

Ulla Bondeson Memorial Lecture

**The Undesirable Effects of Juvenile Court Processing:
Early Prevention is Better!**

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Cambridge University

Presentation in Copenhagen

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Professor Ulla Bondeson

- * Ulla was an outstandingly brilliant criminologist.
- * She was best known for her studies of the damaging effects of incarceration, which she called “negative individual prevention”.
- * In *Prisoners in Prison Societies*, she found that only 3% of inmates said that they had received great help, while 63% said that they had suffered great harm. Recidivism rates in 5 years were 94% for young inmates.
- * In *Alternatives to Imprisonment*, she found that 2-year recidivism rates were much higher after imprisonment than after probation or suspended sentences, even after controlling for prior risk.
- * She also found that argot knowledge (criminal slang) was the best predictor of time to recidivism.

Ulla V. Bondeson

*Crime
Punishment
and
Justice*

Selected Articles from a Scholarly Career

DJØF Publishing

What is the Effect of Juvenile Court Processing?

- * After committing an offence
- * Compared to no action or informal action (diversion)
- * Labelling theory: after being caught and publicly labelled as a delinquent, young people get worse
- * Because they come to have a delinquent self-concept
- * Deterrence theory: official processing deters young people from offending in the future
- * Rehabilitation theory: young people can be reformed by interventions after official processing

Outline of Lecture

1. Labelling theory: first test
2. Labelling theory: later tests
3. Effectiveness of interventions
4. Effective prevention programmes
5. Crime prevention strategies
6. The need for a national agency for early prevention
7. Conclusions

