

What works in reducing young people's involvement in crime?

AIC Report and Literature Review

Review of current literature on youth crime prevention

Report prepared by the
Australian Institute of Criminology



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Abbreviations

ART	aggression replacement therapy
BGC	Boys and Girls Club
CCT	classroom contingency training
CIS	Communities in Schools program
FGC	family group conference
ISP	intensive supervision probation
MST	multi-systemic therapy
PACT	Positive Adolescents Choices Training
PMT	parental management training
RISE	Reintegrative Shaming Experiments
SMART	self-management and resistance training
TARGET	Tri-agency Resource Gang Enforcement Team
TFC	treatment foster care
YACCA	Youth and Community Combined Action

Executive Summary

This report provides an overview of the current knowledge of what works in preventing and reducing offending in young people aged 12 to 25 years. It forms part of a larger project being undertaken by the ACT Chief Minister's Department to develop a strategy for effectively dealing with youth in the ACT. The report initially provides a brief overview of youth justice policy from an international perspective. The main section of the report focuses on what can be done to reduce youth offending and identifies interventions and programs that can address this problem. The report concludes with a summary of what works.

Methodology

Following a literature search undertaken by the J.V. Barry library at the Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC), the Chief Minister's Department selected 155 books, journal articles and reports that it felt were relevant to the topic of reducing and preventing offending among young people. Within this total of 155, the Department highlighted 41 references that they felt were not essential reading. The types of publications sourced included evaluations, literature reviews, policy and implementation issues papers, descriptive reports and papers examining risk factors.

A database was developed of all 155 of the references, with a total of 164 entries due to some publications containing more than one relevant reference. Within the database only 24 per cent were evaluations (process, outcome or secondary) and, of these, only half had any outcomes. Literature reviews identified in the original search produced further examples of evaluated programs dealing with young people.

An International Perspective

A comparison of juvenile justice policy across a sample of developed countries¹ showed that in principle the approaches to dealing with juveniles were similar. All, with the exception of Sweden, had a separate justice system for juveniles. The main emphasis was found to be on the offence rather than the offender, the rights of the individual and protecting the community. All countries retained a rehabilitative element in dealing with juvenile offenders, with custody being seen as a last resort. The sanctions and preventive programs available were also found to be similar: education and training programs, restitution, mediation and conferences were common approaches.

¹ Australia, Canada, England & Wales, France, Germany, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden and the United States.

What Works?

The report examines interventions by program type and identifies the settings in which they took place and their effectiveness in achieving their aims according to the available literature. It is important to consider the targeting of these programs and how they are placed within a holistic case management approach for individuals. Many of the evaluations do not state how youth were targeted and assessed for inclusion in the programs. Also worth noting is that some program types may be easier to evaluate than others in that there are more tangible measurable components and outcomes.

From the literature the main findings were as follows:

Social Competence Training Programs

- Social competence (cognitive-behavioural) training can help change the way that young people think and act and this has been shown to impact positively on criminal activity.
- Social competence training has had positive outcomes in all settings and reviews suggest that this type of intervention should form an integral part of all programs to reduce and prevent offending (Loeber & Farrington 1998b; Wilson & Lipsey 1998; Sherman et al. 1998).

Programs that Divert from Custody

- Mediation in the form of conferencing appears to be effective in preventing young people continuing in an offending lifestyle. It is important that the young person and their families feel involved in the process and in the final decision. The young person and parents should not be left to feel bad about themselves and the process must increase the chance that the young person feels and shows remorse for their actions (Maxwell & Morris 2000).
- Intensive supervision probation (ISP) involving simply frequent contact with youth has been shown to be relatively ineffective. However, ISP and case management have been more effective where agencies work together.
- Further evaluation is needed to establish the effectiveness of cautioning as a means of reducing offending among young people.
- Peer mediation does not appear to be very promising based on the current evidence.

Education-type Programs

- Keeping young people in school has been shown to be effective in preventing and reducing delinquency and crime.
- The school can provide a constructive and positive setting for programs.
- School-based strategies targeted on school organisation or classroom-based curricula emphasising reinforcement of pro-social and academic skills appear to be effective (Loeber & Farrington 1998b).

Employment Programs

- The evidence presented shows limited effectiveness in the ability of employment programs to reduce offending.
- A possible reason may be that the programs (except Job Corps) were held in isolation of any other intervention, and the participants were more likely to revert to the original lifestyle that led them to crime.
- The programs evaluated provided short-term interventions for young offenders to improve their employability but did not actually provide long-term employment.

Mentoring Programs

- Evaluations show that mentoring programs can have promising short-term results.
- There are few evaluations of mentoring and this type of program requires further investigation.

Comprehensive Programs

- Comprehensive programs provide a holistic approach to reduce offending by using different interventions targeted at a number of at risk behaviours.
- Comprehensive programs appear to be effective in reducing and preventing offending among young people. More specifically:
 - Multi-systemic therapy (MST) promotes interventions across a range of systems (family, school and peers) and has shown to be effective with young offenders;
 - intensive strict regimes (for example boot camps) are not effective at reducing reoffending unless they comprise a more therapeutic component and provide skills that generalise to the young person's usual environment; and
 - research suggests that removing a young person from their familiar environment and providing no aftercare when they return to their community is relatively ineffective.

Recreation Programs

- Recreational programs can contribute a small effect in the short term to reducing offending among young people.
- The mechanism that appears to be effective is that providing activities for young people that they are interested in will keep them occupied for the duration of the program. However, these effects will not be sustained over time as the young people return to their original lifestyle and community.

Programs Targeting Specific Groups

- Programs targeting specific groups or problem behaviours, such as Indigenous youth, substance misuse and violence have been found to be effective using a number of approaches in different settings.

Conclusion

In summary, programs that are targeted at the individual's needs appear to be effective. One program does not necessarily "fit all" and a case management approach to dealing with young people may be more appropriate. Finding the right program for the young person is important so that the risk factors and problem behaviours specific to that individual are addressed. In general the following principles are important to consider:

- Programs addressing many risk factors have a greater effect than those addressing only one per intervention.
- Programs that work across social settings—within the family, school, peers and the community—can impact on the whole of the young person's life. These are more effective in reducing offending than concentrating on one area of influence.
- Programs that alter the way a young person thinks and acts are particularly effective. Offending behaviour is linked to deficiencies in thought processes, poor problem-solving and decision-making abilities and therefore social competence programs are beneficial.
- Programs containing skill-based components to increase educational attainment, and improve employment prospects and help the offender reintegrate into the community can have a positive impact.
- School-based programs focusing on the way the school and classes are run and emphasising behavioural skills appear to be effective. It is important to retain students in school as those not in school are at high risk of delinquency.
- Programs should be culturally specific.

Importantly, programs should:

- have:
 - clear aims and objectives;
 - well-trained, committed and enthusiastic workers with ownership of the program; and
 - program integrity;
- be targeted—at risk/needs assessment of the youth would determine the type of program that would be most effective for them;
- target those with the highest risk of future offending and employing a minimal interventionist approach for first time offenders, for example by using cautions and conferences, might be a beneficial approach;
- be sufficient in length and intensity to impact on the behaviour—more intensive interventions appear to be effective for younger offenders, while in community-based interventions "small dose" weekly treatments over longer periods of time are promising; and
- be monitored and evaluated to establish the effectiveness of the program and identify features that are less effective so that the intervention can be improved and replicated.

Introduction

Background

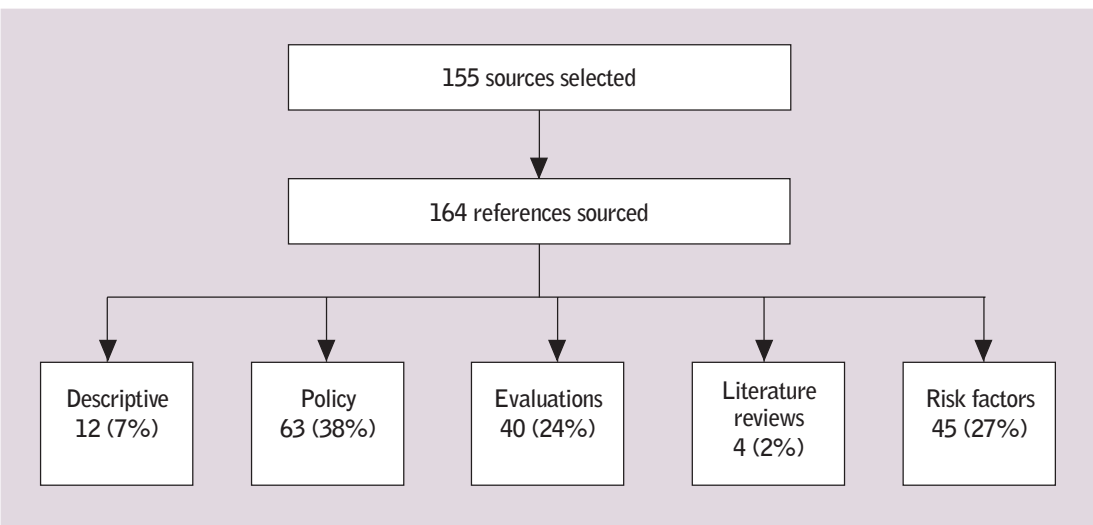
This report reviews the literature for the most promising interventions and programs that reduce young people's involvement in crime. A "young person" in the context of this report is between the ages of 12 and 25 years. Programs for young people at risk of getting into trouble and for those already involved in the criminal justice system are addressed.

Methodology

A literature search was undertaken by the J.V. Barry Library at the Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC) for the Chief Minister's Department using sources from the library and from CINCH (the Australian Criminology database). The Chief Minister's Department subsequently selected 155 books, journal articles and reports that it felt were relevant to the topic of reducing and preventing offending among young people. Within this total of 155, the Department highlighted 41 references that they felt were not essential reading.

The AIC compiled a database of all 155 of the references originally selected by the Chief Minister's Department, with a total of 164 entries due to some publications containing more than one relevant reference. All of the references were sourced and the database was further developed to contain pertinent information relating to each reference. From these references other relevant literature was identified which has subsequently been included in the report.

Figure 1: Breakdown of publications found in the literature search



The references provided by the Chief Minister's Department consisted of evaluations, literature reviews, contributing factors to delinquency, descriptive reports and policy and implementation issues papers (see Figure 1). Only 40 of the 164 entries (24 per cent) were evaluations (process, outcome or secondary) and, of that 24 per cent, only half had any outcomes. Literature reviews, identified in the original search, produced further examples of evaluated programs dealing with young people (these were not added to the original database). Major references that were found during the trawl of the selected references were also sourced in order to supplement the original database.

Forty-five per cent of the evaluations found in the original 164 entries originated from the United States. The examples of evaluated programs found in the literature reviews supplemented the abundance of US evaluations further. The remainder came from Canada, New Zealand, Australia and the United Kingdom. There was a dearth of evaluations from Europe (only one in the original search). Language may have been a barrier to accessing this material, however Buckland & Stevens (2001) also highlight the limited existence of "what works" literature in Europe. The literature review also found a lack of "age appropriate programs" (Hobbs & Hook Consulting 2001) and more specifically very few programs that targeted 18 to 25-year-olds. This may be because they are categorised as adults and are therefore included in adult programs that will not have been captured by the literature search.

There are many programs being run both in Australia and other parts of the world that have not been evaluated or have been evaluated in-house by those who are running the program. These would not come up through any database search of published literature and have not been included in this report as it is impossible to assess the rigorousness of the evaluation. However, it should be noted that there is considerable "hidden" knowledge and information.

Structure of the Report

The remainder of this section reviews youth justice policy from an international perspective. Section 2 focuses on what can be done to reduce youth offending and identifies interventions and programs that can address this problem. Both interventions that prevent the onset of offending and those which aim to reduce recidivism are discussed within the context of the main areas of influence for a young person, namely family, school, peers and the community. The objectives of each of the interventions are identified followed by an examination of whether they work in reducing and preventing offending. The report concludes with a summary of what works and what is promising.

An International Perspective of Juvenile Justice Policy

Appendix 2 provides an overview of juvenile justice policy across a sample of developed countries.² Comparison is difficult as each country (and sometimes jurisdictions within countries) define juveniles differently. In the sample studied the minimum age of

2 Australia, Canada, England & Wales, France, Germany, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden and the United States.

criminal responsibility ranged from seven years (in some US states) to 15 years (in Sweden). The upper age limit is generally 16 or 17 years old, although in some countries, for example Germany and the Netherlands, older youth can be dealt with under the juvenile system. All the countries studied deal with juvenile offenders in a similar way. All have moved from a “welfare” model with a focus on “treatment” and the needs of the offender to a model which focuses more on the offence, the legal rights of the offender and the need to protect society (Bala & Bromwich 2002). However, within this approach rehabilitation and the juveniles’ needs are still considered. This has followed the need to abide by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice (the Beijing Rules) and the European Convention on Human Rights (Buckland & Stevens 2001).

