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ABSTRACT

Nearly one million adolescents between the ages of 12 and 19 are victims of violent crimes each year, and this has been true since at least 1985. Children are becoming involved in violence at ever younger ages, both as victims and as perpetrators. The threat of firearms is the greatest concern in adolescent violence, but no single factor can be blamed as the cause of violence. The role the media play in inciting violence is a hot and controversial topic, but many agree with the warning of the American Psychological Association that viewing violence increases fear of becoming a victim, with a resultant increase in self-protective behavior and mistrust. Violence is learned, and can be combated through teaching alternatives. The teaching of prosocial behavior at home and in school must be accompanied by the provision of health and social services to children and families. Conflict resolution and mediation programs show promise in reducing violence. Violence prevention curricula are among the important efforts schools can make. These efforts can be supported by community and youth organizations. Three projects, operating nationally, are described to illustrate some ongoing efforts in violence prevention. Winning against violence will require a public stance that violence is socially unacceptable. (Contains 28 references.) (SLD)

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SAVING YOUTH FROM VIOLENCE

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"Mom, can I tell you something? I'm worried. All of the boys I grew up with are dead. I lie awake at night and think about it. What am I supposed to do?"

The question was from a thirteen-year-old boy in New Orleans. His mother suddenly realized that, of a group of six-year-olds who had started school together seven years earlier, only her son was still living. All the others had met violent deaths.

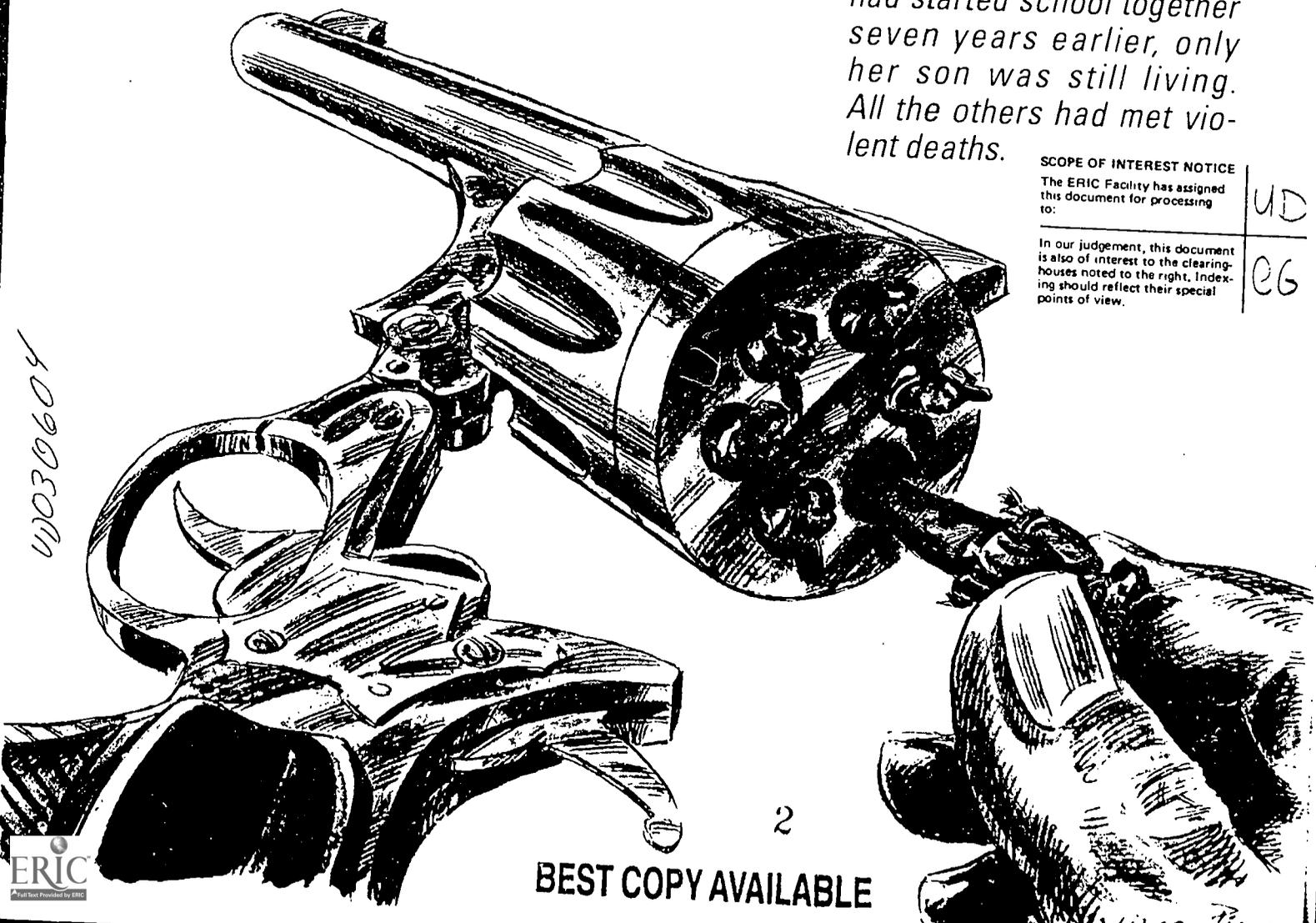
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Nearly one million adolescents between the ages of twelve and nineteen are victims of violent crimes each year, and this has been true at least since 1985. The victimization of adolescents, particularly twelve- to- fifteen-year-olds, is growing. Teenagers are twice as likely to be assaulted as persons aged twenty and older. The rate and intensity of violence involving children and youths, moreover, has escalated dramatically, and much of it is accounted for by adolescents attacking others in their age group. Adolescent homicide rates have reached the highest levels in history.

In February 1993, seventeen-year-old Michael Ensley was shot to death in the hallway of a Reseda, California, high school, allegedly because he gave his assailant an offending look.

In Houston, two girls, aged fourteen and sixteen, taking a shortcut home from a pool party, were raped and strangled by six teenage gang members, the youngest of them fourteen years old. One seventeen-year-old defendant in the case, when told that he might be charged with murder, allegedly told another boy: "Hey, great! We've hit the big time."

