

7-24-2000

Risk and Resilience Factors Linked to Problem Behavior Among Urban Culturally Diverse Adolescents

Stephanie L. Crosby
Augsburg College

Follow this and additional works at: <https://idun.augsburg.edu/etd>



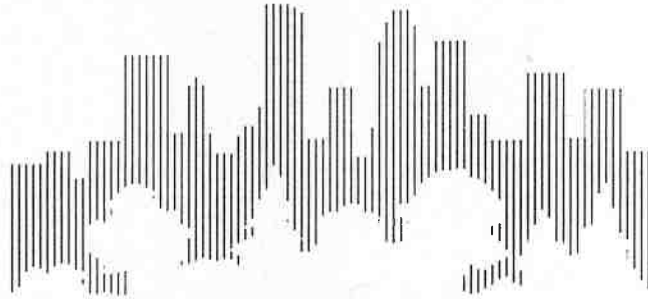
Part of the [Social Work Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Crosby, Stephanie L., "Risk and Resilience Factors Linked to Problem Behavior Among Urban Culturally Diverse Adolescents" (2000). *Theses and Graduate Projects*. 228.
<https://idun.augsburg.edu/etd/228>

This Open Access Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by Idun. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Graduate Projects by an authorized administrator of Idun. For more information, please contact bloomber@augburg.edu.

AUGSBURG



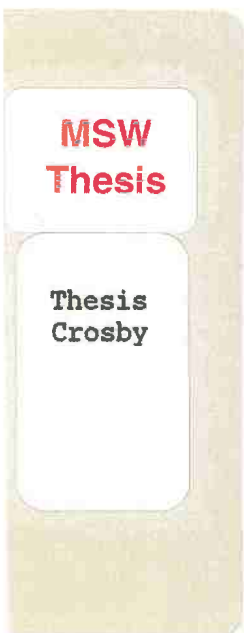
C • O • L • L • E • G • E

**MASTERS IN SOCIAL WORK
THESIS**

Stephanie L. Crosby

**Risk and Resilience Factors Linked to
Problem Behavior Among Urban
Culturally Diverse Adolescents**

2000



Risk and Resilience Factors Linked to Problem Behavior
Among Urban, Culturally
Diverse Adolescents

Stephanie L. Crosby

Submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirement for the degree of
Master of Social Work

AUGSBURG COLLEGE
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

2000

MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK
AUGSBURG COLLEGE
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

This is to certify that the Master's Thesis of:

Stephanie L. Crosby

has been approved by the Examining Committee for the thesis requirement for the Master of Social Work Degree.

Date of Oral Presentation: July 24, 2000

Thesis Committee:

Laura Boisen Dr. Laura Boisen
Thesis Advisor

Barb Mersy Barb Mersy
Thesis Reader

Francine Chakolis Francine Chakolis
Thesis Reader

ABSTRACT
Risk and Resilience Factors Linked to Problem Behaviors
Among Urban, Culturally Diverse Adolescents

Secondary Analyses

Stephanie L. Crosby

July 2000

This study examined several risk and resilience factors associated with sexual intercourse, gang involvement, and alcohol and drug use among 332, urban, culturally diverse adolescents aged 12-16 years. In general, different patterns of risk and resilience factors were found to predict the three problem behaviors.

Delinquency was the only factor that was significantly linked to sexual intercourse, gang involvement, and substance use.

Discriminant analyses supported that delinquency was differentially associated with low problem vs. high problem urban adolescents. In addition, when compared to the high problem urban youth, the resilient youth tended to have higher academic competence and intact two-parent families and were less likely to be involved in a steady relationship.

The results support an ecological, multidimensional approach to understanding problem behaviors in urban adolescents. Prevention and intervention approaches based on the study's findings are discussed.

Contents

I. Introduction	1
II. Literature Review	3
III. Theoretical Framework	18
IV. Methodology	20
V. Findings	27
VI. Discussion	36
VII. Conclusion	42
VIII. Summary	47
VIV. References	48

List of Tables

Table 1. Demographic Information on Urban Male and Female Adolescents	29
Table 2. Comparisons between Grade and Gender on Problem Behaviors	31
Table 3. Means and Standard Deviations of the Risk and Resilience Factors for Low Risk, Sexually Active, Gang and/or Drug Involvement, and High Problem Adolescents	33

Introduction

Adolescence is often a time of exploration, rebellion, and dramatic physical and psychological transition. In confronting the combined psychological changes that mark adolescence, it is estimated that one-quarter to one-half of America's youth at some time experience a tumultuous route (Kazadin, 1993).

Adolescent problem or risk taking behavior, which are those activities or behaviors that are detrimental to the health and well-being of youth frequently accompany this tumultuous path (Ketterlinust & Lamb, 1994). Although a certain level of risk-taking can be normal during adolescence, problem behaviors are considered undesirable by society and generally elicit negative social sanctions (Fortenberry, Costa, Jessor & Donovan, 1997).

The impact of adolescent problem behavior is so great that it now accounts for the primary cause of illness during this developmental period. Prior to 1960, adolescent illness was most often due to traditional causes of disease; however, the causes have shifted to behaviorally related problems (Hamburg & Takanishi, 1996). Research indicates that contemporary adolescents are more inclined to explore risky situations, increasing their potential for lifelong disability and even death (Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development,

1995). This study will emphasize the serious nature of potential outcomes linked to adolescent problem behavior by investigating three especially volatile behaviors: substance use, early-unprotected sexual activity, and youth violence.

