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The Causal Logic Model of the Palm Beach County School Safety and Student Performance Program

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Preface

This report provides a description of a school safety program implemented by the Palm Beach County School District and funded by the National Institute of Justice Grant (Award #2014-CK-BX-0018) as part of the “Developing Knowledge About What Works to Make Schools Safe” Program (NIJ-2014-3878). The report is based on a process evaluation of the program, discussions with program administrators and staff, and program materials. Motivation for this report stems from two considerations. *First*, many impact evaluations provide little information about program specifics, such as the activities, resources, staffing, and more that collectively comprise the program. They also may omit mention of the theoretical, or causal, logic that guides the program. As a result, it can be difficult to know precisely how the program contributed to any observed impacts. *Second*, it can be difficult for organizations to adopt the program because too few details exist about its operations or the theory or logic that underlie it.¹

It is this latter consideration that is the primary impetus for this report. Specifically, this report serves to provide a foundation for shedding light on the program’s design and the theoretical logic for anticipating that it can improve outcomes for youth and schools. It may assist with interpreting the impact evaluation results reported in the evaluation final report. In addition, it may serve as a guide for organizations, such as school districts, that seek to adopt the program or a variation of it that would fit the unique needs, circumstances, and resources of these organizations. This report describes the design, or causal logic, of the intervention as originally envisioned. It does not describe the implementation of the program. It also does not discuss variation in the program’s design over time. The original program design and variations in it largely accord. However, the design as originally envisioned best captures the program’s goals and causal logic. One illustration: Staffing configurations across schools, as well as the frequency of intervention team meetings, were modified from one year to the next. In so doing, there was, however, no alteration to the program’s goals or its overarching design. Readers interested in these changes, the implementation of the program, and the impact evaluation are referred to the study’s final report—*The Palm Beach County School Safety and Student Performance Partnership Research Project: Final Research Report*.

¹ Farrington, David P. 2003. “Methodological Quality Standards for Evaluation Research.” *The Annals* 587:49-68. Bardach, Eugene. 2012. *A Practical Guide for Policy Analysis: The Eightfold Path to More Effective Problem Solving*. 4th edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. Bardach, Eugene. 2004. “Presidential Address—The Extrapolation Problem: How Can We Learn from the Experience of Others?” *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 23:205-220.

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The Causal Logic Model of the Palm Beach County School Safety and Student Performance Program

Introduction

The School Safety and Student Performance Program (hereinafter “the program”) was designed by the School District of Palm Beach County (SDPBC), a large, racially and economically diverse school district. The SDPBC is typically among the top 10 largest public school district in the nation. Its student population is larger than the total student populations of many states ([National Center for Education Statistics](#)). Among students, approximately one-third percent are white, almost one-third are Hispanic, about 30 percent are African American, and the remaining percent are “other” ([Florida Department of Education](#)). In addition, over half of students are eligible for the free/reduced lunch program ([Florida Department of Education](#)).

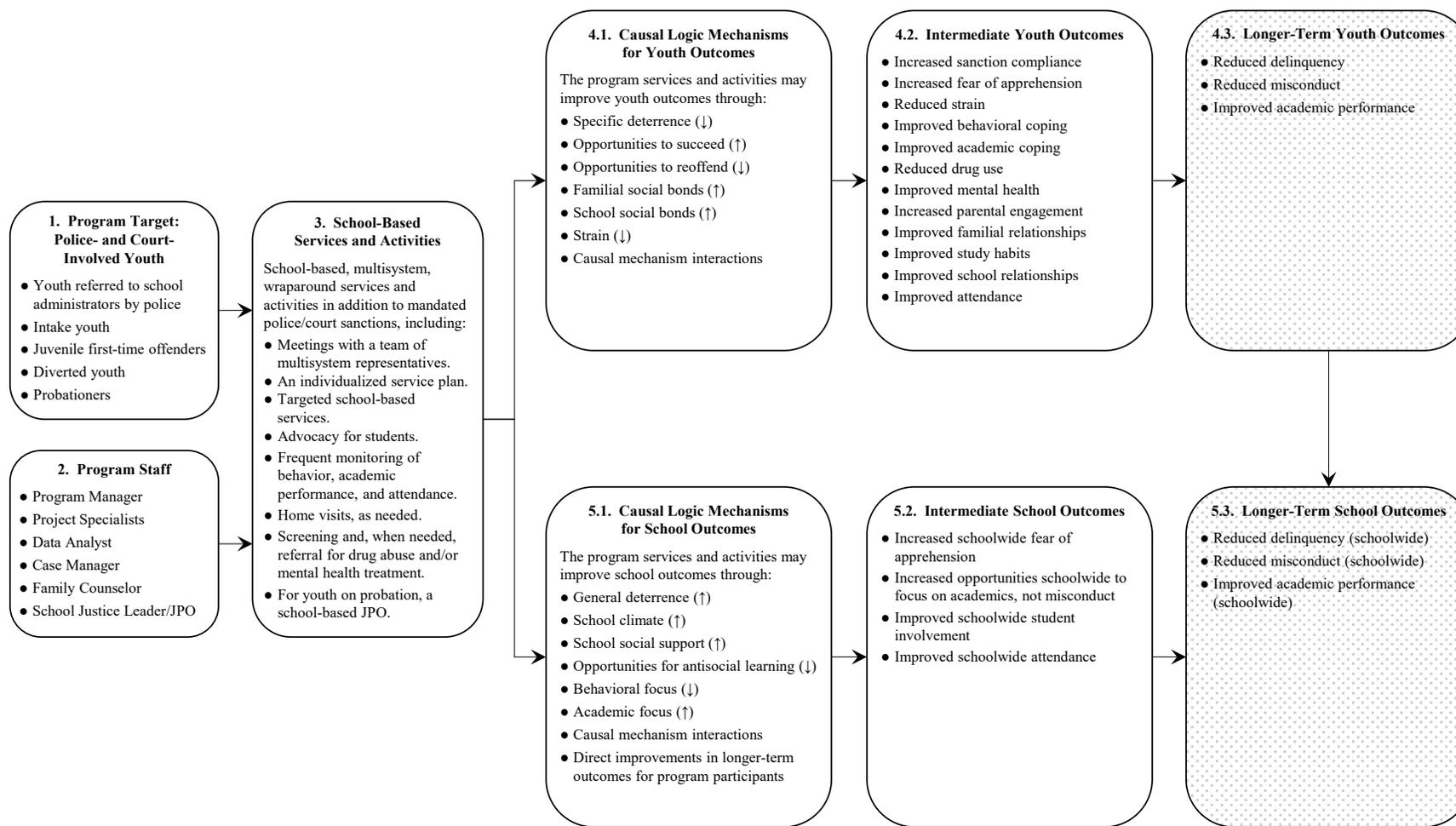
The goals of the program are to increase school safety, reduce school behavioral incidents and referrals to juvenile court, and improve student academic outcomes. This program is one of many programs that the SDPBC uses to improve student behavior and academic performance. It emerged from a pilot initiative developed by the district’s School Justice Partnership—a collaboration between school district leadership and other agencies, including the Florida Department of Juvenile Justice (DJJ). The program is unique among SDPBC efforts in its focus on law enforcement- and court-involved youth, its collaborations with multiple agencies that serve these youth, and its schoolwide focus on safety.

