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Program Theory of Sport-Related Intervention: A Multiple Case Study of Sport-Related Youth Violence Prevention Programs

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Program Theory of Sport-Related Intervention: A Multiple Case Study of Sport-Related Youth Violence Prevention Programs

by

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Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Texas at Austin

May 2007

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated in beloved memory of my mother, Mi-Gyeong Park, who passed away before this task was begun, and my father, Young-Bae Kim, who opened my eyes toward sport and supported the freedom to pursue my dreams of advancing sport. I also dedicate it to my lifetime friend and wife, Dr. Young Min, whose support and encouragement for my graduate work was unswerving. Finally, I would like to dedicate this work to all the people who made, make, and will make progress in the World, working for underserved populations through their great love and hope.

Acknowledgements

Many people deserve credit for the completion of my dissertation and for my being here today. First and most of all, I would like to express my deepest thanks to my graduate adviser, Dr. Laurence Chalip. Without his intellectual guidance and support, this dissertation would have been impossible. It was my great fortune that I was mentored by a distinguished and respected scholar who has brightened the future of sport management research. In my graduate work, he strongly and firmly pushed me to stretch my potential when I found myself ready, with energy and confidence, to challenge myself toward greater academic successes. When I was down with personal and academic struggles, however, he provided encouragement and support. I will never forget his great vision for sport and mentorship. I am now responsible for transferring what I learned from him to the next generation, as he did for me.

I am also thankful to my other dissertation committee members: Dr. Sejung Marina Choi, Dr. Carla Costa, Dr. Chris Green, and Dr. Alexandra Loukas. All my committee members encouraged me to explore this project and gave insightful comments for the completion of this dissertation. Especially, many thanks go to Dr. Green. She shared with me her effective humor and knowledgeable assistance whenever I asked for her help during my graduate work.

I wish to express my gratitude to my colleagues and teachers, whom I met at The University of Texas at Austin and at Seoul National University. In particular, Dr.

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Publication No._____

Nam-Su Kim, Ph.D.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2007

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The present study examines the utility of sport as a tool of social intervention programs. The central objective of this study is to find a systematic and theoretical way to design, implement, and evaluate sport-related violence intervention programs. Since little research is available for this investigation, this study attempts to evaluate a type of sport-related violence prevention programs and, as a result of the evaluation, it derives normative ways to improve sport-related social intervention programs and explanatory ways to enhance sport-related violence intervention programs.

Guided by Lipsey's (1983) theory-driven approach and Eisenhardt's (1989) theory building process, this study identifies common patterns existing in each stage and in the entire process of the 2 most successful Teacher-Student-Together programs. These common patterns are further examined by comparison to those of the 2 least successful Teacher-Student-Together programs.

The results of this study indicate that not all sport-related intervention activities are effective at preventing at-risk youths from involvement in violent behaviors. The

most successful sport-related violence prevention programs had more structured and stronger intensity, treated more risk factors, combined one type of program activities (e.g., sport) with others (e.g., education and other experiences) synergistically, and generated more mediating variables and outcomes. With regard to the use of sport in sport-related violence prevention programs, this study suggests that sport could be effectively manipulated to reduce constraints (e.g., reduce labeling), develop a positive sense of self (e.g., as a medium for providing a social setting to empower at-risk youths), develop positive social relationships (e.g., as a medium for bringing various school stakeholders into the activities), improve social skills (e.g., by providing a natural social space to learn and acquire positive social skills), and create new, positive group norms and identity (e.g., by providing alternatives for antisocial group norms and identity). Overall, this study suggests that sport as an element of multiple-services programs could be effectively and efficiently combined with other activities to generate the salient attributes necessary to affect the identified risk and protective factors.

The present study contributes to future sport-related intervention research and practices. The method used here would be useful to design, implement, and evaluate the increasing number of sport-related intervention programs, showing the application of theory- and evidence-based approaches to sport-related intervention. More specifically, this study contributes to reducing at-risk youth violence in school contexts by explaining when and how we can utilize sport as a valuable, powerful vehicle for youth violence prevention.

Table of Contents

x

List of Tables

List of Figures

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION OF THE STUDY

Statement of the Problem

Violence has various forms, including physical force, the threat of physical force, verbal abuse, the threat of the use of weapons, destruction of property through vandalism, self-inflicted violence, and organized gang violence (Futrell, 1996; Howard, Flora, & Griffin, 1999; McWhirter, McWhirter, McWhirter, & McWhirter, 2004). Violence statistics in the United States show that youths aged between 12 and 19 have still suffered as victims of violence, although the rate of adolescent violence has decreased since 1993 (National Research Council and Institute of Medicine, 2002). This national research also indicates that, in the past 12 months, 26 % of the youth have been involved in weapon-related violence.

Small and Tetrick (2001) reported that, in the school context, the rate of serious violent crimes against students had not been changed from 1992 to 1998. They found that 9 out of every 1,000 students were victims of serious violent crimes from 1992 to 1998 at school, and 21 out of every 1,000 students away from school. According to the 2003 national Youth Risk Behavior Survey (YRBS), 33% of high school students were in a physical fight during the past year, and 17 % carried a weapon during the past month. Nearly one in 10 high school students stated that they were threatened or injured with a weapon on school property during the past year. Since 1993, the number of students who

1

would like not to attend school has increased because they perceive that school is not a safe place (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2005).

Similarly, statistics in many Korean studies have consistently shown that, while the rate of adolescent violence has decreased since 1998, adolescent violence has changed, to crueler, younger, female student-involved and organized forms (Kim & Kim, 2003; Kwon, 1997). A Korean national survey found that 92% of students' parents are concerned about school violence, and 85% of teachers acknowledge that current school violence is a serious social issue (Kwon, 1997).

A national Korean organization for youth violence prevention, JIKIM, reported that 550,000 students aged 10 to 18 were victimized last year, and 180,000 can be categorized as student offenders (Ko, 2005). The rate of victimization is estimated as the following: 56.8 % of male middle school students reported experiencing victimization in one year, as did 17% of female middle school students, 50% of male high school students, and 10.5% of female high school students (Kwon, 1997). These statistics indicate that male middle school students, among student groups, are the highest risk population.

Kim and Kim (2003) revealed that the period of victimization in school varies from one time (22.6% of victims) to over a period of one year (8.1%). The consequences of victimization are reported as death (1% of victims), hospitalization (6.5%), hospital treatment (18.1%), and physical injuries not treated in a hospital (33.3%). More specifically, victimized students have health problems such as exhibiting anxiety (56.1%), school absence (11.3%), needing psychiatry (3.2%), suicide attempts (0.5%),

and suicide (0.6%). These statistics indicate that reducing the prevalence of school violence is an urgent national agenda in Korea.

According to Ewing and Seefeldt (1996), the number of children and youth who participated in organized sport was estimated from 20 million to 35 million. They also reported that about 75.5% of all high school youth took part in school-based sports. In the 1990's, a tremendous number of sport programs were developed in order to reach at-risk youth (e.g., Chalip, Johnson, & Stachura, 1996; Hartmann, 2003; Pitter & Andrews, 1997). Although it is hard to generate the precise number of programs and participants to be served by these programs, studies have consistently reported that sport-related intervention programs for at-risk youth have been increasingly expanded nationally (Pitter & Andrews, 1997; Witt & Crompton, 1997), and they are likely to become a national/regional priority (Chalip et al., 1996).

Though some research has argued that the use of sport (including leisure and recreation programs) is questionable as to generating positive social outcomes (e.g., reduction of youth violence or illegal drug use) (Brewer, Hawkins, Catalano, & Neckerman, 1995; Caldwell & Baldwin, 2003; Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 2001), it has long been believed that sport is a useful tool to reduce crime and other antisocial behaviors in inner-city areas (Hartmann, 2003; Hellison & Wright, 2003; Kahne et al., 2001). Indeed, some of the programs have shown empirical evidence of improving program participants' life skills (Danish & Nellen, 1997), as well as self-esteem or responsibility (Hellison, 2002).

Recently, a type of multiple-services (i.e., multiple-model) intervention program has been supported, because it can combine several approaches targeting different

dimensions of a problem (Elliott, 1998; Perry & Jessor, 1985; Thomas, Holzer, & Wall, 2002). The central idea in using multiple-services programs is to "select the elements of multiple programs that could deal with identified risk factors at each stage of human development" (Thomas et al., 2002, p. 138). Similarly, recent sport-related intervention studies assert that sport could be an element of multiple-services because a type of sport activity is very effective to access special populations who are hardly reached by general social interventions (Hartmann, 2003) and to maintain their continuous participation in other types of activities (Crabbe, 2000; Hartmann, 2003). Moreover, when youth physical development is one of the critical personal assets for positive youth development and acquiring more developmental assets is better than having few (National Research Council and Institute of Medicine, 2002), participating in sport activities might contribute to enhancing other positive developmental assets for at-risk youth. Few studies, however, have provided theories and/or empirical evidence on how sport activity as a type of intervention activity (e.g., access to African American youth in an urban location with basketball) can be combined with other types of services of general social intervention programs (e.g., social competence training, therapy and counseling). That urges intervention researchers to find out the positive attributes of sport activities that could be synergistically fitted into other multiple-services programs.

In sum, youth violence has become one of the serious public concerns in the United States, as well as other countries (Hamburg, 1998). We have also observed an increasing number of sport-related social intervention programs in the United States (Chalip et al., 1996; Pitter & Andrews, 1997) and other nations (e.g., Canada, Australia, New Zealand, France, Belgium, and the UK, as cited in Collins, 2003). Previous studies

4

have argued that sport could be a useful tool to resolve social problems, particularly when it is combined with other types of intervention program activities. However, we have not provided much of a theoretical rationale or evidence-based foundation for sport-related programs (including after-school recreation programs) (Brewer et al., 1995; Hartmann, 2003; Smith & Waddington, 2004). This makes us vulnerable when claiming the effectiveness of sport-related intervention and even raises the likelihood of aggravating social problems with misused sport programs (Coakley, 2002). In this regard, the urgent research agenda in sport-related intervention research is to determine whether a sport-related social intervention might be expected to work and, if so, when, how, and why (Hartmann, 2003).

Aims of the Study

In order to examine the utility of sport-related intervention, this study evaluates and compares four implementations of school-based anti-violence programs in Seoul, Korea. The first objective of this study is to evaluate a type of sport-related intervention programs (i.e., Teacher Student Together programs) with the use of a clear, scientific method. Two theory-building procedures are adapted: Lipsey's (1993) treatment theory and Eisenhardt's (1989) theories-building procedures. Eisenhardt's process guides as to how to build a program theory, whereas Lipsey's model provides a critical analytic and theory-building framework for general social intervention programs.

Once we identify the critical elements of sport-related intervention programs, the next task is to suggest ways to improve sport-related intervention programs. Two suggestions of ways are presented. The first suggestion addresses ways to better design,

implement, and evaluate various sport-related intervention programs in general. The second suggestion specifies how to improve current youth violence intervention programs which have used sport as a tool of intervention programs specifically.

Research Questions

This study aims to analyze the Teacher-Student-Together (TST) programs and then to build a grounded theory of youth violence prevention. Since intervention programs are implemented within complex conditions, the research needs to have a systematic way to analyze the programs. In this regard, to improve the reliability of the program evaluation, the research questions are derived from theory-based evaluation approaches (Bickman, 1990; Lipsey, 1993). Guided mainly by Mark Lipsey's treatment theory, the present study seeks to answer the following four sets of research questions:

(Q 1) Questions about **problem definition**:

What are the characteristics of the target population to be served in the TST programs?

What are the origins, magnitudes, and consequences of adolescent violence?

What conditions are important and should be treated?

(Q 2) Questions about **program treatment:**

What are the treatment activities and attributes used in the TST programs?

What is the strength (i.e., intensity) of the treatment activities?

(Q 3) Question about **program mechanism:**

What variables are expected to intervene in the effects of the treatment?

What are the sequences of the steps from initial treatment to program outcomes that are expected to occur?

(Q 4) Questions about **program outcomes:**

What are the expected outcomes?

What outcomes are actually created by the program?

What are the interrelationships among the outcomes?

Definitions of Terms

For the purposes of this study, the following definitions are used:

Adolescence: According to the World Health Organization (WHO), adolescence covers the period of life between 10 and 20 years of age. According to Garrison's (1965) description, adolescence represents "a period of time during which the individual transits from childhood to adulthood and experiences drastic and superimposed changes in all spheres of functioning - biological, social, and academic" (pp. 2-6).

Antisocial behavior: Antisocial behavior refers to "any activity that is illegal or conflicts with social norms" (McWhirter et al., 2004, p. 157). In this study, the forms of antisocial behaviors include stealing, absenteeism and frequent late-coming to school, smoking, drinking, others (e.g., teacher profanity), and multi-antisocial types (i.e., a combination any of the foregoing six forms of antisocial behaviors). It is used interchangeably with delinquency and problem behaviors.

At-risk: This denotes "a set of presumed cause-and-effect dynamics that place the child or adolescent in danger of negative future events" (McWhirter et al., 2004, p. 6). The at-risk category may include a specific behavior, attitude, deficiency, situation, conduct disorder, affection, and so forth.

7

Conditions: For this study, conditions refer to any factors in both the target population's individual characteristics and the environmental context. Although some conditions might be regarded as important conditions to resolve any identified problem behaviors, all important conditions may not be treatable in an intervention program because some constraints (e.g., time, funds, accessibility) could restrict program implementation in a real social setting (Green & Kreuter, 1991).

Culture: For this study, culture refers to "the totality of socially transmitted behavior patterns, arts, beliefs, institutions, and all other products of human work and thought" (*The American Heritage College Dictionary*, 2002, p. 346).

Emotional distress: In this study, it is defined as negative emotional symptoms that an individual person might show. It is expressed as dissatisfaction, anxiety, depression, and so forth.

Group behavior: "The behavior of people in groups is more than the sum total of all the individuals acting in their own way" (Robbins, 1998, p. 26). In this study, group behaviors are operationalized as activities executed by at least two persons who are members of the in-group(s).

In-group: In-group means a "social group to which an individual perceives herself or himself belonging" (Baron & Byrne, 2004, p. 222).

Intervention: In this study, intervention is used interchangeably with initiative and prevention.

LSP: The LSP is abbreviated from the Least Successful Programs. This study identifies the two least successful programs among the TST programs and names them LSP.

Mediating variable: This represents the "generative mechanism through which the focal independent variable is able to influence the dependent variable of interest" (Baron & Kenny, 1986, p. 1173).

MSP: MSP is abbreviated from the Most Successful Programs. This study identified the two most successful programs and named them MSP.

Multiple-services intervention: In this study, multiple-services intervention is used with the similar meanings of multifaceted intervention or multimodel. For this study, multiple-services intervention is operationalized as a type of intervention that includes at least two distinct components among various intervention approaches (e.g., social competence training, a peer mediation program, and training in classroom management, in Wilson, Lipsey, & Derzon, 2003) or has more than two different program activities (e.g., the community program and sport activity).

Origins of problem: For this study, origins are operationalized as the environmental context of the problem. They mean any external factors that might influence or interact with the target population's characteristics. They might include negative factors related to family, community, school, policy, and so forth.

Out-group: For this study, out-group is defined as "any group other than the one to which individuals perceive themselves belonging" (Baron & Byrne, 2004, p. 222).

Problem behaviors: Problem behaviors could be grouped into violence and criminality, substance use and abuse, teen pregnancy and risky sexual behaviors, and school failure (Jessor, 1998).

Problem definition: Problem definition is to identify the characteristics of the target population served in the TST, the origin, magnitude, and consequences of the

9

target population's violent behaviors, and important and treatable conditions to reduce the target population's violent behaviors (Lipsey, 1993).

Program mechanism: The program mechanism is "to specify not only important steps, links, phases, or parameters of the transformation process that the treatment brings about, but also mediating variables that are expected to mediate the effects of program activities" (Lipsey, 1993, p. 11).

Program outcomes: In this study, program outcomes are divided into expected outcomes that program planners want to achieve through program activities and real outcomes that programs have actually accomplished.

Program theory: Chen (1990) describes program theory as a "specification of what must be done to achieve the desired goals, what other important impacts may also be anticipated, and how these goals and impacts would be generated" (p. 43). In other words, program theories explain the assumptions (e.g., mediating and moderating factors) and the description of a program as to how a program operates (Fitz-Gibbon & Morris, 1996).

Program treatment: Program treatment is to identify treatment activities and attributes in the TST programs and the strength (intensity) of treatment activities (Lipsey, 1993).

Protective factors: Protective factors are "individual attributes or environmental factors which increase the likelihood that a person will not experience problem behaviors and/or adjustment difficulties" (Ferrer-Wreder, Stattin, Lorente, Tubman, &Adamson, 2004, p. 226).

Risk factors: Risk factors are defined as "individual attributes or environmental factors that can endanger a person's development and/or adjustment" (Ferrer-Wreder et al., p. 226).

SB: The SB is abbreviated from the SeongBuk District Office of Education in Seoul, Korea, which administers educational services in the SeongBuk district.

School Adjustment: Broadly, school adjustment is a student's ability to adapt to psychosocial, cultural school contexts. In this study, school adjustment is defined as overall perceptions by the target students that they could adjust to various school-related works.

Sport-related (based) intervention: This refers to any interventions that use sport as a tool of social intervention in this study. It includes both sport-only interventions, as well as multiple-services interventions which combine sport and other types of social intervention.

Teacher-Student-Together Programs (TST): The TST programs were launched by the SB in 2005. These programs aim to reduce at-risk youths' antisocial behaviors (including violence) in ten schools in this district.

Theory-based evaluation: Theory-based evaluation examines the "conditions of program implementation and mechanisms that mediate between process and outcomes as a means to understand when and how programs work" (Weiss, 1997, p. 41). The TBE identifies the different stages of a program as to what activities are being conducted, what effect each particular activity will have, what particular activity leads to the expected outcomes, and what the expected outcomes are (Bickman, 1990; Chen, 1990; Chen & Rossi, 1987; Lipsey, 1993; Weiss, 1995, 1997).

Violence: Violence can be defined as "the threat or use of physical force with the intention of causing physical injury, damage, or intimidation of another person" (Elliott, Hamburg, & Williams, 1998, p. 15). In this study, the types of violence include physical force, extortion by threats, the demolition of school facilities, and multipleforms (i.e., a combination of any of the foregoing three forms of violence).

Violence prevention: Violence prevention is to avoid "the onset of violent behavior in a general population of persons who have not yet become involved in violent behavior, to terminate all involvement in violent behavior on the part of persons who previously have been involved in violent behavior, and to reduce the frequency or rate of violent offending in some general population or among persons who have already initiated violent offending" (Elliott et al., 1998, p. 14).

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The literature reviewed in this study covers three essential topics. The first section begins by examining key factors, which help us to understand the nature of youth violence. In the second section, theories in social intervention programs are reviewed, which have been widely used to explain the nature of youth violence and develop the most promising violence prevention model programs (e.g., Blueprints model programs). Finally, the present study is devoted to reviewing the special types of violence interventions, which include school-based programs, sport-related, and multiple-services.

Understanding Youth Violence

There are various approaches to defining the term violence according to prevention researchers (D'Andrea, 2004; Lorion, 1998; Reza, Mercy, & Krug, 2001). The forms of violence also vary from homicide as a serious form of violence to verbal/psychological abuse as a less serious form (Kim & Kim, 2003; Kingery, 1998). The complicated nature of violence is attributed to the multifaceted characteristics of violence (D'Andrea, 2004; Hamburg, 1998). For instance, Hamburg explains that violence could mean "both a subset of behaviors (i.e., the acts that produce injuries) and the outcomes of those behaviors (i.e., the injuries themselves)" (p. 32).

13

According to D'Andrea (2004), the most frequently used definition of violence in school-based interventions is "the threat or use of physical force with the intention of causing physical injury, damage, or intimidation of another person" (Elliott et al., 1998, p. 13). This definition spotlights intentionality as a key attribute to define and distinguish many types of violence. Unintended injury or homicide, therefore, is not included in their definition. On the other hand, some violence studies extend its definition, including some forms of delinquent behavior (e.g., verbal and psychological abuse, the threat of the use of weapons, vandalism, and property crimes) (Futrell, 1996; Howard et al., 1999; Kingery, 1998) and the various types of violence (e.g., physical violence, sexual and gender violence, media violence, cultural-racial violence, political-economic violence, and the violence of our silence) (Daniels, Arredondo, & D'Andrea, 1999). These studies address that violence can be defined narrowly (e.g., the forms of interpersonal violence) or extensively (e.g., interpersonal violence, vandalism, property crimes, and so forth). For this study, the term *violence* is used extensively, but divided into four types: (a) physical fights, (b) extortion by threats, (c) demolition of school facilities, and (d) multiple forms (i.e., a combination any of the foregoing three forms of violence). Other delinquent behaviors are referred to as *antisocial behaviors,* to distinguish this term from the types of violence.

As Hamburg (1998) pointed out, the nature of violence is better understood when we identify key factors that elucidate the process and outcomes of violence. In this regard, public health studies have contributed to understanding complicated forms of violence (Elliot et al., 1998). In order to explain the phenomena of violence, studies have examined both risk factors and protective factors (Farrington, 1996; Glanz, Rimer, &

Lewis, 2002), using a socio-ecological approach (Bronfenbrenner, 1999; Stokols, 1996).

In public health studies, risk factors are explained as the predictors that increase the likelihood of problem behavior (Catalano, Hawkins, Berglund, Pollard, & Arthur, 2002; Tarter et al., 2002). Recent studies propose that risk factors need to be specified in terms of the individual characteristics of the target population, the environmental context, and their interaction (Ferrer-Wreder et al., 2004). Empirical studies have also supported that there is a strong correlation between adolescent violence and environmental contexts such as family dysfunction, school, antisocial peer groups, and community disorganization (Farrington, 1996; Hawkins, Farrington, & Catalano, 1998). For instance, through a comprehensive literature review, Valois and colleagues (2002) identified six major types of risk factors and behaviors that are associated with adolescent violence and aggression: (a) individual (e.g., the high likelihood of becoming a serious aggressor because of early violence experience, being male, having a favorable attitude toward violence); (b) family (e.g., single-parent family, parental criminality); (c) school/academic (e.g., academic failure, a low- bonding school); (d) peer-related (e.g., delinquent siblings and peers, gang membership); (e) community and neighborhood (e.g., poverty, community disorganization); and (f) situational (e.g., the presence of a weapon, consumption of alcohol). They contend that "youth violence and aggression is developing through complex interactions among individual, social, community, contextual, and situational factors, and the more risk factors, the more likely they are to lead to a greater potential for increased violence and/or aggressive behavior" (Valois et al., 2002, p. 461).

Protective factors have also shed light on understanding the nature of violence. A protective factor is generally believed to keep the target from engaging in harmful and

risky behaviors. Intervention researchers (e.g., Coie et al., 1993) suggest the role of protective factors that may "function directly to decrease dysfunction, interact with risk factors to buffer their effects, disrupt the mediational chain by which risks lead to disorder, or prevent the initial occurrence of risk factors" (p. 1014). For instance, risky behaviors could be reduced when children make constructive use of time (Scales, Sesma, & Bolstrom, 2004) and are involved with religion (Wallace & Forman, 1998). Anger control skills can reduce risk-taking behavior (Griffin, Scheier, Botvin, Diaz, & Miller, 1999). Perceived social status can moderate relations between peer delinquent behaviors and youth violent behaviors (Prinstein, Boergers, & Spirito, 2001). The negative consequences of exposure to violence are buffered by maternal and parental support (Zimmerman, Steinman, & Rowe, 1998).

Recent research (Elliot et al., 1988) has added an important perspective, the developmental perspective on the target population, to improve general social intervention programs. While human development is a complex process including both an individual's unique genetic makeup and social forces (e.g., political forces, historical, cultural, etc.) (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998), developmental research has found that there are regularities in the sequence of development across time (e.g., Erikson, 1968; Piaget, 1971). For example, Erikson (1968) proposed that developmental tasks exist at particular ages or stages of life and that they change in systematic ways as people mature. In his model, the adolescent age is a time to craft self-identity, and adolescents can suffer from a confusion of self-identity.

Knowledge of youth development plays a significant role in designing any youth intervention programs. For instance, Samples and Aber (1998) provided a developmental-

conceptual framework to understand school-based violence intervention strategies. They divided children's development into four stages, according to children's ages: (a) early childhood (ages 2-5), (b) middle childhood (ages 6-11), (c) early adolescence (ages 12-14), and (d) middle adolescence (ages 15-18). They explained that, in the early childhood stage, a stage-salient task is the development of children's self-regulation. In middle childhood, it is important to develop normative beliefs about aggression and interpersonal negotiation strategies. In early adolescence, developing a stable prosocial peer group is a critical element. Finally, in middle adolescence, children need to develop positive identity formation. It is agreed that the application of developmental knowledge in youth violence intervention extends the likelihood of developing a higher quality of intervention programs (e.g., Aspy et al., 2004; Herrenkohl et al., 1999; Holmbeck, Greenley, & Franks, 2004) because it can clarify relevant principles of human growth, learning, and change (e.g., Erikson, 1968; Piaget, 1971).

Some studies have used empirical evidence to apply developmental psychology to intervention programs (Aspy et al., 2004; Kalogerakis, 2003). Reviewing studies on developmental psychopathology for adolescent violence, Kalogerakis (2003) noticed that there are different trajectories for the target populations, and time-specific risk and protective factors. He summarized *early* risk factors for youth violence (i.e., involvement in delinquent activity, substance abuse, being male, physical aggression, poverty, and parental criminality) and *late* risk factors (i.e., delinquent peers, weak ties to healthy peers, membership in a gang, and involvement in other forms of delinquency). Similarly, some studies emphasize the influence of antisocial peers as a salient risk factor during adolescence (Farrington, 1996; Samples & Aber, 1998), but individual characteristics

17

such as hyperactivity levels are unique and predictive risk factors in childhood (Farrington, 1996).

So far, this review has defined the term and forms of violence for this study . It also defined the concept of risk and protective factors as salient properties in explaining the phenomena of violence. It has suggested that such factors should be understood in a developmental context of the target population.

Theories in Adolescent Violence and Intervention Programs

Theories guide us not only to better understand the problems of adolescent violence (e.g., behavioral and/or environmental causes), but also to explain possible mechanisms for changing adolescent violence. Recent intervention research suggests that theories and empirical evidence should be integrated in evaluating and designing intervention programs (e.g., Bartholomew, Parcel, Kok, & Gottlieb, 2001). This section covers potentially important theories that might explain the mechanisms of the TST programs.

Although there might be numerous theories to explain the phenomena of youth violence and the mechanisms of violence intervention programs, the present study selects the theory of planned behavior (Ajzen, 1988; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975), social learning theory (Bandura, 1986; Sutherland, 1937), general strain theory (Agnew, 1985, 1992, 2001), social support theory (Hupcey, 1998; Sarason, Sarason, & Pierce, 1990), and empowerment (Rappaport, 1987; Zimmerman, 1995). These theories are selected because each theory has showed its relevance to the design and to the implementation of

representative violence intervention programs such as the Blueprints model programs (Elliot, 1998).

THEORY OF PLANNED BEHAVIOR

Ajzen's (1988) theory of planned behavior (TPB) is based on the theory of reasoned action (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975). The TPB proposes that behavioral intention is the most proximal determinant of behavior, which is shaped by attitude, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control. Attitude is explained as an individual's learned predisposition to respond favorably or unfavorably to a given object, event, person, or behavior. Subjective norms are a perception of how certain referents (e.g., parents, near friends, etc.) will view his or her behavior. Perceived behavioral control is explained as a person's beliefs that a person is capable of controlling his or her behavior in a certain way.

Studies on violence intervention point out that attitude toward violent behaviors is one of the most critical indicators to distinguish ordinary youth from offenders (e.g., Kalogerakis, 2003; Ngwe et al., 2004; Valois et al., 2002). These studies contend that an intolerant attitude toward violence is one of the most important protective factors to mediate youth violent behaviors (e.g., Herrenkohl et al., 2001; Kalogerakis, 2003; Ngwe et al., 2004). In this regard, the TPB supports that it is important to change at-risk youth's favorable attitude toward violent behaviors. In order to do so, since attitude toward violent behavior is determined by an at-risk youth's beliefs about the consequences of violence and each belief is linked to certain outcomes or attributes (Fishbein & Ajzen,

19

1975), any violence intervention programs need to change an individual's salient beliefs on violent behaviors or perceived outcomes.

In this study, the TPB is applied to see whether or not the target students in the TST programs have any distinctive attitudes toward violence that differ from those of non-at-risk students and, if any, whether the attitudes are changed due to the TST programs. In particular, the qualitative interviews method could illuminate which program activities and attributes made changes in the target students' attitudes towards violence. The TPB, however, has limitations in explaining the relationships between an individual and the environments (e.g., learning from others); such relationships are a critical proposition in social learning theory.

SOCIAL LEARNING THEORY

Although there are several versions of social learning theory, social learning theories of violence may agree that an individual learns violent behaviors from response consequences (i.e., punishments or rewards for violent behaviors) (Aker, 1985; Sutherland, 1937), and the observation and imitation of others (Aker, 1985; Bandura, 1986). The social learning theory (SLT) traditions have long been used to examine the nature of violence (e.g., Aker, 1985; Bandura, 1986; Glaser, 1956; Sutherland, 1937). For the study, the two most representative theories in the SLT tradition regarding violence research are reviewed. First, Sutherland's theory of differential association explains that criminal behavior is learned behavior. He focuses mainly on the influence of other persons, such as intimate personal groups (Sutherland, 1937). Most theories and practices regarding peer influence in criminal behaviors have been based on this theory (Warr,

20

2002). For instance, Espelage and colleagues (2003) found that the probability of aggressive behavior and violent behavior is greatly influenced by whether a youth is involved with a prosocial or antisocial peer group. Studies following the theory suggest that, if an individual changes associations with his or her social network, he or she can change behavior as well (Sutherland, 1937; Warr, 2002).

Bandura's (1986) social cognition theory (SCT) has also been used in violence studies. He explains deviant behaviors as socially learned. Bandura's theory explains human behavior "in terms of a model of reciprocal determinism in which behavior, cognitive and other personal factors, and environmental events all operate as interacting determinants of each other" (Bandura, 1986, p. 18). He identifies the key determinants of human behavior as outcome expectations, self-efficacy, behavioral capability, perceived behavior of others, and environment.

Intervention studies have widely applied SCT to designing and evaluating youth violence intervention programs (e.g., Bry, 1982; Farrell, Meyer, Kung, & Sullivan, 2001; Kelder et al., 1996). Bry's study showed that people can learn by observing the violent behaviors of others (e.g., peers, parents, and/or the media) and the outcomes of those behaviors (e.g., glorification of violence, obtaining money). Since adolescents could learn their violence from significant others and negative social models, it is important to reduce such negative social influences and relationships (Saner & Ellickson, 1996). SCT-related violence research suggests that it is imperative to change the perceived outcomes of the behaviors (e.g., rejection from teachers and non-at-risk students), as well as to consistently reinforce and reward youths' achievement of positive behaviors (e.g., social skills).

In this study, such SLT traditions are applied to illuminate which types of characteristics at-risk youths possess, how differently they behave, how they associate with other peers, and how negative environmental contexts influence their violence. For instance, if they are deeply attached to antisocial peers and that is related to the occurrence of violence, it might be important to examine how the TST program activities could decrease strong bonding among at-risk youths.

The SLT, however, has not much explained the relationships between humans' affective states (e.g., depression, anger) and violence. Strain theorists (e.g., Agnew, 1992; Bernard, 1987) have argued that youth delinquency is a result of negative affective states. In particular, Agnew proposed that the General Strain Theory is the only theory that explains humans' criminal and delinquent behaviors in terms of humans' emotions. The next section, therefore, covers Agnew's General Strain Theory as one of the most recent strain theories.

GENERAL STRAIN THEORY

The General Strain Theory (GST) postulates that a strain becomes a major source of deviant or criminal behavior. The main sources of strain include: (a) strain caused by failure to achieve goals, (b) strain by removal of positive stimuli, and (c) strain as the presentation of negative stimuli (Siegel & Senna, 2000). Different from other criminal theories, it emphasizes anger and other negative emotions which are generated and increased by strains. Agnew (1992) argues that people are pressured into criminal or deviant acts by such negative affects. In other words, a negative affect can lead to pressure and then lead to illegitimate ways to attain a goal.

22

To distinguish the GST from other criminal theories, Agnew (1985, 1992, 2001) contends that "individuals are pressured into delinquency by their circumstances, whereas social learning theory assumes that individuals view delinquency as a form of justifiable behavior, and social control theory is freed into delinquency" (Agnew, 1985, p. 363). In particular, Agnew (1992) explains that, though the GST seems to be similar to the social control theories, because the GST also proposes that the greater the social bond (e.g., attachment to a respected adult role model, school commitment) between a youth and society, the less likely the delinquent behavior, the difference is that social control theory explains that criminal activity occurs only when a social bond (e.g., family, school) is weakened, and, in that theory, there is no pressure such as anger or negative emotions to influence an individual's criminal behavior.

Recent empirical studies have shown that anger is seen as a mediating factor to facilitate violence (Agnew, 2001; Brezina, Piquero, & Mazerolle, 2001). Brezina et al. (2001) revealed that student-to-student conflict is derived from the level of anger in the student population. It was also found that a strain could be derived from negative relationships with others (Agnew, 1992), and the more negative the relationship, the more likelihood of violent behaviors. The finding is consistent with intervention studies, emphasizing associations between emotional problems and the lack of anger control (e.g., Kellermann, Fuqua-Whitley, Rivara, & Mercy, 1998).

Agnew (1992) argued that crime would be reduced when we reduce "the exposure of individuals to strain and the likelihood that individuals will cope with strain through crime" (p. 352). In line with his ideas, he suggested the following policy implications to reduce crime in society: (a) increase perceived justice, (b) reduce the perceived

magnitude of sanctions, (c) increase social control, and (d) reduce pressure or incentives for criminal behavior.

In the present study, the GST is applied to investigate whether the target students have had any emotional problems as a type of strains. Qualitative interviews would be helpful to examine whether their strains contribute to their violent and other antisocial behaviors. In addition, the TST program activities (e.g., teach anger control skills) are examined to see if the activities have generated any salient attributes that might control target students' emotional problems that lead to their violent behaviors.

While the above two theories (i.e., SLT and GST) refer to the significance of positive relationships (social bonding) between youths, significant others (e.g., peers, family, teachers), and social institutions (e.g., school), the theories little explain how such positive relationships are formed, maintained, and strengthened. The following social support perspective offers to extend our body of knowledge on building positive relationships.

SOCIAL SUPPORT THEORY

It has been found in many literatures that youth violence could be prevented by developing positive relationships with teachers, non-at-risk students, parents, role models, and so forth (e.g., Espelage & Swearer, 2003; Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1985; Hawkins, Farrington, & Catalano, 1998). In youth violence studies, social support by positive peer groups and/or respectable adults has been regarded as one of the critical protective factors to reduce negative social relationships and violent behavior (Kalogerakis, 2003).

24

As social support has long been studied under work on the association between social relationships and health (Sarason et al., 1990), there is little agreement as to its conceptualization and operational definition (Hupcey, 1998) because it involves multifaceted attributes (Cohen, 1992; Vaux, 1992) and is dependent upon a situation (Heaney & Israel, 1997; Lichtman, Taylor, & Wood, 1987). Through comprehensive literatures on the concept of social support, Hupcey (1998) found five different bases for theoretical definitions of social support: (a) the type of support provided (e.g., Cobb, 1976; Cohen, Mermelstein, Karmarck, & Hoberman, 1985); (b) recipients' perceptions of support (e.g., Heller, Swindle, & Dusenbury, 1986); (c) intentions or behaviors of the provider (e.g., Shumaker & Brownell, 1984); (d) reciprocal support (e.g., Antonucci & Israel, 1986; Vaux, 1992); and (e) social networks (e.g., Lin, Simeone, Ensel, & Kuo, 1979).

Hupcey (1998) found that, during the past 25 years, research on social support has mainly investigated the type of support available for a recipient or potentially available (e.g., family or friends) and/or network characteristics (e.g., spouse, friend, confidante, community). He argued that social support research should be extended to understand the difference between the need for support and the support provided, the satisfaction of recipients, and reciprocal support by provider-recipient interactions. For instance, although social support has been typically categorized through the provider model (one-way), the provision and acceptance of support are influenced by both the provider and the recipient mutually (two way), because social support is a "dynamic process that includes the interaction between the provider and recipient, and varies by recipient and provider" (p. 1235). Therefore, social support research needs to focus on the complicated

interactions between provider and recipient, which might generate a negative (e.g., a stressful relationship) and/or positive interaction (e.g., mutual esteem and valuing).

In community and health studies, it has been empirically supported that enhanced social support is able to strengthen and create a positive social network and social capital (Lichtman et al., 1987; Sampson, 1999). Lichtman et al. (1987) suggested that social support can be enhanced by training network members to provide support, by increasing reciprocity, and by creating new linkages.

In short, the lessons from social support perspectives on youth violence prevention are to build positive social relationships and reduce negative relationships by the mutual reciprocity between program recipients and providers. This study examines whether the target students of the TST programs are developing new, positive relationships with other school stakeholders over their current peers and, if any, what program activities make them connect with such new relationships.

Empowerment

Different from prevailing intervention theories, empowerment theory provides us with more positive perspectives on the target populations. Holden et al. (2005) argued that the application of empowerment theory to social intervention replaces our traditional perspective of at-risk youth as community problems, with a positive sense of at-risk youth as community assets and resources. Studies (e.g., Holden et al., 2005; Kim, Crutchfield, Williams, & Hepler, 1998) that applied empowerment theory to social intervention programs also contend that the target population should be dealt with as means of the programs rather than ends, and interventionists should not neglect important

26

attributes or assets that the targets have already owned. Kim et al. (1998) argued that the empowerment perspective provides us with youth-focused interventions that help youths to own their life skills that prevent negative outcomes.

Although there have been various definitions of empowerment, it is generally understood as "a process by which people gain control over their lives, democratic participation in the life of their community, and a critical understanding of their environment" (Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995, p. 569). Empowerment is multifaceted and embraces both process and outcome at individual, group, and community levels (Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995; Rappaport, 1987). Empowering processes are "those where people create or are given opportunities to control their own destiny and influence the decisions that affect their lives" (Zimmerman, 1995, p. 582). This suggests that empowerment is to change individuals, as well as environmental conditions (Angelique, Reischl, & Davidson, 2002).

Through an empowerment process, people who are powerless or marginalized actively confront their environment and become aware of the power in their life context (McWhirter et al., 2004). Zimmerman (1995) contends that, like the participatory process (Kelly, 1988) or participatory action research (Chesler, 1991; Whyte, 1991), the empowerment process includes "opportunities to develop and practice skills, to learn about resource development and management, to work with others on a common goal, to expand one's social support network, and to develop leadership skills" (p. 582). The outcomes of empowerment include "changes in youth attitudes and beliefs, knowledge of available resources, and skills in acting as effective social change agents" (Holden et al., 2005, p. 265). As most empowerment research points out, outcomes are domain-specific

27

things. For instance, whereas skills to reduce adolescent violence might be anger control skills, skills to reduce drug abuse involve self-efficacy to control drug use.

As mentioned above, because empowerment focuses on a view of youth as community assets and resources rather than as community problems (Holden et al., 2005), its main interest appears to be changing youth problem behaviors through their own ability. Empowerment studies have consistently showed that those who were involved with their community were more likely to have the highest empowerment scores (e.g., Zimmerman & Rappaport, 1988). Therefore, it is important to induce youth to participate in their community and get involved in community work, using their free will.

In this study , the concept of empowerment guides the examination of the TST programs in terms of whether any activities of the programs are used to empower (encourage) program participants or not, and whether they offer some community or school-related voluntary activities to increase participants' empowerment.

Intervention Programs for Adolescent Violence

The primary purpose of this section is to review the special types of intervention programs, which include school-based intervention, sport-related, and multiple-services. This study would review these three types of intervention programs because the TST programs have shown similar characteristics as a type of sport-related multiple-services programs launched at school. Prior to reviewing these types of intervention programs, this section starts by clarifying the classification systems of intervention programs, because understanding the classification systems provides us with an overarching framework to examine complicated general social intervention programs.

While there are still debates about how to classify intervention programs (Ferrer-Wreder et al., 2004), the present study has brought four different ways to categorize any type of intervention. First, intervention programs could be categorized as "primary, secondary, or tertiary prevention" (Elliot et al., 1998; Mrazek & Haggerty, 1994, pp. 19-20). Mrazek and Haggerty explain that primary intervention aims to avoid the *onset* of new cases of a disorder or illness in the population. The secondary intervention is to decrease the rate of *established* cases of the disorder or illness in the population. Finally, tertiary intervention seeks to decrease the amount of disability associated with an existing disorder or illness. For instance, any violence and antisocial prevention programs could be classified and designed as primary (e.g., Second Step) (Grossman et al., 1997), secondary (e.g., High/Scope Perry Preschool Project) (Schweinhart, Barnes, & Weikart, 1993), or tertiary (e.g., Multisystemic Therapy) (Henggeler, Mihalic, Rone, Thomas, & Timmons-Mitchell, 1998).

Second, intervention programs could be identified as "universal, selective, or indicated prevention" (Mrazek & Haggerty, 1994, pp. 19-20). This classification is useful to applying various risk- and protective factors in developmental psychopathology to intervention programs (Ferrer-Wreder et al., 2004). Universal prevention is an intervention that does not emphasize the difference between higher-risk groups and lower-risk groups. Selective prevention focuses on subgroups within the general population. Indicated intervention identifies at-risk individuals. With the use of these classifications, programs have been identified as universal prevention (e.g., Bullying Prevention Program) (Olweus, Limber, & Mihalic, 1998), selective prevention (e.g.,

Brief Strategic Family Therapy) (Robbins & Szapocznik, 2000), and indicated prevention (Multisystemic Therapy) (Henggeler et al., 1998).

Third, intervention could be identified as individual-based, environmental-based, or both. This approach shows that intervention programs are classified by the context in which the programs are implemented, such as individually focused programs and environmentally focused programs (Mihalic, Fagan, Irwin, Ballard, & Elliott, 2004). Blueprints model programs have been classified according to this approach. For example, programs can be implemented at school (e.g., the Second Step Violence Prevention Curriculum, Resolving Conflict Creativity Program) (Elliott et al., 1998), in the community (e.g., the Galveston project) (Thomas et al., 2002), in the family or the home (e.g., Preventive Treatment Program) (Tremblay et al., 1991), or in multiple contexts (e.g., CASASTART) (Harrell, Cavanagh, & Sridharan, 1998).