The emphasis of dealing with juveniles is commonly to divert them away from the justice system as much as possible. In most countries the police have the capacity to divert juveniles through the use of discretionary warnings or cautions, although in Germany and Sweden the public prosecutor decides whether to dismiss or proceed with the case. Restorative justice, victim–offender mediation and/or family group conferencing are also used to differing extents in all countries to divert offenders. In the Netherlands all first- and second-time offenders (12–18 years) are diverted to the HALT project where they undertake 20 hours of work in an area relevant to the crime they have committed. If they complete this program the police dismiss the case. These types of alternative measures are also used in other countries (for example, England & Wales under the Final Warning Scheme and “alternative measures” in Canada).

If juveniles do find themselves in the justice system, they are dealt with in a separate justice system, with the exception of Sweden where they are dealt with in the adult system.³ If an offence is very serious (for example, homicide) then in many countries cases can be tried in the adult system. Custody is used as a last resort and most countries have a maximum sentence, ranging up to three years, that can be passed for juveniles although serious offences, such as homicide, may be dealt with differently in exceptional circumstances. The exceptions are the US where custody can be indeterminate, Germany where sentences can be up to five years and France where maximum sentences are half of those available for adults. Victoria, Australia, has a dual tracking system where 17 to 21-year-olds can be sentenced to either an adult or juvenile (Senior Youth Training Facility) correctional facility.

Other sanctions are available for convicted juveniles and these include fines, probation, intensive supervision and community service. Within these sanctions there are often conditions which are rehabilitative or educational in content such as therapy, vocational training, schooling and social skills training. England & Wales have introduced parenting orders where parents can be bound over to ensure their children comply with their sentence or made to attend a parenting program.

3 Juveniles in Sweden are categorised as 15–17-year-olds and are deemed mature enough to be responsible for their actions.

All countries have programs in place that aim to prevent and reduce offending. Most of these have not been evaluated and so it is not possible to say whether they are effective. Many countries have programs that are aimed at improving school retention such as Youth Include and CRISS (England & Wales), BASTA (the Netherlands) and Within Walls (Sweden). Drug use prevention programs are also common in schools. After-school programs are common, especially in the US where most juvenile crime has been found to take place in those hours after school. Programs to provide opportunities for employment are also provided. Some countries have developed policies and programs that involve the whole community in juvenile crime prevention. France embraced this idea of community participation in the early 1980s and others have followed suit. Local crime prevention councils were set up headed by the mayor. Following an audit, the mayor, the police, social services and education departments sign local safety contracts. Other countries have followed suit, for example, the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 in the UK stipulated the need for community partnerships to tackle crime, and local crime prevention councils in Canada and the Netherlands have been set up.

What Can Be Done?

The pathways that a young person takes to become involved in crime and the length of time that they live this type of lifestyle vary for each individual. Many young people participate in criminal activity at some point in time, however it is only a minority who go on to become chronic offenders. Most juvenile involvement in crime stops without any need for intervention (Weatherburn & Baker 2001). Over two-thirds of juveniles offend just once before desisting, and a further 15 per cent desist after committing two offences (Courmarelos 1995 and Cain 1996, cited in Buttrum 1998).

What can be done to prevent and reduce offending by youth? Early identification of youth at risk of offending and addressing their problems through preventive interventions may reduce the likelihood of their involvement in crime in the longer term. For those already in the juvenile justice system, as the majority commit only one offence, it would seem sensible to focus on individuals who are already or who are likely to become prolific offenders. Law requires consideration of their inexperience, impressionability and immaturity when determining penalties. The court is also required to recognise the enhanced potential for reintegration and rehabilitation, while protecting the juvenile's development and wellbeing (Buttrum 1998).

Various social reforms have been implemented in an attempt to curb juvenile delinquent behaviour in Australia. These have included the disbanding of groups of three or more young people in public places, holding parents responsible for their children's delinquent behaviour, incarceration, boot camps, shaming and scare tactics through "day in gaol" programs. However, all of these reforms have ignored the underlying personal and social issues young offenders often face. The difficulty arises in deciding between interventions that address family, community and social problems (Sarris et al. 2000; Carcach & Leverett 1999), and creating programs for transient juvenile offending that will resolve itself (Weatherburn & Baker 2001). Loeber & Farrington (1998a) state, however, that as offending is multiply determined, it is important that interventions be directed to a number of areas of influence—family, school and peers—and not just one individual area. This is because bonds to family, community, school and work create informal social control and pressures to conform that have little to do with threat of punishment and more to do with shame (Tittle & Logan 1973, cited in Sherman et al. 1998).

This report concentrates on youth aged 12 to 25 years and therefore will not review early interventions aimed at younger children. There are many different types of program that have been implemented to prevent and reduce offending among youth and these have taken place in a variety of settings—within the community, the family, the school and away from the youth's familiar environment in a residential setting. The

remainder of this section will systematically review intervention programs by type and will state in which setting they took place and their effectiveness in achieving their aims, according to the available literature.

Social Competence (Cognitive-behavioural) Training Programs

What Are They?

Social competence skills or cognitive skills consist of self-control, perspective-taking, moral reasoning and problem-solving. Offenders have been found to be impulsive, have poor reasoning, planning and problem-solving skills, have “fixed” thinking and are unable to see others’ perspectives (Zamble & Porporino 1988). The rationale, therefore, for including reasoning processes in interventions is that these biases and deficiencies in cognition appear to contribute to the development and maintenance of criminal behaviour.

Social competence training teaches new behaviours and thinking skills and encourages their use by selectively rewarding them, and ignoring or sanctioning other ways of thinking and acting. It includes:

- modelling—a role model/staff member demonstrates the desired behaviour to the young person;
- graduated practice—the young person tries a new skill in stages, increasing the difficulty at each level;
- rehearsal—the young person is given the opportunity to “practice” a new behaviour or skill and get feedback on how they are using them;
- role playing—program participants play out new skills or behaviours and get feedback on their ability;
- reinforcement—staff or significant adults reinforce effort and performance with encouragement or more tangible rewards such as privileges or money; and
- cognitive restructuring—offenders learn to alter the way that they think in a logical and realistic way in order to become more rational (McLaren 1999, cited in McLaren 2000).

Are They Effective?

Lipsey & Wilson (1998) found in their meta-analysis of 200 studies of interventions with serious juvenile offenders that for both institutionalised and non-institutionalised youth, behavioural and interpersonal skills programs yielded approximately a 40 per cent reduction in recidivism. These programs saw the largest effects of all programs reviewed.

Family-based Training

Functional family therapy uses behavioural techniques such as specification of rules and consequences, contingency contracting, social reinforcement and a token economy (rewarding for positive behaviour). Family therapy has been found to improve family

relationships and communication (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration 1998, cited in Kumpfer & Alvarado 1998). In a study of 15-year-old court-directed offenders, offending initially reduced by 56 per cent. A five- to seven-year follow up showed that offending had decreased by 36 per cent. However, the sample size for this study was small, with 27 youths and families in each of the experimental and control groups (Gordon et al. 1995, cited in McLaren 2000). Functional family therapy targeting improving family communication was also found to be effective in reducing recidivism (Alexander et al. 1976 and Klein et al. 1977, cited in Wasserman & Miller 1998). Another program using parent training and self-regulation for 58 boys and 61 girls aged 10 to 14 years at the outset found that during the 12-week treatment antisocial behaviour and negative discipline given by the parents declined, however home conduct became worse (Dishion et al. 1992, cited in Sherman et al. 1998).

School-based Training

Within schools there have been a number of programs that have used various approaches to prevent and reduce antisocial behaviour. The use of token economies has been shown to be effective in addressing truancy, academic and discipline problems. A two-year program where students earned points by positive teacher ratings and class attendance for extra school trips was implemented for 12- and 13-year-olds in the US with academic/discipline problems. After one year the intervention group was significantly less likely to have academic or discipline problems compared to a control group matched on academic achievement and school attendance. There was less abuse of illegal drugs (3 per cent versus 16 per cent) and less criminal behaviour (11 instances versus 45) among the group that received the intervention compared to the control a year and a half after the program. After five years the intervention group was 66 per cent less likely to have county court criminal records. There was no information on measurement or attrition for this study (Bry 1982, cited in Sherman et al. 1998).

Kellam et al. (1995, cited in Wasserman & Miller 1998) found a similar behavioural management program had a significant impact on aggressiveness over a five-year period. In another study truancy was found to fall when students signed contracts regarding unexcused absences. Daily attendance records were signed by teachers and turned in at the end of each day. One ticket was earned for each signature and positive comment and these were used in raffles for prizes of money, movie tickets, record albums or gift vouchers (Brooks 1975, cited in Howell et al. 1995).

Safer (1996, cited in Wasserman et al. 2000) evaluated a token economy established for disruptive students who had a history of suspensions. Points were given for good behaviour that could be exchanged for privileges. It was attempted to extend this into the home as well. There were fewer expulsions and suspensions but there were no differences in attendance or achievement. However, those that completed the program were more likely to enter high school and have better attendance and behaviour than those in a control group.

Social competence training has been used to reduce violent behaviour in schools. PACT (Positive Adolescents Choices Training) gave instruction and practice using role plays in giving positive and negative feedback, accepting negative feedback, resisting peer pressure, problem solving and negotiation to African-American middle school/junior high students to reduce violent behaviours and victimisation. The program consisted of two 50-minute training sessions per week for a semester. A randomised controlled trial found that in the third year follow up the treatment group were less likely than the control to be referred to juvenile court (18 per cent versus 49 per cent) and were less likely to be charged with violent offences (Hammond & Yung 1993, cited in Wasserman & Miller 1998).

An Australian study evaluated the Peacebuilders program that addressed cognitive, social and imitative risk factors associated with violent and antisocial behaviour. Detentions, truancy and suspensions fell and there were lower levels of referrals to the school principal. Police call outs to the school fell 83 per cent over two years. Parental involvement also increased and staff turnover declined (Christie & Petrie 1997, cited in Gant & Grabosky 2000).

An anger management program run for aggressive and disruptive boys found less substance abuse and improved self-esteem and problem-solving skills in a three-year follow up. The boys were taught coping strategies and the physiology of aggression. Self-reported delinquency and classroom behaviour showed no difference between participants and the control group (Lochman 1992, cited in Wasserman et al. 2000).

Residential Programs

Interpersonal skills training has been used in a residential setting to improve social skills as well as reduce violence among youth. Aggression Replacement Therapy (ART) taught young people new social skills, for example, dealing with an insult and anger control. Staff modelled the skills needed and the young people practiced them and were given feedback. The program also attempted to turn the youths “real-world reference group, the gang, from an antisocial group to a pro-social one” (Howell 1998, p. 304). Goldstein & Glick (1994, cited in Howell 1998, McLaren 2000) used ART as an intervention program with 10 aggressive juvenile gangs in New York City. In an eight-month follow up, 13 per cent of the intervention group were rearrested compared with 52 per cent of the control group. The ART group also showed significant improvements in community functioning and slight improvements in anger control and interpersonal skills.

EQUIP emphasises social skills training and creating a peer culture in which young people develop and use pro-social values and judgements. Early evaluation showed a reduction in reoffending of 29 per cent and an increase in social skills associated with improved institutional conduct. However, low numbers were involved in this evaluation (20 in experimental group) and there has been no replication (Leeman et al. 1993, cited in McLaren 2000).

An Australian program trains young people who have demonstrated leadership qualities to become leader on Youth Insearch camps. The program aims to reduce the incidence of crime, drug and alcohol abuse and suicide in young people. Camps and other training sessions are held over 12 months and are aimed at 14 to 20-year-olds at risk. There has not been a full evaluation but Mugford & Nelson (1996) report that those involved in the program have moved away from drugs, crime, alcohol abuse, suicide, violence and other non-productive forms of behaviour into furthering their education or gaining employment.

Summary

- Social competence training can help change the way that young people think and act and this has been shown to impact positively on criminal activity.
- Social competence training has had positive outcomes in all settings. Reviews suggest that this type of intervention should form an integral part of all programs to reduce and prevent offending (Loeber & Farrington 1998b; Lipsey & Wilson 1998; Sherman et al. 1998).
- Rewarding pro-social behaviour in schools (for example, through token economies) has been found to be particularly effective in reducing truancy and discipline problems.

Programs that Divert from Custody

What Are They?

Research has shown that as the majority of young offenders are not prolific in their criminal activity, a minimal interventionist approach should be taken to deal with young people who come to the attention of the justice agencies (Buttrum 1998). Therefore, within the juvenile justice system mechanisms and sanctions are available that prevent young offenders being incarcerated. These include:

- diversion from courts through cautioning and warnings;
- mediation—family group conferencing, restorative justice, and offender–victim mediation; and
- case management and intensive supervision while on probation.

Family group conferencing, restorative justice, and offender–victim mediation are all based on the same principle that following an offence, the offender and the victim, together with their supporters, are given the opportunity to meet in the presence of a trained facilitator. Participants are encouraged to discuss the direct or indirect effects of the incident in order to encourage acceptance of responsibility by the offender. They may then negotiate plans for repairing the damage and minimising further harm arising from that incident and help reintegrate the offender back into the offender's family and the community (McLaren 1998 and Moore et al. 1998, cited in McLaren 2000). Mediators are trained in active listening, communicating, taking command of adversarial situations, identifying points of agreement, maintaining confidentiality and impartiality (Brewer et al. 1995, cited in Howell et al. 1995).