1. Labelling Theory: First Test

LABELING THEORY

Empirical Tests

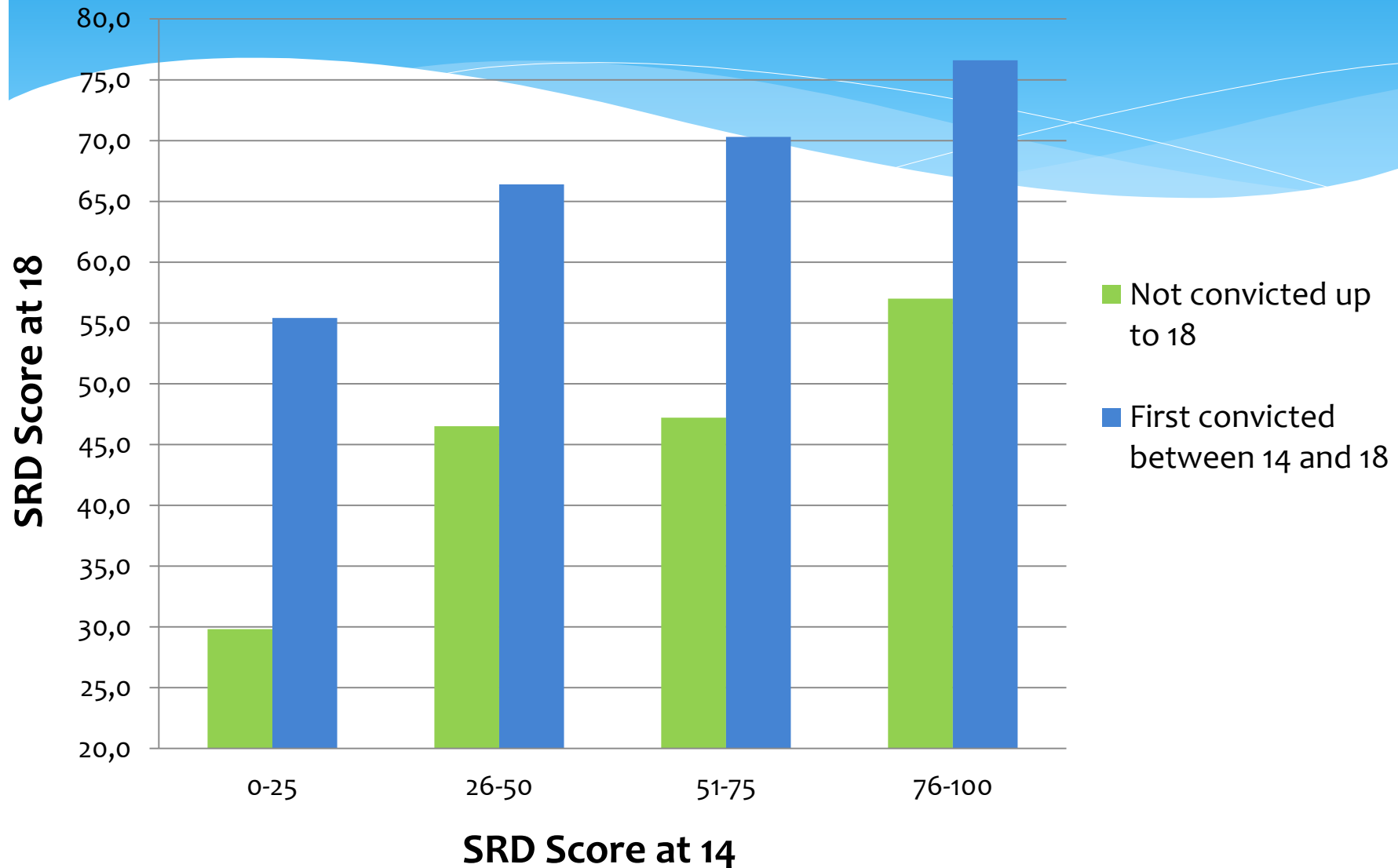
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Joseph Murray
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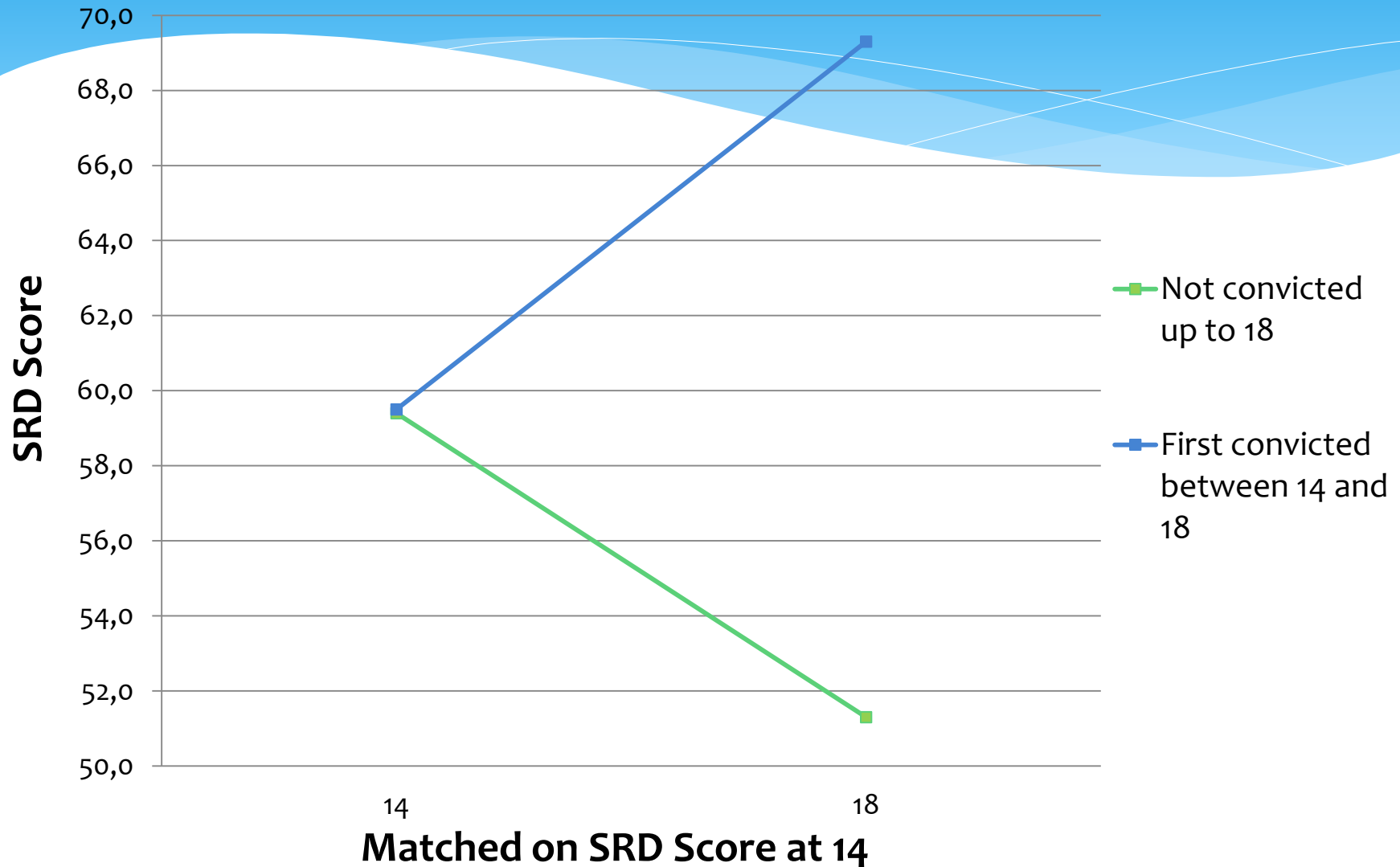
First Empirical Test of Labelling Theory in a Longitudinal Study

- * Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development (CSDD)
- * Longitudinal study of 411 London males from age 8
- * Farrington (1977 British Journal of Criminology)
- * Self-reported delinquency (SRD) scores at ages 14, 16 and 18: percentile scores from 0 (low) to 100 (high)
- * Study 53 boys first convicted between 14 and 18
- * Did they get worse or better after being convicted?
- * To deal with selection effects: match case-by-case on SRD at 14 with 53 boys not convicted up to 18