Finally, intervention could be identified as a type of approach (Wilson et al., 2003). Reviewing previous school-related intervention research (e.g., Derzon, Wilson, & Cunningham, 1999; Durlak, 1997), Wilson et al. (2003) classified various approaches of school-related intervention programs into eight types: "(a) social competence training with no cognitive-behavioral or behavioral component, (b) social competence training with cognitive-behavioral components, (c) behavioral and classroom management techniques, (d) therapy or counseling services, (e) separate schooling/schools-within-schools, (f) peer mediation, (g) academic and educational services, and (h) multimodel" (p. 139). The classification might be more useful to describe and explain the treatment activities and attributes of any intervention program, because each approach itself indicates its treatment objectives and activities. Particularly, the multimodel approach

shows how an approach (e.g., peer mediation) of any intervention program treatment combines with other approaches (e.g., behavioral and classroom management) to solve the targets' problems, with various treatment activities.

In sum, the classification systems of intervention programs show that, although there are various types of intervention programs for adolescent violence (Wilson et al., 2003), we could use the above classification systems to identify, design, and evaluate any type of intervention programs in a scientific and systematic manner.

SCHOOL-BASED INTERVENTION PROGRAMS

Schools have been viewed as a critical social context for violence prevention (Elliot et al., 1998), because schools are "settings with special potential for violence as well as special potential to help children overcome the effects of exposure to violence" (Lorion, 1998, p. 296). Ferrer-Wreder and colleagues (2004) contend that school itself influences violence because of its unique norms and social structure, and we need to understand school contexts that might differ from other social contexts. Elliot and colleagues argue that it is easier to identify risk and protective factors, as well as mechanisms, in school-based intervention programs because school is bounded from other social contexts. Most school-related intervention research, therefore, agrees that schools are a useful context as a social context, which have been recognized to apply new knowledge about intervention.

When we would examine any school-based programs, the identified classification systems above are useful. For instance, Elliot and colleagues (1998) have focused mainly on primary prevention, because of the special characteristics of the target population as

students. They argued that, although there have been serious violence cases in schools, as few student populations has been generally arrested, convicted, or incarcerated, the type of intervention programs needs to concentrate on developing for primary intervention.

Ferrer-Wreder and colleagues (2004) classify school-based programs as individual-based, environmental, or both. They explained that individual-based programs aim to focus on individual-level change such as students' skills, attitudes, knowledge, and so forth. Environmental-based programs aim to change at least two contexts (e.g., school and family, school and community). Some school interventions could be developed to include both individual-level and context-level interventions. Recent intervention research also strongly asserts that social intervention programs should be designed to solve individual-level problems, as well as environmental-level problems (Hawkins, & Weis, 1985; Stokols, 1996)

As mentioned previously, classifying a type of *treatment approach* (Wilson et al., 2003) shows how a school-based program is developed to achieve its goals, by specifying its treatment activities and outcomes. A meta-analysis of the effects of 221 previous school-based interventions on aggressive behavior showed that eight types of intervention approaches have been mainly applied to solve aggressive behaviors in schools. Wilson et al. (2003) found that the common aspects of the effective programs are that: (a) The programs were implemented well and are relatively intense, (b) they used one-on-one formats, and (c) they were administered by teachers. They further found that behavioral approaches and counseling showed the largest effects, social-competence training with and without cognitive-behavioral comments followed close behind, and multimodal and peer mediation programs showed the smallest effects.

Intervention research supports that successful interventions have a strong conceptual foundation and are theory-driven (Bartholomew et al., 2001; D'Andrea, 2004). Success is also dependent upon the fidelity of the implementation of program components (D'Andrea, 2004; Samples & Aber, 1998). It would be important to articulate which factors have been supported in increasing the likelihood of being successful intervention programs in a school context. Individual studies have reported that the successful programs have approachable and supportive teachers to motivate at-risk youths (Marchant, Paulson, & Rothlisberg, 2001), improved relationships between schools and children, and supporting systems involving schools, community, and families (Van Acker & Talbott, 1999). In a similar vein, the successful programs have been supported by school-wide structures such as policies or other organizational or structural changes that are clearly articulated to all stakeholders and enforced at all levels of the school (D'Andrea, 2004; Hawkins et al., 1998; Samples & Aber, 1998). Overall, whether these factors are also found in the TST programs would be important criteria to examine the similarities and differences across the TST programs.

SPORT-RELATED INTERVENTION PROGRAMS

Sport-related interventions have long been supported by idealistic conceptions of sport (Hartmann, 2003) or character building (Crabbe, 2000). These are based on the various ideas that sport can be used to generate self-discipline (Hellison & Walsh, 2002) or life skills (Danish, Petitpas, & Hale, 1995). While sport-related life skills programs have shown empirical evidence of effectiveness in the field, the on-going challenge with these types of program appears to be whether participants transfer the skills (e.g., goal-

setting in sport and athletic competency) that can be learned from sport to the general social domains (e.g., goal-setting in life and academic competency) (Danish et al., 1995).

Somewhat differently, Hartmann (2003) and some sport sociologists (e.g., Coakley, 2002) argue that sport can be "a powerful force, but its impacts are not automatically or inevitably positive" (p. 134). In reality, there has been research warning of negative impacts on sport participants. For instance, team sport participants among middle school students are more likely to carry out risk-taking behaviors such as carrying a weapon and engaging in physical fights (Garry & Morrissey, 2000). Such research warns that, in order for sport to create intended outcomes as a social intervention program, it should be carefully manipulated (Crabbe, 2000; Hartmann, 2003).

Most sport-related interventions might be developed and evaluated with the use of a *deductive* approach. For instance, the development of life skills and the personal social responsibility model are based on the belief that teaching life skills and values is presupposed in intervention design and evaluation. Somewhat differently, recent intervention studies suggest that the design and evaluation of an intervention program would be effective when intervention planners start from understanding the targets' needs and environmental context (e.g., Bartholomew et al., 2000; Green, Kreuter, Deeds, & Partridge, 1980). These studies contend that intervention programs should be developed to show their treatment mechanisms, from identifying the problems to the outcomes of the program on the basis of theories and empirical evidence. That could be regarded as an *inductive* approach, taking into account a more customized and multiple treatment approach. That approach, therefore, could focus more on the way that the components of

34

intervention programs are designed and evaluated, based on the theoretical and empirical findings with various contingencies.

It might be noteworthy to review Nichols and Crow's (2004) study on the relationships between crime reduction and sport activities. Through the examination of sport-related intervention programs, they identified a way to explain crime reduction programs and mechanisms. They used primary, secondary, and tertiary as a way of program classification, and diversion, deterrence, and pro-social development as mechanisms. As a way to use sport activities, they provided possible rationales for reducing crime, which are to reduce the ability to take part in crime, in crime in open areas, and to develop pro-social skills. Their arguments are consistent with leisure studies saying that free time activities are important to protect or put aside youth at-risk (Mahoney & Stattin, 2000).

Manipulating sport entails more concerns if it is combined with other intervention program activities (Crabbe, 2000; Hartmann, 2003). Although a multiple-services type of intervention has been more positively assessed, some research has shown that the use of sport in social intervention is quite complex. In some intervention conditions, as Werch and colleagues (2003) discovered after testing a prevention program for adolescent alcohol abuse, sport-only intervention (i.e., exercise training) can be more effective than combining sport with other interventions (i.e., counseling, family intervention). In the same vein, some leisure (e.g., Iwasaki & Schneider, 2003) and sport medicine (e.g., Stepote & Butler, 1996) studies have empirically shown that sport activity alone can create positive effects in treating people's mental health problems (e.g., reducing stress, obtaining positive emotions).

35

If we summarize the lessons from the previous sport-related intervention studies, the following propositions are agreed upon. Sport-related intervention needs to be developed by considering: (a) the necessary contexts which include individual characteristics and environmental contexts, where sport can be used as a way to intervene in special problems (e.g., Hartmann, 2003; Werch, Moore, & DiClemente, 2003); (b) ways to transfer positive personal characteristics, skills, knowledge, and experiences learned from sport to general social problems (e.g., Danish et al., 1995); (c) the synergy of combining sport with other types of intervention program activities (e.g., Crabbe, 2000); and (d) the application of theories and empirical evidence in various intervention research.

MULTIPLE-SERVICES PROGRAMS

There is little study that defines a type of intervention programs that has many types (services) of intervention elements. Intervention elements could mean various treatment approaches (William et al., 2003), the services provided to the target population (Thomas et al., 2002), and/or treatment activities (Hartmann, 2003). In this study , multiple interventions are defined as any interventions that consist of at least two types of intervention services and/or activities.

Some studies have asserted the importance of a multiple-services program (e.g., Kalogerakis, 2003; Thomas et al., 2002). It appears to be reasonable to use such a multiple-services program, because most intervention conditions in social problems have a complex context (e.g., Galveston project) and/or individuals' social problems are co-occurring or intertwined (e.g., Guilamo-Ramos, Litardo, & Jaccard, 2005).

36

These studies showed that adolescent risk factors are moderately correlated and need to be treated by multifaceted intervention approaches. In practice, the Galveston project provided empirical evidence that the prevalence of community problems needs to be dealt with by various organizations and activities (Thomas et al., 2002). Mattox (1997) also showed that multiple-services programs are more effective in each stage of a target's behavior, in preventing youth drinking drivers. When he used different intervention components chosen from among antecedents, behavior, and consequences, the intervention components dealing with antecedents and consequences created more effective results.

In terms of sport-related multiple-services intervention, Hartmann (2003) contended that sport could contribute to recruiting and retaining the targets in an intervention setting, and it can lead them to participate in other social programs such as academic prep drill. Similarly, the social influence exerted by other team members could be effective to encourage participation in other program activities (Werch et al., 2003).

As the research of YMCA multiple-services programs points out (Mercier, Piat, Peladeau, & Dagenais, 2000), even if all program stakeholders perceive sport as a critical element in multiple activities, there has been little agreement on why sport activity plays a significant role in such service programs. As such, although the program components of a social intervention (e.g., sport and counseling) can be easily identified, little is known about how sport as a program component should be combined to improve multiple-services intervention programs. On the basis of the reviews, we assume that sport as an element of multiple-services could be used in one or more approaches. This means that sport could be contributing to resolving problems uniquely and/or commonly, acting

37

together with other approaches. Therefore, this study seeks to examine not only how

sport activities in the TST programs contribute to the effects of the TST programs, but

also how these sport activities are combined with other types of intervention activities

such as group counseling and anger control skill training.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHOD

This chapter presents the rationale for the research method, research design and procedures and analysis. In the rationale of the research method, this study proposes why and how the multiple case study of Eisenhardt (1989) and the theory-based evaluation approach of Lipsey (1993) are appropriate to study the research questions. Then, the next section describes how the proper cases and data were selected and obtained in the research design and procedures. In particular, the selected 4 programs in the TST programs are overviewed. Finally, data analysis explains how a sport-related program theory of change is modeled through comparing the selected four programs and reexamining additional theories and other empirical findings in youth violence literatures.

Rationale for Research Method

MULTIPLE-CASE STUDY

Theory is a systematic explanation for observation (Babbie, 2001) and is developed by combining observations (e.g., previous literatures, common sense, and experience). A case study in general is suggested when a phenomenon under research is not clearly distinguishable from its context (Yin, 2003). Program evaluators, therefore, have used case study research, particularly when evaluations include the environmental context and/or complex interactions between program recipients and their contexts (Yin,

2003). In this study, it is difficult not only to distinguish the phenomenon of adolescent violence from its contexts such as school, the family, and/or peers, but also to examine the interactions between the target students and their contexts. That suggests the utility of case study research as a method.

In general, multiple-case study has several strengths not found in a single case study. Multiple-case studies have been used to improve the quality of research by enhancing external validity (Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 2003). The logic of the multiple-case study is similar to that of multiple experimental design methods (Campbell, 1966) or comparative methods in the grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The findings of a case study are tested across other independent case studies. Through this comparative process, researchers are able to look beyond initial impressions or spurious findings by examining evidence through multiple cases. In addition, case study researchers (e.g., Pettigrew, 1990; Yin, 2003) suggest that it is useful to select cases such as extreme situations and polar types, when a limited number of cases are studied. It is suggested that selecting polar types of cases can improve the explanatory power of case studies by examining the similarities and contrasts among polar cases.

This study aims to develop a program theory of sport-related intervention. Although there are a number of ways to develop theories (e.g., Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Yin, 2003), this study is guided mainly by Eisenhardt's (1989) theory development process. She developed the process by integrating the advantages of each important qualitative research method, such as case study research (Yin, 2003), the grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), and qualitative data analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1984). Eisenhardt (1989, pp. 532-549).) suggested eight steps:

1. Getting started (i.e., definition of research questions and specification of constructs).

2. Selecting cases (i.e., theoretical sampling).

3. Crafting instruments and protocols (i.e., multiple data collection methods).

4. Entering the field (i.e., flexible data collection methods).

5. Analyzing data (i.e., within-case study analysis, cross-case pattern search).

6. Shaping hypotheses (i.e., confirming evidence).

7. Enfolding literature (i.e., comparison with conflicting and similar literature).

8. Reaching closure (i.e., theoretical saturation).

These eight steps are described in the research design and procedures, and the analysis in this section.

THEORY-BASED EVALUATION APPROACH

According to Weiss (1997), "Theory-based evaluation examines conditions of program implementation and mechanisms that mediate between process and outcomes as a means to understand when and how programs work" (p. 41). Theory-based evaluation (TBE) examines the different stages of a program as to what activities are being conducted, what effect each particular activity will have, what particular activity leads to the expected outcomes, and what the expected outcomes are (Bickman, 1990; Chen, 1990; Chen & Rossi, 1987; Lipsey, 1993; Weiss, 1995, 1997).

Program theories may come from "social science theory" (Chen & Rossi, 1992) or the "logic model" (Birckmayer & Weiss, 2000; Coffman, 1999). Chen (1990) explains the program theory as a "specification of what must be done to achieve the desired goals,

what other important impacts may also be anticipated, and how these goals and impacts would be generated" (p. 43). In other words, program theories explain the assumptions (e.g., mediating and moderating factors) and description of a program as to how a program operates (Fitz-Gibbon & Morris, 1996). Lipsey (1993) explains that "theories in theory-based evaluation play a role in the basis for the planning of the program *prior to* the research, and offer a scheme for the organization and interpretation of results and a target for revision or rejection in the face of those results *after* the research" (p.9).

Lipsey (1993) synthesized major issues in theory-based applied research with four elements that are critical to constructing a program theory in a non-experimental research design: (1) problem definition: specifying the target population to be served, treatable conditions, origins and magnitude of the problem, *and* consequences of the problem; (2) treatment definition: specifying treatment activities, and the strength and magnitude of treatment activities; (3) mechanism definition: specifying mediating variables *and* identifying the sequence of steps expected to occur between initial application of the treatment and the occurrence of its effects; and (4) outcome definition: various treatment effects and side effects and the interrelationships or contingencies among outputs (pp. 5-34). In this study, Lipsey's four elements provide a guiding analytic framework (See theory-based evaluation approach in Appendix A). With the use of the four elements, we can compare the similarities and contrasts among the TST programs. More importantly, these four elements were used to develop a new program theory, because most intervention programs have these elements (Lipsey, 1993; Rossi et al., 1999).

42

Research Design and Procedures

As previously mentioned, the research design and procedures executed steps 1, 2, 3, and 4 of Eisenhardt's (1989) process: (1) getting started, (2) selecting cases, (3) clarifying instruments and protocols, and (4) entering the field.

The first step, "getting started," is concerned with developing research questions and a priori constructs. The four elements in the theory-based evaluation process were used to develop the four research questions, as indicated on page 6 and 7. A priori constructs reviewed in the literature are closely related to elements in Lipsey's (1993) treatment theory, which includes risk and protective factors in the target population's characteristics and environmental contexts, the categorization of violence prevention activities, potential mediating variables (e.g., favorable attitudes toward violence, social support, negative emotion) in the mechanism of the programs, and the effects of intervention programs (e.g., the reduction of at-risk youths' violent behaviors).

The second step, "selecting cases," is to choose theoretically proper sample cases, which reduces extraneous variation and sharpens external validity (Eisenhardt, 1989, p. 533). Although all the TST programs were implemented in socio-economically similar areas, this study took into account two additional criteria (i.e., gender, use of sport activities) to select the programs. It was assumed that the male-only programs or female-only programs would be different from co-educational programs, because either male- or female-only programs might be designed and implemented to reflect gender-specific characteristics (e.g., highly sport-oriented activities for male-only programs, relationship-focused activities for female-only programs). So, this study selected only co-educational

programs. A school program which did not use a sport as a program activity was not considered a proper case to be analyzed in this study as well. A total of 4 school programs as sample cases, therefore, were expected to be selected in this study by the following logic and process: (a) There were 10 programs that have been implementing the TST programs, (b) 1 school program which did not have sport activity was excluded, (c) 1 school program was also removed because the school program was not a co-educational school, and, as a result, (d) the 2 school programs (one school with no sport activity and one non-co-educational school) were not included in the sample program cases.

The 8 remaining school programs were divided into the 4 most successful school programs and the 4 least successful school programs. To classify the 8 programs (i.e., from the most successful to the least successful program), this study relied on (a) the expert judgment of the program coordinator of the SeongBuk District Office of Education in Seoul, (b) program performance measures, and (c) visits to the schools to look at the programs. Because the program coordinator had planned the TST programs and evaluated them in the mid-term of the implementation of the programs, she was able to determine which school programs were better over others. She was asked to rank each program in terms of the extent to which the program had been implemented as she expected (i.e., rank order: from eight points for the highest successful program to one point for the lowest successful program). In addition to her evaluation, this study examined whether her evaluation of each TST program was consistent with other general program performance measures (i.e., the number of participants and the total operation days in each program) that can be used to determine the quality of general intervention programs

(Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 2002). The results of the two performance measures showed that, although the differences in the two performance measures between the 2 most successful programs and the other 6 programs may not be large enough, both measures of the 2 most successful programs were consistently higher than those of the other 6 programs. Finally, the researcher visited the 8 program sites at least twice to see whether the 2 most successful programs had been better implemented over others. The researcher confirmed that the 2 most successful programs had been better operated than the other 6 programs. For instance, all the BK program participants (i.e., 60 students) showed up at program activities (i.e., morning sport activity) every morning. However, many of the other 6 schools could not execute program activities that had been planned in their program schedule because the target students did not show up for the activities.

Among the 8 school programs, the 4 school programs which were at the middle point in judging the success of the programs were not included in the sample programs because it would be difficult to judge whether the 4 school programs should be regarded as successful or unsuccessful programs. This study selected the two sets of extreme TST programs, which could make it possible for the researcher to easily identify any differences across the selected sets of extreme programs. Therefore, two comparison groups (i.e., the 2 most successful and the 2 least successful schools) were finally identified as the selected programs for this study. Table 3.1 presents the BK school and the HG school as the 2 most successful programs, and the SU school and the SS school as the 2 least successful programs.

"Crafting instruments and protocols" is concerned with having multiple data collection methods that aim to strengthen the substantiation of constructs by the

Table 3.1
TST Programs by Expert Judgment, Number of Program Participants, and Program Operation Days in 2005

School	Expert judgment	Number of program participants	Total program operation days in 2005
BK	1	60 (15)	181
HG	2	47 (20)	57
KB	3	21	42
SK	4	25	18
KR	5	35 (18)	20
ND	6	37	8
SU	7	20	24
SS	8	33	19

Note. The number in parentheses means the number of general students in each program.

triangulation of evidence. This study obtained quantitative and qualitative evidence from interviews, observations of programs, and archival sources. Quantitative evidence included: (a) the demographic data of participants (e.g., gender, age), (b) the number of program participants, (c) the number and type of program providers, (d) the total operating days of the intervention program (sport activity and other programs), and (e) the number and types of violent behaviors since 2002. These types of data were obtained from the final evaluation report, the initial proposal of each school, the program daily logs in each school, and documents from the Department of Student Life administration of each school. In particular, the number and types of violent behaviors were obtained from each school guidance committee's minutes. Although not all cases of violent behaviors were reported in the committee's minutes, the most serious violence cases (e.g., cases under police investigation, cases from victimized student families' official requests) were indicated in the minutes.

On the other hand, qualitative evidence is derived mainly from program stakeholders' interviews, observations of the programs, and field notes. In order to find the appropriate informants, this study used a snowball sampling method, which is appropriate when the members of a special population are difficult to access (Babbie, 2001). The method suggests that respondents are selected with the help of key informants, and key informants were asked to select individuals who were participating in the TST program.

An interview-guide approach was employed (Patton, 1990), which states the topics to be covered during the interview but does not specify the exact sequencing of the questions. This allows for the addition or elimination of questions and the introduction of new ideas as the interview progresses. Qualitative interview transcripts were derived from the research questions, which were able to discover each stage of the TST program theory of change (i.e., a priori constructs on problem definition, treatment activities, mechanisms, and outcomes and the entire process of the TST programs) (See the interview guide in Appendix B).

"Entering the field" requires flexible data-collection methods in the field. The use of field notes and memos (e.g., code notes, theoretical notes, and operational notes, as in Strauss & Corbin, 1970) makes it possible to overlap data analysis, allowing the researcher to start earlier in the analysis with flexible data collection. Memos and field notes were also used, not only to reconstruct the physical environments or settings where interviewees spent time, but also to understand body language, tone of voice, environmental distractions, the dress and demeanor of the interviewees, and the important

symbols that can not be obtained from the transcripts of the tape recording (Cohen, Kahn, & Steeves, 2000).

After the first most successful school program was identified, the researcher contacted and obtained permission from the TST program director in the SeongBuk District Office of Education in Seoul (SB) and the principal of the school to gain full access to the program. As the researcher was allowed to gain access to the school, the researcher spoke with the program director of the target school to get permission for this study. After the permission was gained, program observation started. The researcher obtained support from the SB and the 4 selected schools, in part because the researcher had worked at one of the schools in 1993, and two teachers in the 4 selected schools worked with him in the same school year.

Once the students were identified, their parents were contacted to get permission to do interviews. Before each interview, the general purpose of this study was stated to the informants. Interviews were conducted for between 30 and 150 minutes. The majority of the interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed in Korean, and the transcriptions were translated into English. Four Korean and English bilinguists conducted translations, in which two bilinguists translated the most successful programs and the other two the least successful programs. In addition, during the research period, memos were written, which are crucial to developing the grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The total number of informants was 52. They consisted of: (a) 41 students (25 from the MSP and 16 from the LSP), (b) 9 teachers (6 from the MSP and 3 from the LSP), (c) 1 social worker (1 from the LSP), and (d) 1 coordinator of the TST programs in the SB (See Table 3.2). It should be noted that all the adult informants and some of the student informants were

Table 3.2
Informants Summary of the 4 Selected TST Programs

		MSP		LSP			
		BK	HG	SU	SS	CSB	
Adult		3	3	2	2	1	
Student	Male	12	2	6	3	-	
	Female	6	5	4	3	-	
Total informants		21	10	12	10	1	52

Note. CSB means the program coordinator of SeongBuk District Office of Education in Seoul. Dashes indicate no case in the category.

interviewed more than twice in order to get in-depth follow-up information on what they had said in their previous interviews and crosscheck the findings of other informants. Each informant is described in Appendix C by their demographic characteristics (i.e., gender, age). Adult informants are more specified by describing their teaching experiences and roles in the programs.

In addition, each informant from the 4 school programs was also numbered to identify and follow his or her statements. For instance, since there were a total of 3 teachers and 18 students in the BK school, each informant in the BK school was numbered from BK teacher 1 to BK teacher 3 and from BK student 1 to BK student 18. Therefore, in this study, *BK teacher 1* means the first teacher informant in the BK school. *BK student 1* indicates the first student informant in the BK school. Such identification is shown on each transcript in the findings of this study.

Context: Program Overview of TST Programs

Prior to the data analysis of this study, this section describes the 4 selected TST programs. Since the TST programs were implemented at middle schools in Korea, this

study starts by reviewing the Korean education system to better understand the 4 TST

programs. Although informal Korean education can be traced back to prehistoric times,

the modern foundation for democratic education through the ideology of "Hongik Ingan"

was established after liberation in 1945 (Ministry of Education, 2007). The ideology can

be explained as: Education should promote the public welfare. It, therefore, focuses on

Korean education as a way to maximize the public good. "Confucianism," embedded in

Korean culture, is also believed to influence the Korean education system because its

principles strongly promote education and honor educational achievement (Seth, 2002).

Korean schools are controlled by the Ministry of Education, by which all

education policies are established and governed. The Ministry of Education, as a member

of the state council, can govern regional education departments and schools with its

funding systems. With regard to the school ladder system, Korea has a 6-3-3-4 system

through which every Korean can receive primary (i.e., kindergarten, primary school),

secondary (i.e., middle school, high school), and higher education (i.e., university)

according to their own abilities and needs. The Ministry of Education sets the current

strategic direction of Korean education policy as "human education, preparing for future

society, aiming to produce well-rounded citizens, pursuing efficiency, enhancing

independence, and building balance to expand education opportunities" (Ministry of

Education, 2007, p. 4).

Research contends that the higher achievements of Korean education are, in part,

related to Korean culture, in spite of larger class size and less expenditure of public funds

per student (Kim & Park, 2006; Seth, 2002). For instance, Kim and Park found evidence

that the success of Korean education is related to self-efficacy at the personal level, social

support at the interpersonal level, and Confucian culture at the cultural level. They contended that the filial piety cultivated in Confucianism is closely related to the academic achievements of Korean education.

In spite of the higher achievements of Korean education in a short period, the Korean education system has recently been blamed for its bureaucracy. Since the establishment of the Korean government, it has maintained its omnipotent status on the basis of its legal and institutional measures (Synott, 2001). For example, in some countries (e.g., the United States, England), each state has the power to govern its education system, but the Korean education system is highly controlled by the Korean government's funding structure (i.e., the Ministry of Education) (Kim, 2006; Kim & Lee, 2006) and has little allowed other education-related stakeholders to participate in its educational decision-making processes (Synott, 2001).

The violence of middle school students has become one of the most serious social issues in recent years. According to the Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education, 2,428 (77.8%), among a total of 3,122 acts of violence that occurred from 2003 to 2006 in primary and secondary schools in Seoul, were committed by middle school students (Yun & Kim, 2007). A greater concern is that many of the acts of school violence have been concealed by the schools. Korean newspaper articles report it this way: "I [a victimized student] regret that I tried to get any help from a school counseling teacher because of being bullied for several months…I realized such behavior worsened my situation. I become more rejected by teachers and other students…School principals and teachers are frequently veiling the school violence, being afraid of any criticism or dishonor of their school" (Lim, 2007). "A principal has been criticized because he addressed that reporting

school violence to police is a kind of cowardly behavior… It should be handled within the school" (Ahn, 2007). That indicates that the number of violence cases documented in each school's minutes could be underestimated and should be carefully interpreted. These cases could be ones that have not occurred in general middle schools and by non-at-risk youths. In sum, although Korean middle school violence has been a serious social issue, many of the Korean middle school have still lagged in controlling their school violence. The TST programs, therefore, could be an exemplar to treat middle school violence through a collaborated effort of a regional education department and the school stakeholders. The next section describes the TST programs.

In late 2004, the TST programs were planned to intervene in middle school students' problem behaviors in an underprivileged school district in Seoul, Korea. The areas in the district are the most socially and economically disadvantaged, compared to other areas in Seoul. The amount of local tax of the SeongBuk district in 2005 was five times less than that of other, wealthy areas in southern parts of Seoul (Korean Statistical Information System, 2004). Statistics also indicate that the number of residents in the district who graduated from a 4-year university was approximately two times less than in other southern areas.

The TST programs focus mainly on preventing violence and delinquent behaviors. The SB claimed that the TST programs aim to reduce various types of violence and antisocial behaviors among middle school youth, which include physical fights, extortion by threats, demolition of school facilities, attacking others' freedom, use of abusive language, and bullying (SeongBuk District Office of Education in Seoul, 2005, p. 3).

Because the TST programs have to be implemented by school teachers, the SB provides a modeling program which presents various program activities including sport activities, education (e.g., counseling for academic careers), academic improvement, cultural experiences, and volunteering in the community (SeongBuk District Office of Education in Seoul, 2005, p. 2). There were no specific guidelines for the TST programs that required consideration of gender (i.e., at-risk male students, at-risk female students) when implementing a program. After diffusing the model program to 28 middle schools in the district, 10 schools were finally selected to implement the TST programs. For each TST program, approximately US $ 3,000 ~ $ 4,000 was distributed to each candidate school. The period of each TST program operation was from January 2005 to December 2005.

It should be noted that, although the 10 programs had the same goal (i.e., all the schools participating in the program aimed to reduce violence in schools, as well as other antisocial behaviors (e.g., stealing, absenteeism, smoking, drinking, etc.)), the program activities were slightly different from school to school. Most schools directly targeted the identified students who were previously involved in risky behaviors (e.g., the majority of the students who were involved in physical fights or smoking), but some schools targeted both at-risk students and ordinary students. Each school was required to submit a final evaluation report, but there were no guidelines to measure the effects of the programs. In order to study the TST programs, the researcher dedicated 13 months of field work.

For this study, the 2 most successful programs are abbreviated as the MSP. On the other hand, the 2 least successful programs are called the LSP. This study assumes that the MSP are the better TST programs in terms of their implementation and outcomes than the LSP.

In the following section, the 4 selected programs are overviewed: (a) any school history related to violence intervention programs, (b) the objectives of the program, (c) the target population, (d) the program activities, and (e) the program outcomes. The overall description of the 4 programs is summarized in Table 3.3.

BK School TST Program

The BK middle school had 848 students in 2005. The planning report states that approximately 100 students in the school suffered from family poverty (Lim, 2005). To understand the BK program, its previous school history should be mentioned. Though the TST program was implemented in April 2005, the school had implemented similar programs twice - in 2002 and 2004. School violence had been a national concern since 2000, and some schools sought to obtain funds to prevent the increasing number of acts of school violence. In 2002, the BK school applied for the government funds and was chosen because a number of violent cases in the previous years occurred in the school, and it could implement a type of school violence intervention program.

The type of the program could be regarded as a multiple-services program, which incorporated sport activity, counseling, and outdoor activity. In 2003, the school did not implement any violence intervention program, because the government funding was

available for only one year. Instead, physical education teachers kept the program as a way to develop school athletes. However, in 2004, a veteran teacher joined the school and rebuilt the program, aiming to reduce school violence and antisocial behaviors. In 2005, when the SB was determined to launch the TST program, the school was selected for one of the TST school programs. Therefore, although the BK program implemented its TST program in 2005, there have been similar programs since 2002. In particular, a program implemented in 2004 was the same as that of 2005.

The BK program clearly states its objectives through its planning documentation and evaluation report (Lim, 2005, pp. 5-6):

- The TST program aims to prevent school violence by enhancing collective spirit and releasing emotional distress through various program activities, working together with teachers and the target students.

- The program aims to change the target students' ideas, beliefs, emotions, attitudes, and behaviors by enhancing relationships between teachers and students.

- The program reduces the negative perceptions of the program participants by bringing both at-risk students and non-at-risk students together.

- The program releases emotional strains and enhances a positive self through sport activities.

- The program provides positive opportunities for at-risk youths to interact with teachers and non-at-risk students.

- The program increases self-confidence by participation in official sport competition.

55

- The program contributes to enhancing a positive school life for program participants by reducing frequent absences and late-coming.

In terms of the target population, the BK program selected 60 students who were middle school students from grades 7 to 9. The number of male students (30) was the same as that of females (30). The BK program targeted at-risk students who were indicated by the Office of Student Life administration, due to their problem behaviors such as physical fights and smoking. The program, however, sought to recruit non-at-risk students as well. The ratio of program participants between at-risk students and not-at-risk students was almost 50/50.

Three school teachers were responsible for the TST program and they were all physical education teachers. A teacher whose educational spanned 21 years in 2005 was the program planner. Moreover, two other teachers whose careers spanned 3 and 5 years in 2005, respectively, were program implementers. One of the program implementers was in charge of implementing the soccer program, whereas the program planner and the other implementer were responsible for the running program.

The BK program was a type of multiple-services program, which provided sport activities (i.e., soccer club activity and running club activity), smoking prevention class, summer camp, and movie-viewing. The program focused extensively on sport activities. Operation hours showed that sport activities comprised 90% of all activities hours. The sport activities were provided in the form of a club. This means that soccer and running activities were operated as group-oriented club activities. Both soccer and running activities were not different from those of the general soccer and running clubs. For instance, program participants of the clubs took part in regional sport event competitions

and daily practices. Some participants were given the opportunity to volunteer for the lending soccer ball to general students at lunch time. After school, the BK program provided sport games with teachers and students. It should be noted that the running club included both male and female program participants, while soccer was offered only for male students.

The program is a one-school-year program. Sport activities have been provided every day. With regard to education activities, the school has provided 3 days of smoking prevention classes and 20 days of self-studies. During summer break, the school has implemented movies and summer camp.

The intensity of the program activities was reported to be stronger than that of any other general intervention program activities in other TST programs. There were no particular implementation issues concerning the program. The number of violent and antisocial behaviors has been reduced since 2004.

HG School TST Program

The HG middle school had 1,368 students in 2005. The school supplied a free lunch to approximately 300 students in 2005. It indicates that 22% of the students in the school have been covered by the family poverty protection program of the government, due to family poverty. Although the TST program in the HG school was implemented in April 2005, the school had also implemented a similar type of violence intervention program since 2004. Observing many violent and antisocial behaviors in the school, an HG teacher developed a violence intervention program as a club activity. He applied for program support from the Seoul Office of Education in 2003. It was approved by the

Seoul Office of Education, and he was nominated as a teacher research fellow for the school violence intervention program in Seoul. In 2004, the program was also able to obtain support from the SB, because it was accepted as a type of TST program.

Therefore, the HG program could be a kind of demonstration program (i.e., a program for research purposes), rather than a routine practice program (i.e., general and non-systematic program), according to the program classification of Wilson et al. (2003).

The HG program evaluation document states its objectives through the planning report (Park, 2005, p. 128):

- The program aims to prevent school violence and antisocial behaviors of the target population, focusing on humanity education, vocational education, and various experiences.

- The program aims to enhance school adjustment, combining humanity education and experience activities or vocational education and experience activities.

- The program aims to build and enhance a positive self-identity.

In terms of the target population, the HG program selected 27 students. The target population served by the HG program was middle school students in grade 8 in 2004, and 9 in 2005. The number of male students (10) was different from that of females (17). The target students were indicated by the HG Department of Student Life Guidance, due to their previous delinquent behaviors such as physical fights and extortion by threats. The program, however, was able to bring non-at-risk students into the program of Thursday soccer games, in which the ratio of program participants between at-risk students and non-at-risk students was approximately 40% to 60%.

The HG program was implemented mainly by two school teachers. One was a math education teacher and the other was a science teacher. The HG program planner had invested 21 years in his educational career by 2005. The other teacher had 15 years. More importantly, the program has been strongly supported by other school teachers, including a science teacher for a summer camp and five male teachers for soccer activities.

The HG program was a type of multiple-services program, which provided sport activities, education (i.e., group counseling), and other experiences (i.e., summer camp and movies). It should be noted that soccer activities were provided only to male students. Although the program seemed to focus on education activities, operation hours in the three categories of activities were similarly distributed across the activities.

The program is a two-year-round school violence prevention program. The intensity of the program could be different from one activity to another. There were no special implementation problems. The number of violent and antisocial behaviors had not changed much during the previous four years. However, the program implementers and participants stated that no violent or antisocial behaviors were reported among program participants after 2004.

SU School TST Program

The SU middle school had 1,450 students in 2005. The school supplied a free lunch to approximately 289 students in the family poverty protection program in 2005. No school history exists as to efforts to reduce school violence and other antisocial behaviors. The school was selected as the site for one of the TST programs in 2005. The objectives of the program are stated as the following (Oh, 2005, p.1):

- It aims to improve the target students' ability to adjust to school and society by preventing their dropping out of school and antisocial behaviors.

- It makes the target students better participate in school by developing physical and social abilities.

- It aims to help the target students to be healthy adolescents with a sense of humanity and a positive self.

The SU program targeted a total of 15 students in grade 9 in 2005. The number of male students and females were 8 and 7, respectively. The target students were selected because they were involved in violating school rules frequently. In 2004, 12 students among the participants were punished for smoking in the school.

Although the planning document indicates that the program would be led by 6 teachers and 1 social worker, most program activities have been implemented by one program planner and one social worker. The planner had spent 8 years in an education career by 2005, and he has also worked at the Department of Student Life Guidance. The social worker had worked in this area for three years and experienced similar programs in three schools in 2004. The program has been implemented by the teacher and the social worker separately. Thus, each of them has known little about how program activities were being implemented at other locations.

The SU program was a type of multiple-services program, which provided sport activities, education (i.e., group counseling), and other experiences (i.e., movies). Operational hours among the three types of activities were similar. The program implemented floorball as a sport activity, but the SU program included only male students for the floorball. Floorball is a type of a sport activity which could be visualized

as the combination of field hockey and soccer, but is played in indoors. Players consist of five field players and one goalkeeper. Field players use plastic sticks to dribble the ball and the goal keeper is equipped with a mask and helmet.

The SU program was a one-year-round program. The intensity of the program was different from one activity to the other. Several implementation issues were raised, which are related to the difficulties in bringing target students into the program. The number of violent and antisocial behaviors seems to have been consistent over the previous four-year period. While the school has been implementing the program, it has had to punish female students because they were involved in group fights.

SS School TST Program

The SS middle school had about 1,020 students in 2005. Similar to the SU school, there is no particular school history of trying to prevent school violence with the use of a type of violence intervention program. The SS program was selected as one of the TST programs in 2005. It, therefore, is the first violence prevention program in the school's history.

The objectives of the program are stated in the program planning document (Park, 2005, p. 1):

- It aims to develop program participants' positive self and enhance school adjustment with a group counseling program.

- It aims to reduce negative perceptions toward school by continuous counseling.

- It aims to improve positive relationships between program participants, teachers, parents, and non-at-risk students.

61

The SS program targeted a total of 33 students in grades 8 and 9 in 2005. The number of male students (15) is similar to that of females (18). The target students were selected because they were involved in violence and antisocial behaviors in previous years.

Although the planning document indicates that the program would be implemented under the guidance of 8 teachers, most program activities have been implemented by the SS program planner. His educational career was 19 years long in 2005. He had never worked in the Department of Student Life Guidance before.

The SS program was a type of multiple-services program, which provided sport activities, education (i.e., group counseling), and other experiences (i.e., movies). It should be noted that both male and female students participated in the bowling activities. The bowling activity was implemented during the longest operational hours; the second longest time was for education, and the least was for the other experiences.

The program lasted for 12 months. The intensity of the SS program was different from one activity to the other. Implementation issues (e.g., the difficulty of bringing the target students and school teachers into the program) were indicated. During the previous four years, the number of violent and antisocial behaviors had not changed much, according to the SS school documents. In particular, during the program implementation, program participants who were served in the program were sanctioned by the school department because they had been involved in group fights and extortion.

Table 3.3
Program Overview of the 4 Selected TST Programs

		MSP		LSP	
		BK program	HG program	SU program	SS program
Target characteristics	Age	13 to 15	15	15	14
	Gender	Male (30), female (30)	Male (30), female (17)	Male(12), female (8)	Male (18), female (15)
	At-risk groups	At-risk groups in a school	At-risk groups in a grade	Exclusion of a female at-risk group in a grade	Exclusion of a female at-risk group in a grade
	Risk level	General population, indicated individuals & environment	General population, indicated individuals & environment	Indicated individuals	Indicated individuals
Program characteristics	Service delivery personnel	Physical education teachers (3), counselor (1)	Math (1) and science education teachers (2),	Physical education & biology teachers (2), social worker (1), psychiatrist (1), counselor (1)	Ethics, sociology, & language teachers (3), counselor (1), lay people (1)
	Program approaches	Multi-model	Multi-model	Multi-model	Multi-model
	Program activities	Soccer, running, smoking cessation class, mountain climbing, self-study, summer trip, movie, party, daily diary	Soccer, humanity and vocational education, mountain climbing, party, high school field trips, summer trip, meeting with professional, movie	Floorball, mountain climbing, human relationship training, anger control training, field trip to airport, self-directed search, summer field trip	Bowling, movie, lecture from pastor, group counseling for conflict resolution, talks with teachers
	Program duration	January to December	January to December	January to December	January to December
	Frequency of services	Every day	1 time per week	Less than weekly	Less than weekly
	Rated intensity of intervention	Medium to strong	Medium	Medium	Low to medium
	Implementation quality	None mentioned	None mentioned	Possible implementation problems	Possible implementation problems
Program outcomes	Violence in 2004	None reported	None reported	Group fights, extortion	Group fights, extortion
	Violence in 2005	None reported	None reported	Group fights, extortion	Group fights, extortion

Note. The number in a parenthesis indicates the number of program participants or implementers.

Data Analysis

To analyze the data, this study conducts steps 5, 6, 7, and 8 of Eisenhardt's (1989) process: (5) analyzing data (within-case study analysis, cross-case pattern search), (6) shaping hypotheses (confirming evidence), (7) enfolding literature (comparison with conflicting and similar literature), and (8) reaching closure (theoretical saturation).

"Analyzing data" was conducted by both within-case study analysis and a cross-case pattern search. Through within-case study analysis, this study found common themes in the first and second most successful programs. In the analysis of qualitative data, the coding techniques used in the grounded theory were employed, because the complex phenomena of this study needed to be discrete and compared for similarities and differences (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The data analysis was conducted independently by three trained Korean-and-English bilinguists, including the researcher. Each coder examined interview transcripts from the BK school program as the first most successful program. In the first stage, a line-by-line analysis allowed the researcher to find important concepts that might comprise a category. Second, once concepts arose in the analysis of an interviewee, the researcher looked for the same phenomenon from other interviewees. When refining the concept arising in the cases of several interviewees, the researcher continually compared the concept in different incidents, which was a way to do comparative analysis of incidents in order to generate the theoretical properties of the category. Categories (e.g., social support) were integrated with their properties (e.g., social support from program implementers, non-at-risk program participants, and other school teachers), to see the relationships. Eventually, as the patterns of relationships

64

among the concepts became clear, some of the concepts irrelevant to the main variable and its related categories and properties were deleted. Finally, the elements of the process of the programs that were related to the selective coding were developed. This was concerned with how the emergent concepts could be integrated into Lipsey's (1993) analytical framework. During the entire analysis of the data, each coder's findings were reexamined with the other two coders. For instance, each coder's concepts and categories were compared with the other two coders' concepts and categories. When different findings among the coders were identified, the findings were reexamined to reach an agreement among the coders.

After the analysis of the first most successful program, it was set aside to be compared with the second most successful program. And then, the second most successful program and the two other least successful programs were separately analyzed, following Eisenhardt's (1989) steps 3 and 4.

When the data of the 4 cases of the programs had been analyzed separately, a cross-case patterns analysis was employed. First, the researcher examined the patterns between the first most successful program and the second most successful program to compare the dimensions or properties of the constructs. Second, cross-case patterns were examined to see relations between the first least successful program and the second least successful program. Finally, the patterns between the most successful and the least successful programs were compared.

