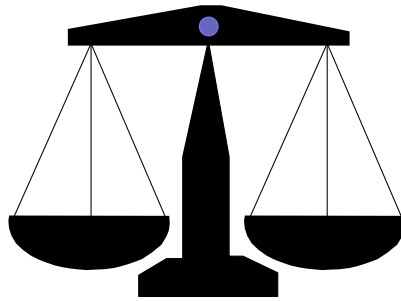


A PROSECUTOR'S PERSPECTIVE
ON ADDRESSING
JUVENILE VIOLENCE



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Dealing with juvenile crime is one of the most challenging areas facing prosecutors in America today. During the 1980's and continuing until 1995, there was an unparalleled increase in the number of criminal offenses committed by juveniles in this country.

Statistics on juvenile violence showed that arrests of juvenile offenders for murder skyrocketed between 1985 and 1993, rising approximately 150%.¹ Juvenile arrests for aggravated assault also rose dramatically by over 120% from 1983 to 1994.² Total arrests of juveniles for serious violent offenses increased by 67% between 1985 and 1994.³ Arrests of juveniles for weapons offenses rose by 93% during this same timeframe.⁴ In many areas of our country, substantial growth has occurred in nonviolent juvenile crime as well.⁵ The growth rates in juvenile crime between 1985 and 1994⁶ have far outpaced the rate for adults, which began to decline in most categories beginning in 1992.⁷

These alarming statistics cover youth from all backgrounds. Rising rates of juvenile crime have occurred not only in the urban areas of our country, but also in suburban and rural areas. Perhaps the most significant example of the encroachment of juvenile violence into rural and suburban America has been the rash of tragic school shootings that have occurred in recent years in Littleton, Colorado; Jonesboro, Arkansas; Stamps, Arkansas; West Paducah, Kentucky; Pearl, Mississippi; Bethel, Alaska; Moses Lake, Washington; Blackville, South Carolina; and Redlands, California. These school shootings which occurred from 1995 to 1999, left thirty-five children dead and many others seriously wounded. The suspects in these cases were between the ages of eleven and eighteen.

Fortunately, our nationwide rates of violent juvenile crime fell slightly in 1995 for the first time in almost a decade.⁸ Decreases in overall levels of juvenile crime in the United States continued in 1996 and 1997.⁹ This decline is obviously good news and hopefully predictive for the future. The actual decrease in juvenile crime these past three years, however, may not be significant enough to offset the ominous predictions for the decades ahead, given the large increase we will see in the number of juveniles in our country over the next twenty years.

Estimates in a 1998 Bureau of the Census report reflect a growth in juvenile population of approximately 22% between 1990 and 2010.¹⁰ Given these population predictions, the overall

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number of juvenile crimes committed may be dramatically higher in the next twenty years, unless we start large-scale, community-wide efforts to address this problem. We can ill afford to sit back and wait.

So that my comments can be placed in perspective, let me provide a brief background of my jurisdiction. Southeast of Minneapolis and St. Paul, Dakota County is a “first ring” suburb of the Twin Cities. It is the third largest county in Minnesota, with a population of approximately 340,000 people. It is also one of the fastest growing counties in the Upper Midwest. In the last decade, our population has increased by more than 40 percent. Growing even faster than our general population rate is our growth of teenagers. It is estimated that between 1990 and the year 2004 the number of youths ages 14 to 17 will increase by 85%. This is a rate four times faster than our statewide average and one which we anticipate will place enormous pressures upon many of our social institutions, including the criminal justice system.

As the Dakota County Attorney, I am responsible for prosecuting all levels of juvenile crime from petty misdemeanors to the most serious felonies within my jurisdiction. On a per capita basis our juvenile crime rate may be small compared to many jurisdictions in America, but we had dramatic increases in the first six years of this decade in the number of juveniles prosecuted for criminal offenses in Dakota County. These same types of increases occurred in the early 1990’s in most jurisdictions in this country.

In 1990, we prosecuted 628 juveniles for criminal offenses, compared to 1601 juveniles prosecuted in 1998. This is an increase of 155%. Not only has the overall increase in prosecutions been alarming in my jurisdiction, but the level of violent juvenile crimes in Dakota County rose at an even faster rate. Between 1990-1996, juvenile charges for violent crimes grew from 242 offenses to 485 offenses, a growth of 100%. This increase has placed significant strain upon local law enforcement agencies, my office, our community corrections department and our judiciary. Fortunately, our levels of overall and violent juvenile crime have dropped slightly the last two years, a trend which follows a national drop in overall juvenile crime which began two years earlier. Obviously, we hope this trend continues.

