbally responsive and avoid restriction and punishment (Johnson and Breckenridge, 1982: 307). This project did show promise in that there was an indication that the home environment was more stable, more supportive and placed the youth at less risk of future delinquency.

6.4 Syracuse University Family Development Research Program

This program attempted to improve child development and family functioning for an economically disadvantaged sample by providing supplementary child care. These workers were available to provide information on nutrition, teaching and on being a model for their children. These workers helped the mother to develop contacts with service agencies and school personnel (Zigler, 1992: 1000).

Program mothers, recruited during their last trimester of pregnancy and coming from extremely disadvantaged backgrounds, were provided with weekly home visits by para-professionals to assist with issues of child rearing, family relations, employment, and community functioning (Lally et al., 1988: 79).

The results of the project are gathered from a 10 year follow-up. The project resulted in less juvenile delinquency and better functioning in the community, as measured by pro-social attitudes and behavior, education, and family unity (Lally et al., 1988: 102). At the ages of 13 to

16 the program group was almost four times less likely to have been processed through the County Probation Department (6% for the program group vs. 22% for the control group), and the severity of the offenses was much higher among the control group (Lally et al., 1988: 103). The total cost of the program group's involvement with the justice system was estimated at \$12,111, while the control group's costs were estimated at \$107,192. The estimated justice system cost per program child was \$186 and the justice system cost per control child was \$1,985 (Lally et al., 1988: 103).

The notion that poor school performance is key to the process of becoming delinquent doesn't seem to hold true in regard to the Syracuse project. This study did not have the school successes that Perry Preschool experienced and yet it documented a reduction in delinquent behavior (Zigler, 1992: 1000). It could be that the "positive parenting" had the influence of promoting non-delinquent behavior, but why did this "positive parenting" not effect school performance? One interpretation could be that the Perry Preschool was simply more effective and had more numerous and more sustainable positive outcomes than the Syracuse Project.

6.5 The University of Rochester Nurse Home Visitation Program

This research program found that prenatal and infancy nurse home visitation improved a wide range of maternal and child health outcomes among poor, unmarried and teen-aged women (Olds et al., 1993: 155).

The program began in 1980 and included 400 women who were randomly assigned to four treatment groups of differing intervention. The treatment groups included: (1) sensory and development screening for the children; (2) transportation vouchers to attend regular prenatal and

child visits to physicians; (3) home visits during pregnancy; and (4) home visits from nurses until the child reached the age of 2 years (Olds et al., 1993: 157).

This study found that the home visits returned excellent results. The mothers that were visited by nurses participated in the work force 80% more and had 43% fewer subsequent children (Olds et al., 1993: 156). Further the program group had a 75% reduction in state-verified cases of child abuse (Olds et al., 1993: 156). A cost-benefit analysis of this program showed that the net cost of the program was a gain of \$180 per family (Olds et al., 1993: 155).

Intervention Effects

Often with selected populations that are based on certain risk factors, there is an implicit assumption that "...intervention effects are homogenous, with all participants receiving the same general degree of benefit." (Tolan and Guerra, 1994: 252) In contrast, there are programs which assume, firstly, that risk is not evenly distributed, secondly, that the effects also vary on different individuals (Tolan and Guerra, 1994: 252). These two different approaches illustrate the importance of identifying the at risk group and targeting the program to meet the child's, parents and families needs. Programs need to be individualized for each child and parent (Moncton Headstart, 1994, Personal Communication).

It is fair to say that we know with a degree of certainty what contributes to delinquency, and which programs and types of programs are most likely to reduce future delinquency. Factors that influence delinquency are both social and psychological, covering the various components of the youth's life. Therefore one would expect that the most successful programs would target the whole child (Zigler, 1992: 998).

“The knowledge of developmental trends and of periods when change is more or less likely to occur are important for assessing when intervention would be most effective.” (Loeber, 1991: 27). (See p. 23 - Figure 4 for the arrows indicating the potential points for most effective intervention; Loeber, 1991: 23).