Literature Review

Some longitudinal studies, several of which follow individuals over the course of a life span, have consistently documented that between one-half and two-thirds of children grow up in families exposed to mental illness, alcohol, abusive behavior, or in poverty-stricken or war-torn communities. Most children do overcome the odds (Werner & Smith, 1992). This is accomplished by turning a life of risk into one that manifests "resiliency", the term used to describe a set of qualities that foster a process of successful adaptation and transformation despite risk and adversity. Resilience research validates prior research and theory in human development that exists in the human organism and that unfolds naturally in the presence of certain environmental characteristics.

As personality theorist Erickson (1963) long ago pointed out the first stage of development in any system requires the establishment of trust the sense of safety, constancy, and predictability. Findings in brain research document that like resilience, intelligence is innate to all human beings, but again paralleling resilience-unfolds in the presence of a nurturing environment. Pearce (1992), a major synthesizer, and translator of this research writes, "All the infant-child wants to do is what nature intended: learn, build those structures of

knowledge. And all that is needed for this is an appropriate environment being surrounded by a mature intelligent intellect, open to mind's possibilities and tempered by hearts desire," (p.14).

Emmy E. Werner, a University of California child psychologist, conducted one of the most influential resilience studies, the Kauai study. She followed a group of Hawaiian students from 1955 to 1985 and found that about one-third of the students who were affected by major conditions of "risk" escaped to adulthood without much permanent damage. The study noted that children who emerged from the risk conditions without major problems had been active and sociable infants. She also found that resilient children have at least one skill that gives them a sense of pride and acceptance in a peer group. Yet, this study indicated that children who came to school devoid of any coping skills were able to develop resilience through early childhood education and social service intervention. Another important finding is that the early resilience experiences of girls do not carry into their adolescent years. Because of that, they need sustained support through their teen years to overcome adversity.

We are all born with an innate capacity for resilience, by which we are able to develop social competence, problem-

solving skills, a critical consciousness, autonomy, and a sense of purpose.

Social competence

Social competence includes qualities such as responsiveness, especially the ability to elicit positive responses from others; flexibility, including the ability to move between different cultures; empathy; communication skills; and a sense of humor.

Problem-solving

Problem-solving skills encompass the ability to plan; to be resourceful in seeking help from others; and to think critically, creatively, and reflectively.

Critical consciousness

Critical consciousness a reflective awareness of the structures of oppression (be it from an alcoholic parent, an insensitive school, or a racist society) and creating strategies for overcoming them has been key.

Autonomy

Autonomy is having a sense of one's own identity and an ability to act independently and to exert some control over one's environment, including a sense of task mastery, internal locus of control, and self-efficacy. The development of resistance (refusing to accept negative messages about one) and

of detachment (distancing oneself from dysfunction) serves as a powerful protector of autonomy.

Sense of purpose

Lastly, resilience is manifested in having a sense of purpose and a belief in a bright future, including goal direction, educational aspirations, achievement, motivation, persistence, hopefulness, optimism, and spiritual satisfaction.

From this research on resilience, the literature on school effectiveness (Comer, 1984; Edmonds, 1986; Rutter, Maughan, Mortimore, Ouston & Smith, 1979), and a rich body of ethnographic studies in which we hear the voices of youth, families, and teachers explaining their successes and failures (Heath & McLaughlin, 1993; Weis & Fine, 1993), a clear picture emerges of those characteristics of the family, school, and community environments that may alter or even reverse expected negative outcomes and enable individuals to circumvent life stressors and manifest resilience despite risk. These "protective factors" or "protective processes" can be grouped into three major categories: caring and supportive relationships, positive and high expectations, and opportunities for meaningful participation.

Caring Relationships

The presence of at least one caring person--someone who conveys an attitude of compassion, who understands that no matter how awful a child's behavior, the child is doing the best he or she can given his or her experience--provides support for healthy development and learning. Werner and Smith's (1989) study, covering more than 40 years, found that among the most frequently encountered positive role models in the lives of resilient children, outside of the family circle, was a favorite teacher who was not just an instructor for academic skills for the youngsters, but also a confidant and positive model for personal identification. Furthermore, as the research of Noddings (1988) has articulated, a caring relationship with a teacher gives youth the motivation for wanting to succeed.

"At a time when the traditional structures of caring have deteriorated, schools must become places where teachers and students live together, talk with each other, take delight in each other's company. It is obvious that children will work harder and do things...for people they love and trust," (Noddings, 1988).

Even beyond the teacher-student relationship, creating a school-wide environment of caring creates the opportunities for caring student-to-student, teacher-to-teacher, and teacher-to-

parent relationships. An ethic of caring is obviously not a "program" or "strategy" per se, but rather a way of being in the world, a way of relating to youth, their families, and each other that conveys compassion, understanding, respect, and interest. It is also the wellspring from which flow the two other protective factors.