The central idea of "shaping hypotheses" is to constantly compare an emergent theory (e.g., program theory of sport-related intervention) and data (e.g., the number of acts of individual and group violence before and after intervention programs). This

comparison helps the researcher to sharpen constructs and verify the emergent

relationships between constructs with the evidence in each case (Eisenhardt, 1989). To

sharpen constructs, this study used tables which summarize and tabulate the evidence

underlying the constructs (Miles & Huberman, 1984) from each selected program. The

emergent relationships for each case, from the first most successful case to the second

least successful case, were compared through tables. Replication logic was also applied to

compare the two most successful cases and the two least successful programs. When the

emergent program theory of sport-related intervention fit the data well, an empirically

valid program theory of sport-related intervention was yielded.

In the "enfolding literature" stage, the emergent theory is examined with respect

to conflicting and similar literature. If the researcher ignores conflicting findings, the

theory would be weakened, because alternative explanations of the theory could not be

provided. Like rival hypotheses testing, this study examined the results of the emergent

program theory of sport-related intervention with conflicting literatures. Similar findings

in literatures also provided stronger internal validity and wider generalizability for the

emergent theory.

Eisenhardt (1989) explained that "reaching closure" requires knowing when to

stop adding cases and iterating between the theory and the empirical data. The iterating

process is going on until the emergent theory is saturated. This saturation means that

there is little improvement of the emergent theory with the data and alternative

explanations. Although she suggested that theoretical saturation is the point at which the

researcher stops adding cases, this study planned in advance to analyze the 4 selected

programs because of the limited number of sample programs and the time constraints. So,

when the 4 programs were fully analyzed, all the research procedures had been completed. Additionally, when the emergent theory was built, the researcher contacted participants to ensure the accuracy of his or her interpretation. This participant check allows the researcher to provide the participants with the opportunity to correct errors or wrong interpretations (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Through Eisenhardt's eight steps and Lipsey's treatment theory, the program theory of adolescent violence intervention was finally developed.

CHAPTER 4

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

This chapter presents the results of the theory-based evaluation of the TST programs, which have been examined through the problem definition of the TST programs, the program treatment, the program mechanism, and the program outcomes. As described in the method, the problem definition is to identify the target population to be served through the TST programs; the origins, magnitudes, and consequences of at-risk youth violence; and the treatable conditions of at-risk youth violence. Next, the treatment activities are to identify the types of activities of the TST programs and the strengths and magnitudes of the activities. The program mechanism specifies potential mediating variables *and* the sequence of steps expected to occur as a result of the TST program activities. Finally, the TST outcomes are defined by the expected treatment effects, actual effects, and the interrelationships among outputs. Figure 4 describes each step in sequence of the program theory of change. Once each stage of the TST programs (i.e., the MSP and the LSP) is specified, then the present study compares similarities and differences between the MSP and the LSP.
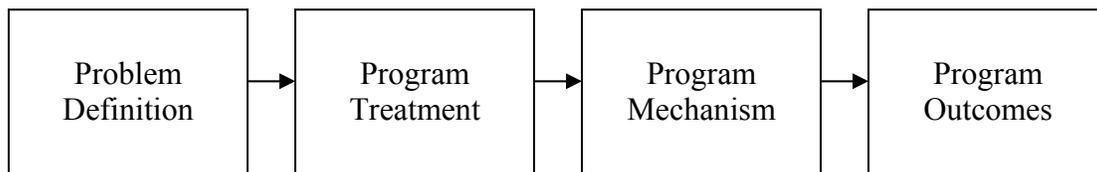
Figure 4.1   **Program Theory of Change**

Results Concerning Research Question 1: Problem Definition

Identifying problems (i.e., at-risk youth violence) is the first step to developing the TST program theory of change. The problem definition in the research question was to identify: (a) the characteristics of the target population served in the TST; (b) the origins, magnitudes, and consequences of the violence of the target population; and (c) the important and treatable conditions to reduce the violence of the target population.

First, in order to identify the target population's characteristics, adult informants were asked to describe the unique characteristics of the target students, which might be different from those of non-at-risk students. The program participants were asked to describe their own characteristics or those of close friends who might be regarded as at-risk youths in schools.

Second, adult informants were asked about the origins of at-risk youth violence. The magnitudes of at-risk youth violence were investigated through the archival documents of each TST school. Additionally, the program participants were asked about their own experiences that were involved with any violent situations.

Finally, adult informants were asked to specify important and treatable conditions that affect at-risk youth violence. More importantly, they were asked which conditions were to be considered in designing their TST programs. The program participants were also asked about their general ideas on how school violence could be decreased.

Characteristics of MSP target population

After a thorough analysis of the program stakeholders' interviews, memos, school documents, and program observations, the characteristics of the MSP participants were identified as *behavioral characteristics* and *psycho-social characteristics.* Behavioral characteristics were further divided into individual-related and group-related characteristics. On the other hand, the psycho-social characteristics were found to be five distinct concepts, which were program participants' sense of helplessness, emotional distress, negative attitudes toward school and teachers, lack of social skills, and favorable attitudes toward violence.

BEHAVIORAL CHARACTERISTICS

When asked to identify the target students' characteristics in the MSP, adult informants stated at-risk youths' problem behaviors, dividing them into individual-related behaviors and group-related behaviors. They talked about individual-related behaviors, which were any problem behaviors carried out by an individual at-risk student. They mentioned that an at-risk youth is inclined to show aggressive behaviors toward other students and teachers, frequently violate school rules, and perform poorly on school-related work. For instance, an at-risk youth is likely to behave aggressively toward non-at-risk students and teachers in school. Program planners remarked:

> Big kids always bully around little kids…because they are stronger than most of the kids but it's not always the physical power that matters. Their don't-care attitude is also a force, like, they don't care about school and it doesn't matter if they get expelled or not. (BK teacher 1)

70

When those kids get yelled at by the teacher, they would just stare right back and have an offensive attitude. Some schools even have bad students beating up the teacher. (HG teacher 1)

In addition, they addressed that most at-risk youths were frequently late to school or did not show up for school without any excuse. Even if they came to school, they did not care about class-related work, performing most academic work poorly. The teachers in the MSP described it this way:

Instead of getting to school late, the students will just not go. Currently, a lot of the students drop out during their second year of middle school. In each class, at least there are two students who dropped out of school. So there are at least 10 students who would voluntarily quit coming to school. In our class there is a student who stopped coming to class. I want to help that student but can't really do anything when the student does not show up to class. (HG teacher 2)

They would always be late to school or not show up at all and would behave against the school rules…like wearing earrings to school, smoking, and so forth…They don't care about study. They differ from normal middle grade 3. They never have any concern about entering high school. Most of them are below 50 percent in the school record. (BK teacher 2)

More importantly, this study identified at-risk youths' group-related problem behaviors. The group-related behaviors have been executed by at least two at-risk youths who are members of a delinquent group in school. At-risk youths formed delinquent groups and maintained their groups' unique identity by committing to various group-related problem behaviors (e.g., group fights, commitment of delinquent behaviors) together. When forming antisocial groups, at-risk youths acknowledged other delinquent youths who had showed similar characteristics, and began to strengthen their antisocial group identity with violence and other delinquency. MSP adult informants stated how at-risk youths shaped their group:

Usually a group consists of around 10 students. When I came here, there were students who were rebellious… students hang around with their own similar groups… those

71

students get together in each school; from that group, a leader comes on the stage. The difference between now and twenty years ago is that the violent/rebellious group's misdemeanor level has gone up seriously. (BK teacher 1)

In a life developmental stage, middle school students are at the stage of forming their self-identity. It is natural that they need a peer group. But, when the group becomes deviant and has dominated normal students, they are growing up in such a risky group. (BK teacher 2)

Even in groups there are differences. There are sound (healthy) group activities and bad group activities. Regular students work well in a group, have a positive attitude and become a stronger individual, but students joining the bad crowd will grow as a group and try to overcome other groups similar to them. They would want to dominate and there is not individual standing. (HG teacher 2)

Indeed, such gang groups [in schools] are a kind of terror itself. Once somebody is in a gang group, normal students cannot do any kidding and must have patience in their teasing. If somebody is involved in a fight with one of the gang members, he cannot avoid the group's revenge. That's why normal students sidestep them. Even if they extorted money from them, they don't dare say anything to teachers. (HG teacher 1)

As one of the examples of forming at-risk groups' identity, a program participant

explained an initiation process of delinquent groups. Most antisocial groups have had a

unique *Singosik* (initiation process in a group in Korea) to bring new members into the

group. She told in retrospect how she became a member of a delinquent group:

In the beginning of the semester, the first-year middle students came from this neighborhood. From here, there are five students who are from WY Elementary School. This is embarrassing to say… this was when we were initiating people. One student told the student advisor about this. Of them being beaten up…We all participated in the beating. Not just one person doing it but all. Even we were beaten by the upperclassmen. Trying to tell the third-year graduate of middle school-- all this is embarrassing…This is just an initiation process. In the beginning of the semester, 10 students went together. How the beating will be done is not decided. Even the second-year students were not told to do this… the first-year students will just act by themselves. There are 10 of the second-year students. There is no particular reason. This is just an initiation. They asked us if we wanted to do it together. Want to get close to the third-year classmen. Each of the 10 students will collect one student each. (HG student 4)

Interestingly, there have been on-going hostile relationships among antisocial

groups in and out of school, although a delinquent group (e.g., a male at-risk group)

sometimes cooperated with another delinquent group (e.g., a female at-risk group). Such

72

negative relationships appeared as physical fights among the groups. These group fights

were the result of continuous, accumulated conflicts among distinct antisocial groups.

Informants addressed that the most severe physical fights were related to group fights in

and out of school. Program participants remarked on their experiences in in-group fights:

> We fought in our first year. We just finished grade school and only a few students
> come to this middle school…your group or my group…they separate into groups
> and only hang around themselves. (BK student 18)

> We fought with IlJin in another school in our first year. It was a time of our school picnic.
> Fortunately, we were not taken to the police station. (BK student 14)

> When regular students see them…they can be viewed as second-best. We are different
> from them, including me; we acted very rudely…we almost fought together…but there
> are three girls who we are not close to…don't know who the leader is…the hatred just
> built up. The 2nd year summer…during the time when we hated each other the most…one
> of the girls dated a guy I liked… I knew that friend for long time, but she prevented me
> from seeing him...each and every female had one difference with me…some people talk
> behind my back…that kind of talk comes back to me. (HG student 4)

Violence and other delinquent behaviors have been triggered when an at-risk

youth spent his or her time with other members in delinquent groups. The following

statements show that violence and antisocial behaviors derived from other members in his

or her delinquent group:

> When I'm with them, I feel, 'Wow, I love these guys!' and sometimes I get into trouble
> because of that. There was a kid who went around spreading rumors that we're Il-Jin or
> something. I didn't hear it firsthand, but other kids told me about it. I confronted her
> about it but she kept on denying spreading the rumor. Then my friends started beating
> her, so I joined them in beating her too. (BK student 4)

> Before and after school we'd get together and smoke. In the beginning only a couple of
> kids were smoking, but, soon after, others started smoking as well and that became a
> habit. (HG student 5)

The analysis of school documents confirmed that the majority of school violence and

antisocial behaviors have occurred through delinquent group members. During the past

four years (i.e., from 2002 to 2005), the MSP schools reported 6 cases as individual-

related violence and 8 as individual-related antisocial behaviors. On the other hand, they documented 35 cases as group-related violence and 24 group-related antisocial behaviors. Table 4.1 presents the summary of individual-related violence and antisocial behaviors and group-related violence and antisocial behaviors from 2002 to 2005 in both the BK school and the HG.

Interestingly, there has been a different pattern of organizing delinquent groups between at-risk male students and females. At-risk youths prefer same-sex groups to mixed-sex groups. In both schools, at-risk male students and female students formed groups separately. In particular, at-risk female students organized two different groups in each school, whereas at-risk males formed only one group. The MSP school teachers said that nowadays at-risk female students are more likely to organize their group than are at-risk male students. They assumed that it might be related to developmental differences between male and female students. They said:

> The degree of mental maturity is different…female students go through their puberty in the third year of middle school, but male students have puberty in the first year of high school. The male students would be more innocent and their violence level has heroism and impulsiveness, but the female students are more organized and have strong seniority bonds. (BK teacher 1)

Table 4.1

Number of Individual-Related and Group-Related Violent and Antisocial Behaviors in MSP Schools from 2002 to 2005

	Violence		Antisocial behaviors		
	Individual	Group	Individual	Group	Total
BK	2	9	2	5	18
HG	4	26	6	19	55
Total	6	35	8	24	73

Male students have only one primary group, but female students have at least two groups…female students are more separated. From the bad group of females there are many different groups within. Male students have IlJang (1st Rank in school), IJang (2nd Rank), etc…within the group, but female students are more diverse. Female students even have different groups within the classroom. (HG teacher 2)

Female students have IlJang (1st Rank), and IJang (2nd Rank). They probably still have this kind of rankings. Currently, at our school it is the ChunChu method of taking the leadership. It is when one person wins the fight with the leader and that winner becomes the new leader… it should be this way… If we take the example from the past, there is a group and different groups have differences in ideas, so they have conflicts. We had such events in the past and those two groups were bad. In the past one group would beat the other group pretty badly. Females' groups were doing this. The bad group was beating up one student and the male group saw this event. In between our school and G Middle School, we would each pick the Jjang (leader) and they would have a fighting round. (BK teacher 3)

Psycho-social characteristics of MSP target population

As mentioned earlier, this study identified at-risk youths' unique psychosocial characteristics, which were related to their cognitive (i.e., helplessness, attitudes, social skills) and affective status (i.e., emotion).

A sense of helplessness

Adult informants described that the majority of the target students were seen to have no interest in school-related work (e.g., study, class participation, and exams) and no success/achievement goals in their near future (e.g., advancement to high school). The target students' lethargy toward school life also caused general teachers' beliefs that they had little room for helping at-risk students. Program implementers stated their initial ideas of at-risk youths in the MSP:

Don't have a clear goal orientation and lack adaptiveness to school life… third-year middle-school students should be interested in the upcoming high school experience, but they were not interested. They don't look like they have any interest in schoolwork. During the class they do their own things and even on the day before an exam they don't study at all. (BK teacher 3)

75

These kids don't have any motivation in schoolwork and often show a can't-do attitude. They have no self-confidence and they don't know what their strengths are. Even now, when I see some of these kids, I get the feeling that there's nothing I can do for them. Their mind is totally absent during the class. (HG teacher 2)

Program implementers mentioned that such at-risk youths' sense of helplessness seemed to be derived from negative relationships between them and school stakeholders (e.g., teachers, non-at-risk students), and between them and their families. They, therefore, feel they have no "shelter" in their lives except their antisocial peer groups. Program implementers and participants reported:

The relationship between teachers and at-risk youths is a kind of mutual enemies. Teachers frequently punish and disregard at-risk youths because they show hostile behaviors to teachers and normal students, as well as poor test grades. (BK teacher 1)

After the extortion incident, the teacher would give us a dirty look and treat us as if we've committed some kind of crime. Once, the teacher just took my earrings off and threw them away while swearing at me, and I hadn't even done anything bad. I just don't understand why they pick on us all the time. (HG student 4)

Some of them report that they are getting physically abused at home. In one case, a divorced father would come home drunk every night and vent his anger and despair. If the kids get tired of listening to him and refuse to deal with it, the father then becomes violent. Getting frustrated at home, the kids try to relieve the stress by hanging out with other kids in similar situations. They've got nothing good going on at home so they naturally prefer hanging out on the streets to going home. (HG teacher 1)

Although at-risk youths showed enervation in relation to most school-related work, they had higher interest in participating in various sport activities. They were strongly confident that they were able to do very well in some sport activities. Indeed, they had spent many hours playing some sport activities (e.g., basketball, soccer) together. A teacher and student participants reported:

Biologically, this is a period where they become physically very active, and these kids actually do get involved in many sports activities. During the regular classes they are like zombies but, as soon as the P.E. class starts, they come back to life and become very

animated. They'd cajole other kids into going out to the field and playing with them. They are quite confident of their physical ability and, as a matter of fact, there are quite a few of them who are talented enough to be qualified for the school soccer team. (BK teacher 1)

I'm good at any kind of sports. And we are here; we are the best in school as far as soccer goes, and probably we are the best in basketball as well. (BK student 18)

When we hang out together, we normally play some kind of sports and, since we play it a lot more often than other kids, naturally, we're better than them. (HG student 5)

Emotional distress

The MSP planners reported that most at-risk youths have suffered from negative emotions such as higher stress and dissatisfaction surrounding their life conditions (e.g., family poverty). They noticed that at-risk youths show mentally unstable status and, in turn, exhibit antisocial behaviors and violence. They described:

After the IMF, the families broke apart, and many people lost their jobs and needed to move to cheaper houses because of their financial situation. At the time, they were elementary students and moving here in a short time frame was a big shock to them. They were mentally unstable and were stressed by the events. These kids would turn to misconduct and violence…the most important part of a child's development is love from their parents and a stable environment, but, since they were not able to get the proper fulfillment for their needs, the child felt very nervous. They think that other kids live well and complain why their lives are so unstable. (HG teacher 1)

These kids are emotionally very unstable - they often vandalize school property, jump the classroom windows; they are violent, easily distracted and just wild…They are always distracted and can't focus on things, so they end up disrupting the class. Not only are they unstable; they also get emotional very easily and tend to act on impulse. (BK teacher 1)

The above quotes also indicate that at-risk youths' emotional problems could be related to the lack of fulfillment of their basic human needs, such as a lack of parents' love for a long time. In addition, their emotional distress could be aggravated by continuous negative relationships among at-risk youths, teachers, and non-at-risk students. Ironically, program implementers stated that an at-risk youth is rather an outcast in the school:

77

Either the students who use violence or so-called IlJin (leader of the group or top fighters) is WangTha (an outcast). The way they talk and act is different, so other students have difficulty getting close to them…other students do not purposely cast those students out; they do not get along so just they ignore each other. The number of these students is one to two in the class. (HG teacher 1)

Let's say they don't stick together. They still wouldn't be able to blend in with other kids. When you see them in the class, you can feel that they are loners. However, these kids from all different grades gather together and form Il-Jin. In this case, they are not outcast anymore. Other kids can't and wouldn't approach them, nor can these kids blend in with other regular kids. (BK teacher 3)

Negative attitudes toward school & teachers

Program participants reported that they had had such negative attitudes, because they thought that teachers always discounted, blamed, and restrained their behaviors. They felt that most school teachers regarded them as a kind of inferior human being and treated them unfairly, compared to some students who showed high academic performance. They, therefore, had a deep distrust of their teachers. They stated:

Everyday the teachers looked down on us. They would compare us to the other elite students and say that they are ashamed of us…you know, they always target and punish us in the same case of mistakes other kids do. (HG student 2)

I get yelled at for having my hair long, for scoring badly on the exam, for everything. Teachers treat me like I'm nothing in front of the whole class. They would beat me in front of the class for things that I'm not responsible for. I'm sick and tired of it. (HG student 4)

Adult informants also believed that such attitudes have been expressed in defiant acts against teachers, violating school rules, and neglecting their school-related work. Program implementers reported:

The student will rebel against the teacher in class; they sleep and are hard to control… the teachers would try to control them several times, but give up after several times… those students confront the female teachers or teachers who are not strict in school. We hear that in some schools teachers are beaten by kids and say that there is not any more traditional student-and-teacher relationship. (BK teacher 1)

These kids frequently violate school rules and do illegal behaviors…they are blamed by teachers and normal students because they don't take any responsibilities such as

78

cleaning a classroom and other school-related work. They rarely do for a class and are unconcerned about their class. (HG teacher 1)

Lack of social skills

The lack of social skills was commonly reported in every adult interview. They addressed that the target students are more likely to show difficulties with cooperating and communicating with other students, and controlling themselves in conflict situations. The deficit of social skills not only appears to bring out aggressive, forcible, and uncontrollable behaviors, but also leads to limited relationships (i.e., only delinquent peer relationships) in school. The MSP teachers explained it this way:

> These kids don't seem to be able to voice their own opinions. They don't know how to speak up for their rights. What they do is express their discontent through their actions. They tend not to pay attention when listening to others and often raise their voice and curse during a conversation, which often leads to a fight. They also don't seem to be able to control their emotions; as a result they get into fights or become violent towards their friends. They also tend to display a bad attitude while conversing with others, often offending them. (HG teacher 1)

> When the students hang only within their group, they think the others are worthless and would suppress other students from acting as they want. Other students do not want to do what they are asking them to do, but, because of their violent nature, other students are forced to do it… implicitly, they have difficulty controlling their emotions and have difficulty understanding other people's stories. They would try to explain themselves in the beginning, but, when they faced difficulty in communication, they would turn to violence. (BK teacher 2)

> Classes and socializing are big parts of school life and these kids just don't do these things well. They don't want to be in school and their social life is very limited as well. They always stick together…Among them… I don't know…Maybe they understand each other better… however, they are not interested in learning at all. (HG teacher 2)

For instance, a program participant stated that he had had difficulty controlling his anger when being in trouble with his friend. He told about that moment this way:

> We would have break times. I was playing with my friend's umbrella and accidentally broke it. It was my entire fault and he was my friend, but I couldn't control my temper so

started cussing and my fist was flying. The teacher stopped me in the end and when I looked around, my friend had a black eye. (BK student 1)

Favorable attitudes toward violence

Although the MSP had been serving the target students for six months, many of them have still had favorable attitudes toward violent behaviors. Approximately 50% of the interviewed program participants reported that violence is a necessary part of human life and there is no way to stop it. A student replied: "Violence happens when we can not reach agreement with conversation. Most violent situations result from not only inflictors, but also victims." The MSP teachers pointed out that at-risk youths are inclined to justify their violence to maintain their power status over non-at-risk students in school. They reported it this way:

> Knowing that they have someone watching their back, they have no fear. Having a group of friends watching over each other gives them a tremendous sense of empowerment. They love exercising power. They are also very sure that they won't be cast out. They are very aggressive and assertive. (HG teacher 2)

> These kids try to rule over other students and enjoy exercising power. But, since this is hard to accomplish on one's own, they form a group with other kids of similar personalities. (HG teacher 1)

> When they are freshmen, they don't think about these kinds of things, they are just busy having fun; however, when they become juniors, they start forming groups and that's when they become scary. (BK teacher 1)

Origins, magnitudes and consequences of MSP target population

For this study, the origins of youth violence were to clarify any environmental factors that might influence at-risk youths' violence. The origins of adolescent violence were classified into three categories: (a) antisocial peer group influence (i.e., within- and between-group influences), (b) a lowered school social climate, and (c) family problems.

Antisocial peer group influence

Although there were a number of delinquent groups in and out of the schools, the groups could be categorized according to each group's relationship with other groups as favorable or unfavorable. Two different types of antisocial peer groups were identified in this study. One type of peer groups was the in-group, in which an at-risk youth is acting as a member of the group. The membership of the in-group itself provides an at-risk youth with superior power over non-at-risk students. These youths have a strong belief that they should be secured by other members in their in-group and help other members in the case of their being involved in group-related violence. A student stated his experience: "In the beginning, I didn't want to get into a fight, but my friends would do it, so in the end I started fighting also" (BK Student 4).

Additionally, the in-group has influenced member students to follow its norms and identity. This study found that at-risk students follow a great consensus or show loyalty to their in-groups. Their strong bonding in the in-group, in part, has been explained by the fact that they are afraid of being removed from the group when they have not behaved in a way similar to what other members do. A teacher and a participant student said: "When they themselves engage in something bad, they know that it's bad, but they are afraid that they'll get rejected by other kids if they don't do this" (HG Teacher 2).

Another type of group influence was related to relationships between in-groups and out-groups (i.e., oppositional groups against the in-group). Members of the in-groups showed negative attitudes toward members of the out-groups, which led to hostile relationships between the in-groups and the out-groups. Such negative confrontations

81

between the two groups triggered conflicts between the in-groups and out-groups. This

study found that such negative relationships have been maintained from *prejudice*

between the two oppositional groups. The at-risk youths of a same group described other

out-groups and their members very negatively, whereas they saw themselves as a good

group (e.g., we are very honest and sincere compared to other groups). Program

participants informed about it this way:

> We wondered why they joined that group. Now we are not that close to them anymore because they are a part of that group. We just look down on them; they are just a bunch of second-rate losers. (HG student 7)

> The first impression that I had of those kids…I was real bad. The reason I hated it also had something to do with the kid I mentioned earlier. Well, I still don't like it. I don't like the things that don't involve me….Even when I try to talk to her about this, she gets very cautious and won't say anything about it, at all. I don't like them because they are somewhat pretentious. I feel like they are not being honest with me…These kids are like gangsters. There are times that I get worried about them. About the friend that I had told you earlier, I still like her, so it makes me very sad to watch those kinds of kids. Some of them even stopped coming to school. After school we go home, but they don't go home; they always hang out together. I hang out with her once a week. But they hang out at the place behind the school all the time. They don't come to school and, if they do come to school, they usually end up getting punished by the teachers. (HG student 4)

Such negative perceptions (e.g., prejudice) between members of in-groups and out-

groups were likely to lead to group physical fights. A program participant reported that

there was a fight between two female groups this way:

> In junior year the groups were already divided and labeled as first- and second-rate. Once, a big fight broke out between the first- and second-rate groups. It was a big fight with even alumni involved in it. In the freshman year we'd make fun of them or even beat them. The kids from the second rate group didn't show any discontent. But, when they became juniors, they started growing unhappy about it. This particular girl was hanging out with boys and she was way too tough to belong to the second-rate group. She was from KT Elementary School, so she knew a lot of older kids in the neighborhood--some even ten years older. We decided to teach her a lesson, but then she called all her friends. So it became an all-out war, with her and her friends fighting the upperclassmen. (HG student 4)

82

Both the BK school and the HG have at least three different antisocial groups in each grade. As mentioned previously, male students were more likely to form one group, but female students were inclined to form two different groups. When taking into account the three-grade system in Korean middle schools, therefore, there were estimated to be in the number of six to nine at-risk groups in each school.

Lowered school social climate

The MSP planners informed that at-risk youths' problem behaviors were influenced by various school factors. They mentioned that this especially affected how school stakeholders perceived their schools. If they perceived that the school was little controlled by teachers or school policy, violence and antisocial behaviors were more likely to occur by not only at-risk youths, but also non-at-risk students. MSP teachers explained it this way:

> In my class, there are two kids who are like that. In every class, usually there are two kids who end up dropping out of school and that makes 10 drop-outs per class-year. That kind of number keeps a dropout from getting bored. If there was only one drop-out throughout the whole school, you'd feel that dropping out of school is a bad idea. But, when there are ten or twenty of them, dropping-out doesn't feel as bad. Let's say you spend a night out with a dropout. The next morning he would still be asleep, but you have to get up and get ready for school and how easy do you think that is? (HG teacher 2)

> If you fail to control these kids and their smoking habit, the whole school will be in a mess in no time. Other kids will start smoking as well and eventually it will get to the point where you can't control the students at all. (BK teacher 1)

MSP program directors reported that nowadays most public middle schools have had trouble with preserving positive school environments. They referred to the main reasons as being school teachers' low morale, their being too busy with school work, and negative relationships between teachers and students in current schools. They described:

83

These days the environment is not there for teachers to mentor or advise students with passion and enthusiasm. Teachers are overloaded with paper work, projects to be approved, home room teacher duties, and curriculums, etc.; they don't have time to work on curriculums while they are at work, so they end up taking it home and working on it. (HG teacher 1)

Back in the days when the teachers were still respected and had more power over the students, I taught with a sense of pride, and I thought teaching was my true vocation. Students obeyed, teachers and parents respected us. There was also a social consensus about it as well. Even back then teachers were not getting compensated well, but at least we had control over the kids. But now the situation is completely different, especially ever since corporal punishment was banned. Now teachers don't have any authority; if students get physically punished, they call a cop on the teacher or in some cases record it on their cell phone and spread it on the Internet. Under this kind of circumstances, it's tremendously difficult for teachers to guide students in the right direction.(BK teacher 1)

In addition, program implementers pointed out that the current ratio of male teachers to female is 3 to 7 in most public middle schools, and, in such an environment, at-risk youths have challenged female teachers more frequently and easily than male teachers. That appears to be a cause of lowering school social control in the current public middle schools in Korea.

Family problems

All the adult informants reported that family problems are one of the most critical factors that influence at-risk youths' violence. They pointed out a wide variety of family problems such as with the family structure (single parent or without parents), family poverty, exposure to parental violence, other parental factors, and problems with siblings. Program implementers reported the following responses:

It starts from home. These days there are many broken families. Single mom or single dad families, divorces, parents passing away…; my impression is that kids do get influences from parents, violence at home, geographical issues and such… They hang out in the streets since they have nothing good going on at home.(HG teacher 1)

There's still a hope if the parents are there for them. If they don't have parents, then hope is lost completely. Kids get sidetracked and cause trouble, but, if they have parents

84

patiently waiting for them, then there is a hope for them to come back to school and finish it. Another problem is that schools are in very poor condition. Even after the kids get straightened up, schools have no capacity to take them back. (BK teacher 1)

This kid started straying from the 3rd grade. The teacher suggested that he receive therapy but the parents thought, since he's a boy, it's okay for him to be a little side-tracked, so they neglected to get him the treatment that he needed. He started spending more time outside and grew bolder each year, and eventually started hanging out with a bad crowd. (HG teacher 2)

Magnitudes and consequences of violent behaviors

Through MSP school documents, this study quantifies the types and cases of violence and antisocial behaviors, as well as the consequences of each case. A total of four types of violent behaviors were specified: (a) physical fights, (b) extortion by threats, (c) demolition of school facilities, and (d) multiple-form violence. The multiple-form violence was coded thus because some violence cases were combinations of any of the foregoing three forms of violence (e.g., physical fights and extortion by threats). In addition, other antisocial behaviors were coded as: (a) stealing, (b) late-coming and absence, (c) smoking, (d) drinking, (e) multiple-form antisocial behaviors, and (f) others. Multiple-form antisocial behaviors were indicated when an identified case was a combination of any of the foregoing four forms of antisocial behaviors. "Others" include antisocial cases that are not included in any specific categories listed here.

Table 4.2 shows the magnitudes of violence and antisocial behaviors occurring in both the BK school and the HG during the past four years. It indicates that physical fights were the most frequently occurring in the violence cases in both schools. The majority of physical fights were related to group fights between in-groups and out-groups. On the other hand, stealing was the most frequently occurring type of antisocial behavior.

Table 4.2

Type and Number of Violent and Antisocial Behaviors in MSP Schools from 2002 to 2005

	Types	BK	HG	Total
	Physical fights	7	20	27
Violence	Extortion by threats	4	7	11
	Demolition of school facilities	-	-	-
	Multiple violence	-	3	3
	Stealing	4	9	13
Antisocial	Unexcused absence	2	-	2
behavior	Smoking	1	6	7
	Drinking	-	1	1
	Others	-	4	4
	Multiple antisocial	-	5	5
Total		18	55	73

Note. Dashes mean no case in the category.

Both schools' documents also provided how each school treated a disciplinary action in each case of violence or antisocial behavior. The MSP planners explained that, according to the seriousness of each case, four types of discipline activities have been required of the involved students: (a) in-school suspension, (b) social organization service (i.e., out-of-school suspension), (c) special education, and (d) multiple activities. Multiple activities mean that some students were given two types of discipline activities from among the foregoing three activities (e.g., in-school suspension and out-of-school suspension or out-of-school suspension and special education participation). The least serious discipline is the in-school suspension; the second, the social organization service; the third, the special education; and the most serious disciplinary activity is multiple

activities. Table 4.3 presents the decisions of the school committees for the cases during the past four years.

Adult informants said that most school violence influences not only student offenders themselves, but also other school stakeholders and their families. They expressed that there is a kind of a negative circulation, once serious problem behaviors have happened in the schools. An MSP teacher mentioned it this way:

> Victims of violence have felt physical and mental harms. Offenders are suspended or expelled to other schools. In the worst cases, they are sent to probation. Their family is likely to punish their kids because they cannot avoid monetary loss for victims. It has worsened family relationships. Once such cases have occurred, normal students avoid at-risk youths. Teachers also are reluctant to help the offenders and finally give up on such students. (HG teacher 1).

As a result, the offenders become more rejected by the school, the school stakeholders, and even their families. The sanctions and removal from school make at-risk youths more attached to their delinquent groups.

Table 4.3

Type and Number of Sanctions on Violent and Antisocial Behaviors in MSP Schools from 2002 to 2005

		BK	HG	Total
Type of sanction	In-school suspension	15	28	43
	Social organization	-	8	8
	Special education	1	7	8
	Multiple disciplinary	2	12	14
Total		18	55	73

Note. Dash means no case in the category.

Important and treatable conditions

The MSP planning documents and interviews indicated that the MSP aimed to intervene in seven conditions: (a) helplessness, (b) emotional distress, (c) negative attitudes toward school/teachers, (d) the lack of social skills, (e) favorable attitudes toward violence, (f) antisocial peer group influence, and (g) a lowered school social climate. The MSP directors, however, did not consider intervening in at-risk youths' family problems through the program. They believed that caring for at-risk youths' family problems is another domain beyond their abilities. The MSP planners explained why they made little effort on at-risk youths' family problems in the program this way:

> To make a round of calls at home and educate parents is not realistic at this time due to lack of manpower and funding and parents wouldn't want it either. They don't like us calling them on the phone over their children's problems. And mostly, these parents have their own problems and most of the time they don't answer the phone anyway. The kids are being neglected at home. The county should get involved, because, if the school authorities ask the parents to pay a visit to the school, they just ignore it. The parents that answer the calls and show up at school are usually the parents of good kids, not the ones that we really need to have a talk with. Parents need to get more involved. (BK teacher 1)

> I have contacted parents but I felt that it's extremely difficult to change them. Some of them did change without much resistance but many of them are in difficult situations, got divorced or the family is broken…;it's hard to change that kind of people. All I do is show them. I would tell them where their kids spent the night before and where they are now. Some do feel bad about it and don't beat them as much…(HG teacher 1)

The SB coordinator explained that the SB did not suggest treating the target students' family problems in the TST programs because at-risk youths' family problems were so complicated. Instead, she mentioned that the SB has developed a comprehensive community intervention plan for this district, that will focus mainly on at-risk youths' family issues in the near future.

PROBLEM DEFINITION OF LEAST SUCCESSFUL PROGRAMS (LSP)

Characteristics of the LSP target population

The characteristics of the program participants served in the LSP were similarly identified to those of the MSP target students. It is reasonable that, because there is little difference between the MSP schools and the LSP schools (e.g., socio-economically similar areas, similar school policies and types of students), the factors that influence the violence and delinquency of the target students in the LSP should be similar to those of the MSP identified earlier.

Behavioral characteristics

Adult informants addressed that an at-risk student is more likely to show aggressive and fearless behaviors. In addition, he or she violates school rules frequently and shows poor performance in academic work. Program implementers described general at-risk students in school:

> Some kids want to be known as daring, mature and deviant, so they get their ears pierced. They also smoke to show off. They don't want to study that much, so don't care about classes, so they sit around during recess. Most of them are average, less than 50 out of 100 on school tests. They almost don't attend classes. If they're in class, they don't pay much attention to class; they sit face down or do something else during class. (SS teacher 1)

> Most of the program participants have violated school regulations. Smoking was the most frequent. We [teachers] are almost giving up on such kids' chronic smoking and late-coming. (SU teacher 1)

It should be noted that the LSP planners showed limitations to understanding their program participants' group-related problem behaviors. As described in the program overview section, the planners in both LSP schools were not experienced enough in

89

working with at-risk youths during their career years. However, a social worker of the SU

school and some interviewed students provided rich examples of group-related problem

behaviors that were similar to those of the MSP. The social worker stated why at-risk

youths became connected this way:

> Indifference of the parents plays a big role when both of the parents work. Parents do not care if students stay out late because parents are tired of their children who do not listen to them. There is no problem between friends. Students would rather make emotionally with friends than school and family. (SU social worker 1)

Program participants voiced that they differed from general students, because they

used special jargon and executed the *traditional manners* existing in delinquent groups.

They reported the following responses:

> I don't hang out with kids from other groups. We only hang out when we have to, such as class assignments or P.E. class. It's not fun hanging out with the normal kids. They are no fun and lack humor. We make up our own acronyms, like DisHonest being DH or Unpleasant Dude being UD. (SS student 2)

> You know we have a tradition that gets passed down from our seniors. I was beat up by a senior yesterday. It's a regular event. The 9th-graders got beaten up by high schoolers. It gets passed down all the way to us. We also teach our juniors the same thing, meaning we also beat them up or take their money. (SU student 7)

> We have our own rules. If somebody reports another person, it feels like you're relying on another person, like a coward. If you fight, you accept the result; you don't report it to school. Right after the fight, reporting to the dean of students gets everybody involved and punished.(SU student 10)

> Tardiness is our everyday life. I wait for the kids at the bus stop. If I head to school by myself, I won't be late, but Jiho and Soomin are late. Riding the bus costs 900 won so riding the cab is cheaper. Tardiness doesn't get punished most of the time. (SU student 1)

Students in the LSP mentioned that group-related problem behaviors are

performed to form and maintain an antisocial group identity. The most serious case was

group fights between the in-group(s) and the out-group(s), whereas the youths had

frequently done various delinquent behaviors with their in-group members. This study

found that group fights resulted from not only longstanding hostile relationships between

the in-group(s) and the out-group(s), but also from contingent factors such as

involvement with elder students. Program participants reported their experiences with

group fights:

> We didn't know when we were freshmen but, at the start of our sophomore year, every time we had a test, they provoked us. We kept arguing until our senior year. After we had a big fight, we were keeping a distance from each other. We were at a disadvantage. And they were bragging that they won. We are maintaining a good relationship right now but keeping a distance as well. (SS student 10)

> We were scolded by the student department since my friends hit one person from the other school. Seven people hit just one person. Originally, we have 2 friends from In-soo Middle School, and they had a fight with one person. We were talking to them and we got into the fight. (SU student 5)

> We never intended to fight with them. Seniors were present. We didn't want to get in trouble since classmates were around. They were friends. We didn't know then but they were already picking who to fight. There's etiquette when you fight. You don't beat up a guy when they are already down. But somebody from the senior group suggested having a no-rules fight. It hurt our pride. Minseo fought with two girls. (SU student 7)

Interviews also revealed that most delinquent behaviors were committed by some

members of the in-group. Program participants told in retrospect why they were involved

in smoking, a physical fight, and extortion by threats:

> Smoking was for showing off at first, but it became a habit. I had to smoke before going to bed. We tried to quit smoking when summer started or when we set the time to quit, but, whenever something happened, we had to smoke. So we were repeatedly smoking and quitting. (SU student 7)

> When I get to know the seniors better, they take me to karaoke and treat me to food. If they give me a cigarette, I have to hold onto it until they're done with whatever they're doing. But I get used to the whole process. They don't beat me for not smoking but, if they ask me to, I feel like I should. (SS student 7)

> We fought with students from the other school. They had more people. We were familiar with Hwa-Gea, so Soon-ho got hit a lot. So we were hospitalized. (SU student 5)

> Six of us went to Youngsan because we needed money. KT told us he would do everything and we just followed him and enjoyed…In reality, we are very curious about whether his extortion is really working. On the way we met older high school students. KT approached them, but they were a real gang and they hit us and asked for money. They took everything, but we were lucky to get 20,000 won from other middle students. We ate snacks with it. (SU student 3)

91

Quantitative results also support the above findings, which showed that, from 2002 to 2005, there were 16 cases of individual-related violence and 6 individual-related antisocial behaviors in the LSP schools. On the other hand, there were 44 cases of group-related violence and 20 group-related antisocial behaviors in both schools. See Table 4.4.

The patterns of organizing antisocial groups in LSP schools were similar to those of MSP schools. In both schools, at-risk students favored same-sex groups over mixed groups. The antisocial grouping in LSP schools was similarly identified in the findings of the MSP, i.e., that at-risk female groups were divided into two different groups, whereas at-risk male students had only one group. As indicated above, LSP planners had not been aware of such different types of antisocial groups until they experienced group fights and extortion in the schools. LSP planners stated:

> Sometimes the female group gets along OK and they have a sub-group. Once, the sub-group reported to us the upper group and we realized there were such groups. They don't do anything together now…but they are at a serious stage. (SS teacher 1)

> There were serious group fights between the Iljin and the Ejin…As a result of investigating it, we knew we have all the kids in the Ejin group and no one of the Iljin was in   the program. We had to sanction all the kids in the school board meeting. (SU teacher 1)

Table 4.4

Number of Individual-Related and Group-Related Violent and Antisocial Behaviors in LSP Schools from 2002 to 2005

	Violence		Antisocial behaviors		
	Individual	Group	Individual	Group	Total
SU school	2	17	3	10	32
SS school	14	27	3	10	54
Total	16	44	6	20	86

Psycho-social characteristics

The analysis of the data indicated five psychosocial characteristics of LSP

participants. As expected, the researcher found that the five characteristics were similar to

those of the MSP target students.