The philosophy of the “Better Beginnings, Better Futures” study is that programs need to be aimed at the vast number of the risk factors to produce better long-term results. Programs aimed at just one risk factor have very little impact on the whole person. The American Psychological Association (1993), for example, has suggested that effective violence prevention programs should include multiple components that reinforce one another across the child’s everyday social context, i.e. family, school, peer groups, media, and the community (Hornick et al., 1995: 59).

6.6 Better Beginnings, Better Futures Project

“Better Beginnings is the first long-term prevention policy and research demonstration project of it’s kind in Canada.” (Peters and Russell, 1994: 1)

This program focuses on children from 0 to 8 years of age, living in eleven socio-economically disadvantaged communities in Ontario. For four years these neighborhoods will be funded to provide extra services. These children, their families and the neighborhood will be monitored until the children reach their mid-twenties (Peters and Russell, 1994: 1).

The goal of the 11 Better Beginnings, Better Futures communities is to develop and implement high quality prevention and promotion programs for young children and their families. This program aims for, “meaningful, significant involvement of community residents in all aspects

of program development and implementation, and integration of existing and new services for children and families.” (Peters and Russell, 1994:5)

This program was developed in response to the 1983 Ontario Child Health Study which found that one in six children has an identifiable emotional or behavioral disorder. This project was developed to implement three different types of programs into identified disadvantaged neighborhoods. These programs included: 1) Infant Program which consists of prenatal prevention programs such as maternal and infant nutrition supplements and holistic home-visiting; 2) Preschool Programs which consist of preschool/child care prevention programs such as Headstart and family resource centers; and 3) Primary School Programs: school-based prevention programs such as social skills training and ecological school models (Peters and Russell, 1994:2).

One of the most important aspects of this 25-year longitudinal research project is that results are systematically evaluated. Further, those implementing the programs are independent from those researchers who are conducting the evaluation and the researchers have no input into content or the operation of the programs.

The researchers for this project determined seven factors they believe are most important in the prevention of child development problems. These seven factors are: (1) based on known effective prevention programs; (2) holistic; (3) tailored to meet local needs and desires; (4) comprehensive, multiple programs; (5) high quality, enough well-trained staff to effectively administer the program, adequate supplies; (6) integrated with other programs and activities; and (7) have meaningful, significant parent and community resident involvement (Peters and Russell, 1994: 3). The Better Beginnings, Better Futures Project is attempting to determine what social factors or social solutions should be used to aid disadvantaged children and help end the cycle of poverty for future generations. The Better Beginnings program activities vary from community to

community. Generally the program includes, home visits, classroom enrichment, child care enrichment, child focused programs, family/parent focused programs, community focused programs and community healing.

The Better Beginnings, Better Futures Project was started in May of 1991' and was given 2 years to develop the programs to best integrate with the community and meet community needs. The development and modification of programs, to the point that evaluation could begin, took longer than originally expected. This process took 3 years. As a result the project funding was extended up to 1997 and this allows for 3 to 4 years of study from 1994 to 1997.

6.7 Conclusion

Richard Mendel (1995: 12) found evaluations of several early intervention programs clearly illustrated the ability to achieve great reductions in later delinquency. These studies included the Perry Preschool Project, the Yale Child Welfare Project, the Houston Parent-Child Development Centre, the Syracuse University Family Development Research Program, Better Beginnings, Better Futures Project, and the University of Rochester Nurse Home Visitation Program.

In this chapter evaluations of high quality preschool programs have documented numerous long term positive results including reduced criminality. For example the Perry Preschool Project found that for every \$1.00 invested in a high quality preschool program for disadvantaged children there can be a \$7.16 savings in criminal justice and social service expenditures. These preschool programs will result in massive savings for the justice system and will also reduce all future social services expenditures such as welfare, unemployment, medical and mental health

costs. These savings could be enormous, especially at a national level. Investment in the future of children through preschool programs makes good moral, rational and economic sense.

Presently, the traditional justice system (see chapter 3.0) is risking delinquency by not intervening early enough and by not addressing the risk factors (see chapter 2.0) that correlate with delinquent behavior. By implementing high quality preschool programs we would greatly reduce the risk of delinquency.