The pilot initiative was implemented at one school with a single school-based juvenile probation officer. The larger project entailed scaling up this pilot initiative to four schools. It also entailed hiring program staff, including a juvenile probation officer, placed at each school. These schools were selected by the SDPBC based on evidence of high arrest and referral rates. In addition, these sites typically received lower performance grades, had more students eligible for the free/reduced lunch program, and had fewer students who took the ACT or SAT.

The SDPBC program seeks to address the needs of youth referred to school administrators by school or local police, youth on intake status with the juvenile court, juvenile first-time offenders, youth diverted from juvenile court, and youth placed on probation. The guiding logic of the program is to address these needs by providing multisystem, wraparound services at schools. These wraparound services are intended to occur primarily during school hours through a team of program and school staff who enable individualized support and assistance and have the ability to integrate and coordinate the efforts of the school, law enforcement, and the juvenile court. This team can refer youth to community-based agencies that provide wraparound family support, mental health and substance abuse services outside of school and after school hours. These program services and staff are in addition to police- or court-ordered sanctions that result from a juvenile first-time offender status, diversion from juvenile court, or probation placement.

The five sets of youth are described below, followed by a description of the program staff positions and potential program services. These sections are followed by a description of the causal logic by which various aspects of the program may contribute to intermediate outcomes for youth and schools and, in turn, to longer-term outcomes for them. Figure 1 provides an overview of the program’s causal logic and the discussion that follows.

Figure 1. Palm Beach County School Safety and Student Performance Program: Causal Logic Model



1. Program Target: Police- and Court-Involved Youth

The program is intended to focus on youth turned over to school administrators by school police for disciplinary action, intake youth, juvenile first-time offenders, youth diverted from juvenile court, and youth placed on probation. Collectively, such youth may be at risk of further delinquency and possibly behavioral and academic challenges at school. Descriptions of each set of youth are provided below.

Youth referred to school administrators by police

Youth referred to school administrators by school or local police status results when a student commits a relatively minor delinquent act, such as truancy or vandalism, that could result in arrest. However, instead of arresting the student, the school police officer refers the student to school administrators for disciplinary action. The youth is not arrested and will not have an official record with law enforcement of the police contact. (The school district may maintain a list of students who are turned over by local police for truancy. However, law enforcement agencies in these instances typically do not record police contact.) Disciplinary actions taken by school administrators may include school-based interventions, such as restorative justice, mentorship programs, or writing an apology letter.

Intake youth

Intake status results when a youth has police contact, but has not yet received a disposition. These youth may later be assigned juvenile first-time offender status, diverted from juvenile court, or placed on probation. At that point, the youth may receive sanctions and services. For some, their cases may be dismissed and they will not have further involvement with the court.

Juvenile First-Time Offenders (JFOs)

Juvenile first-time offender (hereinafter “JFO”) status typically results when a youth commits a relatively minor delinquent act, such as minor drug possession or theft. Rather than arresting and referring youth to the juvenile court, law enforcement officers instead may cite youth and assign them JFO status. If youth successfully complete their JFO sanctions, the arrest will not become a part of their official record. Once cited, JFOs typically are referred to a youth court program. During their youth court hearing, they may be assigned a curfew, community service hours, counseling sessions, drug testing, or restitution payments, among other sanctions. In general, youth are on JFO status for approximately three months. The JFO program in Palm Beach County is similar to Florida’s statewide civil citation program, and it satisfies the state’s requirement that law enforcement agencies have a civil citation program.

Diverted youth

Diversion from juvenile court may result when a youth commits a relatively minor delinquent act, such as minor drug possession, theft, or battery. As we discuss above, when such acts are committed, the police may cite the youth and assign them JFO status. However, they instead may refer the youth to juvenile court. The court then may choose to informally process the youth by diverting them. Youth who successfully complete diversion sanctions may avoid formal processing and thus an official record of delinquency. The juvenile court typically refers diverted youth to a youth court program. During their youth court hearing, they may be assigned

a curfew, community service hours, counseling sessions, drug testing, restitution payments, or school visits from the a local police officer or school resource officer, among other sanctions. Some youth may be referred to specific diversion programs, such as the Juvenile Diversion Alternative Program or the Family Violence Intervention Program. Diverted youth typically maintain this status for three to six months.

Probationers

Probation typically results when a youth commits a delinquent act, such as robbery, weapon possession, or battery. These youth frequently have had previous police or court contact. Probation may be issued by the juvenile court as an alternative to dismissal, diversion, or commitment to a custodial facility. Sanctions assigned to probated youth may include counseling, drug testing, curfew, restitution, or other sanctions deemed appropriate by the court. Probation supervision typically will range from six to twelve months.

2. Program Staff

The SDPBC program is *not* designed to provide specific services. Rather, it is designed to rely on school-based integrated support and assistance. As such, the program does not require a set number of staff per se. Rather, it requires sufficient staffing to create individualized support and assistance, as well as the ability to integrate and coordinate efforts throughout the school and with the police and juvenile court. Indeed, the central orienting philosophy of the program is that better coordinated efforts among these different entities may result in better leveraging of existing resources and services and more effective intervention and assistance.

Program staff members may include a program manager, project specialist, data analyst, and, at the schools, a case manager, family counselor, and juvenile probation officer. Below, each staff member's duties and roles are described. It is important to emphasize that these descriptions reflect the original design of the program, not its actual implementation. Also, in some cases, the duties include activities related to implementing an experimental evaluation, which was undertaken as part of the study of the SDPBC program. In contexts where an organization would not be undertaking an experimental evaluation, the activities related to undertaking an experiment obviously would not occur or be needed.

Program Manager

The program manager's primary responsibilities include supervising program staff and overseeing the program's implementation. To this end, the program manager's role may include:

- Training program staff on program implementation.
- Working with school district staff to ensure implementation fidelity and to troubleshoot implementation issues.
- Working with program staff and collaborators, including the project specialist, the evaluation team, school district staff, and the local DJJ, to determine when changes in program procedures and protocols are needed.
- Supervising the implementation of changes in program procedures and protocols.

Project Specialist

The primary responsibilities of the project specialist entail guiding program staff and coordinating implementation efforts across schools and stakeholder agencies. To this end, the project specialist's role may include:

- Training program staff on program implementation.
- Troubleshooting implementation issues with program staff.
- Conducting internal quality checks to ensure implementation fidelity. These checks might include, among other things, frequently communicating with school-based program staff to ensure that implementation protocols are being followed.
- Working with the program manager, school administrators and staff, and stakeholder agencies to address, if needed, lapses in implementation fidelity.
- Implementing changes in program procedures and protocols.
- Working with law enforcement agencies, the state attorney's office, and DJJ to identify students who are eligible for program participation.

Data Analyst

The data analyst's main responsibilities include providing DJJ accurate and quality data that can be matched to DJJ data, which in turn allows for assessments of program impacts on individual-level school *and* DJJ outcomes. To this end, the data analyst's role may include:

- Working with school-based program staff to ensure the accurate input of data.
- Conducting data quality checks, including working with school-based program staff to ensure no data are missing.
- Working with the SDPBC's research division to match program data to the school district's data system.
- Working with DJJ to ensure a clean merge of school and juvenile justice data.
- Tracking the recruitment status of eligible youth.
- Working with the evaluation team to implement a random assignment protocol. (In contexts where no experimental evaluation is to be conducted, the analyst could work independently or with other evaluators to analyze the data and assess program impacts.)