Some examples of particularly egregious crimes of violence committed by juveniles in Dakota County, Minnesota in recent years include the prosecution of a 13 year-old girl who attempted to murder her mother by firing a shot at her mother as she returned from work. Fortunately, the shot missed her mother’s head by less than an inch. We have also prosecuted a 16 year-old boy for murdering another 16 year old over an alleged drug debt and also five adult members of the gangster disciples who executed a 16 year-old for allegedly stealing a gun and some cocaine from the gang’s leader. We also prosecuted three juveniles for attempted murder in the shotgun shooting of a discount store clerk who tried to flee when the youths entered to rob the store.

There are many more examples in my county and nationwide of this type of violence. As I share my experiences and views on how best to address the problems of juvenile violence in our nation’s schools and across our country, it is important to keep in perspective that the tragic examples of violence in my jurisdiction and the tragedies that we have seen with the recent incidents of school violence in Littleton, Colorado and elsewhere are not representative of juvenile violence in America. However, these extreme acts of violence do represent a very

alarming trend which we cannot ignore. The types of multiple killings by children which we have witnessed in schools across America were unheard of even a decade ago. We obviously must do all we can to learn from these incidents and look for every means available to keep such tragedies from occurring again. Also, it is important that we not overlook the fact that these types of violent crimes warrant a strong and swift response by our criminal justice system. Protection of the public safety demands no less.

The National District Attorney's Association (NDAA) believes strongly in the need for a balanced approach to juvenile justice – one which emphasizes the importance of prevention and early intervention strategies to prevent crime before it occurs, while at the same time ensuring that those who commit criminal offenses are apprehended, prosecuted, and held accountable for their crimes. In March of 1998, the NDAA passed a resolution concerning the importance of such a balanced approach to juvenile justice. The NDAA also adopted a Resource Manual containing policy positions on juvenile crime issues in November of 1996. This document contains 36 policy positions in 14 areas of importance.¹¹

Contained within NDAA's policy positions concerning juvenile crime is the belief that prosecutors should be given the discretion under the law to file cases involving serious, violent and habitual offenders who are 14 years of age and older directly in adult court for prosecution. The importance of protecting the public safety, assuring an appropriate response based upon the seriousness of the crime and the need to hold these offenders appropriately accountable for their actions justifies such laws. We believe that prosecutors, who are trained on the legal aspects of the charging process, are in the best position to make this decision. Prosecutors have access to both the criminal and social backgrounds of the juvenile offenders, the details surrounding the crime that has occurred, and have experience in taking into consideration the multiple factors which affect the charging decision, including the interests of the victims of crime. Prosecutors are also more directly accountable to the public than are other individuals in the juvenile justice system.¹²

The NDAA also recognizes and supports the long-standing tradition in this country of allowing individual states to adopt those laws they deem appropriate to address the problems of juvenile crime within their jurisdictions. We would, therefore, be concerned if as a result of these recent school violence tragedies that there be a rush to adopt federal legislation usurping the authority of states to address their own juvenile crime problems. Responsibility for juvenile prosecutions should remain with the states. Prosecution of juveniles should be left to local prosecutors who are able to implement programs and policies needed to respond to local concerns. States should be left to develop their own rules concerning the appropriate age of prosecuting juveniles as adults and developing other laws that appropriately hold juvenile offenders accountable for crimes of violence such as those seen in the school shootings across America. The NDAA, therefore, opposes extension of the role of federal government in dealing with juvenile crime and delinquency. These issues should remain in the primary jurisdiction of local law enforcement officials and local prosecutors who work on a daily basis to protect the public safety within the communities they represent.¹³

This is not to say that there is no role for the federal government to play in responding to these tragedies. Clearly, the federal government has an important role to play in addressing many of

these issues, including the importance of developing a national uniform record keeping system for juvenile offenders, ensuring that funding exists to address the severe shortage of juvenile detention facilities throughout our country, providing training and research capabilities to aid local prosecutors, law enforcement officers, school officials and others dealing with juvenile crime and anti-social behavior, and providing funding for the important role of prevention and early intervention efforts to keep these tragedies from occurring in the first place.