High Expectations

Research has indicated that schools that establish high expectations for all youth--and give them the support necessary to achieve them--have high rates of academic success. They also have lower rates of problem behaviors such as dropping out, drug abuse, teen pregnancy, and delinquency than other schools (Rutter, Maughan, Mortimore, Ouston & Smith 1979). The conveying of positive and high expectations in a classroom and school occurs at several levels. The most obvious and powerful is at the relationship level in which the teacher and other school staff communicate the message that the student has everything he or she needs to be successful. As Tracy Kidder (1990) writes, "For children who are used to thinking of themselves as stupid or not worth talking to...a good teacher can provide an astonishing revelation. A good teacher can give a child at least a chance to feel, She thinks I'm worth something; maybe I am,"(p.162). Through relationships that

convey high expectations, students learn to believe in themselves and in their futures, developing the critical resilience traits of self-esteem, self-efficacy, autonomy, and optimism.

Schools also communicate expectations in the way they are structured and organized. The curriculum that supports resilience respects the way humans learn. Such a curriculum is thematic, experiential, challenging, comprehensive, and inclusive of multiple perspectives--especially those of silenced groups. Instruction that supports resilience focuses on a broad range of learning styles; builds from perceptions of student strengths, interests, and experience; and is participatory and facilitative, creating ongoing opportunities for self-reflection, critical inquiry, problem solving, and dialogue. Grouping practices that support resilience promote heterogeneity and inclusion, cooperation, shared responsibility, and a sense of belonging. Lastly, evaluation that supports resilience focuses on multiple intelligence, utilizes authentic assessments, and fosters self-reflection.

Opportunities for Participation

Providing youth with opportunities for meaningful involvement and responsibility within the school is a natural outcome in schools that have high expectations. Participation,

like caring and respect, is a fundamental human need. Several educational reformers believe that when schools ignore these basic needs of both students and teachers, schools become alienating places (Sarason, 1990). On the other hand, certain practices provide youth with opportunities to give their gifts back to the school community and do indeed foster all the traits of resilience. These practices include asking questions that encourage critical thinking and dialogue (especially around current social issues), making learning more hands-on, involving students in curriculum planning. We continue by using participatory evaluation strategies, letting students create the governing rules of the classroom, and employing cooperative approaches (such as cooperative learning, peer helping, cross-age mentoring, and community service).

What Do We Mean by Resilience?

How do we define this term to make it meaningful and useful to educators and policymakers? Some of the terms often considered to be synonymous with resilience are positive coping, persistence, adaptation, and long-term success despite adverse circumstances. Is resilience something we do or something we foster? If you view resilience as something we do, then many of the strategies adopted will be short-term and misdirected toward changing the child. This approach is similar

to what some teachers attempt to do in order to build students' self-esteem. Typically, commercial packages are purchased and teachers teach a lesson on self-esteem. This strategy is ineffective because self-esteem and self-efficacy are learned through positive social interaction and successful accomplishment of tasks, rather than through decontextualized units in a workbook.

Resilience should be viewed as something we foster throughout students' development by strengthening protective processes for students at critical moments in their lives. When you view resilience as a developmental process that can be fostered, then strategies for change can be directed toward practices, policies, and attitudes among professional educators. It is important to realize, however, that even when you change practices, policies, and attitudes within schools and communities, your work is not done. You will not automatically end up with a school full of resilient children. Within every young person is a delicate balance during those critical life events between the protective processes and risk factors that originate both internally and externally. Protective processes have to be reinforced constantly so that the potential for young people to be resilient when faced with risk factors and vulnerabilities remains intact.

The three characteristics of the process of fostering resilience are as follows:

1. The process is long-term and developmental.
2. The process views children with strengths rather than with deficits/risks.
3. The process nurtures protective processes so that the children can succeed, by changing systems, structures, and beliefs within schools and communities.

Beginning a Long-Term and Developmental Process

The difficulty in doing research on resilience is that the development of resilience occurs over a long period and depends on the presence of positive interventions by a significant individual, school, or organization at critical life points in order to counteract risks and vulnerabilities. Indications of resilience require more than short-term achievement gains on standardized tests, although these gains, too, are important. Fostering resilience is not a quick fix scheme or a panacea.

Viewing Children with Strengths Rather than with Deficits/Risks

In the inner city, the task of developing talent is even more difficult - not only because of the risks, conditions, and vulnerabilities, but also because of the prevailing attitudes and

beliefs of adults. We need to change our approach from one that emphasizes risks, deficits, and psychopathology to one that capitalizes on protection, strengths, and assets.

Nurturing Protective Processes for Children

Nurturing protective processes to help children succeed requires us to change beliefs, systems, and structures within schools and communities. The shift in thinking about resilience requires a change in beliefs, structures, and policies. Our expectations for young people are only part of the required change. If I asked teachers about IQ or student intelligence, a majority would say that it is fixed and immutable - that they cannot do much to change it. School administrators and teachers have the ability to change the structures, language, and policies that affect school climate. These components must be consistent with protective processes and fostering resilience. By changing school structures, a positive school climate can be fostered and teachers and principals can focus more specifically on protective processes that foster resilience. We must seriously rethink what we do with and to students in urban schools.

Many of the studies published on problem behaviors have examined the role of risk factors. The phenomena known as resilience stress resistance and protective factors have become

a recent focus of attention (Losel & Bliesener, 1994; Masten, Best & Garmezy, 1990; Rutter, 1990).

