



California's Healthy Start

Community Safety and Violence Prevention Packet

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The design of this packet is intended to offer a spectrum of introductory articles and resources related to violence prevention and community safety. We will continue to edit and expand this packet and would welcome any comments or suggestions you may have. If you have articles or information you would like to share, please feel free to mail them to our office.

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a peer mediation model: conflict resolution for elementary and middle school children

Pamela S. Lane
J. Jeffries McWhirter

One of the problems with conflict, as every school counselor knows, is that it requires inordinate time and energy from school personnel. This fact is not surprising. Young people accurately receive a clearly conveyed cultural message: if one person wins, the other must lose. Schools reflect the problems of larger society in various ways: fighting, bullying, vandalizing, absenteeism, acting out, and demonstrating racial antagonism. These frequent interpersonal and intergroup conflicts often begin as small tensions and escalate when unresolved.

School personnel endeavor to establish and maintain an atmosphere conducive to optimum learning. They also aim to educate students toward their future roles in our democratic society. If those in power merely mete out punishment, the development of students' sensitivity to an awareness of the way in which others are affected by their actions may never materialize. In guiding students toward a development of an ethos, counselors need to turn away from the method modeled by our courts. They need to encourage win-win situations. Conflict resolution through peer mediation is a model that evolved from just that realization.

SCHOOL PEER MEDIATION: WHAT IT IS

School peer mediation is a mode of student conflict management. Two trained peer mediators work as a team to encourage problem solving between disputants. Often the setting for this mediation process is the playground. Used in conjunction with traditional means of discipline, such as

suspension for serious violent acts, mediation provides a structured forum for the resolution of disputes on school grounds. Student involvement in the mediation process ensures practice with critical thinking, problem solving, and self-discipline. "The process of peer mediation is a self-empowering one-it enables students to make decisions about issues and conflicts that affect their own lives" (Maxwell, 1989, p. 150). This element of student participation in self- and peer behavior change is directly related to the developmental construct of self-regulation that an awareness of socially approved behaviors is a critical feature of the concept itself. Self-regulation, as described by Block and Block (cited in Kopp, 1982), involves the ability to postpone acting on a desired object or goal. Mischel and Mischel (cited in Kopp, 1982) noted that self-regulation requires being able to generate socially approved behaviors in the absence of external monitors. The ability to self-regulate is a skill that must be practiced. As with most developmental issues, learning to self-regulate is an ongoing process. The school peer mediation model provides daily opportunities for reinforcement.

Background

School peer mediation programs have sprung up across the nation in the last decade. Many are based on community mediation models like the San Francisco Community Board Program (1982). Developers of the San Francisco Community Mediation Program had 5 years of experience settling disputes between neighbors and businesses before

introducing its school-based Conflict Manager program. In this program, students receive 16 hours of training and role-play practice. They eventually become team mediators on the playground and in the lunchroom. Similar programs now exist in almost all major cities in the United States. The assistance of a community mediation school initiative trainer, though not essential, may be valuable in the training of school personnel and students. Just as in the community model, children who are taught to mediate conflict in the schools apply communication skills, listen to varying perspectives, evoke mutual contributions to the problem's eventual solution and attend to feelings—all in an atmosphere of respect for the parties involved.

Theoretical Assumptions

Advocates of peer mediation in the schools assume that "children helping children" is a valid perspective from which to view program implementation and outcome. Much research literature supports this perspective. Kelly, Munoz, and Snowden (1979) concluded that there are several important advantages to including youth in preventive programs. Klepp, Halper and Perry (1986) noted that peer leaders have been found to have greater credibility regarding student social interactions. "Peers serve as potent role models, demonstrate prosocial behaviors, create and reinforce norms that certain behaviors are deviant rather than acceptable, and promote alternatives to these activities" (Jason & Rhodes, 1989, p. 203). The student mediators, especially, benefit from the program (Cahoon, 1988; Maxwell, 1989; Roderick, 1988).

School counselors are aware of the strength of programs that emphasize student involvement and student management. Youth in such programs tend to feel more committed to the intervention's goals and more interested in producing change among their peers. The success of school peer

mediation programs has provided further support for these assumptions.

BENEFITS TO STUDENTS AND TO THE SCHOOL

Both student behavior and school discipline problems improve as a result of peer mediation. McCormick (1988) reported that at-risk disputants (students who had been referred frequently for discipline problems) were observed by teachers to exhibit shifts to cooperation after experiencing peer mediation, a change supported by a 47% decrease in self-reported aggressive conflicts, which occurred as a result of peer mediation program implementation. Also, "at-risk students who directly participated in the program developed more 'prosocial' attitudes towards conflict, but those who had only indirect exposure to the collaborative process maintained their 'antisocial' attitudes towards conflict" (McCormick, 1988, p. 73). For example, one at-risk student was trained as a peer mediator. His previous preference for resolving conflict in an aggressive style was replaced (over one semester as a mediator) with a reported preference for a collaborative style of dispute resolution. Such metamorphoses are described by McCormick (1988): "Troublemakers' were just as enthusiastic about the problem solving process and just as competent to guide others through it as those peer mediators who were thought to be ideal students" (p. 63).

In another study (Araki, Takesita, & Kadomoto, 1989), results indicated that peer mediation increased empowerment and volunteerism with mediators and disputants becoming "the architects of their own futures" (Adler, 1987, p. 64). Counselors in this study noted that disputants who were nonlisteners became listeners through participation in the mediation process.

All students—both disputants or mediators—find within the process a place for talking about problems, learning more about the views of others and practicing better

communication in a nonviolent, nonjudgmental atmosphere. The words of one student summarize peer mediation's impact:

All I ever wanted to do was to fight. If someone said something to me I didn't like I didn't think about talking, I just thought about fighting. I came into a mediation session as a disputant with four girls on the other side. I thought, "Who needs this? What am I doing here?" I just wanted to punch these girls out. I figured that the mediator would tell me what I was going have to do. But she didn't. Instead she drew me out, listened to me. It felt good to let it all out; then I wasn't angry anymore. I thought, "Hey, if this can work for me, I want to learn how to do it." (McCormick, 1988, p 54)

Peer mediation also provides benefits for schools by reducing the number of discipline events. In one Hawaii school, the number of on-campus fights dropped from 83 to 19 over a 2-year period (Araki, Takeshita, & Kadomoto, 1989). At a New York school, these events declined by 50% (Koch, 1988). As mentioned earlier, an Arizona school reported a 47% decrease in the average number of aggressive incidents per month (McCormick, 1988). Finally, out of 69 mediated cases at a Milwaukee high school, 60 agreements were reached, and researchers recorded an 80% success rate for disputes mediated during the 1986-1987 school year (Burrell & Vogel, 1990). As more instruments for program evaluation become available (Lam, 1989), the benefits to students and to school climate will become increasingly more apparent.

TRAINING OF STAFF MEMBERS

The training sequence begins with presentation of the mediation program to the entire school staff. Often the school counselor

and principal conduct this introductory session. After the presentation, each staff member completes a level-of-interest questionnaire in order to determine the degree of commitment to the process. If staff support for mediation is adequate (usually 80%), training of teachers and support personnel is initiated. Training duration in the elementary and middle schools is usually 8 hours. The content of this training includes communication skills that encompass active listening, reflection of feeling, message clarification, body language, giving "I messages," brainstorming, types of questioning, and effective problem solving. The mediation sequence is identified, and adult responsibilities are delineated. Role-play is used extensively with the adult staff members, as it is later with the students.

TRAINING OF STUDENT PEER MEDIATORS

Once the adults have been trained, they plan and implement an orientation assembly to motivate students and alert them to the qualities of a good mediator. Role-play and skits are used to outline aspects of the program and the process.

As the time line for implementation nears, students who wish to become peer mediators nominate themselves or are nominated by others. Nominations may also come from counselors, teachers, and administrators. Final selection of mediators is completed by student vote. Selected students are then trained by adult staff members, sometimes with the assistance of a community mediation training consultant. Training for elementary and middle school students is 5 half days. The adult staff members teach the communication skills, which they reviewed in their own training. They guide the students through role-plays not unlike those they engaged in during the adult training.

The mediation sequence is introduced and practiced until it becomes a comfortable process for the children. This sequence involves four basic stages: introduction,

listening, wants, and solutions. Appendix A provides a basic checklist of the sequence in a step-by-step fashion.

In the first stage of the peer mediation sequence, the student mediators introduce themselves, offer their services ("Do you need a mediator?"), and walk to a different area to cause physical and psychological separation from the initial point of conflict. When the disputants and mediators are ready, the rules are reviewed and commitment to them is elicited. An assurance of confidentiality is given to disputants by the mediators.

In Stage 2 of the mediation sequence, the peer mediators reflect and restate content and feelings as they address each disputant in turn. Because no interruptions are allowed, disputants have the opportunity to hear the others' perspective of the conflict and their resulting feelings.

With the guidance of the peer mediators, disputants express their wants in Stage 3 of the sequence. As the requests are heard and restated by mediators, clarity reduces anxiety about possible hidden agendas.

In Stage 4, disputants are asked what they can contribute to the resolution of the problem. The peer mediators restate and check solutions for balance. Then each disputant is asked if the proposed solution is mutually acceptable. An important step in this phase is asking if the problem is solved. Often disputants may wish to express a need to receive or to give an apology in order to smooth hurt feelings. The mediators then ask disputants how such a conflict could be handled differently in the future. Peer mediators close the sequence by asking former disputants to tell friends that the conflict has been solved, thus reducing the potential for rumors. After congratulating the students on solving their problem, the peer mediators complete a mediation report form. In this last step of the sequence, the peer mediators have an opportunity to review the quality of their guidance as they do their record keeping together.

When training is complete, student mediators receive recognition and uniform

T-shirts, banners, or hats at an assembly. They are then assigned to recess duty in pairs. They meet twice a week with a staff program coordinator to discuss their successes and problems, to maintain and build new skills, and to handle scheduling problems. School counselors often introduce classroom guidance curriculum activities to promote general student awareness of the peer mediators and the service they offer.

IMPLICATIONS

The simplicity of the peer mediation process contributes to its success. The student mediators can easily implement the steps. They also provide support for each other. In the San Francisco Community Board (1982) demonstration video a young man who was formerly a "conflict maker" became a "conflict manager." Sonny had this to say about his peer mediation experience:

I used to be a bully. I think because I wanted to get the authority - the power. Now, as a conflict manager, I get the authority and the status I used to take. I've changed. Now I can feel what the kids feel and I can help them solve their problems.

Cahoon (1988), an elementary principal, noted that her "mediators learn valuable problem-solving skills: to think logically about processing the information presented to them, to see issues impartially, and to advise without censoring. They also gain recognition for their efforts" (p. 94). Roderick (1988) emphasized a valuable aspect of school mediation programs: "Young people have many choices besides passivity or aggression for dealing with conflict. . . [through mediation] we give them the skills to make those choices real in their own lives" (p. 90).

The Ripple Effect

Fewer playground problems and fewer referrals to the nurse and principal are

consequences of program implementation. In addition, families also experience impact. Parents and students in peer mediation schools report that conflict in the home is resolved in new and more productive ways. Perhaps this supports the research conclusions of Frey, Holley, and L'Abate (1979). They emphasized that a byproduct of mutually and peacefully resolved conflict is often a new intimacy in the family. They advocated teaching children to be vulnerable – to share their fears and hurts, not just their anger. This concept is built into the mediation sequence, as the elicitation of feelings, as well as information, is an important function of the mediation process.