Case Manager

The case manager's main responsibilities are to recruit youth into the program and to coordinate services and referrals for intervention group youth. The case manager also is expected to become integrated into the school and assist with efforts to improve schoolwide safety. (The discussion below assumes an experimental evaluation will occur. As noted above, in cases where no such evaluation occurs, the case manager would not implement the tasks related to study recruitment.) To this end, the case manager's role may include:

- Recruiting youth into the study and administering assent and consent forms.
- Coordinating and leading school-based team meetings for intervention group youth, including gathering information relevant for developing an intervention plan (separate from the individualized service plan).
- Participating in the development of individualized service plans for intervention group youth and oversee the implementation of these plans.
- Monitoring all intervention group youth on a daily or weekly basis.
- Maintaining records of district and partner interventions and, separately, program interventions in the data tracking form for intervention group and control group youth.
- Maintaining records, including recording the interventions assigned by the school-based team, if any, and inputting these data into the data tracking form. They also might maintain general meeting notes for all school-based team meetings. In addition, they may maintain logs of contact with parents regarding assent and consent, logs of other contact with parents, assent and consent records, records on student meetings, records for restorative justice circles, information about referrals to community-based substance abuse and mental health providers, records of any follow-up that occurs with the community-based providers, and information provided by teachers and guidance counselors about intervention group youth. These notes assist with data collection and help to document and guide implementation fidelity.
- Attending school functions, such as pep rallies and football games.
- Conducting home visits with the family counselor and, when needed, the juvenile probation officer.
- Performing lunch and hall monitoring duties.

Family Counselor

The family counselor's main responsibilities are to advocate for and counsel intervention youth and to serve as their primary point of contact for the intervention. In addition, the family counselor is expected to become integrated into the school environment and assist with efforts to improve schoolwide safety. To this end, the family counselor's role may include:

- Recruiting youth into the study and administering assent and consent forms.
- Monitoring all intervention group youth on a daily or weekly basis.
- Monitoring and document performance of control group and intervention group youth. (In contexts where no experimental study occurs, all monitoring would focus on intervention group youth.)
- Participating in school-based team meetings for intervention group youth.
- Conducting home visits with the case manager and, as needed, juvenile probation officer.
- Referring youth for support services that are assigned by the school-based team. In so doing, the family counselor should ensure that youth are not receiving services from this intervention that overlap with their police- or court-ordered sanctions.
- Collecting school discipline data and inputting these data into the data tracking form.
- Maintaining records, including notes about intervention services, home visits, and meetings with youth.
- Attending school functions.
- Leading restorative justice circles for youth in the intervention group and, if needed, for other students in the school.
- Consistently checking in with intervention group youth either through one-on-one sessions or through brief check-ins/check-outs in the hallway or at lunch.
- Performing lunch and hall monitoring duties.
- Participating in school activities, such as serving as an athletic coach.

School Justice Leader/Juvenile Probation Officer (JPO)

The school-based juvenile probation officer's (hereinafter "JPO") primary responsibilities include providing specialized assistance and additional supervision to youth on probation. They also may service as a School Justice Leader and, in so doing, provide schoolwide support services with a focus on improving school safety. To this end, the JPO's role may include:

- Fulfilling all required job duties of a JPO for intervention group and control group probationers, including attending court meetings, monitoring youths' behavioral and academic status, and assisting youth to manage their court-ordered sanctions.
- Coordinating services that aim to facilitate youths' compliance with their police- and court-ordered sanctions, such as assisting in identifying community service opportunities.
- Conducting home visits with the case manager and family counselor, as needed.
- Performing lunch and hall monitoring duties.
- Participating in school-based meetings for intervention group youth.
- Providing schoolwide support services that focus on improving school safety.
- Attending school functions.
- Serving on the Principal's Leadership Team and the Schoolwide Positive Behavioral Support Committee.

Other school and community staff

The design of the program envisions that the program staff (described directly above) work with multiple school staff members. School staff who participate in this program may include school police officers, school safety coordinators, teachers, principals, assistant principals, deans, school nurses, certified school guidance counselors, and exceptional student education specialists. The program staff also might work with the school-based staff members from community-based substance abuse and mental health providers. Staff from these agencies would administer substance abuse and mental health assessments and treatment for intervention group youth who are in need of these services. In addition, program staff also may work with other community agencies, including juvenile court, law enforcement, and social service agencies.

Other duties

The responsibilities and roles described above are not set in stone. Schools might identify additional ways program staff members could help to improve school safety.

3. School-Based Services and Activities

School-based services may be made available to the students participating in this program. As will be discussed in section 4, the logic of the program is that individualized, wraparound services can improve multiple youth outcomes, including reduced delinquency and misconduct and improved academic performance and attendance. Although the program's activities focus on intervention group students, some activities also focus indirectly on all students. For example, increased supervision of all students can arise through the mere presence of program staff in schools. This schoolwide focus creates a pathway through which the program may improve schoolwide outcomes; section 5 details this logic. Here, however, the focus is on describing the services and activities that collectively constitute the SDPBC program.

Meetings with a team of multisystem representatives

The primary goal of having meetings with a school-based team of multisystem representatives (hereinafter "school-based teams") is to provide youth with access to people who have knowledge and expertise in a broad range of service areas. In addition, the multisystem team approach can provide a more holistic and informed needs assessment for youth. This cooperation between multiple school staff and service area representatives may lead to the identification and focus on a broad range of youths' issues (e.g., academic *and* mental health) rather than a focus on a single type of issue (e.g., academic *or* mental health). This multiagency coordination also may help to identify areas for cross-agency synergy (e.g., improving youth functioning in one arena by addressing problems in another) and areas of conflict (e.g., scheduling conflicts between various services and activities). To this end, school-based teams may:

- Include a range of participants, including from the school, a police officer, teacher, assistant principal, principal, school nurse, certified school counselor, and ESE specialist, and, from the program, the case manager, family counselor, and JPO. Youth and their parents also may be invited to participate.
- Consider, to the extent possible, multiple risk assessment indicators to help identify youths' unique needs. Information to be considered might include grades, attendance, state test scores, academic and discipline history, ESE status, and results from mental health and substance abuse screenings. When available and to the extent possible, the school-based teams also might consider information from the police- or court-administered Prevention Assessment Tool (PAT), Community Positive Achievement Change Tool (CPACT), and Juvenile Education Treatment Services (JETS).
- Aim to develop an individualized service plan that is likely to address the student's unique needs and identified risk factors.
- Follow-up on the youth's progress towards behavioral and academic goals. The school-based team may change the youth's intervention plan if a need arises for doing so.

An individualized service plan

Individualized service plans aim to provide youth with guidance and access to services that may be relevant to his or her unique circumstances. The anticipated value of individualized service plans is twofold. First, youth may have special or uncommon needs that a "cookie-cutter" intervention can not address. Individualized plans help to ensure that youth receive services that might better address their unique needs. Second, when individualized service plans

are used, program resources and the time of youth, families, and staff are less likely to be wasted by implementing services that are not needed. To this end, individualized service plans:

- Are developed by the school-based team and, when needed, supplemented by the family counselor. If needed, the family counselor might consult with the project specialist, case manager, JPO, or school administrators and staff. For students who do not receive a plan from the school-based team, the family counselor, in consultation with other staff members, may develop a service plan that aims to address students' needs.
- Aim to address students' unique needs, especially those related to the following domains: academic, attendance, behavioral, parental engagement, mental health, and substance.
- May include a combination of the following approaches or interventions, such as: reenrollment in school, a credit recovery intervention, tutoring, restorative justice circles, mediation and conflict resolution classes, daily check-in and check-out with program staff, a hot pass (youth may request to leave class temporarily to manage any frustration or anger that they may be experiencing), a behavioral contract, home visits from program staff, a referral for a mental health treatment needs assessment, a referral for a substance abuse treatment needs assessment, or other individualized responses.