Evaluation studies suggest a successful program will have the following characteristics: intervention of at least 2 years in length; provision of a high-quality educational infant day care and preschool program for children; provision of informational and emotional support focused on development and child-rearing issues for parents and; provision of prenatal-postnatal care; and educational and vocational counseling or training.

Studies such as Perry Preschool; Better Beginnings, Better Futures, Syracuse University Family Development Research Program; Houston Parent-Child Development Center; and The Yale Child Welfare Research Program have included services well beyond what is thought of as day care. They included prenatal education and support, high quality curriculum for the children and extensive home visitation, counseling, and management workshops.

It has been well documented that young offender and adult programs both at the community and the institutional level seem to be unable to rehabilitate offenders with any great success. The most comprehensive review to date revealed that, on average re-offending was reduced through treatment by 10%. In comparison preschool programs reported higher criminality for no-program males (49%) than for program males (12%).

The concept of early intervention through preschool programs seems to make sense for delinquency prevention. Program evaluations suggest that pre-delinquency programs are more

effective than programs initiated after delinquent habits have become visible. Antisocial and disruptive behavior patterns have increasing stability with age, suggesting that such behaviors become less malleable as children grow older, therefore indicating the importance of early childhood intervention. A child that is at risk needs to be given support and guidance on different levels as they progress from early years to preteen and teen years. Since the risk factors associated with delinquency are so broad, a comprehensive approach is bound to be most effective. As early childhood intervention research continues, the benefits and cost-effectiveness of this type of approach will reveal itself to be much greater than their originators could have possibly imagined. The value of quality preschool programs has yet to be realized on a large scale.

7.0 ANALYSIS OF RISK FACTORS, CORRECTIONAL REHABILITATION AND EARLY CHILDHOOD INVESTMENT

This chapter focuses on early risk factors and how correctional programs as compared with early childhood programs address these risk factors that place a child at greater risk of later delinquency.

The first section of this chapter identifies criminogenic risk factors that have been identified as components of successful correctional rehabilitational programming.

The second section of this chapter identifies risk factors that have been identified as important to the success of early childhood intervention programs.

See Table 8: Risk Factors. This table illustrates these risk factors as they are addressed by early childhood intervention programs and are the focus of criminogenic factors in correctional rehabilitation programs. Notice these risk factors as numbered (1 through 7) in the chart correspond to the text of this chapter. In this chart it is evident that some risk factors such as (7) being young and being male are not amenable to change through programming.

This chart is organized into three columns. Column one is a list of identified early childhood risk factors which was derived from chapter 3.0 (see Table 1). Column two is a list of criminogenic factors that are cited as areas to address or consider in respect to correctional treatment. These criminogenic factors were derived from chapter 4.0 (see Table 5) Column three lists each selected early childhood intervention program that addresses the risk factors in the previous two columns. This chart illustrates that these risk factors are identifiable at an early age (3-6) and that they continue to be an important focus when considering correctional treatment but

Table 8: Risk Factors Chart Identified Early Childhood Risk Factors

(1) socioeconomic deprivation (low family income, large family size, poor housing)

(2) poor parental child-rearing conditions (harsh or erratic discipline, parental conflict, poor supervision or monitoring, separation from a parent)

(3) family deviance (convicted parents, delinquent sibling, sibling with behavior problems)

(4) school problems (low intelligence, low attainment, high delinquency rate school)

(5) childhood anti-social behavior (troublesomeness, dishonesty, laziness)

(6) hyperactivity-impulsivity-attention deficit (high daring, poor concentration, high restlessness)

(7) Gender, young (Chapter 3, Table 1)

Criminogenic Factors Identified in Correctional Rehabilitation

See next page note #1

(Criminogenic factors addressed)
(1) Lower class origins

(2) Early and current family conditions

(3) Problems in the family of origin

(4) Personal educational/vocational/social-economical achievement
School-based risk factors

(5) Behavioural history
Interpersonal relationships
Personal temperament, aptitude and early behavioral history

(6) Psychopathology
Variety of neuro-psychologic indicators

(7) Being male and young (Chapter 4, Table 5)