As to the need for development of a national uniform record keeping system for juvenile offenders, such a system is essential to ensuring that prosecutors and representatives from other agencies can obtain accurate and comprehensive data to assist them in carrying out their responsibilities. Such a data system, which would ensure the maintaining of fingerprints, photographs, and DNA samples from juvenile offenders, is essential for law enforcement agencies to deal with serious, violent and habitual offenders in our mobile society. Legislation should also be adopted which mandates inter-agency sharing of relevant information pertaining to juvenile offenders. To appropriately address juvenile crime, police, prosecutors, courts, schools, social service agencies, and other agencies that come into contact with a juvenile should be able to share pertinent information concerning juveniles which is necessary for the administration and management of their respective programs. A coordinated response between all agencies dealing with juvenile crime and anti-social behavior is needed. The federal government can play an important role in ensuring that funding is made available for the development of a national uniform record keeping system for juvenile offenders as well as encouraging states to enact appropriate laws allowing for inter-agency sharing of relevant information. Federal laws that restrict such information sharing should be eliminated or revised.¹⁴

As to the availability of juvenile detention facilities, it is important to recognize that there is a significant shortage throughout America of juvenile detention beds which are needed to protect the community, provide safety for the victim, assure the offender's appearance at trial, and provide appropriate punishment for serious, violent and habitual juvenile offenders.¹⁵ The dramatic increase in the number of juvenile offenders within the last decade, coupled with the increasing violent nature of their crimes, demands that prosecutors, legislators, and other public officials bring issues such as punishment and public safety to the forefront. If we are to provide appropriate punishment for serious, violent or habitual juvenile offenders and maximize public protection, we must address the issue of detention for juveniles, and juveniles prosecuted as adults, both before and after adjudication. America's prosecutors are supportive of recent regulatory changes adopted by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention which provide for greater flexibility in co-locating juvenile detention facilities with adult detention facilities, allow the use of shared staff between such facilities, clarify the perimeters of sight and sound separation restrictions, and expand the ability to hold juvenile delinquent status offenders for longer periods of time both prior to and following court appearances. The federal government can play an important role in providing funding to ensure that adequate detention space is available to house serious, violent, and habitual juvenile offenders across America.¹⁶

As to the issue of parental liability laws, the NDAA supports the development of laws which seek to strike a proper balance between using parental liability as a means to force parents to control and properly supervise their children, making victims whole, and holding juveniles

personally accountable for their actions. Parents do have an affirmative duty to supervise and control their children and when they fail to do so, some consequences should follow. At a minimum, parents should be responsible for:

- Attending all court proceedings, providing that their employers allow such attendance.
- Participating in rehabilitative programs with their children.
- Paying costs associated with the prosecution, placement and treatment of their children, within appropriate limits, and subject to the ability to pay.
- Participating in court ordered programs that require parental involvement.
- Participating in parenting skill classes when appropriate.
- Taking responsibility, at some level, for restitution to victims.¹⁷

In order to assure that parental responsibilities can, in fact, be mandated, courts must have the ability to hold parents in contempt for noncompliance. Any statutory scheme adopted in this area must clearly identify the agency responsible for ensuring parental compliance. In the final analysis, all actions taken against parents should be in addition to appropriate actions taken against the juveniles and not in place of such sanctions. Parental responsibility is only one of several means necessary to control serious, violent or habitual juvenile offenders.¹⁸

Concerning the issue of guns and dangerous weapons, there is no question that the availability, distribution and use of guns by juveniles in the commission of crimes has escalated dramatically in our country. Because of this crisis, the public has appropriately demanded the criminal justice system take a stronger stand on offenders who possess or use dangerous weapons. The NDAA believes that serious, violent or habitual juvenile offenders who illegally use or possess firearms or dangerous weapons should face enhanced penalties similar to such laws passed relating to adult offenders. Regardless of one's views concerning gun control, there should be no dispute that individuals who illegally use dangerous weapons should face serious consequences in the criminal and juvenile justice systems. It is clearly appropriate for states to include in their juvenile codes enhanced penalties for gun use. These penalties could involve longer juvenile sentences or trial in adult court. Legislation should also be enacted to impose criminal responsibility on any parent or adult who provides a juvenile with a weapon or access to a weapon which is later used in the commission of a crime.¹⁹