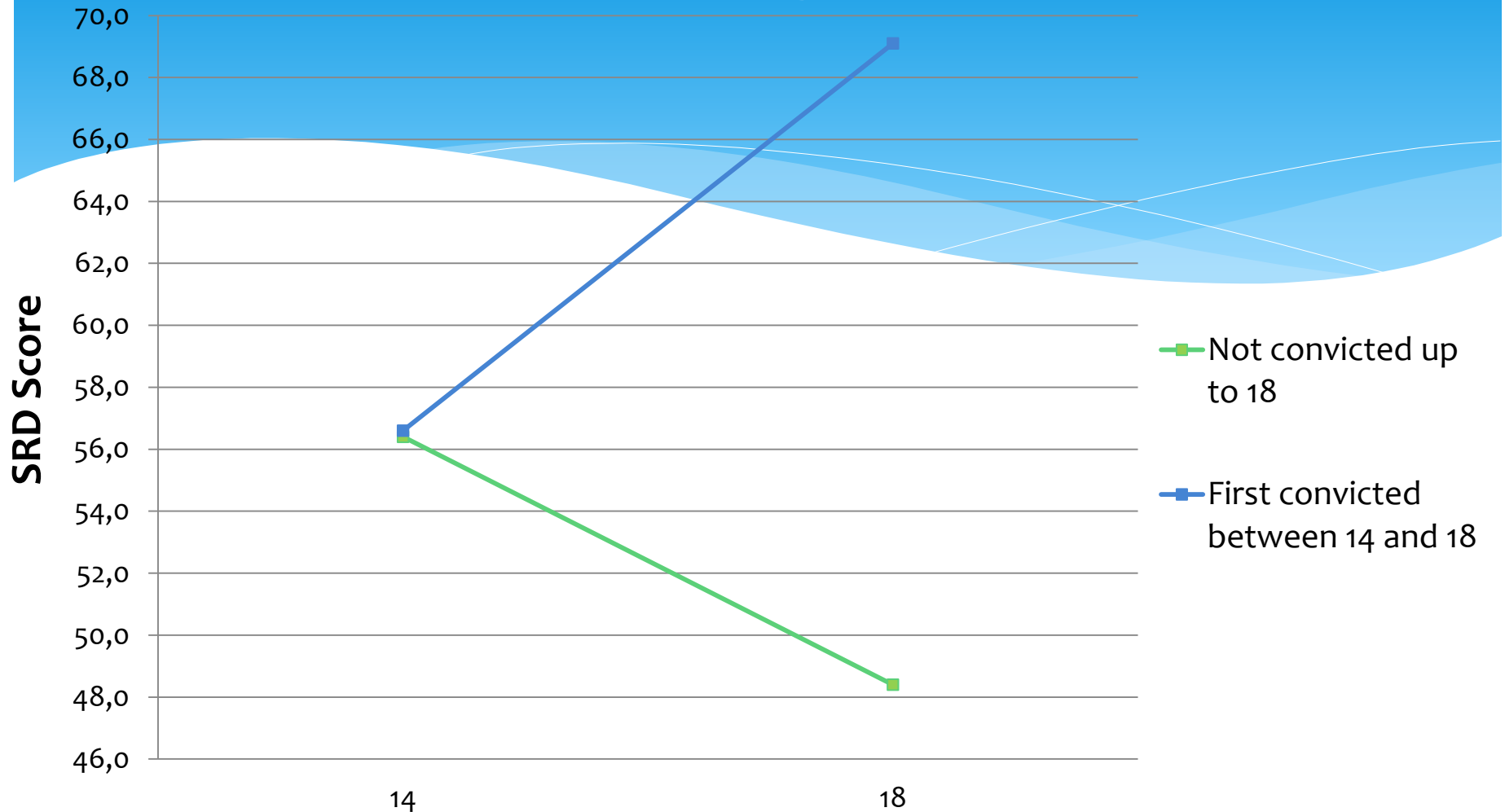
Mean SRD Score at 18, compared with SRD Score at 14



Effects of Getting Convicted (1)