Children are becoming involved in violence at ever-younger ages, according to the Commission on Youth and Violence of the American Psychological Association (APA). In a study of first and second graders in Washington, DC, the commission reported that 45 percent said they had witnessed muggings, 31 percent had witnessed shootings, and 39 percent had seen dead bodies.

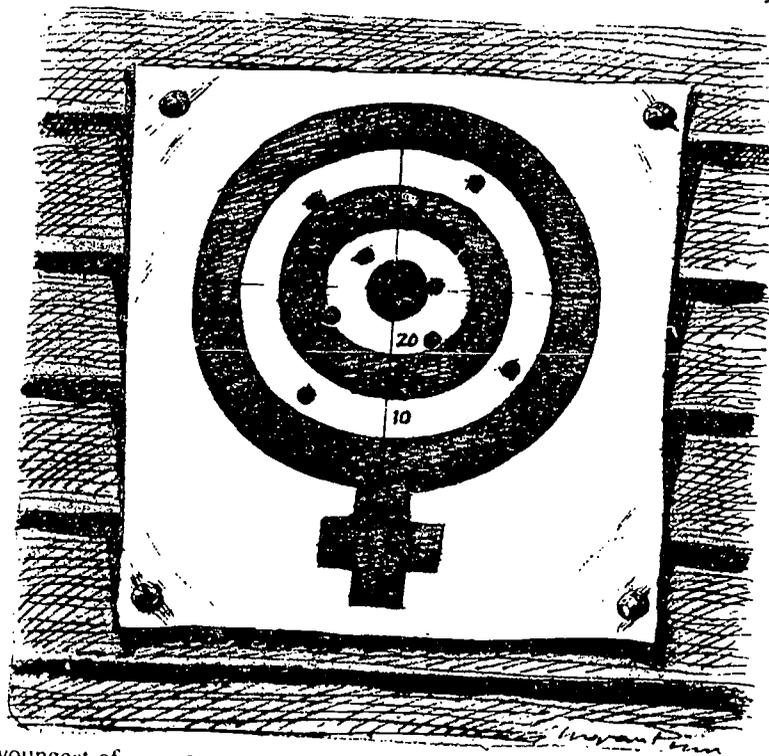
"Clearly," declares Delbert S. Elliott,

a leading expert on youth violence, "our children and teenagers are the most frequent victims of violence."

Marian Wright Edelman, president of the Children's Defense Fund, reports that some African American children are playing a new game called "Funeral" — their own. They discuss caskets, services, and who will attend. Death is a daily occurrence in their lives.

teen and seventeen, more than one in five blacks and one in ten whites reported such involvement.

The U.S. Department of Justice reports that, between 1987 and 1991, juvenile arrests for weapons violations rose by 62 percent. Black youths under the age of eighteen are the group most frequently involved in violence. In 1991 they were arrested for weapons-



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ON BOTH SIDES OF VIOLENCE

As the examples show, young people are both victims and perpetrators of violence.

Elliott, who is studying violence among adolescents under a Corporation grant, says the most dramatic finding from his research is the sheer magnitude of adolescent involvement in serious offenses. Of the teenagers he interviewed, more than 35 percent of black males and 25 percent of non-Hispanic white males reported that they had, by the age of seventeen, been involved in one or more violent acts. At the peak age for girls, between ages fif-

teen and seventeen, more than one in five blacks and one in ten whites reported such involvement.

law violations at a rate triple that for white youths, and they were murdered at a rate six times that for whites. Elliott found that there is no difference in the rates of violent behavior between employed black and white youths. But among the unemployed he found that approximately twice as many young blacks as whites continue their violent careers into their twenties. He suggests this may be because whites are more likely to grow up in "more conventional and supportive environments" and live with their parents, while blacks are more likely to be involved in the illicit economy, particularly in the distribution of drugs in their neighborhoods.

An alarming new phenomenon is the rise of violence among girls, often in complicity with violent boys. Convictions for violent crimes committed by girls in Massachusetts rose from 15 percent of arrests in 1987 to 38 percent in 1991. Girls increasingly join previously all-male gangs. All-girl gangs also tend to be as violent as all-boy gangs.

The justice department estimates that of the one million young people who are raped, robbed, or assaulted each year many are the victims of their peers.

Much of the violent activity among teenagers takes place on school grounds. U.S. secretary of education Richard W. Riley has noted that each year about three million thefts and violent crimes occur on or near school campuses. That is about 16,000 incidents per school day. Violence at school is becoming almost as much a rural and suburban as an urban problem. A 1993 study by the National School Boards Association found that, of 720 school districts, 82 percent reported an increase in violence in their schools in the past five years. These increases are occurring across all geographic areas.

Violence against girls and young women by males their age is another growing problem. Adolescent girls are particularly vulnerable to date rape and acquaintance rape. Nearly one out of every ten high school students experiences physical violence connected with dating. The District of Columbia Superior Court is adding a teenage counterpart, for thirteen- to eighteen-year-old boys, to the court-ordered treatment program of adults who batter their spouses.

THE THREAT OF GUNS

Over all the concerns about adolescent violence hangs the threat of firearms.

Guns extort a heavy price from a young person's peace of mind. The psychological harm done to children and adolescents, either by the possession of guns or by fear of those who do possess them, is immense. The vision of guns distorts their behavior and their human relations. The atmosphere around them is charged by the uncertainty of when shots may be fired. They are confined to the safety of the home by their mothers, who caution them to stay away from windows lest they become injured by a stray bullet.

"In part because of this ready availability of firearms, guns are involved in more than 75 percent of adolescent killings."

According to the book, *Promoting the Health of Adolescents*, produced under the auspices of the Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development and edited by Susan G. Millstein, Anne C. Petersen, and Elena O. Nightingale, the median age of first-gun ownership in the United States is twelve-and-a-half years of age; often the gun is a gift from a father or other male relative.

"Children can buy handguns on street corners in many communities," says the APA's commission on youth and violence. "In part because of this ready availability of firearms, guns are involved in more than 75 percent of adolescent killings."

Roughly one in ten teenagers between the ages of ten and nineteen has fired a gun at someone or been shot at, and about two in five say they know someone who has been killed or wounded by gunfire. This is the finding of a 1993 survey of a representative sample of 2,508 students at ninety-six public

and private elementary, middle, and senior high schools, conducted by Louis Harris for Harvard University's School of Public Health. Harris reports that 60 percent of the youths said they could get a handgun; one-fifth claimed they could do so within an hour, and more than a third said they could do so within a day.