Targeted school-based services

The program team works to coordinate existing school-based services and interventions for youth. To this end, targeted school-based services:

- May be coordinated through a school-based team plan or an individualized service plan.
- May include a range of services, such as the following: credit recovery interventions, tutoring services, restorative justice circles, mediation and conflict resolution classes, a hot pass (youth may request to leave class temporarily to manage any frustration or anger that they may be experiencing), and a behavioral contract.

Advocacy for students

Program staff are expected to advocate on behalf of youth to school administrators and staff, police, and court actors. To this end, advocacy for students may include:

- Efforts by program staff to work with school administrators and staff, including principals, teachers, and guidance counselors, to mediate youths' school-related issues, such as conflicts with teachers and changes to course schedules.
- Home visits or other activities that aim to improve or facilitate parental engagement.
- The participation of program staff in school activities, such as serving as an athletic coach or attending school functions.

Frequent monitoring of behavior, academic performance, and attendance

The goal of frequently monitoring youth serves to identify difficulties youth are having before major issues arise; the primary goal is to assist the youth, not to punish them. Frequent monitoring of youth may include:

- Daily, weekly, or bimonthly in-person meetings between the youth and program staff.
- Grade, attendance, and school discipline checks by program staff.
- The participation of parents or guardians in the implementation of their child's individualized service plan.
- Coordinated supervision of youth, including increased communication about behavioral

issues and successes, between program staff, school administrators and staff, school police, and parents.

- Check-ins by program staff with youth, law enforcement, and juvenile court on the youth's progress towards completion of their law enforcement or court-ordered sanctions.

Home visits, as needed

Home visits can improve parental engagement and help youth build positive familial relationships. To this end, home visits:

- Typically are to be conducted by the case manager and family counselor, and, when needed, the JPO.
- May occur when a student has unexcused absences or, for probationers, a pick-up order for violating their probation. They also may occur when parental input or consent is needed on a school-related issue, intervention, or service, and when the parents are unable to go to the school.

Screening and, when needed, referral for drug abuse and/or mental health treatment

Drug abuse services are to occur only for youth who show a need for these types of services. Many participants do not need these services. When necessary, the school-based, community provider will administer a drug abuse screener to determine whether youth are in need of a drug abuse needs assessment. To this end, the substance abuse screener:

- Determines whether youth are in need of a full substance abuse treatment needs assessment. Youth who show a need for an assessment receive a referral to a community-based provider for a full assessment and, possibly, treatment.
- Asks questions, such as “Do you ever use alcohol or drugs to relax, feel better about yourself, or fit in?” and “Do you ever forget things you did while using alcohol or drugs?” In addition, the screener asks the youth about their history of substance use.

Substance abuse treatment aims to promote abstinence. This treatment typically will take place at school and during school hours. To this end, substance abuse treatment, when needed, can include:

- An individualized, comprehensive substance abuse treatment plan (in addition to a school-based team plan or individualized service plan).
- Frequent meetings with school-based trained substance abuse treatment professionals.
- Outpatient drug and alcohol counseling.
- Other types of counseling, such as anger management and group or family counseling.
- Referrals to other services that may benefit the student and family, and monitoring of these services.

The mental health screener is used to determine whether youth receive a referral to a school-based, community provider for a mental health treatment needs assessment. Mental health services result only for youth who are in need of these types of services, which is determined through a short screening assessment and, for some, a full assessment by a community-based provider. To this end, the mental health screener:

- Determines whether youth are in need of a full mental health treatment needs assessment. Youth who show a need for an assessment receive a referral to a community-based provider for a full assessment and, possibly, treatment.

Mental health treatment aims to reduce mental illness symptoms, improve familial relationships, and improve prosocial coping mechanisms. This treatment may take place at school and during school hours. To this end, mental health treatment might include:

- An individualized mental health treatment plan.
- Frequent meetings with school-based mental health treatment professionals.
- Functional family therapy.
- Cognitive behavioral therapy.
- Counseling services that focus on trauma, anger management, and substance abuse.
- Monthly family counseling sessions.

For youth on probation, a school-based JPO

The school-based JPO serves as the DJJ-assigned JPO for all students who are on probation. The JPO's role is to provide immediate assistance and supervision to youth on probation. The relationship between a school-based JPO and youth may differ from that of traditional JPOs and youth. Because the JPO is on school grounds and frequently communicates with school personnel, he or she can offer additional information about the youth during meetings with a juvenile court judge that a traditional JPO could not offer. In addition, youth may be more likely to comply with conditions of probation because they know that they are being more closely supervised. The JPO fulfills his or her responsibilities outlined in section 2 above.

4.1. Causal Logic Mechanisms for Youth Outcomes

We describe here the causal logic for how various program activities may contribute to improved outcomes among youth who participate in this program.² Section 4.2 details which intermediate outcomes may operate through each causal mechanism, and section 4.3 focuses on describing longer-term outcomes and how they may result from this program. Before describing each mechanism, several points bear emphasizing.

First, the program’s overarching causal logic is an interactive one. The central premise is that a team-based approach to assisting youth can result in identifying the precise combinations of services, treatment, and activities that will best help youth to improve their behavior and academic performance.

Second, this report does not detail every possible causal mechanism. Rather, it describes those that feature most prominently in the program’s logic.

Third, for each mechanism, one or more activities may be involved. For example, deterrence may arise from the presence and supervision of a JPO and from the presence and supervision of a team of teachers and counselors.

Fourth, not every activity or service works through every listed causal mechanism and also may not affect every outcome. For example, tutoring may contribute to an opportunity to develop better study habits, which in turn might improve academic performance. It may or may not result in deterrent effects that reduce delinquency.

Fifth, the causal chain of many activities may be more extensive than what this discussion depicts. Drug treatment, for example, may contribute to a cascade of improvements that include or go beyond the intermediate outcomes listed in box 4.2 in the figure, and these improvements may contribute to a number of improved longer-term outcomes.

Specific deterrence

Deterrence may arise through several program activities and services. One underpinning of deterrence is the fear or concern that one will be caught and punished. For the intervention, deterrence may arise through increased supervision and monitoring, which may result from the presence of the JPO and frequent meetings with youth and monitoring of their behavior and academic performance by program staff. For example, the JPO’s presence may lead youth to perceive a greater likelihood that they will be caught for misconduct or delinquency, which, in turn, may deter them from participating in these acts. In addition, deterrence may arise through parents’ involvement and participation in the program. Knowing that school staff and parents are in frequent communication may deter youth from participating in delinquency or misconduct.