Risk Factors That Are Addressed Through Early Childhood Intervention Programs

See next page note #2

(1) Increased income (Perry); Less poverty (Houston)
More self-supporting (Perry, Yale); Child care (Syracuse)
Smaller family size (Perry, Rochester, Yale)
Higher rate of home ownership (Perry)
Less use of social services (Perry, Yale)

(2) Reduced family and personal problems (Perry, Yale)
Less verified child abuse (Rochester)
Dealing with family stresses (Perry, Yale)
More family unity (Syracuse); Practice interaction(Houston)

(3) Little possibility of changing these factors (convicted parents, delinquent sibling, sibling with behavior problems)

(4) Higher literacy rate (Perry, Yale, Houston)
Youth gaining employment (Perry)
Improved cognitive skills (Houston)
Mothers gaining employment (Rochester, Yale, Syracuse)
Mothers achieving more education (Yale)

(5) Less aggressive behavior (Perry, Houston, Yale)
Less acting-out behavior (Yale)
Improved social skills (Houston)
Practice interaction techniques (Houston)
Less destructive, overactive behavior (Houston)
Less negative attention-seeking behaviors (Houston)

(6) Change is possible with these factor however psychiatric pharmaceuticals intervention is not the focus of this thesis

(7) Unable to change/address these factors (gender/age)

Note #1: These criminogenic factors identified by Andrews et. al., have been reorganized to correspond with the ordering and types of risk factors that Farrington outlines as early childhood risk factors.

Note #2: This listing of early childhood intervention programs is organized around which risk factors each program is attempting to respond to.

that these risk factors can also be addressed by early childhood intervention programs such as the preschool and home visitation programs that were listed previously in Chapter 6.0.

7.1 The Perry Preschool Project

The Perry Preschool Project addressed risk factors including:

- (1) Socioeconomic deprivation (low family income, large family size, poor housing)
- (2) Inconsistent and uncaring parenting, poor parental child-rearing conditions such as harsh or erratic discipline, parental conflict, poor supervision or monitoring, separation from a parent and low levels of affection
- (3) family deviance, problems in the family of origin (convicted parents, delinquent sibling, sibling with behavior problems)
- (4) School problems (low intelligence, low attainment, high delinquency rate school)
- (5) Childhood anti-social behavior, behavioral history (troublesomeness, dishonesty, laziness)

Results from the Perry preschool program found that the treatment preschoolers as compared with the control group in respect to risk factor (1) had an increased income, were more self-supporting, had on average a smaller family size, a higher rate of home ownership and less reliance on social services. The Perry preschool program in respect to risk factor (2) lead to better adjustment in society and a distinct lessening of criminal and antisocial behavior. The program seemed to promote school and community success, and the children seemed to interact more positively with people and tasks. The Perry preschool program in respect to risk factor (4) facilitated a higher literacy rate and resulted in a higher rate of employment. In respect to risk factor (5) it was found that the program group exhibited less aggressive behavior. In respect to risk factors (3,6,7) the Perry preschool program is unable to change that the family of origin is deviant, that the child may have a psychiatric disorder or that the child or youth is male and young. These are risk factors that cannot be directly addressed through the Perry preschool program.

7.2 The Yale Child Welfare Research Program

The Yale Child Welfare Research Program directly addressed the risk factors of:

- (1) Socioeconomic deprivation (low family income, large family size, poor housing)
- (2) Inconsistent and uncaring parenting, poor parental child-rearing conditions such as harsh or erratic discipline, parental conflict, poor supervision or monitoring, separation from a parent and low levels of affection
- (3) family deviance, problems in the family of origin (convicted parents, delinquent sibling, sibling with behavior problems)
- (5) Childhood anti-social behavior, behavioral history (troublesomeness, dishonesty, laziness)

The Yale Child Welfare Research Program addresses risk factor (1) in that the program group was found to be more self-supporting, a smaller family size and greater socio-economic status. The Yale program addresses risk factor (2) in that during home visits mothers were counseled in resolving family and personal problems and dealing with family stresses. The Yale program addresses risk factor (4) in that the mothers achieved higher education and were counseled in gaining employment. The Yale program boys were also less likely to show aggressive, acting-out behavior. Similar to the Perry preschool program risk factors (3,6,7) have little possibility of change through such preschool intervention programs.