Are They Effective?

Cautions and Warnings

Diversion from court for first time offenders, through the use of warnings, cautions or proceeding to a Youth Justice Conference has been implemented in New South Wales under the provisions of the *Young Offenders Act 1997* (NSW). This is based on evidence that in most cases the crime is minor, and frequent offenders may constitute as little as one per cent of all New South Wales secondary students. Police analysis has revealed that between 60 and 80 per cent of those cautioned have not reoffended. The diversion rate was low among Aboriginal youth. This scheme, however, has not been formally evaluated (Silva 2001).

Community Diversion Panels

Community diversion panels have been piloted in New Zealand. The case against the juvenile is reviewed by the panel, the offender and their family, and an action plan is drawn up. Diversions included employment and education programs. The reoffending rate was 22 per cent (Maxwell et al. 1999, cited in Singh & White 2000).

Mediation

Family group conferences (FGCs) are often used for first time offenders. There have been a number of outcome evaluations of conferencing. Maxwell & Morris (2000) in a six-year follow up of conferencing found that 29 per cent had not been reconvicted, 28 per cent persistently reconvicted and the remainder (43 per cent) had been convicted at least once but their offending was less serious, less frequent and less persistent. Past experiences and post-offence experiences were found to affect the probability of reoffending, as well as processes put in place by the justice system.

The “Wagga model” of conferencing differs from many others in Australia in that police are responsible for organising the conference. After the program was introduced, a smaller proportion of juveniles (10 to 17 years) was cautioned (20.4 per cent versus 37.2 per cent court cohort) or was reapprehended during the study period. There was also no net widening as predicted. A later evaluation found the percentage of young people processed through the courts fell from 50.6 per cent to 27.9 per cent. Those being cautioned increased by a similar amount (from 49.4 per cent to 72.1 per cent) suggesting only the most serious were going before the courts (Moore & Forsythe 1995; Moore et al. 1998, cited in McLaren 2000).

Luke & Lind (2002) examine reoffending patterns of young people (first offenders aged 10 to 17 years) conferenced in New South Wales compared to those who went to court in 1998–99 with a 27- to 39-month follow up period. Those who attended conferences took longer to reoffend than those who went to court and the difference increased over time. The risk of offending was found to be about 15 to 20 per cent lower for those who were conferenced compared to those who went to court. The outcomes, however, may be due to selection decisions by referring bodies and young people themselves.

FGCs impact boys and girls differently. Maxwell & Kingi (2001) found girls were less responsive than boys to restorative aspects of FGC despite lesser involvement in criminal offending. Fewer conferences reached agreement for girls compared to boys, perhaps because they felt that they were not consulted on attendees, felt intimidated by the process and did not feel free to contribute. Girls were also more likely to feel they had done wrong and less likely to feel they could rectify the situation. They felt they were treated less fairly and were not given another chance. However, after 12 months 35 per cent girls compared to 55 per cent boys had reconvicted and after 18 months these rates were 43 per cent and 66 per cent respectively. The overall reconviction rates were 52 per cent after 12 months and 62 per cent after 18 months.

Project Turnaround was a conferencing program run in New Zealand for adult offenders but 33 per cent were aged 17 to 19 years. Reconviction rates for graduates were 16 per cent compared to 30 per cent for matched control in a 12-month follow up and the seriousness of the offences was reduced. Te Whanau Awhina was a similar program to Turnaround dealing mainly with Maori offenders (50 per cent were 17 to 19 years). However, offenders met the victim face to face less often and the conference took place on marae in the meetinghouse. Reconviction rates were 33 per cent compared to 47 per cent for controls (Maxwell et al. 1999, cited in McLaren 2000).

McGarrell (2001) evaluated restorative justice conferencing in Indianapolis (in the US). The program was for first offenders, aged up to 14 years, who had committed a non-serious, non-violent offence and had admitted responsibility for the offence. Completion rates were 82.6 per cent for the experimental sample and 57.7 per cent for the control (allocated to other diversion programs). At a six-month follow up there was the equivalent of a 40 per cent reduction in rearrests for the conference group. Of the program completers, rearrest rates were 12.3 per cent for conference group and 22.7 per cent for the control. At the 12-month follow up there was a 29 per cent reduction in recidivism for the experimental group compared to the control group.

Sherman et al.'s (2000) evaluation of reintegrative shaming experiments (RISE) in Canberra found that for young violent offenders (under 18 years) diversionary conferences reduced offending by about 38 per cent compared to being sent to court in a one-year follow up. For young property offenders and shoplifters there was no difference in redivivism between the conferencing and attending court. Longer-term follow ups are planned.

In a study by Umbreit (1998, cited in McLaren 2000) juvenile offenders met victims with a trained mediator for offender–victim mediation. From the victim perspective there was a high level of client satisfaction, fear of victimisation fell (23 per cent before to 10 per cent after mediation) and fewer victims were upset about the crime after mediation (49 per cent compared to 67 per cent before). Overall there was a nine per cent reduction in offending. Marshal & Merry (1990) and Dignan (1990) also found small reductions in reoffending after mediation (cited in McLaren 2000).

Mediation has also been used in a school setting with peers acting as facilitators to resolve conflict. In one study, peer mediators assisted students involved in conflict to examine the problem and resolve it with a non-violent agreed solution. A randomised

control showed that those high school students using mediation showed a decline in reported conflict incidents. However, the comparison group was not similar as those having mediation had a higher number of previous disciplinary referrals for conflict, and the results may simply indicate statistical regression to the mean (Tolson et al. 1992, cited in Howell & Hawkins 1998). Lam (1989, cited in Sherman et al. 1998) reviewed 14 evaluations of peer mediation although only three provided strong methodological rigour. None of the three studies employing quasi-experimental designs showed significant effects on observable student behaviour.

Programs on Probation

For offenders that are already in the system, case management and intensive supervision probation (ISP) have been used while they are on probation. TARGET (Tri-Agency Resource Gang Enforcement Team) consisted of intensive supervision on probation of violent and repeat gang offenders in California. There was close collaboration among law enforcement staff, probation and prosecutors. The team achieved a 99 per cent conviction rate along with a 62 per cent reduction in serious gang-related violence (Kent & Smith 1995, cited in Howell 2000). This has been replicated in other areas and the level of success has continued. All criminal incidents except drug-related offences (not considered a gang activity in Orange County) have dropped steadily since 1994 (Rackauckas 1999, cited in Howell 2000) and there has been a sharp increase in incarceration of gang members and a 47 per cent decrease in gang crime over a seven-year period (Kent et al. 2000, cited in Howell 2000). Sontheimer & Goodstein (1993, cited in Sherman et al. 1998) also found ISP juveniles had fewer arrests (50 per cent) than those on parole (74 per cent).

However, other ISP evaluations have found that those participating often have higher rearrest rates than those on probation. For example, Petersilia and Turner (1993, cited in Sherman et al. 1998) found that 37 per cent of ISP participants compared to 33 per cent of control offenders were rearrested at the end of the first year. Land et al. (1990, cited in Sherman et al. 1998) reported similar findings with those youth on ISP with previous convictions having higher rates of reoffending than the control, although those with no previous delinquency fared better.

Treatment foster care (TFC) has been used for serious and chronic juvenile offenders as an alternative to residential care. The program content includes reinforcing positive behaviour, closely supervising the youth at all times including monitoring their peer relationships and providing clear rules and guidelines. Communication skills, family relationships and academic skills are all focused on. The format for each youth is different as the program focuses on their needs using a case management approach. Four evaluations⁴ have been undertaken and they have found that TFC provides better outcomes for both the young people and their families and the program is more cost-effective than alternative residential care. Chamberlain (1990, cited in Chamberlain 1998) found that those who had received TFC spent fewer days incarcerated than those

4 Chamberlain 1990; Chamberlain & Reid 1991; Chamberlain et al. 1992; Chamberlain & Reid 1998—all cited in Chamberlain 1998.

on other community-based programs, and significantly fewer spent any time in custody after treatment. The program was even more effective for those who completed the program.

Graduated sanctions have been used for under-15-year-olds at risk of becoming serious violent chronic offenders. These youth received an array of services, provided through the cooperation of a number of county and private agencies and administered at Youth and Family Resource Centres throughout Orange County, California. Probation and other sanctions with treatment interventions were used for offenders and their families. Participants in the program committed fewer and less serious offences, and have served less time in custody than their counterparts receiving standard probation services. Preliminary results showed 50 per cent reduction in recidivism (Schumacher & Kurz 2000).

Summary

- Further evaluation is needed to establish the effectiveness of cautioning as a means of reducing offending among young people.
- Mediation in the form of conferencing appears to be effective in preventing young people continuing in an offending lifestyle. It is important that the young person and their families feel involved in the process and in the final decision. The young person and parents should not be left to feel bad about themselves and the process must increase the chance that the young person feels and shows remorse for their actions (Maxwell & Morris 2000).
- Peer mediation does not appear to be very promising based on the current evidence.
- Intensive supervision and case management have been effective where agencies work together and may be promising mechanisms of reducing offending among young people. However, it has been shown to be less effective when the intervention is simply frequent contact with the youth.

Education-type Programs

What Are They?

Young people who do not attend school are at high risk of becoming involved in antisocial behaviour and criminal activity (Snyder & Sickmund 1995, cited in Ingersoll & LeBoeuf 1997). Factors that are related to the onset of delinquency are lack of academic achievement, lack of allegiance and bonding to school and truancy (Howell et al. 1995; Gottfredson 1987, cited in Sherman et al. 1998; Catalano et al. 1998). Keeping students within school, rather than excluding them, can help prevent further offending behaviour (Pritchard & Cox 1998).

Education therefore provides an important setting within which to consider programs to prevent and reduce offending. Education programs can incorporate various approaches and it is therefore very difficult to tease out which component of the program is

impacting on the outcomes. What makes them comparable, however, is that they all take place within a school setting. Two main types of education program are considered within this review:

- Changing structures or processes involving changes to the way the school is run. They may involve:
 - teams of staff, school administrators, parents, students and community members who identify school problems and work together to remedy them;
 - altering and redefining the rules and procedures of the school as a whole and within the classroom in order to set norms for behaviour;
 - using techniques to increase enthusiasm for learning and bonding to the school; and
 - reorganising classes to provide greater flexibility in teaching and integration.
- Changing individuals by aiming to reduce and prevent unmanageable behaviour within the school as well as delinquency. These programs also aim to increase academic performance and achievement and include:
 - instruction to students to teach them factual information to increase their awareness of social problems (for example, substance misuse) and to learn how to avoid or respond appropriately to these issues;
 - cognitive-behavioural skills training which use approaches to teach new behaviours and thinking skills;
 - counselling using a more formal structured approach led by a trained professional;
 - mentoring; and
 - recreation activities that find alternatives to delinquent behaviour including after-school programs and drop in centres (Sherman et al. 1998).

Are They Effective?

Slavin et al (reviewed in Howell et al. 1995) found the following contributed to an increase in academic achievement (a protective factor):

- small classes;
- grouping students by academic performance not age;
- continuous progress programs testing skills at each level;
- cooperative learning;
- computer-assisted instruction; and
- one-to-one tutoring of primary school students in reading and maths by older students. This was found to increase the tutor's levels of achievement.

Grouping by ability in secondary schools, not being promoted to the next year, developmental models (for example, open classrooms and group-based learning programs) did not increase academic achievement. These factors, although not evidentially linked to reducing delinquency, have been incorporated into the evaluated programs highlighted below.

The US has implemented a program called Communities in Schools (CIS) which is a partnership approach to dealing with at-risk youth in the school setting. The emphasis is providing a support system and access to resources that may be needed for the student and their family. There are two main models by which this is achieved, incorporating both changing the structure and the individual:

- the classroom model is a course that students can elect to attend providing life skills training such as tutoring, employment topics, conflict resolution and community service—these classes follow a normal classroom routine; and
- the academy model is similar to the classroom model but is provided in an alternative school setting, either a school within a school or in a separate building.

The Urban Institute undertook an evaluation of CIS between 1991 and 1994 that tracked a sample of 659 students. Eighty per cent of CIS students stayed in school or had graduated over the three years of the study. The drop-out rate was 21 per cent over the three years. CIS students with poor attendance and achievement also improved their performance throughout the duration of the program. The evaluation did not state any impacts on delinquency or which model (classroom or academy) the students were allocated to (cited in Cantelon & LeBoeuf 1997).

Changing Processes/Structures

Gottfredson (1986, 1987, cited in Sherman et al. 1998, Catalano et al. 1998, Howell & Hawkins 1998) reports on two school organisation interventions (Project PATHE and CARE) both comprising six components devised and implemented by teams of teachers, students, parents and community members. The purpose was to improve functioning in terms of attachment to school, academic success, self-esteem and student–faculty communication. The components were:

- a school improvement program;
- curriculum and discipline policy review and revision;
- academic innovations—study skills programs, tutoring and cooperative learning techniques;
- school-wide climate innovations—extracurricular activities, peer counselling, school pride campaign;
- career innovations—job seeking skills program and career exploration program;
- special academic and behavioural counselling for low achievers and disruptive students; and
- family intervention focused on improving communication about academic and discipline problems.