Harris points to data indicating that gun violence is not just a problem of inner-city poor children. Just as drugs have come to middle-class youth, so guns have migrated from the city to suburban areas. "It is evident that no part of the country, no area — cities, suburbs, small towns — is immune from the influence of guns among young people today." Yet, he adds, surveys show that a majority of young people, even many who carry guns, would like to see an end to the gun culture.

A 1991 study by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) found that one in twenty-five high school students carries a gun. In response, increasing numbers of schools have resorted to metal detectors and other security measures; a few school districts even employ armed security guards. To date, such measures have met with mixed response. In some cases, students reported an improved sense of security.

Critics cite the high cost of security provision, estimated in New York City at \$300,000 per year per school. Others are concerned that in-school security obscures the threat to students on the way to and from school. Perhaps more important, it masks the need for more basic improvements in the environment in which children grow up and the urgency for fundamental changes in children's and adults' behavior.

FAMILY, COMMUNITY, SOCIETY

Young people's actions are not divorced from the mores of the society at

large; their behavior is not shaped in isolation from adult standards. As the APA report diagnoses it, "Although young people are disproportionately represented on both sides of the knife or gun, it is important to consider their

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experiences as part of the larger picture of violence in America. By many measures, the United States ranks first among nations in its level of interpersonal violence." The United States has the highest homicide rate of any Western industrialized country — many times higher than the country with the next highest rate.

More than 25,000 Americans are murdered each year, and homicide is the tenth leading cause of death in our nation, says the APA report. "Domestic violence, hate crimes, sexual violence, and violence among peers pose threats to children and teenagers in every American community. No one is immune to the pervasive violence in American society, although the probabilities of involvement are affected by race, social and economic class, age, geographical area, population density, and other factors."

NO SINGLE FACTOR. But the APA commission also stresses that no single factor can be blamed as the cause of violence among children and adolescents: "Youth violence is like heart disease, where many factors build to create the

problem," says Alan Kazdin, a psychologist at Yale University who served on the commission. "All the factors matter, but none means that a child will necessarily become violent. Many different paths can lead to trouble."

Among the elements that contribute to children becoming violent, the commission said, were severe frustrations leading to lashing out, doing poorly in school, being stigmatized as "dumb," and lack of social skills that allow youngsters to deal effectively with others, especially their peers.

Growing up in an environment of harsh poverty with a feeling that opportunities for success are closed because of discrimination can lead to hopelessness and rage that find expression in violence.

Terence P. Thornberry, a psychologist at the State University of New York in Albany and a principal investigator of a five-year study of violence among 4,000 youths, responded to the question, What makes youngsters violent? "Violence does not drop out of the sky at age fifteen. It is part of a long developmental process that begins in early childhood."

The pattern, observes Delbert Elliott, is one of "adding on." An individual typically begins with a minor form of substance abuse or delinquency and, over time, will add new forms of behavior. In general, Elliott says, an escalation in minor delinquency and in the use of alcohol precedes the transition to marijuana use and early sexual activity. Both of these tend to be followed by serious forms of violence and other crime, which precede the onset of serious illicit drug use.

The American Medical Association reports that about two million children annually experience physical abuse or neglect. One-third of the victims of physical abuse are under one year of age; another third are between the ages of one and six. Estimates of physical abuse of children and youth suggest that as many as 10 percent are assaulted

by family members and caregivers each year.

Children who have suffered abuse and neglect while growing up learn to regard it as normal and tend to repeat the behavior toward their own offspring.

Not only are many children themselves abused but at least 3.3 million each year witness parental abuse, ranging from hitting to fatal assaults with knives or guns. As they mature in an atmosphere of violent relationships between men and women — husbands battering wives, women assaulted by boyfriends and other males, mothers maltreated and then abandoned by a succession of men — these children

"Violence does not drop out of the sky. ... It is part of a long developmental process that begins in early childhood."

come to adopt the same attitudes and practices in dealing with their peers and eventually their own families as their elders did. At a counseling group session for men who had been arrested for domestic violence, one young man said "he had treated his girlfriend no differently from the way his father had treated his mother."

Shawn Sullivan grew up in Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant section, one of New York City's poorest neighborhoods. Working as an Amherst College intern at *The Wall Street Journal*, he wrote in that newspaper:

"All five of my sisters have been victims of wife-beating. I suppose one could argue that they did not do a good job at selecting their spouses. My sisters



"... viewing violence increases fear of becoming a victim of violence, with a resultant increase in self-protective behaviors and mistrust of others."

Politicians subject to conflicting pressures, however, may find it easier to attack the violent content of shows than to take less publicly popular and more costly action to prevent violence itself. For example, politicians can celebrate a victory against violence when broadcast networks voluntarily promise to issue alerts to parents before showing what they consider excessively violent shows. ("Due to some violent content, parental discretion is advised.") But how far this will go in the absence of measures addressing the deeper problems of violence is debatable.

The most recent entry into the arsenal of media violence is "Mortal Kombat," a video game that gives the victor a chance to kill. In its goriest version, *The New York Times* reports, it provides the thrill of ripping out, with bare hands, the loser's still beating heart or tearing off his lifelike head. An eleventh grader from Oyster Bay, Long Island, said his favorite move is pushing an enemy over the ledge and watching him being impaled on a spike. His final triumph comes when he can electrocute his opponent. The game is reported to be number one in popularity at video arcades.

These and other violence-saturated appeals to children and youth in the media seem to justify the APA report's warning that "viewing violence increases fear of becoming a victim of violence, with a resultant increase in self-protective behaviors and mistrust of others."

live in poor neighborhoods, though, where their kind of bad luck in romance is not out of the ordinary.

"In fact, domestic violence may well prove to be the most troubling issue facing poor, urban minority communities for a long time to come. Wife-beating, of course, is not confined to the inner city — it is a national phenomenon. Approximately four million American women are beaten in their homes each year."

ROLE OF THE MEDIA. In discussing the cases and causes of youth violence, the

role of the entertainment media is a hot and controversial topic. There is an obvious reason for the charges made against the violence-saturated action in movies, on the home screen, and against the often threatening, anti-female sounds of hard-core rap. The expressions of violence are so constantly visible and audible; the gun fire, particularly in movies, so explosive and unrelenting; and the words of hard-core rap ("It ain't nothing you should laugh to/I'll shoot your moms if I have to") so bloody and menacing that the public has begun to object.