Developing Resiliency in Vulnerable Youth

Some youth come to school with a number of risk factors impacting their lives. However, it is believed that certain constitutional and environmental factors can help these children be more resistant or resilient to the effects of the negative stressors. Specific traits related to individual personality, social environment, and family have been linked to resilience in children and adolescents. The characteristics that relate to resiliency may not remain static across different developmental levels. For example, Werner and Smith (1982) reported that constitutional factors such as health and temperament were most influential during infancy and early childhood; and intra-personal factors were most important in adolescence. Although some aspects of resiliency may be traits that cannot be changed with intervention, other basic characteristics of resiliency (e.g., social skills, social support, problem-solving skills) may be used as an organizing framework for various intervention strategies to help vulnerable young people to effectively meet the demands of their stressful environments. Interventions that are focused on social skills, problem –solving skills and social support can

help adolescents develop a variety of effective responses to stressful events in their lives.

Social Skills

A positive sense of self, or a sense of personal power to exercise a degree of control over the environment, is one of the personality variables associated with resiliency. According to Forman (1993), programs focusing on the development of social-cognitive problem solving are among the most frequently used and best developed programs for social enhancement and emotional competence. Effective curricula can be introduced to teach students how negative thoughts can actually contribute to their own perceptions of stress. Positive self-talk and methods for cognitive restructuring can also be taught to help students develop an effective buffer against stress. To cope with the physiological aspects of stress, children and adolescents can be taught relaxation techniques. These exercises can be used at home or schools to release pent-up stress and muscle tension.

Problem Solving Skills

It appears that social support can reduce the negative impact of stress on health and social functioning for children and adolescents. Researchers have endorsed the importance of social support in the development of effective coping skills and resiliency to life events and believe that social support

interventions hold great promise in working with adolescents (e.g. Gottlieb, 1991). However, Grannis (1992) cautioned that social support can only temporarily reduce stress unless it is accompanied by an increased sense of control over the stressful event. Thus, to deal effectively and constructively with other people, children and adolescents must learn problem-solving techniques that facilitate productive social interaction and allow them to generate an active solution to their problems. Schools also must provide a positive environment, which allows numerous opportunities for children and adolescents to be involved constructively with others.

Social Support

During childhood and early adolescence, the parent is still considered the primary social support of a child and should be recruited as a key player in a stress-management program. Families can impact stress and coping efforts in a number of fundamental ways by meeting basic psychological needs, influencing self-esteem, shaping values, controlling exposure to stressful events, and providing support. Adaptive responses to stress are enhanced by the provision of a warm, supportive, predictable, cohesive, and communicative family environment (Kliewer, Sandler, & Wolchik, 1994). An adequate identification figure does not necessarily have to

originate within the family. Resilient adolescents have been found to have extensive contacts outside the immediate family with concerned and caring ministers, teachers, older friends, and peers (Hauser, Vieyra, Jacobson, & Westieb, 1985; Werner & Smith, 1982). This information highlights the role that caring educational personnel can serve in the life of a child.

This study extends previous investigation by (a) describing the concepts of risks and resilience from an ecological perspective; (b) incorporating a culturally diverse sample, including Hispanic, African American, white, and other ethnic group adolescents who live in an urban community; (c) examining both risk and resilience factors together; (d) searching for differential configurations or patterns of risk or resilience factors that have a more powerful influence on problem behaviors; and (e) exploring which risk and resilience factors differentiate youth who engage in very few problem behaviors from those who engage in high levels of problem behaviors.

Theoretical Framework

In the research on risk and resilience, a conceptual framework of reference is needed that incorporates both individual and contextual conditions affecting the probability of a problem. The ecological theory has this inclusive characteristic and is fully compatible with a risk and resilience perspective. Ecological theory focuses both on the individual and on the context.

As an early proponent of ecological theory, Bronfenbrenner (1979,1986) argued that children's development is strongly influence by the family, school, peer, neighborhood, and community contexts in which they live. Based on the interplay among genetic predisposition, physiological influences, and often conflicting forces in the social environment, human behavior is thought to be transactional and subject to the dynamics of social exchange. In the context of biological influences, the theory states that children develop and adapt through interactions with parents, siblings, peers, teachers, coaches, religious leaders, and a variety of others who, sometimes for better and sometimes for worse, are part of their lives. This person-in-environment perspective lies at the heart of social work and other helping professionals (Germain, 1991).

From this perspective, the social ecology of childhood can be conceptualized as consisting of interdependent and often nested parts or systems. A child usually lives in a family. A family lives in a neighborhood. As they grow up, children in a family are involved with the school system, and later teenage children may work in the community. Each is a system, an organized collection of activities and resources that exists within definable social and physical boundaries (Berger, McBreen, & Ritkin, 1996, p.42). And each exerts an influence on children. Systems such as the family and school have purposes and usually regulate social change. They have rules, roles, and power that determine activities and the use of resources. These central systems in children's lives makeup an, "ecology of childhood".

Due to the complex nature of circumstances surrounding problem behavior, the ecological model has been suggested for understanding risk and resilience in urban adolescents (Costa, Jessor, Donovan, & Fortenberry, 1995; Leadbeater, Blatt, & Quinlan, 1995; Small & Luster, 1994).

Methodology

Research Design

This study used a secondary analysis of a survey collected in 1998. Participants completed the self-report "All about Me" (AAM) questionnaire in a single session during a health class or homeroom period. The AAM questionnaire was designed to tap various attitudes, personal constructs, and behavior related to risk, resilience, and problem behavior as well as demographic information. The questionnaire had several subscales.