The school students in the experimental group of the PATHE program self-reported decreased delinquency, drug involvement and school suspensions and punishments. Those who also received counselling reported higher grades and were more likely to be promoted and to graduate. Project CARE results included decreased delinquency (–20

per cent) in the experimental school compared to an increase in the control (+11 per cent). The experimental school showed better class orderliness but an increase in referrals, which may have been due to classroom management, but they resulted in fewer suspensions. Gottfredson et al (1996, cited in Catalano et al. 1998, Sherman et al. 1998) found that grade point average increased and peer drug influence decreased for high-risk students in another multi-modal school-based program.

The Seattle Social Development Model incorporated cooperative learning, proactive classroom management and interactive teaching for elementary school children. Aggressive behaviour by boys and self-destructive behaviour by girls was found to decrease by the end of the program, but not for African-American children. Bonding to family and school increased and family management practices improved. Delinquent behaviour was less likely to occur in the group who had taken part in the program in a six-year follow up at Grade 12 (Hawkins et al. 1991, 1992, O'Donnell et al. 1995 cited in Wasserman & Miller 1998; McLaren 2000).

Classroom contingency training (CCT) establishes clear routines and expectations regarding attendance, behaviour and procedures. Mayer (1979, 1983, 1994, cited in Catalano et al. 1998) found that observed (by teachers and observers) disruptive behaviour was lower in program schools and vandalism costs decreased, whereas they increased in control schools. In another study CCT incorporating proactive discipline management, student learning partners and clear learning objectives combined with academic skills enhancement for 12 to 13-year-olds found more positive attitudes and expectations towards school in the intervention group. School disciplinary problems were also lower in the intervention group. There were found to be no effects on delinquency (Hawkins et al. 1998).

Career academies have been established in some American schools to deal with students who do not fare well in traditional school settings. These are schools within schools that provide a structured environment that promotes academic achievement and positive wellbeing. The academies involve a partnership between peers, teachers and community stakeholders (local businesses, community agencies, parents and colleges). There are three key components:

- small groups with the students taught by the same core team of teachers over the time that they are in high school;
- a combination of academic and vocational curricula; and
- partnership with stakeholders—this entails job shadowing and mentoring provided by local businesses, parental support and colleges giving credit for course completion.

A five-year evaluation of nine career academies (1,900 students) found approximately a 33 per cent reduction of drop-out rates of at-risk students and there was less truancy and more consistency in attending classes. Students were more likely to complete courses and apply to college than their counterparts not enrolled in academies (Kemble & Snipes 2000, cited in Coffee & Pestridge 2001).

Changing Individuals

Project Status students (aged 12 to 17 years) at high risk of antisocial behaviour undertook supplemental law-related and moral development curriculum considering school, family, interpersonal relations and how these integrate with broader societal norms as implemented by the criminal justice system (Gottfredson & Gottfredson 1992, cited by Anderson 1998). They were also exposed to field experiences and role plays about the systems. The intervention students self-reported lower levels of delinquency and drug use and higher levels of self-esteem. They also had higher grades and were more likely to be promoted and graduate.

While there is no causal link between bullying and delinquency, it no doubt contributes to risk factors such as academic failure that are thought to impact on delinquency. A universal anti-bullying program undertaken in Norwegian schools comprised four components:

- a booklet for school personnel on bullying;
- an information pack to families;
- a video on lives of two bullying victims; and
- an anonymous questionnaire to students in all comprehensive schools (grades one to nine), the results of which were used to inform school and family interventions.

Prevalence of bullying victims decreased substantially by around 50 per cent at eight and 20 months after the intervention began. Levels of vandalism, theft and truancy also fell (Olweus 1991, 1992, cited by Sherman et al. 1998, McLaren 2000, Howell 2000). Smith & Sharp (1994, cited by Howell 2000) implemented a similar program in Sheffield in the UK. They found bullying reduced among young children but there was little effect on older children. Melton et al. (1998, cited by Howell 2000) adapted the Olweus model for a rural middle school in South Carolina. However, here it did not significantly reduce the rate of bullying.

The Quantum Opportunities Program offered students from disadvantaged backgrounds intensive coordinated services, academic tutoring (250 hours), skill development and personal enrichment programs (250 hours) and community service activities (250 hours) throughout their high school years. They offered modest cash (\$1 per hour) and matching scholarship incentives as motivation to graduate from high school and go on to university. The aim was to increase the likelihood of disadvantaged young people completing high school and developing into economic and socially independent adults. Participants were more likely to complete high school than the control group (63 per cent compared to 42 per cent) and less likely to drop out (23 per cent compared to 50 per cent). The program reduced felony arrests by age 25 by 71 per cent. Attendance was also two and three times higher in post-secondary school courses for program participants (Lattimore et al. 1998, Aos et al 1998, Greenwood et al. 1998, cited in Gant & Grabosky 2000).

In the UK a multi-component program was implemented over three years to reduce truancy, delinquency, disruptive behaviour, exclusion and associated social, neighbourhood and family problems. Three broad activities were undertaken: counselling and group work for children and families, consultation and support for teachers, and development of community and school networks. In 90 per cent of cases child/family problems were resolved or improved. Families, children and teachers valued the emotional support, practical help and easy access to services. Truancy among 14 to 16-year-olds fell from 28 per cent to 16 per cent, attitudes and behaviour were better with less antisocial behaviour and there were reduced exclusions over the two years (Pritchard 2001).

The ACT Now program (Abolish Chronic Truancy) was run in Arizona, in the United States. Parents were made accountable for their child's attendance in school by enforcing sanctions where necessary and providing a diversion program to address the causes of truancy. A reduction in truancies was found between 1996–97 and 1997–98 ranging from 64 per cent to four per cent in the participating school districts. The largest decrease was seen in the largest district that also initially had one of the highest truancy rates (Sigmon et al. 1999, cited in Baker et al. 2001).

Schools are often the setting for programs that aim to prevent or reduce specific types of delinquent activity. The GREAT program (Gang resistance education and training) was a nine-week curriculum for 12 to 15-year-olds taught by law enforcement officers covering crime/victims and rights, cultural sensitivity/prejudice, conflict resolution, meeting basic social needs, drugs/neighbourhoods, responsibility and goal setting. In a one-year follow up intervention students self-reported lower levels of affiliation with gangs and self-reported delinquency. They had more positive attitudes to police and negative attitudes to gangs, together with more pro-social friends, higher commitment to school, and better relations with parents (Esbensen & Osgood 1996, 1999, cited by Howell 1998, Sherman et al. 1998).

Another program aimed at preventing gang membership was the “You Can” (Se Puede) program in San Juan, Texas. It comprised individual and group counselling, positive alternatives and role models, and a curriculum component for preventing substance abuse and violence, and monthly weekend camps. The evaluation showed a decrease in gang membership despite an increase in the number of gangs in the area. There was also a decrease on several measures of crime involvement and improved individual skills and school performance (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention 1999, cited by Howell 2000). Thompson & Jason (1988, cited by McLaren 2000) concluded that a gang prevention curriculum program with after-school recreational activities was a success but it was based on a difference of three more students who became gang members in the comparison group (4/43) than in the experimental group (1/74).

A violence prevention program (Self Enhancement Inc) aimed at African-American students aged 14–16 years referred for academic and behavioural problems comprised a classroom curriculum of conflict resolution (anger control and mediation) taught through role plays, relevant field visits, and designing and implementing public information events on community violence and conflict resolution. After one year the

intervention group showed decreased fighting and weapon carrying, however marijuana use increased over time across both the intervention and control groups (Gabriel 1996, cited by Wasserman & Miller 1998).

Peer mediation was used in schools for conflict resolution in the Second Step curriculum (Orpinas et al. 1995, cited in Wasserman et al. 2000). The evaluation showed that the intervention had no impact on aggressive behaviour and only marginal improvements were found in other areas.

Social competence training has also been used to prevent and reduce substance misuse in schools. A comprehensive instructional program incorporating resistance skills training and general life skills was implemented for 12 to 13-year-old students in the US to reduce drug and alcohol use. Program students were found to be significantly less likely to use marijuana and engage in excessive drinking in a one-year follow up but only for those taught by peers. Effects were maintained for those students who received peer-led booster sessions the following year (Botvin et al. 1990, cited by Sherman et al. 1998). A replication of this study using only teacher-led sessions found a significant impact on levels of drunkenness but not for other measures of alcohol use. The results were more positive for students who completed the course compared to those who did not (Botvin et al. 1995, cited by Sherman et al. 1998).

Another study evaluated an instructional prevention program for 12 to 13-year-olds comprising a social resistance-skill curriculum to prevent substance misuse. There were positive effects for low- and high-risk students across ethnicity. Marijuana use reduced at each risk level with strongest effects for low-risk students. Following booster sessions, 8.3 per cent as opposed to 12.1 per cent of the control initiated marijuana use. Once lessons stopped so did the program's effects on drug use (Ellikson et al. 1990 and 1993, cited in Sherman et al. 1998).

Summary

- Keeping young people in school can prevent the onset of delinquency and reduce antisocial behaviour and offending activities.
- The school can provide a constructive and positive setting for programs to reduce and prevent delinquency among young people.
- School-based strategies targeted at school organisation or classroom-based curricula emphasising reinforcement of pro-social and academic skills appear to be effective (Loeber & Farrington 1998b).

Employment Programs

What Are They?

Programs that concentrate on training and employment are based on the premise that increasing the potential for work may have a preventive effect on crime (Weatherburn & Baker 2001). These programs attempt to reduce unemployment and improve the earnings potential of offenders and at-risk youth. They often provide vocational skills

training, education and a work placement. It is difficult to establish a causal link between unemployment and crime, however, there is evidence that ex-prisoners and probationers are more likely to reoffend if they are unemployed (Crow et al. 1989 and Simon & Corbett 1996, cited in Vennard & Hedderman 1998).

Are They Effective?

Lipsey & Wilson (1998) in their meta-analysis found that paid employment reduces recidivism among offenders who are not incarcerated. Wildman & Stokes (1990, cited in Singh & White 2000) found that employment and vocational training can have a positive impact on young people.

A program in Scotland, known as the CueTen project, aimed to reduce offending among prolific young offenders, aged 14 to 16 years, by changing their attitudes to training and employment. The 26-week program consisted of social skills training aimed at improving the employability and attitudes to training and employment, together with placements at local businesses, college or school. The program was demanding and only 40 per cent completed it. Those who did complete tended to be less persistent offenders than those who did not complete the course. There was an improvement in the reoffending levels over the 12 months following the course for those who completed the program, however there was little evidence that the program improved employment chances for the program members (Lobley & Smith 1999).

Piliavin & Masters 1981 (cited in Sherman et al. 1998) evaluated a program that provided *low-skilled* and *low-wage* jobs for participants for between 12 and 18 months. They found little effect on the delinquents' post-program employment or on their criminal activity after program participation. At 36 months the experimental group had worked 83.3 hours per month compared to 75.8 hours for the control group. The crime differences were weakly significant; at a 27-month follow up 30 per cent of the experimental group had been arrested compared to 39 per cent of the control.

Jobstart provided instruction in basic academic skills, occupational skills training, training-related support services and job placement assistance. It led to a significant increase in the rate of completion of high school. Two years later the experimental group's earnings appeared to overtake those of the control group, but the magnitude of this impact was not significant (Cave et al. 1990, cited in Sherman et al. 1998).

A residential employment program that ran for three years placed repeat offenders on outback stations as an alternative to custody. Originally devised as a means to reintegrate Indigenous youth into the community it was later extended to metropolitan youth. The average length of stay was 54 days and youth engaged in tough farm work. The city youth found it hard, however most enjoyed the experience and thought it was better than custody. It showed no positive benefit in reducing recidivism, with 79 per cent having reoffended within six months. Half had reoffended within six weeks and 67 per cent in 12 weeks (Matthews et al. 1992, cited in Beresford & Omaji 1996).

The Vocational Delivery System (VDS) involved the use of vocational skills training, job readiness, and employment skills training for 18 to 22-year-old property offenders in two North Carolina prisons. Thirty-six per cent of the experimental group, compared to 46 per cent of the control group, were rearrested following release (statistically significant $p < .10$). Only 18 per cent completed training, however completers were much less likely to reoffend. After two years recidivism rates were 40 per cent for the experimental group and 50 per cent for the control (Lattimore et al. 1990, cited in Sherman et al. 1998).

Job Corps was an intensive and expensive residential program that provided intensive skills training, basic education, support services and job placement for one year for at-risk young offenders (80 per cent were high school drop outs). Over the first four years after program exit there was an average 15 per cent earnings increase and a reduction in serious crime, especially theft (both significant). There was also a large and significant increase in completing high school and college enrolment. There was, however, an increase in minor crime (traffic incidents) (Mallar et al. 1982, cited in Sherman et al. 1998).