A sense of helplessness

Adult informants commonly pointed out that program participants appeared to be

lazy, aimless, and hopeless in their lives. In addition, the adult informants said that such

feelings could lead to violent and antisocial behaviors. Program implementers reported

the following responses:

> There are more evening people than morning people are dominantly, so people are getting lazy in the morning. They lack goals and preparation skills. (SU teacher 1)
>
> Students don't act by plan. They do not care about the work they have to do with others and they lack consideration of others. There are cases that students break promises with their teachers based on their own judgment…Students think that they should go to school and graduate and go to college. But students from SU hate school and they don't think that school does any good for their lives. So they are locked in a vicious circle. Students want to go to college, but they think that they can't because they unconsciously think that they do not understand what teachers say during the lessons. (SU social worker 1)
>
> It is even easier if it is all about lethargy. It is hard to say but lethargy and anger will be expressed by violence. (SS teacher 1)

The program implementers further explained that the sense of helplessness was

related to the lack of motivation in school life, negative relationships between at-risk

students and teachers, and their parents' indifference. As a result, the at-risk students

become more dependent on other students who have similar conditions. The

implementers reported it this way:

The biggest problem is motivation. Not only students from SU but also the misfit students commonly do not have motivation. Therefore, they don't follow the rules and it is hard to build a relationship with teachers. It became a vicious circle with school being oppressive. (SU social worker 1)

The indifference of the parents plays a big role when both of the parents work. Parents do not care if students stay out late because parents are tired of their children who do not listen to them. There is no problem between friends. Students would rather bond emotionally with friends than school and family. (SS teacher 1)

Similar to the findings of the MSP, at-risk youths and program implementers in the LSP mentioned that the at-risk students have higher interest in some sport activities and greater self-confidence about their health. They said:

There are quite a few students who can play soccer: they can play on the school's soccer team. They also can play basketball, too. When we were freshmen and sophomores, we used to play soccer and basketball after school. (SU student 3)

Students are full of confidence about their health. They are good at playing sports. I think that physical education class is the only class they show interest in (SS teacher 1)

Emotional distress

Adult informants perceived that program participants have shown greater emotional problems because of their unsatisfied desires, relative deprivation, and trouble with teachers. They also said that conflicts between them and the teachers are a main cause of their being school dropouts. They reported the following responses:

Students feel frustrated and anxious about their environment and social surroundings. Students become more violent and blame society because society gives them hardships. So it is hard to approach closer to them since they blame people who are richer than their own families. They feel that they are poor compared to other students: Their friend lives in his/her own house, but they rent the basement floor and they can't pay the rent; the other parent is not home; father does the housework or they cook the instant noodles by themselves. (SS teacher 2)

The most stressed superficial reason for getting out of school is conflicts with teachers. They want to quit. They quit school when they don't want to be in the class or when a teacher scolds them and when they are bored and can't find meaning in being at school. (SU social worker 1)

Negative attitudes toward school & teachers

The program participants have had hostile relationships with teachers in the

Department of Student Life Guidance. They remembered how teachers blamed them and

treated them unfairly, comparing them to non-at-risk students. Program participants said:

> I had a hard life because of the student department. I knew that it was my fault that
> my mother and I had to go to the office; however, I wanted to quit and to cry. When I go
> to the office in the morning, teachers would say bad things such as bitches. Some
> teachers even say that my friends and I are trash when we are late for school. When we
> hear things like that, we just want to get out of school. (SU student 10)

> For no reason, we were caught by teachers more often. Even though good students were
> late for school with us, they were sent back to the classroom without punishment. We
> stand outside of the office for an hour in winter, but the teacher didn't come. After the
> teacher came, he/she just said "Go to the classroom!" We had already missed the first
> class. We felt really bad that we knew that we were discriminated against. (SU student 7)

It was found that at-risk youths' negative attitudes led to defiant behaviors toward

teachers, as well as antisocial behaviors. A teacher and a student participant reported it

this way:

> Students are bad. Whenever students get into trouble, teachers just scold them without
> trying to have a conversation. I think there is no conversation available between
> students and teachers. Normal students can fix their problems with one word but we
> can't. It builds up negative emotions; for example, if students do body piercing, most
> homeroom teachers say harsh things, take away jewelry, and scold them for not following
> the rules. (SS teacher 1)

> Long time ago, I didn't listen to my homeroom teacher for no reason. When the teacher
> asks if there is anyone who doesn't clean the classroom, I volunteered and just went
> home. When we had a conference, I just forgot and went home. At first, I hated my
> teacher because I felt that the teacher was too conservative. (SU student 10)

Lack of social skills

When asked to describe their involvement in violent situations, program

participants told of some difficulties with controlling their anger when they were in

95

conflict situations. Students in the LSP stated that any school violence had taken place

when they failed to communicate with their counterparts. They responded:

> The reasons why people fight each other is that they can't solve the problem with
> conversation. It is not fighting one person with a lot of people, it is one on one. It is hard
> to control emotion. We all got into a fight before. (SU student 5)
>
> When we can't compromise with conversation or we can't continue the conversation, we
> get into the fight. We know that this is not good, but we can't hold anger or understand
> other people. (SS student 3)
>
> The sophomore student asked me to fight with her, so I hit her. I thought that she was
> ignorant. She got red eyes and bruises before summer; I went to the office after summer. I
> feel angry when a younger person stares at me. (SU student 9)
>
> The person I fought with was in my class and was my friend. So I talked to an upper-
> class girl: How can I hit her? However, she hit me first and it led to a fight…We can't
> understand it when people talk about us behind our back. When we hear about that, then
> we go find that person. We were confident that we could kill the person, even though we
> go to the adolescent jail. However, when parents or teachers were asked to be in court,
> then we got scared. When we were in a fight, we just think about the person to be hurt.
> (SU student 10)

Favorable attitudes toward violence

Most program participants justified their violence, saying that violence could not

be avoided because the occurrence of violence is associated with sufficient and plausible

reasons. In addition, they believed that violence is an acceptable form in the antisocial

subculture. Program participants reported:

> There are always reasons for both sides. We told the teacher that there is a rumor in town
> that one of the girls was sleeping with a boy. The girl was so stressed: She didn't want to
> go out, to go to school. So we asked around, and we found the person who started the
> rumor at first. It was a lie. Therefore, girls hit that person hard. The teacher said they
> crossed the line. Girls said that it was hard to be understood, so it happened. (SU student
> 7)
>
> We all decide to fight, so we don't have to stop them. There is no reason to stop them.
> We regret if we got caught, but, if we don't get caught, we don't regret…We didn't get
> caught. We got caught less than 1 out of 10 times. (SS student 1)

He's younger than us. He shouldn't have stared at us. Such an act is not accepted in our world. Even more, he challenged one of our members. That day was the date we must teach a lesson to him. (SU student 4)

Origins, magnitudes and consequences of adolescent violence

The analysis of the LSP revealed the same origins that were identified in the MSP. The origins of youth violence, therefore, were indicated as antisocial peer group influence, the lowered school social climate, and family problems.

Antisocial peer group influence

Similar to the findings of the MSP, the analysis of the LSP data showed two types of peer group influence, which are in-group influence and out-group influence. At-risk youths appear to be fearless because they believe that they have someone to rely on. A student participant in the SS school remarked, "We don't feel any fear because we think there are people who can help us." An at-risk youth's behaviors were also influenced by other members' ideas and behaviors. A student participant in the SU program said, "The biggest factor is people around us. We once talk to Youngja because she borrowed 500 won from me and paid back with money she borrowed from someone else. Some of our members did the same thing she did… We worried about that. It was too late; everyone in school including teachers knew about it."

An at-risk student feels that she or he needs to show conformity with other in-group members because it is the only way to avoid loneliness in her or his life. A program participant reported it this way:

It would be harder if I were alone. It is hard to talk to parents or teachers, but I have friends to talk to about deepest secrets and everything. Even though we fight within the group, I need them. (SU student 10)

97

At-risk youths clearly acknowledged other antisocial groups in and out of their
school. Basically, they evaluated themselves very favorably: "We are very honest and
sincere compared to other groups." In addition, the evaluation of other delinquent groups
was dependent on the extent to which the members of the in-group showed favorable
attitudes toward the members of other antisocial groups. They described other groups
with the following responses:

> She doesn't study. She only cares about other people. She tries to make friends with all
> the groups. However, she talks about others behind their backs. Whenever there is a bad
> thing happening, she always cries. She tries to act like an adult, to put on heavy makeup,
> wearing inappropriate clothing to school events. We don't like it. (SS student 2)

> We were enemies before; they were the first levels and we were the second. The first
> group has boys who help them. Teachers always picked on us, even though there are
> other groups [a male and a female antisocial group] who did the same thing. (SU student
> 8)

> We often hear that someone became bad because of us. The sophomores said that they
> had been changed because of us. They put on makeup and act like adults. However, the
> ones that hang out with us, they are nice. They smoke but they don't get caught. (SU
> student 1)

> I don't like the girls who hang out with upper-grade boys. I wanted to kill them when the
> girls went to one of the boys' house without asking me on a cold day. I also don't like
> the girls who take money from others because they think they are the best. They are
> wilder than we are. We don't steal anything; we just play soccer and play at the
> playground. However, they steal and have sex with other boys. (SS student 3)

It was assumed that continuous conflicts between the in-groups and the out-
groups had finally led to physical fights among them. A program implementer reported
how and why her students were involved in a factional strife, while she was conducting
the TST program activities:

> Girls sometimes join us but not anymore. Girls have another group except them. The
> other group's report always causes the problem; girls in the program were bothering the
> girls from the other group. They reported repeatedly from last year. (SU social worker 1)

98

Lowered school social climate

LSP informants perceived that their schools were unsafe places where lots of antisocial behaviors (e.g., smoking, frequent late-coming to school) were proliferating. The SU school has almost given up its efforts to prevent students' smoking because the majority of students have become smokers in the school. Program implementers and participants explained it this way:

> The other places, people report, but not here. It is a problem that there are so many smoking populations. Originally, we needed at least 10 people to guide, but we guide them here just because there are too many. (SU teacher 1)

> Students do not want to follow the public rules here: They ignore teachers, they don't wear inside slippers; they don't pick up trash, and they do not say 'hi' to adults. Teachers give up teaching sophomores but they are trying to teach freshmen. However, freshmen just talk back to teachers and do nothing. (SS teacher 1)

> There are some different types of students in the class. Although some of them are applying for foreign language high school [a prestigious school], they become smokers due to other students in our school. I think it is all about environment. Students act negatively, if one of their friends acts negatively, such as smoking. (SU student 10)

Teachers in the LSP recognized that the current public schools have been less controlled by the school teachers. They also pointed out that teachers' attitudes toward schools have changed, and the higher number of female teachers has lessened school social control. A teacher at the SS school described it this way:

> We can only expect 20% of love, sacrifice, and service from teachers, compared to what it was in the 70's and 60's…Teachers are changed. I understand. There are only 30% of male teachers in middle schools. Of course, bad kids do not care about female teachers. And most of the female teachers have families and they have more duties to take care of their families than males. When teachers look at the students who have problems, the problems are from their homes. Therefore, teachers need to pay more attention to the families. (SS teacher 2)

Family problems

LSP adult informants reported that most program participants were in trouble with their families. Teachers in the LSP referred to various family problems like exposure to parental violence, low family socioeconomic status, and low parental care. Teachers in the LSP reported:

> It looks like that father's violence is severe. When I met the father, he said that, when the student was with him, he is ok. Mothers are out for work and are still busy at home. Girls' relationships to their parents are not normal. They don't discuss with their parents because the father hits her and her mother. Students lessen the problems when they talk to parents; therefore, problems become big. If you look at the students with problems, there are common things such as parents don't care if the child is eating or what time they came home. (SS teacher 1)

> Most of the students with problems get free meals from school. They don't have mothers but fathers don't work. So they are eligible to get free meals. So they need to write that they are poor enough to get free meals and then get a signature from the head of the classroom. Students feel ashamed about doing this and they don't. This leads to family violence. Those students eat a lot at school because it is the only time they can eat without any bothering. Other students tease them for eating a lot. (SS teacher 2)

Magnitudes and consequences of violent behaviors

This study identified the violence and antisocial behaviors in LSP schools for the past years. The cases here are sorted and analyzed in the same way as was used in the MSP. Table 4.5 shows the magnitudes of violence and antisocial behaviors occurring in both LSP schools. From 2002 to 2005, the number of violent and antisocial behaviors increased. This indicates that physical fights were the most frequently occurring in both schools in the violence cases. On the other hand, "others" (e.g., profanity against teachers) were the most frequently occurring type of antisocial behaviors.

The documents also showed how each case of violence and delinquency was sanctioned by each school committee. In both schools, the ways to punish the students

Table 4.5

Type and Number of Violent and Antisocial Behaviors in LSP Schools from 2002 to 2005

	Types	SU	SS	Total
Violence	Physical fights	12	23	35
	Extortion by threats	4	11	15
	Demolition of school facilities	2	-	2
	Multiple violence	1	7	8
Antisocial behavior	Stealing	4	3	7
	School absence	2	1	3
	Smoking	-	1	1
	Drinking	2	1	3
	Others	5	5	10
	Multi-antisocial	-	2	2
Total		32	54	86

Note. Dashes mean no case in the category.

involved in the case were the same as with the schools in the MSP. Therefore, according to the seriousness of each case, four types of discipline activities were required of the students involved in the case: in-school suspension, social organizations services (i.e., out-of-school suspension), special education, and multiple activities. Table 4.6 presents the decisions of the school committees for the cases during the past four years.

However, most offenders returned to their school after conducting the disciplinary activities. Program participants reported that, after the sanction, they felt more rejection from teachers and students. Their family relationships were exacerbated as a result of the family's monetary loss that was paid to victims' families.

Table 4.6

Type and Number of Sanctions on Violent and Antisocial Behaviors in LSP Schools
from 2002 to 2005

	Types	SU	SS	Total
Type of sanction	In-school suspension	20	29	49
	Social organization	4	14	18
	Special education	3	3	6
	Multiple disciplinary	5	8	13
Total		32	54	86

Important and treatable conditions

Through the LSP planning documents and interviews, seven conditions were

identified which are consistent with those of the MSP. However, not all seven conditions

were dealt with through the LSP. The analysis shows that the LSP aimed to deal with

only four conditions: (a) participants' sense of helplessness, (b) emotional distress,

(c) negative attitudes toward school/teachers, and (d) the lack of social skills. In other

words, different from the MSP, three conditions (i.e., favorable attitudes toward violence,

antisocial peer group influence, and lowered school social climate) were not considered

in designing the LSP.

Similarly, the LSP planners also indicated that program participants' family

problems were not treated by the LSP. They told the reasons this way:

> Some of the parents came to school and grabbed my collar and swore at teachers. Some
> of them blackmailed me just because I punished their child. It was hard to understand.
> Mr. Park had the same experience this year. Even though it was less intense than I was,
> but it gets more severe than in the past. It is a hard experience for teachers: Teachers
> sometimes can't think that this job is rewarding as much as in the past. (SS teacher 2)

> It is hard to change parents. When people are over 25 years old, then it is hard to change
> their habits. It is okay for parents to guide a child in a normal family, but fathers are
> always mad, even though they are not good parents usually. (SU teacher 1)

CROSS-CASE ANALYSIS OF PROBLEM DEFINITION OF MSP AND LSP

The purpose of cross-case analysis is to clarify the similarities and differences in defining the problem (i.e., at-risk youth violence) across the MSP and the LSP. The following analysis presents whether or not the defined problem shows similar or different characteristics in terms of five categories (i.e., target characteristics; the origins, magnitudes, and consequences of youth violence; and important and treatable conditions). The findings are summarized in Table 4.7.

Similarities

Overall, the phenomena of at-risk youth violence were similarly defined across the MSP and the LSP. As expected in the literature, the factors that influenced target students' violent behaviors could be explained by the theory of planned behavior (e.g., negative attitudes toward school/teachers), social learning theory (e.g., antisocial peer group influence), general strain theory (e.g., emotional problems), and social support (e.g., delinquent peer group relationships). The detailed explanation of the relationships between the findings and these theories is reviewed in the discussion section.

First, in both sets of programs, the characteristics of the target population were classified into behavioral and psychosocial. Behavioral characteristics were further identified into individual-related problem behaviors and group-related ones. The MSP schools' sanctioning records showed that the majority of violent and antisocial behaviors occurred through more than two at-risk students in delinquent groups. In addition, the psychosocial characteristics identified here included target students' helplessness, emotional distress, negative attitudes toward school/teachers, lack of social skills, and favorable attitudes toward violence.

103

Second, informants across both the MSP and the LSP reported similarly the origins, magnitudes, and consequences of at-risk youth violence. The origins of at-risk youth violence were related to peer group influence (i.e., in- and out-groups), lowered school social climate, and family problems. Across the programs, physical fights were ranked first as the most frequent form of violence. Particularly, group-related physical fights were most frequently reported. In terms of the consequences of violence, offenders were sent to one or two of four disciplinary activities (i.e., in-school suspension, social organizations services, special education, and multiple activities). The majority of sanctioning was in-school suspension.

Finally, both MSP and LSP planners addressed that family problems were not treated in designing the TST programs, because participants' parents were rarely accessible to schoolteachers.

Differences

Although it has been assumed that the problem definition across the programs has been similarly identified, this study found two substantial differences in the at-risk youth violence between the MSP and the LSP. The MSP planners had more in-depth understanding of at-risk students' group-related problem behaviors. For instance, an MSP director reported that there is a pattern in the general antisocial groups' delinquent behaviors in a school year. He explained it this way:

> In March they just observe new kids and at the end of April they finalize their picks and deliver the message that We are going to take you under our wings and you will respect us in return. They let them know when the hazing will take place. That's how all it begins - the upper classmen beat the newbie a little and get them into smoking and drinking. Also, they extort money from them for their birthdays and things like that. During the summer break, students stay with their family, so there is not much action going on. November's always been full of trouble because the seniors are graduating soon, so the juniors start acting up. They stop surrendering pocket money to the seniors

and the seniors decide they'll have to take an action against the juniors. These sorts of things eventually get into the parents' ears and cause problems. In April and May, troubles happen usually between small groups. These small groups are different from sub-families under the Il-Jin. These groups are formed among close friends as a defense mechanism and usually there are around 3 of them at any given time. Two years ago, in 2003, a kid belonging to a different sub-family attacked the Il-Jin leader in front of the school   snack store. I happened to witness it…. Later I heard that the kid got attacked at a karaoke room and had to check into a hospital. (HG teacher 1)

The LSP directors, however, did not have an in-depth understanding of group-related violence. For instance, they knew that group-related violence was a serious problem in schools later, when their students in the program had been involved in group fights and extortion with other antisocial groups during the program implementation.

Another major difference is that the MSP focused on seven conditions (i.e., target student's helplessness, emotional distress, negative attitudes toward school/teachers, the lack of social skills, favorable attitudes toward violence, antisocial peer influence, and lowered school social climate), while the LSP did not focus on attitude change toward violence, antisocial peer influence, or the lowered school social climate. It, therefore, can be stated that the MSP sought to include more conditions than the LSP.

Table 4.7
Similarities and Differences between MSP and LSP on Problem Definition

		MSP (BK & HG)	LSP (SU & SS)
Behavioral characteristics	Similarities	Individual-related problem behaviors At-risk group-related behaviors	Individual-related problem behaviors At-risk group-related problem behaviors
	Differences	Program designers' in-depth understanding of at-risk group behaviors	-
Psychological characteristics	Similarities	A sense of helplessness Emotional distress Negative attitudes toward school/teachers Lack of social skills Favorable attitudes toward violence	A sense of helplessness Emotional distress Negative attitudes toward school/teachers Lack of social skills Favorable attitudes toward violence
	Differences	-	-
Origins	Similarities	Antisocial peer influence Family problems Lowered school social climate	Antisocial peer influence Family problems Lowered school social climate
	Differences	-	-
Magnitudes	Similarities	Physical fights, extortion by threats, demolition of school facilities, and multiple violence Stealing, absences and late-coming, smoking, drinking, others, multiple-antisocial	Physical fights, extortion by threats, demolition of school facilities, and multiple violence Stealing, absences and late-coming, smoking, drinking, others, multiple-antisocial
	Differences	-	-
Consequences	Similarities	Four disciplinary activities Worsened relationships between at-risk youths, parents, and school stakeholders	Four disciplinary activities Worsened relationships between at-risk youths, parents, and school stakeholders
	Differences	-	-
Important and treatable conditions	Similarities	A sense of helplessness Emotional distress Negative attitudes toward school/teachers Lack of social skills	A sense of helplessness Emotional distress Negative attitudes toward school/teachers Lack of social skills
	Differences	Favorable attitudes toward violence Antisocial peer group influence Lowered school social climate	-

Note. Dashes indicate no case in the category.

106

Results Concerning Research Question 2: Program Treatment

This section presents the findings for TST programs' treatment activities, which is the second step in the development of a theory of change. In this stage, a critical task is to specify the inputs of the programs with their activities (Lipsey, 1993). The program treatment in the research question was to identify: (a) treatment activities and attributes in the TST programs and (b) the strength (intensity) of treatment activities.

In order to describe the TST treatment, the program planners were asked to answer the reasons for selecting any program activities and the most/least important activity that might be necessary to deal with the identified conditions. They were also asked to answer about the intensity or duration of each TST activity. On the other hand, program participants were asked to tell the reasons for participating in the TST programs, and the most and least important program activities among the TST program activities. They also were asked to reveal their perceptions of the strength (i.e., intensity) of the activities in the TST programs.

To better describe and explain the TST program activities, the present study classifies them into sport-related activities, education-related, and other experiences. For instance, sport-related activities in the MSP were composed of soccer, running, local sport competition, and after-school sport events. Their education-related activities consisted of various class-based education activities, offering direct learning opportunities for participants through smoking prevention class, humanity education class, and so forth.

Finally, other experience activities were the activities which were not included in either sport-related activities or education-related ones. Other experience activities in the MSP consisted of movie-viewing, mountain-climbing, and summer trips.

PROGRAM TREATMENT OF MOST SUCCESSFUL PROGRAMS (MSP)

Treatment activities

The MSP activities were implemented to treat the seven identified conditions: (a) target students' sense of helplessness, (b) target students' emotional distress, (c) target students' negative attitudes toward school/teachers, (d) target students' lack of social skills, (e) target students' favorable attitudes toward violence, (f) delinquent peer group influence, and (g) lowered school social climate. The three types of activities in the MSP were expected to achieve five types of objectives by generating various attributes.

Treatment objective 1: Reduce constraints to participating in the program

Sport-related activities (e.g., soccer) and other experiences (e.g., summer trips and movie-viewing) served to reduce the constraints that lessened target students' willingness to participate in the MSP. Program participants expressed their initial perceptions, when they were asked to participate in the MSP program. Their perceptions, in part, were related to the student participants' sense of helplessness and emotional distress. A student participant and a planner addressed a negative perception of the TST program:

> Other kids look at it [HG program participation] negatively. I understand it considering even we don't look at it positively. Especially when we get summoned during a class… There are some kids in their junior year that like it because they feel that they are special. However, I was worried what other kids in the class would think about that… I wasn't worried about what my teachers were thinking but definitely was concerned about other kids' reactions. (HG student 4)

> We don't necessarily feel it but it's true that pretty strong feelings do exist against this program in society. Kids don't feel good about it either. They don't want to enroll because they don't want to be labeled or micromanaged. There is a stigma attached to the program. We got 7 more kids at the beginning of the year but didn't get any more after that. They are afraid of getting labeled as Il-Jin if they enroll in the program. (HG teacher 1)

As the above quotes stated, at-risk youths were concerned about being labeled by other school stakeholders. This indicates that such a type of intervention program can *overtly* label program participants as delinquent boys, girls, or groups, increasing feelings of discomfort and dissatisfaction in relation to other school stakeholders.

The MSP planners, therefore, picked soccer, which has been regarded as the most favorite sport activity among non-at-risk middle school youths in Korea. As mentioned previously, soccer is a type of sport for which at-risk male youths showed higher interest and confidence. Additionally, program planners reported that it was imperative to start sport-related activities before the other two activities, because sport-related activities are a very attractive tool to build an intimate relationship between program participants and implementers. An MSP planner explained:

> Their favorite activity is playing soccer and that's how it all started. The kids would sleep during the class but they became very animated during P.E. class. For them the best part of school is playing sports and soccer is their favorite. They are somewhat talented and, since they play it all the time, they become real good at it. Their individual skills improve and they also become stronger physically. Also, we see improvement in team spirit. In order to keep it interesting, I try to have as many matches as possible. In the process of getting ready for a match, team spirit improves and it gives them a motivation as well. (BK teacher 1)

Although the soccer activities of the MSP consisted of ordinary soccer practices and games, the activities enabled non-at-risk students and some young male teachers to join the soccer activities, because they were soccer devotees as well. Once other school stakeholders (i.e., non-at-risk students and teachers) had participated in the soccer

109

activities, the negative perceptions of the MSP gradually disappeared. A program

participant stated:

> There was no negative reaction from the regular students who participated in the
> program; at least in the sports program there was no such a thing. I don't think they see it
> negatively. The regular students were even envious of it since we get to play soccer with
> teachers. (HG student 5)

Particularly, the soccer activities contributed to motivating student participants to

remain in the MSP. When asked the reasons for their continuous participation in the

MSP, they commonly pointed out the advantages resulting from the soccer activities,

listing new relationships with teachers, feelings of skill enhancement, and fun and

enjoyment in playing soccer. They remarked:

> I like playing soccer with teachers a lot. To me, teachers used to be someone to be
> afraid of, but it's not the case anymore. Plus, my soccer skills are improving as I play
> more matches and I'm feeling pretty happy about that. (HG student 5)

> My skills improved a lot. Kicking and passing have both improved. I come to school
> early in the morning and play soccer; it relieves my stress and lightens me up. (BK
> student 16)

In addition to the sport-related activities, a summer trip and a movie-viewing were

expected to attract and maintain the program participants in the MSP. In particular, these

activities were important for at-risk female participants in the HG school, since the school

did not offer any sport activity for them. As the MSP planners expected, the summer trip

was vital for the female students to determine their engagement in the TST programs. For

them, it was a very rare opportunity to escape their everyday lives with their closest

friends. A female student participant told why she decided to be engaged in the program

and persuaded other members in her group:

> I was reluctant about enrolling in the program. We couldn't even bear the sight of one
> another [between in-group female members and out-group female members] and now
> we have to do all these things together because of the summer trip. (HG student 2)

110

Different from the BK school's movie-viewing (i.e., it aimed to maintain a new group identity), HG's movie-viewing served only female students in the program. Instead of providing other types of sport activities for them, the HG planner implemented a fine movie series, hoping to bring the girls into the program activities. The HG program planner said:

> The purpose of hosting a movie program was to keep the girls interested. Boys play soccer but the girls were not interested in sports that much, so we scheduled a movie program on every Thursday when the boys play soccer. (HG teacher 1)

Treatment objective 2: Develop a positive self

There was a common principle of operating MSP activities. Through the entire program activities, both MSP implementers did make every effort to encourage and inspire program participants. Because participants have had feelings of helplessness or hopelessness in their minds, the MSP implementers aimed to provide more positive views of their lives as valuable and necessary human beings. They explained how they encouraged participants through the activities:

> I always try to encourage them, even when we are not playing soccer together. These kids lack self-confidence and they haven't gotten much attention from teachers in the past, so even a little encouragement will empower them considerably. On top of that, the other teachers who participated in the soccer program now treat the kids as equal team members and keep on encouraging them. This helps a lot in boosting self-confidence in the kids. (BK teacher 3)

> These kids don't do well in school, so, by getting them to participate in the program I try to encourage and motivate them, and I carry it over to the regular classes as well.(BK teacher 1)

> After each student finishes his presentation, I make sure the other students give him a round of loud applause. When I gave Suh-jin, who tends to swear a lot and speak in a rather offensive manner, two opportunities to give a presentation, and complimented him each time, that seemed to have motivated other kids as well and they became very actively involved. (HG teacher 1)

The HG school showed more evidence of developing participants' positive selves through education-related activities. The school program conducted two types of education-related activities: humanity education and vocational education. Humanity education activities consisted of a series of activities including taking a personality test, finding their own personalities, finding strengths in their characters, and presenting them to other participants. The HG implementers remarked why they planned the activity:

> In order to give students an opportunity to find out more about themselves and to develop stability, confidence, and self-restraint, we ran a special psycho-analysis test. The students were able to understand themselves better by learning about themselves. (HG teacher 2)

> I wanted them to discover their own strengths. By giving them an opportunity to talk about their own strengths in front of the class, I tried to give them a chance to examine themselves openly. (HG teacher 1)

The HG planner also addressed that activities in the vocational education program aimed to help participants to set their future goals by exploring their future careers. The HG program participants searched jobs they had interest in and visited vocational schools. A program implementer and a participant told about their experiences this way:

> During the last semester kids tend to get more concerned about their future so this program is very appropriate around that time…We thought it would not work for the kids the very first time, but we did it to show them how their future could be mapped. (HG teacher 1)

> I'd assume that it must have been very helpful for kids who chose to go to vocational high school. Although we're scared to visit vocational high schools, it's fun to see our future. I seem to decide to be a math teacher…so I sometimes ask her [an implementer] how I could be like you. (HG student 4)

Concerning other experience activities, the BK program required that program participants should submit their daily diary. Through the diary, BK program implementers were able to communicate with their students. It was a valuable

opportunity for them to give positive feedback in person every day to the program

participants. A program implementer said:

> Every student has to submit a daily journal. They can write anything they wish to, good things, bad things, an argument with a friend or mom…I always try to give them positive feedback. In the beginning the kids find it difficult to be candid, but they get used to it and eventually open up. (BK teacher 2)

Treatment objective 3: Develop positive relationships among school stakeholders

The MSP activities were planned to build positive relationships between program

participants and other school stakeholders. As analyzed previously, the five conditions

(i.e., a sense of helplessness, emotional distress, negative attitudes toward

school/teachers, antisocial peer influence, and lowered school social climate) were related

to negative relationships among school stakeholders. MSP planners, therefore, aimed to

change such negative relationships, not only by providing more opportunities for

participants to interact with other school stakeholders, but also by bonding them and

other school stakeholders to program activities.

In this regard, the soccer activities were a vital tool to provide program

participants with continuous interaction opportunities, because these activities were

implemented every morning in the BK school and every Thursday in the HG school. The

MSP planners reported that program participants had been positively evaluated by other

school stakeholders. They said:

> We do it in the course of a regular semester. We do it every day we come to school. When it's raining outside, we gather inside the Information building and play Jok-gu. Since the program is scheduled very early in the morning, I don't sleep in anymore, am always on time for school, and I started liking coming to school. I eventually got good reactions from other teachers and regular students. (BK teacher 2)

> We started hosting a soccer match every Thursday as a substitute program and kids loved it. They started building good relationships with the teachers, and it had a very good influence on their attitudes towards school work. (HG teacher 1)

113

As mentioned above, one of the important attributes in the soccer activities was the fact that the soccer team was a mixture of at-risk youths, general students, and teachers. The MSP planners indicated that program participants had formed positive relationships with school teachers and non-at-risk students. A program planner and a participant reported:

> There are some regular students in the soccer program. It's part of club activities. We play on the field and have a match with the regular students. Since everyone plays right next to each other during the soccer game, the kids from the alternative class started developing a good relationship with the regular kids. Playing soccer together made them much better. (BK teacher 3)

> Since the teachers play with us, the regular kids are envious. After a game we'd eat ramyun or barbecue with the teachers, and so we feel much closer to them. As we are closer together, they tell us their secrets such as separation from girl friends. (HG student 5)

As the above quote said, refreshments were provided after the soccer games. Such refreshments could function to provide more interactions among sport participants. Program implementers mentioned:

> We often throw small parties after a game. It's a good opportunity for teachers to get closer to the kids. Kids volunteer to bring ramyun, so that after a game we can make the noodles and eat them together. (HG teacher 1)

> I play soccer with them, sometimes buy them drinks, and I have a good chat with them. That brings us closer than a normal class setting would. We joke around sometimes and, in doing so, we get to understand one another better. (BK teacher 3)

> Some kids like the parties better than playing soccer. They seem to love hanging out with other kids and eating together. So I tried to have as many small parties as possible. (BK teacher 1)

Relative to the change in school social climate, the soccer activities provided more direct evidence. Since the activities were implemented on the school playground and let other students and teachers look at the program activities, other school

114

stakeholders who were not interested in the program could perceive that their school had strongly bonded with program participants and that school had become a safe place. The program implementers addressed that, since most delinquent groups of students were involved with the sport activity, it was easier to control other students who might show potential problems. They reported the following responses:

> I can't say that problems involving the kids have been completely eliminated, but they did decrease. When you have the Il-jins under control, the rest fall back into place. (BK teacher 1)

> School has much better control of the troubled kids since they started participating in a sports program every morning. Other kids also know what kind of kids we have in the program. This gives us leverage over other troubled kids who are not participating in the program. Moreover, now that these kids don't act up in the class, it's much easier to lead the class. (HG teacher 1)

In terms of changing the negative school and teacher attitudes of the participants, the BK sport activities provide more evidence. The BK sport activities provided special opportunities for program participants, not only to compete in local sport events, but also to serve their school during a lunch break and after-school. They were responsible for lending sport-related equipment (e.g., soccer balls, basketballs). Program implementers reported that program participants felt a kind of pride as representatives of their school when playing in the competition, and feelings of being a part of the school community. A BK program implementer described it this way:

> The kids feel pride in playing soccer. Since they belong to the school soccer team, they feel that they represent the school. If it was a regular sports program, it would have been boring. If the team wins a big match, they could earn points and that motivates them as well. (BK teacher 3)

> We try to give some kids opportunities to serve the school. Just give them something to work on. Once they feel that they are doing something for the school, they start getting attached to school and that also impresses other regular students. If there are kids who don't show interest in playing sports, I give them something to do and they start developing a sense of community. (BK teacher 2)

Treatment objective 4: Improve social skills

Sport-related activities served to enhance participants' social skills. Both schools

provided a setting where school stakeholders could naturally interact. Although these

were not *direct* social-skills training programs as generally shown in social skills

programs, the MSP program planners believed that at-risk youths could better learn

various types of social skills in this natural environment, when that they communicated

for common goals (e.g., league competition, school sport event) and could make friends

with other non-at-risk students in the program. Furthermore, it was believed that they

could extend current limited relationships by meeting non-at-risk participants' other

friends. Once they became friends with non-at-risk students, they were able to better

communicate with non-at-risk students' other friends. Program implementers explained

how it is important to meet other students in this natural setting. A program implementer

said:

> When these kids form a group and hang out exclusively with one another, they tend to
> start looking down on other kids. If they want certain things in a certain direction, they'd
> force other kids to support and follow them. Other kids have no other options but to
> follow them, even if they don't like it. However, when they become close and become
> friends, they would do things together voluntarily. These kids used to be outcasts in their
> class, and the outcasts would stick together without ever blending in with other kids.
> They are not being forced, but they start developing friendships. The kids enrolled in the
> program were outcasts, a bunch of outcasts sticking together. They weren't blending with
> other kids at all. In the beginning, we aimed to enroll only those kinds of kids in the
> program. However, we had second thoughts about that, because we figured that there
> could be a risk of the kids bonding and forming a gang organization. (BK teacher 3)

The MSP had a common education activity, a type of smoking prevention class.

Planners wanted to provide not only knowledge of the harmful effects of smoking, but

116

also the ability to overcome peer pressure in other antisocial activities. A program

implementer said:

> We administered a special anti-smoking program. It affects other students as well. We
> started this program because kids were smoking in school. Teachers demonstrated the
> malignant effects of smoking through various experiments, and we also had the students
> play roles in order to practice saying "no" to peer pressure. (HG teacher 2)

In addition, the HG program implemented social-skills training classes in its

humanity education program. They were designed to directly improve participants'

communication skills and anger control in possible conflict situations. The HG program

implementers reported:

> They learn to exercise their rights confidently and to outwardly express their thoughts
> while, at the same time, not giving discomfort or aggravation to the other person. (HG
> teacher 1)

> We must educate the children to develop solutions to their problems after first letting the
> children discover the aggressiveness of their character by having them know first hand
> that they cannot control their own rage, and that they cannot help but swear and punch
> before ever attempting to engage in conversation. We let them talk freely and let them
> observe if their attitudes make the situation better or worse. (HG teacher 2)

Treatment objective 5: Create & maintain new group norms and identity

Sport-related activities were planned to change participants' negative attachment

to their in-group members and their favorable attitudes toward violence. These activities

were to create and maintain new group norms and identity by enhancing their

commitment to the soccer (running) club. In particular, the BK soccer activities focused

on the generation of a new sport club identity and norms (i.e., playing a role model in

school, zero tolerance for antisocial behaviors). Once participants were involved with the

club, they were required to be role models representing the school. In addition, they, as

members of a sport team, should follow the ethical codes of the BK soccer and running

clubs. The BK program implementers related:

117

We inaugurated a sense of delegation within them. It was an innate promise that was established during the initial stages. We said, "While playing, you represent our school, and since all of your friends and classmates at BK middle school know this fact, you guys have great responsibility and delegation. You are the criteria. How can I tell other students to cut their hair short when you have long hair? What will others think when they interact with you?" We educated the children to feel a sense of belonging, along with the duty of responsibility towards the group as a whole. The discipline and punishment these students received for the same mistakes were twice that of normal students. I think that other kids felt secure under such a system. They feel that I am a figure of absoluteness, as if I were incredibly strong or something. I think that they desire my acknowledgement. (BK teacher 3)

I often tell my students beforehand, "You will be disciplined and punished beyond what other students will experience. Whoever disgraces the name of the track-and-field club will face severe consequences." After saying so, I also encouraged them.(BK teacher 2)

Other experiences and education-related activities, in part, contributed to building the sport club's identity. The movie-viewing and mountain-climbing were intended to strengthen the club's identity. In addition, the self-study activity aimed to maintain its identity during mid-term and final test periods. BK program implementers pointed out the importance of consistent provision of such experience activities this way:

If we were to stop this activity because of exams or the like, it would only be a matter of time until the students became disoriented and antisocial. (BK teacher 1)

Everything is the same except the fact that we do not work out. They are required to come in on time, check for attendance, and participate in self-study. The kids actually do very well by themselves…(BK teacher 2)

Morning exercise just didn't seem enough, and so as an extension of after-school activities, we decided to hike. Students slowly came to dislike movies and instead became aware of the pleasures of mountain hiking when they enjoyed the sense of participation in competition and the feeling of experiencing a whole new culture in itself. (BK teacher 3)

Hiking was planned to increase membership. It's a kind of member training. It is done in collaboration with various Nature Protection programs coordinated by the school mentors and advisors. We do it three to four times a year, and the students seem very receptive to it. We also do various campaigns such as giving out free pens to hikers and debating issues of teen employment. We all find much meaning in all this. (BK teacher 1)

Although the HG program did not use its soccer activity to establish a new group identity, the HG planner also aimed to build positive group norms and identity through other activities. He made the activities one of the official school classes. This made program participants officially show up for the program activities. In addition, he positioned the activities through other outdoor experience activities. Participants called their program participation a "tracking club", because of many of the outdoor activities (e.g., summer trips, field trips, hiking, and mountain-climbing) in the HG program. They believed that they could learn how to make friendships with other oppositional members and teachers through various common experiences. The club's identity, therefore, is to prevent potential involvement with delinquency by spending more constructive time with teachers. A program implementer brought an example of building its identity during the summer break:

> I came up with the idea of summer camp, thinking about a way to maintain the momentum during the summer break for the club. Kids love to go to a beach, so that's why I held the summer camp on the beach. For two nights and three days we went swimming and fishing together and talked about various things. That brought the teachers and the kids a lot closer. It's not a long period, but, since we had started organizing and preparing for the camp before the summer break began, we actually got to spend more time together than during the regular program. (HG teacher 1)

During the camp, the HG implementers strategically controlled two different female groups in the program by making them cooperate together. To achieve its group goals (e.g., a fun trip), the two different parties had to play together. She related:

> They always gather around small groups. So for the summer camp I divide them into several groups and I choose the members for each group, regardless of who's best friends with who. I make each group dependent on which homeroom they belong to. I follow that very strictly. It's much easier that way for food preparation. Each group cooks and eats together. There are times when they don't like it and it shows on their faces, but I still stick to my plan, even though they may be a little unhappy or annoyed about it. Once I took them to a beach and gave them some free time. The groups I organized broke up the very next moment and some girls wouldn't want to socialize with other girls. Let's

119

say we rented 3 inflatable floats. If there is a group of 10 and also a group of 7, should I give the first group 2 floats and the latter 1 float? They wouldn't like it. That's why I ignore the existing circle of friends and just mix them all together. They will ask me during summer camp; they want to share a room with so and so, but I just tell them no, I don't care; you will sleep with the persons before and after you on the roll call list. (HG teacher 2)

Strength of treatment activities

The treatment activities in the MSP were classified into three types of activities, according to the similarities of each activity. To describe the intensity of the MSP treatment activities, this study examined the total operation days of the three types of activities and participants' perceived intensity of program activities. Table 4.8 indicates how the key treatment activities of the MSP are scattered throughout the year.

In terms of the operation days, BK implemented 152 days for sport-related activities, 23 days for education activities, and 6 days for other experience activities. More specifically, sport-related activities were implemented for 143 days for the soccer and the running programs, 4 days for the local sport competition, and 5 days for after-school sport events. Hours spent on soccer were approximately 270 hours. There were two types of education-related activities, which were implemented for 23 days. One was smoking prevention class (a 4-hour session) aiming to prevent smoking in the school. The other was a self-study class, which had been offered during mid-term and final tests. Instead of sport team activity during that time, program participants were required to participate in the self-study times in the school hall. Other experience activities were implemented during 3 days for mountain-climbing, 2 days for the summer trip, and 1 day for movies.

On the other hand, a total of 57 days was spent on the HG program. It was divided into three types of activities. First, sport activity (i.e., soccer) was implemented for 30 days. It was approximately 60 hours of activities. However, since female participants did not participate in the soccer activity, they were offered the same amount of time for watching a movie in the school. It should be noted that education-related activities had been differently implemented for two consecutive years, 2004 and 2005, as indicated on the program overview. However, the days spent in the two types of education activities were similarly reported as 25 days in a year. The HG program provided 50 hours for education.

With regard to the perceptions of the strength of the soccer program, there were different perceptions across participants in both programs. There was no difference in terms of the intensity of the HG program, whereas BK participants reported differences between the normal practice hours and the special hours practicing for local sport events participation. They perceived that the strength of morning exercise was about 60-70% load of their maximum physical exercise ability. It increased up to 70-80% of that load when the local competition was coming up. Most of them reported that the intensity of the exercise in the sport activity was higher and more intense than in general exercise in physical education class. However, no particular comments were made about education-related activities and other experiences in terms of the strength of the MSP treatments.

Table 4.8
Strength of Key Activities of the 4 TST Programs in 2005

		March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December
MSP	BK		Sport: soccer and running (143 days)								
				After-school sport event (5)			Movie (1)	Local sport competition (4)			Education activity: self-study (4)
				Education activities: smoking prevention (1), self-study (4)	Mountain-climbing (2)	Education activities: smoking prevention (1), self-study (4), summer camp (2)		Education activity: smoking prevention (1)	Education activity: self-study (4)	Education activity: self-study (4) Mountain-climbing (1)	
	HG		Sport: soccer (30) or movie (30)								
			Education activities: humanity training in 2004 (25) / vocation training in 2005 (25)								
						Summer camp (2)					
LSP	SU	Mountain-climbing (1)			Field trip (3)	Community service (3)			Sport: floorball (9)		
			Education activities: group counseling (human relationships building), anger control, etc. (8)								
	SS				Mountain-climbing (1)	Movie (1)			Education activities: group counseling (4)	Sport: bowling (9)	
						Education activities: lecture from pastor (1)				Talks with teacher (3)	

Note. The number in parentheses means the total operation days of an activity.

PROGRAM TREATMENT OF LEAST SUCCESSFUL PROGRAMS (LSP)

Treatment activities

The LSP activities were developed to control four conditions (i.e., helplessness, emotional distress, negative attitudes toward school/teachers, and the lack of social skills). Three types of activities were offered to accomplish four types of objectives, which were to reduce the constraints on participating in the LSP, develop a positive self-concept, establish positive relationships between teachers and program participants, and improve program participants' social skills.