Opportunities to succeed

Increased opportunities to succeed may arise for youth who receive school-based interventions that target their unique needs and align with their strengths. For example, youths’ individualized service plans may capitalize on their strengths by encouraging enrollment in

² The theories on which the program draws come from mainstream criminological theories. See, for example: Akers, Ronald L., Christine S. Sellers, and Wesley G. Jennings. 2016. *Criminological Theories: Introduction, Evaluation, and Application*, 7th edition. New York: Oxford. Lilly, J. Robert, Francis T. Cullen, and Richard A. Ball. 2015. *Criminological Theory: Context and Consequences*, 6th edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

extracurricular activities that the youth finds interesting. This compatibility may provide youth with additional opportunities to succeed academically and behaviorally. In addition, academic support services, such as tutoring and guidance counseling, may provide youth with more opportunities to succeed academically because youth can gain a better understanding of homework assignments and in turn develop clearer, achievable academic goals.

Opportunities to reoffend

Youths' opportunities to reoffend may be limited because of home visits, frequent monitoring and supervision of their behavior, and their participation in program-sanctioned activities. For example, youth who spend their afterschool free time participating in program-sanctioned activities should have less unsupervised time to commit delinquent acts (i.e., fewer opportunities to offend). Similarly, more monitoring may lead to less unsupervised time during school hours, which should decrease youths' school misconduct. In addition, home visits may help to facilitate communication between the school and parents, which should result in greater awareness by both parties of youths' issues and needs. This heightened awareness can inform modifications to the individualized service plan and help to create fewer opportunities to reoffend.

Familial social bonds

Many aspects of this program may facilitate familial social bonds. Parental engagement is key to successful implementation of their child's individualized service plan. This involvement may help parents assist their child in a more targeted way. For example, instead of asking their child generally about classes, parents may be able to ask about specific homework assignments, and, if needed, could proactively coordinate with program staff for their child to receive tutoring. In addition, for youth who receive mental health treatment, a key element of that treatment is functional family therapy, which includes family counseling sessions. These sessions may shed light on how a youth's family can help the youth meet his or her academic and behavioral goals. This increased involvement and engagement of parents can serve to enhance youth's bonds with their family and parents. Familial social bonds, in turn, may contribute to a number of intermediate outcomes (discussed in section 4.2).

School social bonds

Inherent in this program is a focus on increasing youth ties to schools, which might be termed "school social bonds." This program is unique because it is school-based and provides services *during* school hours. Each program service and activity relies on school-based program staff whose primary roles and responsibilities are to assist youth. These program staff members are expected to advocate on behalf of youth to school and court actors. For example, if a youth is sent to the principal's office and a parent cannot attend a meeting with the principal, a program staff member may meet with the principal to negotiate a fair consequence that aligns with the youth's needs and keeps the youth in school (as opposed to an extended out-of-school suspension). In addition, the case manager and family counselor, and possibly the JPO, may conduct home visits if needed. These visits aim to bring attention to youths' out-of-school needs. For example, a home visit may reveal that a youth has trouble completing homework because of a lack of home computer access. The program staff might use this information to recommend to teachers that they allow the youth to turn in handwritten assignments. Through

such activities, the program may help youth to develop a stronger bond to school, which should improve several intermediate and longer-term outcomes.

Strain

This program aims to reduce strains that youth may experience and that can adversely affect their behavior and academic performance. Changes in youths' strain may arise through a number of program activities. For example, youth may receive mental health treatment, such as counseling sessions where youth can confidentially discuss concerns they have and seek guidance on how to address those concerns. These sessions may include mediation with family members, which may alleviate some strain, or stress, resulting from at-home conflicts. An individualized service plan that taps into a youth's interests provides another mechanism for reducing strain. For example, the program staff may encourage youth to enroll in activities that the youth finds interesting or helpful, and these activities in turn may reduce strain. In addition, when school and court actors advocate on behalf of the youth, these youth may gain confidence in the education and juvenile justice systems. As a result, they may be more likely in the future to seek assistance from these authority figures as opposed to trying to handle issues on their own.

Causal mechanism interactions

This program is built on the logic that causal mechanisms will interact with each other to impact multiple intermediate outcomes that ultimately will result in improved youth outcomes. Specifically, the program assumes that improved youth outcomes result primarily from a holistic and comprehensive school-based intervention. This intervention consists of a series of activities and services that aim to address various social and psychological domains that, it is hoped, will contribute to improved outcomes. Although some improvements may result from an additive process, the guiding logic is that the greatest improvements are likely to result from implementing an individualized service plan tailored to each student's identified needs across multiple domains. Put differently, the central premise is that a team-based approach can result in identifying the precise combinations of services, treatment, and activities that are most likely to help youth improve their behavior and academic performance. One justification for multiple services is that youth have several needs. Addressing one need by itself either may not achieve much or might result in much greater gains if other needs are addressed at the same time.

4.2. Intermediate Youth Outcomes

We detail here intermediate outcomes that may contribute to improved longer-term outcomes, including reduced delinquency and misconduct and improved academic performance. In each instance, as discussed above in section 4.1, the intermediate outcomes are anticipated to result from implementation of individualized service plans and targeted services for youth. Here, again, this report does not describe how every activity may contribute to each outcome or how the different causal mechanisms may contribute to every intermediate outcome. Rather, it provides brief descriptions and illustrations of the causal logic.

Increased sanction compliance

Greater sanction compliance involves several possibilities. For example, youth may be more likely to comply with probation or diversion program conditions. Several program activities individually may contribute to this intermediate outcome and reinforce one another. For example, the JPO's involvement in the program may make him or her more aware of increased supervision that certain youth need. It also may assist in identifying different ways to engage a youth in activities that increase the youth's ability to comply with conditions of probation. At the same time, school administrators and staff may better understand the need for activities that could the ability of youth to comply with their sanctions.

Sanction compliance may be improved not only through several of the services and activities but also through a number of different causal mechanisms. The presence of a JPO allows for greater monitoring, supervision, and support during school hours. This presence implicates deterrence mechanisms (e.g., the youth may believe that the likelihood of being caught for violating conditions of their police- or court-ordered sanction is greater) as well as opportunities to succeed. For example, the JPO can work with other program staff members to identify ways in which a youth may be engaged in prosocial activities that motivate him or her and that simultaneously may increase the likelihood of sanction compliance. To illustrate, a youth may be assigned to community service hours. The program staff then may, as part of the youth's individualized service plan, connect the youth to external community organizations that offer activities that meet community service hour requirements and that interest the youth.

Increased fear of apprehension

Increased fear of apprehension includes belief that an increased likelihood exists that school or program staff will discover one's misconduct or delinquent behavior. Many program activities serve to increase a youth's fear of apprehension. Most notably, the presence of the JPO may help youth to understand that sanction violations, as well as misconduct and delinquent behavior, may be more likely to be discovered during school hours. Frequent monitoring of youth's behavior may also increase their fear of apprehension. Communication among program staff, court personnel, and parents can highlight to youth that their behavior is being monitored, and thus possibly result in an increased fear of apprehension.

Reduced strain

Many of the program activities are designed to reduce participants' strain. For example, receiving academic services, such as tutoring, may reduce strains that result from failing to understand class and homework assignments. Similarly, an individualized service plan that incorporates services that align with the youth's goals and helps the youth achieve these goals

can reduce strain. To illustrate, youth who have a desire to succeed academically may benefit from an individualized service plan that includes tutoring and one-on-one meetings with teachers (even if neither of these actually improve his or her academic performance). In addition, home visits may improve the youth's relationship with his or her parents, which could serve to reduce strain.