Youth Drug Courts

Youth drug courts are devised to divert young people who have been charged with drug offences or drug-related crimes away from the traditional court process. The courts aim to provide an intensive case management approach overseen by a judge. They provide a range of support services such as substance abuse treatment, mentoring, counselling, family therapy and educational and vocational skill development (Cooper 2001; Applegate & Santana 2000). Youth drug courts have been established in the US for a few years and there have been a number of evaluations. In Australia there is currently an evaluation being undertaken of the youth drug court in New South Wales.

An evaluation of the Juvenile Drug Court in Beckham County, in the United States, found that both recidivism rates were the same (33 per cent) at a six-month follow up for those who graduated from the drug court and a comparison group who received graduated sanctions. At 12 months the drug court graduates had higher recidivism rates (44 per cent) compared to the graduated sanctions group (33 per cent) and at 18 months both groups had recidivism rates of 55 per cent. However, the employment rate for drug court participants increased from 31 per cent to 56 per cent during the program; 53 per cent felt they had better relationships with their parents; and 63 per cent stated their school grades had improved while they were on the program (Wright & Clymer 2001).

However, Miller et al. (1998) found that recidivism rates for those who had successfully completed a drug court program in Delaware, in the United States, were 33 per cent compared to 51 per cent for those who attended family court in a 12-month follow up. The arrests for the drug court completers were also less serious than for the comparison group. Fifty-eight per cent of those who completed the program did not reoffend while

on the program. Applegate & Santana (2000) also found that client retention was similar to that for adult courts, there was an improvement in social functioning and recidivism was significantly reduced (no figures given) for completers of the program compared to those who failed to complete the program. Belenko (2001), in his review of 37 juvenile drug court evaluations, found that drug use and recidivism rates among participants were relatively low while on a program (although this is based on only three studies). Recidivism rates were also lower after completion of the program in four of the six studies providing follow-up outcome measures.

Summary

- The evidence presented above shows limited effectiveness in the ability of employment programs to reduce offending.
- A possible reason may be that the programs (except Job Corps) were held in isolation of any other intervention, and the participants were more likely to be linked to the original lifestyle that led them to crime.
- The programs evaluated provide short-term interventions for young offenders to improve their employability but do not actually provide long-term employment.
- Youth drug courts appear promising, however further evaluation is needed, especially of long-term impacts.

Mentoring Programs

What Are They?

Mentoring programs provide high dosage adult–child interaction. Mentors can develop strong bonds with juveniles at risk and the relationship is based on respect and support. Mentors and the youth participating in the program make a significant commitment of time and effort to develop the relationship (Baldwin Grossman & Garry 1997). Programs that have been evaluated incorporate, on average, three to four meetings a month, each session lasting several hours. There is a wide range of settings for the meetings and contact is not limited to these meetings as mentors and their “clients” talk frequently by telephone. Mentors are often involved in more areas of life than just school. All mentors receive training and can be paid or volunteers, students or adults (Sherman et al. 1998).

Are They Effective?

Many evaluations⁵ have found that non-contingent, supportive mentoring has little impact on school attendance and achievement or general behaviour (Catalano et al. 1999). However, there are some examples of programs where a positive impact has been found.

⁵ Dicken et al. 1977; Goodman 1972; Green 1980; McPartland & Nettles 1991; Slicker & Palmer 1993; Stanwyck & Anson 1989—all cited in Catalano et al. 1999.

The Buddy system is one example of a mentoring scheme that was found to be promising. It was aimed at multi-ethnic youth aged 11 to 17 years, and the mentors were aged between 17 and 65 years. The groups that youth were assigned to varied in the conditions of mentor approval that were either contingent or not on appropriate behaviour by participants. One group was also paid \$10 a month on the same contingent basis. Truancy declined for those receiving contingent approval but not those receiving unconditional approval. A second study randomly assigned 10 to 17-year-olds simply to mentoring or a control group receiving no mentoring. The program ran for one year with weekly meetings. Participants with previous convictions had lower recidivism rates than the control, however, the participants with no previous convictions had more offences during treatment than control. Reasons for this increase were not reported (Fo & O'Donnell, 1974, 1975, cited in Sherman et al. 1998).

Tierney et al (1995, cited in Sherman et al. 1998) evaluated the program Big Brothers/Big Sisters of America. The program consisted of 12 hours of monthly meetings with adult volunteer mentors. Participants (aged six to 18 years) had substantial risk factors. After one year the experimental group had 46 per cent less self-reported onset of drug abuse than the control group children. There was also 27 per cent less onset of alcohol use, 33 per cent less frequency of hitting someone and they skipped 52 per cent fewer days from school.

A “mentoring-plus” program in the UK aims to reduce crime and risky behaviour among disadvantaged youth (15–18 years) by helping them back into education and employment. Community volunteers mentor youth for a year and they also attend employment training and a pre-college course. Benioff (1997, cited in Shaw 2001) found that 73 per cent of those who completed the first phase of the program were in college or employment, and arrests were reduced by 61 per cent.

Some positive short-term change has been observed among mentored youth. Many youth who are involved in mentoring schemes have reported “high degrees of satisfaction with the programs”. Furthermore, while involved in these programs, youth indicated that having a mentor has helped them to stay away from alcohol and drugs, avoid fights, and reduce gang involvement (Singh & White 2000).

Summary

- The evaluations show that mentoring can have promising short-term results.
- Mentoring is dependent on the commitment from both parties involved in the process.
- Further evaluation is needed to establish the longer-term impact.

Comprehensive Programs

What Are They?

Comprehensive programs use a range of different techniques and mechanisms to address a young person's risk factors and antisocial behaviour. They can include social competence training, counselling, mentoring, activity programs, education programs and community programs. The basis for this approach is that it is commonly thought that there are multiple causes for delinquency and it is not therefore effective to tackle them in isolation (Loeber & Farrington 1998a). It is also more effective to undertake a broader approach with an individual by addressing all areas of influence that could contribute to them embarking on a criminal career, namely the family, the school, their peers and the community.

Comprehensive programs can incorporate a holistic case management approach focusing on the individual's needs rather than providing a universal program that does not necessarily target specific problem behaviours. These programs include multi-systemic therapy (MST) or wraparound programs. MST and wraparound programs work across social systems (family, school, peer and community) and use a variety of interventions to reduce offending in young people. Wraparound originated in the health field to deal with young people with complex behavioural problems.

For the purpose of this review these programs have been grouped together although some will fit within other categories in this report.

Are They Effective?

Comprehensive Community-based Programs

The Eisenhower Foundation has implemented and evaluated community regeneration programs in disadvantaged US inner cities. Each program is slightly different, however, they all comprise the development of a police mini-station within the community and often include a safe haven or centre where community members can meet. The programs offer a variety of interventions including education programs, after-school recreation programs, mentoring, employment schemes and case management. Over the life of the projects crime generally fell in the target areas more than it fell in the wider precinct and city as a whole. For example, in Boston a family safe haven was established, after-school recreation activities were implemented and in summer there were extra activities for youth. Mentoring by "near peers" and behavioural skills training programs were also available. After three years index crime fell 27 per cent in the target area, 20 per cent in the precinct and 11 per cent in the city. In Little Rock the program comprised community equity policing, mentoring, after-school tutoring and recreational activities with educational opportunities. Positive impacts were seen on educational attainment, behaviour and relationships with adults beyond immediate families. Crime fell 28 per cent in the target area, there was no change in the precinct and a nine per cent decrease was experienced in the city (Milton S Eisenhower Foundation 1997).

Project Northland incorporated community, school and family interventions to prevent alcohol misuse among adolescents in Minnesota, USA. Components included peer leadership, parental involvement, social skills training and community activities. In a three-year follow up, participants were less likely to use alcohol than a control. There were also significant differences found for risk factors for drug use (Perry et al. 1993, cited in Catalano et al. 1999).

Although the following programs have not been formally evaluated, they represent some of the community projects underway in Australia. No detail is given of what indicators were used to measure the effectiveness of these projects. Youth and Community Combined Action (YACCA) is an Australian state-funded community-based social development program with the goal of reducing juvenile offending. The project includes recreational activities, support to families in completion of Immediate Release Orders for juvenile offenders and an Alternative Learning Program. The focus of the project is at-risk youths aged 10 to 18 years, with a priority for Indigenous youth. Findings have included youth returning to school and family acting in a more socially acceptable manner. Interests in new activities away from crime and violence have been established. Working with youth on a one-to-one basis has reduced offending (Mugford & Nelson 1996).

The Magpie Centre (in New South Wales) is a community centre providing support and resources to residents in a housing estate, many of whom are Indigenous, single-parent families and/or financially disadvantaged. Available resources include education for truants, health services, advocacy work, sports, mentoring and counselling. Evidence indicates that the level of violence in the neighbourhood has reduced since the centre opened. (Mugford & Nelson 1996).

The South Carlton Youth Project, Victoria, provided positive alternatives for teenagers who are bored and involved with drugs, alcohol and other antisocial behaviour. The project consists of recreational activities, a drop-in centre providing counselling and a one-stop shop. Young people with community-based correction orders are given work with the club. Youth violence, crime, drugs and vandalism have been reduced significantly. Personal and social skills have also improved (Mugford & Nelson 1996).

The Doomadgee Petrol Project in Queensland aimed to reduce crime and antisocial behaviour in town specifically among Indigenous youth by curbing drug use and petrol sniffing. A committee was set up in 1997 to target juvenile crime, antisocial behaviour, diversion activities and truancy. All glue and similar substances were removed from shop shelves and sold only to adults. An education program was given in school and a competition was held for designing a logo/theme for t-shirts. Reported crimes dropped by 90 per cent over the 1997–98 period. Success was attributed to many factors, especially community participation (Kennedy 1999).

In the UK, motor projects used cognitive behavioural techniques to challenge behaviour and attitudes. Racing and car maintenance workshops were used as a means of reducing offending among car thieves and disqualified drivers. Forty-two schemes that ran between 1989 and 1993 were evaluated. Approximately 60 per cent of the participants

were under 21 years (1,087 offenders in total), 89 per cent were male and 95 per cent had previous convictions. The evaluation found that 79 per cent of offenders were reconvicted in two years. There were marginally lower reconviction rates (77 per cent and 76 per cent respectively) for those who received only the cognitive-behavioural component or the maintenance workshop/racing. The reconviction rates were higher than predicted and the worst results were for under-21-year-olds. The predicted rate for reconviction was 68 per cent but the actual rate was 77 per cent. Those who did not complete the course reconvicted at higher rates (Sugg 1998).

A program in Finland was established to deal with youth delinquency and associated criminal behaviour. A nightlife street patrol was implemented to increase levels of informal social control and reduce crime and the fear of crime. Programs including employment and apprenticeship courses were also run for young people to reduce truancy, substance misuse and offending. Between 1991 and 1993, property offending by juveniles reduced by 41 per cent (Shadow Side Work Group 1994, 1995, cited in Gauthier et al. 1999).

Comprehensive Gang Membership Prevention

The Group Guidance Project, started in the 1940s in Los Angeles (LA), used group guidance by street workers to try to intervene in the emergence of African-American gangs. Group activities (including club meetings, sports, tutoring, counselling and advocacy with community agencies and organisations) were designed to reunite gang members with community institutions. However, arrests of gang members increased during the project period and it was felt that group work actually led to an increased cohesiveness in the gang which in turn led to increased gang crime and therefore the program achieved the opposite to its aims. A second study in LA used non-group interventions to reduce gang cohesiveness. This project included job training, tutoring, individual therapy and recreation. Gang cohesiveness reduced by 40 per cent and there was an overall reduction in gang member arrests of 35 per cent. This was mainly attributable to fewer gang members. However, the reduction was not maintained over time and the gang reverted back to its original form a few years later (Klein, 1971, 1995, cited by Howell 2000).

A gang violence reduction program was implemented in an area of Chicago which was 90 per cent Hispanic. Individuals aged 17 to 24 years were targeted rather than gangs. The multi-agency program consisted of targeted control of violent members through intensive supervision and suppression by probation and police. It also provided services and opportunities for targeted youth to encourage transition to legitimate behaviour through education, jobs, job training, family support and counselling. The results were positive, with lower violence among targets compared to a control group. There were fewer arrests for serious crime among targeted gang members. The coordinated project approach (using a combination of tactics) appeared effective (Spergel & Grossman 1997, Spergel et al. 1998, Thornberry & Burch 1997, cited by Howell 2000).

Targeting the Individual

Multi-system therapy (MST) is a similar concept to the Wraparound programs developed in the field of mental health in the 1960s. These programs provide individualised, comprehensive services for youth with severe, multidimensional problems. MST and Wraparound provide a case management approach to dealing with at-risk young people. The philosophy is “one child one plan” (Woodard 2002).

MST is based in the community (not in a residential institution) and it identifies causes of offending and addresses risk factors by individually tailoring the program to work across all the social systems relevant to the offender—the family, the school, the community and peers. The precise interventions vary depending on family needs but it is highly intensive. Multi-systemic therapy integrates concepts from family therapy and parental management training (PMT) together with interventions in the peer and school settings focusing on specific problems (Henggeler et al. 1990, 1992, 1995, 1996, cited in Howell 1998; MacBride et al. 1999). Concentrating on the young person and his family’s strengths, and building on these strengths, has been found to be a more effective approach than identifying their downfalls (Woodard 2002).