Treatment objective 1: Reduce constraints on participating in the program

Sport-related activities (i.e., bowling and floorball) and other experiences (i.e., mountain-climbing and movie-viewing) were planned to motivate the target students to participate in the LSP. Both LSP programs started their activities through mountain-climbing, in the category of "other" experiences. Program implementers said:

> To encourage and motivate our kids into the program, we went to the 4.19 graveyard and a nearby mountain. We also had lunch together and talked about the goals of the program and the importance of the participation. (SS teacher 1)

> We tried to build strong minds by hiking the mountain. They were able to overcome the hardships from nature and increase their patience. (SU teacher 1)

Sport activities in both schools, however, were not implemented until the two other types of activities (i.e., education-related activities and other experiences) had been conducted. Because the number of program participants had decreased since the mountain-climbing and other education activities, sport activities were particularly important to rebuild the LSP activities. For instance, although the LSP offered program

participants the chance to watch a popular movie free of charge, it was not appealing to

some program participants. An LSP program implementer remarked, "We went to the

movies on the last day of final examinations. However, senior girls just walked out, it

seemed like the movie wasn't good."

Program participants in the LSP were concerned about certain negative images

and perceptions from other school stakeholders when they participated in this type of

intervention program. A program participant reported:

> Other kids don't like us, and teachers are the same. They would think that it is not good because there are students with problems…we feel anxious because they would talk about us with scorn. We don't like that feeling. (SS student 1)

In this regard, bowling and floorball activities could make it possible to bring the

target students into the LSP activities, motivating them through new, memorable

experiences. All the participants bowled free of charge, since the SS school paid for free

admission tickets and the rental fees for bowling games. The floorball activity created

exchange matches between program participants and the Korean national team. Program

planners reported their intention to start it this way:

> Because most of the kids did not show up for the program…we thought, if we bring out floorball, probably boys would show interest and come to the program…We thought that this could be a special experience that students could play with national players. (SU teacher 1)

> We can talk to students if we put one teacher in one lane when we bowl. The goal was to get close to the students. We thought that we could be closer with this program because we weren't PE teachers. We thought that the bowling is good because we could have time to talk; we needed to stay in the same room and it is an unfamiliar sport so students would show more interest. (SS teacher 1)

Both the LSP planners believed that it would be important to provide program

participants with enough incentives to entice them to participate in sport activities. The

incentives were a free lunch or dinner whenever they came to the activities. They

addressed:

> We try to induce students by snacks. We always have dinner together after we bowl.
> We expect that can provide a chance to talk about a lot of things, to get to know each
> other. (SS teacher 1)

Additionally, the bowling activities were expected to bring female students into the

program. The SS program planner believed that the activities would be a proper sport for

both male and female students to play together. He said:

> There are not many sports that male and female can play together. However, we can
> bowl all together. This is how we started to bowl. (SS teacher 1)

Treatment objective 2: Develop a positive self

As described on page 122, the LSP programs have a common education activity, a

type of counseling class. Since at-risk youths are inclined to feel a sense of helplessness

and emotional distress, LSP group counseling programs were designed to develop a

positive self for the program participants. The class was designed to develop a positive

self by providing opportunities for participants to understand their own selves and those

of other participants. In the counseling, the activities consisted of a personality test and a

small group role modeling class. Program implementers wanted to provide ways for the

students to understand their own characteristics and those of other participants. They

reported:

> We thought that for most kids here it is annoying to study or to go to school, but now we
> think of ourselves in more positive ways and try to do things. It is the concept to guide
> them to positive thinking. (SS teacher 1)

> Through the personality test, we recognize which type we are and compliment each
> other's positive characteristics to develop positive self-images. (SU teacher 1)

In particular, an SU program implementer made special efforts to help program

participants to understand their *self* through informal, individual counseling. She said:

> First, I don't ask. When I had an advising session with students, they think that I would ask about smoking and problems at school. However, I asked about boyfriends, so they can talk more. I also talked about myself, that I used to stay out late and got punished by my mom. And I told them that I didn't know why I was punished because I didn't do anything wrong. When students talked about school, they said what and whom they didn't like, why they need to graduate, and what the hardest part is. When we share these things with students, they finally open their minds to us. (SU social worker 1)

The SU program provided a camp in which program participants played roles in

serving the disabled youths in the district. A disabled youth was matched to a program

participant. It was designed to provide them with opportunities to enhance self-

responsibility. The SU program implementer stated her experience this way:

> We went to volunteer camp. Students needed to be guardians. It was surprising. I was worried if students would let the handicapped children alone and go for a smoke. I know that the school personnel don't like this, but I gave them a smoking time once a day at a designated place. I know that I need to say stop smoking, but it wouldn't work for them. I, of course, couldn't see it, but I never see that they smoked out of the designated time and place. Furthermore, they didn't smoke on the second day. (SU social worker 1)

Treatment objective 3: Develop positive relationships between teachers and at-risk youths

Since the target students had negative attitudes toward school and teachers, sport

activities were supposed to provide opportunities for program participants to interact with

teachers. A program implementer stated:

> We could get to the goal, once the boys show interest and come to the program. We encouraged teachers to participate in bowling. In order to solve the problems, we had to get to know the students first. (SS teacher 1)

In addition to sport activities, education activities and other experiences were

provided with the aim of changing the LSP participants' negative attitudes toward school

and teachers. The LSP planners remarked:

126

We try to remove the hate for school life by developing a program that students and teachers can participate in. We had a seminar for sophomores with a pastor with similar experience about the effort for a righteous school life. After the seminar, students, the pastor, and teachers had a barbecue party in the garden and talked about the development of close relationships and efforts for good school life. (SS teacher 1)

It seems like that it would be easier for students to talk to teachers and adults while they are eating. The reason why we put meal time in the program is that Koreans usually eat and drink when they try to get to know each other. (SU teacher 1)

A sea trip was also designed to provide an opportunity for teachers and program

participants to interact. A program implementer remarked:

We thought going to the beach would really work for the kids. We brought senior girls and sophomore boys, a total of 14, went to the DeaChun beach. The male kids didn't come with us. Later, we knew they had lied to their parents about the trip to play by themselves. (SU teacher 1)

Treatment objective 4: Improve social skills

Since program participants were short of various social skills, the LSP was

designed to increase their ability to control their negative affects and to better

communicate with other persons. The activities were delivered by professional

counselors for the SS and a psychiatrist for the SU. The LSP planners believed that only

professionals in short sessions were able to improve participants' insufficient abilities to

associate with non-at-risk students. They also thought that, since all LSP participants as

an indicated group had a similar identity, it would be easily treated by such program

implementers. The LSP planners described the classes:

It is to learn how different each individual is and positive relationships with strangers by exercising relationship building. (SU teacher 1)

We thought the group counseling would provide a way to reflect on himself or herself And, if the kids take part in the counseling together, they might have a kind of a new relationship. That's our goal. (SS teacher 1)

127

We talked about two different types of people either we may like or dislike. In addition, we provided a kind of role playing where the kids experienced being bullied. They also were offered the chance to express their anger through drawing pictures. (SU social worker 1)

Strength of LSP treatment activities

As seen in Table 4.8., the variety of activities in the LSP was implemented for a year. In order to describe the intensity of the LSP activities, this study breaks them down into three categories: sport-related activities, education-related activities, and other experiences.

The SU sport-related activities were implemented for 9 days. Floorball was implemented every Saturday from October to December in 2005. Only male at-risk youths were invited to the activity. Program participants reported that it took approximately 4 hours to accomplish a floorball game in a day. Because there was no place to play the floorball game in the school, they had to go a floorball arena outside the school, and about 2 hours were spent to access the area. Education activities included 1 day for human relationships training, 1 day for anger control, and 1 day for a personality test. For each activity, about 4 hours were allotted. With regard to other experience activities, the SU provided 1 day for mountain-climbing, 3 for community service work, and 3 for a summer trip. Except for the mountain-climbing, the community service and the summer trip were implemented as a kind of outdoor camping activity. Program participants spent about 50 hours in either the community service or the summer trip.

Another LSP school, SS, provided bowling for 9 days from November to December, every Wednesday and Saturday. Bowling activities included both male and female participants. Education activities consisted of 1 day of lecture by a pastor, 3 days

of group counseling, and 3 days of talks with teachers. Finally, the school provided 1 day of mountain-climbing. The time spent on bowling was approximately 2 hours per day. Each education activity was implemented no more than 3 hours per day. It took 5 hours for the mountain activity.

When asked about any perceptions of the intensity of the floorball activities, program participants said that they felt like it was less intensive an activity, compared to their normal sport participation hours. Concerning bowling, however, participants reported that it was boring after three games. Both sport activities did not change in intensity for the entire period of the program activity.

CROSS-CASE ANALYSIS OF PROGRAM TREATMENT OF MSP AND LSP

The purpose of cross-case analysis is to identify the similarities and differences of the treatment activities across the MSP and the LSP. It examines how program activities were designed to treat the identified conditions and which degrees of intensity of the activities had been planned to bring out the expected mediating variables. The findings are summarized in Table 4.9.

Similarities

Both the MSP and the LSP treatments were divided into three types of treatment activities, which are sport-related activities, education-related activities, and other experiences. Except for a key objective of the MSP (create/maintain a new, positive group norm and identity), the three types of activities across the programs were similarly planned to generate four common objectives: reduce constraints for program participants to take part in the TST programs, develop a positive sense of self, develop positive

129

relationships with school stakeholders, and improve social skills. These objectives across the programs were expected to resolve four conditions (i.e., helplessness, emotional distress, negative attitudes toward school/teachers, and a lack of social skills). As expected in the literature, this study found that each TST program as a type of multiple-services program aimed to treat the identified conditions by combining activities.

Differences

This study found that the MSP were designed to treat three more conditions: favorable attitudes toward violence, delinquent peer group influence, and a lowered school social climate. Both attitudes toward violence and delinquent peer group influence were expected to be changed when the activities created new and positive group norms and the identity of a sport club or travel club. For instance, a school in the MSP provided soccer and a running club representing the school. Program implementers focused on fostering a positive identity for the sport club, where program participants had to be role models for the school without any involvement in delinquent behaviors. However, no activities were found to deal with these two conditions in the LSP.

Both delinquent peer group influence and a lowered quality of the school social climate were expected to be changed when program participants bonded with various types of school stakeholders. By implementing the program activities in open spaces (i.e., school playgrounds) with non-at-risk students and teachers, sport-related activities could contribute to enhancing the mood of the greater school social control. However, the LSP activities did not include any program activities to control these conditions.

In addition, although both the MSP and the LSP appeared to have four common objectives, each objective aimed to achieve differentiated attributes across the MSP and

the LSP. First, although both the MSP and the LSP planners used sport activities and other experiences to reduce barriers to the TST programs, the MSP used a traditional but most appealing sport, soccer, and summer camp. Instead, the LSP used new types of sport, bowling and floorball, which are rarely accessible to normal middle school students. The MSP was able to bring out non-at-risk students, as well as teachers, around the program, because soccer itself appealed to the soccer maniacs in the schools. But the LSP could not recruit any other school stakeholders (e.g., schoolteachers) with its type of sport activity. In addition, the MSP aimed to provide program participants with on-going benefits from the activities. It focused more on promoting the intrinsic benefits in sport activities, which included health, fun and excitement, social relationships, and fitness. However, LSP planners focused more on external rewards, such as a free lunch and dinner when participants showed up for the program activities. It should be noted that the MSP started sport activities earlier than the education activities and other experiences. However, the LSP started sport activities after the other two types (education activities and other experiences) of activities had not been well implemented. Both LSP schools urgently implemented sport activities, because the number of participants had decreased.

There is more evidence in the MSP activities, which were able to reduce barriers in the program. The MSP schools implemented a summer camp, but only one school in the LSP did so. The MSP summer camp aimed to control program participants during the summer break and teach them to communicate and release their emotional distress. The MSP camp participants included at-risk youths, non-at-risk students, teachers, and in-group and out-group members. Somewhat differently, a field trip in one LSP school was planned to provide an opportunity for program participants to meet teachers. However,

131

the trip was not successful because half of the program participants (i.e., the at-risk male students in the program) did not participate in the camp.

Second, both the MSP and the LSP were designed to develop program participants' positive self, since they had a sense of helplessness and emotional distress. The MSP used three types of activities, whereas the LSP used education-related activities only. The MSP sport-related activities were delivered to focus on consistent encouragement and positive feedback for program participants when they submitted a daily diary. The MSP program implementers used an informal party after sport activities in order to give positive feedback for the student participants about their fine play and exemplary school-related work (e.g., early coming to school). On the other hand, the LSP planners focused on education activities such as a personality test and group counseling. The LSP planners believed that, if a personality test was taken by participants, then they could better understand their strengths in life, which, in turn, would enhance a positive sense of self.

Third, both programs provided an opportunity for program participants to interact with teachers, because program planners aimed to treat a sense of helplessness and negative attitudes toward schools. As mentioned above, the MSP had non-at-risk students and teachers in all three types of activities, whereas the LSP had only program participants and program implementers. There were no general teachers participating in the LSP programs.

Fourth, both the MSP and the LSP aimed to teach participants social skills. The MSP aimed to treat participants' lack of social skills through all the three types of treatment activities. It should be noted that sport activities and other experiences were

designed to teach social skills in natural environments. However, the LSP executed only education-related activities to intervene in participants' insufficient social skills.

Finally, there were differences in the strength of the activities across the programs. As indicated on page 122, the MSP had more hours in program activities. The major difference is that the LSP program participants felt the intensity of the program activities to be medium or low. However, the MSP participants mentioned that the intensity of sport activities varied according to local sport competition preparation. The MSP program was designed to be a year-round program, including a summer break. However, the LSP did not have a regular program schedule.

Table 4.9
Similarities and Differences between MSP and LSP on Program Treatment

		MSP (BK & HG)	LSP (SU & SS)
Objectives	Similarities	Reduce constraints preventing participation in programs	Reduce constraints preventing participation in programs
		Develop a positive self	Develop a positive self
		Develop positive relationships between participants and school stakeholders	Develop positive relationships between participants and school stakeholders
		Improve social skills	Improve social skills
	Differences	Create a new, positive group norms and identity	-
Attributes	Similarities	-	-
	Differences	Provide most appealing events	Provide new, memorable events
		Reduce labeling	Provide extrinsic rewards
		Provide sport early	
		Provide benefits: continuous intrinsic benefits	
		Provide encouragement and positive feedback	Provide opportunity to understand self
		Mix teachers, normal students, and participants in activities	Bring general teachers into program activities
		Provide more interaction opportunities among program participants	
		Provide activities other school stakeholders can see	
		Provide natural setting for learning social skills	Teach a way to control anger
		Provide how to avoid problem behaviors	Teach how to better communicate with others
		Set positive new group norms	
		Get them involved and committed to new group activities	
Strength (Intensity)	Similarities	Three types of activities	Three types of activities
	Differences	Integrated delivery of attributes of activities	Fragmented delivery of attributes of activities
		Intensive program activities (regular and exact schedule, higher and moderate intensity)	Less intensive program activities (irregular schedule, moderate and low intensity)
		One-year-round program including summer break	One-year-round except summer break

Note. Dashes indicate no case in the category.

Results Concerning Research Question 3: Program Mechanism

The third step in developing the TST theory is to define the causal mechanisms through which changes are specified in terms of participants' behaviors, states, or environmental contexts (Lipsey, 1993, p. 18). Guided by Lipsey's suggestion on specifying the causal mechanisms, this study examined how and which types of mediating variables were expected to be produced as results of given treatments, through reasonable assumptions. As explained in the social cognition theory (Bandura, 1986) in the literature, the findings of the changes were expected to be categorized into changes in participants' psychosocial characteristics (e.g., attitudes, skills), environments (e.g., peer influence, school social climate), and behavioral characteristics (e.g., violence, other delinquency).

The research question developed in this study, therefore, was to specify the variables which were expected to mediate between the TST treatment activities and the outcomes of the TST programs. In interviews, adult informants and student program participants were asked to tell about any changes in their perceptions, ideas, and behaviors between before and after their participation in the program. Once the changes were identified, this study further examined the important steps of the transformation process, which were assumed to bring about each change (i.e., mediating variables). Although the transformation processes are presented in the section, the entire processes of the steps from the initial assumptions to the outcomes are examined in Chapter 5, after the outcomes of the TST programs (i.e., expected outcomes and real outcomes) are clarified.

PROGRAM MECHANISM OF MOST SUCCESSFUL PROGRAMS (MSP)

The analysis of this study revealed that the three types of the MSP activities (i.e., sport-related activities, education, and other experiences) enabled participants to (a) increase a positive self-concept, (b) decrease emotional problems, (c) increase positive attitudes toward school/teachers, (d) improve their social skills, (e) build positive relationships between them and other school stakeholders, (f) commit to new group norms and identity, (g) decrease reliance on a delinquent group, and (h) improve the school social climate. The researcher expected that any changes in both participants' individual characteristics and environmental contexts, in turn, could have affected their changes in violence and delinquent behaviors. Therefore, this study assumes that the MSP activities generated the identified eight types of mediating variables with regard to participants' self-concepts, emotions, attitudes toward school/teachers, social skills, relationships among school stakeholders, commitment to new group norms and identity, less reliance on a delinquent group, and perception of the school social climate. The more detailed analysis for why these variables were expected to be generated is examined in the discussion section.

More importantly, this study identified each causal mechanism of the identified eight mediating variables above. The causal mechanism indicates how a mediating variable is generated through the sequence of key treatment attributes of the MSP. Although it is assumed that a causal mechanism worked independently to create a counterpart mediating variable, there were two special mechanisms that significantly influenced generating other mediating variables. The first objective of the MSP treatment activities (i.e., reduce constraints preventing participation in the MSP) appeared to

influence all the mediating variables, because it contributed to initiating and maintaining the processes of the MSP enough to produce the eight variables. In addition, it should be noted that, except for two mediating variables (i.e., improved social skills and commitment to new group norms and identity), the other six mediating variables were assumed to be closely related to the objective of the MSP treatment activities: *develop positive relationships with school stakeholders*. In other words, this objective could affect generating not only a mediating variable (i.e., increased positive relationships among school stakeholders), but also five other mediating variables (i.e., increased positive self-concept, decreased emotional distress, positive attitudes toward school/teachers, less reliance on delinquent peer groups, and improved school social climate).

The section starts with describing the two special mechanisms and examines an independent causal mechanism of each mediating variable.

Mechanism underlying other mediating variables

Sport-related activities and other experiences were implemented to increase participants' positive perceptions of the MSP. In particular, soccer activities and a summer camp were expected to bring out the target students by the following steps: (a) Participants feel and learn how the MSP provides personal or group benefits, (b) participants overcome barriers to participating in MSP activities, and (c) participants keep up meaningful personal benefits. These three steps of the causal mechanism were expected to be a critical basis of all mediating variables. MSP participants reported the following responses with regard to their experiences with the activities:

137

Findings	Examples
Participants feel and learn how the MSP provides personal or group benefits.	So it was pretty tough for me to decide, but I ended up enrolling anyway. Some of us didn't want to enroll but I was able to induce them by saying that we were going to take a journey to a beach in the summer. That is a rare opportunity for us so we settled on enrolling. (HG student 4) I thought it [sport] would be extremely fun for us. (HG student 1/BK student 13) Teachers suggested getting in the club. They seemed worried about us. When we're not in the club, we might be involved in gang fights. (BK student 18) I rather persuaded members in the group than selecting one or two notorious guys. I mentioned, "We know you guys always play together. We will bring you out to the sea and we will exercise together. I think you've seen how your seniors dropped out and went to a ward. We will secure you guys until you graduate." (HG teacher 1)
Participants overcome barriers preventing participating in MSP activities.	The reason I started it with soccer was to build a bond with the kids quickly. If they are not interested, they won't participate and this is the reason why most programs out there fail. (HG teacher 1) In the past, when we had a different program, it was pretty hard to get it started. Now, as years go by, the kids enrolled in the program are being perceived as regular students or the sports program students, rather than troubled kids. And the teachers in charge of the program are also called sports program teachers. In the beginning there was a slight problem, but now there are no more stigmas attached to it. It's

	promoted as a sports program, so there's no problem. (BK teacher 1)
	Other classmates envy us because we play and travel with teachers. I know some of them begged our teachers to be a part of a club. (HG student 4)
Participants keep up personally meaningful benefits.	My body changed a lot. I built muscles. Before, I wasn't even able to do push-ups, but now I can. Plus, I'm surrounded by good friends. (BK student 1)
	It was good to meet new classmates and seniors. The teachers were very fun to be with, as well as the friends. The tournaments were especially fun. The teachers were so entertaining at some times. I felt a lot of satisfaction after the tournaments. Soccer was also fun, and lots of the boys became interested in us. (BK student 15)
	I am sure it would me help to concentrate on my studies in high school. (BK student 3)
	The most sure thing is competition and I planned to make lots of games…sometimes I changed teams and members. (BK teacher 3)

139

Mechanisms to develop positive relationships

The MSP activities were implemented to develop positive relationships between participants, non-at-risk students, and teachers. The BK school brought out sport clubs where at-risk youths had more opportunities to meet non-at-risk students and teachers. In addition, the HG school selected soccer for male students, and a summer trip and movie-viewing for female students. Interviews showed that positive relationships were generated by the following stages: (a) Participants meet and bond with new peers and school teachers, (b) participants feel what other school stakeholders expect, (c) participants support other school stakeholders, and (d) participants experience how other school stakeholders positively evaluate them. Once a positive relationship was generated, it was assumed that it affected five other mediating variables (i.e., self-concept, emotional distress, attitudes toward to school/teachers, reliance on delinquent peer groups, and school social climate) positively, as well as the reduction of violent behaviors. Participants reported their responses in the following ways:

Findings	Example
Participants meet and bond with new peers and school teachers.	It was good to become closer to friends we were not close to. We played together, ate together, and slept together because we shared the same living compartments. We played a lot of games together. (HG student 2) We played soccer with the students and the five male teachers, who sweated and kicked the ball around together, felt a sense of bonding between teacher and student that couldn't be felt in the classroom or during any other school-related activity.

140

	(HG student 5)
Participants feel what other school stakeholders expect.	Because of the systematic administration of this program, the students know that they are actively involved in a relationship of faith with the teachers. By striving to keep this sense of trust within the relationship, the kids seem to slowly change within. (HG teacher 1) The kids seem to know our efforts to correct their behaviors through our devotion. (BK teacher 1) We know he [program implementer] always wishes we do well everything in school life. (BK student 4)
Participants support other school stakeholders.	If not controlled outside of class, it just takes too much time and effort to control these kids within class. However, I feel that teachers do not need to waste their efforts so much, because I am able to take them under my wing through such programs. (HG teacher 1) It's amazing. They started helping us when we prepared for the school sport event. Since then, I call them whenever I need their help. (BK teacher 3)
Participants experience how other school stakeholders positively evaluate them.	The homeroom teacher didn't really like me at the start of the semester. But these days, my teacher encourages me to do well in class. (BK student 10) Their conduct towards the teachers has improved significantly. The most rebellious students became more open-minded in class and were viewed positively by the teachers. (HG teacher 1)

	The teachers often viewed some students negatively in terms of school performance or out-of-school activities, but, through our program, many of these students changed and were slowly viewed in a different light. Since these kids showed up to school especially early, the teachers were really pleased in commending them for their efforts. (HG teacher 2) I feel a great sense of satisfaction for being a part of this program instead of only teaching students at school. Looking at the changes that occur in the students' lives… and because the teachers look favorably upon the students. (HG teacher 3)

Mechanisms to increase a positive sense of self

The MSP activities (i.e., sport activities, education, and other experiences) were implemented to change participants' feelings of helplessness. This was related to making them have more positive views of their lives. Throughout the entire program activities, the MSP planners sought to encourage and give positive feedback to their students. In addition, since their feelings of helplessness were related to negative relationships, establishing positive relationships among school stakeholders was a pivotal task to overcome the feelings of helplessness in MSP participants.

The increase in a positive sense of self would be generated by the following steps: (a) Participants experience what they can do well in the school setting, (b) participants learn what they have to do for their future career (HG only), (c) participants feel more confident about and responsible for themselves, and (d) participants feel they are important in the school and society.

142

Findings	Examples
Participants experience what they can do well in the school setting	It's only a matter of time for their grades to reflect this positive change. One of our students who took part in the program was able to make it to the top 1% of our school, while many students raised their average by 10 points. (HG teacher 3)

I really hate self-study class. It certainly was not so good…but I marked especially high grades since then I got more desire to keep the grades. (BK student 4)

Min-Hu was very talkative and he was nominated as a class president…We were very excited about that. (HG teacher 1)

A tough guy declared that he totally was changed and he started playing a guitar and finally became a lead singer in the school vocal club. (HG teacher 2) |
| (Participants learn what they have to do for their future career – HG only.) | I finally determined to be a security guard for the government and exercise every day…Others would have strong feelings for their ways. (HG student 1)

I didn't know what I can do after graduating from the school. Now I found I can really do better for cooking and apply for the vocational school being a professional cook. (HG student 6) |
| Participants feel more confident about and responsible for their behaviors. | Before, they had no confidence in everything they did, and none of them knew what their potential was. But now, students volunteer to do tasks and activities that most suit their abilities and none of them drops out. (BK teacher 1) |

	Before, I liked my friends. But now, I am able to appreciate myself more than them. I come to think of them as family. While participating in sport, I was surrounded by another type of friends that could relate to me. (BK student 4)
Participants feel they are important in the school and society	
	I am feeling playing soccer together helps to recover from feelings of low self-esteem. (HG student 5)

Mechanism to decrease emotional distress

Through sport-related activities and other experiences, the MSP planners aimed to reduce participants' negative affect. These activities were expected not only to reduce feelings of stress in their lives, but also to provide continuous enjoyable experiences. Through the activities, participants expressed satisfaction, as well as self-confidence about controlling their emotional problems. This was assumed to be derived from the establishment of positive social interactions with other school stakeholders, which, in turn, would affect changes in violent behaviors. The emotional distress would be decreased by the following steps: (a) Participants feel positive emotions in the activities, and (b) participants feel they can control negative emotions.

Findings	Examples
Participants experience positive emotions in the activities.	I am able to concentrate better whenever I am playing, and my head becomes clear. (HG student 4)
	Your body feels so much lighter. I especially enjoy the conversations we have while running, talking about friends and school. (BK student 2)
	We are excited and feel so proud every

144

| | time we play; other school kids look at us enviously. We feel their eyes and enjoy their jealousy. (BK student 18)

It's fun for me. When I went to the mountain with other guys in our club, I feel there's a let-out from a boring class…I feel like having new energy. (HG student 1) |
|---|---|
| Participants feel they can control negative emotions. | I witnessed many students who were excluded from school life come back to normal through the program. First of all, their expressions just became so much brighter; they became accustomed to laughing and smiling and became so much more active. (BK teacher 1)

I used to fight on impulse. But now, I can refrain even when juniors talk dirty in front of me. I believe and hope that such kids would also change in the course of time. (BK teacher 2)

The expressions on their faces become so much brighter and their conduct in class improves so much. (HG teacher 2)

As we became closer to each other, the animosity between many of us decreased and there were fewer fights. (HG student 4) |

Mechanism to increase positive attitudes toward school and teachers

Sport-related activities and other experiences were expected to change program

participants' attitudes toward school and teachers. Again, the activities provided more

opportunities for participants to interact with teachers. A teacher in the Thursday soccer

games said that a form of sport games could connect at-risk youths to teachers in order to

pursue common goals (e.g., team winning and seeking excellence in playing). In addition,

145

refreshments after the games enabled both participants and teachers to better understand each other. Adult informants addressed that they were able to observe behavioral changes in participants and hear positive evaluations of their students from other school teachers. Furthermore, the BK program showed more evidence in changes of attitudes. The participation in local sport events and the service working at school made them have more responsibility as school representatives. The change in attitudes was expected to follow these steps: (a) Participants experience being school representatives, and (b) participants experience being volunteers for the school.

Findings	Examples
Participants experience being school representatives (BK only).	We focus on participation itself rather than winning. I always tell them "We are the face of the BK…we should show fair play"…Many kids got awarded and when they are back in school, classmates and teachers show great interest in them. (BK teacher 3)

Although we're not savvy athletes compared to other school athletes, we know we are celebrities in our school. When going to the school tournament, I and my other friend felt some grave responsibility for the men of the BK team. (BK student 1) |
| Participants experience being volunteers for school (BK only). | They developed a sense of responsibility while volunteering for school chores. Their role as leaders especially required responsibility and cautious action. (BK teacher 2)

I was proud of being a person to officially help other kids…You see…they beg me to get balls. I feel like taking care of other small kids. (BK student 17) |

Mechanism to improve social skills

Sport-related activities and education-related activities were implemented to improve program participants' social skills. Results revealed that sport-related activity provided program participants with natural environments to communicate with non-at-risk students and those students' friends, whereas education-related activities provided the ways to control anger and communicate with others. Program implementers reported that the students' aggressive behaviors and the use of abusive language decreased. Program participants also stated that they had an ability to avoid physical fights and extended their limited relationships through other club members and their friends. The following steps were generating participants' enhanced social skills:

Findings	Examples
Participants learn various social skills-a way to communicate (HG only).	I can now talk sincerely about my feelings without having to express my negative thoughts through actions. (HG student 1) Now, I am trying to hear other voices and then wait sometimes…I don't feel any discomfort to argue and bicker for other guys' saying once I pose and pose again. (HG student 2)
Participants learn naturally how to positively interact with new peers and school teachers.	Min-woo and Sun-woo never even talked to the kids in the soccer club until they themselves were made a part of the team. But, since they played soccer every day and interacted on a daily basis, they became friends…It was a natural friendship made possible by the soccer team. (BK teacher 3) It was a kind of amazing experience for us. Before, they do not play with us [teachers]; I never hear their voice…Now they joke

	with us. (HG teacher 3)
Participants extend their limited social relationships with other, non-at-risk students.	Not only is there a learning process involved, but there is also a forming of bonds and relationships. Those who were outcasts are now accepted by their friends and peers. They play games together and interact. Min-seo and Sun-woo are two such cases that I placed in the program during the second semester. They were completely silent before, but now they interact with others on a regular basis, going from class to class and meeting new friends. There no longer seem to be any pariahs in this school. (HG teacher 3) I was never close to my classmates. I only knew the people I hung out with. But as I went to second grade and participated in sports activities, the barrier between us dissolved. (BK student 2)

Mechanism to create a commitment to new group norms and identity

Since program participants were more likely to have favorable attitudes toward violence as well as to rely on their delinquent groups, sport-related activities and other experiences aimed to change these two conditions by getting the students to commit to new group norms and identity. Their commitment to the new group appeared with their increased ability to follow the rules and spirit of the club (i.e., sport club and tracking club). Once program participants became committed to the clubs' norms and identity, they were less involved in violence and antisocial behaviors. It was noted that one or two months were needed to build a feeling of a new group identity. The mechanism to create the new group norms and identity is explained by the following steps: (a) Participants learn new group norms and identity, (b) participants meet and bond with new members

148

and adult role models closely related to the new group, (c) participants commit to new group activities, (d) participants know what adult role models expect of them, and (e) participants know how they can get help from adults or members of the new group. The following are the responses of program stakeholders:

Findings	Examples
Participants learn new group norms and identity.	We have to come early, exactly at the same time and work out together at the same time. We develop a sense of unity. Our club has a tight schedule that must be constantly observed. We cannot let the name of the club be disrespected. We have a calling. (BK student 1) Students who usually took away people's money and were always involved in some sort of mishap become changed when they take part in the club. They break all ties with their habits because nothing bad is tolerated in here. Though other students are not punished for making the same mistakes again, we are. (HG student 4) If regular students are hit five times as punishment, we take ten hits. We encourage each other to behave properly…I was called to the teacher's office because I was involved in a fight at the start of the semester. The teacher chastised me, saying that, even if others did such and such, you cannot afford to do so. I finally understand what that means. (BK student 18)
Participants meet and bond with new members and adult role models closely related to the new group.	It takes about a month for the students to find their self-identities and build teamwork. After that, the original members, as well as the new recruits, are

	able to share the feeling of team spirit and unity. (HG teacher 1)
	The first month is most important. Everything depends on how one instructs these kids during that period. (HG teacher 2)
	We talk a lot when we hike with the kids. We talk about future plans and the little secret things that can be said only amongst girls. The kids seem starved for affection and so, once we become close, they tend to cling to you. (HG teacher 2)
	They have to feel about teacher Kim's charisma…She is real good to talk to and her advice is sometimes bitter, but later I know it is really helpful for me. (HG student 4)
	I "had their backs" and I would take care of them. This way, both the student and I could keep our sense of pride while conveying the same information. (BK teacher 2)
	The good thing about being a part of sports clubs is that you can become friends with others and come to know the teachers better. (BK student 5)
	Now I call my teacher like my mother and teacher Chang [implementer] is my uncle. We're all family. I know that I can accept criticism and punishment from such teachers. (BK student 4)
Participants commit to new group activities.	It's very likely that during the summer the kids will get distracted again. So we thought about taking them to museums. However, we've already done that on a regular field trip, so we decided that it wasn't interesting enough. We thought

	going to movies together may give them something new, so we started the program. There is a need to strengthen the sense of a community. (BK teacher 1)
	We began to come to school early and then played soccer together, even if the date is Saturday. (BK student 14)
Participants know what adult role models expect of them.	As we became close to each other, we often said amongst ourselves, "The teacher wouldn't want us to do this," or "Think of what the teacher would say. Let's don't do this [bad activities]." (BK student 18)
	Frankly, we think about our teachers and understand how they've tried to help us during the past years…We start to talk together. In the evening, we say "Let's just go home." They [teachers] might call us when we're back. (HG student 4)
Participants know how they can get help from adults or members of the new group.	Last year, Soo-min confronted me, asking me for advice. He said that other students were picking fights with the group, but the students did not want to fight back. Especially asked me for help because the students picking the fight would often hit others while passing by in the hallway while saying that, "Because you're weak, we just want to fight you and end it all." I don't think I am the only one who has such thoughts towards this issue. (In my case) I have been a middle school teacher for over ten years. I told them out of concern and experience, "Do your best to not get involved in any fighting with them. Just don't give in and be patient, even when they talk dirty against you. And remember to report to me every time these students try to pick a fight against you again. Give me all the details. I can't help you if you don't ask for it, nor can I be responsible for

	any one of your actions done without my acknowledgement." I have been telling this to the students up to this year. One day, when we all went camping, all the students had fallen asleep except a few. They talked among themselves throughout the whole night. The next day, Soo-min told me that they had talked with each about their harsh feelings towards each other and had finally worked it out. I told him, "Good work," and encouraged him to do so and so in future situations, telling him once again that a fight would never be tolerated. Anyways, I think Soo-min is doing a very good job. (HG teacher 2)

Mechanism to reduce attachment to delinquent groups

Since the at-risk youths were strongly attached to their delinquent in-groups, the MSP activities were implemented for participants to have positive relationships with other school stakeholders and to commit to a new, alternative group identity. Before taking part in the program, they expressed a feeling of fear that they might be removed from their in-group. However, as they became committed to new groups (i.e., soccer team and running team in the BK school, and tracking club in the HG school), they found a new dependence (i.e., club members and teachers). This helped them to easily get rid of negative peer influences. Once participants were able to find and rely on new members and teachers as substitutes for their delinquent group, they were less involved with antisocial groups. Based on the development of positive relationships with other school stakeholders, the mechanism to reduce delinquent peer group influence is explained by adding the following two steps:

152

Findings	Examples
Participants learn that they can rely on other group members and teachers over delinquent peers.	The thing that has changed most due to my participation in the sports club is my fixed concept that I would be friends with only those that are close to me. There are always friends there. We share our difficulties and support each other. (BK student 4)

I might be concerned to be estranged from my old friends and seniors…but it's okay; I have teachers and new friends in the club. (HG student 4) |
| Participants learn how to overcome negative peer social influence. | I no longer take part in any bad activities. When groups of friends approach me, urging to do something bad, I back out immediately because I am determined to do what I know to be good. But neither am I stupid enough to say that "This is bad, so I'm not doing it" because it merely leads to fights. I seem to know how to show the flexibility to say that "I'm just too busy." (BK student 4)

Before, I would usually gather with my friends, and, when my friends would say, "Let's go do such and such," I would just comply with them. But now, it seems that this has disappeared. I would instead tell them to behave themselves, once I started working out. "Hey, that doesn't seem like such a good idea." I was never like this before but I have changed. My mother once mentioned that I was able to speak my mind when she noticed that I made it a habit to come home earlier than usual. (HG student 4) |

Mechanism to improve school social climate

Since violence is more likely to take place in a lowered-quality school social climate, MSP activities were implemented on the school playground, so that other school stakeholders saw the program activities. As non-at-risk students and teachers joined the activities, other students' and teachers' negative perceptions of the program were changed. Such activities contributed to having positive ideas that school was a safe place and that at-risk students had been controlled. In addition, the efforts of implementers and teachers in the program played a major role in changing other normal teachers. General teachers came to support the program and seek to keep up the positive school climate. The mechanism to improve the school social climate is identified by these two steps: (a) Participants feel the school is positively controlled, and (b) school stakeholders make efforts to maintain a positive social climate:

Findings	Examples
Participants feel the school is positively controlled.	The thing that teachers worry most about is the kids' inclination to form groups. By empowering them and providing them with motivation, we were worried that our efforts would be distorted to produce effects different from the ones we had hoped for. The second-year students formed groups and had caused many problems, you see. But, when we focused on disciplining that specific group, things have been going smoothly, as none of the students cause any more problems. Since the big fish are all in the pot, the small fish don't stir things up. It's a synergy effect in which all the groups of mischief-makers and rebels involved no longer become a problem. (HG teacher 1)

The students of our school are kind. Even |

	though their actions and jokes may be rough at times, there is nothing like group violence or anything…Well, smoking in our school has totally disappeared. (BK student 16)
	Their violence is not totally gone, but at least it has decreased. Since those who call themselves the "first circle" (term for the toughest fighters in a school) are under control, it is so much easier for the others to follow in line. (BK teacher 1)
	Because students are able to actually know who is a part of this group by observing the members who run out in the field early in the morning, the school is controlled even more effectively. The potential trouble-makers not taking part in the program are especially well controlled. The implications of this effect are especially manifested in the classroom, where it becomes so much easier to influence the other students. (BK teacher 2)
School stakeholders make efforts to maintain a positive social climate.	The faculty knows that this school is managed and held together by these teachers. The school is problem-free and fun to be in. Our teachers are held in high regard even by the faculty members of other schools. (BK teacher 1)

Our facilities of our school are being established and strengthened, especially in terms of student counseling and advising. Overall, control of the school was a major issue, but it is now being solved because most school teachers seek to maintain this positive climate. (HG teacher 1) |

155

PROGRAM MECHANISM OF LEAST SUCCESSFUL PROGRAMS (LSP)

The LSP planners expected that program activities would improve program participants' self-concept, reduce their emotional distress, change their negative attitudes toward school/teachers, improve their social skills, and develop positive relationships between program participants and other school stakeholders. Such mediating variables, in turn, were expected to affect the reduction of school violence. The analysis of the data, however, showed weak evidence that such mediating variables were generated. Only female at-risk students in the SU school reported that they seemed to be changed due to their program implementer (i.e., SU social worker).

Mediating factors

Unchanged self-concept

LSP planners assumed that, if they provided the target students with an opportunity to understand their personal characters and strengths, they would have a positive view of themselves. In particular, sport-related activities (i.e., bowling and floorball) aimed to provide a place where participants could meet with school teachers. In addition, LSP planners provided incentives for participants who showed up for the activities.

However, although such sport activities brought them into the program, half of the target students did not continue to the activities. In addition, most participants in the sport activities expressed their dissatisfaction, diminishing their initial interest in the sport activities. SS student participants mainly reported that they felt some boredom with

156

bowling. The participants in the floorball reported some constraints in terms of

accessibility to the area where they played the floorball and the difficulty of

understanding its rules. Participants reported their experiences in bowling and floorball:

> Three games are okay but, more than three games make me tired of throwing the ball. I think girls don't like to come to play. Unless the best friends are coming, they don't come. When we played 10 games last time, it was boring. When we are hungry, playing a lot of games then is not fun. I think girls were there just because, if they participate this time, they can be exempt next time. Even though they don't extremely hate to bowl, they prefer playing outside with other guys. (SS student 2)

> It would be nice if Mr. Oh teaches us the rules, but we have to learn from brothers in the national team. We don't want to play at school. As you see, there is no place to work out. He [teacher] just says to us that we just do the simple practice every day. (SU student 5)

> Playing floorball was sometimes fun but we didn't want to go to Chongro. We had to have the free time on Saturday. It took 2 hours to get there. However, it was fun to play because teachers, national players, and we played together. (SU student 1)

Although sport activities made LSP participants come back into the program, it

was due to the incentives, rather than sport activities themselves. Most students

mentioned that "If there is no food, we won't go."

Overall, the LSP could not generate a positive self through the activities. A group

of female participants in one school, however, stated that they had had some positive

changes in themselves. A female student talked about her change:

> Self-esteem was developed to a great level. I never got noticed by others before. I became more serious about myself, since all myself prized me after I finished the work. I started to think about the future, even though I hated the present time and wanted to quit school. I give meaning to the school life and path in the future. We took out things that were forgotten and unconscious even though we had it all the time throughout the program. I now think that I should be respected. (SU student 10)

Unchanged emotional distress

LSP planners assumed that, if sport activities provided participants with new and

memorable experiences, they would feel the release of their emotional problems such as

157

stressful school lives and family problems. However, there was little evidence that the

LSP program activities contributed to reducing the program participants' negative affects.

A participant expressed his experience in the floorball activity as undemanding and

strange:

> It is not very nice to play with national players. We play as well as they do. I think that floorball is strange. It is hard to control the ball and the stick, but we have more control when we play soccer. (SU student 3)

> One of the adult informants addressed his observation on the bowling and

explained the reason why it lessened participants' interest this way:

> Bowling is a good thing. I haven't played a lot of games, but I think it is the best thing to do release stress. I was happy when the pins were knocked first, but I needed more practice. When the average goes up, I find happiness, but if the average stays or goes down, then I felt bored. It has good and bad characteristics. Bowling is easy, but students feel bored when we play two or more times. (SS teacher 2)

In addition, the program participants might have felt that sport activities (i.e., bowling)

were rather stressful events that could exacerbate participants' affects and relationships

with other school stakeholders. There was a memo describing the case:

> This is the fourth time to start bowling. When I met the SS planner, he seemed to be totally disappointed with their kids in the program. I did not understand his emotions until I heard from the SS vice principal. Today is the date that the SS vice president visits the bowling arena to see how the program is going. The vice principal told me that school has determined to transfer some of the girls in the program because of their recent extortion. It was an official decision of the school guidance committee… Sometimes she calls the kids and blames them for their long hair. She orders them to cut their hair by next week. While having a conversation with me, she saw female kids bring sodas and water to have them. Suddenly, she was very upset and called all the female students in the games. She bitterly rebuked them, "Why don't you kids have any manners." It means that she thought that they have to ask adults (she, teachers, and me) if they want to have some water before they take them. It seems that female students were very frustrated in that situation, and they have no remarks for the vice principal. (The researcher's memo)

Unchanged attitudes toward school and teachers

Program activities (i.e., sport activities, education, and other experiences) were implemented to change LSP student participants' negative attitudes toward school/teachers by offering more opportunities for participants to interact with teachers. Program implementers expected that, if they could change the unfavorable attitudes toward school/teachers, the students would be better adapted to school.