The original questionnaire was available in both English and Spanish. Participants were allowed to use the version of their choice. Protection of participants' identities was a very strong consideration. Names were not written on surveys to assure anonymity. Students were informed that they were not required to complete the questionnaire and could refuse doing so if it made them uncomfortable.

Research Hypothesis

To examine whether there are different patterns of risk and resilience factors that are associated with different adolescent problem behaviors. Also to determine the differential role of risk versus resilience factors on early sexual activity, substance abuse, and gang involvement.

What is the balance between risk and stressful factors that heighten youth's vulnerability, versus the protective factors that enhance their coping and resistance to adversity? This balance will determine the adolescents' projections for problem behavior.

Definition of Concept, Units of Analysis

The focus of the research was on determining the relation between risk and resilience factors and adolescent problem behaviors among culturally diverse urban adolescents. In this study, four types of ecologically based resilience constructs, personal, peer, family and situational, which might potentially mediate the development of problem behavior were examined.

Risk and resilience dimensions within the personal construct category include delinquency, academic competence, academic motivation, self-esteem, and religiosity. Whereas delinquency has been linked to problem behavior, academic competence, academic motivation, self-esteem and religiosity help to buffer unwanted or negative influences. Is there a link between peer influences to adolescent problem behavior? Although adolescents are aware of the harm that may accompany their risky behavior, they may be unable to resist negative peer influence to do so. With regard to family

influences a functional family structure and a positive parental relationship may be a buffer against problem behaviors.

Finally, three situational factors that may be predictive of problem behavior include poverty, physical, and sexual abuse.

Risk variables were expected to show a positive association with problem behaviors and conversely, the resilience variables are expected to show an inverse relation with these behaviors. Which risk or resilience factors actually discriminated among adolescents engaging in different levels of problem behavior, sexual activity only, substance use and / or gang involvement, and high problem behavior?

Measurement Issues

Six measures of risk and six measures of resilience were included in the questionnaire. The risk indicators included poverty, delinquency, steady relationship, negative peer influence, history of physical abuse, and history of sexual abuse. The six measures of resilience included social competence, academic motivation, self-esteem, parental living situation, quality of parent relationship, and religiosity. These measures were selected because of the relationship that has been shown between them and one or more of the problem behaviors in prior studies (Kolbe, 1994). Demographic items

will be included on the questionnaire analyses that will control for gender, race / ethnicity, and grade in school.

Pre-testing the instrument ensured that the questions were clearly stated and did not include any biased language. This process was done by meeting with a school personnel group, which consisted of a teacher, an administrator, a social worker and a school psychologist to obtain qualitative feedback on the cultural and developmental appropriateness of the items included. Survey items were modified based on this feedback. The measure appears to project face validity in measuring what the author intends to measure. The content validity appears to be high as the measures cover a wide range of meanings that are included within the concepts of risks and resilience factors.

Levels of measurements utilized from the questionnaire included a ratio for the levels of frequency of drug use, which will be a continuous variable. Categories for types of abuse were measured nominally and are discrete.

This study was subject to systematic errors relating to possible subject social desirability. The pre-tests helped lower likelihood of systematic biases. The questionnaire was not previously tested, so validity as well as reliability is unknown.

Data Collection Instruments

A questionnaire entitled "All About Me", was utilized to collect data. The instrument was pre-tested on students in one 6th grade class. Professionals within the field were asked to review the instrument. After completing revisions following pretests, the questionnaires were administered in small groups in a health class by two female graduate interns. These data collector's monitored procedures, answered questions, and read the questionnaire to students individually, if necessary. Questionnaires were collected at the end of the class period.

Data Analysis Procedures

Data was analyzed by a multivariate procedure. Findings of the study were organized in three parts. First, there is a report on demographic information and correlation data related to problem behavior. Second, an examination of the multivariate linkages of risks and resilience to sexual activity, substance use and gang involvement is presented. Third, there is a report of the discriminate relationships of risks and resilience factors for differentiating among four groups of adolescents ranging from low problem behavior such as those defined as resilient to high problem behavior.

Strengths and Limitations of Study

A limitation of the literature on risk and resilience related to adolescent problem behavior is that it often draws mostly on white, middle-class, suburban; or university town samples, which lack relevance and generality to contemporary, urban youth that encounter unique stresses and high-risk environment contexts. The strengths of this study focus on incorporating a culturally diverse sample, including Hispanic, African American, white and other ethnic group adolescents who live in an urban community. Another strength is examining both risk and resilience factors together. Exploring which risk and resilience factors differentiate youth that engage in a very few problem behaviors from those who engage in high levels of problem behaviors is another strength. This study will be useful to determine the differential role of risk versus resilience factors on early sexual activity, substance use, and gang involvement.

Several limitations of this study should be considered. Data will be based solely on participants' self-reports, which may reflect some common methodological flaw that influences the result; for example, adolescents with high problem behaviors may resist the task by providing erroneous responses. Due to the sensitive nature of some questions, it

also is possible that participants may be uncomfortable reporting personal information. An attempt was made to maintain the integrity of data collection ensuring anonymity and by providing assistance in monitoring and responding to individual during the process.

Findings

Findings of the study are organized in three parts. First, a report of the demographic information and correlation data related to problem behavior. Second, a report of the examination of the multivariate linkages of risk and resilience related to sexual activity, substance use, and gang involvement. Third, a report of the relationships of risk and resilience factors related to the four groups of adolescent behavior. The groups range from low problem behavior, to high problem behavior.