CHARTING NEW PATHS TO SAFETY

There is a growing belief among experts that the trend toward ever more violent behavior in America can be reversed. The report of the American Psychological Association's commission on youth and violence concluded from psychological research that violence is not a random, uncontrollable, or inevitable occurrence: "Many factors, both individual and social, contribute to an individual's propensity to use violence, and many of these factors are within our power to change. . . . There is overwhelming evidence that we can intervene effectively in the lives of young people to reduce or prevent their involvement in violence."

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Ronald G. Slaby, a psychologist at Harvard University and a member of the APA commission, concurs: "Violence is learned, and we can teach children alternatives."

SOME STRATEGIES AGAINST VIOLENCE

The Corporation's president David A. Hamburg observes: "You have to assume that if kids grow up in reasonably good shape, and with some sense of decent opportunities, then the risk of taking to the gun will be much less, even

in a television-saturated community."

Reversal of the trend of violence among the young, Hamburg says, calls for the teaching of "prosocial behavior" at home, in child care centers, and preschool programs. "By prosocial behavior, I mean constructive interaction with other human beings — sharing, taking turns, learning to cooperate, helping others. This is very fundamental. It used to be assumed that children got this outside school. This was never a sound assumption, and it is less so now than it ever was. I believe that if you don't get a foundation in the elementary pattern of sharing and cooperation before arriving in school, the odds are very much against you."

At its earliest stage, violence prevention begins with good health care for mother and child and the bonding of the child to a caring adult. It involves stimulating the development of nonconfrontational skills in language and behavior from the start of life.

As they grow up, says David Satcher, director of the CDC and former president of Meharry Medical College in Nashville, "young people must have a reason to believe that they can change the future for themselves and others. Then it is much easier to deal with violence and substance abuse and teenage pregnancy. We've found that those problems were not the problems; they were the symptoms. When young people don't have any hope for the future, they'll do anything."

When he headed the medical college, Satcher started a Carnegie-funded program called "I Have a Future," which worked with teenagers in housing pro-

jects to inspire optimism and to avoid the risky behavior that so often corrupts and endangers youngsters' lives.

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Like most experts, he is convinced that all opportunities in a child's life must be seized to teach alternatives to the despair and nihilism that so readily lead to self-destructive behavior and violence.

Attention to violence prevention must take into account the social and cultural mores guiding children's attitudes and behavior. For example, aggressive behavior and victory at all costs are deeply imbedded in the American ethos. "The term 'aggressive' in America's entrepreneurial culture is considered very positive," Hamburg notes, adding, "It doesn't necessarily mean violence. It does mean taking the initiative, being vigorous, being determined, hanging in there, being resourceful, not giving up easily. That sense of aggressiveness, another word for assertive-

ness, is very important for kids to have, but we need to distinguish it very clearly from moving to violence.”

Assertiveness, taught as a social skill, helps young adults learn how to take advantage of opportunities offered by health services and job training. It teaches youngsters how to resist unwanted pressures and intimidation, resolve conflicts nonviolently, and

... research in this field indicates that conflict resolution and mediation programs show positive effects in reducing violence.

make smart decisions about schooling, drugs, and weapons. Says Hamburg, “It gets youngsters to stop and think! What is it you want, and how can you get it peacefully instead of believing that violence will get it for you every time?”

CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND MEDIATION. Though limited, the research in this field indicates that conflict resolution and mediation programs show positive effects in reducing violence.

Morton Deutsch, director of the International Center for Cooperation in Conflict Resolution at Teachers College, Columbia University, stresses the importance of teaching skills in conflict resolution — of making students aware that violence begets violence, that there are healthy and unhealthy ways to express anger, and that nonviolent alternatives to dealing with conflict are available. He calls clear communication and effective listening to what others are saying critical to the resolution of conflict and to becoming alert to bias, misperceptions, and stereotyped thinking, in oneself and in others, that foster conflict.

First introduced in New York City schools in 1972, the concept has grown steadily. Programs in conflict resolution are now part of the curriculum in more than 2,000 schools. Preliminary evaluations by 200 teachers using the Deutsch program show that within a year it reduced the number of fights in 71 percent of the classrooms and also reduced the incidence of verbal put-downs and name calling by 66 percent.

► In Ann Arbor, Michigan, training in conflict resolution involves 14,000 people — students, faculty members, parents, and even bus drivers.

► School authorities in Charlotte, North Carolina, credit peer mediation with helping to reduce the number of assaults by and against students by 50 percent between 1989 and 1990.

► In New Mexico, a state-financed conflict resolution program reaches 30,000 students in more than 100 schools.

► All students in Chicago’s public high schools take courses in the resolution of disputes.

A ten-year-old school-based program, Victim Services in New York, relies on two approaches: mediation and aid to victims. The mediation program started in one high school, expanded into fifteen schools and now, as a result of budget cuts, operates in eight schools. Since the introduction of peer mediation, involving eighteen hours of training by Victim Services, suspensions for fighting have been reduced by between 50 and 70 percent.

“For these youngsters, mediation is a new experience in dealing with conflict,” says Lucy N. Friedman, founder and executive director of Victim Services.

Recognizing that violence needs to be addressed long before high school, Victim Services, together with Educators for Social Responsibility, a member of a network of violence prevention and treatment programs directed by

Renée Wilson-Brewer at the Education Development Center (EDC), currently also trains teachers in forty middle schools to run their own mediation programs.

SOCIAL SUPPORT AND LIFE SKILLS TRAINING. For children and adolescents in impoverished communities, social support systems and life skills training are needed in a wide variety of settings. Social supports can include school-based health clinics, home-visiting programs, adult mentoring, and church-related youth activities. “People must have a dependable infrastructure and enduring relationships with adults as well as peers,” says Hamburg. “There is potential in these approaches to provide constructive alternatives to joining violent groups.”

One way this goal is being pursued is through programs that build a strong and continuing connection between parents and schools in the children’s

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early years. Established in 1968 by James P. Comer at Yale University, the School Development Program, for example, links academic and social support as a means of improving children’s success in school and society. The message is that consistent attention to the development and education of infants, toddlers, children, and adolescents offers the best hope for change.