Both programs did not require general teachers to be engaged in the activities nor did they support the activities. It is not strange to say that most participants did not feel any changes from the program. If any, there might be better positive feelings for some of the program implementers. A program participant and an implementer reported:

> Nothing has been changed. However, we are not scared of the teachers anymore; we feel easy being with teachers. Teachers look at us with good eyes, too. (SU student 2)

> I think some students started to listen to me, and they became positive with my comments. They started to talk positively and to obey what I would like to say. It feels that I am closer to some kids. I hope that they know our efforts to keep them safe. (SS teacher 1)

Unchanged social skills

Education activities were implemented to improve at-risk youths' social skills because LSP planners believed that their lack of social skills (e.g., lack of anger control, trouble in communicating with other members) were strongly associated with violence and other antisocial behaviors. LSP implementers expected that, if the program could enhance participants' social skills, it would directly effect a decrease in violent behaviors and other antisocial behaviors.

However, although many education activities had been offered to them, most program participants expressed that they were dissatisfied with the program

159

implementers. For instance, the SU participants reported how they felt about a

psychiatrist who was invited for a session on building positive human relationships:

> I felt really bad when the psychology doctor came and treated us like patients. We
> didn't know which part of the program was helpful for us and why he came to us.
> (SU student 9)

> The doctor talked to us that we are the worst. We felt really bad because he pointed at us
> and treated us like criminals. We didn't like the session from the beginning, just because
> it was psychological proofs. Even though the boss explained it to us, it was a strange
> experience. (SU student 10)

> Similarly, students and program implementers in the SS school reported that the

group counseling classes were not effective for the participants. They remarked:

> It was a good advising session at first, but, since the same things were repeated in the
> sessions, we were bored. Five people regularly attended the session. At the end, it was
> extremely boring. (SS student 3)

> The advising program is a very good program. I would pick this if I have to pick one from
> the solutions. However, it is not enough with a few times, it has to be at least a year. It
> has to be a routine of life: We need to educate students to be others. It was the way to
> suppress anger by thinking about being in the other person's shoes. There could be a little
> change in their conduct, but it is hard to see the result in the short period of the time. I
> think that, just like bean sprouts, we have to water them continuously. The process has to
> be a continuous and long-term program. (SS teacher 2)

Relationships with program implementers

Sport activities and education were implemented to develop positive relationships

between at-risk youths and other school stakeholders. The program implementers

expected that, if participants had positive relationships with teachers, they would not be

likely to be involved in violent and other antisocial behaviors. However, the program

activities could not build and extend positive relationships toward other school

stakeholders, because other school stakeholders (i.e., general teachers and non-at-risk

students) did not participate in the program activities. At best, some participants were

able to build a fair relationship with program implementers. Student participants stated:

160

There is nothing else, except bowling was fun. There was nothing special, except that we got closer to Korean teachers and Mr. Woo. (SS student 1)

I don't think that I got closer to my friends, because we were pretty close before. However, it is the biggest difference that I got closer to Mr. Oh. (SU student 1)

I liked Mr. Chung because he understood us being late. I couldn't get up in the morning because I stayed out late. Min-Joon and Jin-ho said that they would participate in these kinds of programs again. (SU student 5)

Notably, the LSP showed that this type of the program could be misused by the participants, increasing the likelihood of violence and other delinquent behaviors. Because their parents believed that they were being taken care of by the teachers of the LSP, the students were able to spend more hours together without any control from their parents. Being in the program activities themselves was a good excuse to give to their parents. For instance, a group of male students told a lie to their parents about going on a field trip with program implementers, and they were able to spend two days with in-group members. They were free to wander all night and stay at their hide-out, if a date was a scheduled for LSP activities. There is no doubt about the fact that the LSP contributed to strengthening relationships among in-group members without adults' control. Student participants described it this way:

We stayed out. After hiking, we went to Jimjilbang. I was really tired and wanted to sleep. My mom kept on calling me. I told mom that I would be home after I sleep here. Eunji had a boyfriend whom her mom likes and she was permitted to stay out. I asked her to talk to my mom, and I got permitted, too. (SU student 7)

After the floorball, we wander the streets or play basketball. We always tell a lie to our parents, like we are with teachers and that is the best excuse for them…I don't think I was changed due to the program, except. The only thing changed is we are getting more close relationships. (SU student 3)

Originally, senior boys should go; they said that they have to study for the exam, but they faked us out, teachers, and parents. We knew it after the trip. They played with other girls and slept over some places. Instead, we went with sophomores and felt like it was more fun. (SU student 10)

161

Overall, the LSP showed little evidence that LSP student participants had changed much as a result of their program participation. Only a group of female students reported that they felt positive relationships and that the program contributed to decreasing their violent and antisocial behaviors. Female participants expressed their experiences with a social worker this way:

> We got into fewer problems because we didn't want to disappoint the boss [SU social worker]. We didn't get into the trouble or go to the office since we started senior year. But we got caught smoking. (SU student 7)

> I have changed without noticing. We didn't have any adults to talk to except friends. However, after we met Ms. Chung, we could talk about smoking, drinking and even break-ups with boyfriends. Ms. Chung understood us and asked us to meet again after graduation. It is good to have someone to talk to. (SU student 10)

CROSS-CASE ANALYSIS OF PROGRAM MECHANISM OF MSP AND LSP

The program mechanism in the research question was to identify the mediating variables which would explain the relations between the treatment activities of the TST program and the outcomes. In addition, this study presented the sequence of generating each mediating variable in the MSP. The following analysis clarifies the similarities and differences of the treatment mechanisms across the MSP and the LSP. The findings are summarized in Table 4.10.

Similarities

Both the MSP and the LSP were expected to generate the five types of mediating variables (i.e., a positive self-concept, release of emotional distress, positive attitudes toward school/teachers, enhanced social skills, and positive relationships among school stakeholders). Results showed that such variables appeared to be produced through the MSP activities, but little evidence was found from the LSP activities. In addition, the LSP

generated unexpected effects that: (a) Participants were more attached to one another, and (b) the program contributed to increasing the likelihood of delinquent behaviors together.

Differences

Both the MSP and the LSP aimed to generate the mediating variable of a positive self for program participants, since they had a sense of helplessness. The MSP planners sought to deliver the attributes of the treatment activities, which were to provide the internal benefits of the MSP activities, encourage and empower at-risk youths with positive feedback, and provide more positive interaction opportunities among program participants (i.e., at-risk youths, teachers, and non-at-risk youths). Once the attributes were successfully delivered to the participants, the MSP planners expected to bring out improved participants' perceptions of themselves according to the following steps: (a) Participants experience what they can do well in the school setting, (b) participants learn what they have to do for their future career (HG only), (c) participants feel more confident and responsible for themselves, and (d) participants feel they are important in the schools and society. In addition, since participants' helplessness was associated with negative relationships with other school stakeholders, the process of establishing positive relationships was expected to generate a positive sense of self for participants as well. Participants in the MSP addressed that they viewed themselves better since they had taken part in the three types of program activities. While they had enhanced their self-concept, they were able to show better ability to adjust to their school-related work.

In a similar vein, the LSP aimed to increase participants' self positively by providing external benefits (e.g., free bowling and dinner) and a chance to understand each participant's own self. However, the analysis showed that, except for a group of

female students in the SS school, there was no evidence of participants' change through the LSP.

The MSP targeted decreasing participants' emotional problems. The MSP planners expected that MSP activities would reduce participants' emotional distress by reducing labeling, providing intrinsic benefits (e.g., enjoyable experiences) of program activities and providing positive interaction chances with other school stakeholders. Once these attributes were delivered, MSP planners expected that their emotional distress would be decreased by these steps: (a) Participants experience positive emotions through regular activities and (b) participants feel they can control negative emotions. As mentioned earlier, since emotional distress was also associated with negative relationships among school stakeholders, the process of establishing positive relationships was also expected to contribute to decreasing the participants' emotional distress. If the participants could release their negative emotions through activities, the MSP planners expected that they would be less likely to be involved in violence, as well as other antisocial behaviors. However, little evidence has been found from the LSP activities. Rather, sport activities made the participants feel boredom and dissatisfaction.

The MSP aimed to generate positive attitudes toward school/teachers. The MSP planners expected that MSP activities would change participants' negative attitudes toward school and teachers by bringing school stakeholders into the program activities and providing positive interaction opportunities. When these attributes were delivered, MSP planners found that participants created better relationships with other school stakeholders. The BK students in the sport club showed additional evidence, because they could experience being valued as a part of their school through voluntary service for the

164

school and being representatives for the school. The BK activities showed that their attitude changes were produced by these steps: (a) Participants experience being school representatives, and (b) participants experience being volunteers for the school. Once they changed their attitudes positively, it was expected to generate better school adjustment. On the other hand, although some LSP participants reported a change in their attitudes toward teachers, the change was limited to being in relation to some of the LSP program implementers.

Both sets of programs intended to improve participants' social skills. It was found that MSP activities were expected to develop their social skills in a natural setting and in education activities (HG only) by the following steps: (a) Participants learn various social skills to communicate with others (HG only), (b) participants learn how to positively interact with new peers and school teachers in a natural setting, and (c) participants extend their limited social relationships with non-at-risk students. The results showed that the learned social skills directly influenced the reduction of violent behaviors, as well as other antisocial behaviors. The LSP, however, implemented only education activities in order to improve student participants' social skills. The LSP students did not show any evidence of such enhancement in their interviews. Program participants reported some bad experiences with professional program implementers.

Both sets of programs aimed to develop better relationships among school stakeholders. It was important to develop this variable because it affected the generation of the other five mediating variables (i.e., a positive sense of self, decreased emotional distress, positive attitudes toward school and teachers, less reliance on delinquent peers, and improved school social climate). For generating the variable, the attributes of the

165

MSP activities were to mix teachers, non-at-risk students, and program participants in the activities, and to provide more interaction opportunities among school stakeholders. The activities were expected to generate positive relationships by the following steps: (a) Participants meet and bond with new peers and school teachers, (b) participants feel what other school stakeholders expect, (c) participants support other school stakeholders, and (d) participants experience how other school stakeholders positively evaluate them. Once the mediating variable was generated, it directly influenced the reduction of violent behaviors as well as other antisocial behaviors. On the other hand, except for a female group in one school, most LSP informants said that they had positive relationships only with the program implementers.

Most importantly, among the eight mediating variables in the MSP, three mediating variables were not generated through LSP activities: (a) commitment to positive new group norms and identity, (b) decreased peer group influence, and (c) improved school social climate.

First, the MSP planners expected that the program activities would change at-risk groups' antisocial norms and identity by the attributes of the activities, which were to set positive new group norms and identity (e.g., no involvement with any antisocial behaviors as a member of the team), and make student participants commit to new group activities. Once these attributes were delivered, the planners expected to generate commitment to positive new group norms and identity by the following steps: (a) Participants learn new group norms and identity, (b) participants meet and bond with new members and adult role models closely related to the new group, (c) participants commit to new group activities, (d) participants know what adult role models expect of them, and

166

(e) participants know how they can get help from adults or other members of the new group. When the activities generated the variable, program participants were less involved in violence, as well as other antisocial behaviors.

Second, the MSP aimed to generate the mediating variable of less reliance on delinquent peer groups, since the participants were strongly attached to the members in their group. The MSP planners sought to deliver the attributes of the treatment activities, which were to provide more interaction opportunities with other school stakeholders, and get the participants involved and committed to group activities and positive norms. Once the attributes were successfully delivered to the participants, MSP planners expected to generate the mediating variable by the two steps: (a) Participants learn how to overcome negative peer social influence, and (b) participants learn how they can connect to other group members over delinquent peers. This was also influenced by the process of two other mediating variables (i.e., positive relationships with other school stakeholders, and commitment to positive new group norms and identity). When the mediating variable was created, the MSP planners expected that program participants would be less involved in violence, as well as other antisocial behaviors.

Third, the MSP aimed to generate an improved school social climate. The MSP planners expected that MSP activities would change participants' negative perceptions by the attributes of the activities, which were to mix teachers, non-at-risk students, and program participants in the activities, provide more interaction opportunities among school stakeholders, and provide activities in a visible place. Once the attributes were delivered to the participants, the MSP planners expected to produce an improved school social climate by the following steps: (a) Participants feel the school is positively

167

controlled, and (b) school stakeholders make an effort to maintain a positive school social climate. The MSP planners reported that the activities were able to control participants as well as other potentially at-risk students. As normal teachers participating in the program became the supporters of the program, the program affected other teachers positively. As a result, the MSP showed that the more improved the school social climate, the fewer violent behaviors and other antisocial behaviors.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the MSP had a critical basis of generating all mediating variables, which is the mechanism underlying other mediating variables. The processes of the mechanism were identified: (a) Participants feel and learn how the MSP provides personal and group benefits, (b) participants overcome barriers to participating in MSP activities, and (c) participants keep up meaningful benefits. This mechanism showed how and why their programs were successfully initiated and maintained without losing the program participants.

Table 4.10

Similarities and Differences between MSP and LSP on Program Mechanism

		MSP (BK & HG)	LSP (SU & SS)
Mediating variables	Similarities	Increased positive self-concept Decreased emotional distress Positive attitudes toward school/teachers Improved social skills Increased positive relationships among school stakeholders	Increased positive self-concept Decreased emotional distress Positive attitudes toward school/teachers Improved social skills Increased positive relationships among school stakeholders
	Differences	Commitment to positive new group norms & identity Lowered peer group influence Improved school social control	Feelings of boredom and dissatisfaction from activities Increased delinquent peer group relationships Increased chances to commit delinquent behaviors
Mechanisms	Similarities	-	-
	Differences	<u>Increased positive self-concept</u> Participants experience what they can do well in school setting Participants learn what they have to do for their future career – HG only Participants feel more confident and responsible for their behaviors Participants feel they are important in the school and society <u>Decreased emotional distress</u> Participants experience positive emotions in activities Participants feel they can control negative Emotions <u>Positive attitudes toward school/teachers</u> Participants experience being school representatives-BK only Participants experience being volunteers for school-BK only <u>Improved social skills</u> Participants learned various social skills-a way to communicate- HG only. Participants learned naturally how to positively interact with new peers and school teachers Participants extended their limited social relationships with other normal students	-

169

Table 4.10
Similarities and Differences between MSP and LSP on Program Mechanisms
(*continued*).

MSP (BK & HG)	LSP (SU & SS)
<u>Increased positive relationships among school stakeholders</u>	
Participants meet and bond with new peers and school teachers.	
Participants feel what other school stakeholders expect.	
Participants support other school stakeholders.	
Participants experience how other school stakeholders positively evaluate them.	
<u>Commitment to positive new group norms & identity</u>	
Participants learn new group norms and identity	-
Participants meet and bond with new members and adult role models closely related to new group	
Participants commit to new group activities	
Participants know what adult role models expect of them	
Participants know how they can get help from adult or members of new group	
<u>Lowered peer group influence</u>	
Participants learn that they can rely on other group members and teachers over delinquent peers.	
Participants learn how to overcome negative peer social influence	
<u>Improved school social control</u>	
Participants feel the school is positively controlled	
School stakeholders make efforts to maintain positive social climate	
<u>Underlying other mediating variables</u>	
Participants feel and learn how the MSP provides personal and group benefits	
Participants overcome barriers to participating in MSP activities	
Participants keep up meaningful benefits	

Note. Dashes indicate no case in the category.

Results Concerning Research Question 4: Program Outcomes

Identifying the outcomes of the TST programs is the fourth step in developing the TST program theory of change. In the research questions, the outcomes were to specify both the expected outcomes of the TST programs and the real outcomes. For this study, the expected outcomes were operationalized as the program planners' desired outcomes, which had usually been stated through performance goals and objectives. The real outcomes, however, assessed a program's actual impact as a consequence of the implementation of the program. Real effects, therefore, might be parallel to forecasted outcomes or completely dissimilar. In addition, the research examined the relationships among the real outcomes of the TST programs.

In order to investigate the outcomes of the TST programs and their relationships, adult informants were asked about what they wanted to achieve through the TST programs and what had been actually accomplished. Program participants also were asked about any changes since they had taken part in the program.

PROGRAM OUTCOMES OF MOST SUCCESSFUL PROGRAMS (MSP)

Expected outcomes

Documents (e.g., the TST programs guide book and evaluation reports) clearly state that each program should aim to reduce the forms of violence in the schools. In this study, the types of violence were classified as the use of physical force, extortion by threats, demolition of school facilities, and multiple forms of violence. The MSP aimed to

171

reduce each type of violence in the schools. In particular, the MSP planners stated that

the programs should contribute to the reduction of at-risk group-related violence, because

the majority of violence had been carried out by members of at-risk groups or had

occurred between at-risk in-groups and out-groups. The adult informants stated:

> The various cases of school violence are evolving from an individual-to-individual scenario to a more group-oriented one. Cases involving violent groups usually involve around twenty students, and, when such incidents occur, the school suffers for a long time. Knowing which groups caused problems and helping the students involved in such groups to become a part of our program was in fact one of our main goals. (BK teacher 1)

> I was placed in charge of the boys while JJ teacher was placed in charge of the girls. During the camp, though we were accompanied by another female teacher, we underwent much strenuous effort in order to work out the conflict between these two groups. The third-year students in our program are managed and taken care of, once they are divided up specifically. (HG teacher 1)

> It is often the case that those students who are a part of the sports club are also involved in groups that are liable to cause problems. But when students join our club, it is so much easier to focus upon the kids who have not joined. (BK teacher 3)

In addition to the reduction of violence, both schools aimed to produce two

additional outcomes through the TST programs, which were to reduce other antisocial

behaviors and enhance school adjustment. MSP planners addressed:

> To determine what criteria define violence-oriented behavior is actually very delicate and relevant in every case. For example, in a violent group, the students who are involved in violence are also involved in so many other problematic practices. Not coming to school and rebelliousness towards teachers are such examples. We must give such other issues more consideration, instead of trying to focus only on violence. (BK teacher 1)

> It is to proactively react to the various sources of stress and potential conflict related to one's scholastic environment, such as one's peers and teachers, while it is to also obey the rules of the school while pursuing one's personal agenda and goals at the same time, and to ultimately change and influence the surrounding school environment. (HG teacher 1)

The MSP, therefore, aimed to reduce the types of antisocial behaviors which were

previously identified as stealing, frequent school absence, smoking, drinking, others, and

multi-antisocial. In particular, smoking was regarded as one of the serious antisocial

behaviors, because of the negative effects on non-at-risk students. The program implementers addressed that, once smoking was not controlled in the schools, non-at-risk students could easily learn smoking, and other types of antisocial behaviors would rapidly proliferate. A program director said:

> If the smoking issue is not controlled at school, the whole place falls into chaos. This is mainly because smoking leads to so many other problematic issues. Our program that teaches students how to quit smoking is administered because the sports program is just not enough to solve this issue. (BK teacher 1)

Relative to the relationships among the three expected outcomes, the MSP planners said that the activities would help participants to better adjust to school-related work. They believed that the better the participants' school adjustment, the less the occurrence of violence and antisocial behaviors. In this regard, the program participants' ability to adjust various school contexts was one of the three expected outcomes. The MSP planners wanted to find evidence for this from ordinary teachers' positive evaluations of participants, participants' GPA (Grade Point Average) improvement, and so forth.

Real outcomes

Reduction of violent behaviors

Quantitative results revealed that the MSP have reduced the forms of violence since the initiation of the TST programs. Table 4.11 indicates that the number of violence cases has decreased since both schools started the programs in 2004.

Table 4.11
Type and Number of Violent Behaviors in the 4 Selected Schools from 2002 to 2005

Year		MSP		LSP		
		BK	HG	SU	SS	Total
2002	Physical fight	5	4	5	3	17
	Extortion by threats	-	1	-	1	2
	Multiple violence	-	1	-	-	1
	Total	5	6	5	4	20
2003	Physical fight	1	9	4	3	17
	Extortion by threats	4	2	-	1	7
	Multiple violence	-	1	-	-	1
	Total	5	12	4	4	25
2004	Physical fight	1	5	2	10	18
	Extortion by threats	-	2	3	6	11
	Multiple violence	-	1	1	-	2
	Total	1	8	6	16	31
2005	Physical fight	-	2	1	7	10
	Extortion by threats	-	2	1	3	6
	Demolition of school facilities	-	-	2	-	2
	Multiple violence	-	-	-	7	7
	Total	-	4	4	17	25

Note. Dashes mean no case in the category.

More importantly, both program directors addressed that their student participants have not been involved in any violence during the past two years. MSP program implementers stated:

> There is no such thing as violence within our school. Of course, there is the occasional banter and bickering, but no emotions are involved. They have learned to become quite patient with each other…All of our students are so kind. (BK teacher 2)

> I've even heard that some students think of it as a shame that our school does not have a "first circle." This is the degree to which school violence has decreased due to individual tolerance in the groups. (BK teacher 2)

As mentioned above, it was important to reduce group-related violence in the

MSP schools. The results of the interviews affirmed that group-related violence has

disappeared. MSP program implementers reported the following responses:

> Violence among students has all but disappeared. Fights among groups have been totally dissolved. This is mostly due to teacher JJ, who was in charge of two groups of girls. (HG teacher 1)

> At the start of the semester, there were many instances of conflict between groups. But even this common issue has not been witnessed last year or this year. At least on the surface, it has substantially decreased. (HG teacher 1)

Table 4.12 also shows that the number of group-related violent behaviors has been

reduced in the BK since 2004. Although there is little evidence in the HG, it was reported

Table 4.12
Number of Individual-Related and Group-Related Violent Behaviors from 2002 to 2005 in the 4 Selected Schools

Year		MSP		LSP		
		BK	HG	SU	SS	total
2002	Individual violence	2	-	-	1	3
	Group violence	3	6	5	3	17
	Total	5	6	5	4	20
2003	Individual violence	-	2	-	2	4
	Group violence	5	10	4	2	21
	Total	5	12	4	4	25
2004	Individual violence	-	2	2	7	11
	Group violence	1	6	4	9	20
	Total	1	8	6	16	31
2005	Individual violence	-	-	-	4	4
	Group violence	-	4	4	13	21
	Total	-	4	4	17	25

Note. Dashes mean no case in the category.

175

that there was no case of violence involving program participants. The HG program planner stated that the number of violent behaviors there was related to other grades, which were not included in the TST program.

Reduction of other antisocial behaviors

The MSP planners were expected to reduce antisocial behaviors in their schools. As Table 4.13 indicates, it seems to be unclear as to whether the MSP contributed to reducing the types of antisocial behaviors, because the BK school had a relatively stable number of antisocial cases, and, in the HG school, the number of the cases, rather, increased from 2004 to 2005.

Qualitative analysis, however, provided evidence that there has been a reduction in antisocial cases in the MSP schools. The MSP planners said that no cases have been reported with regard to any types of antisocial behaviors for program participants. In particular, the HG school planner explained that the increase in antisocial behaviors in his school was related to at-risk students in other grades which the HG program did not reach.

The MSP planners reported that smoking totally disappeared in the schools. However, student informants reported that, although they did not smoke in school any more, they still did it out of school. A program participant remarked: "Though we never smoke in school, we sometimes smoke outside. We know we have to quit, and we often say, 'Just one more time'…"

Table 4.13
Type and Number of Antisocial Behaviors in the 4 Selected Schools from 2002 to 2005

		MSP		LSP		
Year		BK	HG	SU	SS	Total
2002	Stealing	2	1	1	-	4
	Absence and late-coming	2	-	-	1	3
	Others (e.g., teacher profanity)	-	-	1	1	2
	Total	4	1	2	2	9
2003	Stealing	-	3	2	2	7
	Absence and late-coming	-	-	1	-	1
	Smoking	1	4	-	-	5
	Drinking	-	1	-	-	1
	Others (e.g., teacher profanity)	-	1	2	-	3
	Multiple-antisocial	-	1	-	-	1
	Total	1	11	5	2	18
2004	Stealing	1	1	1	-	3
	Absence and late-coming	-	-	1	-	1
	Smoking	-	2	-	-	2
	Drinking	-	-	2	-	2
	Others (e.g., teacher profanity)	-	-	2	2	4
	Multi-antisocial	-	1	-	1	2
	Total	1	4	6	3	14
2005	Stealing	1	4	-	1	6
	Smoking	-	-	-	1	1
	Drinking	-	-	-	1	1
	Others (e.g., teacher profanity)	-	3	-	2	5
	Multi-antisocial	-	3	-	1	4
	Total	1	10	-	6	17

Note. Dashes indicate no case in the category.

Enhancement of school adjustment

The program planners expected to improve participants' school adjustment, which could safeguard them from being in trouble with violence and antisocial behaviors. Interviews uncovered that participants had experienced some successful moments in enhancing their physical abilities, social lives, and academic achievements in their school lives. For instance, many of the student participants informed about their physical development, including health, fitness, and game skills. In addition, social development was expressed in terms of more alliances among team members and adult implementers in their team. Many of the students remarked on their positive experience of achieving academic success since their participation in the MSP. Program participants and teachers reported the following responses:

> Both of us won prizes during the championship. It was fun to compete against my friends. I took part in many of these competitions. If you were 1st or 2nd place in Sung-book Gu, you were able to take part in the Seoul competitions, and I was second place. I was awarded first place in the high-jumping division and third in the 100-meter, 200-meter races. (BK student 4)

> The kids have developed a sense of society; I notice that they have become even more confident in everything they do. We teachers can sense such things immediately. And when their confidence builds up, they also develop an interest in studying, and, in turn, the teachers develop an interest in the students. (BK teacher 1)

> I feel my body is stronger. I expect that such physical strength helps me now. I can better concentrate on my studies…I am feeling like I don't have any problem with my body and it gives me great confidence…It [increased physical strength] would help me study better when I go to high school where physical strength is the basis for study. (BK student 3)

> The grades of many of the students have improved. There are those who have made it to the top ten in the school while others have improved their averages from ten to twenty points. When they notice that their scores are improving, they become confident and are motivated to no longer cause any more problems. (HG teacher 2)

Relationships among outcomes

The MSP generated the three types of outcomes. Although the analysis was not able to show manifest relationships among violence, antisocial behaviors, and school adjustment, the qualitative results indicated that both violence and antisocial behaviors were significantly reduced among MSP program participants. Moreover, they feel better adjusted in school-related work. Therefore, both violence and antisocial behaviors are negatively associated with school adjustment.

However, it should be noted that, even if some types of antisocial behaviors might be decreased among program participants, participants' smoking habits had still been found among many of them. The finding indicates that the habit of smoking might be little affected by the MSP activities.

PROGRAM OUTCOMES OF LEAST SUCCESSFUL PROGRAMS (LSP)

Expected outcomes

The outcomes that LSP directors expected were similar to those of the MSP. Three types of outcomes were described through LSP planning documents and planners' interviews. The LSP aimed to reduce program participants' violent behaviors, decrease antisocial behaviors, and enhance their school adjustment.

Real outcomes

The data, however, showed little evidence that LSP had effects on the generation of the three types of outcomes. Rather, program participants in both schools in the LSP

were sanctioned due to their involvement in violence (i.e., physical fights between in-groups and out-groups, and extortion by threat).

Reduction of violent behaviors

Although the LSP wanted to reduce violent behaviors in 2005 through the program activities, the data show little proof of success. Table 4.12 indicates that the number of violent behaviors in both schools was 6 and 16 in 2004, respectively. The number of violent cases was 4 and 17 in 2005. It seems that, despite the implementation of the LSP for one year, both schools have not controlled the proliferation of violence.

In addition, the analysis of qualitative interviews indicates that program participants were involved in physical fights and extortion by threats during the period of the program. Such cases occurred with two different female groups and were reported to the SB in 2005. A program planner told of his experience in that case:

> Because we [Department of Student Life Guidance] have to deal with such bad cases, I think we must not play this kind of program. Our responsibility is to punish bad kids, but now we are soothing kids in the program. The kids are beyond our ability…Other school teachers blame us as to why we spend money for the kids…many of the teachers already gave up on these kids and want to transfer them to other schools…In reality, it is the worst case once their school teachers give up on them. (SS teacher 2)

This quote indicates that the cases of violence exacerbated the relationships among program participants, implementers, and normal teachers. Table 4.12 also shows that, whereas the number of group-related violent behaviors in the SU school seems to be constant, its number in the SS has increased since 2002. However, the trend of the violence in both schools shows that the case of group-related violence is more frequently occurring than that of individual-related violence.

180

Reduction of other antisocial behaviors

Although the cases of antisocial behaviors in the LSP schools might have been reduced during the past four years (See Table 4.13), more qualitative analysis illuminated that both schools gave up controlling some antisocial behaviors (e.g., smoking, late-coming to school) because teachers in the Student Life Guidance had to spend most of their time resolving more serious cases such as at-risk group-related physical fights and extortion. An LSP implementer stated:

> We almost gave up preventing smoking and other mishaps, because we have to deal with a lot of serious cases such as group fighting and racketeering. You know.. once the case happens, we have to report it to the principal and then we convoke an official meeting where other professionals in the community participate in handling the case. Now we have had such cases every month. We don't really have room for catching bad kids. (SS teacher 1)

Student participants in the LSP expressed that they did not feel any changes through the program. Smoking and late-coming to school have been still found. Program participants reported it this way:

> I got caught 3-4 times in senior year and 1-2 times in sophomore year mostly in the bathroom. We can't count how many. We smoked every recess. We smoked 5 cigarettes at school. It is not that many caught if you get caught 5-6 times out of 1000 smoking. (SU student 1)

> It is a habit. I think I can quit smoking, but all the friends are smoking. If none of them are smoking, I can quit, but if one of them is smoking, it makes me want to smoke. (SS student 2)

Enhancement of school adjustment

There is little evidence that both schools enhanced participants' school adjustment. As stated above, most student informants stated that they had not changed at all concerning their school-related work. Exceptionally, a female group which

181

participated in the SU program said that they seemed to better adapt to school. One of them reported:

> I became more active in school life. It is not just I but others have been changed. We become closer to homeroom teacher and we don't have to go to the office anymore. When we were in sophomore, we got caught for one thing, and then it turned out that we had more troubles. After we went to the beach, teachers have become more understanding with us. They made us feel more comfortable. (SU student 10)

Relationships among outcomes

As explained above, the LSP did not much generate its expected outcomes. Rather, the results show that the LSP might have generated negative side-effects such as on-going group violence and antisocial behaviors by in-group members.

CROSS-CASE ANALYSIS OF PROGRAM OUTCOMES OF MSP AND LSP

The program outcomes in the research question were to identify expected outcomes and real outcomes. In addition, once the effects of the TST programs were specified, their relationships were examined. Both the MSP and LSP expected to reduce violent behaviors, decrease antisocial behaviors, and enhance school adaptation. Table 4.14 summarizes the similarities and differences across the programs.

Similarities

As program planning documents and interviews clearly stated, both the MSP and the LSP expected to reduce violence and antisocial behaviors, and enhance school adjustment. Reducing violence means that the program should reduce the members of various types of violence, which include physical fights, extortion by threats, demolition of school facilities, and multiple-violence. Concerning the reduction of antisocial behaviors, both programs aimed to reduce various types of antisocial behaviors in schools, which include stealing, school absence and late-coming, smoking, drinking, and

182

others. Additionally, both programs sought to enhance program participants' school adjustment. Both sets of program planners expected that their participants would show better performance in most school-related work.

Differences

The major differences across the MSP and the LSP are that the MSP planners expected the reduction of group-related violence, which was not considered by the LSP planners. Since the MSP planners regarded group-related violence as the most serious forms of violence, they made special efforts to cure group-related violence.

Both quantitative and qualitative results discovered that the MSP had reduced violence since the implementation of their programs. The results also confirmed that group-related violence decreased. However, the LSP schools have not shown any solid evidence of the reduction of violence.

There were mixed results on the reduction of antisocial behaviors in the MSP. More qualitative results, however, showed that there has been no record of antisocial behaviors among program participants. With regard to smoking habits, program participants reported that they do not smoke in school, but they still do in places outside of the school.

The LSP schools were not able to change the increasing numbers of antisocial behaviors. The qualitative interviews indicated that one LSP school gave up on controlling smoking, because too many students smoked in the school.

Finally, regarding school adjustment as an outcome of the TST programs, the MSP showed that participants developed many assets needed to better adjust in school, which included various types of successful experiences such as the improvement of

Table 4.14

Similarities and Differences between MSP and LSP on Program Outcomes

		MSP (BK & HG)	LSP (SU & SS)
Expected outcomes	Similarities	Reduction of participants' violence	Reduction of participants' violence
		Reduction of participants' antisocial behaviors	Reduction of participants' antisocial behaviors
		Improvement of participants' school adjustment	Improvement of participants' school adjustment
	Differences	Focusing on reduction of group-related violence	-
Real outcomes	Similarities	-	-
	Differences	Reduction of participants' violent behaviors (Decrease of group-related violence in schools)	No change in violence (Increase of group-related violence, program participants' involvement in group fights and extortion)
		Reduction of participants' antisocial behaviors	No change in antisocial behaviors
		Improvement of participants' school adjustment	No change in participants' school adjustment

Note. Dashes indicate no case in the category.

academic performance and feelings of social support from the school. However, the LSP

participants stated that nothing had changed in their school lives.

184

CHAPTER 5

THE TST PROGRAMS THEORY OF CHANGE

This chapter presents the MSP and the LSP theory of change, which integrate the findings of each stage of the TST programs to examine linkages between the assumptions (i.e., conditions), the treatment activity, causal mechanisms, and outcomes. In the research question, the TST program theory of change is to find the sequences of the steps from the initial treatment of the TST programs to the program outcomes that are expected to occur. Figures 5.1 and 5.2 summarize each of the TST programs' theories of change.

MSP THEORY OF CHANGE

The MSP theory of change is explained through seven consecutive causal relationships. Each causal relationship indicates how a condition as a cause of youth violence was treated by program activities, which types of mediating variables were generated by the program activities, and how the mediating variables influenced the outcomes of the MSP. The seven assumptions below explain how the MSP theory of change integrates each stage of the MSP, which was identified from Chapter 4.

Assumption 1: Helplessness

At-risk youths are more likely to be involved in violence because they are under a sense of helplessness in life. And at-risk youths are less likely to participate in the TST programs because they feel a sense of helplessness in their lives.

➢ If helplessness is treated through MSP activities, which reduce negative labeling, make them feel on-going benefits, provide encouragement and positive feedback, and develop positive relationships with school stakeholders, then they will have a positive sense of self-concept and establish positive social relationships between themselves and other school stakeholders.

(If the MSP provides exploration of their future career, then they will have a better positive self-concept with their future plans—HG only.)

➢ If they have a positive self in their lives and relationships with other school stakeholders, then they will have more opportunities to experience achievement (e.g., academic performance) in their school lives. If they become better adjusted in school, then it will positively affect the reduction of violence and antisocial behaviors. If they can build positive relationships with other school stakeholders, then it will affect the reduction of violence and antisocial behaviors.

Assumption 2: Emotional distress

At-risk youths are likely to be involved in violent behaviors because they are pressured by excessive emotional distress.

➢ If emotional distress is treated through MSP activities, which provide the most appealing events, provide intrinsic benefits of activities (e.g., fun), provide encouragement and positive feedback, and develop positive relationships with

other school stakeholders, they will have reduced emotional distress and positive relationships with other school stakeholders.

➤ If they reduce emotional distress and increase positive social relationships with other school stakeholders, then they will be less likely to be involved in violence and antisocial behaviors. If they can reduce violence and antisocial behaviors, it positively affects their school adjustment.

Assumption 3: Attitudes toward school/teachers

At-risk youths are likely to be involved in violent behaviors because they have negative attitudes toward school and teachers.

➤ If negative attitudes toward school/teachers are treated through MSP activities, which provide frequent and regular interaction opportunities with general students, teachers, and members of opposite groups, then they will have positive attitudes toward school/teachers and supportive relationships with other school stakeholders.
(If the MSP provides at-risk youths with opportunities to serve the school and be representatives, then they will have positive attitudes toward school/ teachers.
- BK only)

➤ If they have positive attitudes toward school/teachers, then they will have more opportunities to experience achievement (e.g., academic performance) in their

school lives. If they become better adjusted in school, then it will positively affect the reduction of violence and antisocial behaviors. If they can build positive relationships with other school stakeholders, then it will affect the reduction of violence and antisocial behaviors, and they will be less involved in violent behaviors and other antisocial behaviors.

Assumption 4: Lack of social skills

At-risk youths are likely to be involved in violent behaviors because they lack social skills.

➢ If participants' lack of social skills is treated through MSP activities, which provide natural places where they learn from other school stakeholders and communicate with them and learn to avoid some types of antisocial behaviors, then they will have improved social skills and less reliance on delinquent peer groups.

➢ If they have improved social skills, then they will be less likely to be involved in violence and antisocial behaviors. If they can reduce violence and antisocial behaviors, it positively affects their school adjustment.

Assumption 5: Favorable attitudes toward violence

At-risk youths are likely to be involved in violent behaviors because they have favorable attitudes toward violence.

➢ If their favorable attitudes toward violence are treated through MSP activities, which set positive new group norms and make them involved in/committed to new group activities, then they will show commitment to positive new group norms and identity.

➢ If they show commitment to positive new group norms and identity, then they will be less likely to be involved in violence and antisocial behaviors. If they can reduce violence and antisocial behaviors, it positively affects their school adjustment.

Assumption 6: Delinquent peer group influence

At-risk youths are likely to be involved in violent behaviors because they are influenced by in- and out-delinquent peer groups.

➢ If participants' attachment to delinquent peer groups is treated through MSP activities, which provide more opportunities to interact with other school stakeholders and make them involved in/committed to new group activities, then they will have positive relationships with other school stakeholders and show less reliance on delinquent peer groups.

➢ If they show less reliance on delinquent peer groups and increased positive relationship with school stakeholders, then they will be less likely to be involved

in violence and antisocial behaviors. If they can reduce violence and antisocial behaviors, it positively affects their school adjustment.

Assumption 7: Lowered school social climate

At-risk youths are likely to be involved in violent behaviors because they are influenced by the school social climate.

➢ If participants' perception that their school has less control is treated by MSP activities, which provide activities in an open space and develop positive relationships with other school stakeholders, then they will have an improved school social climate and positive relationships with other school stakeholders.

➢ If they have positive social relationships with other school stakeholders and an improved school social climate, they will be less likely to be involved in violence and other antisocial behaviors. If they can reduce violence and antisocial behaviors, it positively affects their school adjustment.
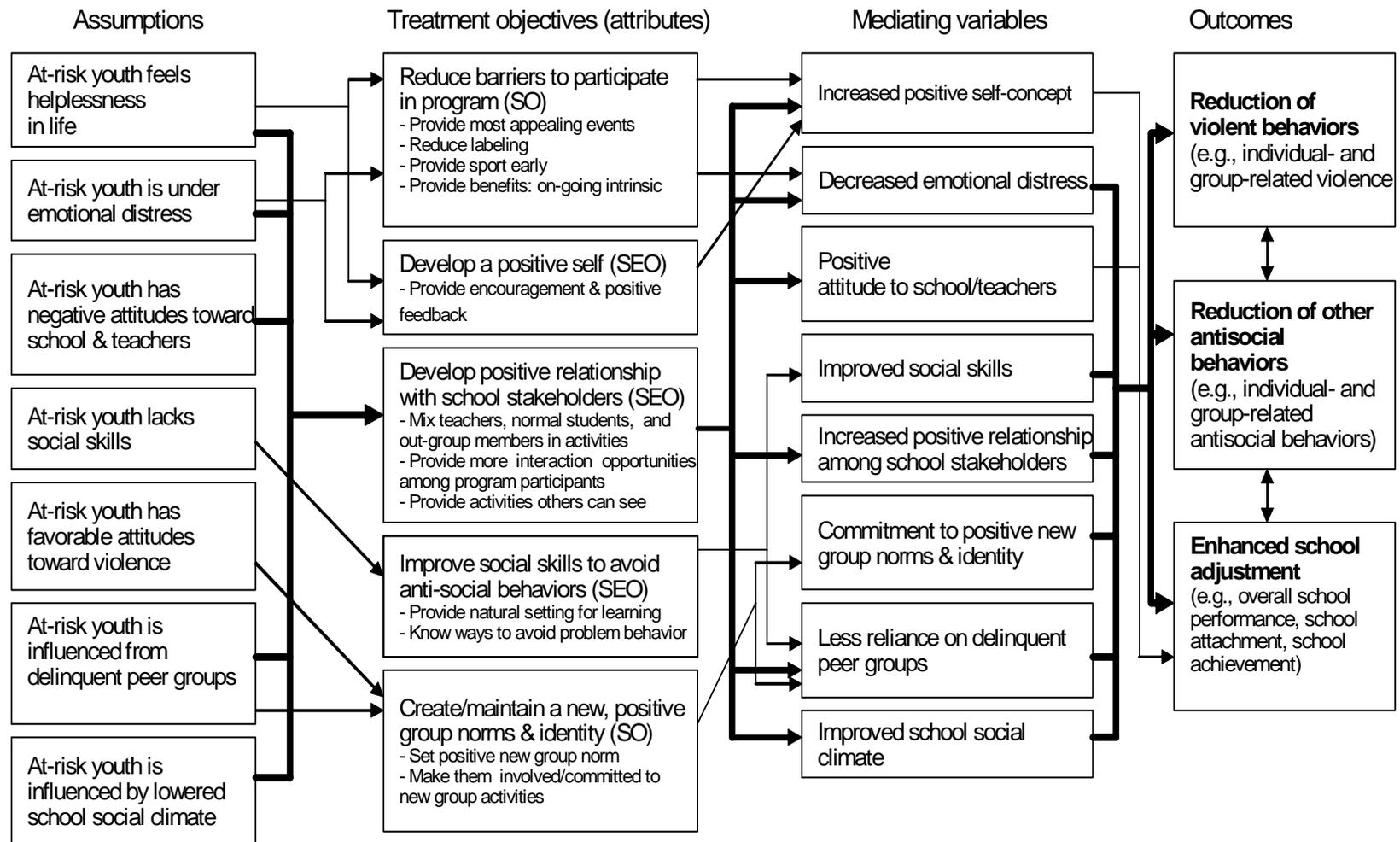
Figure 5.1. *MSP Theory of Change*

Note. S, E, and O mean one type of TST activities. S: Sport-related activities, E: Education-related activities, O: Other experience activities. The thick lines are just drawn to clearly depict the overall figure.

191

LSP Theory of Change

The LSP theory of change is developed by integrating each stage of the LSP identified through the research questions. In the same manner as the MSP theory of change is presented, this study shows how four conditions were treated through the LSP activities, which mediating variables might have been generated, and what outcomes of the LSP might be produced.