Characteristics of Study sample

The study consisted of 332 adolescents (135 boys and 197 girls) who were attending a large, urban middle or high school located in the upper Midwest. Participants ranged in age from 12 to 16 years ($m=14.48$). Only 9% of the participants were white; all others belonged to ethnic minorities (64% Hispanic, 10% African American, and 17% other minority). Approximately 83% of student participants were eligible for free and reduced lunch, which closely matched the city-wide percentage of youth in this urban district who receive lunch fee reduction due to low family income. This was a sample of convenience.

Associations among Problem Behavior Variables and Demographic Analysis

Sexual Activity

The demographic information regarding problem and risk behaviors for the sample is presented in Table 1. Many of the students reported that they had been sexually active. Results from the survey indicate that 1 of 3 boys (37%) and 1 of 4 girls (27%) had a sexual intercourse in their lifetime

Living Situation

Adolescents from non-intact families tend to initiate earlier sexual intercourse than adolescent from intact families. The result of the questionnaire indicate that 49% of the students reported living in intact families and 27% reported living in single-parent female headed households.

Gang Involvement

Both males and females reported relatively similar levels of gang involvement. Females reported 13.2% gang related activity, and boys reported 17.8% gang activity. Likewise, males and females reported fairly similar levels of physical abuse, substance use, and involvement in a steady relationship. Females reported greater sexual abuse (14.2%) than did males (1.5%).

Table 1.
Demographic Information on Urban Male and Female Adolescents

Category	All Students n=332	Males n=135	Females n=197
Sexually active			
Yes	31.0%	37.0%	26.9%
No	64.8%	55.6%	71.1%
Missing	4.2%	7.4%	2.0%
Substance use			
Alcohol	44.0%	41.3%	43.7%
Cocaine/Crack	3.3%	4.4%	2.6%
Other Illegal (Marijuana)	13.6%	20.0%	14.2%
Missing	3.2%	2.2%	2.4%
Gang involvement			
Yes	15.1%	17.8%	13.2%
No	85.5%	77.0%	86.3%
Missing	2.4%	5.2%	.5%
Living situation			
Intact Family	48.5%	53.3%	45.2%
Step Family	14.2%	13.3%	14.7%
With mother only	27.4%	23.7%	29.9%
Other	9.3%	8.9%	9.6%
Missing	.6%	.7%	.5%
Poverty (free lunch)			
Yes	82.8%	80.0%	84.8%
No	13.0%	16.3%	10.7%
Missing	4.25%	3.7%	4.6%
Physical abuse			
Yes	12.7%	11.9%	13.2%
No	84.9%	83.7%	85.8%
Missing	2.4%	4.4%	1.0%
Sexual abuse			
Yes	9.0%	1.5%	14.2%
No	87.7%	91.9%	84.8%
Missing	3.3%	6.7%	1.0%
Religion			
Yes	71.7%	71.1%	72.1%
No	24.1%	24.4%	23.9%
Missing	4.2%	4.4%	4.1%
Steady relationship			
Yes	46.1%	44.4%	47.2%
No	52.7%	53.3%	52.3%
Missing	1.2%	2.2%	.5%

Age and Gender

The relationship between specific problem behaviors and the demographic variables of sex and age were analyzed by conducting a test of proportions among categorical variables and analysis of variance among continuous variables (see Table 2). Differences were examined in the proportion of drug use, sexual activity, and gang involvement based on age and gender. Four groups of adolescents were formed and compared: male younger and female younger (seventh and eighth) groups and male older and female older (ninth and tenth grade) groups. Substance use, including beer/hard liquor, cocaine/crack, and overall drug use; sexual activity; and gang involvement did not differ as a function of the four gender / age groups. There were differences, however in use of other illegal drugs especially marijuana based on gender and age. In comparing older adolescent males and younger females the older males reported using more illegal drugs.

Table 2.
Comparisons between Grade and Gender on Problem Behaviors

	Grades 7 and 8				Grades 9 and 10			
	Males (n=48)		Females (n=86)		Males (n=87)		Females (n=111)	
	M	SD %	M	SD %	M	SD %	M	SD %
Age	13.92	.94	13.69	.90	15.14	.74	14.8	4.68
Substance use								
Alcohol		41.7		39.5		46.0		46.7
Cocaine Crack		4.2		1.2		4.6		3.6
Other Drugs		18.8		8.1		20.7		18.9
Total Score	7.28	4.52	6.36	3.32	7.09	3.27	6.97	3.86
Sexually Active		35.4		29.1		37.9		25.2
Gang Involvement		20.8		14.0		6.1		12.6

Predicting Problem Behavior

Multivariate Analysis

In order to determine which risk and resilience variables can predict the probability of adolescents' sexual activity, gang involvement, and substance use, a multivariate analyses was computed. A separate analysis was computed for each problem behavior. Analyses were computed separately for predicting the outcome of sexual intercourse, gang involvement, and substance use. For all three analyses, connections between risk and resilience measures, and the problem behavior factors were examined. The results of the

analyses show that risk and resilience factors each have significant connections with the three adolescent problem behaviors (see Table 3).