Program trainers in the Phoenix area serving more than 70 schools (Terros, 1988) have compiled a list of reported benefits, which are presented here. Although empirical evidence is lacking (Maxwell, 1989), reports by administrators, teachers, and school counselors confirm many of these benefits:

- Pressure for staff members to be constant disciplinarians decreased
- Staff time saved
- Tension reduced
- Overall improvement in school climate
- Students' leadership skills developed
- Student language skills enhanced
- Academic improvement of mediators
- Increased status among peers for mediators
- Improved self-esteem for both mediators and disputants
- Valuable problem-solving skills learned
- Practice received in self-regulation
- Improvement in self-discipline of mediators
- More openness in sharing of feelings reported
- Greater assumption of responsibility
- Student needs are met more positively
- Families report improved self-discipline at home
- Families note better listening all around
- Home conflicts resolved more effectively

- In society, effects will be cumulative as more children learn positive ways to resolve conflict
- Eventual reduction of violence hypothesized
- Possibility of reducing burden on court system

Counseling Ramifications

Elementary and middle school counselors are in key positions to institute peer mediation programs. Many of the skills and concepts are directly related to a developmental counseling philosophy in that the progressively acquired ability of a child to self-regulate is central to the peer mediation process. "Positive self esteem and self regulation can be fostered in students when they are given the opportunity to participate in decisions relating to their own lives" (Maxwell, 1989). School counselors can promote this developmental process through the implementation of peer mediation programs. Furthermore, counselors are in a position to open up mediation training to parents as part of a school-community outreach program. Conflict resolution through peer mediation is a preventive program as well-in the form of leadership training. It is also an integral component of a school's discipline plan. Finally, it is a way to meet the communication objectives of a guidance curriculum. Regardless of its placement in the overall picture of school pupil development, its importance for children and its implications for society are clear. Henderson summed up the perspective of mediation advocates:

The kind of communication we push in mediation ... aims at clarification and compassion, as well as the use of intellect. You don't abandon your rational ability to calculate "can I trust this person or not?" But you also don't abandon your ability to listen to what they are saying and to make

sense out of it from their point of view. (cited in Dolezal, 1989, p. 10).

CONCLUSION

When *A Nation at Risk* (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983) was published, the needs identified as requisite in achieving academic excellence were listening, problem solving, oral language expressions and critical thinking. The conflict resolution model of peer mediation directly addresses these needs. These identified skills are directly taught in the process of mediation training. They are modeled and reinforced by the peer mediators. If children are to mature into adults who know how to solve problems while respecting the views of others, then mediation is not only a positive school program but an essential survival skill. Roderick (1988) observed, "At a time when human survival depends on finding alternatives to violence for resolving differences, there is no more compelling mission" (p. 90) than for counselors to encourage peer mediation programs so that the healthy development of children may be fostered.

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APPENDIX A

Peer Mediation Process Checklist

Introduction

1. Introduce yourself. Ask disputants' names.
2. Ask both persons if they want to solve the problem.
3. If yes, move to a different area to talk.
4. State the four rules:
 - a. Agree to solve the problem
 - b. No name calling or put-downs
 - c. Be as honest as you can
 - d. Do not interrupt
5. Go back and ask each person if he or she agrees to each rule. Restate rules one at a time and get a yes answer.
6. Explain that whatever is discussed will not be shared with others by the mediators.

Listening

7. Decide who will talk first.
8. Ask person #1 what happened ... restate. Ask person #1 how he or she feels ... restate.

9. Ask person #2 what happened. . . restate. Ask person #2 how he or she feels ... restate.

Wants

10. Ask person # 1 what he or she wants ... repeat it.
11. Ask person #2 what he or she wants... repeat it.

Solutions

12. Ask person #1 what he or she can do to solve the problem repeat.
13. Ask person #2 what he or she can do to solve the problem repeat.
14. Evaluate solution for balance and fairness.
15. Ask each person if he or she agrees to the solution. Ask if problem is solved.
16. Ask each person what he or she could do differently.
17. Ask each person to tell friends that the conflict has been solved to prevent rumors.
18. Congratulate students for their hard work.
19. Fill out the Peer Mediation Report Form.

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Why Violence Prevention Programs Don't Work – and What Does

David W. Johnson and Roger T. Johnson

The best school programs in conflict resolution tend to follow six key principles.

"Joshua was chasing Octavia. He pushed her down, and she kicked him. "

"Danielle is going to beat up Amber after school. They were spitting in each others' faces and calling each other names. "

"Tom shoved Cameron lip against the lockers and threatened him. Cameron said he's going to bring a knife to school tomorrow to get even.

Schools are filled with conflicts. The frequency of clashes among students and the increasing severity of the ensuing violence make managing such incidents very costly in terms of time lost to instructional, administrative, and learning efforts.

If schools are to be orderly and peaceful places in which high-quality education can take place, students must learn to manage conflicts constructively without physical or verbal violence. The following six principles may be helpful to schools that are trying to accomplish this goal.

1. Go beyond violence Prevention to conflict resolution training.

To Curb violence among students, many schools have implemented violence prevention programs. Some schools focus on anger management and general social skills. Others invite guest speakers (for example, police officers) to school, employ metal detectors, or ask police to patrol the school. Still others show videotapes of violent encounters and structure discussions around how fights start and alternative ways to manage aggression.

The proliferation of such programs raises the question: Do they work? In a review of three popular violence prevention curriculums-Violence Prevention Curriculum for Adolescents, Washington I D.C.] Community Violence Prevention Program, and Positive Adolescent Choices Training-Webster (1993) found no evidence that they produce long-term changes in violent behavior or decrease the risk of victimization. The main function of such programs, Webster argues is to provide political cover for school officials and politicians.

In their survey of 51 violence prevention programs, Wilson-Brewer and colleagues (1991) found that fewer than half of the programs even claimed to have reduced levels of violence, and few had any data to back up their claims. Tolan and Guerra (in press), after reviewing the existing research on violence prevention, concluded that (1) many schools are engaged in well-intentioned efforts without any evidence that the programs will work, and (2) some programs actually influence relatively nonviolent Students to be more violence-prone

Why don't violence prevention programs work? Here are a few possible reasons.

1. *Many programs are poorly targeted.* First, they lump together a broad range of violent behaviors and people, ignoring the fact that different people turn to violence for different reasons. Second, few programs focus on the relatively small group of children and adolescents who commit most of the acts of serious violence. In our studies of a peer mediation pro-ram in inner-city schools, for example, we found that less than 5 percent of students accounted for more than one-third of the violent incidents in the school (Johnson and Johnson 1994a).

2. *The programs provide materials but don't focus on program implementation. Many programs assume that (a) a few hours of an educational intervention can "fix" students who engage in violent behavior, (b) a few hours of training can prepare teachers to conduct the program, and (c) no follow-up is needed to maintain the quality of the program. In other words, the programs ignore the literature on successful innovation within schools (Johnson and Johnson, in press) and, therefore, are often poorly implemented.*

3. *Proponents of violence prevention programs confuse methods that work in neighborhoods with those that work in schools. Conflicts on the street often involve macho posturing, competition for status, access to drugs significant amounts of money, and individuals who have short-term interactions with one another. The school, on the other*

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Few violence prevention programs focus on the relatively small group of children and adolescents who commit most of the acts of serious violence.

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hand, is a cooperative setting in which conflicts involve working to-ether, sharing resources, making decisions, and solving problems among students who are in long-term relationships. Different conflict resolution procedures are required in each setting. Street tactics should not be brought into the school, and it is naive and dangerous to assume that school tactics should be used on the street.

4. *Many programs are unrealistic about the strength of the social forces that impel children toward violence. To change the social norms controlling street behavior requires a*

broad-based effort that involves families, neighbors, the mass media, employers, health care officials, schools, and government. Schools do not have the resources to guarantee health care, housing, food, parental love, and hope for the future for each child. Educators cannot eliminate the availability of guns (especially semi-automatic handguns), change the economics of the drug trade (and other types of crime) or even reduce the dangers of walking to and from school. Because there is a limit to what schools can do in reducing violence among children and adolescents outside of school violence prevention programs should be realistic and not promise too much.

Initiating a violence prevention program will not reduce the frequency of violence in schools and in society as a whole. While violence does need to be prevented, programs that focus exclusively on violence prevention may generally be ineffective. Schools must go beyond violence prevention to conflict resolution training.

2. Don't attempt to eliminate all conflicts.

The elimination of violence does not mean the elimination of conflict. Some conflicts can have positive outcomes (Johnson and Johnson 1991, 1992). They can increase achievement, motivation to learn, higher-level reasoning, long-term retention, healthy social and cognitive development, and the fun students have in school. Conflicts can also enrich relationships, clarify personal identity, increase ego strength, promote resilience in the face of adversity, and clarify how one needs to change.

It is not the presence of conflict that is to be feared but, rather, its destructive management. Attempts to deny, suppress, repress, and ignore conflicts may, in fact, be a major contributor to the occurrence of violence in schools. Given the many positive outcomes of conflict, schools need to teach students how to manage conflicts constructively.

3. Create a cooperative context.

The best conflict resolution programs seek to do more than change individual students. Instead they try to transform the total school environment into a learning community in which students live by a credo of nonviolence.

Two contexts for conflict are possible: cooperative and Competitive (Deutsch 1973, Johnson and Johnson 1989). In a competitive context, individuals strive to win while ensuring their opponents lose. Those few who perform the best receive the rewards. In this context, competitors often misperceive one another's positions and motivations, avoid communicating with one another, are suspicious of one another, and see the situation from only their own perspective.

In a cooperative context, conflicts tend to be resolved constructively. Students have clear perceptions of one another's positions and motivation, communicate accurately and completely, trust one another, and define conflicts as mutual problems to be solved. Cooperators typically have a long-term time orientation and focus their energies both on achieving mutual goals and on maintaining good working relationships with others.

Students cannot learn to manage conflicts constructively when their school experience is competitive and individualistic. In such a context, constructive conflict resolution procedures are often ineffective and, in fact, may make the Students Who use them vulnerable to exploitation. Instead, schools should seek to create a cooperative context for conflict management which is easier to do when the majority of learning situations are cooperative (Johnson and Johnson 1989, Johnson et al. 1993).

4. Decrease in-school risk factors.

Three factors place children and adolescents at risk for violent behavior. The first is academic failure. One way that schools can promote higher achievement and greater competence in using higher-level reasoning by students is to emphasize cooperative learning more than competitive or individualistic learning (Johnson and Johnson

1989). The more students know and the greater their ability to analyze situations and think through decisions, the better able they will be to envision the consequences of their actions, respect differing viewpoints, conceive of a variety of strategies for dealing with conflict, and engage in creative problem solving.

A second factor that puts children and adolescents at risk for violent and destructive behavior is alienation from schoolmates. In order to create an infrastructure of personal and academic support, schools need to encourage long-term caring and committed relationships. Two procedures for doing so are (1) using cooperative base groups that last for a number of years (Johnson et al. 1992, 1993); and (2) assigning teams of teachers to follow cohorts of students through several grades, instead of changing teachers every year (Johnson and Johnson 1994a).

Third, children and adolescents who have high levels of psychological pathology are more at risk for violent and destructive behavior than Students who are psychologically well adjusted. David Hamburg, the president of Carnegie Corporation, states that reversing the trend of violence among the young depends on teaching children how to share, work cooperatively with others, and help others. The more children and adolescents work in cooperative learning groups, the greater will be their psychological health, self-esteem, social competencies, and resilience in the face of adversity and stress (Johnson and Johnson 1989),

In summary, schools must not overlook the in-school factors that place students at risk for engaging in violence and other destructive Ways of managing conflicts. Anything that allows students to fail, remain apart from classmates, and be socially inept and have low self-esteem, increases the probability that students will use destructive conflict strategies.

5. Use academic controversy to increase learning.

To show students that conflicts can have positive results, schools should make academic controversies an inherent and daily part of learning situations. It is unclear whether cognitive, social, and moral development can take place in the absence of conflict. Academic *controversy* exists when one Student's ideas, information, conclusions, theories, and opinions are incompatible with those of another, and the two seek to reach an agreement (Johnson and Johnson 1992).