A meta-analysis of family interventions examined the impact of family involvement in the treatment of young offenders, analysing 35 research studies using control/comparison groups. In general, family intervention treatment significantly reduced the recidivism of young offenders compared to traditional non-familial responses to youth crime. Furthermore, programs that treated younger offenders and programs with voluntary participation displayed significantly lower reported recidivism rates. The methodology emerged as an important determinant of recidivism in that less rigorous experimental designs tended to report significantly lower rates of recidivism than those employing more rigorous designs (Latimer 2001).

Borduin et al. (1995, cited in Howell 1998) evaluated a study which targeted chronic, violent and substance-abusing juveniles aged 12 to 17 years at high risk of out-of-home placement. The duration of the program was 60 hours contact over four months and the intervention incorporated family therapy, behavioural parent training and cognitive behaviour therapies. MST increased family cohesion and adaptability, increased supportiveness and decreased conflict between parents and the offender. The control group saw decreases in family functioning and increased antisocial behaviour. In a four-year follow up, recidivism for MST participants was 22 per cent compared to 71 per cent for the control group. They also committed less serious offences than the controls. Other studies found similar findings with increased family cohesiveness, lower arrest rates and fewer days incarcerated for those who participated in MST (Borduin & Henggeler 1990, Henggeler & Blaske 1990, Henggeler et al. 1992, 1993, cited in Gant & Grabosky 2000).

MST was also used for prolific offenders who became involved in criminal conduct at age 15 years or younger and presented substantial risk factors. They received a high level of supervision, structure and support using cognitive-behavioural methods as they worked to build academic and social skills, and overcome addictions and other

problems. Their nuclear families also received program services. As a result, participants in the program committed fewer and less serious offences, and served less time in custody than their counterparts receiving standard probation services. There were far fewer cases filed with juvenile court for both probation and new criminal violations. The number of youth locked up by the juvenile court decreased by half (Schumacher & Kurz 2000).

Henggeler (1997) has also shown MST to be a promising intervention for dealing with alcohol and drug-using youth. The results showed that MST reduced the number of alcohol and drug-related delinquency behaviours including fewer arrests, fewer criminal offences and 10 weeks less in juvenile detention during a 59-week follow up. Similar studies have also found a lower number of incarcerations and reduced drug use following MST (Henggeler et al. 1991, 1997b, cited in MacBride et al. 1999).

Aos et al (1999, cited in Gant & Grabosky 2000) stated that MST was found to be the most cost-effective intervention of a wide range of treatments to reduce serious juvenile offending.

Comprehensive Residential Programs

Boot camps are correctional programs designed to be similar to a military regime. The more recent camps often also incorporate other aspects of treatment including case management, employment assistance, vocational training, substance testing, family counselling and transitional programming (MacKenzie 1990, MacKenzie & Parent 1991, cited in Sherman et al. 1998).

Peters et al. (1996, cited in Sherman et al. 1998) evaluated three boot camp regimes and found that participants in two of the boot camps reoffended (39 per cent and 72 per cent) at a higher rate than the controls (36 per cent and 77 per cent). The third saw fewer boot camp graduates reoffend than the control group (28 per cent versus 31 per cent). The differences may be that controls were receiving enhanced treatment while boot camps concentrated on physical activities.

A UK evaluation of two intensive boot camp regimes for 18 to 21-year-old males tested the impact of demanding, highly structured regimes on attitudes, behaviour and recidivism. The Thorn Cross Young Offenders Institution consisted of a 25-week highly structured 16-hour a day program of activities. There were five phases:

- an initial assessment of needs;
- a basic skills phase comprising education, life and social skills training;
- a vocational skills phase;
- a phase considering pre-release issues; and
- a community training placement.

In a two-year follow up, reconviction rates (65 per cent versus 75 per cent) were similar for experimental and control but the experimental group took longer to reoffend (228 versus 177 days) and committed fewer offences (3.5 versus 5.1). The second regime at

Colchester Young Offenders Institution was a much harsher military regime. There were three stages and progression depended on good behaviour and conformity to the regime. The results showed that slightly fewer of the experimental group reoffended (44 per cent versus 53 per cent), they committed slightly fewer offences (1.5 versus 2) and the average time between release and reconviction were similar. This group had more positive attitudes to staff and inmates and were more positive about future than those in the first regime (Farrington et al. 2002).

At best, comparisons between control groups and boot camp graduates show no difference in recidivism rates. At worst they may have higher rates of re-entry into the justice system (MacKenzie 1991, MacKenzie et al 1992, Peters et al. 1997, cited in Sherman et al. 1998, MacBride et al. 1999). Henggeler & Schoenwald (1994, cited in MacBride et al. 1999) argue boot camps are ineffective because youth are removed from the community and the support systems that exist. They are provided with few skills that are of use on returning to their home environment.

Both offenders and at-risk youth have attended other residential programs offering recreational and therapeutic approaches. Youth Insearch camps (WA) and Project Turnaround (NSW) incorporate recreational activities with trust-building exercises and focused group discussions for at-risk youth (aged 15 to 17 years). The majority of participants had little experience of the justice system and 64 per cent had never been charged by the police. The camp leaders/volunteers thought the program had an impact on young people but the camps did not change the attitudes of young people towards peer relations, drugs and alcohol, crime, recreation and interpersonal relationships (Palmer & Walters 1995).

Paint Creek Youth Centre offered a range of intervention services and activities including counselling, peer support, cognitive-behavioural skills training, family group therapy, community reintegration and aftercare. The program targeted youth convicted of serious crime who were required to spend one year in residential treatment in a rural setting. A one-year follow-up data showed no significant differences in arrests or self-reported delinquency between experimental (50 per cent) and control groups (50 per cent versus 61 per cent recidivism) although results were weakened as nearly half did not complete the program (Greenwood & Turner 1993, cited in MacBride et al. 1999).

Wilderness programs involve difficult physical activity such as strenuous solo and group expeditions and have been used for at-risk youth and those who have already offended. They can incorporate other treatment approaches although many programs simply concentrate on the physical activity (see recreation program section). Wilson & Lipsey (2000, cited in Cameron & MacDougall 2000) in their meta-analysis of wilderness programs found that therapy delivered in addition to the challenge in wilderness programs resulted in further reductions in delinquency than programs with just physical activity. The Hope Centre Wilderness Camp in the US catered for 12 to 17-year-old offenders. The average stay was 14 months with a range of eight to 18 months. The aim was to provide treatment in a non-punitive environment with an emphasis on health, safety, education and therapy. Aftercare was provided for six months after participants

left the program. Six months after the program 85 per cent had not reoffended, however, there was no comparison group and no longer-term follow up once aftercare had ceased (Clagett 1989, cited in Cameron & MacDougall 2000).

Therapeutic communities are often used for drug and alcohol rehabilitation. They usually provide multiple treatment including cognitive-behavioural skills, education and survival skills. Most therapeutic communities address drug and alcohol problems in adults rather than juveniles. As adolescents are less able to rely on life experiences to understand behaviour, families may participate to provide and be a focus for positive influences. A review of major US studies of effectiveness of therapeutic communities on juvenile alcohol and drug use found the majority of admissions were court referred. These therapeutic communities were primarily for adults, with a small proportion of juveniles, although there were a small number that focused on young people. Significant reductions in alcohol and other drug use were found at six months post-treatment. There were also significant improvements in criminal activity and educational achievement (Jainchill et al. 1995). Hubbard et al. (1989, cited in McLaren 2000) found that marijuana use declined substantially after residential treatment. Juvenile treatment, however, is often shorter so it is important to ensure adequate time for treatment effectiveness. Sherman et al. (1998) found some indication that the longer a young person stays in a residential treatment program the better the results will be. Outpatient treatment in the community was found to be less effective if delivered over a long time period (Hubbard et al 1989, cited in McLaren 2000).

Summary

- Comprehensive programs that use a variety of approaches appear to be generally effective in reducing and preventing offending among young people.
- MST promotes interventions across a range of social systems (family, school and peers) and has been shown to be effective with young offenders.
- Intensive strict regimes (for example boot camps) are not effective at reducing reoffending unless they comprise a more therapeutic component and provide skills that generalise to the young person's usual environment.
- Therapeutic communities are promising interventions for dealing with juvenile substance misuse. Further evaluation is necessary to identify the specific effects and the longer-term impacts for juveniles, as many programs cater for both juveniles and adults.
- Research suggests that removing a young person from their familiar environment and providing no aftercare when they return to their community is relatively ineffective.

Recreation Programs

What Are They?

Recreation programs often take place after school, at weekends or during school holidays and provide a safe place for young people to spend free time along with the opportunity to socialise with peers and adults. They can address risk factors such as alienation and association with delinquent peers and they provide opportunities to learn new skills and bonding. A negative hypothesis is that after-school recreation provides opportunities to socialise with antisocial youth (Howell et al. 1995). Recreation programs do not address an individual's problems, but attempt to enhance self-esteem through spontaneous learning (Crisp 1996, cited in Reddrop 1997). Recreation programs can also incorporate other therapeutic interventions, and these have been discussed previously within the comprehensive section. Those highlighted in this section concentrate only on recreational activity.

Are They Effective?

Community-based Programs

An intensive after-school program was run in a Canadian public housing project for five to 15-year-olds. The program consisted of sports, music, dancing and scouting for disadvantaged youth. Children were encouraged to participate in leagues when they reached a certain skill level. Arrests in the complex fell 75 per cent compared to arrests in the comparison site rising 67 per cent although the effect had worn off 16 months after the project. However, antisocial behaviour decreased during the life of the program and continued to decline after, whereas in the control group it remained stable. Family surveys and teacher rating scales revealed no significant changes between the groups in behaviour at home or at school, however there was increased self-esteem for participants. There were also no notable increases in family and school functioning (Jones & Offord 1989, cited in Sherman et al. 1998, Catalano et al. 1998, MacBride et al. 1999).

Schinke et al (1989, cited in Sherman et al. 1998) compared a traditional Boys and Girls Club (BGC) in the US with a new BGC which incorporated SMART moves (self management and resistance training) substance abuse prevention program and a control group. Drug use in the new BGC/SMART fell. Vandalism of housing units fell slightly in the new BGC sites while rising in the control site and remaining unchanged in the existing BGC.

The Rip & Tear Theatre in Tasmania catered for at-risk and offending youth and their families. The youth wrote, staged and toured with a production to enhance self-esteem, gain skills and have the opportunity to make positive choices about their lives. It was a cathartic experience for many involved and was effective in breaking youth out of a culture of violence. There was a marked drop in involvement in crime and a low recidivism rate for participants, although there is no detail given regarding how recidivism was measured (Mugford & Nelson 1996).

Residential Recreational Programs

Cason & Gillis (1994) found an average effect size of 0.31 in a meta-analysis of juvenile wilderness programs, and Wilson and Lipsey (2000) found an effect size of 0.24 (both cited in Cameron & MacDougall 2000). The two meta-analyses reveal a small effect size for delinquent youth and moderate effect sizes for adolescents. However, Lipsey and Wilson (1998) in their meta-analysis of all types of interventions for juvenile offenders found that wilderness programs showed the least consistent evidence of effectiveness in reducing recidivism for both institutionalised and non-institutionalised serious offenders.

Kelley & Baer (1971, cited in Forensic & Applied Psychology Research Group 2001) evaluated Outward Bound programs as a means of reducing recidivism in 15 to 17-year-old young offenders. The experimental group was allocated to either a three-day wilderness program, a five-day sailing program or a 26-day program incorporating 12 days of training and a 14-day canoe trip. In a one-year follow up, those who participated on the three-day program had no recidivism, those on the five-day program had recidivism of 11 per cent and those on the 26-day program had recidivism of 42 per cent. No information was given on how the participants were allocated to the programs. This gave an overall recidivism rate of 20 per cent compared to 42 per cent in a control group. William & Churn (1973, cited in Forensic & Applied Psychology Research Group 2001) found recidivism remained stable at a 19–24-month follow up. Castellano & Soderstrom (1992, cited in Forensic & Applied Psychology Research Group 2001) evaluated a 30-day wilderness program for youth at risk. Program completion did not affect rearrest rates although successful completion did lead to less serious reoffending. There was a difference, however, between program participants and a control group in rearrest rates in a one-year follow up.

The Wilderness Survival Spectrum project in the US catered for 15 to 17-year-old offenders who underwent a 26-day program. They learnt about wilderness survival and then undertook a two-week expedition. A control group entered an institution or were placed on parole. Over the following year there was a reduction in the number of arrests of the experimental group. Reoffending rates were 20 per cent compared to 42 per cent for the control, however effects wore off after two years (Castellano & Soderstrom 1992, cited in Cameron & MacDougall 2000).