One of the lessons to be learned from the recent school violence tragedies is that every state and community must be prepared to deal with violent juvenile crimes committed by young criminals, for as we have seen, these acts of violence can erupt anywhere in America at any time. We must ensure that adequate laws exist to appropriately hold young criminals responsible for acts of extreme violence. One method which should be considered is the use of blended sentencing laws. These laws, which have been enacted in several states, including Minnesota, Connecticut, Montana, Colorado, Missouri, Rhode Island and Texas, provide a middle ground approach with enhanced juvenile sanctions for extremely young offenders of this nature who may not be appropriate for initial adult prosecution. Laws such as these ensure imposition of tougher penalties for such serious crimes. Under Minnesota's blended sentencing law, for example, the juvenile court's jurisdiction is extended for two years and the juvenile would receive a stayed adult sanction which could later be imposed should the offender either fail to fully conform to all of the sanctions handed down by the juvenile court or commit a new crime. Coupled with laws

authorizing adult prosecution for offenders 14 years of age or older in reference to crimes of violence, blended sentencing laws are an important way of addressing serious criminal behavior.

Perhaps the most important thing that the federal government can do in addressing violent juvenile crime is to provide adequate funding to programs aimed at crime prevention. The NDAA believes in the importance of funding proven crime prevention initiatives, recognizing that programs proven to keep kids from becoming criminals in the first place are some of the most powerful weapons in law enforcement's arsenal against crime. Such programs include those aimed at providing early childhood care, preventing child abuse and neglect, and ensuring that quality child care and after school activities are available for America's youth. The importance of these programs and their role in reducing criminal behavior is supported by scientific research. For example, in Ypsilanti, Michigan, the High School Educational Research Foundation randomly admitted half of the at-risk three and four year old applicants to its quality preschool center and provided their parents with in-home coaching and parenting skills for an hour and half each week. Twenty-two years after this program ended, the children receiving these services were found to be **just one-fifth as likely** as kids denied the services to be chronic law breakers.²⁰ In another study in Syracuse, New York, at-risk kids who were provided early childhood services and a high quality preschool program were found to be **only one-tenth as likely** as kids denied these services to be delinquent by age 16.²¹ Other research has shown that even programs that serve only a limited number of children have significantly reduced juvenile victimization during after school hours. For example, one study has shown that with intensive recruiting, after school programs have cut crime by as much as seventy-five percent in some high crime neighborhoods.²² Another study concluded that participants in after school programs are more likely to do well in school, to treat adults with respect, and to resolve conflicts without violence.²³

It is also commonly known today that youth who are neglected or abused in their early years run a significantly greater risk of acting out violently when they become teenagers. With almost three million American children reported as being abused or neglected in 1995, we need to make sure that child protection services staff have sufficient resources to identify and treat abused and neglected children. Studies in this area have once again shown the importance of reducing violence and criminal behavior. For example, The Prenatal and Early Infancy Project²⁴ assigned half a group of at-risk mothers to receive visits by specially trained nurses and provide coaching and parenting skills and other advice and support. Such a program was shown not only to **reduce child abuse by 80 percent** in the first two years, but showed that after 15 years following the ending of these services, these mothers had only one-third as many arrests, and their children were **only half as likely** to be delinquent. A similar "Healthy Start" Program²⁵ in Hawaii which offered at-risk mothers preventive health care and home visits by para-professionals who coached them in parenting skills and child development and offered family counseling showed that over a four-year period those who had not received such services were more than 2-1/2 times as likely to have a confirmed instance of child abuse within their families.

Another area which we cannot ignore is truancy from school. Truancy is one of the most important predictors of juvenile delinquency and is one of the common factors that runs through the background of almost all juveniles who find their way into court. Funding must be made available for effective truancy intervention programs and the prosecutors of our nation need to

work hand in hand with our school districts and social workers to ensure that children are in school and receiving the education that they need to become productive and law abiding citizens in this country.

Another important area which cannot be ignored is the importance of funding alcohol and drug abuse programs aimed at youth. Use of alcohol and drugs is often a precursor to crime and delinquency. We must continue to make it a priority to ensure that our youth remain alcohol and drug free.