For example, teachers can assign students to cooperative learning groups of four, divided into two pairs. One pair is assigned a pro position on an issue and the other pair, the con position. Each pair prepares a persuasive presentation (consisting of a thesis statement, rationale, and conclusion) to convince the other side of the position's validity. The two pairs then meet, and each side presents the best case possible for its position. Afterward, during an open discussion, students refute the opposing position (by discrediting the information and/or the inductive and deductive logic used) while rebutting criticisms of their position. At the same time, they try to persuade the other pair to change their minds. Next, a perspective reversal occurs in which each pair presents the best case possible for the opposing position. Finally, after trying to view the issue from both perspectives simultaneously, the students drop all advocacy and come to a consensus about their "best reasoned judgment" based on a synthesis of the two positions.

Over the past 25 years, we have conducted numerous studies on academic controversy. Similar to cooperative learning, academic controversy results in increased student achievement, critical thinking, higher-level reasoning, intrinsic motivation to learn, perspective-taking, and a number of other important educational outcomes (Johnson and Johnson 1979,1992).

6. Teach all students how to resolve conflicts constructively.

Most of the diverse conflict resolution programs present in schools are either cadre or total student body programs. In the *cadre approach*, a small number of students are trained to serve as peer mediators for the entire school. While this approach is relatively easy and inexpensive to implement, having a few peer mediators with limited training is not likely to decrease the severity and frequency of conflicts in a school.

In the *total student body approach*, every student learns how to manage conflicts constructively by negotiating agreements and mediating their schoolmates' conflicts. The responsibility for peer mediation is rotated throughout the entire student body (or class) so that every student gains experience as a mediator. A disadvantage of this approach is the time and commitment required by the faculty. The more students who are trained how to negotiate and mediate, however, the greater the number of conflicts that will be managed constructively in the school.

An example of the total student body approach is the *Teaching Students to Be Peacemakers Program*, which we have implemented in several countries (Johnson and Johnson 1991). We conceive the training as a 12-year spiral curriculum in which each year students learn increasingly sophisticated negotiation and mediation procedures.

The negotiation procedure consists of six steps. Students in conflict: (1) define what they want, (2) describe their feelings, and (3) explain the reasons underlying those wants and feelings. Then the students: (4) reverse perspectives in order to view the conflict from both sides, (5) generate at least three optional agreements with maximum benefits for both parties, and (6) agree on the wisest course of action.

The mediation procedure consists of four steps: (1) stop the hostilities, (2) ensure that the disputants are committed to the mediation process, (3) facilitate negotiations between the disputants, and (4) formalize the agreement.

Once the students complete negotiation and mediation training, the school (or

teacher) implements the Peacemakers Program by selecting two students as mediators each day. It is the actual experience of being a mediator that best teaches students how to negotiate and resolve conflicts. In addition to using the procedures, students receive additional training twice a week for the rest of the school year to expand and refine their skills.

Until recently, very little research validating the effectiveness of conflict resolution training programs in schools has existed. Over the past five years, we have conducted seven studies in six different schools in both suburban and urban settings and in two different countries (Johnson and Johnson 1994b). Students in 1st through 9th grades were involved in the studies. We found that before training, most students had daily conflicts, used destructive strategies that tended to escalate the conflict, referred the majority of their conflicts to the teacher, and did not know how to negotiate. After training, students could apply the negotiation and mediation procedures to actual conflict situations, as well as transfer them to nonclassroom and nonschool settings, such as the playground, the lunchroom, and at home. Further, they maintained their knowledge and skills throughout the school year.

Given the choice of using a "win-lose" or a "problem-solving" negotiation strategy, virtually all untrained students used the former, while trained students primarily chose the problem-solving approach. In addition, students who were taught the negotiation procedure while studying a novel during an English literature unit not only learned how to negotiate, but performed higher on an achievement test on the novel than did students in a control group, who spent their entire time studying the novel. This study represents a model of how to integrate conflict resolution training into an academic class.

After their training, students generally managed their conflicts without involving adults. The frequency of student-student conflicts teachers had to manage dropped 80

percent, and the number of conflicts referred to the principal was reduced by 95 percent. Such a dramatic reduction of referrals of conflicts to adults changed the school discipline program from arbitrating conflicts to maintaining and supporting the peer mediation process.

Knowing how to negotiate agreements and mediate schoolmates' conflicts empowers students to regulate their own behavior. Self-regulation is a central and significant hallmark of cognitive and social development. Using competencies in resolving conflicts constructively also increases a child's ability to build and maintain high-quality relationships with peers and to cope with stress and adversity.

In short, training only a small cadre of students to manage conflicts constructively and to be peer mediators will not change the way other students manage their conflicts. For this reason, schools must teach all students skills in negotiation and mediation.

Making the Future a Better Place

Every student needs to learn how to manage conflicts constructively. Without training, many students may never learn how to do so. Teaching every student how to negotiate and mediate will ensure that future generations are prepared to manage conflicts constructively in career, family, community, national, and international settings. There is no reason to expect, however, that the process will be easy or quick. It took 30 years to reduce smoking in America. It took 20 years to reduce drunk driving. It may take even longer to ensure that children and adolescents can manage conflicts constructively. The more years that students spend learning and practicing the skills of peer mediation and conflict resolution, the more likely they will be to actually use those skills both in the classroom and beyond the school door.

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The Killing Grounds: Can Schools Help Stem the Violence

by Adria Steinberg

From the Harvard Education Letter

ALTHOUGH a Senate Judiciary Committee report names the United States as the most violent and self-destructive nation in the industrialized world, there is little consensus on what schools can or should do, beyond ensuring safety within the school building. But promising experiments have begun to emerge.

It is now understood that violence often erupts in the context of peer relationships. Students who witness or are victims of violence typically know the assailant and sometimes even participate in the instigation or maintenance of the conflict. The same young person may, at different times, play the roles of perpetrator, victim, and bystander.

One way to get a handle on the perplexing nature of violence among adolescents is to understand the attitudes and beliefs that support development of aggression. Researchers have found important differences in the way aggressive and unassertive youth think about violence. Aggressive youth tend to attribute hostility to others, search for few facts in trying to understand a situation, and have difficulty envisioning alternative solutions, especially nonviolent ones. Juvenile offenders, even though they have the most experience with violence, seem to have the least sense of its harmful consequences. They are likely to consider violence a legitimate response and maybe even a necessary one, to avoid being thought a wimp or a patsy. They also tend to ignore or deny the suffering of the victim.

Such findings raise questions about the notion that making young people feel better about themselves will reduce violence. Aggressive students may actually connect

their self-esteem to their ability to bully others. Joining a gang can in itself be a boost to self-esteem, unless kids change how they think and what they believe about violence and develop alternative, nonviolent means for gaining what they need and want.

School people concerned about violence can choose from a growing number of prevention curricula. The Educational Development Center (EDC, 55 Chapel Street, Newton, Massachusetts 02160) will soon publish a new curriculum for middle schools. For high schools, EDC's Health Promotion Program distributes a curriculum developed by Deborah Prothrow-Stith, of Harvard University's School of Public Health. The 10-session course focuses on helping adolescents understand and control their anger by learning and practicing conflict resolution.

The curriculum is part of a larger Violence Prevention Project, which Prothrow-Stith launched in 1987 to create "a new community ethos supportive of violence prevention." It uses a public health strategy to involve everyone in contact with youth—from pediatricians to coaches—in reinforcing the message that it does not make sense to "fight it out."

Surprisingly, this is not the message adults typically give kids. Many tell kids to "fight back—don't be a wimp" after a playground incident. "We realized," says Prothrow-Stith, "that we needed to offer more training to the adults, that we had to change their attitudes before we could change the kids." She sees this as one of the most valuable lessons from the project's first years.

Another lesson educators are learning is that prevention efforts need to begin early.

Kids do not just "grow out" of being bullies or perpetual victims; interpersonal relationships that occur in school are indicators of present and future personal adjustment.

While teachers are aware of the importance of early relationships, many are not sure what to do when faced with conflict. Until recently, it was not uncommon for adults to encourage young children to vent their anger on a punching bag or pillow, on the assumption that aggression generates spontaneously and builds up inside children, who must then vent it to avoid a more harmful explosion later. Today, experts on conflict resolution take a different view. While the capacity for violence may be inborn, children *learn* to be aggressive. Punching a pillow may bring momentary relief, but it does not expose the child to new, nonviolent models for dealing with anger or aggression.

Even five- and six-year-olds can understand many elements of arriving at solutions where both sides win. What is needed is a teacher who understands how to nurture these skills in developmentally appropriate ways. Rather than simply telling children to take turns with a desired object, or putting it away, the teacher can redefine the situation as a shared problem: "You both want the paddle; there's only one." In this way, the teacher helps young children understand the problem in concrete, physical terms that make sense to them—the first step in working toward a positive solution and helping children learn to use such terms to talk about their problems among themselves.

Similarly, the teacher can model and reinforce other parts of the problem-solving process—helping students to notice how specific actions contributed to the problem, to negotiate with one another, and to generate and evaluate varied solutions. Researchers have concluded that children develop understanding of conflict and its resolution through a long, slow process of construction.

At Educators for Social Responsibility (23 Garden Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138), William Kreidler developed a program of 20 hours of training for K-6

teachers followed by 10 hours of in-class support. This time is necessary, he notes, because there is much more involved than having teachers learn and practice new skills in conflict resolution. Teachers take a new look at their approaches to classroom management—how they structure the classroom and develop and enforce rules, and what it might mean to create a classroom and school environment in which kids want to resolve things peacefully.

Teachers also look at the curriculum to see how they can weave conflict resolution into their social studies, reading, and math lessons. Although conflict-resolution skills can be taught in isolation, it is preferable to connect them to the overall curriculum and social climate of the classroom and school. Kreidler describes a "peaceable classroom," marked by cooperation, appreciation of diversity, and sensitivity to emotions and varying perspectives. "It's a wonderful thing to see," he says. "These kids are helping each other, caring for each other."

Entering its second decade, the Child Development Project (CDP, 111 Deerwood Place, San Ramon, California 94583) is expanding to new districts after a seven-year study of the project found evidence that schools can help children become more caring and responsible. "CDP is the first long-term, comprehensive, school-based project in prosocial education," says Alfie Kohn, who features it in his book, *The Brighter Side of Human Nature: Altruism and Empathy in Everyday Life*.

Teachers in CDP schools train in an innovative approach to classroom management and discipline that rejects traditional carrot-and-stick strategies. Starting in kindergarten, children and teachers decide together how to organize the classroom and handle behavior problems to reinforce values like caring and helping others. Prosocial values are embedded in what is taught. Books and stories children read focus on characters facing moral issues, such as how to maintain their own values in the face of peer pressure. How classes are taught is also important.

Students spend part of each day in cooperative learning groups, solving problems together.

The cooperative spirit also goes into the home, where children find out what their parents think about some of the stories and issues discussed in school. The program gives kids a chance to serve as models themselves, through a buddy program that pairs older and younger children for school outings or tutoring. Students take their caring into the community by participating in service projects.

While the separate elements of CDP are not new, the combination is a very different way of educating young people. A longitudinal comparison of students in CDP schools and not in them turned up significant differences. CDP children engaged in more spontaneous prosocial behaviors in class, understood hypothetical conflict situations better, and were more likely to take everyone's needs into account in dealing with such situations, but they also considered it important to be assertive about their own beliefs.

The long-term study alleviated teachers' fears that emphasizing values in the classroom might cut down on academic learning. Children in CDP schools received scores on standardized tests comparable to those of peers in other schools. And when the original cohort of kids reached sixth grade, their essays were evaluated more positively

(in a blind rating system) than those of non-CDP peers. In 1988, these results led to expansion of the program to Hayward, a neighboring school district with a more ethnically heterogeneous population. By this fall, six other districts, five of them urban, will participate.

Two critical preconditions for success of the program are intensive teacher training and support from the principal. "We expect to adapt what we are doing," adds CDP program director Marilyn Watson, "especially in communities where families are experiencing great stress." She points to the work of James Comer, whose School Development Project, in New Haven, Connecticut, is a model of how schools and low-income parents can work together to enhance children's social development.

"The attitude of many people," says Kohn, "is that once you get kids well behaved, that's where the responsibility ends." In his view, the CDP has already made an important contribution to challenging that attitude by demonstrating "that children can be raised to work with, care for, and help each other, and that schools can play a major role in that process."