Reduced strain can arise through multiple causal mechanisms. It may result from increasing opportunities to succeed. For example, when the program offers a plan that incorporates multiple service domains, such as mental health and academic, youth may be more likely to succeed behaviorally and academically, thus reducing strain. In addition, a student's parents may participate in his or her school-based team meeting. Doing so may increase the ability of parents to support their children, which, again, is likely to reduce student strain.

Improved behavioral coping

Improved behavioral coping can include learning how to respond positively to stressful situations. It may include responding to difficult situations using prosocial strategies. Many program activities may result in improved behavioral coping. For example, a youth's individualized service plan could include enrollment in conflict resolution classes. Activities such as these may provide youth with training and skills for reacting productively to difficult and stressful situations. In addition, guidance counseling, meetings with the family counselor, and mental health treatment may provide the youth with places where the youth can openly discuss frustrations and proactively plan how to react during stressful situations.

Improved behavioral coping can arise through a number of causal mechanisms. For example, mental health services may teach youth how to manage stress and cope better. In addition, greater school social support may provide youth with strategies they can use to prevent or manage stress and, in turn, cope better.

Improved academic coping

Improved academic coping can include developing ways to respond productively to academic pressures. It also can include responding to academic stresses and failures in prosocial and productive ways. For example, rather than responding to a low test grade with anger and frustration, youth may seek feedback about how to do better on the next exam. Many program activities aim to facilitate improved academic coping. For example, tutoring and guidance counseling work to improve academic performance and manage academic pressures and expectations. In addition, home visits can provide program staff with information about why a youth struggles academically and this information can be used to help remove those barriers.

Multiple causal mechanisms give rise to improved academic coping. For example, an individualized service plan and academic assistance may lead to more opportunities to succeed, which, in turn, may lead to improved academic coping. Also, youth may receive guidance counseling that help him or her make informed decisions about what classes to take, which could result in more opportunities to succeed academically.

Reduced drug use

Reduced drug use is most likely to stem primarily from receiving substance abuse treatment rather than from other program activities. That said, it is conceivable that it may result from frequent monitoring of behavior by the multiple school-based program staff who implement this

program. It may result, too, from the presence of a JPO. All of these activities create increased supervision, which can limit youths' opportunities to use drugs. In addition, familial and school social support may help to reduce drug use.

Improved mental health

Improved mental health includes several possibilities. One such possibility is reduced symptoms of a specific mental health problem. More broadly, however, it can include reduced stress and anxiety and an improved ability to cope emotionally with stressful situations. Improvements in mental health are most likely to arise through the receipt of mental health treatment. However, they also may result from receiving individualized attention by school staff. For example, when youth receive tutoring services, they may experience less stress because they may be more likely to understand and complete homework assignments.

Increased parental engagement

Increased parental engagement can include parents' participation in the implementation of their child's individualized service plan and in school-based team meetings. It can include frequently assisting their child with homework and tasks resulting from program-sanctioned activities. It also can entail checking in with teachers and program staff about their child's academic and behavioral progress. Multiple program activities could serve to increase parental engagement. For example, parents who participate in the implementation of their child's individualized service plan may be kept up to date by staff about their child's unique academic needs and, so, can better address those needs. Parents also may participate in mental health and substance abuse treatment by attending counseling sessions.

Increased parental involvement may arise through multiple causal mechanisms. Familial social support can result from parents' participation in implementing the service plan. When parents receive a child's drug abuse or mental health diagnosis, they may develop a greater awareness of their child's needs and so may become more involved in treatment efforts. In addition, the drug abuse or mental health treatment may include family counseling or parental training courses, which also could serve to increase parental involvement.

Improved familial relationships

Improved familial relationships can entail several possibilities. It can include improved communication between the youth and their family. Improved familial relationships also can include less arguing among family members. Multiple program activities are relevant here as well. For example, during home visits program staff can mediate tensions between youth and family members. They can offer productive ways to resolve household conflicts. Also, the participation of parents in implementing the student's individualized service plan may highlight to parents how they can work with school staff to assist their child to overcome academic difficulties.

Improved familial relationships may operate through the receipt of mental health treatment, which can include family counseling sessions where a professional assists the family in navigating household problems. Not least, counseling sessions can include an explicit recognition of how the family can assist the youth to meet his or her behavioral and academic goals.

Improved study habits

Improved study habits can include spending more time studying for exams, completing course assignments in a timely manner, seeking teacher assistance with coursework when needed, participating fully in group assignments, and taking notes during class. Many program activities could serve to improve study habits. For example, participating in tutoring may provide youth with study skills they can apply to other courses or assignments. Tutors, too, may provide insights into general studying, note taking, and question asking strategies. In addition, knowing that program and school staff are frequently monitoring their academic performance may motivate youth to submit homework assignments and to study for exams.

Multiple causal mechanisms anticipate improved study habits. For example, the participation of school staff in program activities may lead to school social support that results in improved study habits. When youth receive extra support from school staff, they may be more likely to ask for help with assignments. They also may complete homework assignments because they do not want to lose this social support or disappoint the people who are helping them. Academic assistance may result in more opportunities to succeed academically in the short- and long-term. Recognition of these opportunities could motivate youth to improve their study habits.

Improved school relationships

Improved school relationships can include youth feeling more attached to school staff and other students. This program aims to improve school relationships by offering services at school. Meetings with school staff and the school-based team may lead to improved school relationships. These meetings may include, for youth, one-on-one access to program and school staff members, including teachers, who convey to the youth that they have the youth's best interests in mind and want to help them. These school staff also are expected to advocate on behalf of the youth. When youth see that school staff advocate for them, it may improve their views about school. In addition, when program staff communicate with school staff, the youth's circumstances and situation should become better understood and enable more targeted and helpful assistance. In addition, part of the individualized service plan can include participating in group activities. These activities can help youth to bond with other students who may be working through similar issues. These bonds may make youth feel more invested in the school and, in turn, make it less likely that they will revert to antisocial behaviors.

Multiple causal mechanisms may contribute to improved school relationships. When students recognize that this program offers additional school support, the youth may be more likely to develop an attachment to the school. This attachment may improve youths' school relationships. In addition, youth enrolled in group or team activities may develop friendships with youth who have similar interests, which may result in improved school ties.

Improved attendance

Improved attendance includes not skipping class. Frequent monitoring of youths' attendance is a specific program component that may lead to improved attendance. For example, program staff may follow-up with youth who skip class and they may notify the youth's parents of the missed class. In addition, the JPO's presence may deter youth from skipping class because the youth perceives a greater likelihood of being caught.

Once, again, multiple causal mechanisms may arise. For example, the involvement of teachers in program activities improves their ability to monitor and support youth, including

assisting youth when a pattern of missed classes surfaces. When youth believe that their teachers are interested in helping them, they may be more likely to attend class. In addition, increased opportunities to succeed occur when youth participate in activities that target their needs and strengths. For example, youth may not want to risk losing access to particular services by not attending class. Enrollment in these types of activities may provide youth with an incentive to manage their coursework, maintain their grades, and attend class.