Sexual Activity

The results indicate that those students who were sexually active associated with delinquent acts and had been involved in steady relationships at or below poverty level. In addition, students who were not involved in sexual intercourse lived in intact families, were involved in religion activities and were more successful in school. This unexpected relation is likely due to the use of too global an indicator of poverty, free lunch, which did not provide much variance among the sample. 83% of the sample qualified for free lunch.

Gang Involvement

In the analyses predicting gang involvement, those students who engaged in delinquent activities and were also involved in a steady relationship are more apt to be involved in a gang. The resilience factors of family structure and parent relationship protect against this problem behavior.

Substance Abuse

The results showed that students who were involved in gang activity were more likely to use drugs. Those students who were successful in school were less likely to use drugs.

Considered collectively, delinquency was the only predictor that had a connection with all three-problem behaviors. Those student's who reported involvement in a steady relationship and in delinquent activity, also reported involvement in sexual intercourse and gang activity.

Table 3.
Means and Standard Deviations of the Risk and Resilience Factors for Low Risk, Sexually Active, Gang and/or Drug Involvement, and High Problem Adolescents

	Low Risk n=170		Sex n=39		Gangs or Drugs n=44		High Prob. n=59		
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	
	<u>Coefficients</u>								
Delinquency	.81	.80	1.26	2.06	1.57	3.10	2.37	4.38	2.77
Poverty	-.11	.90	.27	.84	.37	.79	.42	.78	.42
Steady	.36	.30	.46	.72	.46	.56	.50	.76	.43
Physical Abuse	.05	.06	.24	.16	.37	.20	.41	.24	.43
Peer Problems	-.19	7.23	3.67	6.32	2.91	7.19	3.44	6.19	2.59
Sexual Abuse	.11	.08	.27	.16	.37	.14	.35	.14	.35
Family Structure	.20	3.21	1.04	3.00	1.07	3.02	1.02	2.47	1.02
Religiosity	.07	.83	.38	.59	.50	.75	.44	.68	.47
Acad. Competence	.25	3.30	1.16	2.84	.95	3.02	1.11	2.63	1.05
Acad. Motivation	.04	9.73	2.19	9.51	1.99	9.31	2.27	9.03	2.07
Parent Relationship	.04	10.05	1.84	9.94	2.24	8.87	2.65	9.07	2.20
Self Esteem	.03	11.73	2.64	11.38	2.88	11.20	2.49	11.74	2.72

Predicting Problem Behavior Constellations

Discriminate Analyses

Adolescents were classified into groups based on their pattern of problem behavior (see Table 3). Four groups were formed on a continuum from: resilient (low problem behavior), sexually active only gang and/or substance involvement, and high problem behavior (sexual activity plus gang involvement and/or substance use). Approximately one-half of the adolescent participant's (51%) denied involvement in sexual activity, gangs, and substance use. There were some students who reported being involved with one problem behavior only, and some that were involved with more than one problem behavior. Within the total sample, 12% were sexually active, but reported no involvement with gangs or substance. Additionally, 14% reported no sexual activity, but involvement with gangs or substances, and 18% reported sexual intercourse and either gang or substance involvement or both (6% had missing data on one or more of the problem behavior variables). The means and standard deviations for the risk and resilience measures for these four groups are presented in Table 3.

In combining the information from the correlation coefficients and the discriminant function-variable

correlation's, the four groups are characterized as differing primarily along a delinquency continuum and somewhat along a steady relationship academic competence-family structure continuum. Finally, univariate results supported the role of delinquency, steady relationship, family structure, and academic competence in differentiating among the four problem group constellations. Among the resilient group, less than one-third reported being in a steady relationship. More than two-thirds of the adolescents reported, being sexually active only. Lastly three fourths reported being sexually active and involved in either gang or substance use. Similar patterns differentiating the resilient group from the high problem group were observed for the academic competence and family structure variables. Those in the resilient group reported grades falling in the B to C range, whereas the high problem group reported grades in the C to D range. The resilient youth were more likely to live with two parents; a greater percentage of the high problem adolescent reported living in a single-parent or foster home.

Discussion

This study examines risk and resilience factors that influence problem behavior patterns in culturally diverse, urban adolescents. The results reveal several important aspects of risk and resilience and their association with adolescents' sexual activity, gang involvement, and substance use. First, despite the opportunity to engage in problem behaviors, more than one-half of these urban adolescents denied involvement in any of the three investigated problem behaviors. Second, the data from previous reports, indicates that problem behavior began early in adolescence. Gender, age, and ethnicity generally were not connected with gang involvement, and substance use. For example, significant increases in sexual activity, gang involvement, and substance abuse were not observed with advancing grade level among the seventh to tenth grade students. A mildly significant correlation (.13) was observed between sexual activity and gender, indicating somewhat higher incidence rates for male adolescents. Third, delinquency was the only factor that was the three problem behaviors of sexual intercourse, gang involvement, and substance use. Different patterns of risk and resilience factors were found to predict the three problem behaviors. Fourth, self-esteem was neither related to any

problem nor did it separate adolescents involved in the different problem behaviors. Finally, the discriminate function analysis supported that delinquency was separately associated with resilient youth vs. problem behavior adolescents. Similar to other research, resilient youth tended to have higher academic competence, intact families, and were less involved in steady relationships compared to high problem behavior youth (Losel & Bliesener, 1994; Small & Luster, 1994).