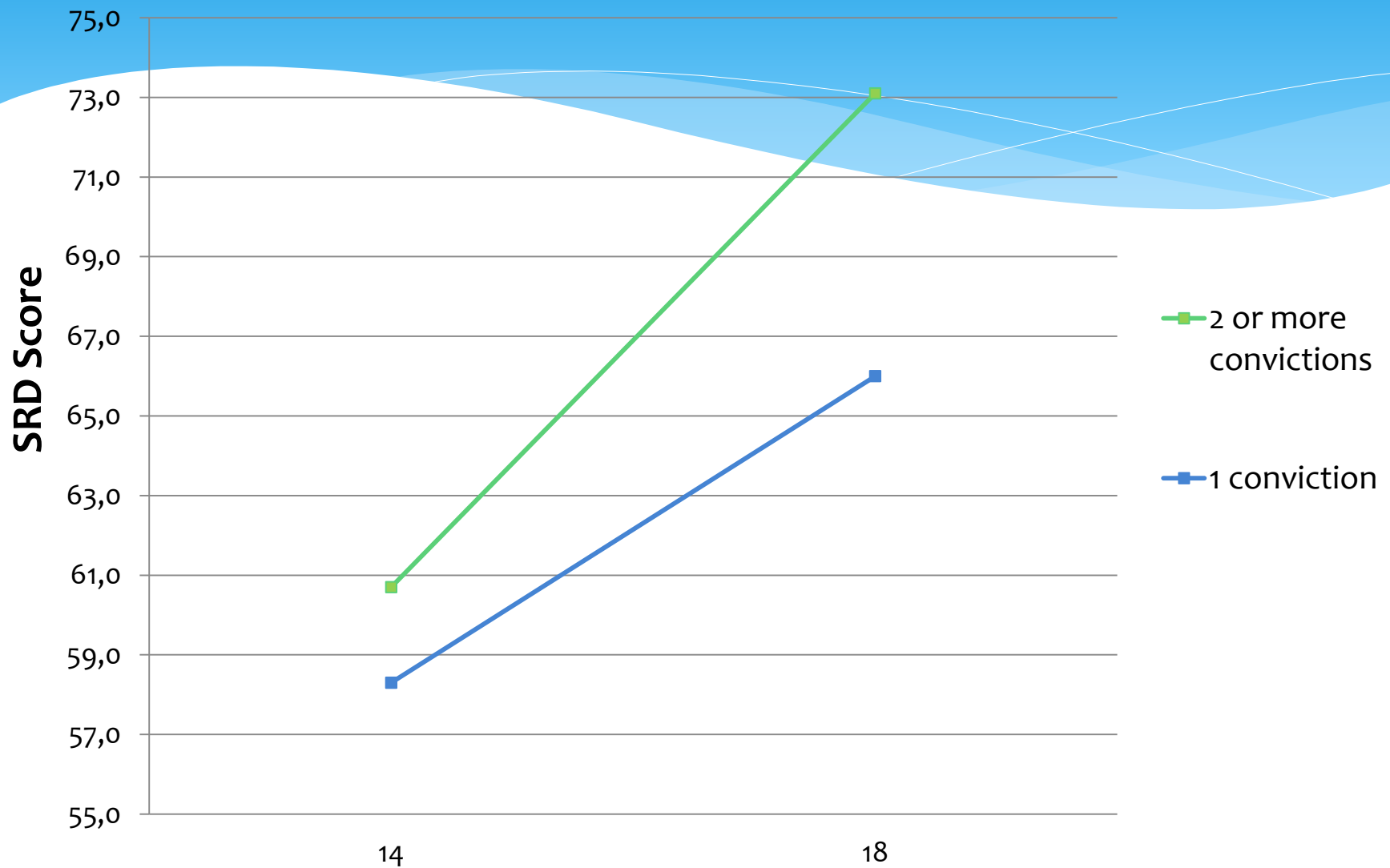


Effects of Getting Convicted (2)