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A Guide to Violence Prevention

Robert Watson

Nowadays no school is immune to violence, but there are practical ways to increase a school's resistance.

Recently as part of a school safety audit, I interviewed a high-school teacher who three months earlier had witnessed "an intruder shoot one of her students outside her classroom door. I asked her whether she felt prepared to deal with violence such as this. "I resent this question," she replied, with tears in her eyes. "I did not come into this profession to be prepared to deal with violence. I am here because I love children and I love my subject, choral music."

I then asked if the school provided her with any help in dealing with the shooting. Her response was, in effect, "Yes and no." "When it happened," she said, I had no easy way to notify the office I-or help. Two weeks later, I lost it emotionally and was unable to teach." She said she then took it upon herself to seek help from one of the guidance counselors so she would be able to return to the classroom.

Contributing Factors

The music teacher's experience illustrated several major problems associated with school violence and school safety-com moil concerns that faculty and staff in other schools where violence has occurred have voiced to me:

"There are Students here who should be somewhere else."

"We have had no training in what to do if something violent happens."

"This building is so accessible to everyone, and there are no procedures to deal with strangers."

"My classroom is isolated, and I do not have any easy way to call the office. There are no two-way intercoms."

Until recently, school buildings were not designed with comprehensive safety in mind. A physically secure building was thought to be a safe building. But when hallway patterns are labyrinths and views are blocked at every comer, walkie-talkies are the major tool to overcome the design. Portable buildings often don't even have one-way intercoms and the old public address systems are nearly useless for even the most minimal internal communications. Further, traditional classroom space is not flexible and fosters isolation.

Still, failure to overcome these limitations is unacceptable, given today 's technology and rampant school violence. While communications technology may be expensive, it may also be critical to a school's capacity to protect itself from violence.

Why Schools Don't Act

Violence is only one aspect of school safety. But it has now become the barometer by which school safety is judged. Why, then, do some schools make little or no attempt to counter violence? There are several reasons.

Staff members may not know what to do. They may believe nothing will work. They may feel that making the school safer is the responsibility of the school board or of law enforcement officials. Or, they may view violence as a public relations problem. Administrators frequently tell me that school

violence is not as bad as the media blow it up to be, or that the media focus on and exploit isolated incidents, giving certain schools a bad name.

When school personnel feel helpless and are unable to overcome their feeling of vulnerability, taking action to make themselves less vulnerable can improve both real and perceived safety.

Following are some basic steps school districts can take to help stem the tide of violence and make schools safer. Throughout this process, keep in mind these precepts:

- Violent acts can occur in any school, even though they are more likely in some schools than others.
- A proactive response is superior to a reactive response.
- A violent act is never over when it is over: it lives on in the feelings of those affected by it.
- There are two kinds of school safety-actual and perceived; they are related, but not necessarily the same.
- School safety is relative; it can be thought of on a continuum from minimum safety to maximum safety.
- School violence is a district and community problem.

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When school personnel feel helpless, taking action to make themselves less vulnerable can improve both real and perceived safety.

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Seek Consensus

The first step in improving school safety is open discussion about the need for it. A school or school district should arrange a

forum that includes all interested members of the school community-parents, businesspeople and chambers of commerce, and school improvement groups.

Participants should know that school violence has many faces: it may occur in a series of small, observable incidents, or suddenly and brutally; it may arise from student conflict, community conflict, or simple criminal behavior. Whatever the nature of the problem, the discussion should focus on the fact that this is *our* problem and that we can and must do something about it. Schools themselves, not legislators, must identify the problems and the solutions.

Organize a Central Committee

Just as the causes and consequences of violence are complex, so, too, is the search for solutions. Coming up with solutions should not be the total responsibility of the individual school; at the outset, the district should form a districtwide safety committee. Districtwide planning processes actually produce better plans and more support for schools than do solo attempts.

Just as in the discussion stage, everyone in the school community should be involved. The committee should be composed of representatives from the schools and the community, the district office, and community agencies-especially those involved with law enforcement, fires, medical services, and services for juveniles.

Study the Problem

Acquiring security guards or better technology can be part of the solution for a school, but these measures ought to arise from a systematic, deliberate study of the problem. If a school is going to do more than simply respond to violent acts as they occur, it must consider a broad array of safety factors-technology, building design, supervisory procedures, discipline practices, conflict resolution, and other instruction built into the curriculum.

The safety committee guides this study. For convenience, the committee may divide itself into smaller groups to look into:

- curriculum approaches, including conflict reduction, interpersonal skills, and personal safety;
- policy and procedures to review documents, laws, discipline records, and other gathered safety data;
- intervention strategies including those for violent intruders, fire, explosions, and so on; and
- crisis response follow-up activities to restore the school to equilibrium after a crisis.

To carry out the study, the *committee needs a structured process* and a complete set of appropriate documents, including the following:

- all relevant state school laws that require compliance (some laws, such as the South Carolina School House Safety Alliance Act, are very specific about the process used to study violence prevention);
- all state and district board of education regulations that affect safety, including those that assign school officials authority and responsibility for safety;
- student discipline data from middle and high schools;
- any school safety audits or studies for the district, including climate surveys;
- all existing school and district safety plans;
- model safety plans from other districts;
- a written timeline for the safety study, with set goals and end products;
- a plan to submit recommendations for security equipment, communications technology, training, or personnel, if necessary;
- a list of community resources governmental and private; and
- descriptions of curriculum provisions for addressing violence reduction or conflict resolution.

Formulate a Plan

Once current conditions, limitations, and resources have been assessed, the committee should guide the formulation of a five-year school violence safety plan. In addition, the committee should plan to produce a number of other documents that can serve as a guide both during and after its work. At a minimum, these materials should include:

- recommendations for security equipment and communications technology improvement, including two-way intercoms walkie-talkies, alarm systems fences where necessary, fax machines, and additional phone lines;
- about 25 strategies for the most common school emergencies, in a ready-reference format;
- a plan for crisis response follow-up for faculty and Students, including debriefing and counseling;
- a plan for annual training for crisis response teams and others (if the training is conducted as the plan is being developed, it is likely to lead to a higher quality plan)
- recommendations for conflict management training for students or parents and other educational initiatives; and
- any other policies or long-term plans that will make the school safer.

Conduct a Safety Audit

A comprehensive safety audit can be very useful to a safety committee, helping committee members make decisions about prevention, intervention, and follow-up strategies. An outside group conducts such an audit.

The auditors interview and survey parents, teachers, Students, and community members, whose perceptions provide valuable insights into the safety conditions at the school. Because perceptions about the potential for violence in a school vary, an audit can determine which groups or individuals have the greatest safety concerns and why they do.

The auditors also review documents and conduct visual inspections to identify the need for communications technology - for example, video cameras to cover areas that are not easily monitored - and other equipment, such as fences and signs.

Train Crisis Response Teams

All faculty and staff should receive general safety training when they join the school. Each year thereafter, they should receive specific training in safety procedures, including supervision necessary for a safe environment.

In addition to this general training, extensive training is needed for school crisis response teams ill how to work with community emergency personnel.

Our firm uses a three-day training process. Oil the second clay. we stage a comprehensive simulation involving community agencies, fire departments, police departments, medical services, the coroner, and the media. For developing skills ill planning, communications, and teamwork, nothing works as well as this type of simulation. Equally important, bringing together outside agencies and school personnel in a common endeavor promotes greater trust, understanding, respect, and collaboration.

Crisis response training shows school personnel that they must deal with the

feelings of students and colleagues during and after a crisis. Activities that enable people to work through their feelings help minimize the harmful consequences of a terrible event and help people grow stronger in its aftermath. This I know all too well. In 1988, while a superintendent in South Carolina, I had the misfortune of having to deal with a mass shooting in an elementary school. Although I received a state board of education commendation for managing the crisis successfully, fewer mistakes would have resulted if we had had a well-thought out plan in place.

There is no panacea that will guarantee violence will not strike a school. But that should not deter us from taking precautions to minimize the danger. And I am convinced that comprehensive planning, with extensive community and school involvement, generates the best safeguards. It is not enough to say, as one principal put it to me: "When there is trouble, I just want to dial 911."

Robert Watson was a public school teacher and superintendent for 28 years, and spent three years as an FBI agent. He is co-author of *Containing Crisis: A Guide to School Emergencies*. He can be reached at Watson Consulting P.O. Box 2434, Anderson, SC 29022. (803) 260-9649.

Collaboration to Prevent Domestic Violence at a Healthy Start Site

Working with families who are experiencing violence within their home can be a very stressful and painful experience for teachers as well as other service providers. As Healthy Start sites have begun Working with families, building relationships and gaining trust, awareness of the numbers of families experiencing domestic violence has increased. Organizations that offer support and education to teachers and other providers who are working with these families can be of tremendous importance. Often they are able to share ideas about ways to respond to these children and their families as well as personal coping strategies. Following is a description of one Healthy Start site's partnership with WEAVE (Women Escaping A Violent Environment) a local non-profit organization dedicated to providing services for the survivors of family violence and sexual assault.

* * *

In 1993 WEAVE joined with Healthy Start in the Elk Grove Unified School District, Sacramento County, to form a collaborative partnership in which WEAVE trainers provide educational and follow-up counseling services related to violence prevention to 5th and 6th grade students and their teachers.

Over a three year period these services are in the form of staff training, student counseling groups, and classroom trainings. WEAVE provides 5th and 6th grade teachers, and other interested school staff, with training in:

- the dynamics of family violence and its effect on children;

- WEAVE's Family Violence Prevention /Awareness Curriculum, and community resources that are available to family violence victims;

- how teachers can help a child cope when she or he is experiencing family violence;

- and other topics as needed.

Over the three years the trainings become more focused on the curriculum so that the teachers can move into a co-presenter role with the WEAVE trainers. The classroom trainings introduce the Family Violence Prevention /Awareness Curriculum to all 5th and 6th graders enrolled in the four elementary schools utilizing a variety of methods such as discussions, videos, and interactive activities to foster students' awareness of family violence issues and what they can do if their home is not a safe place.

The student counseling groups are conducted by two WEAVE counselors and provide group counseling once a week to children selected by school personnel, by parents and by the children themselves. The focus of the group is on abuse identification and prevention and self-esteem improvement through nonthreatening discussions, games and activities.

The Family Violence Prevention /Awareness Curriculum was redeveloped from an existing violence prevention curriculum by WEAVE, Elk Grove USD teachers, the Elk Grove Healthy Start site coordinator and Elk Grove parents. It then went through the district curriculum standards committee which allowed Elk Grove and WEAVE to pilot the curriculum for

three years. After three years a review process will occur.

Vicki Contente, Elk Grove Healthy Start Site Coordinator summed up her feelings about the parent participation during that process in this manner, "The parents who came to the curriculum standards committee were the ones who really moved the committee members to decide to go ahead with the pilot. Their stories were so real and so moving that the committee understood the legitimacy of their concern about violence in the community and the need to address that with elementary school students. One mother, who was especially moving, talked about her 20 year old son, who lived thorough a period of experiencing violence in his home and was silent about it for so long. All of the sudden he came out with the need to talk about those experiences in his twenties. The mother's point was that if our children are able to speak freely about things that happened in their lives, as they are happening, that they wouldn't have to bottle up all those feelings of fear and anger."

For more information about how Healthy Start and the district worked with WEAVE in developing this partnership, phone Vicki Contente, Healthy Start Site Coordinator at (916) 392-9081.

For more information about WEAVE or the Family Violence Prevention /Awareness Curriculum please phone Mary Myers, Children's Services Coordinator at (916) 448-2321.

On the following pages (pgs. 25-30) are materials on domestic violence developed by WEAVE.

Safety Survival Skills for Children

Violence puts all individuals in physical and emotional jeopardy, especially children. Children living in violent homes need to learn methods which will help them stay safe. If you are returning home to a violent father, husband, boyfriend, or partner, it is important that your children understand survival skills. The goals in teaching survival skills to your children are: 1) that you lessen any feelings of guilt they may have by getting them to understand they are not the cause of the fighting between the adults, and, 2) their personal safety is their primary responsibility.