4.3. Longer-Term Youth Outcomes

We detail here longer-term youth outcomes that may result from the SDPBC program’s combination of services. As discussed under section 4.1, the overarching logic of the program is that individualized intervention—consisting of services and activities that address each youth’s specific needs—may result in intermediate outcomes (per section 4.2) and, in turn, several longer-term outcomes, including reduced delinquency, reduced misconduct, and improved academic performance. Some intermediate outcomes may be important in their own right (e.g., improved attendance) even if they do not lead to longer-term outcomes (e.g., reduced offending). In addition, some longer-term outcomes may arise through mechanisms that do not necessarily implicate the intermediate outcomes. Below, this report describes the general causal logic for each longer-term youth outcome.

Reduced delinquency

Reduced delinquency may include no additional arrests by law enforcement or referrals to the juvenile court. It also may include no citations received from law enforcement or adjudications received from the juvenile court. Multiple intermediate outcomes, resulting from program services and activities and working through causal mechanisms, have the potential to reduce delinquency. For example, increased supervision could reduce delinquency by altering youths’ perceptions of the likelihood of being caught for delinquency. Reduced strain, too, could reduce delinquency by limiting stressful situations that youth have to react to and handle. Increased parental involvement and improved familial relationships could reduce delinquency by increasing parents’ supervision of their child and increasing youths’ desire to maintain positive familial relationships. Reduced drug use is another form of reduced delinquency. It, too, may reduce the likelihood of youth associating with antisocial peers, which may reduce delinquency. Additional possibilities exist. For example, improved behavioral coping holds potential for reducing delinquency. If youth are equipped to respond to stressful situations in a prosocial manner, they should be less likely to act out in aggressive or delinquent ways. Improved study habits and school relationships also may reduce delinquency by improving the youth’s academic experience and enhancing their desire to succeed academically. These academic goals can increase the costs associated with delinquency (e.g., it puts at risk future scholarships or college acceptances). In short, to the extent that the program creates improved intermediate outcomes, these improvements hold the potential—through different theoretical pathways—to reduce delinquency among program youth.

Reduced misconduct

Reduced misconduct can include fewer detentions and suspensions. It also can include fewer contacts with school police officers. Reduced misconduct follows the same logic as reduced delinquency. Each intermediate outcome that influences delinquency operates in a similar manner for misconduct. For example, improved study habits and school relationships may improve youths’ school experiences and enhance their desire to succeed academically, which makes committing misconduct much riskier (e.g., they risk being suspended which may put them behind in classwork and then may affect their class grade). In addition, improved attendance may reduce misconduct. Youth who are in class have less unsupervised time at school and so should be less likely to commit misconduct. Improved school relationships may reduce misconduct because youth risk losing the support of program staff. Increased parental

engagement, too, may reduce misconduct. For example, parents who are on school grounds more often may communicate more often with school staff. Both influences may enhance the risk of youth being caught if they engage in misconduct. Not least, reduced strain should decrease the likelihood that stressful situations will provoke youth to commit misconduct. Here, as with the logic for delinquency, improvements in a range of intermediate outcomes provide multiple avenues through which the program may improve student behavior.

Improved academic performance

Improved academic performance includes many outcomes, including graduation from high school. Multiple intermediate outcomes can serve to improve academic performance. For example, a greater ability to study and manage time may improve academic performance by equipping students with skills to manage their coursework and alleviate test anxiety. Increased parental engagement may improve academic performance because parents may become more aware of specific homework assignments and test schedules, and so should be better able to assist youth. Parents also may be more likely to check in with teachers to determine whether their child is turning in homework assignments and to stay updated on their child's grades. Improved study habits should serve to improve academic performance by helping youth complete their coursework and alleviate academic-related stress. Improved school relationships, too, should help to improve academic performance. To the extent that youth feel that they can ask teachers for help, they should be less likely to fail. Improved attendance is another change that should improve academic performance. If youth are frequently in class, they should be more likely to understand topics and have more opportunities to ask questions about items they do not understand. Here, again, the expectation is that when the intermediate outcomes discussed above occur, academic performance of youth will improve.

5.1. Causal Logic Mechanisms for School Outcomes

We describe here the causal logic for how various program activities may contribute to improved schoolwide outcomes.³ Section 5.2 details the intermediate outcomes that may arise through each causal mechanism. Section 5.3 details the longer-term outcomes that may arise, either directly from the program activities or indirectly through various intermediate outcomes. As per section 4.1, this report does not detail every possible causal pathway.

General deterrence

General deterrence can arise through several program activities. Most notably, all students, not just youth directly affected by the program, may experience or perceive there to be a greater level of supervision due to the presence of a JPO and other program staff who focus on school safety. In addition, deterrence may arise when students observe program staff discovering the misconduct or delinquency of program youth. Similarly, program youth may communicate to their peers that program and school staff are frequently monitoring their behavior, which in turn could serve to deter other youth from participating in misconduct or delinquency.

School climate

Improved school climate may arise through several program activities, including the use of program staff to focus on school safety and to emphasize the importance of refraining from antisocial behavior. Program staff members may also attend school functions, such as pep rallies and football games, as a way of becoming better integrated with the school culture. When this integration occurs, they should be able to better work with school staff to focus on specific issues that hinder a positive school climate. A more direct avenue exists for improving school climate. Specifically, school climate should improve to the extent that the program reduces delinquency and school misconduct rates of students who are disproportionately involved in these behaviors (i.e., police- and court-sanctioned youth).

School social support

The program aims to offer social support for the school in general. For example, JPOs and family counselors may undertake activities to promote schoolwide safety and improved school climate. In so doing, they could be available to offer additional school support to all students and not just program participants. Students who see program staff offering support to program participants may perceive there to be a greater amount of overall school social support.

Opportunities for antisocial learning

Opportunities for antisocial learning may decrease schoolwide when program participants

³ As discussed above, theories on which the program draws come from mainstream criminological theories. That holds for the logic for youth outcomes, as discussed in earlier sections, and for school-level outcomes, as discussed here. See Akers, Ronald L., Christine S. Sellers, and Wesley G. Jennings. 2016. *Criminological Theories: Introduction, Evaluation, and Application*, 7th edition. New York: Oxford. See also Lilly, J. Robert, Francis T. Cullen, and Richard A. Ball. 2015. *Criminological Theory: Context and Consequences*, 6th edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

refrain from participating in misconduct and delinquency. If participants' behavior improves, then youth who have not yet engaged in misconduct or delinquency will have fewer peers who they can look to for guidance on how to commit these behaviors. In addition, some youth may not know how to commit these behaviors and so not be introduced to the potential benefits of them. For example, if program participants do not skip class and so do not talk about their "free" class period, other youth may be less likely to develop a desire to skip class. Instead, they observe the positive consequences of reduced misconduct and delinquency and improved academic performance, including fewer detentions, improved grades, and improved school relationships. Such observations may lead students to refrain from participating in antisocial behaviors and to work towards improving their academic performance.

Behavioral focus

Because one of the primary foci of program staff is to improve school safety, other school staff may have to spend less time addressing behavioral problems. Program staff monitor the behavior of students who are disproportionately involved in delinquency and misconduct (e.g., police- and court-involved youth), which should reduce the need for school staff to monitor these behavioral issues. To the extent that these students engage in less delinquency and misconduct, there are fewer behavioral issues that school staff need to address.

Academic focus

This program aims to increase the ability of program staff to focus on academics. To the extent that the program improves program youths' behavior, there should be less need for teachers to focus on behavioral issues. They then can focus more time on academics for all students. In addition, program staff may monitor program youths' academic performance, which should increase youths' focus on academics. When program participants' peers observe this interest and focus, they too may attend more to their academic studies.