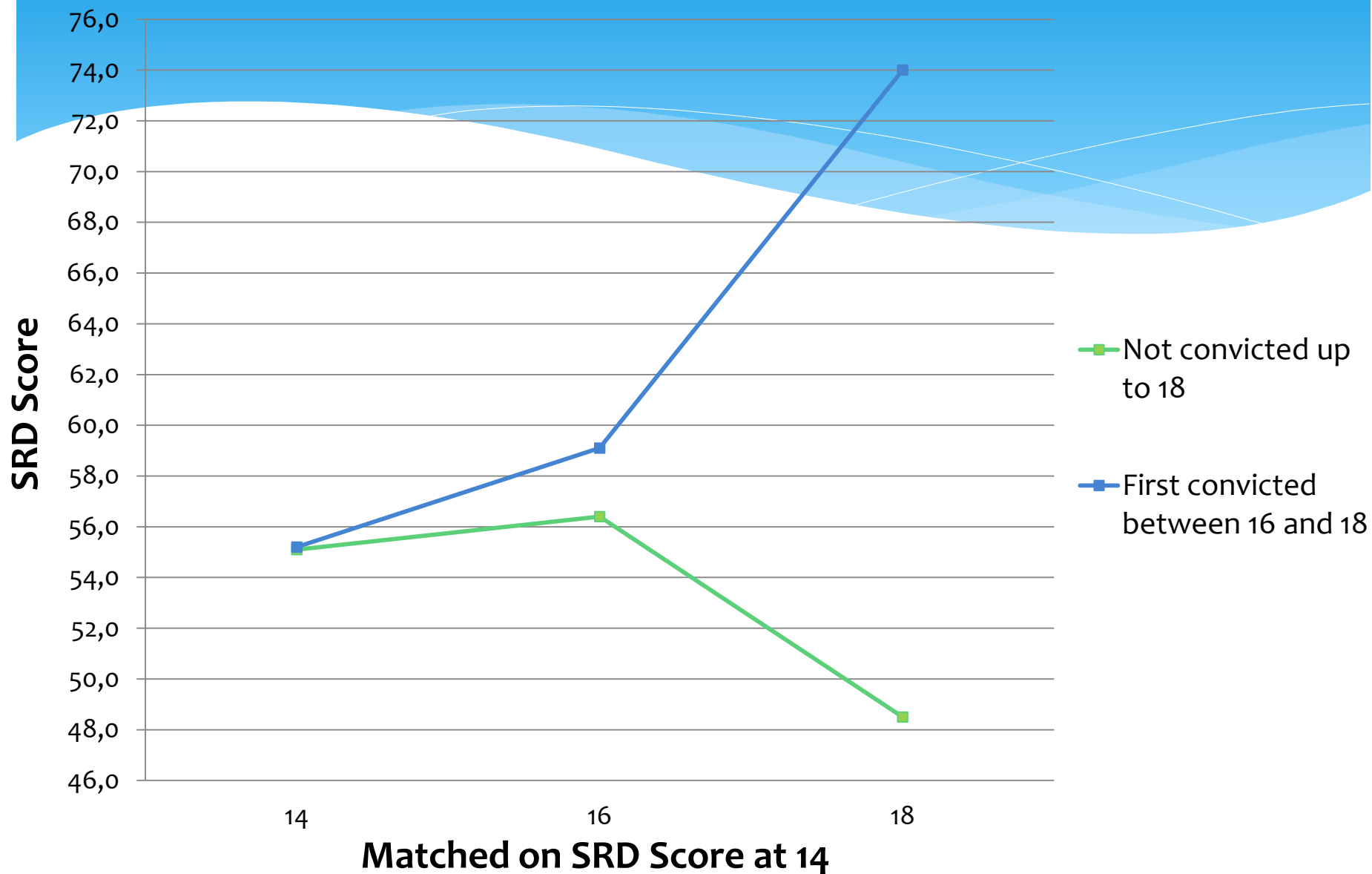


Matched on SRD Score at 14, troublesomeness at 8-10, and vulnerability at 8-10, based on low family income, large family size, criminal parent, low intelligence, poor child-rearing.

Effects of 1 conviction compared with 2 or more



SRD Score Before and After age 16



Other Results in the CSDD

- * A hostile attitude to the police was a possible mediating factor. Hostility increased among convicted boys but decreased among matched unconvicted boys. Also, the change in hostility correlated with the change in SRD.
- * However, association with delinquent peers was not a possible mediating factor.
- * When asked, most boys (30) said that their conviction had no effect on their offending, while 16 said that it reduced their offending, 4 said that it increased their offending, and 3 did not admit their conviction.
- * Results were replicated for first convictions between 18 and 21: Farrington, Osborn and West (1978 BJC).

2. Labelling Theory: Later Tests

Later Tests of Labelling Theory In Longitudinal Studies (1)

- * Hagan and Palloni (1990) analyzed CSDD but used regression techniques rather than matching. They found that convictions predicted self-reported offending (at ages 16, 18, and 21) after controlling for prior self-reported offending and key risk factors.
- * In the Montreal longitudinal-experimental study, Gatti, Tremblay, and Vitaro (2009) showed that juvenile justice intervention (especially placement) predicted adult official offending (in a regression analysis) after controlling for juvenile self-reported offending and key risk factors.

Later Tests of Labelling Theory In Longitudinal Studies (2)

- * In the Edinburgh (UK) Study of Youth Transitions and Crime, McAra and McVie (2007) used propensity score matching to demonstrate that juvenile justice interventions were followed by an increase in self-reported offending.
- * In the Rochester (NY) Youth Development Study, Krohn, Lopes and Ward (2014) showed that official intervention in late adolescence predicted self-reported delinquency in early adulthood, after controlling for prior self-reported delinquency and other variables.
- * Murray et al. (2014) in the CSDD showed that juvenile convictions predicted SRD at 32 and 48 in propensity score and regression analyses, controlling for 15 key risk factors and earlier SRD.

Juvenile Diversion Experiments

- * Severy & Whitaker (1982): randomly assign to juvenile court (33% recidivism in 12m), diversion with services (32%) or diversion without services (32%). No difference.
- * Klein (1986): randomly assign to court petition (C) or counsel and release (R): Rearrests after 6m: C 48%, R 28%. After 27m: C 73%, R 49%. Mean SRD score after 9m: C 30.0, R 24.5. Those going to court became more delinquent afterwards.
- * Patrick & Marsh (2005): randomly assign to youth court (43% recidivism in 3y), magistrates court (34%), diversion programme (38%) or control (34%). No difference but diversion was cheaper than court.

Reviews of Effects of Labelling

- * Huizinga and Henry (2008): review of 20 tests in 16 studies of effects of sanctions on later delinquency: 11 tests find an increase, 6 find no significant effect, only 3 (all in Murray and Cox, 1979) find a decrease.
- * Barrick (2014): review of 66 studies of effects of official sanctions on recidivism: in 18 tests of effects of conviction or juvenile justice, 12 find an increase, 5 find no significant effect, and only 1 finds a decrease.
- * Petrosino et al. (2014): review of 29 experiments on effect of juvenile processing on delinquency: find overall increase in delinquency in meta-analyses: d between .11 and .19 (average 5.5% to 9.5% increase in recidivism after processing)

3. Effectiveness of Interventions

Effectiveness of Interventions: Lipsey (2009) Meta-analysis

Based on 361 research reports. Inclusion criteria:

- * Juveniles aged 12-21 received an intervention intended to have positive effects on their subsequent delinquency
- * Quantitative results were reported for a comparison between a treatment condition and a control condition for at least one delinquency outcome measure. In addition, the assignment of juveniles to conditions was random or, if not, pretreatment differences were reported or matched.
- * The study was conducted in an English-speaking country and reported in English. More than 90% of the studies located were conducted in the United States.
- * Focus on percentage of juveniles rearrested during 12 months after intervention.