Your children **MUST** realize that they cannot stop the fighting between the adults and that it may be very dangerous for them to attempt to do so. Instead, the children should be aware of safe places within the home, and if there are no safe places within the home, they need to know how to escape from the house and go to the home of a neighbor or friend. Once they are safe, they can call someone to help. Again, emphasize to your children the importance of taking care of themselves by getting to a safe place and not becoming involved in the fight.

To teach survival skills means that children need to learn to answer these questions:

1. How do I know when I am safe and when I am not safe?
2. Where is it safe in my home?
3. Who can I talk to when I feel unsafe?
4. Where can I get help if I feel unsafe?
5. What can I do when I feel unsafe?
6. Who and how do I call for help?

Talk with your children about who they can call when they feel unsafe: a friend,

relative, or other adult person who will help them.

Make sure your children understand the difference between emergencies and non-emergencies, and that they recognize who to call in a particular situation. For example, there is a difference between seeking emergency responses', such as the police or an ambulance, and non-emergency needs.

Ask them to memorize emergency telephone numbers, including the police. You may want to make a game out of seeing who is the quickest at reciting phone numbers. In the game also include phone skills: giving your name, address, and home phone number.

What About the Children?

Children in battering homes may:

- feel continually hopeful that the situation will improve;
- feel depressed and stressed resulting in psychosomatic problems, absence from school, predelinquent and delinquent behavior;
- feel isolated, lonely, and afraid, resulting in economic and emotional dependency;
- be at a high risk for alcohol and drug use, sexual acting out, and running away;
- feel bad about themselves, resulting in low self-esteem; see self and siblings with few options or expectations to succeed;
- feel a constant need to prove themselves and/or a need to prove their loyalty, which may be exhibited as bargaining behavior with parents;
- feel violence is a problem-solving technique to be used in school, with peers, and with family members - a method of problem-solving which appears as early as preschool;
- have little or no understanding of the dynamics of violence and often assume violence is the norm;
- may continue the pattern of family violence as an adult;
- feel very uncomfortable with their own sexuality, resulting in a poor sexual self-image;
- exhibit immaturity in peer relationships;
- experience suicidal feelings; experience feelings like "doing away with" themselves and/or their parents; prone to personal negligence and carelessness;
- feel like killing animals;
- exhibit "pecking-order battering," which is sibling battering, and feel like battering their parents;
- have a combination of limited tolerance, poor impulse control and martyr-like suffering;
- have a poor definition of self, and adopt a "parenting" role;
- experience a mixture of hope for a way out, and depression that there is no way out; peer group can be the most important contact;
- become increasingly isolated socially from their peer group, or have complete identification with peers;
- become increasingly deceptive: lying, making up excuses for going out, stealing, cheating;

- **have a poor definition of personal boundaries; violate other peoples' boundaries; project blame.**

Children of domestic violence are found in all socioeconomic levels, and in all educational, racial and age groups.

Effects of Marital Violence on Children

1. Perpetuation of violence over generations.

Research shows that eighty percent of battering men, and 50% of battered women grew up in violent homes. This means that children learn to repeat, and thus perpetuate, the behavior their parents model. This repeated behavior generally falls along gender lines; many girls grow up thinking it is normal to be battered, and, as an adult, expect to be hit. Boys may grow up feeling it is acceptable to batter one's wife or partner.

2. Modeling. Studies show that in violent homes, teenage boys, modeling violent fathers, are aggressive and act out in anger and violence. Teenage girls, modeling emotionally withdrawn mothers, tend to be clingy and dependent.

3. Low self esteem. Children living in these homes often have fathers who are emotionally unpredictable, and mothers who are emotionally withdrawn. This results in neither parent being able to give the child the necessary emotional support needed to ensure healthy ego development. Children may also blame themselves, and experience tremendous guilt, believing they are responsible for the problems within the home.

4. Child abuse. Children are physically abused in approximately half of the families where there is marital violence. However, we consider that *all* are emotionally abused.

5. Excessive responsibility. Many children are robbed of their childhood because of the excessive responsibility they must assume for "parenting" their mothers, fathers, and/or

younger siblings. This responsibility can be tangible, from meal preparation and getting siblings up in the morning and ready for school, to providing less tangible forms of responsibility, such as providing emotional support to parents. These children often exhibit similar behavior at school so it may appear they are doing quite well there.

6. Shame and isolation. Children in these families are often too embarrassed and ashamed to be able to tell anyone about the violence in the home. This increases their isolation from adults who may be in positions to provide support. Also, due to the unpredictable nature of the violence, children find it difficult to bring friends home for fear that a violent occurrence could take place. This increases their isolation from their peer group.

7. Mental Health. A child's mental health is greatly influenced by the type and the nature of relationships with parents and other adults. The father is often a "Jekyll and Hyde" character: sometimes kind, loving and warm toward members in the family, and, at times, irrational, crazy and violent. Mothers, too, may vary their emotional response to family members, but more often her behavior is a reaction to the emotional state of her husband or partner. These changes in emotional response, together with the unpredictability of the parent-child relationship, take their toll on the child's mental health.

8. Incest. Battered women's shelters throughout the country see a substantial number of families in which there is not only wife abuse, but incest as well.

Caught in the Middle

Children's lives are frequently disrupted by moves to escape domestic violence. They lose considerable school time; flee home without books, money or changes of clothing, and live in the family car when shelters are unavailable. (Maria Roy, *Children In The Crossfire*, 1988).

Interviews with children living in battered women's shelters show that, within a one-year period, 85% of these children had stayed twice with friends or relatives, and 75% over age 15 had run away twice. (Maria Roy, *Children In The Crossfire*, 1988).

Since school records are not protected by law, violent fathers use these records to track down the mothers or kidnap the children. As a result, many children of battered women are kept out of school for security reasons. (Lee Ann Hoff, *Battered Women as Survivors*, 1990; Jaffe,

Wolfe & Wilson, *Children of Battered Women*, 1990).

Many children of battered women who move to a new school district are unable to enroll in school if they lack birth certificates, immunization records and other paperwork that got left behind when they and their mothers had to escape from home. Batterers also frequently destroy these documents as part of their control of the family. (Joan Zorza, "Women Battering: A Major Cause of Homelessness," in *Clearinghouse Review*, Special Issue, 1991. Also Jaffe, Wolfe & Wilson, 1990).

Statistics compiled by the National Coalition Against Domestic Violence, a non-profit membership organization committed to ending violence against women and children. For information on membership or resource materials, contact NCADV at P.O. Box 34103, Washington, D.C. 200434103, phone (202) 638-6388.

Stop Violence Before it Begins

by Deborah Prothrow-Stith

One morning at 3 a.m., I stitched up a young man who told me, "Don't go to sleep, because the guy who did this is going to be in here in about an hour, and you'll get all the stitching practice you need." As a physician in training, I grew tired of stitching up young men like him and sending them out without any attention to their risk for further violence. Yet the "treat-them-and-street-them" approach is standard care. Prevention is not a part of the obligation of health-care providers. Rather, violence is treated as a natural, inevitable part of our lives.

As a society, our approach to the problem is to respond aggressively after it occurs. Thus, most of our attention and resources go toward stitches, intensive care, arrest, prosecution, defense and incarceration—at a cost of \$60 billion a year. We need to change that trend. Our homicide rate for young men is four times higher than that of the industrialized country with the next highest rate—Scotland. And while the homicide rate for black men is the highest of any U.S. group, the rate for white men is two times that of Scotland. We have an American problem.

If violence were an inevitable part of the human condition, we would expect homicide rates to be similar from country to country. But the wide disparity—particularly compared with our extremely high rates—clearly indicates others are finding ways to prevent violence more than we are.

Where should we start? Half of the homicides in the United States occur among people who know each other. Twenty percent of the time, the victim and assailant are in the same family, and 30% of the time they are friends, acquaintances, neighbors,

co-workers. The "stranger/bad guy crimes"—homicides related to burglary, drug trafficking, gang activity consume most of our resources, yet together account for less than 25% of all homicides.

That's why a crime bill that focuses primarily on more police and more jails is not addressing a major part of our problem. The problem of violence in America is in large part a problem of getting along with people we know. Handling anger and resolving conflict without violence are skills we need.

Strategies used to prevent smoking, drunken driving and heart disease are applicable to the problem of violence among friends and family. A comprehensive public health plan to reduce lung cancer, for example, would involve primary, secondary and tertiary prevention:

- Primary prevention would target people who don't smoke to keep them from starting. These strategies focus on changing attitudes and social norms. For example, many years ago, smoking was considered glamorous and popular; now it is both offensive and unhealthy. That dramatic shift in attitudes was accomplished through primary prevention.

Primary prevention of violence involves redefining the superhero, teaching the skills of getting along, teaching parenting skills and reducing the entertainment in violence. The entertainment industry has a major role to play in primary prevention because it is through entertainment violence that our children learn to laugh at violence, to enjoy watching violence, to ignore the pain, sorrow, guilt, tragedy and lack of long-lasting success.

- Secondary prevention to reduce lung cancer would include strategies to help

people stop smoking. These are behavior-modification strategies, therapy, group meetings, replacement therapy and the like.

With violence prevention, these strategies would apply to those at risk, like the many children who have witnessed or been victims of violence, who were suspended from school for fighting, who were treated for violence-related injury, and runaways. These children fall through the cracks of our criminal justice, educational and health, and human services systems until they commit a serious or violent enough offense. Then we respond with vigorous and expensive treatments with our health-care and criminal justice systems.

- Tertiary prevention is the response or treatment for the problem. With lung cancer, it is surgery or chemotherapy. With violence, it is arrest and incarceration. A comprehensive program to prevent lung cancer would not be effective if treatment were its only focus.

Preventing lung cancer requires helping people who smoke stop and keeping those who don't from starting, regardless of the advances in treatment. The same is true for violence prevention.

The most sophisticated arrest, prosecution and incarceration strategies won't prevent violence. Prevention requires attending early to those at risk and changing our culture so that we develop better skills for getting along and no longer promote, encourage and celebrate violence. There are many impressive, underfunded programs in primary and secondary prevention worth spreading across the country. These include mentoring programs, violence prevention and conflict resolution curriculums, public service announcements, pro-social children's television shows, first-offender programs, alternatives to suspension programs and dropout prevention programs. We need to endorse, promote and support violence prevention as a national obligation. We need a grass-roots national violence prevention movement to change our social norms, to advocate for the necessary resources and legislation and to address the excessive violence in our communities, school and entertainment. And we need a federal crime prevention bill, not a crime response bill.

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The following is an excerpt from Comprehensive Strategy for Serious, violent, and Chronic Juvenile offenders – Program Summary, published by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, US Department of Justice.

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Comprehensive strategy for serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offenders

General principles

The following general principles provide a framework to guide our efforts in the battle to prevent delinquent conduct and reduce juvenile involvement in serious, violent, and chronic delinquency:

- **Strengthen the family** in its primary responsibility to instill moral values and provide guidance and support to children. Where there is no functional family unit, a family surrogate should be established and assisted to guide and nurture the child.
- **Support core social institutions**-schools, religious institutions, and community organizations-in their roles of developing capable, mature, and responsible youth. A goal of each of these societal institutions should be to ensure that children have the opportunity and support to mature into productive law-abiding citizens. A nurturing community environment requires that core social institutions be actively involved in the lives of youth. Community organizations include public and private youth-serving agencies; neighborhood groups; and business and commercial organizations providing employment, training, and other meaningful economic opportunities for youth.
- **Promote delinquency prevention** as the most cost-effective approach to dealing with juvenile delinquency. Families, schools, religious institutions, and community organizations, including citizen volunteers and the private sector, must be enlisted in the Nation's delinquency prevention efforts. These core socializing institutions must be strengthened and assisted in their efforts to ensure that children have the opportunity to become capable and responsible citizens. When children engage in "acting out" behavior, such as status offenses, the family and community, in concert with child welfare agencies, must take primary responsibility for responding with appropriate treatment and support services. Communities must take the lead in designing and building comprehensive prevention approaches that address known risk factors and target other youth at risk of delinquency.
- **Intervene immediately and effectively when delinquent behavior occurs** to successfully prevent delinquent offenders from becoming chronic offenders or progressively committing more

Communities must take the lead in designing and building comprehensive prevention approaches that address known risk factors and target other youth at risk of delinquency.

serious and violent crimes. Initial intervention efforts, under an umbrella of system authorities (police, intake, and probation), should be centered in the family and other core societal institutions. Juvenile justice system authorities should ensure that an appropriate response occurs and act quickly and firmly if the need for formal system adjudication and sanctions has been demonstrated.