Assumption 1: Helplessness

At-risk youths are more likely to be involved in violence because they are under a sense of helplessness in their lives. And at-risk youths are less likely to participate in the TST programs because they feel a sense of helplessness in their lives.

➢ If helplessness is treated through LSP activities, which provide a new, memorable activity, continuous incentives for participation, and provide an opportunity to understand self, then they will have a positive sense of self-concept.

➢ If they have a positive self in their lives, then they will have more opportunities to experience achievement (e.g., academic performance) in their school lives. If they have experienced more achievement in schools, then they will be better adjusted in school. If they become better adjusted in school, it will affect the reduction of violence and antisocial behaviors positively.

Assumption 2:   Emotional distress

At-risk youths are likely to be involved in violent behaviors because they are pressured by excessive emotional distress.

➢ If emotional distress is treated through LSP activities, which provide a new, memorable event, incentives for program participants, and the opportunity to understand themselves, then their emotional distress will be reduced.

➢ If they can reduce emotional distress, then they will have more opportunities to achieve success (e.g., academic performance) in their school lives. If they become better adjusted in school, it will positively affect the reduction of violence and antisocial behaviors.

Assumption 3: Negative attitudes toward school/teachers

At-risk youths are likely to be involved in violent behaviors because they have negative attitudes toward school and teachers.

➢ If negative attitudes toward school/teachers are treated through LSP activities, which provide program participants with some interaction opportunities with general teachers, then they will have positive attitudes toward school/teachers and supportive relationships with school teachers.

➢ If they have positive attitudes toward school/teachers, then they will be better

adjusted in their school lives. If they become better adjusted in school, it will

affect the reduction of violence and antisocial behaviors positively. If they can

build positive relationships with teachers, then it will affect the reduction of

violence and antisocial behaviors, and they will be less involved in violent

behaviors and other antisocial behaviors.

Assumption 4: Lack of social skills

At-risk youths are likely to be involved in violent behaviors because they lack

social skills.

➢ If participants' lack of social skills is treated through LSP activities, which

provide the ways to control anger and to communicate better with others, then

they will have improved social skills.

➢ If they have improved social skills, then they will be less likely to be involved in

violence and antisocial behaviors. If they can reduce violence and antisocial

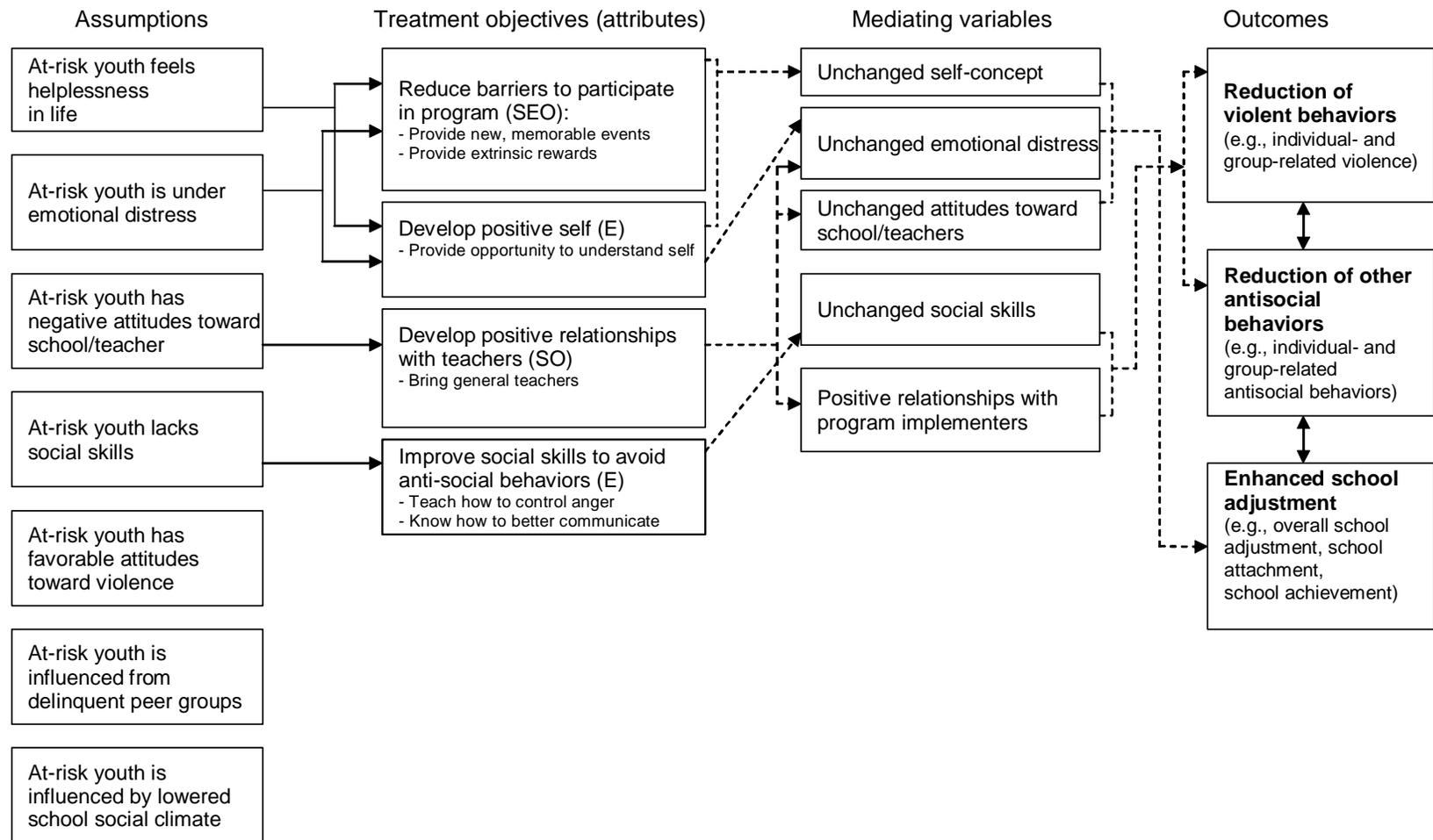behaviors, it positively affects their school adjustment.

194

Figure 5.2. *LSP Theory of Change*

Note. S, E, and O mean one type of TST activities. S: Sport-related activities, E: Education-related activities, O: Other experience activities. The dotted lines indicate weak relationships that have shown little evidence in this study.

195

CROSS-CASE ANALYSIS OF MSP THEORY OF CHANGE AND LSP

This section compares two types of theory of change, the MSP theory of change and the LSP theory of change. Since each stage of both the MSP and the LSP programs has been compared from the research questions 1, 2, 3, and 4, the analysis here focuses on the comparison of the process of each theory from conditions, treatment activities, mediating variables, to outcomes.

Similarities

Both the MSP and the LSP theory of change explain the similar changing mechanisms in terms of four assumptions: helplessness, emotional distress, attitudes toward school/teachers, and lack of social skills. These conditions were treated through the three types of activities in both programs. Both the MSP and the LSP program planners expected to reduce participants' violent and antisocial behaviors, as well as to enhance their school adjustment.

Differences

The results showed substantial differences across the MSP and the LSP with regard to linkages in each theory of change. The analysis of linkage between assumptions and treatment activities shows that, since the MSP treated three more conditions (i.e., attitudes toward violence, peer group influence, and school social climate) than the LSP, the MSP theory of change was explained with three additional assumptions (i.e., assumptions 5, 6, and 7). In addition, the three types of MSP activities were synergistically integrated to produce all five types of attributes. In contrast, the LSP activities aimed to treat one or two conditions and to generate one or two attributes

through treatment activities. For instance, sport activities were utilized to generate all the five types of treatment attributes in the MSP, whereas sport activities in the LSP were used to generate two attributes (i.e., reduce barriers and develop positive relationships with teachers).

The analysis of linkages between treatment activities and mediating variables showed that the MSP and the LSP activities sought to generate four common variables. Although the MSP generated them, the LSP has not shown substantial evidence of this. More importantly, the MSP theory of change focuses on developing positive relationships among school stakeholders. When the MSP activities delivered the attribute (i.e., develop positive relationships among school stakeholders), it affected not only the creation of increased positive relationships, but also the generation of five other mediating variables (i.e., self-concept, emotional distress, attitudes toward school/teachers, reliance on delinquent peers, and school social climate), which, in turn, contributed to generating the three types of MSP outcomes. It was also assumed that the LSP had implementation issues and/or false assumptions to make it impossible to generate mediating variables. The LSP activities were little structured and that resulted in contributing to committing other violence and delinquency by the members of the antisocial group.

Finally, the analysis of linkages between mediating variables and outcomes showed that the MSP mediating variables affected the three types of effects. The outcomes also positively interacted with one another. However, the LSP did not show the generation of the expected outcomes that program planners actually aimed at. In sum, the entire process of the MSP showed that the three types of activities were combined

197

synergistically in order to generate the salient attributes that are necessary to change at-risk youth violence in school contexts.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION, LIMITATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Although the rates of youth violence in the United States have decreased since 1993, the rate of serious violent crimes against students at school stayed consistent from 1992 to 1998 (Small & Tetrick, 2001), and there have been no significant changes in injuries in a physical fight overall or by subgroups since 1992 (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2005). Similarly, in Korea, while the peak of interpersonal violent acts among adolescents has decreased since 1998, violent and antisocial behaviors have changed, to crueler, younger, female student-involved, and organized forms (Kim & Kim, 2003). Meanwhile, sport-related intervention programs have expanded in many countries with the long-standing belief that sport can decrease youth criminal and antisocial behaviors (Collins, 2003; Hellison & Walsh, 2002; Pitter & Andrews, 1997). Intervention researchers, however, have questioned school-based recreational intervention programs because little study has provided the theoretical and empirical rationale for these types of programs (Farringthon, 1998; Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 2001). Moreover, some studies have warned that sport programs could exacerbate the social problems that are expected to be treated by the use of sport (Garry & Morrissey, 2000; Hartmann, 2003).

In this regard, the central purpose of the present study was to identify the ways to improve prevailing sport-related intervention programs. This study began by evaluating current sport-related youth violence intervention programs. Through the evaluation of the 4 cases of sport-related intervention programs, this study sought to identify how and why some types of sport-related intervention programs were successful in reducing target students' violent behaviors.

In this chapter, the study's findings are reexamined on the basis of relevant theories and empirical evidence. The limitations and implications of this study are also presented, which shed light on both future research directions and practical applications of sport-related intervention programs in social settings.

Discussion

The research questions posed in the present study focused on identifying each stage of the TST program theory of change, as well as the whole process. To begin with, the discussion section summarizes the key findings of the TST program theory of change. Then the findings of this study are reexamined in terms of whether or not they are consistent with previous empirical findings and/or theories. In particular, the major differences between the MSP and the LSP are discussed to explain why the former outperformed the latter. Another thing to be discussed in the section is to bring a cultural perspective surrounding the TST programs. As this study has been conducted in one country, Korea, in order to apply the findings to other cultures, there should be special attention to identifying possible cultural influences embedded in Korea. This notifies whether any of the findings are particularly related to some unique culture in Korea.

Discussion of Problem Definition

In the first research question, the central findings of this study are summed up: (a) At-risk youths have unique behavioral (i.e., individual-related problem behaviors and group-related problem behaviors) and psychosocial characteristics; (b) their psychosocial characteristics were categorized as *a sense of helplessness, emotional distress, negative attitudes toward school/teachers, the lack of social skills,* and *favorable attitudes toward violence.* At-risk youth violence originated in *delinquent peer groups, lowered school social climates,* and *family problems*; (c) most of the violent and antisocial behaviors have been perpetrated by members of delinquent groups; (d) once serious violent acts occur in schools, student offenders have exacerbated their relationships with their families and other school stakeholders; and (e) while the conditions of youth violence were similarly identified across both the MSP and the LSP, the MSP planners had more in-depth knowledge of the group-related behaviors of the target students and treated more conditions (i.e., attitudes toward violence, the influence of delinquent peer groups, and lowered school social climates) than did the LSP planners.

The findings of this study revealed that at-risk youth characteristics were classified into behavioral and psychosocial characteristics. Behavioral characteristics were identified in at-risk youth's overt problematic behavioral actions, whereas psychosocial characteristics were represented by at-risk youth's distinct affective and cognitive status. Such classification (i.e., overt behaviors and psychosocial constructs) could be supported by social cognition theories (e.g., social cognitive theory, theory of reasoned action) and stage models (e.g., transtheoretical model). Similarly, health and social marketing studies divide a target population's characteristics into their overt

behavior, personal attributes and personality traits (e.g., Andreasen, 1995; Gochman, 1997), so that researchers are able to explain the determinants of the behaviors and the behaviors themselves as outcomes (Green & Kreuter, 1991; Prochaska & DiClemente, 1983).

This study drew attention to at-risk youth behaviors in terms of *individual-related* problem behaviors and *group-related* problem behaviors. Individual-related problem behaviors were general delinquent behaviors carried out by an individual at-risk youth. On the other hand, group-related problem behaviors were special delinquent acts committed by co-offenders in delinquent groups, which might be related to forming and maintaining their delinquent group subculture. The identified group-related problem behaviors are similarly acknowledged in Warr's (2002) research. He addressed that the concept of group delinquency has been defined as "any delinquent event that involves two or more offenders" (Reiss, 1986), broadly stated, or "an established role structure, shared norms, a shared identity, and common goals" (Theodorson & Theodorson, 1979) in a more narrow definition. Examining the patterns of youth criminal behaviors in the United States, Warr (2002) argued that youth crime and delinquency should be understood, not only as individual-related problem behaviors, but also as group-related problem behaviors such as antisocial groups' subculture and decision-making processes.

Green and Kreuter (1991) proposed that the psychosocial characteristics of a target population may include a person or population's knowledge, attitudes, beliefs, values, perceptions, social skills, and so forth. Similarly, the present study identified five distinct psychosocial characteristics of the target population which might be related to their violent and antisocial behaviors. Such findings accord with theories and empirical

studies showing that violent behaviors are more likely to be led by at-risk youth's feelings of helplessness (e.g., The General Strain Theory; Pedersen, 2004; Sklarew, Krupnick, Ward-Wimmer, & Napoli, 2002; Snyder & Rogers, 2002), emotional or psychological distress (e.g., The General Strain Theory; Tschann, Flores, Pasch, & Marin, 2005; Umberson, Williams, & Anderson, 2002; Valois et al., 2001), negative attitudes toward school/teachers (e.g., Theory of Reasoned Action; Ando, Asajura, Simons-Morton, 2005; Cava, Musitu, Murgui, 2006), lack of social skills (e.g., Social Cognitive Theory; Aber, Brown, Chaudry, Jones, & Samples, 1996; Hammond & Yung, 1991), and attitudes toward violent behaviors (Theory of Reasoned Action; Kalogerakis, 1998; Ngwe et al., 2004).

With regard to the contextual variables of youth violence, this study recognized delinquent peer groups, family problems, and lowered school social climates. The findings were similarly addressed in previous studies indicating that there are causal relationships between peer group influence and at-risk youth violence (e.g., Kiesler & Kiesler, 1970; Sutherland, 1937; Warr, 2002), between family problems and at-risk youth violence (e.g., Farrington, 1989; Olweus, 1980; Smith & Thornberry, 1995), and between lower school social climates and at-risk youth violence (e.g., Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1985; Simons-Morton., 1999).

Consistent with previous research (Elliott et al., 1989), this study showed that at-risk youth's violent and delinquent behaviors are correlated with deviant friends. Warr (2002) found the peer influence factor to be a dominant factor for many teenagers' criminal involvement in recent periods. More importantly, the present study further

identified the influence of delinquent peer groups into two distinctive constructs: (a) within-influence and (b) between-influence.

The within-influence of the peer group (i.e., in-group) was related to how an at-risk youth is affected by other members in his or her delinquent group. At-risk youths sought to acquire and maintain their power over general students by showing higher consensus for their in-group. The reason why at-risk youths sought to achieve power and superiority could be related to their lower self-esteem. Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) supports this finding, stating that individuals intended to maintain or enhance their self-esteem, as well as positive social identity, which pressures the positive evaluation of one's own group members over out-group members.

Another group influence, between-group influence (i.e., in-group and out-group), showed how an antisocial group interacts with other antisocial groups. In particular, most interactions between in-groups and out-groups generated negative relationships, and accumulated negative relationships were directly related to group fights. Such negative interactions, in part, have been derived from *prejudice* among out-groups. Such findings are addressed in recent school-based violence intervention research, arguing that the concept of peer influence needs to apply to not only how peer groups affect an at-risk youth, but also how a peer group itself affects other delinquent groups (Gini, 2006; Hamburg, 1998). Gini explained the inter-group aggression with Tajfel and Turner's (1979) social identity theory and Nesdale's (1999) developmental social identity theory, proposing that social power and group status can been seen as two of the primary factors in bullying behaviors, and inter-group dynamics are crucial factors to yield aggressive behaviors. In addition to social identity theory, research on the violence subculture has

explained that delinquent group members are more likely to internalize the values and norms encouraging violence and act accordingly (internalization), and the widespread commitment of group members to antisocial values strongly influences all group members to commit violence (Bernburg & Thorlindsson, 2005). Both social identity theory and subcultural theory could agree that preventing youth violence requires changes in a delinquent group's negative values and norms, beyond individual at-risk youth's own personal characteristics. When considering that there has been little research on at-risk groups' subcultural values, beliefs, and norms (Bernburg & Thorlindsson, 2005), and most violence has been carried out by at least two students as group members (Gini, 2006; Warr, 2002), the present study suggests that current violence research needs to better understand complicated delinquent group dynamics.

A lowered school social climate is one of the critical contextual factors affecting youth violence. The present study found that, when at-risk youths perceived that their school was less controlled by the school teachers, their violent and antisocial acts were more likely to occur. School teachers in this disadvantaged district (i.e., SeongBuk district) also showed low morale and expressed negative attitudes toward at-risk youths. The findings are also consistent with a national study of school-based delinquency prevention programs in the United States, showing that the types of effective school-based delinquency intervention programs have effectively intervened in a negative school social climate (Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 2002). Stephens (1998) argued that violent and antisocial behaviors could be reduced in a "safe school," where there is a warm and welcoming environment, free of intimidation and fear of violence. Felson et al. (1994) also showed that the *school subculture* of violence (e.g., some schools' zero tolerance

policies of violent and antisocial behaviors) as a social control process affects interpersonal violence and other delinquencies of young males, controlling for their personal values on violence. That indicates that the school climate could independently affect individual students' violent behaviors, irrespective of individual students' characteristics such as hyperactivity and favorable attitudes toward violence.

The consequences of school violence in this study showed that, once violence occurs in a school, the relationships between the perpetrators, other school stakeholders, and their families become exacerbated. Such negative relationships were explained as the *circle of negative relationships* -- that a serious violent case worsens relationships between at-risk youths, their families, and other school stakeholders. For instance, first, once violence took place, the victims of violence suffered from physical and mental harm, and offenders became sanctioned and isolated from school. Second, their parents punished their children severely, because they could not avoid the monetary loss for the victims. This worsened their family relationships. Third, the violence made non-at-risk students avoid offenders. Finally, teachers were reluctant to help the offenders and finally gave up on such students. The consequences of violence, therefore, affect all school stakeholders including victims, offenders, offenders' families, non-at-risk students, and teachers. As a result of violence, offenders are more likely to be removed by the school and the school stakeholders, and even shunned by their families. The removal from school makes at-risk youths more attached to their delinquent groups (Operario, Tschann, Flores, & Bridges, 2006). Our results support Agnew's (1985) belief that delinquency causes the weakening of social bonds among school stakeholders (Agnew, 1985).

Finally, the findings revealed that the MSP were developed to treat seven

conditions, but the LSP, only four conditions. It should be noted that the MSP were

designed to change the targets' behavior (i.e., group behaviors), five individual factors

(e.g., helplessness), and two environmental factors (e.g., school social climate), whereas

the LSP directors focused only on four individual factors. The reason why some of the

conditions (e.g., family problems in both the MSP and the LSP, delinquent peer influence

in the LSP) were not treated by all the four TST programs was related to the TST

program planners' perception and beliefs as to the feasibility of controlling such

conditions, as well as their poor knowledge about at-risk youths and intervention

programs. That raises the issue of the quality of intervention implementers (Gottfredson

& Gottfredson, 2002). As some intervention research (e.g., Gottfredson & Gottfredson,

2002; Wilson et al., 2003) has shown, the success of the intervention programs is, in part,

dependent on program planners' right perceptions and knowledge of the target population

and environmental contexts.

Overall, the present study suggests that the nature of youth violence could be

better explained when we specify the interacting relationships among at-risk youth's

behaviors, psychosocial characteristics, and origins (i.e., environmental contexts). As

mentioned previously, this perspective is consistent with Bandura's (1986) social

cognitive theory, in which he proposes that human behavior is "a model of reciprocal

determinism in which behavior, cognitive and other personal factors, and environmental

events all operate as interacting determinants of each other" (p. 18). As social learning

theories posit, a person's behavior is different from his or her psychological status. Both a

social ecological perspective (Stokols, 1996) and the social development model (Hawkins

& Weis, 1985) also support that problem behaviors could be better examined as the interactions between individual's psychosocial characteristics and environmental contexts.

Discussion of Program Treatment

In analyzing the second stage of the TST program theory of change, the major findings of the present study include: (a) Although both the MSP and the LSP implemented three types of activities (i.e., sport-related activities, education-related activities, and other experience activities), the attributes between the MSP and the LSP were substantially different, and (b) the MSP activities were more intensive and structured than those of the LSP.

This study revealed that, in order to change the identified conditions, both the MSP and the LSP used three different types of activities. The three groups of the MSP (LSP) activities were presumed to achieve five (four) principal objectives through the TST programs. First of all, this study found that the different types of program activities could be synergistically combined to achieve various treatment objectives. For example, both sport-related activities and summer camps were implemented to bring the target students into the TST. Through sport-related activities and education activities, participants were expected to gain a positive sense of self. Through sport team activities and outside experiences, participants were expected to internalize the new group norms/identity of the sport team. Such a finding--that the distinct types of activities can generate similar objectives or attributions--was similarly notified by Mercier and colleagues' (2000) research on the YMCA Youth Center. Analyzing the types of activities of the YMCA Youth Center, they identified three different types of activities:

(a) sports and recreational programs, (b) educational and sensitization programs, and (c) informal counseling and referral services. Guided by theory-based evaluation, they found that the three distinct types of activities generate the eight types of program attributes: (a) flexibility; (b) special events; (c) freedom to experiment under supervision; (d) an accessible and welcoming setting; (e) self-worth and recognition without judgment; (f) free-style and mixed sports, games and activities; (g) participation in the learning process; and (h) support and flexible follow-up. Among them, two attributes (i.e., flexibility and free-style and mixed sports, games and activities) were commonly associated with a positive outcome--an alternative to the street, school, and family. That implies that distinct attributes produced by different activities could generate the same type of social outcomes. The findings of this study, therefore, suggest that designing and evaluating multiple-services programs should be concerned with identifying salient attributes that should be generated by the synergistic mixture of distinct types of activities.

It should be noted that there were different attributes between the MSP and the LSP, even if both the MSP and the LSP referred to similar treatment objectives. First, to reduce barriers preventing the target students from participating in the programs, the MSP were designed to: (a) provide the target students with the most appealing sport activities, (b) focus on the on-going intrinsic benefits of sport, (c) reduce labeling, and (d) provide sport activities early. In Korea, soccer is generally regarded as one of the most popular sport activities for the youth. The fact that the MSP brought soccer into the program is explained in terms of a customer-centered perspective. Andreasen (1995) referred to a customer-centered, target-centered, or learner-centered approach which

focuses on designing intervention programs from the target's interests. That means that intervention programs should start from understanding the needs and wants of the target population, because they rarely show interest in participating in intervention programs. Similarly, intervention researchers have consistently argued that treatment should consider some of the population's characteristics because they may resist treatment (Snowden, 1984), and the failure to account for treatment resistance plays a role in ambiguous research results, irrespective of outcomes (Lipsey, 1993).

This study showed that the MSP sport activities played a role in promoting sport-related benefits for at-risk participants. The MSP participants expressed the improvement of their soccer skills, fun, and social intimacy through their participation in sport activities. That indicates that the MSP could keep three important motives to initiate and maintain sport participation: (a) the improvement of skills, (b) having fun, and (c) being with friends (Hodge & Danish, 1999).

It is important to note why the LSP participants' initial interest in sport activities had diminished after their initial participation. The LSP planners offered free dinners as a reward when participants showed up for sport activities. They, however, did not have any plans for program participants to get involved in sport activities by internalizing specific sport benefits. Studies on leisure motivation understand the concept of motivation as the forces that initiate, direct, and maintain an individual behavior (Iso-Ahola, 1999), and motivation might have three different constructs: intrinsic, extrinsic, and amotivation (Deci & Ryan , 1985). Deci and Ryan explained the relationship between sport participation and motivation with "self-determination theory," that posits that an individual can move from amotivation, to external motivation, to internal motivation in a

210

self-determination continuum. Sport psychologists (Cox, 2002; Deci & Ryan, 1985; Taylor & Wilson, 2005) have argued that intrinsic motivation (i.e., sport participants may be interested in the sport itself, in having a chance to increase knowledge toward an accomplishment, and in experiencing stimulation) is the most important attribute for producing enduring effort and the resilience to participate in sport activities. However, the finding of this study showed that the LSP activities were not able to move participants from extrinsic motives (e.g., free lunch or dinner) to intrinsic motives, and, consequently, the LSP participants decreased their initial interest in engagement in sport activities.

Second, the MSP planners aimed to resolve two identified conditions of youth violence (i.e., helplessness and emotional distress) by providing *continuous encouragement* and *positive feedback* for program participants. Such a provision was presupposed to contribute to developing participants' positive sense of self. It has been found in intervention research that, because most at-risk youths have been labeled failing and deviant students in school, they were more likely to evaluate themselves negatively, which, in turn, influences lower performance in school work (Arbona, 2000; Kliewer & Sandler, 1992). McWhirter et al. (2004) explained such negative perceptions of at-risk youth as "attributional biases," which are beliefs that they cannot learn, that they are not acceptable (p. 85). Because at-risk youths interpret the meaning of an event with their biased beliefs rather than based on the event itself, their distorted perceptions are more likely to lead to risky behaviors (Coie, Dodge, Terry, & Wright, 1991). Labeling theorists (e.g., Becker, 1963) could also argue that, if students continually receive negative feedback from teachers and non-at-risk students, they eventually internalize such negative perceptions (Cooley, 1902) and self-rejecting attitudes (Kaplan, & Fukurai,

211

1992). In this regard, the MSP planners could successfully make program participants reevaluate their self-image positively, not only by decreasing the effects of labeling through positive interactions between program participants, school teachers, and non-at-risk students, but also by overcoming their lower self-image by direct positive stimulus. Their efforts could be supported by Ferguson and Snipes's (1996) suggestion that a youth program needs not only to resolve any tension between old and new beliefs about one's self, but also to foster a healthy lifestyle, satisfaction with one's self and a sense of positive anticipation about one's future.

Third, the MSP implementers aimed to treat the identified five conditions (i.e., helplessness, emotional distress, attitudes toward school and teachers, peer group influence, and school social climate), generating three key attributes, which were to: (a) bring various school stakeholders into the program, (b) provide more opportunities for participants to interact with school stakeholders, and (c) operate program activities in an open and visible area. The three attributes were presupposed to enhance *positive social relationship*s between target students and other school stakeholders. The objective of generating the key attributes could be supported by the General Theory of Crime (Hirschi, 1969), in which the stronger the social bonding for at-risk youths, the fewer violent and antisocial behaviors. Additionally, according to social control theorists (e.g., Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990; Polakowski, 1994), a person's criminal behaviors are explained in a causal chain from impulsive personality, low self-control, the weakening of social bonds, criminal opportunity, to crime and deviance. These identified five conditions might be regarded as the antecedents of youth violent behaviors. For instance, because at-risk youths show low self-control due to their emotional problems and feelings

212

of helplessness, have weakened social bonds with other school stakeholders, and have increased criminal opportunity due to a lower school climate, they might be involved in violent and other delinquent behaviors. The fact that the MSP could create stronger social relationships through more opportunities to bond together and with various types of school stakeholders, than the social relationships of the LSP, therefore, explains why the MSP were more successful programs than the LSP.

Fourth, the MSP planners aimed to treat at-risk youth's lack of social skills, such as the lack of cooperating with others, communicating, and self-controlling. The MSP implemented soccer activities, a smoking prevention class (social skills training classes-HG only), and other experience activities. A number of violence intervention studies have consistently provided evidence that social skills training interventions are effective to change at-risk youth violent behaviors (Prothrow-Stith, 1987; Shure & Spivack, 1982; Wilson et al., 2003). Such studies contend that it is important to teach such skills directly in schools (Grossman et al., 1997). It is noteworthy that the BK program activities did not provide direct education opportunities for participants to learn various social skills. As social skills research argues, however, it provided important conditions - a natural, real life situation - where participants could obtain various social skills through learning from role models (e.g., program implementers, teachers) and testing their learned skills with other participants. Such findings accord with the National Association of School Psychologists' (2002) suggestion that effective social skills programs facilitate learning through normal activities and Sugden's (1991) argument that sport-related intervention programs need to facilitate face-to-face interaction both within and outside of the sport activities.

Fifth, the MSP aimed to *create/maintain new group norms and identity*, which was not found in the LSP. This objective was to treat two identified conditions (i.e., favorable attitudes toward violence and delinquent peer group influence). Two attributes were identified as developing new group norms and identity, and maintaining program participants to follow the new group norms and identity. The attributes were expected to provide program participants with new experiences and social bonding with other non-at-risk students, sharing positive group norms and identity. The objective of the MSP was similar to Hawkins and colleagues' (1998, pp. 193-194) idea that "schools that fail to generate strong bonds to school in their students will be unable to counteract the competing influence of gangs and other social groups that reinforce violent group behavior, often in schools serving disorganized neighborhoods in poverty." This is also consistent with Gini's (2006) findings that school-based interventions need to focus on group identification processes, group norms, cooperative activities, and mediation skills, because of strong group membership in school-aged youths. The process of changing group identities in the findings was similarly reported by Rupert Brown (2000), who suggests three strategies to change the salience of group identities: "decategorization, recategorization, and categorization" (p.359). In a similar vein, the present study contends that, although delinquent peers are one of the most salient factors to explain youth violent and criminal behaviors, once at-risk youths are involved in and committed to an alternative group and its norms/identity, they could also learn how to decrease their violent and antisocial behaviors by relying on new non-at-risk peers in the group.

Finally, the intensity of the MSP activities was stronger than that of the LSP. The MSP activities showed more structure than the LSP activities. It has been found in recent

214

intervention literatures that the quality of intervention programs is dependent on the intensity and fidelity of the programs (Brewer et al., 1995; Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 2002). Gottfredson et al. (2002) identified good school-based intervention activities by measuring the intensity and fidelity of previous school-based intervention programs. For instance, they used measures such as the level of use by school personnel, the use of a research-based approach to content and method, the frequency of operation, and so forth. When being compared to the average points on the measures of the good school-based intervention programs in Gottfredson and Gottfredson's (2002) study, the intensity of the MSP activities was stronger than that on those measures of the good practices of school-based prevention activities. However, the intensity of the LSP was under the average points of the good school-based intervention programs, which implies that the LSP activities had been implemented with lower intensity and fidelity. In a similar vein, Mahoney and Stattin (2000) contend that highly structured leisure activities (i.e., occurring together with others in participants' age-group, having an adult leader, and meeting at least once a week at a regular time) reduce the antisocial behaviors of target students more than do unstructured leisure activities. In the LSP sport activities, a group of the participants felt bored because of many games per day, and another group of floorball participants felt lower intensity of participation in the floorball games. This means that sport itself needs to be managed to provide a properly structured level of intensity that might keep up participation despite some variability of sport provision.

Discussion of Program Mechanism

In analyzing the third stage of the TST program theory of change, the present study revealed that the MSP generated eight types of mediating variables and nine

mechanisms. The identified mediating variables are: (a) increased positive self-concept, (b) decreased emotional distress, (c) positive attitudes toward school/teachers, (d) improved social skills, (e) increased positive relationships among school stakeholders, (f) commitment to positive new group norms/identity, (g) less reliance on delinquent peer groups, and (h) improved school social climates. This study also found that the nine identified mechanisms consist of *one mechanism underlying the eight mediating variables* and *eight causal mechanisms of the identified mediating variables*. The LSP, however, showed little evidence of generating any of the types of mediating variables or the mechanisms to generate mediating variables. Rather, the LSP brought negative side-effects as a result of the LSP implementation.

As mentioned above, the present study identified eight types of mediating variables, which were presupposed to mediate between the MSP activities and the outcomes of the MSP. Recent intervention research has examined the effects of violence prevention programs by identifying mediating variables. For instance, Ngwe and colleagues (2004) examined five psychosocial mediators (i.e., behavioral intentions, attitudes toward violent behaviors, estimates of their peers' behaviors, estimates of best friends' behaviors, and desire to comply with friends' wishes) to see if the variables tended to mediate between the AAYP program (i.e., a type of violence prevention program) and the reduction of violence. They found that all the mediators were statistically significant between program activities and the decrease in participants' violence.

Additionally, this study specified the mechanisms of the TST programs which might explain how the identified eight mediating variables could be generated through

216

the implementation of the programs. Program evaluation researchers (Chen, 1990;

Lipsey, 1993; Weiss, 2001) have consistently argued that evaluating a type of

intervention program needs to clarify underlying assumptions, which were tracked

through the collection and analysis of data from initial conditions to final outcomes, and

which could be derived from well-known theories and/or beliefs supported by experience.

Examining mechanisms, therefore, enables us to cross-check whether the elements and

the whole of the underlying assumptions of this study could be further supported by

theories and empirical evidence in intervention research.

Among the nine mechanisms, two types of mechanisms (i.e., the mechanism

underlying other mediating variables and the mechanism to develop positive

relationships) were specially important because these mechanisms are expected to

generate the other eight mediating variables.

First, the *mechanism underlying other variables* functioned to create and maintain

the TST programs. The mechanism consisted of: (a) Participants feel and learn how the

MSP provides personal or group benefits, (b) participants overcome barriers preventing

participating in MSP activities, and (c) participants keep up personally meaningful

benefits. This mechanism could be explained from motivation theories, as mentioned

earlier. Although sport activities across the MSP and the LSP enabled the target students

to be involved in program activities, sport activities in the LSP did not keep up

participation around program activities. That means that the LSP sport activities could

not motivate the participants to remain in the program. In the sport activities, the LSP

participants expressed no fun, difficulty of access, and no achievement to develop their

skills, because the LSP planners failed to generate benefits from sport itself. This

indicates that, even if sport could be a hook for intervention programs (Hartmann, 2003), not all the types of sport activities can automatically make it possible to keep participants in the program, suggesting that sport activities need to be developed more properly to keep participants in the program. In contrast, this study found that the MSP sport activities enabled participants to internalize benefits from sport participation such as soccer skill enhancement, fun and excitement from soccer games, health and fitness, and socialization with other school stakeholders. Studies have consistently shown that it is important to enhance such intrinsic motives to make sport participants remain in sport activities (e.g., Cox, 2002; Deci & Ryan, 1985; Taylor & Wilson, 2005).

In addition to motivation theories, Jackson et al.'s (1993) negotiation proposition might better explain the process, in that the proposition incorporates a person's motivation and constraints to explain his or her decision-making on participating in leisure activities. It contends that leisure participation "is dependent not on the absence of constraints but on negotiation through them. Such negotiations may modify rather than foreclose participation" (p. 4). The fact that motivation as a key factor in the negotiation process could interact with constraints suggests that, in order to keep participants in intervention programs, program activities need to increase participants' motivation toward activities and decrease any constraints that they might perceive.

Second, the *mechanism to build social relationships* was presupposed to create five other types of mediating variables (i.e., positive self-concept, reduced emotional distress, attitudes toward school/teachers, less reliance on delinquent peer groups, and improved school social climate). The process was explained as the following: (a) Participants meet and bond with new peers and school teachers, (b) participants feel what

218

other school stakeholders expect, (c) participants support other school stakeholders, and (e) participants experience how other school stakeholders positively evaluate them. It is reasonable to assume that, the more frequent the interactions between at-risk youths and other school stakeholders, the more various the school stakeholders' participation, the better the extended relationships between the participants and other school stakeholders. Social support theory (Hupcey, 1998) could be applied to support the process. As an initial bonding between program participants and other school stakeholders has successfully progressed, they could have positive reciprocity that appears to create mutual support during program activities, as well as ordinary school lives. That means that, when participants get positive evaluations from teachers and other school stakeholders, they feel a kind of social support and can reevaluate their negative perceptions of school stakeholders. According to Bandura (1986), feedback and goal-setting are important factors to activate a person's self-evaluation. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that, when such extended relationships transferred to positive new relationships, the participants might evaluate themselves positively (e.g., reducing self-rejection), decrease emotional distress (e.g., reducing negative perceptions of other school stakeholders), increase positive attitudes toward school/teachers (e.g., social bonding with other school stakeholders), lower their reliance on delinquent peer groups (e.g., knowing other types of reliable school stakeholders), and improve the school social climate (e.g., following other school stakeholders' expectations).

Field research supports that adult-organized games on the playground prior to the start of the school day decreased the frequency of aggression, property abuse, and rule violations among the participants (Murphy, Hutchinson, & Bailey, 1983). More

219

importantly, the social bonding process could explain why sport activities played major roles in developing positive relationships in the TST programs. In reviewing previous school-based intervention research, Hawkins and colleagues (1998) explain how social bonding is developed and how it contributes to reducing violent behaviors in schools. They identified three conditions to developing social bonding in schools: (a) "There should be opportunities for active participation developmentally appropriate to the child's current level of skill, in order to motivate the child to engage in the learning process (Csikszentmihalyi & Larson, 1980); (b) it is important to develop individual skills or competencies; and (c) the reinforcement for skillful participation by which bonding develops any social group" (Hawkins et al., 1998, p.193). This might explain that sport could easily build social relationships between at-risk youths and other school stakeholders according to these three steps, because sport activities can preliminarily satisfy the first two conditions. For instance, all the participants in sport activities (i.e., at-risk youths, teachers, and non-at-risk students) had strong interest in soccer and in the possession of higher soccer skills; they were given a lot of opportunities to play with other school stakeholders; they could develop their skills and feel competencies in the sport team, and the soccer team as a social group was built among participants.

Third, the *mechanism to increase a positive sense of self* was presupposed to reduce participants' helplessness and emotional distress. The mechanism was identified as: (a) Participants experience their self-competence in school, (b) participants feel more confident and responsible for their behaviors, and (c) participants feel they are important in society. The MSP implementers' encouragement affected participants' low hopes and depression positively. In studies on children's learned helplessness, Dweck et al. (1978)

reported a similar result: that teachers' optimistic styles make children internalize successes. Similarly, Seligman (1990) stated that bearing optimism is a "tool to help the individual achieve the goals he has set for himself and may end the epidemic of depression and meaninglessness" (p. 291). Bry (1982) also contended that positive reinforcement can reduce children's school and community delinquency. In two-year experiments, Bry and George (1980) showed that students who were given positive reinforcement for class attendance, preparedness, performance, and pro-social behaviors were less likely to be involved in delinquency and illegal drug use than students in a control group. Such social learning theory-based research suggests that encouragement and positive reinforcement could generate and enhance participants' positive sense of self, which, in turn, could not only enhance participants' school competence and responsibility, but also reduce the likelihood of their getting involved in violent and antisocial behaviors.

It should be noted that, in the present study, the relationship between increased positive self-concept (i.e., mediating variable) and enhanced school adjustment (i.e., a type of outcome) was indicated, whereas a relationship between positive self-concept and the reduction of violent and antisocial behaviors was not discovered. Future study is suggested to examine whether a positive self-concept directly affects the reduction of violent and antisocial behaviors. On the other hand, although the LSP could have treated participants' helplessness and emotional distress, it did not achieve its objective. The LSP had implementation issues which were related to less intensity of implementing program activities. It is unreasonable to expect that a one-time education activity in the LSP could

221

change at-risk youths' chronic psychological sufferings such as helplessness and emotional distress.

Fourth, the *mechanism to decrease emotional distress* was expected to treat the target students' emotional distress. The mechanism was identified as: (a) Participants experience positive emotions in activities, and (b) participants feel they can control negative emotions. The mechanism could be explained in terms of the General Strain Theory, that violence could be reduced when the target students are less exposed to strain (e.g., labeling, rejection from other school stakeholders), and, thereby, the likelihood that individuals will cope with strain through crime (e.g., by the provision of the constructive use of time) is reduced (Agnew, 2001). As mentioned earlier, the MSP activities provided on-going intrinsic benefits from sport activities and other experience activities, reduced the effects of labeling, and improved relationships between target students and other school stakeholders. These attributes were effectively delivered by the TST activities, and contributed to enhancing program participants' positive emotions. Particularly, research has shown that physical activities can improve emotional well-being among adolescents of low socio-economic status (Bonhauser et al., 2005), according to the type and extent of the participation in sport (Stepote & Butler, 1996). These studies provided empirical evidence that some types of physical activities reduce anxiety and increase self-esteem for sport participants. As Bonhauser et al. (2005) argued, there is likelihood that anger or negative emotions could be reduced when participants selected and participated in activities in which they had higher interest. In this regard, the soccer activities of the MSP could have been an effective way to reduce participants' negative emotions because participating in soccer is one of the most preferred types of activities for youth. Given

that the MSP treatment activities decreased participants' negative emotions, the present study argues that the target students could enhance their school adjustment (e.g., Hamre & Pianta, 2001; Reddy, Rhodes, & Mulhall, 2003) and decrease their violent and antisocial behaviors (e.g., Agnew, 2001).

Fifth, the *mechanism to increase positive attitudes toward school and teachers* was expected to treat the target students' negative attitudes toward school and teachers. As explained in the mechanism to build social relationships on page 145, at-risk youths' negative attitudes toward school/teachers might be changed into positive ones because they could have positive relationships with school teachers by participating in the same activities and obtaining social support from the teachers. In addition, the BK school program showed a clear process of change in participants' attitudes toward school/teachers as follows: (a) Participants experience being school representatives (BK program only), and (b) participants become volunteers for the school (BK program only). This mechanism could be explained in terms of empowerment theory, in which program participants can change their antisocial behaviors when they have opportunities to take part in school activities as members of the school community (Zimmerman & Rappaport, 1988). As target students become representatives of their school athletes to participate in local sport competitions and get positive feedback from other school stakeholders, they are more likely to reevaluate their attitudes toward the school and other school stakeholders. Thus, this mechanism to change attitudes could be supported by intervention methods such as self-reevaluation (Bartholomew et al., 2001). This is also coherent with Brewer et al.'s (1995) finding that aggressive behaviors and crime can be reduced outside of the classroom if the opportunity and reward structures of the school

223

are changed. The fact that the MSP provided opportunities for participants to be representatives of their schools and to get rewards by participating in sport competition might have positively affected the reduction in violent and antisocial behaviors.