Causal mechanism interactions

As discussed for youth causal logic (in section 4.1), this program was developed with the logic that causal mechanisms will interact with each other to cause a number of intermediate outcomes that ultimately may result in improved school outcomes. The program's foundation includes a belief that having a program that takes place on school grounds and during school hours and is implemented by a team of multisystem representatives will have ripple effects that positively affect the school. The occurrence and interaction of the causal mechanisms described above thus is anticipated to result in improved longer-term school outcomes.

Direct improvements in longer-term outcomes for program participants

This program's multisystem, wraparound services may improve the behavior and academic performance of program participants. In turn, such changes may directly contribute to school reductions in delinquency and misconduct and improvements in academic performance.

5.2. Intermediate School Outcomes

We detail here potential intermediate outcomes and their causal logic. Achieving these intermediate outcomes may contribute to improved longer-term school outcomes, including reduced schoolwide delinquency and misconduct and improved schoolwide academic performance. The intermediate outcomes are anticipated to result from the program staff members' focus on school safety and the interaction of services offered to program youth.

Increased schoolwide fear of apprehension

As a result of the SDPBC program, non-program participants, as well as program participants, may believe that there is an increased likelihood that misconduct and delinquent acts will be discovered. Multiple program activities can contribute to an increased fear of apprehension schoolwide. For example, the presence of program staff might alter students' perceptions of how likely it is they will be caught for engaging in delinquency or misconduct. In addition, school staff who participate in the program's implementation may be better equipped to supervise youth. That is, an increase in supervision of all youth may occur. This supervision may include program staff working with school staff to monitor youth when youth are not in class, such as during class changes and lunch periods. It could in turn increase schoolwide fear of apprehension for misconduct or delinquency. In addition, the program's presence can be anticipated to result in changes to the school's culture, including a greater emphasis on school safety. Such a change can heighten school staff members' awareness of misconduct and delinquency and, once again, increase students' fear of apprehension. The latter can also occur when a principal embraces the program and actively encourages all school staff to better monitor students.

Increased schoolwide fear of apprehension is expected to occur through several causal mechanisms. For example, general deterrence requires that students be aware of how likely it is they will be caught for misconduct and delinquency. Because of the program's presence, especially the JPO's presence, students may perceive there to be a higher likelihood that their misconduct and delinquency will be discovered. In addition, school social support may stem primarily from having program staff who focus on school safety. That, too, may result in an increase in supervision schoolwide and a corresponding increase in the fear of apprehension. Not least, a greater academic focus schoolwide could serve to decrease teachers' tolerance for misconduct, and, yet again, increase youths' fear of apprehension.

Increased opportunities schoolwide to focus on academics, not misconduct

When fewer behavioral incidents occur during class time, there can be increased opportunities schoolwide to focus on academics and not misconduct. These opportunities may stem from teachers having the flexibility to refer behavioral incidents to program staff. They also may stem from program staff proactively monitoring youths' behavior; the latter alleviates the need for teachers to do so and so gives them more opportunities to focus on academics. In addition, reduced misconduct and delinquency of program participants may decrease behavioral incidents that occur during class time and create an environment more conducive to learning.

These opportunities can arise through a number of causal mechanisms. For example, an improved school climate may mean that there are fewer students engaging in delinquency or misconduct, which frees up to teachers to focus on academics. In addition, by increasing the intervention group's focus on academics, schoolwide opportunities for all teachers to focus on

academics may increase by avoiding the distractions that arise from student misconduct.

Improved schoolwide student involvement

Efforts to improve school climate should lead, on average, more students to become more involved in school activities and to take a greater interest in academics. This involvement in classroom and school activities may stem from schoolwide activities that focus on improving school climate, such as those undertaken by the family counselor, or from observing program staff assisting and advocating for youth. Such efforts send a message to students that the school and teachers want to help them. Similarly, through direct or indirect experience with the intervention, teachers may be better able to identify the unique needs of different youth and assist them. Here, again, students throughout the school may be more likely to view the school as caring about them and as responsive to their needs and education. As a result, youth may become more involved in classroom and schoolwide activities.

Improved schoolwide attendance

Improved attendance of all students includes fewer students skipping classes. Students' improved attendance may be the result of a number of program activities. The JPO's presence should, for example, alter youths' perceptions of how likely it is they will be caught if they skip class. In addition, if program youth attend their classes and do so without causing class disruptions, their peers may be more likely to attend class.

Improved schoolwide attendance might arise through multiple causal mechanisms. When students observe program youth being caught for skipping class, they are likely to perceive that there is a greater likelihood that they will be caught if they skip class; in turn, they may be deterred from skipping class. In addition, improvements in program youths' behavior should improve the classroom climate and experience, which is expected to make other students less likely to skip class. Not least, a greater academic focus schoolwide may encourage all students to attend their classes and to focus on education.

5.3. Longer-Term School Outcomes

We detail here longer-term outcomes for schools that may result from the program's combination of services. As discussed in the above sections, these longer-term outcomes may result from one or more of the intermediate outcomes.

Reduced delinquency (schoolwide)

Reduced schoolwide delinquency may include fewer student arrests by school police and fewer school referrals to the juvenile court. It also may include fewer student citations from school police. Multiple intermediate outcomes, resulting from program services and activities and working through causal mechanisms, may reduce delinquency. In addition, if this program decreases delinquency among police- and court-sanctioned youth, a reduction in schoolwide delinquency rates can be expected to occur. And increased supervision of all students should decrease schoolwide delinquency by providing youth with less unsupervised time and fewer opportunities to offend. A schoolwide focus on safety may emphasize to students the importance of refraining from delinquency, which, in turn, should reduce schoolwide delinquency. In short, when intermediate outcomes occur at the school-level, the program can be anticipated to reduce schoolwide delinquency.

Reduced misconduct (schoolwide)

Reduced schoolwide misconduct can include fewer student detentions, suspensions, and expulsions. It also can include fewer student contacts with school police officers for non-delinquency related behaviors. The expectation of reduced schoolwide misconduct follows a similar logic as that for reduced schoolwide delinquency. A decrease in school misconduct among police- and court-sanctioned youth should reduce schoolwide delinquency because this group of youth typically is more prone to participate in misconduct. Increased supervision of all students may decrease schoolwide misconduct by limiting students' unsupervised time. That in turn should reduce their opportunities to participate in misconduct. An increased focus on safety should provide youth with a better understanding of the consequences of misconduct, which should reduce schoolwide misconduct. In addition, to the extent that unsupervised time makes misconduct more likely to occur, improving schoolwide attendance should reduce school misconduct. Improved school relationships, too, should reduce misconduct. Students who are attached to school staff and peers may be less likely to participate in misconduct.

Improved academic performance (schoolwide)

Improved schoolwide academic performance can include higher graduation rates and lower dropout rates. Multiple intermediate outcomes, resulting from program services and activities and several causal mechanisms, may improve this performance. If police- and court-sanctioned youth are more likely to struggle academically compared to other students, improving the academic performance of this group of youth may create improvements schoolwide. In addition, the availability of more opportunities to focus on education rather than delinquency should improve schoolwide academic performance. If students have more class time devoted to teaching rather than to managing behavioral problems, they can be expected to perform better academically. Similarly, if attendance improves, students can be expected to be more likely to understand topics, turn in homework, and take exams.