- **Identify and control the small group of serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offenders** who have committed felony offenses or have failed to respond to intervention and nonsecure community-based treatment and rehabilitation services offered by the juvenile justice system. Measures to address delinquent offenders who are a threat to community safety may include placements in secure community-based facilities or, when necessary, training schools and other secure juvenile facilities.

Under OJJDP's comprehensive strategy, it is the family and community, supported by our core social institutions, that have **primary** responsibility for meeting the basic socializing needs of our Nation's children. Socially harmful conduct, acting-out behavior, and delinquency may be signs of the family being unable to meet its responsibility. It is at these times that the community must support and assist the family in the socialization process, particularly for youth at the greatest risk of delinquency.

Key principles for preventing and reducing juvenile delinquency

- Strengthen families.
- Support core social institutions.
- Promote prevention strategies and programs.
- Intervene immediately and effectively when delinquent behavior occurs.
- Identify and control the small percentage of serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offenders.

The proposed strategy incorporates two principal components: (1) preventing youth from becoming delinquent by focusing prevention programs on at-risk youth; and (2) improving the juvenile justice system response to delinquent offenders through a system of graduated sanctions and a continuum of treatment alternatives that include immediate intervention, intermediate sanctions, and community-based corrections sanctions, incorporating restitution and community service when appropriate.

Target populations

The **initial target population** for prevention programs is juveniles at risk of involvement in delinquent activity. While primary delinquency prevention programs provide services to all youth wishing to participate, maximum impact on future delinquent conduct can be achieved by seeking to identify and involve in prevention programs youth at greatest risk of involvement in delinquent activity. This includes youth who exhibit known risk factors for future delinquency; drug and alcohol abuse; and youth who have had contact with the juvenile justice system as nonoffenders (neglected, abused, and dependent), status offenders (runaways, truants, alcohol offenders, and incorrigibles), or minor delinquent offenders.

The **next target population** is youth, both male and female, who have committed delinquent (criminal) acts, including juvenile offenders who evidence a high likelihood of becoming, or who already are, serious, violent, or chronic offenders.

Program rationale

What can communities and the juvenile justice system do to prevent the development of and interrupt the progression of delinquent and criminal careers? Juvenile justice agencies and programs are one part of a larger picture that involves many other local agencies and programs that are responsible for working with at-risk youth and their families. It is important that juvenile delinquency prevention and intervention programs are integrated with local police, social service, child welfare, school, and family preservation programs and that these programs reflect local community determinations of the most pressing problems and program priorities. Establishing **community planning teams** that include a broad base of participants drawn from local government and the community (e.g., community-based youth development organizations, schools, law enforcement, social service agencies, civic organizations, religious groups, parents, and teens) will help create consensus on priorities and services to be provided as well as build support for a comprehensive program approach that draws on all sectors of the community for participation. Comprehensive approaches to delinquency prevention and intervention will require collaborative efforts between the juvenile justice system and other service provision systems, including mental health, health, child welfare, and education. Developing mechanisms that effectively link these different service providers at the program level will need to be an important component of every community's comprehensive plan.

Evidence suggests that a risk reduction and protective factor enhancement approach to prevention is effective. Risk factors include the family, the school, the peer group, the community, and

Research and experience in intervention and treatment programming suggest that a highly structured system of graduated sanctions holds significant promise.

characteristics of juveniles themselves. The more risk factors present in a community, the greater the likelihood of youth problems in that community as children are exposed to those risk factors. Prevention strategies will need to be comprehensive, addressing each of the risk factors as they relate to the **chronological development** of children being served.

Research and experience in intervention and treatment programming suggest that a highly structured system of graduated sanctions holds significant promise. The goal of graduated sanctions is to increase the effectiveness of the juvenile justice system in responding to juveniles who have committed criminal acts. The system's limited resources have diminished its ability to respond effectively to serious, violent, and chronic juvenile crime. This trend must be reversed by empowering the juvenile justice system to provide accountability and treatment resources to juveniles. This includes gender-specific programs for female offenders, whose rates of delinquency have generally been increasing faster than males in recent years, and who now account for 23 percent of juvenile arrests. It will also require programs for special needs populations such as sex offenders, mentally retarded, emotionally disturbed, and learning disabled delinquents.

The graduated sanctions approach is designed to provide immediate intervention at the first offense to ensure that the juvenile's misbehavior is addressed by the family and community or through formal adjudication and sanctions by the juvenile justice system, as appropriate. Graduated sanctions include a range of intermediate sanctions and secure corrections options to provide intensive treatment that serves the juvenile's needs, provides accountability, and protects the public. They offer an array of referral and dispositional resources for law enforcement, juvenile courts, and juvenile corrections officials. The graduated sanctions component requires that the juvenile justice system's capacity to identify, process, evaluate, refer, and track delinquent offenders be enhanced.

The juvenile justice system

The juvenile justice system plays a key role in protecting and guiding juveniles, including responding to juvenile delinquency. Law enforcement plays a key role by conducting investigations, making custody and arrest determinations, or exercising discretionary release authority. Police should be trained in community-based policing techniques and provided with program resources that focus on community youth, such as Police Athletic Leagues and the Drug Abuse Resistance Education (DARE) Program.

The traditional role of the juvenile and family court is to treat and rehabilitate the dependent or wayward minor, using an individualized approach and tailoring its response to the particular needs of the child

“The courts must protect children and families when private and other public institutions are unable or fail to meet their obligations.”

and family, with goals of: (1) responding to the needs of troubled youth and their families; (2) providing due process while recognizing the rights of the victim; (3) rehabilitating the juvenile offender; and (4) protecting both the juvenile and the public. While juvenile and family courts have been successful in responding to the bulk of youth problems to meet these goals, new ways of organizing and focusing the resources of the juvenile justice system are required to effectively address serious, violent, and chronic juvenile crime. These methods might include the establishment of unified family courts with jurisdiction over all civil and criminal matters affecting the family.

A recent statement by the National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges (NCJFCJ) succinctly describes the critical role of the court:

The Courts must protect children and families when private and other public institutions are unable or fail to meet their obligations. The protection of society by correcting children who break the law, the preservation and reformation of families, and the protection of children from abuse and neglect are missions of the Court. When the family falters, when the basic needs of children go unmet, when the behavior of children is destructive and goes unchecked, juvenile and family courts must respond. The Court is society's official means of holding itself accountable for the well-being of its children and family unit (NCJFCJ, "Children and Families First, A Mandate for Change," 1993).

Earlier, NCJFCJ developed 38 recommendations regarding serious juvenile offenders and related issues facing the juvenile court system. These issues included confidentiality of the juvenile offender and his or her family, transfer of a juvenile offender to adult court, and effective treatment of the serious juvenile offender (NCJFCJ, 1984).

Finally, juvenile corrections has the responsibility to provide treatment services that will rehabilitate the juvenile and minimize his or her chances of reoffending. Juvenile courts and corrections will benefit from a system that makes a continuum of services available that respond to each juvenile's needs.

The juvenile justice system, armed with resources and knowledge that permit matching juveniles with appropriate treatment programs while holding them accountable, can have a positive and lasting impact on the reduction of delinquency. Developing effective case management and management information systems (MIS) will be integral to this effort. OJJDP will provide leadership in building system capacity at the State and local levels to take maximum advantage of available knowledge and resources.

Successful delinquency prevention strategies must be positive in their orientation and comprehensive in their scope.

Delinquency prevention

Most juvenile delinquency efforts have been unsuccessful because of their negative approach – attempting to keep juveniles from misbehaving. Positive approaches that emphasize opportunities for healthy social, physical, and mental development have a much greater likelihood of success. Another weakness of past delinquency prevention efforts is their narrow scope, focusing on only one or two of society's institutions that have responsibility for the social development of children. Most programs have targeted either the school arena or the family. Communities are an often neglected area. Successful delinquency prevention strategies must be positive in their orientation and comprehensive in their scope.

The prevention component of OJJDP's comprehensive strategy is based on a risk-focused delinquency prevention approach (Hawkins and Catalano, 1992). This approach states that to prevent a problem from occurring, the factors contributing to the development of that problem must be identified and then ways must be found (protective factors) to address and ameliorate those factors.

Research conducted over the past half century has clearly documented five categories of causes and correlates of juvenile delinquency: (1) individual characteristics such as alienation, rebelliousness, and lack of bonding to society; (2) family influences such as parental conflict, child abuse, and family history of problem behavior (substance abuse, criminality, teen pregnancy, and school dropouts); (3) school experiences such as early academic failure and lack of commitment to school; (4) peer group influences such as friends who engage in problem behavior (minor criminality, gangs, and violence); and (5) neighborhood and community factors such as economic deprivation, high rates of substance abuse and crime, and low neighborhood attachment. These categories can also be thought of as risk factors.

To counter these causes and risk factors, protective factors must be introduced. Protective factors are qualities or conditions that moderate a juvenile's exposure to risk. Research indicates that protective factors fall into three basic categories: (1) individual characteristics such as a resilient temperament and a positive social orientation; (2) bonding with prosocial family members, teachers, and friends; and (3) healthy beliefs and clear standards for behavior. While individual characteristics are inherent and difficult to change, bonding and clear standards for behavior work together and can be changed. To increase bonding, children must be provided with opportunities to contribute to their families, schools, peer groups, and communities; skills to take advantage of opportunities; and recognition for their efforts to contribute. Simultaneously, parents, teachers, and communities need to set clear standards that endorse prosocial behavior.

The risk-focused delinquency prevention approach calls on communities to identify and understand what risk factors their children are exposed to and to implement programs that counter these risk factors.

The risk-focused delinquency prevention approach calls on communities to identify and understand what risk factors their children are exposed to and to implement programs that counter these risk factors. Communities must enhance protective factors that promote positive behavior, health, well-being, and personal success. Effective delinquency prevention efforts must be comprehensive, covering the five causes or risk factors described below, and correspond to the social development process.

The family is the most important influence in the lives of children and the first line of defense against delinquency.

Risk factors

- Individual characteristics.
- Peer group influences.
- Family influences.
- Neighborhood and community.
- School experiences.

Individual characteristics

Our children must be taught moral, spiritual, and civic values. The decline in inculcating these values has contributed significantly to increases in delinquent behavior. Therefore, opportunities for teaching positive values must be increased.

Youth Leadership and Service Programs can provide such opportunities and can reinforce and help internalize in children such positive individual traits as discipline, character, self-respect, responsibility, teamwork, healthy lifestyles, and good citizenship. They can also provide opportunities for personal growth, active involvement in education and vocational training, and life skills development.

A Youth Leadership and Service Program could consist of a variety of components targeted to the needs of grade school, junior high, and high school youth. Elementary and junior high school children could be assisted in achieving healthy social development through instillation in them of basic values. High school-aged youth could be supported in the development of leadership skills and community service in preparation for adulthood. The components of a Youth Leadership and Service Program may include the following types of program activities:

- Youth Service Corps.
- Adventure Training (leadership, endurance, and team building).
- Mentoring.
- Recreational.

- Summer camp.
- Literacy and learning disability.
- Law-Related Education.

A variety of prevention programs address individual growth and development, including:

- Head Start.
- Boys and Girls Clubs.
- Scouting.
- 4-H Clubs.
- Recreational activities.
- Leadership and personal development.
- Health and mental health.
- Career youth development.