Sixth, the *mechanism to improve social skills* was presupposed to treat participants' lack of social skills. The mechanism was identified as: (a) Participants learn various social skills (HG program only), (b) participants learn naturally how to positively interact with new peers and school teachers, and (c) participants extend their limited social relationships with non-at-risk students. The sport-related activities of the MSP were provided on the school playgrounds. With regard to enhancing participants' social skills, the MSP planners considered implementing program activities in a natural setting where the various types of school stakeholders interacted. Literature on social skills has identified the distinct types of social skills. For instance, Gresham and Elliott (1990) identified five types of constructs of social skills: cooperation, assertion, responsibility, empathy (e.g., behaviors that show concern for a peer's or significant adult's feelings), and self-control. Elksnin and Elksnin (1998) categorized five types of social skills: interpersonal behaviors (i.e., friendship-making skills), teacher-pleasing social skills (i.e., skills valued by others and associated with peer acceptance), self-related behaviors (i.e., skills to assess a social situation, select an appropriate skill, and determine the effectiveness of the skill), assertiveness skills (i.e., behaviors that allow one to express one's needs without the expression of aggression), and communication skills. Through the mechanism, this study identified the likelihood that participants possessed better abilities to cooperate and communicate with other members. It is reasonably assumed that harmony among participants as a part of the soccer team required the participants to

224

cooperate and communicate with each other, in order to achieve common goals such as winning. In addition, it should be noted that program participants in the MSP could learn positive interpersonal behaviors from other school stakeholders in a natural environment. The MSP participants made friendships with non-at-risk students in the soccer teams, as well as with other friends of the non-at-risk students. Such extended relationships should provide program participants with more interaction opportunities to acquire proper types of social skills. Despite evidence that the program participants possessed some types of social skills through the MSP activities, this study has not found whether their abilities to better communicate and cooperate with others derived from enactment (e.g., positive feedbacks from other team members and teachers), observation, and/or modeling (e.g., learning from other team members and adult implementers). The next study might examine which methods (e.g., enactment, observation, and modeling) are more effective to generate distinct types of social skills (e.g., cooperation, assertion, responsibility, empathy, and self-control).

Seventh, the *mechanism to create a commitment to new group norms and identity* was expected to change both target students' attitudes toward violence and their higher reliance on delinquent peer groups. The mechanism was identified as: (a) Participants learn new group norms and identity, (b) participants meet and bond with new members and adult role models closely related to the new group, (c) participants commit to new group activities, (d) participants know what adult role models expect of them, and (e) participants know how they can obtain help from adults or members of the new group. The MSP implementers delivered treatment activities in the ways to set positive group

225

norms through participants' favorable activities by following adult role models, and to reinforce group norms and identity through favorable activities by adult role models.

This mediating variable, the commitment to new social norms and group identity, is generally supported by social influence research (Lewis, DeVellis, & Sleath, 2002), because a person's behavior is predicted by the thoughts and actions of other members of his or her social group (Perkins, 2002). Social norms research suggests that it is important to change the target population's misperceptions associated with risky behaviors (e.g., Clapp & McConnell, 2000). Children sometimes believe that fighting enables them to get a good reputation and higher status from their peers (Davies, 1982). Ginsberg and Loffredo (1993) found that students who were involved in a physical fight are less likely to believe that certain ways (i.e., apologizing, avoiding and walking away from someone who wants to fight) are effective to avoid a physical fight. As such, norms of violence have promoted "ritualized fighting" among boys as being part of typical middle school behavior, and changing such norms has been a major challenge for schools (Hawkins et al., 1998, p. 195).

Recent research has argued that a student is influenced by group norms and violence values, regardless of his or her beliefs about violence (Bernburg & Thorlindsson, 2005). This suggests that group norms need to be changed independently. Hawkins and colleagues (1998) suggest that norms of nonviolence in schools must include the specification of formal rules of conduct, as well as informal norms and expectations for behaviors. It could also be supported that social norms are changed by a different type of social network. A youth who belongs to delinquent peer groups can change his misperceptions when he has a positive social network. In this regard, the

226

identified mechanism indicates that sport team activities could have provided participants with a new positive social network promoting norms of non-violence. Additionally, the process of the mechanism might be explained with theory-based intervention methods: "(a) knowledge (e.g., acknowledging and learning social norms), (b) creating new linkages (e.g., having strong bonds with group members in the new group), (c) modeling (e.g., modeling from adult participants), and (d) social support (e.g., gaining social supports from other members)" (Bartholomew et al., 2001, pp. 171-220).

The present study suggests that there is a likelihood that sport participation (behavioral involvement) might help participants to change their antisocial beliefs and subcultures (cognition). Their initial sport participation might have little effect on changes in their cognition. However, as they are involved with the activities more and more, there might be contrasting cognitions between their misperceptions (their own beliefs and the influence of current social groups) and finally the right perceptions (their new beliefs and the influence of new social groups). Once they are committed to sport activities, they might experience cognitive dissonance between the two contrasting cognitions (Festinger, 1957). Given that they continuously participate in activities, they are more likely to change their antisocial and violent behaviors in accordance with the new group norms and activities. Consequently, the present study contends that sport activities might be an effective way to change social norms of violence because the activities could easily work for changing social groups and strengthening social networks.

Eighth, the *mechanism to reduce attachment to delinquent groups* was supposed to treat higher reliance on delinquent groups in which the target students are members. The mechanism was identified as: (a) Participants learn that they can rely on other group

227

members and teachers over delinquent peers, and (b) participants learn how to overcome negative social influence. The identified mechanism could be closely associated with the above two mechanisms--the relationship mechanism and the commitment to new group norms/identity. In addition, the finding of the present study indicates that the MSP participants had been associating with new social groups over delinquent groups, seeking supports (e.g., emotional and social supports from other members) and timely consultations from adult role models. Rotter's (1954) social learning theory might be brought in here to explain the mechanism. Rotter utilized three basic constructs to explain human behavior: behavior potential, expectancy, and reinforcement value. Rotter's idea is that a particular reinforcement and the reinforcement value of any behavior in a given situation should be greater than those of alternative behaviors. It is reasonable that participating in any intervention activity (e.g., soccer team activities within intervention programs) has a particular reinforcement and reinforcement value (e.g., excitement, social attachment) over alternative activities (e.g., committing violence and other delinquency with other group members). It is reasonably argued that the target students in the MSP perceived unique benefits from soccer participation over alternative activities (e.g., antisocial behaviors), that sport participation could decrease the target students' unproductive hours, in which they might have been involved in antisocial behaviors.

Ninth, the *mechanism to improve the school social climate* was presupposed to treat a lowered school social climate. The finding of this study indicated that most school stakeholders perceived their school to be a risky place in which violent and other delinquent behaviors were more likely to occur. Additionally, teachers' lower morale toward improving the school environment was one of the factors that exacerbated the

228

school social climate. The mechanism to improve the school social climate was identified as: (a) Participants feel the school is positively controlled, and (b) school stakeholders make efforts to maintain a positive social climate. The two elements of the mechanism explain that youth violence could be better controlled by changing the school stakeholders' perceptions and making them participate in the process of program activities.

The present study showed that program activities need to be implemented in proper places and at proper times. Both programs in the MSP brought the activities to the school playground, where other school stakeholders observed the activities and during before- or after-school hours, when violent and antisocial behaviors might occur. The finding of this study has been consistently argued by intervention research saying that, in troubled schools and school districts, the common factors are a demoralized school climate, weak leadership, and an incapable staff in school-based intervention programs (Gottfredson, Gottfredson, & Skroban, 1998). Additionally, situating activities on school sites and at times when high rates of violence have occurred can prevent violence directly (e.g., Nichols & Crow, 2004; Osgood, Wilson, O'Malley, Bachman, & Johnston, 1996). Similarly, in order to improve school climate, Stephens (1998) argued: "Make the campus safe and welcoming, beginning early in the morning; create a climate of ownership and school pride; enhance multicultural understanding; establish a vibrant systems of extracurricular programs; establish a parent center on each campus; develop a nuisance abatement plan; develop a graffiti abatement and community clean-up program." His first four suggestions were found through the MSP activities, where soccer activities were early in the morning, soccer activities made various school stakeholders

229

participate in and support the program, non-at-risk students who had a different

subculture took part in the activities, and sport activities and other experiences were

implemented. Intervention research (Felson et al., 1994; Gottfredson et al., 1998) has

agreed that a positive school climate is dependent upon public or organizational supports

from school stakeholders or school policy.

Finally, it should be noted as to what brought unexpected mediating variables in

the LSP. It has been reported that controlled intervention studies on youth problem

behaviors can show negative or null effects. In a meta-analysis of 443 juvenile

delinquency prevention and treatment programs, Lipsey (1992) found that 29% among

the controlled interventions showed negative effects. He concluded that, in general, the

effective types of programs have been operated by researchers and given greater intensity

of whatever the program delivered. Similarly, Wilson et al. (2003) found that, in a meta-

analysis of school-based prevention programs, the effective programs were relatively

intense, used one-on-one formats, and were implemented by teachers. Thus, although the

LSP were implemented by school teachers, they did not provide the target students with

fairly strong intensity of the program activities which could have contributed to generate

the expected mediating variables.

There is another critical issue to explain the negative effects of the LSP. Most

school teachers, including program planners, were concerned about a negative grouping

when the LSP was implemented. Unfortunately, the finding of this study confirmed that

the LSP activities made the participants more strongly attached. Such a finding accords

with the studies of some group counseling and guided group intervention approaches

which frequently produce negative effects on the change in delinquent behaviors

230

(Gottfredson, 1997; O'Donnell, 1992). Dishion and colleagues (1999) argued "iatrogenic effects" in peer-related group interventions through which program participants could escalate the problem behaviors (p. 762). They further argued that, in order to prevent such negative effects of intervention programs, we need to "mobilize caregivers and other relevant adults to structure environments that do not aggregate youth into peer-group settings, which may inadvertently promote deviance" (Dishion et al., 1999, p. 762). Recent research (e.g., Chamberlain & Moore, 1998) also supported that, despite higher at-risk youths' involvement in serious delinquent problems, adult caregivers are a critical protective factor to prevent problems and negative effects. When both the MSP and the LSP had adult implementers who were available for program participants, the students of the MSP used their teachers to avoid violence, but the LSP participants did not do so. Therefore, the next study needs to examine the quality of the relationships between target students and caregivers, which might be used as either a protective factor to reduce violence or a null factor.

Discussion of Program Outcomes

The major findings of program outcomes are: (a) Both the MSP and the LSP expected to reduce at-risk youths' violent and antisocial behaviors, as well as to improve school adjustment. In particular, the MSP planners sought to reduce group-related problem behaviors such as group fights; (b) the MSP reduced participants' violent and antisocial behaviors and improved their school adjustment, but the LSP did not show substantial evidence of bringing about three such types of expected outcomes; and (c) two types of outcomes of the MSP (i.e., violence and antisocial behaviors) were inversely related to one type of outcome (i.e., school adjustment). In addition, even if the MSP

231

participants' violent and antisocial behaviors had been reduced, they could not change their smoking habits much.

The MSP programs contributed not only to reducing participants' violent and antisocial behaviors, but also to improving their school adjustment. The types of outcomes identified here are coherent with studies measuring dependent variables with the changes in violent behaviors (e.g., Farrell & Meyer, 1997; O'Donnell, Hawkins, & Abbott, 1995; Rollin, Kaiser-Ulrey, Potts, & Creason, 2003) and antisocial behaviors (e.g., Dishion & Andrews, 1995; Farrell & Meyer, 1997; Mahoney & Stattin, 2000; O'Donnell et al., 1995). Additionally, this study identified participants' school adjustment as a distinct outcome measure of the TST programs. Although school-based violence research has little addressed school adjustment as a type of outcome measure, it has been used in a school context to examine students' ability to adapt to a variety of school environments (e.g., Buhs, 2005; Reed-Victor, 2004). Particularly, Caldwell and colleagues (2006) showed that delinquent behaviors and school adjustment are distinct types of measures, and intervention programs for at-risk population should consider reducing delinquency, as well as improving school adjustment (i.e., school achievement and attachment). Farrell et al. (2001) also contend that some activities which enhance school achievement and attachment should be added into current school-based violence intervention. The potential activities could be active learning activities, regulation of behavior and attention, and positive interactions with peers and teachers to enhance school adjustment (National Research Council and Institute of Medicine, 2002). In spite of such recent studies on school adjustment in violence intervention research, more

232

research is needed to confirm whether or not the enhancement of school adjustment is an essential outcome to measure the effects of school-based violence prevention programs.

As one of the critical reasons for the decrease in violence in the MSP, this study assumes that the MSP could reduce violent behaviors by and between at-risk groups. This is consistent with other studies saying that the majority of at-risk youths' violent and antisocial behaviors have been carried out with members of in-groups (e.g., Warr, 2002). This study , therefore, suggests that, in order to decrease any delinquent behaviors in current school contexts, the intervention programs should consider developing a type of intervention programs that treat complicated delinquent group behaviors and interactions.

It has been found in studies that prevention programs aiming to decrease violence could positively affect reducing other types of antisocial behaviors (Catalano et al., 2002; Jenson & Howard, 1999; Jessor, 1998). These studies have shown that there might be various correlations among types of antisocial behaviors (Catalano et al., 2002; Jenson & Howard, 1999; Jessor, 1998). Although the present study found that at-risk youths' violent and delinquent behaviors had been reduced due to the TST programs, their smoking habits had not changed much. That indicates that the reduction of violence is less correlated to that of smoking and that we need to develop separate intervention programs or activities to treat both at-risk youths' violence and smoking habits.

As discussed previously, there is little study showing that the decrease in violence is inversely related to the increase in school adjustment in a school setting. The next study, therefore, requires examining the relationships among the different types of outcomes.

Discussion of the Program Theory of Change

This study found that the MSP were more effective at-risk youth violence prevention programs, because they treated more conditions with well-combined treatment activities, because they generated more mediating variables, and because the mediating variables generated the expected outcomes.

The MSP theory of change consisted of seven assumptions, five types of attributes of the activities, eight mediating variables, and three types of outcomes, whereas the LSP theory of change was composed of four assumptions, four attributes of the activities, five mediating variables, and three types of outcomes.

When comparing the MSP and the LSP, this study identified that the MSP had three more assumptions, which were changes in participants' attitudes toward violence, attachments to delinquent groups, and a lowered school social climate. The data analysis showed that the MSP treated environmental characteristics (i.e., delinquent group influence and the lowered school social climate), whereas the LSP did not resolve the identified environmental conditions. That indicates that, as a social ecological approach (Stokols, 1996) points out, intervention programs need to deal with both individual and contextual risk factors, because treating various risk factors increases the possibility of reducing health problems more effectively (Thomas et al., 2002).

Whereas the LSP did not have the proper intensity for generating the expected mediating variables, the MSP generated eight types of mediating variables. Importantly, the MSP had three more mediating variables, which were critical risk and protective factors that affected the reduction in violent behaviors. Consistent with the findings of past researchers (e.g., Pollard, Hawkins, & Arthur, 1999), at-risk youths' violence would

234

be better resolved when both risk and protective factors are commonly dealt with by program activities.

The MSP showed that the eight types of mediating variables contributed to reducing at-risk youths' violent and antisocial behaviors, and improving their school adjustment. The findings of this study indicate that a general violence intervention program could be designed to decrease not only at-risk youths' violence, but also their antisocial behaviors. Furthermore, the program could enhance participants' school adjustment, which could affect at-risk youths' violent and antisocial behaviors positively. The next study is suggested to examine the linkages between the mediating variables and the three types of outcomes, to see how a mediating variable plays a role in generating each different type of the outcomes.

Finally, although this study did not analyze gender effects on the TST programs, there were some notable differences between at-risk male students and at-risk female students found in each stage of the TST programs theory of change. In terms of behavioral characteristics, all the 4 selected programs showed that there were different group formations between at-risk male participants and at-risk female participants. At-risk male students organized only one group in each grade, and many of their acts of violence were related to at-risk groups of other schools. On the other hand, at-risk female students formed two oppositional groups in each grade. There was physical group violence between the two oppositional groups, and teachers recognized violent and antisocial behaviors of at-risk female students as much as those of at-risk male students. The fact that the two violence cases at the LSP schools occurred between an at-risk female group and another at-risk female group can be explained in terms of social

identity theory and the general strain theory. Social identity theory posits that in-groups compare themselves with relevant out-groups through "similarity, proximity, and situational salience" (Tajfel & Turner, 1986, p. 17). Comparability increases pressures toward in-group's superiority over out-groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), and inter-group violence between in-groups and out-groups could occur, when such pressures as a type of strain reach higher point (Agnew, 1985).

Next, running club activities and bowling were provided for both at-risk male participants and at-risk female participants. Soccer and floorball, however, were supplied only for at-risk male students. Although at-risk female informants weighted more their benefits from fitness (e.g., changes in their body) from their sport participation, they also referred to other benefits such as social needs with friends and skills enhancement. That might indicate that sport interventionists need to consider gender when selecting a proper type of sport, as well as promoting salient and various dimensions of benefits from sport.

Lastly, at-risk female students in the SU school created positive relationships with a social worker, although their counterparts (i.e., at-risk male students) in the SU did not build such relationships. That might indicate that developing relationships with adults might be different with at-risk female students versus at-risk male students. Supposing that all intervention conditions are similar with the target students, it might be easier to build positive relationships between adults and at-risk female students than between adults and at-risk male students. This finding could be supported by research, arguing that adolescent females are more likely than males to have higher levels of positive self-perceptions in interpersonal relationships (Eberhart, Shih, Hammen, & Brennan, 2006) or seeking interpersonal benefits (Rudolph & Conley, 2005). In sum, this study suggests that

236

the future research needs to examine specific gender-linked characteristics and intervention programs that might develop another type of TST program theory of change.

Discussion of Cultural Considerations

The findings of this study could be more clarified when we bring in cultural aspects that might have influenced the TST program planning and implementation. Intervention research views culture as one of the environments (Stokols, 1996) which interplays between individual characteristics and other environmental factors (Bartholomew et al., 2000; Bronfenbrenner, 1999; Super & Harkness, 1999). Though a controversy has arisen on the understanding of the perspective of culture (e.g., Chiu, Morris, Hong, & Menon, 2000), for the present study, a cross-cultural view of culture is adapted, which differentiates world cultures according to individualism and collectivism, contending that these constructs locate opposite poles according to a value dimension (Hofstede, 1980).

Triandis and Gelfand (1998) further suggest that individualism and collectivism are viewed by "polythetic constructs" (p.118). They identified the meanings of these constructs with four types of attributes: (a) "the definition of the self (personal or collective aspects, Triandis, 1989) or (independent or interdependent, Markus & Kitayama, 1991), (b) the priority of goals (personal goals that can have priority over in-group goals or vice versa, Triandis, 1990; Yamaguchi, 1994), (c) the emphasis on exchange rather than communal relationships (Mills & Clark, 1982) or the emphasis on rationality rather than relatedness (Kim, Triandis, Kagitcibasi, Choi, & Yoon, 1994), and (d) the importance of attitudes and norms as determinants of social behavior (Davidson,

237

Jaccard, Triandis, Morales, & Diaz-Guerrero, 1976; Kashima, Siegel, Tanaka, & Kashima, 1992)" (Triandis & Gelfand (1998, p. 118).

Culture-related studies have consistently reported Korean culture as a representative of collectivistic cultures (e.g., Rhee, Uleman, & Lee, 1996; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998). Given that Korean culture is elaborated as having the characteristics of collectivism, it is reasonable to assume that Korean culture is associated with concerns with the in-group's fate over one's personal fate, giving its goals priority over one's own, maintaining harmony, interdependence, and cooperation, and avoiding open conflict within the in-group. Relatively, countries in some individualistic cultures (e.g., the United States, Western European countries) might show features associated with individualism, including greater concern with personal rather than in-group fate, giving personal goals priority over in-group goals, feeling independent, and emotionally detached from one's in-group (Rhee et al., 1996). In this regard, this study discusses the likelihood that the findings of the present study might be strongly associated with some attributes of collectivism in Korean culture.

First, the present study acknowledges that group-related characteristics might be more salient factors in explaining the phenomena of adolescent violence in Korea: (a) group-related problem behaviors, and (b) delinquent peer group influences. It is reasonable to assume that such group-related characteristics could be a more manifest feature in Korea than in other, individualistic cultures, because collectivism focuses more on in-group congruence and seeks a common goal over an individual goal. Thus, once at-risk youths perceive that they have become a member of an at-risk group, they might be more likely to show consensus toward the values and norms of the antisocial in-groups

238

(e.g., violent subculture) and seek in-group goals (e.g., maintaining status among antisocial groups) over their own values and personal goals (e.g., academic achievement). Conversely, this study assumes that it might be easier to promote positive group norms in a Korean context, once participants internalize the new group as their own group.

Second, the present study identified a mediating variable, the increased positive self-concept of program participants. The mediating variable was assumed to be created through *its own mechanism* as well as *increased positive relationships among school stakeholders*. Cultural studies have supported that, in individualistic cultures, personal or independent aspects of self are given more weight than collective and interdependent aspects of self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998). This means that collectivism gives more weight to the relational self over the personal self, which might be a more vital attribute in Korean culture. Cultural studies (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1991) support that a positive emotion is more likely to be created in the relational self than the personal self, because people in a collectivistic culture believe that they feel positively in relationships with others, rather than by evaluation of their own selves. In this regard, it is reasonable to assume that a positive individual self-concept for at-risk youth could be differently developed according to cultures. In Korean culture, there might be the likelihood that the relational self might be more important in developing participants' self, and a personal self could be generated through the interplay between the building of increased positive relationships and an enhanced self.

Finally, the present study revealed that, although participants were little changed in their attitudes toward violence, they were able to recognize the sport team's norms toward anti-violence. Such an observation indicates that, with little change in at-risk

239

youth's personal attitudes, the group norms of the sport teams might play a major role in positively controlling at-risk youths' violent behaviors. As described previously, the finding is consistent with studies which contend that, regardless of individual characteristics of violence or delinquency, group norms or other environmental factors (e.g., school social climate) affect an individual's behavior significantly (Bernburg & Thorlindsson, 2005; Felson et al., 1994). In cross-cultural studies, relationships between attitudes and norms are differently weighted. According to Triandis and Gelfand (1998), norms are more important than attitudes as determinants of social behavior in collectivistic cultures, whereas attitudes are given more weight than norms in individualistic cultures. Thus, there is likelihood that, in collective cultures, a change in social norms toward violence could be better working for a decrease in violence than a change in personal attitudes toward violence, because social norms are more critical determinants of a person's behavior in collectivism. For the next study, it might be important to examine whether a change in social norms is a more effective and efficient way to change violent behaviors than a change in attitudes, according to distinct cultures.

Though the findings of the present study could be better supported in a Korean context, the theories and empirical evidence provided in the present study support the major findings of this study . For instance, theories and intervention research on violence have consistently shown that there are strong correlations between delinquent peer groups and violence (e.g., Bernburg & Thorlindsson, 2005; Sutherland, 1937). Hoffman and Summers (2001) reported that, even in individualistic countries - the United States, Spain, and Russia - teen crimes are significantly related to the association with groups, gangs, and peers. It might be true that, even if we have to caution about the application of

findings to a different cultural perspective and culturally diverse groups and populations, generally, cross-cultural intervention research suggests relying on evidence-based approaches to enhance the quality of cross-cultural intervention programs (Ferrer-Wreder et al., 2004). This also contends that many problems of cross-cultural intervention programs can be attributed to poor application of the programs, rather than to the application of theories (Resnicow, Braithwaite, Dilorio, & Glanz, 2002).

Conclusion

Although there have been increasing demands to use sport in order to reduce youth violence and delinquency, little study has provided a systematic and theoretical way to design and evaluate sport-related intervention. In this regard, the present study attempted to evaluate a type of sport-related intervention programs (TST programs) and then to find the ways to improve sport-related intervention programs.

The major findings of this study indicate that the MSP better performed over the LSP, not only in each stage of the program theory, but also in the entire process of the program theory. The MSP were superior to the LSP because they had stronger and more structured intensity, treated more conditions, brought more treatment activities combining one type of activity (e.g., sport) with others (e.g., education and other experiences), and generated more mediating variables and outcomes. The most important findings in this study are that, in preventing youth violence, sport-related activities might be a very effective tool because they can reduce constraints in social intervention programs (e.g., a hook of at-risk youth by providing their favorite sport activities), develop a positive sense of self (e.g., a medium for providing positive reinforcement and feedback in sport

241

participation), develop positive social relationships (e.g., a medium for bringing various school stakeholders into sport activities), improve social skills (e.g., sport provision of a natural social space to experience positive social skills), and create/maintain new, positive group norms/identity (e.g., a substitute for antisocial peer groups by new and positive norms and identity of the sport club). This study also found that sport activity could be effectively and efficiently combined with other activities to synergistically generate the salient attributes that are necessary to change the identified conditions.

On the other hand, the results of the LSP showed *iatrogenic effects* (Dishion et al., 1998), in that program participants could escalate the problem behaviors because of their participation in less structured and controlled LSP activities. Such results teach us that not all sport-related activities are effective in preventing social problems, and sport activities should be considerably manipulated by sport program researchers and practitioners in designing and implementing sport as a tool of social intervention.

Limitations

Although this study would control external validity and reliability, which are particularly important in doing qualitative research (Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 2003), there were some limitations derived mainly from the complicated nature of the project.

The first limitation is that the researcher could not observe all the program activities in the four programs, because some activities of each school were implemented at the same hours after school. In this case, the researcher had to rely on descriptions from each program's implementer.

The second limitation is that there were some factors which could not be controlled by the researcher. Except for one school program (i.e., the HG program), the

other three programs were ordinary, routine programs. Therefore, the TST programs were not very systematically and professionally implemented by the program directors. Implementation issues could be crucial in considering the effects of the LSP. Additionally, the success of the MSP might be derived from their organizational supports and longer intervention histories. Such limitations indicated that the results and the implications from this study should be carefully applied to other research settings, and they need to be more thoroughly examined in multiple sites and trials.

Finally, this study was conducted in an urban metropolitan area in Korea, and the results of the analysis might show differences in other, rural areas. This means that the phenomena of youth violence could show different patterns in other, rural areas and should be differently treated by focusing on other types of attributes. Future research, therefore, needs to examine the extent to which these findings in metropolitan areas would apply to other, non-metropolitan areas.

Recommendations

Through the analysis of the TST program theory of change, the present study suggests the ways to improve the quality of current sport-related interventions. This study recommends two ways of improving sport-related intervention programs: One is for general types of sport-related intervention programs, and the other is for youth violence prevention programs with the use of sport at school.

Recommendations for designing and evaluating sport-related intervention programs

1. Identify problems that include individual characteristics and environmental contexts where sport can be used to intervene in the identified problems.

   1-1. Identify target population's behavioral and psychosocial characteristics.

1-2. Identify important and treatable environmental contexts that could be intervened through the use of sport (e.g., whether or not sport is effective to bring a special target population, whether or not sport is effective to reduce risk factors and enhance protective factors).

2. Identify program treatment activities.

2-1. Determine treatment objectives that would change the identified contexts.

2-1-1. Reduce constraints that prohibit participants' initial and continuous participation in the program.

2-1-2. Set objectives to reduce risk factors and promote protective factors.

2-2. Identify and develop (or modify) sport activities to achieve the treatment objectives.

2-3. Examine linkages between sport activities and other program activities to achieve the treatment objectives.

2-4. Determine the intensity of the program activities so as to be enough to reach the target population.

3. Identify mediating variables and negative side effects in the program.

3-1. Predict intervening variables between program activities and outcomes that should be supported by empirical findings and theories.

3-2. Predict any negative side effects of the program activities.

4. Identify potential program outcomes in both behavioral and psychosocial characteristics.

5. Evaluate each stage of the sport-related intervention programs and linkages.

5-1. Identify differences between the expected results of each stage and linkage and the actual results of each stage and linkage.

Specific recommendations for sport-related violence prevention programs at school

1. Find a type of sport activities that the target population has a strong interest in and confidence about doing.

In the Korean context, soccer or basketball could be better used to bring target students into intervention programs, because at-risk youths have higher interest in and confidence about playing these types of sport.

2. Use sport to reduce labeling that the target population may have deep concerns about.

Positioning sport activities as a club activity could reduce negative perceptions of program participants more than other types of intervention activities such as social skills training and group counseling, because school stakeholders could perceive the sport club activities as ways to enhance the physical development of the target population. On the other hand, other types of activities are likely to be perceived as a kind of disciplinary activities.

3. Reduce the constraints to participating in sport activity and increase the intrinsic benefits of sport itself for the target population.

The types of constraints (e.g., structural, interpersonal, and intrapersonal constraints) should be considered and resolved when we design sport activities. For instance, sport activities should be easily accessible to target students. Sport activities should be developed for all participants to play. Sport activities should be developed to meet each participant's unique needs for sport participation. The intrinsic benefits of sport (e.g., sport skill development, social needs, fitness) should be promoted enough for participants to keep up their participation. For example, active participation in regular sport competitions could maintain their continuous involvement in sport club activities.

4. Use sport-related activities earlier than other types of intervention activities.

If target students show strong interest in and confidence about sport, participation in sport itself can increase social bonding between program implementers and target

245

students. Once they are involved in sport activities, program implementers could easily bring them to other intervention activities.

5. *Encourage program participants and give positive feedback while they are in sport activities.*

Since sport games and practices can generate a number of moments to catch program participants' positive behaviors, program implementers could use these moments to build positive social bonding with them and improve their positive self-concept. In addition, program implementers could help their positive behaviors (e.g., contribution to team work) learned from sport to apply to real settings (e.g., positive relationships with other school stakeholders and responsibility for class).

6. *Use sport activities to bring various school stakeholders such as teachers, non-at-risk students, and out-group members into the program.*

Sport is useful to bring various types of school stakeholders into a common activity. There might be little intervention activities that make other school stakeholders initiate and maintain continuous program participation. Some types of sport activities (e.g., soccer, basketball) can mix various school stakeholders into one group seeking common goals.

7. *Provide many opportunities to interact with non-at-risk students and teachers through sport activities.*

As explained above, an at-risk group of students can be mixed with various out-groups (e.g., teachers, non-at-risk youths, and delinquent out-groups). When they play together and have more opportunities to meet with each other, they will have better relationships.

8. Implement sport activities in places where other school stakeholders recognize them and at times when violence frequently occurs.

When sport activities are implemented in an open area (e.g., school playground), and other school stakeholders can see the sport activities, they could have a positive perception that at-risk youths have been controlled by the school. Sport activities need to be implemented in some critical times (e.g., before and after school) when higher numbers of violent and antisocial behaviors occur.

9. Develop new, positive alternative group norms and identity, and make the participants follow the norms of the group.

Sport club activities could be used to set new, positive group norms and identity and make program participants follow the norms of the sport club. Considering that at-risk youths are strongly involved in their delinquent group, a sport club could be an alternative group that substitutes for the delinquent group. For instance, it is suggested to develop normative rules and regulations, and ethical codes for the club. Program participants also should be required to behave as positive role models representing their school.

10. Consider the intensity of sport activities, which should foster participants' commitment to sport and develop more structured program activities that avoid any negative emotions such as boredom and dissatisfaction.

The proper intensity and structure of sport activities should be considered in designing sport activities. It might be important to control the intensity of sport activities so that at-risk youths do not feel boredom and do reach the plausible goals of sport participation.

This study does not pretend that the listed recommendations will always be necessary or sufficient to designing and evaluating sport-related intervention programs,

247

because any sport-related intervention should consider the unique characteristics of the target populations, environmental contexts surrounding the problems, and their interactions. This study suggests, however, that these recommendations provide guiding principles by which sport-related interventions can be designed and evaluated in systematic and scientific manners (i.e., a theory-based approach). In addition, this study recommends the proper use of sport in youth violence prevention programs. It could be an effective tool to reduce antisocial peer group influence and group-related problem behaviors because the group-oriented characteristic of sport can build new group norms and identity that substitute for at-risk youths' higher attachment to antisocial peer groups.

APPENDIX A: THEORY-BASED EVALUATION APPROACH

Problem Definition	Program Treatment	Program Mechanism	Program Outcomes
Characteristics of target population	Treatment activities	Intervening variables	Expected outcomes
Origins, magnitudes, & consequences of problems	Strengths (intensity) of treatment activities	Sequences from treatment activities to outcomes	Real outcomes
Treatable & important conditions			Relations among outcomes

Note. This theory-based evaluation approach is guided mainly by Lipsey's (1993) Treatment Theory.

APPENDIX B: QUALITATIVE INTERVIEW GUIDE

A: Interview Guide for the **TST Program Director(s) and Implementer(s)**

Introduction: I will explain why I am there. In brief, I will introduce the purposes and importance of the research. The key purposes of the study are explained as: (1) identifying the causes and effects of school violence, (2) analyzing the TST program in the school, and (3) suggesting a better, more effective type of school violence prevention program.

Interview questions are starting from the guiding questions to specific questions.

Q 1) Questions about **problem definition**:

Guiding Question) Tell me a little bit about your students in the TST program.
(Please, give me an example of your idea.)

I. What are the characteristics of the target population in your program?
I-1. What do you think of key differences between problematic students and ordinary students?
I-1-a. Do they show any particular behaviors?
I-1-b. Do they show any psychological symptoms?

II. What do you think of the origin and magnitude of adolescent/school violence?
II-1. What kinds of violence have occurred in the past 5 years?
II-2. How many times did different kinds of violence occur in 2004?
II-3. When did such kinds of violence occur?
II-4. How serious is school violence?

III. What are the consequences of student violence?
III-1. What are the consequences for student offenders?
III-2. What are the consequences for student victims?
III-3. What are the consequences for the class or the school?

IV. What conditions are important and should be treated?
IV-1. What is the most important condition that should be treated in the program?
IV-1-a. If you identified social support among conditional factors, what is the most important type of social support, among school bonding (e.g., teacher support), family (e.g., family involvement), and/or friend bonding (e.g., positive peers involvement)?

Q 2) Questions about **treatment activities:**

Guiding Question) Tell me a little bit about your program activity.
                              (Please, give me an example of your idea.)

V. What does your program consists of?
        V-1. Who participates in the program?
        V-2. What are the constraints to getting the resources for your program?

VI. What are the treatment activities in your program?
        VI-1. Which one of the treatment activities is most important, and why?
        VI-2. Which one of the treatment activities is least important, and why?
        VI-3. What do you think of necessary activities that must work in your program?
                VI-3-a. Why do you think such necessary activities contribute to your
                        program uniquely and/or complementarily?
        VI-4. Could you tell me why you selected this sport activity?
                VI-4-a. Why do you think that the sport activity works for female students?
        VI-5. Why did you choose these particular program activities?

VII. What are the strengths and magnitudes of your program activities?
        VII-1. What is your idea for allotting certain amount of time to this particular
              activity?

Q 3) Questions about **program mechanism and outcomes**

Guiding Question) Tell me about the effects of your program.
                              (Please, give me an example of your idea.)

VIII. What has been changed after the implementation of the program?
        VIII-1. How did you know there were such changes? And what is your rationale?

IX. What are the sequences of the steps that are expected to occur?

X. What are the intended outcomes?
        X-1. What contributes to create the intended outcomes?
        X-2. What prevents the generation of the intended outcomes?

XI. What outcomes are actually created by the program?
        XI-1. What are the attributes of the outcomes?
        XI-2. What is the relationship among the outcomes?

B: Interview Guide for the **TST Program Recipients**

> Introduction: I will explain why I am there. In brief, I will introduce the purposes and importance of the research. The key purposes of the study are explained as: (1) identifying the causes and effects of school violence, (2) analyzing the TST program in the school, and (3) suggesting a better, more effective type of school violence prevention program.
>
> Interview questions are starting from the guiding questions to specific questions.

Q 1) Questions about **problem definition**:

Guiding Question) Tell me a little bit about the problems that you have faced in your life.

I. Why do you think that a student is involved in antisocial behaviors?
    (Please, give me an example of your idea)
        I-1. Why do you think that a student is involved with school violence?
           (Please, tell me an example about your idea)

II. Why do you think that you were involved in school violence?
    (Please, give me an example of your idea)

        II-1. Do you think that your behaviors in school are different from those of other
            students?
        II-2. What is your idea of violence?
        II-3. How are your personal relationships with teachers, peers, and your parents?
           II-3-a. Do you have any respectable and reliable relationship with anyone?
        II-4. How do you feel about your school?
           II-4-a. What events in your school do you feel are stressful?
        II.5 Have you ever thought about the consequences of your violent behaviors?
        II.6 Do you believe that you can control violent situations very well?

III. Are there any effective ways to decrease students' violence in your school?

Q 2) Questions about **treatment activities:**

Guiding Question) Tell me about your experience with the TST program activities.

IV. Why did you decide to participate in the TST program? What is the most important
      reason for your participation in the TST program?

      IV-1. Which one of the program activities is the most important for you, and why?
      IV-2. Which one of the program activities is the least important for you, and why?

IV-3. Could you tell me your ideas about other program activities? What is your
expectation for each program activity? Do you think that each program
activity meets your expectations?
IV-4. Are there any other program activities you want to add to the TST program?

V. Why have you participated in the TST program, even if other students in the program
do not show up any more? What was the main constraint for you to participate in
the TST?

VI. What have you learned from the TST program, and why?
VI-1. What have you learned from each program activity of the TST program?

Q 3) Questions about program mechanism and outcomes

Guiding Question) Tell me about any changes since your participation in the TST
program.

VII. If your antisocial behaviors decreased, why did that happen? Does it relate to the
TST program? If not, why did it happen?

VIII. What has happened since you began participating in the program?

VIII-1. Do you think that your attitude toward violence has changed?
What caused that? (Please, give me an example of your idea)
VIII-2. Do you think that your relations with teachers, peers, and your
parents were improved? What caused that?
(Please, give me an example of your idea)
VIII-3. Do you know how to get helps when you confront violent situations?
What caused that? (Please, give me an example of your idea)
VIII-4. Can you control yourself when you confront violent situations?
What caused that? (Please, give me an example of your idea)
VIII-5. Have your violent behaviors been reduced in school and outside
school? What caused that? (Please, give me an example of your idea)
VIII-6. Have your antisocial behaviors been reduced since you participate in
the program? What caused that? (Please, give me an example of your
idea)

IX. Did you satisfy with the TST programs? (Please, tell me an example about your idea)

IX-1. Will you participate in this kind of the program, if you are offered in future?

APPENDIX C: INFORMANT IDENTIFICATION

	Adult informant	Age	Gender	Experience
MSP schools	BK teacher 1	51	Male	Physical education teacher, 21 years BK program planner and director
	BK teacher 2	32	Male	Physical education teacher, 5 years
	BK teacher 3	29	Male	Physical education teacher, 3 years
	HG teacher 1	49	Male	Science education teacher, 21 years HG program planner and director
	HG teacher 2	41	Female	Math education teacher , 15 years
	HG teacher 3	31	Male	Physical education teacher, 5 years
LSP schools	SU teacher 1	37	Male	Physical education teacher, 8 years SU program planner and director
	SU social worker 1	27	Female	Social worker, 3 years
	SS teacher 1	46	Male	Ethics education teacher, 19 years SU program planner and director
	SS teacher 2	54	Male	Sociology education teacher, 25 years
CSB (SB coordinator)			Female	TST program coordinator, 3 years
	Student informant	**Age**	**Gender**	**Grade / Length staying in program**
MSP schools	BK student 1	14	Male	2 year middle school student / 18 months
	BK student 2	13	Male	1 year middle school student / 10 months
	BK student 3	13	Male	1 year middle school student / 10 months
	BK student 4	14	Female	2 year middle school student / 10 months
	BK student 5	14	Female	2 year middle school student / 10 months
	BK student 6	14	Female	2 year middle school student / 10 months
	BK student 7	13	Female	1 year middle school student / 10 months
	BK student 8	13	Female	1 year middle school student / 10 months
	BK student 9	13	Female	1 year middle school student / 10 months
	BK student 10	13	Male	1 year middle school student / 10 months
	BK student 11	13	Male	1 year middle school student / 10 months
	BK student 12	13	Male	1 year middle school student / 10 months
	BK student 13	15	Male	3 year middle school student / 24 months
	BK student 14	15	Male	3 year middle school student / 24 months
	BK student 15	15	Male	3 year middle school student / 24 months
	BK student 16	15	Male	3 year middle school student / 10 months
	BK student 17	15	Male	3 year middle school student / 10 months
	BK student 18	15	Male	3 year middle school student / 12 months
	HG student 1	15	Male	3 year middle school student / 24 months
	HG student 2	15	Female	3 year middle school student / 24 months
	HG student 3	15	Female	3 year middle school student / 24 months
	HG student 4	15	Female	3 year middle school student / 10 months
	HG student 5	15	Male	3 year middle school student / 24 months
	HG student 6	15	Female	3 year middle school student / 24 months
	HG student 7	15	Female	3 year middle school student / 24 months
LSP schools	SU student 1	15	Male	3 year middle school student / 10 months
	SU student 2	15	Male	3 year middle school student / 10 months
	SU student 3	15	Male	3 year middle school student / 10 months

(continued)	Student informant	Age	Gender	Grade / Length staying in program
LSP schools	SU student 4	15	Male	3 year middle school student / 10 months
	SU student 5	15	Male	3 year middle school student / 10 months
	SU student 6	15	Male	3 year middle school student / 10 months
	SU student 7	14	Female	3 year middle school student / 10 months
	SU student 8	15	Female	3 year middle school student / 10 months
	SU student 9	15	Female	3 year middle school student / 10 months
	SU student 10	15	Female	3 year middle school student / 10 months
	SS student 1	14	Male	2 year middle school student / 10 months
	SS student 2	14	Male	2 year middle school student / 10 months
	SS student 3	14	Male	2 year middle school student / 10 months
	SS student 4	14	Female	2 year middle school student / 10 months
	SS student 5	14	Female	2 year middle school student / 10 months
	SS student 6	14	Female	2 year middle school student / 2 months

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256

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VITA

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During his doctoral studies at The University of Texas at Austin, he received two prestigious graduate fellowships: the McCraw Long Fellowship (2005-2006) and the Carolyn J. & John H. Young Endowed Presidential Fellowship (2004-2005). He achieved two journal publications (including an SSCI journal) and six conference presentations at the North American Society for Sport Management. He served as an Associate Editor of *Topics of Education: Review of Research & Practice*, published by the College of Education at The University of Texas at Austin. In 2001 and 2002, he also served as a Special Event Coordinator of the 2001 FIFA Confederations Cup and the 2002 FIFA World Cup Soccer Games Korea/Japan in Suwon City.

He was nominated as the MVP for the Korean Daily Newspaper Soccer Cup, Houston, Texas in 1999. He served in the Korea military at Cheongju from 1995 to 1997.

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This dissertation was typed by the author.

279