The Corporation-supported Prenatal/Early Infancy Project headed by David L. Olds, a child development

expert at the University of Rochester, made a systematic effort to mobilize social supports for teenage parents and succeeded in reducing patterns of neglect and abuse of their children. Avance-San Antonio, a family support and education program under the leadership of Gloria G. Rodriguez, has, similarly, helped Mexican American parents change their punitive approaches to child discipline and generally improved parent-child relationships.

The success of the early childhood approach has already been demonstrated by the Perry Preschool Program, in Ypsilanti, Michigan, sponsored by the High/Scope Educational Research Foundation and supported in part by the Corporation. The program, enrolling poor black children at age three or four, has shown remarkably positive results in youngsters' subsequent behavior as adolescents and young adults. Those who participated in the program have engaged in significantly less unlawful and criminal behavior than those who did not have the benefits of early intervention to promote cognitive and social development.

VIOLENCE PREVENTION CURRICULA. Deborah Prothrow-Stith, former Massachusetts commissioner of health and now assistant dean at the Harvard School of Public Health, calls classroom education "an essential piece of violence prevention." Her Violence Prevention Curriculum for Adolescents, created in collaboration with the Education Development Center, was introduced in 1987 and has since become a national model for dealing with intentional violence among youthful acquaintances. Using videotapes of violent encounters, it offers nonviolent alternatives for the resolution of conflicts. It shows how fights start and escalate and stresses positive ways to deal with anger and argument.

From the project, Prothrow-Stith has learned that intervention limited to the classroom is not enough; the commu-

nity must become involved. Efforts initially concentrated on predominantly black Roxbury and on predominantly white South Boston, which, with Roxbury, is among the city's poorest areas. (The project is now funded by the City of Boston and is called the Boston Violence Prevention Program, serving the entire city.) In each community, a trained educator carries the violence prevention curriculum to diverse audiences outside the schools: churches, housing projects, boys' and girls' clubs, neighborhood health centers, and even juvenile detention facilities, thus reaching great numbers of people. Media efforts have been helpful as well.

To dismiss violent, antisocial behavior in children as a phase of normal development is viewed by many educators as a denial of reality.

All students in Chicago's public high schools take courses in the resolution of disputes. In its inner-city schools and in Urbana, Illinois, 4,000 pupils in sixteen elementary schools are given a violence prevention course while their teachers are being coached in how to handle classroom misbehavior in a more positive yet effective way. Parents are taught how to avoid threats and violence in the family.

A similar program in Seattle includes weekly sessions for parents on such topics as how to discipline children effectively, how to spend more enjoyable time with children, and how to help children deal with school problems. The curriculum was produced by researchers who examined the path typically followed by violent youths in their childhood.

Although the Seattle program, which will eventually run through the middle school years, now only reaches up to third grade, positive results are already evident. Children who had been disruptive when they entered first grade showed improved behavior by year's end. When compared with children who had not taken part in the program, they had 20 percent fewer fights on the playground and were evaluated as 25 percent better at handling aggression and 32 percent more popular among playmates.

DEALING WITH BULLIES. Early intervention should also deal with the classroom bully. To dismiss violent, antisocial behavior in children as a phase of normal development is viewed by many educators as a denial of reality. Bullies usually pick on smaller, relatively defenseless classmates. Unless their behavior is stopped, class bullies may be on the way to terrorizing neighborhoods.

Dan Olweus, professor of psychosocial science at the University of Bergen, Norway, who has conducted extensive studies of bullying, reports: "When we follow the former school bully to age twenty-three, we find a four-fold increase in criminal behavior."

Norway has produced training materials for teachers, an information folder for parents, and videocassettes that show episodes from the everyday lives of two children who have been victims of bullying. Interventions to eliminate bullying include setting firm limits against unacceptable behavior, protecting potential victims, making all students aware of the problem, and actively involving teachers and parents in the prevention of bullying.

In the Norwegian program, bullying incidents dropped by more than 50 percent in a two-year period. At the same time, antisocial behavior, such as theft, vandalism, and truancy, also declined significantly. Students reported that they were happier in school.

THE CRITICAL ROLE OF THE SCHOOL

The school remains the institution to which parents look for help in their daily struggle to do the best for their children. It is the place where the campaign against violence needs to be given educational focus and where, in practical terms, children and youth should be able to find protection from the dangerous street culture, not for a few hours but throughout the day.

Under such circumstances, some experts believe schools should expand from the traditional 8:00 A.M. to 3:00 P.M. teaching institution to become all-day community centers concerned with their clients' mental, physical, and emotional needs as well. This is what Joy G. Dryfoos, in her book, *Full-Ser-*

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vice Schools: A Revolution in Health and Social Services for Children, Youth, and Families, written with Corporation support, envisions: schools that link the best reforms with services that children and families need.

Working examples of such community schools already exist. Open from early morning until the evening hours, they take on responsibility for the learning, health, and safety of the children, and they keep their doors open to parents and other members of the community. They are, in Dryfoos's words, "like a big tent into which all other models fit."

More than half a million students, she says, already use school-based health services, often together with their families. Dryfoos estimates that 16,000 community schools are needed and that



the total cost would be about \$1.6 billion to move the concept out of its present demonstration phase into an adequate national effort. But, she adds, a small federal expenditure could embolden states and local communities to speed the movement of full-service community schools.

Turning Points, the report produced by the Corporation and the Council on Adolescent Development. (see *Carnegie Quarterly*, spring 1993, "Turning Points Revisited"), recommends the organization of middle schools into small units of approximately 150 youngsters, each taught by a team of teachers who are responsible for the students' academic and personal progress. The result is that every adolescent is known to a teacher and can rely on constant adult advice and support.

Experience with this arrangement shows that it reduces, and often virtually eliminates, violent and other anti-social behavior. By contrast, big schools, where students move about anonymously, give free reign to the kind of adolescent behavior that leads to conflict and violence.