Family influences

The family is the most important influence in the lives of children and the first line of defense against delinquency. Programs that strengthen the family and foster healthy growth and development of children from prenatal care through adolescence should be widely available. These programs should encourage the maintenance of a viable family unit and bonding between parent and child, and they should provide support for families in crisis. Such programs should involve other major spheres of influence such as religious institutions, schools, and community-based organizations. By working together, these organizations will have a pronounced impact on preserving the family and preventing delinquency.

To have the greatest impact, assistance must reach families **before** significant problems develop. Therefore, the concept of **earliest point of impact** should guide the development and implementation of prevention programs involving the family. Researchers in the area of juvenile delinquency and the family have found that the following **negative family involvement factors** are predictors of delinquency:

- Inadequate prenatal care.
- Parental rejection.
- Inadequate supervision and inconsistent discipline by parents.
- Family conflict, marital discord, and physical violence.
- Child abuse.

The following programs directly address negative family involvement factors and how to establish protective factors:

- Teen Abstinence and Pregnancy Prevention.

Outside the family the school has the greatest influence in the lives of children and adolescents.

- Parent Effectiveness and Family Skills Training.
- Parent support groups.
- Home Instruction Program for Preschool Youngsters.
- Family Crisis Intervention Services.
- Court Appointed Special Advocates.
- Surrogate Families and Respite Care for Families in Crisis.
- Permanency Planning for Foster Children.
- Family Life Education for Teens and Parents.
- Runaway and Homeless Youth Services.

School Experiences

Outside the family the school has the greatest influence in the lives of children and adolescents. The school profoundly influences the hopes and dreams of youth.

Many of America's children bring one or more of the aforementioned risk factors to school with them, and these factors may hinder the development of their academic and social potential. School prevention programs, including traditional delinquency prevention programs not related to the school's educational mission, can assist the family and the community by identifying at-risk youth, monitoring their progress, and intervening with effective programs at critical times during a youth's development.

School-based prevention programs may include:

- Drug and Alcohol Prevention and Education
- Bullying Prevention
- Violence Prevention
- Alternative Schools
- Truancy Reduction
- School Discipline and Safety Improvement
- Targeted-Literacy Programs in the Primary Grades
- Law-Related Education
- Afterschool programs for Latchkey Children
- Teen Abstinence and Pregnancy Prevention
- Values Development
- Vocational Training

Providing youth with structured opportunities to develop skills and contribute to the community in nonschool hours is particularly important for at-risk youth who have lower levels of personal and social support. Communities need to develop strategies and programs such as those recommended by the Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development to address this need.

Peer leadership groups offer an effective means of encouraging leaders of delinquency-prone groups to establish friendships with more conventional peers.

Peer group influences

Research on the causes and correlates of delinquency confirms that associating with delinquent, drug-using peers is strongly correlated with delinquency and drug use. These relationships are mutually reinforcing. Membership in a gang is strongly related to delinquency and drug use. Those who remain in gangs over long periods of time have high rates of delinquency, particularly during active gang membership.

Peer leadership groups offer an effective means of encouraging leaders of delinquency-prone groups to establish friendships with more conventional peers. These groups have been established in schools, at all levels, across the country. As noted above, school-based afterschool programs for latchkey children also provide the same function for children at high risk for negative influences. Crime prevention programs that educate youth on how to prevent juvenile violence and crime and provide opportunities for youth to actually work on solving specific community delinquency problems are another effective way of encouraging peer leadership.

Promising approaches have been identified for combating juvenile gangs. "Community mobilization" appears to be effective in cities with chronic gang problems and in cities where the gang problem is just beginning. Other promising preventive options include efforts to dissolve associations with delinquent peers and develop alternative behaviors that promote moral development and reject violence as a means of resolving interpersonal disputes. Opportunities to achieve success in conventional, nondelinquent activities are also imperative.

The following programs reflect these principles:

- Gang Prevention and Intervention.
- Conflict Resolution-Peer Mediation.
- Peer Counseling and Tutoring.
- Self-Help Fellowship for Peer Groups.
- Individual Responsibility Training.
- Community Volunteer Service.
- Competitive Athletic Team Participation.
- Teens, Crime, and the Community.

Neighborhood and community

Children do not choose where they live. Children who live in fear of drug dealers, street violence, and gang shootings cannot enjoy childhood. Children are dependent on parents, neighbors, and police

The private-sector business community can make a major contribution through Private Industry Councils and other partnerships by providing job training, apprenticeships, and other meaningful economic opportunities for youth.

to provide a safe and secure environment in which to play, go to school, and work. Community policing can play an important role in creating a safer environment. Community police officers not only help to reduce criminal activity but also become positive role models and establish caring relationships with the youth and families in a community. Onsite neighborhood resource teams, composed of community police officers, social workers, health-care workers, housing experts, and school personnel, can ensure that a wide range of problems are responded to in a timely and coordinated manner.

Also required are innovative and committed individuals, groups, and community organizations to work together to improve the quality of life in their communities and, if necessary, to reclaim the communities from gangs and other criminal elements. Such groups include youth development organizations, churches, tenant organizations, and civic groups. The private-sector business community can make a major contribution through Private Industry Councils and other partnerships by providing job training, apprenticeships, and other meaningful economic opportunities for youth.

Neighborhood and community programs include:

- Community Policing.
- Safe Havens for Youth.
- Neighborhood Mobilization for Community Safety.
- Drug-Free School Zones.
- Community Organization-Sponsored Afterschool Programs in Tutoring,
- Recreation, Mentoring, and Cultural Activities.
- Community and Business Partnerships.
- Foster Grandparents.
- Job Training and Apprenticeships for Youth.
- Neighborhood Watch.
- Victim Programs.

The Carnegie Council (1992), following an extensive study of adolescent development, concluded that community-based youth programs, offered by more than 17,000 organizations nationwide, can provide the critical community support necessary to prevent delinquency. This can be done, the Council concluded, through community organizations' contributions to youth development in conjunction with family- and school-focused efforts. Communities must be created that support families, educate adolescents for a global economy, and provide opportunities to develop skills during nonschool hours. The Council found that many adolescents are adrift during nonschool hours and can be actively involved in community-based programs that provide opportunities to develop a sense of importance, well-being, belonging, and active community

The juvenile justice system must work with the law enforcement, courts, and corrections to develop reasonable, fair, and humane sanctions.

participation. Through such programs, risks can be transformed into opportunities.

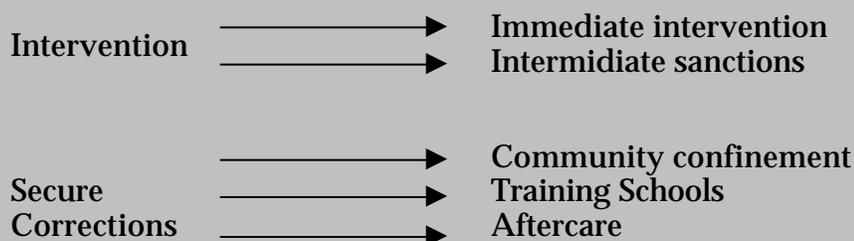
Graduated sanctions

An effective juvenile justice system program model for the treatment and rehabilitation of delinquent offenders is one **that combines accountability** and sanctions with increasingly intensive treatment and rehabilitation services. These graduated sanctions must be wide-ranging to fit the offense and include both intervention and secure corrections components. The intervention component includes the use of immediate intervention and intermediate sanctions, and the secure corrections component includes the use of community confinement and incarceration in training schools, camps, and ranches.

Each of these graduated sanctions components should consist of sublevels, or gradations, that together with appropriate services constitute an integrated approach. The purpose of this approach is to stop the juvenile's further penetration into the system by inducing law-abiding behavior as early as possible through the combination of appropriate intervention and treatment sanctions. The juvenile justice system must work with law enforcement, courts, and corrections to develop reasonable, fair, and humane sanctions.

Traditional probation services and sanctions have not had the resources to effectively target delinquent offenders, particularly serious, violent, and chronic offenders.

Graduated sanctions require a broad continuum of options:



At each level in the continuum, the family must continue to be integrally involved in treatment and rehabilitation efforts. Aftercare must be a formal component of all residential placements, actively involving the family and the community in supporting and reintegrating the juvenile into the community.

Programs will need to use Risk and Needs Assessments to determine the appropriate placement for the offender. Risk assessments should be based on clearly defined objective criteria that focus on (1) the seriousness of the delinquent act; (2) the potential risk for reoffending, based on the presence of risk factors; and (3) the risk to the public safety. Effective risk assessment at intake, for example, can be used to

identify those juveniles who require the use of detention as well as those who can be released to parental custody or diverted to nonsecure community-based programs. Needs assessments will help ensure that (1) different types of problems are taken into account when formulating a case plan; (2) a baseline for monitoring a juvenile's progress is established; (3) periodic reassessments of treatment effectiveness are conducted; and (4) a systemwide data base of treatment needs can be used for the planning and evaluation of programs, policies, and procedures. Together, risk and needs assessments will help to allocate scarce resources more efficiently and effectively. A system of graduated sanctions requires a broad continuum of options.

Intervention

For intervention efforts to be most effective, they must be swift, certain, consistent, and incorporate increasing sanctions, including the possible loss of freedom. As the severity of sanctions increases, so must the intensity of treatment. At each level, offenders must be aware that, should they continue to violate the law, they will be subject to more severe sanctions and could ultimately be confined in a secure setting, ranging from a secure community-based juvenile facility to a training school, camp, or ranch.

The juvenile court plays an important role in the provision of treatment and sanctions. Probation has traditionally been viewed as the court's main vehicle for delivery of treatment services and community supervision. However, traditional probation services and sanctions have not had the resources to effectively target delinquent offenders, particularly serious, violent, and chronic offenders. The Balanced Approach to juvenile probation is a promising approach that specifies a clear and coherent framework. The Balanced Approach consists of three practical objectives: (1) Accountability; (2) Competency Development; and (3) Community Protection. Accountability refers to the requirement that offenders make amends to the victims and the community for harm caused. Competency Development requires that youth who enter the juvenile justice system should exit the system more capable of being productive and responsible citizens. Community Protection requires that the juvenile justice system ensure public safety.

The following graduated sanctions are proposed within the Intervention component:

Immediate intervention. First-time delinquent offenders (misdemeanors and nonviolent felonies) and nonserious repeat offenders (generally misdemeanor repeat offenses) must be targeted for system intervention based on their probability of becoming more

Secure sanctions are most effective in changing future conduct when they are coupled with comprehensive treatment and rehabilitation services.

serious or chronic in their delinquent activities. Nonresidential community-based programs, including prevention programs for at-risk youth, may be appropriate for many of these offenders. Such programs are small and open, located in or near the juvenile's home, and maintain community participation in program planning, operation, and evaluation. Community police officers, working as part of Neighborhood Resource Teams, can help monitor the juvenile's progress. Other offenders may require sanctions tailored to their offense(s) and their needs to deter them from committing additional crimes. The following programs apply to these offenders:

- Neighborhood Resource Teams.
- Diversion.
- Informal Probation.
- School Counselors Serving as Probation Officers.
- Home on Probation.
- Mediation (Victims).
- Community Service.
- Restitution.
- Day-Treatment Programs.
- Alcohol and Drug Abuse Treatment (Outpatient).
- Peer Juries.

Intermediate sanctions. Offenders who are inappropriate for immediate intervention (first-time serious or violent offenders) or who fail to respond successfully to immediate intervention as evidenced by reoffending (such as repeat property offenders or drug-involved juveniles) would begin with or be subject to intermediate sanctions. These sanctions may be nonresidential or residential.

Many of the serious and violent offenders at this stage may be appropriate for placement in an Intensive Supervision Program as an alternative to secure incarceration. OJJDP's Intensive Supervision of Probationers Program Model is a highly structured, continuously monitored individualized plan that consists of five phases with decreasing levels of restrictiveness: (1) Short-Term Placement in Community Confinement; (2) Day Treatment; (3) Outreach and Tracking; (4) Routine Supervision; and (5) Discharge and Followup. Other appropriate programs include:

- Drug Testing.
- Weekend Detention.
- Alcohol and Drug Abuse Treatment (Inpatient).
- Challenge Outdoor Program.
- Community-Based Residential Programs.
- Electronic Monitoring.
- Boot Camp Facilities and Programs.