Broad Types of Interventions: Effectiveness

- 1. Surveillance (- 6%)**
- 2. Deterrence (+ 2%)**
- 3. Discipline (+ 8%)**
- 4. Restorative (- 10%)**
- 5. Counselling (- 13%)**
- 6. Skill building (- 12%)**

In parentheses: Average reductions in recidivism from 50%

Surveillance (N=17)

- * Interventions in this category are based on the idea that closer monitoring of the juvenile will inhibit reoffending. The main programme of this sort is intensive probation or parole, oriented toward increasing the level of contact and supervision. Such programmes also sometimes include additional services but the surveillance component refers only to the monitoring; any major services were coded in one of the other categories.
- * Not very effective

Deterrence (N=15)

- * Interventions in this category attempt to deter the youth from reoffending by dramatizing the negative consequences of that behaviour. The prototypical programme of this sort is prison visiting – “scared straight” type programmes in which juvenile offenders are exposed to prisoners who graphically describe the horrible nature of prison conditions.
- * Very ineffective and indeed harmful.
- * Systematic review by Petrosino (2013).

Discipline (N=22)

- * The theme of these interventions is that juveniles must learn discipline to succeed in life and avoid reoffending and that, in order to do so, they need to experience a structured regime that imposes such discipline on them. The main programmes of this sort are paramilitary regimes in boot camps.
- * Not very effective
- * Systematic review by MacKenzie (2005): boot camps generally do not work but boot camps combined with other treatment (e.g. cognitive-behavioural treatment) are effective

Restorative Programmes (N= 41)

- Programmes of this sort aim to repair the harm done by the juvenile's delinquent behaviour by requiring some compensation to victims or reparations via community service. They may also involve some form of direct reconciliation between victims and offenders. Two different intervention types appear in the research, sometimes combined in the same programme:
- * Restitution (N = 32). Offenders provide financial compensation to the victims and/or perform community service (- 9%).
- * Mediation (N = 14). Offenders apologise to their victims in spoken or written form and may meet with them under supervision. These interventions typically also include a restitution component (- 12%).
- * Quite effective

Counselling and its Variants (N=185)

- * This diverse and popular programme approach is characterised by a personal relationship between the offender and a responsible adult who attempts to exercise influence on the juvenile's feelings, cognitions, and behaviour. Family members or peers may also be involved and the peer group itself may take the lead role in the relationship. The major variants on this intervention approach that appear in sufficient numbers in the research to warrant separate consideration are the following:

Counselling and its Variants (N=185)

- * Individual counselling (N = 12) (- 5%)
- * Mentoring by a volunteer or paraprofessional (N = 17) (- 21%)
- * Family counselling (N = 29) (- 13%)
- * Short term family crisis counselling (N = 13) (- 12%)
- * Group counselling led by a therapist (N = 24) (- 22%)
- * Peer programs in which the peer group plays much of the therapeutic role; for example, guided group interaction programmes (N = 22) (- 4%)
- * Mixed counselling – combinations of any of the above but especially individual, group, and/or family (N = 39) (- 16%)
- * Mixed counselling with supplementary referrals for other services, a common form for diversion programmes (N = 29) (- 8%)
- * Quite effective

Skill Building Programmes (N = 169)

These programmes provide instruction, practice, incentives, and other such activities and inducements aimed at developing skills that will help juveniles control their behaviour and/or enhance their ability to participate in normative prosocial activities. The main forms of these programmes are the following:

- * Behavioural programmes – behaviour management, contingency contracting, token economies, and other such programmes that reward selected behaviours (N = 30) (- 22%)
- * Cognitive-behavioural therapy (N = 14) (- 26%)
- * Social skills training (N = 18) (- 13%)
- * Challenge programmes – interventions that provide opportunities for experiential learning by mastering difficult or stressful tasks (N = 16) (- 12%)
- * Academic training – for example, tutoring (N = 41) (- 10%)
- * Job related interventions – vocational counselling and training, job placement (N = 70) (- 6%)
- * Quite effective

4. Effective Prevention Programmes

Saving Children From a Life of Crime

- **By David P. Farrington and Brandon C. Welsh
Oxford University Press, 2007**

Saving Children

Key conclusions:

- Crime can be reduced by intervening early in life to tackle key risk factors
- Key individual, family, peer, school, and community risk factors are reviewed
- Effective individual, family, peer, school, and community interventions are reviewed
- There is a need to establish a national strategy or national agency for early prevention in all countries