7.3 Houston Parent-Child Development Centre

The Houston Parent-Child Development Centre directly addressed the risk factors of:

- (1) Socioeconomic deprivation (low family income, large family size, poor housing)
- (2) Inconsistent and uncaring parenting, poor parental child-rearing conditions such as harsh or erratic discipline, parental conflict, poor supervision or monitoring, separation from a parent and low levels of affection
- (3) family deviance, problems in the family of origin (convicted parents, delinquent sibling, sibling with behavior problems)
- (5) Childhood anti-social behavior, behavioral history (troublesomeness, dishonesty, laziness)

The Houston Parent-Child Development Centre addresses risk factor (1) as it provided “comprehensive services to counter the effects of poverty” (Johnson and Breckenridge, 1982: 306). The Houston program also assists the mothers in learning better methods of interaction with their children which can reduce the effects of risk factor (2). The Houston program also focuses on risk factor (4) as disadvantaged children with the help of the program become better cognitively prepared to enter school. The Houston program addresses risk factor (5) and found that intervention children showed fewer aggressive, acting-out and negative attention-seeking behaviors and were less hostile and more considerate than control children. The Houston program has little possibility of addressing risk factors (3,6,7).

7.4 Syracuse University Family Development Research Program

The Syracuse University Family Development Research Program directly addressed the risk factors of:

- (1) Socioeconomic deprivation (low family income, large family size, poor housing)
- (2) Inconsistent and uncaring parenting, poor parental child-rearing conditions such as harsh or erratic discipline, parental conflict, poor supervision or monitoring, separation from a parent and low levels of affection
- (3) family deviance, problems in the family of origin (convicted parents, delinquent sibling, sibling with behavior problems)
- (4) School problems (low intelligence, low attainment, high delinquency rate school)
- (5) Childhood anti-social behavior, behavioral history (troublesomeness, dishonesty, laziness)

The Syracuse University Family Development Research Program addresses risk factor (1) by providing supplementary child care and assisting with issues such as employment. This program also addresses risk factor (2) in the weekly home visits focus on child rearing, family relations and found results of greater family unity in the program group. This program addresses risk factor (4) in that program children did better in school. This program measured more prosocial attitudes and behavior suggesting it effected risk factor (5).

7.5 University of Rochester Nurse Home Visitation Program

The University of Rochester Nurse Home Visitation Program directly addressed the risk factors of:

- (2) Inconsistent and uncaring parenting, poor parental child-rearing conditions such as harsh or erratic discipline, parental conflict, poor supervision or monitoring, separation from a parent and low levels of affection
- (3) family deviance, problems in the family of origin (convicted parents, delinquent sibling, sibling with behavior problems)
- (5) Childhood anti-social behavior, behavioral history (troublesomeness, dishonesty, laziness)

The University of Rochester Nurse Home Visitation Program addresses risk factor (1) as results included mothers having 43% fewer children. Evidence of less state-verified child abuse suggests child rearing conditions, risk factor (2), is being addressed as a result of this program. The University of Rochester Nurse Home Visitation Program addresses risk factor (4) as results included mothers working 80% more than control mothers.

7.6 The Better Beginnings, Better Futures Project

The Better Beginnings, Better Futures Project was initiated as a result of the 1983 Ontario Child Health Study which revealed that one in six children has an identifiable emotional or behavioural disorder, and also revealed that children living in families that received social assistance or who lived in subsidized housing were at much greater risk for these problems (Peters and Russell, 1994: 1). The project was based on known effective programming including, infant home-visiting, group-based child care and ecological school programs. Program research included studying The Perry Preschool Program, The Head Start Program and a literature review of factors that place prenatal/infant, preschool children and primary school-aged children “at risk” (Peters and Russell, 1994: 28).