The concept of community confinement provides secure confinement in small community-based facilities that offer intensive treatment and rehabilitation services.

Secure corrections

The criminal behavior of many serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offenders requires the application of secure sanctions to hold these offenders accountable for their delinquent acts and to provide a structured treatment environment. Large congregate-care juvenile facilities (training schools, camps, and ranches) have not proven to be particularly effective in rehabilitating juvenile offenders. Although some continued use of these types of facilities will remain a necessary alternative for those juveniles who require enhanced security to protect the public, the establishment of small community-based facilities to provide intensive services in a secure environment offers the best hope for successful treatment of those juveniles who require a structured setting. Secure sanctions are most effective in changing future conduct when they are coupled with comprehensive treatment and rehabilitation services.

Standard parole practices, particularly those that have a primary focus on social control, have not been effective in normalizing the behavior of high-risk juvenile parolees over the long term, and consequently, growing interest has developed in intensive aftercare programs that provide high levels of social control and treatment services. OJJDP's Intensive Community-Based Aftercare for High-Risk Juvenile Parolees Program provides an effective aftercare model:

The Intensive Aftercare Program incorporates five programmatic principles: (1) preparing youth for progressive responsibility and freedom in the community; (2) facilitating youth-community interaction and involvement; (3) working with both the offender and targeted community support systems (e.g., families, peers, schools, and employers) to facilitate constructive interaction and gradual community adjustment; (4) developing needed resources and community support; and (5) monitoring and ensuring the youth's successful reintegration into the community.

The following graduated sanctions strategies are proposed within the Secure Corrections component:

Community confinement. Offenders whose presenting offense is sufficiently serious (such as a violent felony) or who fail to respond to intermediate sanctions as evidenced by continued reoffending may be appropriate for community confinement. Offenders at this level represent the more serious (such as repeat felony drug trafficking or property offenders) and violent offenders among the juvenile justice system correctional population.

The concept of community confinement provides secure confinement in small community-based facilities that offer intensive treatment and

A major component of the comprehensive strategy involves implementation of delinquency prevention technology that has been demonstrated to be effective.

rehabilitation services. These services include individual and group counseling, educational programs, medical services, and intensive staff supervision. Proximity to the community enables direct and regular family involvement with the treatment process as well as a phased reentry into the community that draws upon community resources and services.

Incarceration in training schools, camps, and ranches. Juveniles whose confinement in the community would constitute an ongoing threat to community safety or who have failed to respond to community-based corrections may require an extended correctional placement in training schools, camps, ranches, or other secure options that are not community-based. These facilities should offer comprehensive treatment programs for these youth with a focus on education, skills development, and vocational or employment training and experience. These juveniles may include those convicted in the criminal justice system prior to their reaching the age at which they are no longer subject to the original or extended jurisdiction of the juvenile justice system.

Expected benefits

The proposed strategy provides for a comprehensive approach in responding to delinquent conduct and serious, violent, and chronic criminal behavior, consisting of (1) community protection and public safety, (2) accountability, (3) competency development, (4) individualization, and (5) balanced representation of the interests of the community, victim, and juvenile. By taking these factors into account in each program component, a new direction in the administration of juvenile justice is fostered.

Delinquency prevention

This major component of the comprehensive strategy involves implementation of delinquency prevention technology that has been demonstrated to be effective. Prevention strategies within the major areas that influence the behavior of youth (individual development, family, school, peer group, and community) parallel the chronological development of children. Because addressing these five areas has been found to be effective in reducing future delinquency among high-risk youth, it should result in fewer children entering the juvenile justice system in demonstration sites. This would, in turn, permit concentration of system resources on fewer delinquents, thereby increasing the effectiveness of the graduated sanctions component and improving the operation of the juvenile justice system.

Followup research and rigorous evaluation of programs should produce valuable information.

Graduated sanctions

This major component of the comprehensive strategy is premised on a firm belief that the juvenile justice system can effectively handle delinquent juvenile behavior through the judicious application of a range of graduated sanctions and a full continuum of treatment and rehabilitation services. Expected benefits of this approach include:

- **Increased juvenile justice system responsiveness.** This program will provide additional referral and dispositional resources for law enforcement, juvenile courts, and juvenile corrections. It will also require these system components to increase their ability to identify, process, evaluate, refer, and track juvenile offenders.
- **Increased juvenile accountability.** Juvenile offenders will be held accountable for their behavior, decreasing the likelihood of their development into serious, violent, or chronic offenders and tomorrow's adult criminals. The juvenile justice system will be held accountable for controlling chronic and serious delinquency while also protecting society. Communities will be held accountable for providing community-based prevention and treatment resources for juveniles.
- **Decreased costs of juvenile corrections.** Applying the appropriate graduated sanctions and developing the required community-based resources should reduce significantly the need for high-cost beds in training schools. Savings from the high costs of operating these facilities could be used to provide treatment in community-based programs and facilities.
- **Increased responsibility of the juvenile justice system.** Many juvenile offenders currently waived or transferred to the criminal justice system could be provided opportunities for intensive services in secure community-based settings or in long-term treatment in juvenile training schools, camps, and ranches.
- **Increased program effectiveness.** As the statistical information presented herein indicates, credible knowledge exists about who the chronic, serious, and violent offenders are, that is, their characteristics. Some knowledge also exists about what can effectively be done regarding their treatment and rehabilitation. However, more must be learned about what works best for whom under what circumstances to intervene successfully in the potential criminal careers of serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offenders. Followup research and rigorous evaluation of programs implemented as part of this strategy should produce valuable information.

In addition, long-term reduction in crime should result from fewer serious, violent, and chronic delinquents becoming adult criminal offenders.

Crime reduction

The combined effects of delinquency prevention and increased juvenile justice system effectiveness in intervening immediately and effectively in the lives of delinquent offenders should result in measurable decreases in delinquency in sites where the above concepts are demonstrated. In addition, long-term reduction in crime should result from fewer serious, violent, and chronic delinquents becoming adult criminal offenders.

Resources

Act Against Violence - Guide to Action. To order your free copy write KQED-TV Materials Coordinator, 2601 Mariposa St., San Francisco, CA 94110. The guide includes profiles of models that work, curricula to prevent or reduce violence, a comprehensive resource list of related organizations, publications and videos, television and radio programming, community and school-based activities, and more.

Activism 2000 Info-Starter Kit. Lists over 150 different federal government agencies, congressional committees, national organizations and clearinghouses, as well as over 100 publications (including several educational videotapes) that address:

- gun, street, and gang violence,
- school violence,
- race and hate-related violence,
- family/domestic violence,
- entertainment and violence.

ACSD. (February 1995). *Educational Leadership*, 52, (5), pgs. 50-78. Chapters within these pages include: "Children Learn What They Live" by Barbara Lindquist and Alex Molnar, "Breaking the Cycle of Conflict" by Larry Brendtro and Nicholas Long, "A Guide to Violence Prevention" by Robert Watson, "What Cities Are Doing to Protect Kids" by Elizabeth Crouch and Debra Williams, "Why Violence Prevention Programs Don't Work -and What Does" by David Johnson and Roger Johnson, "Building a Gentler School" by Vicky Schreiber Dill and Martin Haberman, "A Human Approach to Reducing Violence in Schools" by Richard Curwin, and "How One High School Improved School Climate" by Rebecca Shore. Also includes many references and resources.

California Department of Education

Bureau of Publications
P.O. Box 271
Sacramento, CA 95812-0271
(916) 445-1260

- *On Alert! Gang Prevention - School in-service guidelines*
- *Safe Schools - A Planning Guide for Action (1995 edition).* Examines safety considerations and shows schools how to develop a comprehensive school safety plan by forming partnerships with law enforcement and community agencies. The process recommended in this guide has been tested in large and small communities and implemented successfully in many schools statewide. Chapter One discusses the challenges of providing school safety; Chapter Two describes a safe school model organized under four broad components; Chapter Three presents a seven step planning process; Chapter Four suggests practical strategies and actions for achieving safety in each of the four components.

School Safety and Violence Prevention Office
Mary Weaver, Administrator
(916) 657-2989

- *School/Law Enforcement Partnership Program* - Cadre members provide technical and program assistance on school-safety related issues; put on annual statewide conferences; administer \$5,000 grants to schools to implement safe school plans; provide training statewide for safe school plan development; provide School Community Violence Prevention Action Team training
- *Gang Risk Intervention Program* - Provides grants to county offices of education to implement local community-based programs.
- *Safe School Assessment Program* (previously entitled the School Crime Reporting Program) - This revised program will begin statewide collection of the type and frequency of crime occurring on school campuses on July 1, 1995.
- *Conflict Resolution and School Violence Reduction Program* - A grant program coordinated through county offices of education to provide grants to schools for conflict resolution projects.

Citizenship & Law-Related Education Center (CLRE) is a non profit organization housed at the Sacramento County Office of Education. CLRE offers solution oriented programs and resources that teach students lifelong skills that empower them to make sound decisions, create positive alternatives to violence, and become actively involved in their community. For more information contact Rhonda Schafer, 9738 Lincoln Village Drive, Sacramento, CA 95827, (916) 228-2322.

Educational Resources Center, Thirteen /WNET. (1994). *Community Resource Guide on Violence*. New York City's public television station, WNET, is distributing 50,000 free copies of this guide to schools, community groups, and others in connection with the Bill Moyers Special, "What Can We Do About Violence?" which premiered January 9 and 11, on PBS. The guide details model violence prevention programs in several cities, including school-based programs that enlist conflict resolution, cognitive mediation, life-skills training, and crime prevention techniques. Available from Act Against Violence Guide, P.O. Box 245, Little Falls, NJ 07424-0245. Paperbound; free of charge; 20 pages. For further information contact Doris Lang Thomas, Public Affairs Television, In., 356 W. 58th St., New York, NY 10019, (212) 560-6974.

Healthy Kids Resource Center, Alameda County Office of Education, 313 W. Winton Ave., Hayward, CA 94544-1198, (510) 670-4581. New curricula and videotapes for violence prevention and conflict resolution. Materials available for free loan.

Illinois Council for the Prevention of Violence. (1994). *Peacing It Together: A Violence Prevention Resource for Illinois Schools*. Available from 220 S. State St., Suite 1215, Chicago, IL 60604, (312) 986-9200. Spiralbound; \$5, but free depending on need; 18 pages.

National Coalition Against Domestic Violence
P.O. Box 34103

Washington DC 20043-4103
(202) 638-6388

- Resource materials, a child advocacy task force, a special membership for youth under 18, and articles on children's civil rights in their special issue of the VOICE newsletter.

National Institute of justice /National Criminal justice Reference Service
Box 6000
Rockville, MD 20850
1-800-851-3420

- Ask for their publications catalogue.

Office of the Attorney General

Crime and Violence Prevention Center
Carolyn Ortiz, Director
1300 I-Street, Suite 1101
Sacramento, CA 95814
(916) 324-7863

- Offers programs aimed at youth violence and other crime and violence issues, resources including up-to-date books, pamphlets and videos, training in effective crime and violence prevention strategies, consultation on program development, and referral to crime and violence prevention resources.

US Department of justice

Office of juvenile justice and Delinquency Prevention
Washington, DC 20531
(202) 307-5911

- *Safeguarding Our Youth: Violence Prevention for Our Nation's Children -Selected Bibliography,*
- *Comprehensive Strategy for Serious, Violent, and Chronic juvenile Offenders,*
- *also ask for their publications catalogue.*

Violence Prevention Resource Guide. (September 1994). Compiled by Shannon Mellon, Southwest Regional Laboratory, 4665 Lampson Ave., Los Alamitos, CA 90720, (310) 985-9028. Provides an annotated listing of resource organizations, prevention curricula, and publications.