We must also do all we can to identify troubled and disruptive children at an early age and provide these children and their parents with counseling and training that can help avoid future criminal behavior. When elementary school children display disruptive behavior, this is a warning signal that cannot be ignored. Such children and their parents must be provided with appropriate counseling, social skills training, and other help to ensure their future success. Once again, this is an area where studies have already shown the importance of early intervention. For example, a Montreal study showed that providing disruptive first and second grade boys with services like these **cut in half** the odds that they would be placed in special classes, rated highly disruptive by a teacher or by peers, or be required to repeat a grade in school. These are all signs reflecting the risk of future criminal behavior. Another study showed that providing half of a group of hyperactive 6 to 12 year olds with individual and group therapy, as well as weekly training for their parents, **cut in half** the number who had been charged with a major criminal offense six years later, compared to those children not receiving such services.

Mentoring programs allowing youth access to positive adult role models are also extremely important, so that youth do not look to gang leaders for the support they need. Pre-assessment programs, such as the pre-assessment center developed in Jefferson County, Colorado, the site of the Littleton tragedy, are also extremely important. Such programs assess the underlying causes of criminal and anti-social behavior at the outset when kids first come into contact with the criminal justice system and can divert youth into appropriate counseling and crime prevention programs. While these programs will not stop all youth violence, they can make an important difference to some youth before it is too late.

We must also continue to do everything we can as a society to promote positive assets in youth throughout America. There are far more good kids in this country who are positive role models in their communities than there are delinquents who are committing criminal offenses. We must mobilize these youth to promote their positive assets and enable them to become positive role models for other youth throughout the community. These youth can also serve as resources to help us identify problems and problem kids in our schools and in our communities.

We also must continue to address the widespread portrayals of violence in the media and in video games. One of the common themes in many of these tragic killing sprees is over-access to, and even fixation upon, extremely violent movies and video games. While not every child who views such violent material becomes a killer, it is a warning sign which cannot be ignored. We have become desensitized to violence in America and we cannot let this continue in future generations. It is shocking to realize that a child will witness over 200,000 acts of violence on

TV or in the movies before they reach the age of 18. Parents must also assume responsibility in this area and need to place limits upon what their children are watching.

As we all know, there are no simple solutions to the problem of youth violence. Traditional law enforcement efforts must continue with new tools to deal with today's violent juvenile criminals and to effectively deal with non-violent offenders before it is too late. Violent juvenile criminals must be prosecuted and dealt with severely by our system of criminal justice. We must send a clear message that violence such as that seen in the recent school shootings will not be tolerated in America. We must also look for every means possible to prevent these crimes from occurring in the first place. The long-term solution requires that we step back and look at the underlying causes of juvenile crime and mobilize everyone in America to get involved and work together towards addressing these issues.

America's prosecutors remain committed to doing all we can to address juvenile crime problems by holding juvenile offenders appropriately accountable for their criminal acts. However, a balanced approach to juvenile justice is needed and America's prosecutors would encourage Congress and state legislatures across this country to adopt such an approach and provide funding to establish a uniform national record keeping system for juvenile offenders and adequate juvenile detention space. Funding is also needed for training and resources for local prosecutors and law enforcement officials, and for crime prevention and early intervention initiatives. By working together to insure that youth are held appropriately accountable for their criminal behavior and to establish prevention and early intervention efforts, we can make a difference and reduce the levels of violence in our schools and across our nation.

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¹ See BUREAU OF THE CENSUS, U.S. DEP'T OF COMMERCE, STATISTICAL ABSTRACT OF THE UNITED STATES 1997, at 209 (1997) [hereinafter STATISTICAL ABSTRACT].

² See Howard N. Snyder, *Juvenile Arrests 1996*, JUV. JUST. BULL. 5 (Nov. 1997).

³ See STATISTICAL ABSTRACT, *supra* note 1, at 209.

⁴ *Id.*

⁵ See FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, U.S. DEP'T OF JUSTICE, UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS FOR THE UNITED STATES 1994, at 221 (1995) [hereinafter CRIME REPORTS 1994].

⁶ *Id.*

⁷ See FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, U.S. DEP'T OF JUSTICE, UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS FOR THE UNITED STATES 1993, at 225 (1994) [hereinafter CRIME REPORTS 1993]; CRIME REPORTS 1994, *supra* note 5, at 225; FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, U.S. DEP'T OF JUSTICE, UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS FOR THE UNITED STATES 1995, at 216 (1996) [hereinafter CRIME REPORTS 1995]; FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, U.S. DEP'T OF JUSTICE, UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS FOR THE UNITED STATES 1996, at 222 (1997) [hereinafter CRIME REPORTS 1996]; FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, U.S. DEP'T OF JUSTICE, UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS FOR THE UNITED STATES 1997, at 243 (1998) [hereinafter CRIME REPORTS 1997].