A wilderness adventure program in Queensland for 15 to 20-year-olds (with no current alcohol/drug/violence problem but with experience of the justice system) aimed to facilitate a sense of competence and self-confidence. It comprised a recreational program including navigation, bushcraft training, rock climbing, canoeing and team-building on a four- to seven-day camp. It was felt generally to be a positive experience providing challenges. It was doubtful that participants gained the skills or personal growth advocated by program managers and it was also unlikely that benefits would translate into long-term behaviour change. No outcomes were measured in this program (Craig et al. 1995).

Operation Flinders is an eight-day wilderness adventure program for at-risk youth in South Australia. It aims to improve school retention and employment, reduce criminality, promote positive relationships between youth and authority, and educate youth in bush skills and Aboriginal culture. An evaluation of the program, using a pre-test control and two follow ups, found behavioural changes in the youth in relation to their self-esteem, maturity, criminal behaviours, anger management and decisions to stay in school or seek employment. The most significant impact was on high-risk youth (Forensic and Applied Psychology Research Group 2001).

A culturally based camp in Queensland for 14 to 16-year-olds, known as Runamuck, was informally evaluated. The purpose of the camp was to establish rapport between youths (particularly Indigenous youth) and local police, to give officers a better understanding of youth at risk and to improve self-esteem and self-worth of the youth. The project was undertaken due to racial tension in the community. The camp incorporated activities such as bushwalking, volleyball and canoeing and a disco in the evening. A second camp focused on cultural activities, leadership and team building. The project also held buddy days—for example, a soccer match in the community. Rapport between youth and police improved and an understanding of the Indigenous culture was increased. Only three of the original 30 participants reoffended but it was not clear over what time period. The strength seemed to lie in the fact that it was conceived, planned and executed locally (Amos 1999).

Summary

- Recreational programs can contribute a small effect in the short term to reducing offending among young people.
- The mechanism that appears to be effective is providing activities for young people that they are interested in that will keep them occupied for the duration of the program. However, these effects will not be sustained over time as the young people return to their original lifestyle and community.

Conclusion

This review has provided an overview of what works and what is promising in preventing and reducing offending among young people aged 12 to 25 years. This review sought to identify different program types and their individual impact on at-risk youth and young offenders. The research has shown that it is difficult to tease out specific principles of many programs in order to place them in a discrete “type”, as they often incorporate a number of approaches and so could fall into one of a number of categories.

Evaluations of these programs are inherently difficult and there are a number of limitations that should be borne in mind:

- Many of the evaluations do not state how youth were targeted and assessed for inclusion in the programs and, therefore, it is unclear whether the programs were specifically targeting the participants’ needs.
- Some program types may be easier to evaluate than others in that there are more tangible measurable components and outcomes.
- Different methodologies are used to evaluate programs, often using different types of control or comparison group. This makes it very difficult to assess the relative benefits of programs. Due to the nature of the programs, it is rare to find completely randomised studies.
- Currently there is a lack of evaluations that provide long-term follow up of effectiveness. There is a need for evaluations that assess the impact of programs two or three years after completion in order to see whether any positive changes are sustained.

Focusing on the individual using a targeted approach appears to be most effective. Young people present different problems and therefore one program does not necessarily fit all. Targeting youth to ensure the right people are provided the right program is essential and a risk/needs assessment of the youth can determine the type of program that would be most effective for them. Furthermore, it is clear that the most effective programs appear to be those that address more than one risk factor and area of influence. Those programs that concentrate on only one aspect can be effective but it is unlikely that the effect will be sustained over time.

Overall, the literature review has shown that the most effective and promising programs are those that incorporate social competence training and comprehensive programs. Comprehensive programs may be more effective as they incorporate a range of interventions targeting the family, education, peers and the local community. They often include social competence training, mentoring and skill development (either educational or vocational). An intensive case management approach that targets the

needs of the young person holistically appears to be the way forward. In order for this to be successful it is necessary that a professional model be implemented where agencies and government departments work together to provide a complete support service.

In order for any program to have a chance of being successful, it is essential that its design and implementation is rigorous. It is also important that it is evaluated fully with a follow-up period that is long enough to determine the outcome effectiveness.

Crucial factors to consider are as follows:

- Ensuring the program is suitable for the young person using a targeted approach.
- Programs that address many risk factors are important as the more criminogenic needs addressed systematically in one intervention the greater the effect.
- Programs that work across the social system of the youth (family, school, peers and their community) work best.
- Keeping young people in school can prevent the onset of delinquency and antisocial behaviour.
- Increasing educational attainment, enhancing labour market prospects and helping the offender reintegrate into the community more effectively should be incorporated into programs.
- Offending behaviour is linked to deficiencies in thought processes, poor problem-solving and decision-making abilities. Programs incorporating these components have proven to be effective in altering thinking patterns in a positive way.
- There should be a minimal interventionist approach for first-time offenders and those at low risk of offending. The use of cautions and conferences are more appropriate for these young people as other types of intervention may increase offending.
- Programs need to have clear aims and objectives, be well structured and focused in their approach.
- Programs must have well trained, committed and enthusiastic workers with ownership of the program
- Programs should function in the way that they were designed and intended to be run and in a consistent manner, otherwise known as integrity.
- Monitoring and evaluation should be conducted to establish the effectiveness of the program and identify features that are less effective so that they can be addressed in order for the intervention to be improved and replicated (Hobbs & Hook Consulting 2001).

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Appendix 1: Summary Table of “What Works”

	Family	School	Community	Residential
Cognitive/behavioural skills training	Functional family therapy – effective (USA)	Token economies to improve attendance/ academic problems – effective (USA) Violence prevention – effective (USA, Aus) Substance misuse prevention – promising (USA)		Violence reduction – effective (USA) Social skills training – promising (USA, Aus)
Cautioning/warning			Diversion through cautions – effective (Aus)	
Mediation	Family group conferences – promising (Aus, USA, NZ)	Peer mediation – ineffective (USA)	Offender–victim mediation – promising (USA)	
Probation			Intensive supervision probation – mixed results (if combined with other services more effective than if simply frequent contact) (USA) Graduated sanctions – promising (USA) Motor projects – ineffective (UK)	
Youth drug courts			Promising – but long-term follow-up evaluation needed (Aus)	
Education-type programs		Changing school structure/rules/teaching techniques – promising (USA) Targeting at-risk students using instruction – promising (USA, Norway)		

	Family	School	Community	Residential
Employment			<p>Providing training – promising (Scotland, USA)</p> <p>Providing job placements – ineffective (USA)</p>	<p>Providing jobs in residential setting – ineffective (Aus)</p> <p>Providing training and job placements in community – promising (USA)</p>
Mentoring			Mixed results as very few evaluations (USA)	
Multiple-component	Multi-systemic therapy works across social systems but primarily family based – effective (USA)		<p>Gang prevention – mixed results more effective if target individual members rather than gang as a whole (USA)</p> <p>Community regeneration often incorporating drop-in centres providing services as a focal point for community – promising (Aus, USA)</p>	<p>Boot camps – ineffective but better if incorporate therapeutic approaches (USA, UK)</p> <p>Multi-dimensional incorporating different intervention techniques – ineffective (USA, Aus)</p> <p>Therapeutic communities for substance misuse – mixed results as very few evaluations involving just youth (USA)</p>
Recreation programs			After-school programs – promising in short-term (Aus, USA)	Wilderness programs – ineffective but better results if incorporate with therapeutic components

Appendix 2: International Perspectives of Juvenile Justice Policy

Country	What is a juvenile?	Key legislation	Prevention activities ¹	Police/Diversion from the CJS	Courts	Sentencing options
Australia ²	10–16/17yrs inclusive	Each jurisdiction responsible for juvenile justice. All have moved to a justice model. Balance between protecting community, punishing offender and recognising their needs.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Koori Justice Program (Vic) for Indigenous youth • Hand Brake Turn (Vic, NSW) to reduce vehicle crime • Challenging Offending Program (Vic) uses cognitive/behavioural techniques to reduce offending • Juvenile Justice teams (WA) • Drug and alcohol programs (some focus on petrol sniffing) • Outdoor/wilderness programs • Rock Eisteddfod Challenge • Night patrols (NT) • Mentoring (SA) • Youth drug courts (NSW) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Police have some discretion in all jurisdictions. • Cautioning • All states use family conferences to different extents 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dealt with in juvenile court. • Court determines guilt or innocence of juvenile. • Tasmania can order detention for reasons of care and protection. • "Truth in sentencing" policies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unsupervised release orders • Fines • Restorative measures • Supervised orders with conditions (e.g. treatment programs) • Custody • Victoria has dual tracking – 17–21 yr olds can be sentenced to adult or to special custodial facilities for that age group run under the juvenile system • WA boot camps

¹ These prevention activities are by no means exhaustive and provide an overview of some of the interventions available.

² O'Connor et al (2002); Atkinson (1997); Campbell (2000)

Country	What is a juvenile?	Key legislation	Prevention activities	Police/Diversion from the CJS	Courts	Sentencing options
Canada ¹	12–17 yrs inclusive	<p>Young Offenders Act 1984: focused on rights and responsibilities of young person, due process and protection of society. Youths in custody separated from adults and provision of youth courts.</p> <p>Strategy for the Renewal of Youth Justice (1998 including new Youth Criminal Justice Act): plans to divert more youth from court and custody but with more punitive response to serious violent offenders. Greater emphasis on community-based responses including follow-up/community supervision for youth in custody.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> National Strategy on Community Safety and Crime Prevention (1998) emphasises partnerships and gives priority to youth programs Partnerships between schools, police and community agencies. School-based programs Leave Out Violence (LOVE) program 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Informal discussion between police and offender and parents. "Alternative measures program" if youth accepts responsibility for offence – restitution. Increasing use of family group conferences etc. especially among Aboriginal youth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Youth courts for 12–17 yr olds. Offenders under 12 dealt with by voluntary measures or provincial welfare laws. Right to counsel but concerns that many juveniles waive these rights. Summary trials (no jury or preliminary enquiry). Only homicide trials have juries in youth court. Serious cases can be transferred to adult court. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fines Community service Restitution Custody (open or secure), maximum sentence 3 yrs except for homicide (10 yrs) Probation with conditions attached e.g. counselling but often lack of resources. Open custody – community-based group home where offender lives but while attending school in community. Wilderness programs often for Aboriginal youth Boot camps with significant therapeutic component (initial findings showed reduced recidivism).² Multi-systemic therapy

¹ Bertrand et al (2002); Winderojk (1997a, 1997b); Oginsky (2001)

² T3 Associates Training and Consulting (2001, cited in Bertrand et al. 2002); Anand (1999, cited in Bertrand et al. 2002)

Country	What is a juvenile?	Key legislation	Prevention activities	Police/Diversion from the CJS	Courts	Sentencing options
England & Wales ¹	10–17 yrs inclusive	<p>Criminal Justice & Public Order Act 1994: secure training orders for persistent young offenders; custody for 10–13 yr olds convicted of grave offences; 24 months detention in Young Offenders Institution for 15–17 yr olds; remand of 12–16 yr olds in “secure accommodation”.</p> <p>Crime & Disorder Act 1998: <i>doli incapax</i> abolished for 10–13 yr olds; curfews for under 10s; Final Warning scheme replaced cautioning system; introduction of Youth Offending Teams and Youth Justice Board; increased responsibility of parents for child’s offending through parenting orders; new sentencing options</p> <p>Powers of Criminal Courts [Sentencing] Act 2000: Youth Offender Panels based on restorative principles for first offenders</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policies to reduce social exclusion • Programs to reduce youth unemployment, early school leaving/expulsions, truancy and school failure • Statutory duty of police and local authorities to prevent crime and disorder • Crime reduction program • Youth Include – interventions with school, family and community to reduce crime, school exclusion and truancy • CRISS (crime reduction in secondary schools) to reduce truancy, bullying and crime. • Youth Justice Board 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informal warnings by police • Reprimand recorded by police, only one can be given • Final Warning recorded by police and often followed by community intervention program. Second warning possible if 2 crime-free years since first issued. • In 1994, 19 per cent juveniles cautioned reoffended within 2 yrs (Bala et al. 2002) • Effectiveness of cautioning declines after first caution (Home Office, 1994) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In most cases youth court for under 18s presided by 3 magistrates (both male and female). • Adult court for homicide, indecent assault, if adult sentence is 14 yrs+ or if co-offender over 18 yrs. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Governed by need to prevent reoffending and tackle risk factors. • Proportionate response to seriousness and persistence of offending • Detention and Training Order for 12–17 yr olds deemed persistent offenders. Maximum 2 yr sentence (half in detention, half in community) • Intensive Supervision and Surveillance Program (ISSP) since 2001 as alternative to custody for repeat young offenders • Parents can be bound over, be required to attend a parenting program or comply with conditions to help prevent further offending • Community sentences for adults or juveniles available for 16–17 yr olds. Courts have powers to order parental involvement.