The Better Beginnings, Better Futures Project was developed having three major goals:

- prevent serious social, emotional, behavioural, physical and cognitive problems in young children;
- promote the social, emotional, behavioural, physical and cognitive development of these children; and
- enhance the abilities of socio-economically disadvantaged families and communities to provide for their children (Peters and Russell, 1994: 1).

The Better Beginnings, Better Futures Project was developed to address the following risk factors:

- (1) Socioeconomic deprivation (low family income, large family size, poor housing)
- (2) Inconsistent and uncaring parenting, poor parental child-rearing conditions such as harsh or erratic discipline, parental conflict, poor supervision or monitoring, separation from a parent and low levels of affection
- (3) family deviance, problems in the family of origin (convicted parents, delinquent sibling, sibling with behavior problems)
- (4) School problems (low intelligence, low attainment, high delinquency rate school)
- (5) Childhood anti-social behavior, behavioral history (troublesomeness, dishonesty, laziness)

7.7 Conclusions

This chapter illustrates the importance of addressing the risk factors. The meta-analysis research by Andrews, et. al., 1992 gives a clear indication that successful programs need to address these risk factors as outlined by Farrington, 1992. Also confirming the importance of addressing these risk factors is the research from chapter 6.0 on successful selected early childhood intervention programs. These successful programs have also focused on addressing these risk factors as outlined in Table 8 (third column). These early childhood intervention programs manage to reduce the effects of the risk factors by producing the following results: Increased family income, less reliance on social services, less poverty, reduced family and personal problems, improved ability to cope with family stress, improving parent-child interaction, higher literacy rate, improved social skills, less acting-out behavior and less destructive and negative attention-seeking behavior. Risk factors such as family deviance, convicted parents, delinquent

siblings, siblings with behavior problems and being male and being young are examples of some risk factors that are not amenable through either correctional rehabilitative programs or early childhood intervention programs. An effective program is a program that reduces crime. An effective program reduces crime by addressing the risk factors that have been scientifically identified as correlating to later delinquency.

8.0 CONCLUSIONS

This thesis looked at longitudinal and meta-analysis research that revealed what are several of the early childhood risk factors which correlate to later delinquency. The risk factors that place a youth at risk of committing delinquency are well documented. These major risk factors include:

- parenting variables (inconsistency, neglect, violence, crime)
- childhood anti-social behavior
- socioeconomic deprivation
- school-based problems
- peer influence

The earlier the onset of antisocial behavior or delinquency, the greater the risk of later, more frequent and more serious delinquency. These factors identify children who are at risk, and by reducing these factors or their effects, a substantial reduction in delinquency will be realized.

The most significant protective factors include:

- personal attributes (self-determination)
- educational/vocational qualities
- positive family relationships and parental attachment
- a supportive network beyond the family, school and work (See chapter 3 for complete list).

The risk factors that lead to delinquency are well understood by specialists. Groups of youth at risk of future delinquency can be identified at the preschool age and methods of reducing these risk factors or their effects are known.

Second these same risk factors are considered when looking at both successful correctional rehabilitation programs and successful early childhood intervention programs.

8.1 Tackling Risk Factors With Criminal Justice

The traditional criminal justice system response to crime is enormously expensive and only marginally effective at rehabilitating offenders and reducing crime. To rely on incarceration to

eliminate the crime problem seems to contradict a solid base of research and general logic as to what causes crime. Such legislative and “prison cell” approaches are ignoring complex social problems and the well documented risk factors that contribute to youth crime.

Treatment programs have been evaluated and disprove the notion that “nothing works.” However, the success of these programs is limited to an average of a 10% reduction in offending (Lipsey, 1990: 13). Although significant, this does not prevent the many crimes that were committed prior to apprehension and treatment. Further, this means that approximately 90% are not being “cured” by the treatment programs. Does there exist a more effective method to reduce crime?

The criminal justice system response to crime is too late. Often the offender has been involved in delinquent behavior for a considerable length of time and has committed a number of offenses before they are detected, apprehended, processed and sanctioned by the justice system.