⁸ See SNYDER, *supra* note 2, at 4.

⁹ See CRIME REPORTS 1995, *supra* note 4, at 222; CRIME REPORTS 1996, *supra* note 4, at 222; CRIME REPORTS 1997, *supra* note 4, at 243.

¹⁰ See BUREAU OF THE CENSUS, U.S. DEP'T OF COMMERCE, POPULATION PROJECTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES BY AGE, SEX, RACE, AND HISPANIC ORIGIN: 1995 TO 2050, at 72, tbl. 2 (1996); BUREAU OF THE CENSUS, U.S. DEP'T OF COMMERCE, U.S. POPULATION ESTIMATES BY AGE, SEX, RACE, AND HISPANIC ORIGIN: 1990-1997, at 28, tbl. 1 (1998).

¹¹The areas addressed in this Resource Manual include organizational priorities; decision to prosecute; adult vs. juvenile prosecution; detention; sentences; terminology; statements by juveniles; parental responsibility; information access; victims' rights; crime prevention; guns and dangerous weapons; gangs; and federal responsibility.

¹² NATIONAL DIST. ATTORNEYS ASS'N, RESOURCE MANUAL AND POLICY POSITIONS ON JUVENILE CRIME ISSUES, 6-7 (1996) [hereinafter JUVENILE CRIME ISSUES].

¹³ *Id.* at 20.

¹⁴ *Id.* at 14-16.

¹⁵In 1992, over 1,471,200 juveniles were arrested for delinquency offenses. Of that number, thirty-seven percent were released without the imposition of any formal or informal sanction. Fifty-one percent were required to appear before a judge to answer formal charges. Only fifty-four percent of all juveniles referred to the courts that year were placed in any correctional setting and only two percent were referred to the adult system for trial. OJJDP, United States Department of Justice, Juvenile Court Statistics 1992, 5 (1996).

¹⁶ JUVENILE CRIME ISSUES, supra note 12, at 7-9.

¹⁷ *Id.* at 12-14.

¹⁸ *Id.*

¹⁹ *Id.* at 17-18.

²⁰ Schweinhart, L.J., H.V. Barnes and D.P. Weikart, *Significant Benefits: The High/Scope Perry Preschool Study Through Age 27* (Ypsilanti, MI: High-Scope Press, 1993).

²¹ Lally, J.R., P.L. Mangione and A.S. Honig, "The Syracuse University Family Development Research Program: Long-Range Impact of an Early Intervention with Low-Income Children and Their Families" in D.R. Powell, ed., *Parent Education as Early Childhood Intervention: Emerging Directions in Theory, Research and Practice* (Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing, 1988).

²² Jones, M.A. and D.R. Offord, "Reduction of Antisocial Behavior in Poor Children by Nonschool Skill Development," *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry and Allied Disciplines* 30 (1989), 737-750.

²³ Miller, B.M., *Out-of-School Time: Effects on Learning in the Primary Grades* (Wellesley, MA: School-Age Child Care Project [now called the National Institute on Out-of-School Time], Center for Research on Women, Wellesley College, 1995); and Posner, J.K. and D.L. Vandell, "Low-Income Children's After-School Care: Are there Beneficial Effects of After-School Programs," *Child Development* 65 (Society for Research in Child Development, 1994) 440-456.

²⁴ Olds, D.L., et al., "Long-term Effects of Home Visitation on Maternal Life Course and Child Abuse and Neglect: Fifteen-year Follow-up of a Randomized Trial," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, Vol. 278, No. 8, August 27, 1997, pp. 637-652. and Olds, et al., "Long-term Effects of Nurse Home Visitation on Children's Criminal and Antisocial Behavior: 15-Year Follow-up of a Randomized Controlled Trial," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, Vol. 280, No. 14, October 14, 1998, pp. 1238-1244.

²⁵ National Institute of Justice, "Helping to Prevent Child Abuse — Future Criminal Consequences: Hawaii Healthy Start" (October 1995).