Effective Programmes

- Home visiting (Olds)
- Pre-school (Schweinhart)
- Parent training (Sanders)
- Skills training (Augimeri, Tremblay)
- School-based (Hawkins, Salmivalli)
- Home/community programmes with older children (Alexander, Chamberlain)
- Multi-systemic therapy (MST) (Borduin)
- Focus on results of some key experiments, especially those with long-term follow-ups

David Olds (Elmira, NY)

- Nurse Family Partnership programme
- 400 mothers randomly assigned to:
- home visits from nurses during pregnancy
- home visits in pregnancy and infancy
- control: no home visits
- Visits every two weeks: nurses give advice about child-rearing, nutrition, infant development
- Find (15 year follow-up): experimental children had half as many arrests. Biggest effect and benefits > costs for lower class unmarried mothers
- Eckenrode (2010): 25% of treated vs 37% of controls arrested; bigger effects with girls
- Bilukha et al. (2005) systematic review

Larry Schweinhart: Perry Pre-School Program (Ypsilanti, MI)

- About 120 children age 3 randomly assigned to pre-school or control groups
- Experimental children get daily pre-school programme plus weekly home visits
- The pre-school programme was designed to increase thinking and reasoning ability and school achievement
- Find: By age 27, many benefits; experimental children have half as many arrests as controls. Benefits per child = \$88,000, costs per child = \$12,000, hence 7:1 ratio
- Schweinhart et al. (2005): Age 40 follow-up: benefit: cost ratio 17:1

Matt Sanders (Brisbane)

- Triple-P Positive Parenting Programme: can be used for primary prevention (media-based) or for high risk children or clinic samples
- 305 high-risk children randomly assigned to experimental or control conditions
- Experimental parents receive training in 17 child management strategies, with modelling, role-playing, feedback and homework
- Find: experimental children's antisocial behaviour improved
- Thomas & Zimmer-Gembeck (2007), Nowak & Heinrichs (2008) systematic reviews

Leena Augimeri (Toronto) SNAP

- Target boys aged 6-11 referred by police
- Based on skills training, cognitive problem solving, self-control, anger management, to control impulsiveness
- SNAP: Stop now and plan. Snap fingers
- Stop: calm down, take deep breaths, count to 10
- Now and: use coping statements, think what to say to remain calm: this is hard but I can do it!
- Plan: effective solutions to interpersonal problems
- Teach children to identify triggers: what makes them angry or upset
- Lipman (2008) $d=.41$; Burke & Loeber (2013) $d = .40$

Richard Tremblay (Montreal)

- Over 300 aggressive/hyperactive boys randomly allocated to experimental or control groups
- Between ages 7 and 9, experimental boys received skills training using coaching, peer modeling, role playing, reinforcement contingencies
- Their parents received parent training
- Find: experimental boys committed less delinquency between 10 and 15, less likely to get drunk, higher school achievement
- Boisjoli (2007): 22% of E vs 33% of C had criminal records by age 24

David Hawkins (Seattle)

- Multiple component programme including parent training, teacher training, child skills training
- About 500 children aged 6 randomly assigned to experimental or control classes in schools
- Teachers trained in classroom management, to provide clear instructions and expectations to children, to reward children for participation in desirable behaviour, to teach children prosocial methods of solving problems
- Find: experimental children less violent, less alcohol abuse, fewer sexual partners at age 18
- Hawkins (2008): still effects on sex, not on offending

Christina Salmivalli (Finland): KiVa bullying prevention programme

- Concrete materials for students, teachers and parents; utilization of Internet and Virtual Learning Environments/Computer games with an anti-bullying content, embedded in lessons.
- Web-based questionnaire for students
- Web-based discussion forum for teachers & teacher training
- Increased playground supervision; distinctive vests for teachers during recess time; reorganization of school space
- Peer-support group for victims of bullying
- Information for parents
- Karna et al. (2011) randomize 78 schools to experimental or control: programme is effective with children ages 10-12
- Ttofi & Farrington (2011) systematic review of bullying prevention

James Alexander (Utah)

- Functional Family Therapy: Aim to change family contingencies to increase positive and decrease negative behaviour
- Aim to modify family communication patterns to be clearer and more reciprocal, considering alternative solutions to problems: work with entire family
- 86 delinquents randomly assigned to FFT or control conditions
- Find: 26% of experimental delinquents reoffended, versus 55% of controls
- No systematic review

Patti Chamberlain (Oregon)

- Treatment Foster Care (TFC): foster parents use behaviour management methods to provide boys with a structured daily living environment, with close supervision and clear rules and limits
- 79 chronic male delinquents randomly assigned to TFC or group homes (in which group work, confronting negative behaviour, individual therapy)
- Find: TFC boys have lower official and self-reported delinquency in a one year follow-up
- MacDonald & Turner (2007) systematic review

Charles Borduin (Columbia, MO)