8.2 Tackling Risk Factors with Prevention

The greatest hope for significant reductions in crime appear to lie in using problem oriented approaches rather than in improving treatment programs for already imprisoned offenders. If we are honestly attempting to prevent crime, we must shift our attention from after the crime has occurred, to before the offender first became involved in delinquency. Therefore, the focus should be on lessening the conditions or risk factors that correlate to persistent offenders. Addressing risk factors early on will reduce crime meaning less crime, less violence, less victimization and less money being spent on cops courts and corrections.

8.3 Remedies for High Risk Children - Successful Preschool Interventions

Evaluations of several early preschool intervention programs clearly illustrate the ability to achieve great reductions in later delinquency. These studies include the Perry Preschool Project, the Yale Child Welfare Project, the Houston Parent-Child Development Centre, the Syracuse University Family Development Research Program and the University of Rochester Nurse Home Visitation Program.

The Perry Preschool Project is a well-evaluated successful crime prevention program. It boasts a great reduction in crime (from 35% to 7% - an 80% change); a 23% increase in high school graduates; a 22% increase in those people earning more than \$2,000 per month; 23% more program participants owned a home at age 27; and 21% less used social services (See page 65, Chart - High Scope Perry Preschool Project Major Findings).

The Yale Child Welfare Research Program families fared better in many ways including : the mothers achieving more education (beyond high school), smaller family size and a greater period of time between births, and greater socio-economic status, defined as self-supporting (87% for the program group vs. 53% for the control group). The total benefits accrued from the savings of the program group over the control group equaled \$40,000.

The Houston Parent-Child Development Center focused on parent-oriented intervention and for the first year included home visits and weekend workshops for the entire family. The outcomes of this project, at 2 to 5 years after program completion, were very favorable showing less aggressive, hostile and acting-out behaviors for the control group.

The Syracuse University Family Development Research Program recruited mothers during their last trimester of pregnancy, who had extremely disadvantaged backgrounds. They were provided with weekly home visits by para-professionals to assist with issues of child rearing,

family relations, employment, and community functioning. The project resulted in less juvenile delinquency and better functioning in the community as measured by pro-social attitudes and behavior, education and family unity. At the ages of 13-16 the program group was almost four times less likely to have been processed through probation (6% for the program group vs. 22% for the control group). The estimated justice system costs per program child was \$186 and the justice system costs per control child was \$1,985.

The University of Rochester Nurse Home Visitation Program found that 2 years of home visits returned excellent results. The nurse visited mothers participated in the work force 80% more and had 43% fewer subsequent children. The program group had a 75% reduction in state-verified cases of child abuse. A cost-benefit analysis of this program showed that the net cost of the program was a gain of \$180 per family.

It is apparent that the key to a successful program whether it be a correctional rehabilitation treatment program or a early childhood intervention program is that the program address a majority of the risk factors that have been outlined in this thesis (See Tables 1,5 and 8). The early childhood intervention research studies that were outlined in this thesis used small samples and therefore these impressive results must be viewed cautiously. A second caution is that early childhood intervention programs are only but one type of crime prevention program out of possibly thousands (See Table 7 for a listing of various types of crime prevention programs).

An early intervention - high quality preschool approach to crime prevention seems to make "common sense." It enables children to have a better start in life, to become more healthy and more productive members of society. This can have very positive spin-offs for future generations.

The results from meta-analysis studies on correctional programs use very large samples and also cited the importance of addressing these same important criminogenic risk factors. What can be stated is simply that crime prevention programs whether focused on early childhood intervention or correctional rehabilitation need to address the risk factors and that early childhood intervention addressing these risk factors earlier rather than later seems to hold considerable promise. This thesis is unable to answer the question of whether, if these small selected early childhood projects were expanded if the same large impacts would be the result. This remains to be seen. However in comparison correctional rehabilitation programs have never had this great of success as compared with the selected early childhood projects (See Gendreau and Ross, 1979; Lipsey's, 1990; Andrews et al. 1990). What can be stated is that all programs are more effective if they address the risk factors and that early interventions which address the risk factors may hold greater promise for reduced criminality in the future.