COMMUNITY AND YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS CAN HELP

Focusing on the many hours during which adolescents are not in school and are exposed to the dangers of the streets and the threat of violence, the Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development in 1993 published a report, *A Matter of Time: Risk and Opportunity in the Nonschool Hours*. In the foreword, David Hamburg wrote that youth organizations and programs "can provide young adolescents with social support and guidance, life-skills training, positive and constructive alternatives to hazards such as drug and alcohol use, gang involvement, early sexual activity, and crime, and they can create opportunities for meaningful

contributions to the community."

YOUTH CLUBS. Joseph E. Marshall, Jr., a teacher in the San Francisco public schools and head of the Omega Boys Club, believes fervently that people are responsible not only for their own children but for all the children in the community.

"Youth gangs address many of young adolescents' developmental needs, including safety, status, meaningful roles, income, and a sense of competence and belonging," Marshall says. The implied message of the gangs' attraction is that great numbers of ado-

Since youngsters' interest in gangs often begins at age eleven or even sooner, prevention programs must start early.

lescents feel cut off from contact with competent and caring adults. Unless they find a voice and a presence that inspires confidence, they are left to drift.

Marshall has established nine conditions for anyone who wants to become an Omega member: no drugs; no alcohol; no guns; no language that could hurt others; respect for women; a caring attitude toward other members; understanding that negative peer pressure often exploits fear and building firm resistance to it; knowledge of the importance of values; and conviction that the family is vital.

A look at Omega's success with hundreds of boys suggests that the club provides the wholesome version of what adolescents look for — the security of companionship and the sense of belonging to something like a family. These ties seem to be strong enough to

head off the undesirable behavior characteristic of gang membership, with its frequent abuse of drugs and alcohol and resort to violence.

Because young people at greatest risk of gang involvement and violence are not likely to rush to youth clubs like Marshall's on their own, they must be enticed by interesting activities, sports, arts and crafts, computer training, help with homework, games, and a chance to rise to leadership positions.

In the Omega club, members also participate in intellectual activities, such as "Knowledge Day," when speakers come to the group and engage members in questions, answers, and discussion.

Since youngsters' interest in gangs often begins at age eleven or even sooner, prevention programs must start early. In Paramount, California, a curriculum entitled *Alternative to Gang Membership* begins in fifth grade. Instruction deals with such issues as graffiti, peer pressure, the damaging impact of gangs on families, and the use of drugs and other health-threatening behavior. The program follows the children into the middle school and tries to reach out to the parents.

At the beginning of the program, 50 percent of the more than 3,000 children said they were undecided about joining a gang; at its conclusion, 90 percent said they would not.

Emphasis on the early years in efforts to prevent youngsters from later joining violent gangs does not mean that the problem of existing gangs can be ignored. The Community Youth Gang Services Project in Los Angeles is an example of what might be done to make gangs less violent. This program, also part of EDC's network of violence prevention and treatment programs, works directly with gang members, encouraging them to settle disputes by nonviolent means, to establish "neutral territories" that are safe for everybody, and to work toward agreements on periods of peace.

MENTORING. For some, the outreach of youth organizations is sufficient; others need more direct contact with a trustworthy adult.

In her annual report essay of 1983, Margaret Mahoney, president of the Commonwealth Fund, urged mainstream adults to devote time to mentoring disadvantaged youth, and particularly young black males from homes without fathers, giving them a sense that "a purposeful life" is possible. She pointed to the needs of children in poverty who "confront too

... mentors can contribute to the ability of inner-city youth to cope with very difficult circumstances.

many negative influences, too many bad role models." In that situation, Mahoney observed, one-to-one relationships "can reassure each child of his innate worth, instill values, guide curiosity, and encourage a purposeful life."

In his book, *The Kindness of Strangers: Adult Mentors, Urban Youth, and the New Voluntarism*, Marc Freedman writes that mentors can contribute to the ability of inner-city youth to cope with very difficult circumstances. One of the rich sources of mentoring, Freedman writes, "has been the African American community. Many organizations have initiated projects focused on linking inner-city youth with successful African American men and women — individuals who, in many instances, were themselves raised in inner-city neighborhoods. . . ."

For example, the Urban League in Providence, Rhode Island, created the Education Initiative Program that provides about 100 students with mentors

over three years. In Pittsburgh, Milwaukee, and many other cities, local chapters of One Hundred Black Men match their members with youngsters in one-on-one relationships.

Thomas W. Evans, a lawyer and chairman of the board of Teachers College, Columbia University, began his involvement in mentoring in 1983 by pairing five New York law firms with five high schools and taking students to their firms, to court, and to meetings over sandwich lunches. Described in his book, *Mentors: Making a Difference in Our Public Schools*, the program, simply called MENTORS, now operates in over 500 schools throughout the country, reaching about 30,000 students.

Because mentoring can have virtually unlimited faces, it enables individuals, as Freedman puts it, "to participate in the essential but unfinished drama of reinventing community, while reaffirming that there is an important role for each of us in it." The beneficiaries of mentoring are less likely to be drawn into the nihilism of violence.

STRENGTHENING THE FIELD OF VIOLENCE PREVENTION: THREE PROJECTS

Although the problem of youth violence has serious implications for public health, criminal justice, education, and social services, no one institution or agency currently assumes responsibility. Existing prevention and treatment programs are isolated, and there is a lack of connecting networks between them.

Through its grant programs, Carnegie Corporation has been attempting to draw together the experience with violence prevention efforts, to increase the interchange of knowledge among them, and to make available to practitioners and the public the best available results from research.

During the 1980s, the Corporation responded to the growing epidemic of violence among children and youth by initiating a series of conferences. These brought together scholars and expert practitioners from many backgrounds to clarify the problem of youth violence and to sort out priorities for preventive intervention. The discussions addressing direct and indirect means of prevention and intervention subsequently led to a series of grants. The Corporation has funded three specific projects.

CENTER FOR THE STUDY AND PREVENTION OF VIOLENCE. The center, which Delbert S. Elliott heads at the University of Colorado in Boulder, serves as an information hub, provides technical assistance, and conducts basic research. It has a computerized database for research on all aspects of violence. It also publishes short documents for distribution to practitioners and policymakers that translate its research into policy, treatment, and intervention strategies. Elliott says, "After twenty years of experience of dealing with adolescent violence, we want to see some practical applications of research to really help society deal with this problem."

EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT CENTER. EDC's network of twenty-one violence prevention and treatment programs across the United States is directed by Renée Wilson-Brewer, EDC's associate director of health and human development programs. The network is attempting to advance violence prevention as a field by infusing current violence prevention practice with the best theoretical and practical contributions by academic specialists and other experts.

Wilson-Brewer explains: "The network has fostered communication among a select group of violence prevention practitioners across the country, many of whom were previously unknown to one another. Several of these programs are considered pioneers in youth violence prevention and con-

tinue to be looked at as models by others seeking to develop programs."

The network keeps members informed of changing developments in the field and helps improve members' understanding of the gap between research and practice through collaboration with the Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence. Together with the Colorado center, the network is planning a nontechnical handbook on evaluation for distribution to EDC network members, thus illustrating the essential connection between research and practice.

As part of its service, EDC convenes an annual meeting of network members; publishes *Connections Alert*, a periodic mailing with current information on new publications, resources, funding opportunities, and legislation; and provides information on the types of violence prevention efforts taking place across the country.

EDC also encourages network members to address the connections between violence and other adolescent problems, such as substance abuse, child abuse, and domestic violence.

MEDIASCOPE. Mediascope, headed by Marcy Kelly, emerged from a series of seminars and meetings organized by the Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development to discuss the impact of the media on young people. Its mission is to work with members of the media in an effort to reduce violence in television, film, music, video games, and other entertainment and news presentations.

"We need to see a more realistic portrayal of the consequences of violence in our movies," Kelly told the *Chronicle of Philanthropy*.

While pushing hard for change, Kelly is pragmatic. "Grantmakers tend to say, 'violence is bad'. Fine. But conflict is an important part of drama. The issue is how to persuade the industry to deal with conflict and violence in a responsible manner." She asks: "Were other options explored before resorting to

violence? Are there consequences, such as pain? Who is the aggressor — the hero or the villain?"

The organization has sponsored many informational forums with Hollywood-based organizations such as the Writers Guild of America, the Directors Guild of America, the American Film Institute, and the Caucus for Producers, Writers, and Directors. Such meetings offer the creative people in the industry opportunities to confer with professionals in child development, the social sciences, researchers, and experts in violence prevention. Working with a variety of major entertainment industries, Mediascope is also developing guidelines and ratings that address violent content.

Underlying Kelly's approach is her belief that the media could serve as a positive influence on human behavior, as shown by television's and the movies' virtual elimination of cigarette smoking and the news media's effective appeals for healthier diets and physical exercise.

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The presidents of the American Psychological Association, the American Academy of Pediatrics, the American Psychiatric Association, and the Society for Adolescent Medicine have enlisted Mediascope in sending a letter to 125 board chairs, chief executive officers, and other entertainment industry leaders offering their assistance in reducing the harmful effects of media-produced violence.

For school and university classrooms, Mediascope has produced "The Kids are Watching," a short film on children's reaction to what they see on

television and in films. Typical of children's comments, Zack, a twelve-year-old participant in the program, said: "I don't remember [its name]. It was a really gross movie and there's parts in it where they wrap bodies in foil and then light it on fire, you know, and then I got a lot of scary things like that, and I get a lot of scary nightmares."

This video also exposes the marketing to children of toys inspired by R-rated violent movies. It includes interviews in the Los Angeles Central Juvenile Hall, a correction facility, with adolescents who have committed violent crimes.

The California Wellness Foundation has awarded Mediascope a \$300,000 grant to expand its work and develop an ethics curriculum on violence to be used in courses that train some 64,000 film students who hope to become movie makers. Other support for Mediascope comes from the Ruth Mott Fund and the A. L. Mailman Family Foundation.

In addition to programs specifically addressing violence prevention or reduction, the Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development has assisted in the publication of three studies dealing in part with the impact of violence on adolescent health. One is a review by the Office of Technology Assessment of such issues as substance abuse and violence in a report on adolescent health, published in 1991. A second is the book, *Fateful Choices: Healthy Youth for the 21st Century*, published in 1992. The third is the edited volume, *Promoting the Health of Adolescents: New Directions for the 21st Century*, published in 1993.

NO SURRENDER TO VIOLENCE

As violence in many urban areas has escalated, it has increasingly been recognized not just as a criminal justice matter but as a public health issue. David Satcher of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention says: "I



don't think you have to take anything away from CDC's historic role in order to say that if you look at the major cause of death today, it's not smallpox or polio or even infectious diseases. Violence is the leading cause of lost life in the country today. If it's not a public health problem, why are all those people dying from it?"

To recognize and treat violence as a public health issue does not mean overlooking criminal offenses — criminal acts should be dealt with by the law-enforcement authorities and the courts. But every effort should be made to work with young people so that they do

"Violence is the leading cause of lost life in the country today. If it's not a public health problem, why are all those people dying from it?"

not turn to crime. Prevention is preferable to injury, incarceration, and death.

VIOLENCE-PREVENTION POLICY TOWARD YOUTH. Since adolescents and even chil-

dren constitute the greatest number of perpetrators and victims of violence, policies and programs aimed at the prevention of violence should concentrate on measures that affect and protect those vulnerable age groups.

For the short term, the criminal justice system must be revised to deal effectively with youthful offenders and with adults who entice minors into criminal activities, especially in the use of guns and drugs, and to protect children and youth against domestic violence.

More effective policing would help communities to defeat the violence around them, make the schools and access to them safe, and drive the drug dealers and other threats to peace out of the housing projects.

Protection of young people's records was instituted with the best of intentions at a time when children's and adolescents' misbehavior rarely included serious crimes. Under present conditions, some experts believe the approach sends the wrong message to youngsters: that they can expect leniency in the commission of serious crimes. It encourages criminal adults, particularly in the drug trade, to use armed youngsters as junior partners, relatively immune to serious penalty.

The evidence of gun use at ever younger ages "points to an immediate need to limit the access of adolescents to firearms of all sorts and to foster attitudes that would make use of such weapons cowardly or otherwise unacceptable," according to Felton Earls and his colleagues Robert B. Cairns and James A. Mercy, who contributed a chapter on violence control among adolescents in *Promoting the Health of Adolescents*. Answers thus must be sought both in law and in education.

Educational and legislative action aimed at reducing the threat of gun violence is making some headway, in part because the nation's police forces have become an effective lobby for gun control. President Clinton has made a strong appeal for it, saying the nation

will never be able to lower its health care costs if the streets continue to be a battleground for armed teenagers.