- Multi-Systemic Therapy (MST): family intervention to promote the parent's ability to monitor and discipline the adolescent, peer intervention to promote prosocial friends, school intervention to enhance competence; work with family/peer/school, youth may not be present (unlike FFT)
- 176 serious delinquents (mean age 14) randomly assigned to 6m MST or individual therapy
- Sawyer & Borduin (2011): the MST group had fewer felony arrests (33% vs 55%) and fewer years incarcerated (5.3 vs 7.9) up to age 37
- Curtis et al. (2004), Littell et al. (2005) reviews

Systematic reviews

- Campbell Collaboration Crime & Justice Group: 35 published reviews
- www.campbellcollaboration.org
- What doesn't work? Deterrent strategies: Scared Straight (Petrosino), Boot Camps (Wilson), Official processing (Petrosino)
- What does work? Parent training (Piquero), child skills training (Losel), mentoring (Tolan), bullying prevention (Ttofi), cognitive-behavioural interventions (Lipsey), self-control programmes (Piquero)

5. Crime Prevention Strategies

Choosing Crime Prevention Strategies

- Which is better? (in terms of reducing crimes and monetary benefits exceeding monetary costs)
- More imprisonment?
- More court processing?
- More police?
- More community penalties?
- More situational crime prevention?
- More developmental crime prevention?

Cost-Benefit Analysis

- Very convincing argument to policy-makers: for every £1 spent on the programme, £5 are saved
- Calculate the costs of the programme: capital versus recurring, average versus marginal
- Calculate the benefits of the programme, especially in terms of crimes prevented
- Take account of inflation (by discounting) if the benefits are in the future; £1 in 10 years' time is not worth the same as £1 today
- Work out benefit: cost ratio: very useful measure of effectiveness

Farrington & Koegl (2015 JQC)

- Cost-benefit analysis of SNAP programme of Augimeri
- Programme costs \$4,641 per boy on average (2012 \$)
- Effect size d between .2 and .4
- Corresponds to 18% to 33% decrease in offending
- Saves 1.25 to 2.29 convictions per boy (age 12-20)
- Saves \$14,270 to \$26,162 per boy (discounted)
- Benefit: cost ratio 3.1 to 5.6 for convictions
- Scaling up to self-reports: benefit: cost ratio 26 to 47

Multiple-Component Interventions

- Since there are multiple risk factors, there should be multiple-component interventions targeted on child, family, peers, schools and communities
- Generally, these are more effective than single component interventions
- But hard to identify active ingredients and decide which elements of a package are more effective
- How learn from experience and improve multiple-component interventions?
- Important multiple-component intervention: Communities That Care (CTC)

Communities that Care

- Key community leaders meet and agree to implement CTC
- Set up Community Board to take charge of CTC on behalf of the community
- Audit of problems and risk and protective factors using surveys (school, community) and records (police, school, social, census)
- Assess existing resources, choose programmes from a menu of strategies that have been proved to be effective in high-quality evaluations
- Implement programmes, evaluate effectiveness

The Menu of Strategies

- Prenatal/postnatal home visiting programmes
- Preschool intellectual enrichment programmes
- Parent training
- Child skills training
- Teacher training/curriculum development
- Anti-bullying programmes
- Media campaigns
- Situational prevention
- Policing strategies

David Hawkins (2009) Evaluation

- 24 communities: 12 matched pairs
- One community in each pair randomly assigned to CTC, one control
- Student surveys from grades 5-8 (ages 10-13)
- 2272 CTC and 1910 control students in grade 8
- Find (higher odds ratios = effective)
- Alcohol use 1.60
- Cigarette use 1.79
- Delinquency 1.41
- Marijuana use 0.96

6. The Need for a National Agency for Early Prevention

UK Action Plan for Social Exclusion

- Announced September 2006 by Tony Blair:
 - Focus on early intervention with children at risk
 - National Academy of Parenting Practitioners to deliver parent training
 - Home visiting programmes targeting at-risk children from birth to age 2
 - Tackling teenage pregnancy with relationship education and better access to contraceptives
 - Family-based approaches including treatment foster care and multi-systemic therapy
 - Interventions for adults with mental health problems and chaotic lives

National Agency for Early Prevention

- Most initiatives are targeted on children at risk or already identified as antisocial
- UK Youth Justice Board initiatives are overwhelmingly focussed on detected offenders
- Primary prevention is largely missing
- In most countries, there is no agency whose main mandate is the early prevention of crime
- In Denmark, there is a National Crime Prevention Council
- David Cameron launched the UK Early Intervention Foundation in 10 Downing Street in April 2013



Functions of a National Agency

- Continuous funding of prevention programmes
- Technical assistance to local agencies
- Monitor quality of programmes
- Set standards for evaluation research
- Provide training in prevention science
- Set a national prevention agenda, coordinate policies of different government departments
- Maintain register of evaluations
- Advise government on effective programmes
- Does the Danish Crime Prevention Council do this?

7. Conclusions

Policy Implications

- Juvenile court processing is generally damaging and should be used as a last resort: Ulla Bondeson would agree!
- The time is ripe to implement a national strategy of early intervention in all countries
- Need national and local prevention agencies
- Effectiveness should be measured rigorously in randomized experiments
- Benefits and costs should be measured for early prevention compared with police, courts, prisons, community penalties and situational prevention