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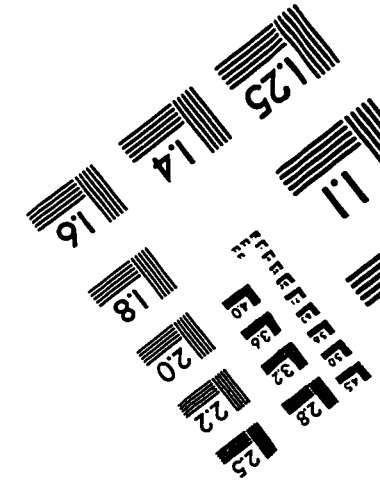
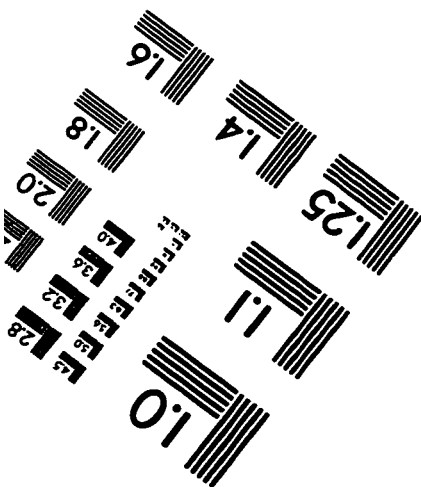
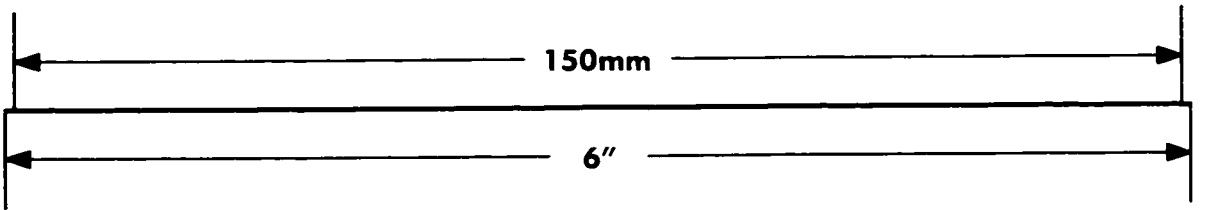
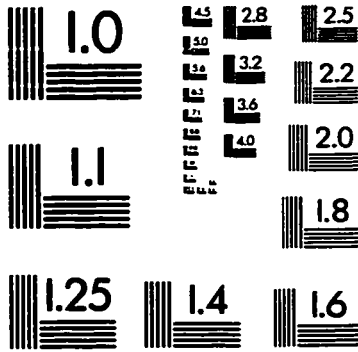
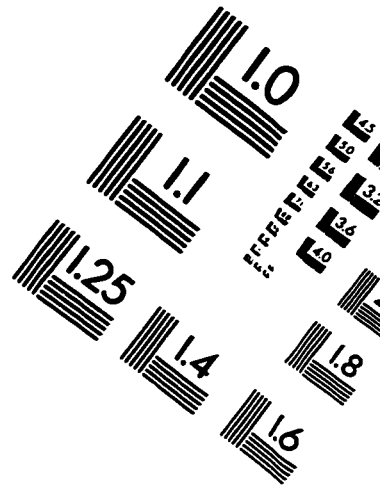
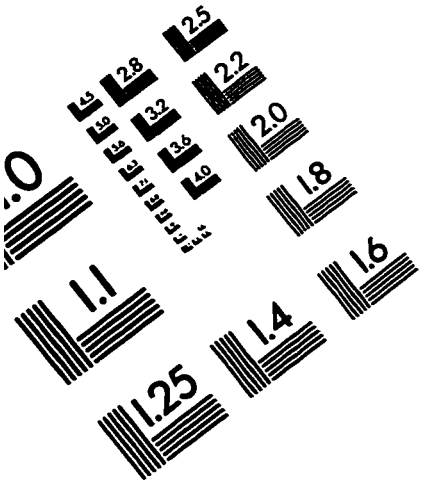
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IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



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