The Brady Law imposes a waiting period of five business days on purchasers of firearms in order to leave time for a background check and also to impose a cooling-off period to prevent crimes of passion and momentary rage. But it is clearly no more than an interim measure, as even most of its supporters admit, because in the world of embattled streets, housing projects, and schools, firearms are not bought through legal commercial channels; they are traded, like drugs in alleys, from vans and through a host of illegal suppliers.

The process of disarming would best begin with children and teenagers, the group that commits the most serious gun-related crimes and suffers most as victims of such crimes. Colorado's Governor Roy Romer has made it a priority "to get the bullets off the streets and guns out of the hands of our kids." Colorado recently passed legislation to ban possession of handguns by persons under age eighteen and to make it illegal for adults to provide handguns to juveniles, to expedite prosecution of cases involving minors and guns, and to expand detention space and programs, including "boot camps" for those who violate the law. Utah has enacted similar legislation.

"Will the gun ban and other new laws solve the problem?" Governor Romer asked. He answered: "No. But they are a beginning."

There are other interim measures to protect young people that can be considered:

- ▶ Make schools, and the way to and from school, as safe as possible from guns and other weapons.
- ▶ Severely penalize adults, including parents, who, on purpose or through neglect, allow children to gain access to firearms.
- ▶ Treat gun violence resulting in

injuries and death as serious crimes, regardless of the perpetrator's age, and make available the records of such crimes once the adolescent reaches the age of sixteen.

THE LONG VIEW A review of rapidly emerging developments raises troublesome questions. Are the programs to prevent youth violence beginning to work? How can statistics showing the success of pilot intervention programs be reconciled with equally reliable reports of escalating violence among ever more, and younger, perpetrators and victims?

Part of the answer is that, even as anti-violence actions gain support, violence-creating conditions do not remain static. More guns, the epidemic of crack cocaine, the continuing deterioration of family life, the decline of civic virtue, the spread of poverty and unemployment, the relentless show of violence by the entertainment media—all remain winners in what is still an unequal contest.

President Clinton made this impassioned appeal: "Unless we deal with the ravages of crime and drugs and violence, and unless we recognize that it's due to the breakdown of the family, the community, and the disappearance of jobs, and unless we say some of this cannot be done by government because we have to reach deep inside to the values, the spirit, the soul, and the truth of human nature, none of the other things we seek to do will ever take us where we need to go."

Delbert Elliott puts the matter bluntly: "Once involved in a lifestyle that includes serious forms of violence, theft, and substance use, those from disadvantaged families and neighborhoods find it very difficult to escape this lifestyle. There are fewer opportunities for conventional adult roles, and they are more embedded in and dependent upon the gangs and the illicit economy that flourishes in their neighborhoods. . . . The evidence suggests that those

who are successful in making the transition into conventional work and family roles give up their involvement in violence. We must target our interventions to facilitate a successful transition into conventional adult roles for all youth."

For the long term, basic answers must be found in broadly conceived education. The crisis calls for the enlistment of schools and communities in offering effective programs of conflict resolution and cooperative learning, providing teenagers with a sense of belonging, giving constructive competition to gangs, creating community schools that operate beyond the normal school day, and fostering responsible family planning, family life education, healthy child development, and the recovery of humane values with a sense of responsibility toward the rights of others. It calls for a personal commitment to mentoring by credible and dedicated adults and peers. It calls for government and business to provide young people with access to community services and to jobs.

In the end, winning against violence will require a public stance that violence is socially unacceptable and that the nation's economic and social policies should reflect a society that despises rather than tolerates and even glorifies violence. ■

Fred M. Hechinger

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TASK FORCE ON LEARNING IN THE PRIMARY GRADES

In January 1994 the Corporation's board approved establishment of a Task Force on Learning in the Primary Grades, which is examining the needs of children in prekindergarten through the fourth grade. Over the next two years the task force will examine the condition of primary grade education and produce a report, based on scientific research and expert practice, that identifies promising strategies for promoting high-level learning, good health, and social competence. Antony Ward, an anthropologist who founded Child Care, Inc., a nonprofit resource and referral agency, is executive director; Corporation trustees Shirley M. Malcom and James D. Watkins serve as cochairs.

TRUSTEE NEWS

The Corporation recently welcomed four new trustees: Richard F. Celeste, a former governor of Ohio; Vincent A. Mai, president and chief executive officer of AEA Investors Inc.; Condoleezza Rice, provost of Stanford University; and philanthropist Wilma S. Tisch.

Mr. Celeste, who served as governor of Ohio from 1983 to 1991 and directed the U.S. Peace Corps from 1979 to 1981, is managing general partner of Celeste & Sabety Ltd., a consulting firm that specializes in public policy strategy regarding international trade, health care, and science and technology issues.

Mr. Mai has held his current position at AEA Investors, a management buyout firm, since 1989. Previously he was managing director of Lehman Brothers Kuhn Loeb Inc. (subsequently Shearson Lehman Hutton Inc.) and was executive director of S. G. Warburg & Co., Ltd.

Dr. Rice, who became provost of Stanford in 1993, is also a professor of political science at the university. From 1989 to 1991 she was special assistant to President Bush for national security affairs, a post she held concurrently with her appointment as senior director for Soviet affairs for the National Security Council.

From 1988 to 1993 Mrs. Tisch was chairman of the WNYC Foundation, which she continues to serve as a trustee. She also was president of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York. A member of the Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, she was cochair of its Task Force on Youth Development and Community Programs.

Mary Patterson McPherson, president of Bryn Mawr College, and Laurence A. Tisch, the chairman, president, and chief executive officer of CBS Inc., retired as trustees on January 13, 1994. Both had served on the board since 1985.

STAFF NEWS

In January 1994, O. Akin Adubifa joined the Corporation as a program officer in the Strengthening Human Resources in Developing Countries program. Earlier he was an advisor to the program and was a consultant with the United Nations Development Programme and with the National Academy of Sciences' Board of Science and Technology for International Development. In 1985-86 Dr. Adubifa was director-general of the Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research. His three degrees — a B.S. from the University of California, Berkeley, an M.S. from the University of Pennsylvania, and a Ph.D. from New York University — are in chemical engineering.

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