¹ Graham (2002); Shaw (2001); Walgrave & Mehlbye (1998)

Country	What is a juvenile?	Key legislation	Prevention activities	Police/Diversion from the CJS	Courts	Sentencing options
France ¹	13–17 yrs inclusive	Order of 1945: introduction of juvenile court and emphasis on education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local crime prevention councils lead by mayor. Principles of citizenship and partnership used in local safety contracts which also requiring safety audits. Signed by mayor, police, social services, education. Focuses on adult responsibility, tackling recidivism and addictions, victim assistance. "Drive to succeed" – driving programs for youth at risk of social exclusion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reprimand Under 13s diverted with educational measures Prior to any charges social worker must write report on juvenile's circumstances 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Social inquiry for every conviction of an under 21 yr old Courts authorised to deal with civil/protective matters Seriousness of case dictates court process Children's judges conduct preliminary investigation themselves 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sentences should incorporate education Supervision order Placement in family or institution. Custody maximum is half an adult sentence. Only over 16s in custody with emphasis on education/therapy. Service order Fine Probation Compensation order (reparation)

¹ Buckland & Stevens (2001); Walgrave & Mehbye (1998); Blatier (1999); McKee (2001); Gauthier et al. (1999)

Country	What is a juvenile?	Key legislation	Prevention activities	Police/Diversion from the CJS	Courts	Sentencing options
Germany ¹	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age of criminal responsibility 14 yrs • Up to 14yrs dealt with by Youth Welfare Law • 18–20 yr olds can be dealt with under juvenile or adult system 	Youth Court Law amendment 1990: abolished indeterminate custodial sentences; diversion and mediation broadened, restrictions on remand	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mediation in schools • Intensive field support for at-risk youth (12–21 yrs) • Victim–offender mediation (14–21 yr olds) • Peer drug education, increased life skills but unknown impact on actual behaviour 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Police have no powers to dismiss case. All cases are referred to public prosecutor who decides whether to proceed with charge. • Juvenile Court Aid provides report on circumstances of offender • Public prosecutor can dismiss case or conditions • Mediation • Restitution • Community service 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Juvenile court can dismiss case, hold simplified or full trial dependent on offence and circumstances 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational measures – community service, social training courses, mediation, vocational training. • Placement in foster family/home. • Disciplinary measures – caution by judge, community service, fine, compensation, short-term detention up to 4 weeks or at weekends • Custody of 6 months – 5 yrs (up to 10 yrs for some offences) focused on education and treatment

¹ Albrecht (1997)

Country	What is a juvenile?	Key legislation	Prevention activities	Police/Diversion from the CJS	Courts	Sentencing options
The Netherlands ¹	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 12–16 yrs inclusive • 16–18 yrs subject to juvenile legislation but can apply adult criminal law 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Penal code reformed in 1995: introduction of Haltproject and community service orders. • National Platform on Crime Control set up in 1992 and is a partnership between business sector and government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communities that Care – support for at-risk families • Home-training video • Neighbourhood mediation • Information-based school programs • BASTA – combating truancy by education order • Youth run programs – allow youth to organise and run activities. Found to be effective • Justice in the Neighbourhood – based on French model. Office set up to provide access to services. Reduce fear of crime. • Intensive supervision of 17–25 yr old offenders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informal warning by police • Police can detain for 6 hours • HALT program for 12–18 yr old • first/second time petty offenders – 20 hrs work in area relevant to crime committed. If complete police do not send offence report to Public Prosecutor. If fail to complete program or commit other offences case proceeds. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Courts authorised to deal with civil/protective matters • Referral to adults courts for 16–17 yr olds if offence and circumstances were serious and offender's personality deems it necessary. • Three judges where case warrants sentence of more than 6 months or cases of mental disturbance. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sentences should incorporate education • Welfare aspect strong to 15 yrs and more punitive from 16 yrs • Fine • Juvenile detention – 12 months up to 15 yrs, 24 months for 16–18 yr olds • Community service – research found 63 per cent participants reduced or stopped vandalism) • Education order • Youth custody centre – 2 yrs maximum – provides guidance and treatment. • Intensive supervision • Night detention (school during day, detention at night)

¹ Van der Maaten (2001); Walgrave & Mehlbye (1998); Junger-Tas (1997); Gauthier et al. (1999)

Country	What is a juvenile?	Key legislation	Prevention activities	Police/Diversion from the CJS	Courts	Sentencing options
New Zealand ¹	10–16 yrs inclusive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Children, Young Persons and Their Families Act 1989: separated welfare and offending cases; emphasis on accountability and protection of rights; emphasis on diversion and community-based penalties. Innovative provisions for 10–16 yr olds including involvement of families in decision-making processes, offenders given say in how their offending should be dealt with, involvement of victims in penalty decisions Set up Crime Prevention Unit in 1992 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Crime Prevention Unit focuses on at-risk families, targeting youth at risk of offending, drug misuse and diversion Education programs, youth at risk programs run by police Specific programs for Maori young people. Safe Streets Child and Young Person's Support Worker (wraparound project) Hip Hop Cops (education program to avoid crime) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> "Street warning" by police for minor offences Youth Aid Section give warnings to offender and parents at police station. Diversion (e.g. apology or community work) or Family group conferences Very few actual arrests (12 per cent in 1999) due to stringent conditions for arresting juveniles 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> About 10 per cent of youth cases end in youth court Disposition cannot be made by judge unless family group conference has been held. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Very little use of custody and limited to 3 months except for remands. Few effective intervention programs for young offenders

¹ Maxwell & Morris (2002); Oginsky (2001)

Country	What is a juvenile?	Key legislation	Prevention activities	Police/Diversion from the CJS	Courts	Sentencing options
Sweden ¹	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 15–17 yrs • Law reform allows police to investigate crimes by 12–15 yr olds • Under 12s dealt with by social welfare agency 	Reforms to 1964 LUL Act: make sanctions similar to those in adult system; previous criminal history taken into account when sanctions delivered.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social police – plain-clothed officers who patrol streets with social workers to identify at risk youth. Also run programs in schools. • School-based drug use prevention programs – “Within Walls” • Sundbo Youth Home – program for youth taken into custody under Compulsory Care Act which aims to increase self-control and improve emotional/behavioural skills. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prosecutor decides whether to proceed with case. Cases with under-18s (sometimes under 20s) usually passed to local social board. • Prosecutor can waive prosecution (able to revoke), summary punishment e.g. fine; send to court for trial. • Victim–offender mediation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No special court for juveniles; tried in adult court. • Local social board often acts as a juvenile court. Made up of lay people. Have criminal and civil jurisdiction for juveniles under 21. • Juveniles on trial in regular court subject to many sanctions available for adults 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social board give preventive measures e.g. social or financial support or protective measures e.g. use of foster homes, children’s homes. Indeterminate sentence • Regular court sanctions fines, probation, custody in exceptional circumstances for under-18s.

¹ Terrill (1997), Buckland & Stevens (2001)

Country	What is a juvenile?	Key legislation	Prevention activities	Police/Diversion from the CJS	Courts	Sentencing options
USA ¹	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Only 14 states have minimum age for transferring case to adult court (lowest being 7 years and highest 14 years). In most states 14 year olds can be processed in the adult system. Allows juvenile to be handled as an adult, be open to adult sanctions including custody in an adult prison. Capital punishment not permitted if under 16 yrs at time of offence. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Federal government has little control over state-based justice systems. Provides broad legal framework and practice standards. Influences state governments with funding. Increase in violence in 1990s led states to revise legislation away from focusing on the child to emphasising public safety. Confidentiality surrounding juvenile system relaxed or removed. Easier to try juveniles charged with serious offences in adult system. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Locally determined but federal government develop, test and promote crime prevention models and provide funds to encourage uptake Community-oriented policing facilitates prevention After-school programs as found violent crime concentrated in after-school hours rather than at night School-based crime prevention programs Graduated sanctions Juvenile Mentoring Program (JUMP) Boys and Girls Clubs DARE school-based drug prevention) Youth out of the Education Mainstream (YOEM) designed to reduce truancy, delinquency through partnership Big Brothers and Sisters mentoring program 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Police discuss with juvenile, parents, victim before deciding whether to divert an offender from the system Federal regulations allow juvenile to be detained at a police station for no longer than 6 hours. Court intake (juvenile probation department/prosecutors office) dismiss the case, handle it informally or submit to juvenile court. Informally processed cases usually involve special conditions e.g. curfew, victim restitution. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Formally handled cases are the responsibility of the juvenile court and youth must abide by sanctions imposed. Delinquency petition – judge must decide if offender a delinquent and if so makes the youth a ward of court. Transfer petition – prosecutor wants case tried in adult criminal court Dispositional hearing based on pre-sentencing report. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Residential commitment can be specific or indeterminate in length and include boot camps, wilderness programs or juvenile prisons. Boot camps and wilderness programs shown to be ineffective unless incorporate therapeutic component. Maintain supervision and control over juveniles adjudicated as delinquents until 21 years old Curfews

¹ Snyder (2002); Griffin et al. (1998); Craig & Stafford (1997)

Appendix 3: Programs for Specific Target Groups

	Indigenous youth	Substance misuse	Violence prevention
Social competence			<p>Anger management – effective</p> <p>Anger replacement therapy – learn new skills by modelling – 13% rearrested compared to 52% control group in 8-month follow up of program with gang members (Goldstein & Glick 1994, cited in Howell 1998; McLaren 2000)</p> <p>Positive Adolescents Choices Training – role plays to learn new skills – in 3-year follow up less likely to be referred to juvenile court than control (18% vs 49%) and less likely to be charged with violent offences (Hammond & Yung 1993, cited in Wasserman & Miller 1998)</p> <p>Peacebuilders – detentions, truancy and suspensions fell, police call outs to school fell by 83% (Christie & Petrie 1997, cited in Gant & Grabosky 2000)</p>
Diversion from custody	<p>Conferencing – promising</p> <p>Te Whanau Awhina (Conferencing primarily for Maori offenders) – conviction rates of 33% compared to 47% for controls (Maxwell et al. 1999, cited in McLaren 2000)</p>	<p>Youth drug court – promising</p> <p>Case management approach under supervision from court judge – drug use and recidivism is generally lower in those that complete program than comparison group (Applegate & Santana 2000; Belenko 2001; Miller et al. 1998; Wright & Clymer 2001)</p>	<p>Intensive supervision – effective</p> <p>Tri-agency Resource Gang Enforcement Team – inter-agency working within justice system – 62% reduction in serious gang-related violence. Replication showed 47% decrease in gang crime over 7-year period (Kent & Smith 1995 and Kent et al. 2000, cited in Howell 2000)</p>
School-based		<p>Instruction – promising</p> <p>Resistance skills and life skills training – less likely to use marijuana and binge drink in 1-year follow up if taught by peers. Effects maintained in following year if received peer-led booster sessions. Replication showed better results for completers of course than non-completers (Botvin et al. 1990, 1995, cited in Sherman et al. 1998)</p> <p>Social resistance skill curriculum – marijuana use reduced especially with low-risk students. Effects were not sustained (Ellikson et al. 1990, 1993, cited in Sherman et al. 1998)</p>	<p>Instruction – promising</p> <p>Gang Resistance Education and Training – taught by law enforcement officers – self-reported less delinquency and gang affiliation, improved pro-social lifestyle (Esbensen & Osgood 1996, cited in Howell 1998)</p> <p>“You Can” – individual/group counselling, providing positive alternatives, instruction to prevent gang membership – decrease in gang membership and crime involvement, improved school performance (OJJDP 1999, cited in Howell 2000)</p> <p>Self-Enhancement Inc – taught conflict resolution using role plays, field visits and community activities – decreased fighting and weapon carrying in 1-year follow up but increased marijuana use (Gabriel 1996, cited in Wasserman & Miller 1998)</p>

	Indigenous youth	Substance misuse	Violence prevention
Employment	Residential – ineffective Tough farm work on outback station – 67% re-offended in 12 weeks, 79% within 6 months (Matthews et al. 1992, cited in Beresford & Onaji 1996)		
Comprehensive	Substance misuse – promising Reduce crime by curbing petrol sniffing and drug use. Glue etc. removed from shop shelves, education program – reported crimes dropped by 90%, uncertain of rigorosness of evaluation (Kennedy 1999)	MST – promising Reduced alcohol and drug-related delinquency, fewer arrests and less time in juvenile detention (Henggeler 1991, 1997a & b, cited in MacBride et al. 1999) Project Northland – leadership, parental involvement, social skills training, community activities – alcohol use less than control group in 3-year follow up (Perry et al. 1993, cited in Catalano et al. 1999) Therapeutic community – promising Cognitive-behavioural skills, education and survival skills training – reductions in alcohol and drug use at 6-month follow up (Jainchill et al. 1995; Hubbard et al. 1989, cited in McLaren 2000) Reduce petrol sniffing – promising Reduce crime by curbing petrol sniffing and drug use. Glue etc. removed from shop shelves, education program – reported crimes dropped by 90%, uncertain of rigorosness of evaluation (Kennedy 1999)	Gang violence reduction – promising Intensive supervision, suppression by police, access to services – lower violence, fewer arrests for serious crime among targets than control (Spergel & Grossman 1997, Spergel et al. 1998 and Thornberry & Burch 1997, cited in Howell 2000)
Recreation	Residential camp – promising Cultural-based camp in Queensland – rapport between youth and police improved, 10% recidivism but unclear over what time period (Amos 1999)		