Age, Gender, and Problem Behavior

The findings of this study support the usefulness of a multi-component, ecological approach to understanding sexual activity, gang involvement and substance use in culturally diverse, urban youth. A noteworthy finding of this study was that adolescents' proneness to problem behavior could not be reliably deduced from age and gender data. For example, in the four-problem behavior groups ranging from low problem to high problems there was not a significant difference in age. An examination of adolescent problem behaviors based on age-gender groups such as younger female, older female, younger male, older male revealed that only the comparison of other illicit drug use indicated a significant difference wherein younger female adolescents used these drugs less than older males. Gender was found to be mildly associated with sexual

intercourse with the adolescent boys more likely to be sexually active. It is possible that living in a high-risk environment may accelerate the rate at which adolescents engage in early sexual activity, gang behavior, and substance use. For urban youth, norms, standards, and/or peer acceptance of problem behaviors may shift downward to younger age levels, making developmental difference less evident in early adolescent youth.

Sexual Activity, Gang Involvement, and Substance Use Profiles

The results from examining differing groups of problem behaviors in adolescents such as low problem, sexually active only, gang and/or substance involvement, high problem provide some interesting differences about adolescent risk and resilience profiles. The greatest difference in characteristics occurred between the resilient group (low problem) and the high problem adolescents. The resilient youth were less involved in delinquent behavior and steady relationships, more academically competent, and more often from intact families (living with both biological parents) than high problem adolescents (sexually active plus involvement in gangs and/or substance use) (Small & Luster, 1994). Wu and Martinson (1993) noted that the strength of the linkage of family structure to pre-marital births differed for persons of various

racess or ethnicity with family structure being a stronger predictor for Hispanics and Euro-American than for African-Americans. In this study the majority of the participants were Hispanic, which may have implications for the importance of family structure as a determinant of adolescent problem behavior for this group.

Delinquency showed positive connections with adolescents' involvement in sexual intercourse, gangs, and substance use. In addition, findings of this study indicate that different levels of delinquency were reflected in different adolescent problem behavior groups. The highest level of delinquency occurred in the high problem (sexual activity plus gang and/or substance) group. The analyses based on problem behaviors (resilient, sexually active, involvement in gangs or substances sexually active plus gangs and/or substances) showed that, compared to resilient youth, the sample of culturally diverse adolescents who were sexually active tended to engage in higher levels of delinquent behaviors. However, delinquency was less prominent in adolescents who were only sexually active than in those involved in either gangs or substance use or in those combining sexual behavior with gang involvement and/or substance use. The results seem to suggest that urban youth that engage in sexual activity, but not gangs

or substances, are at the lower end of the continuum of problem behavior.

An examination of the links between risk and resilience factors and the three problem behaviors investigated in this study revealed some patterns. Perhaps of most importance was the finding of different resilience factors being associated with sexual activity, gang behavior, and substance use. Whereas family structure, religiosity, and academic competence protected against early sexual intercourse, quality of parent relationship lessened gang involvement, and academic motivation was linked to resistance to substance use. These findings help explain the way in which resilience factors may vary in their importance for different problem behaviors. An understanding that resilience factors may exercise different influences on adolescent problem behavior is helpful for planning preventives/interventions. Though a particular emphasis on supporting academic achievement may be especially important for preventing early sexual activity, incorporating program components aimed at promoting student-to parent communication/relationships may be especially useful for gang prevention efforts.

It also is noteworthy for prevention/intervention purpose that the set of investigated risk factors were more powerful

predictors of problem behavior than were the set of resilience factors. The risk dimension was a strong predictor for all three-problem behaviors and for both genders. The risk dimension used in this study surpassed the contribution of resilience in predicting problem behavior for the sample used. In interpreting these results, it is critical to consider the dramatic influence of delinquent behavior, which was one of the risk factors. From a prevention/intervention perspective, the results support efforts aimed at determining the development of delinquent behaviors. The limited number of resilience factors measured, suggest that the limited effects for resilience should not be over generalized. Nonetheless, the results concur with other research, including work by Loseland Bliesener (1994), who conclude that "it remains unclear how far the "protective factors" actually have a protective effect or whether they are only correlating symptoms or consequences of adaptation versus disorder"(p.769).

Conclusion

Implications for Prevention and Intervention

Plans for prevention or intervention based on the present study should be viewed with caution in light of possible methodological limitations. The results, however, may be useful for designing interventions with urban, culturally diverse adolescents. In this study, the power of delinquency in impacting problem behavior was quite dramatic. However, because different risk and resilience factors, with the exception of delinquency, were shown to be associated with sexual activity, gang involvement, and substance use, interventions that adopt a broad-based, multi-component approach to interrelated problem behaviors are endorsed. The differences among the risk and resilience factors in their association with the three problem behaviors, as well as the mild to moderate associations among problem behaviors suggests that school social workers and other education and mental health professionals, should attempt to prevent problem behaviors by incorporating strategies. These strategies should address a continuum of diverse needs and diverse personal characteristics rather than a single problem behavior.

Successful programs must include a comprehensive approach to provide preventive interventions that target

clusters of problem behaviors. Interventions need to address those factors that predispose adolescents to engage in high-risk or problem behaviors. This can be done by (a) connecting adolescents to their families, (b) designing schools aligned with adolescents' developmental needs, (c) promoting the health of adolescents, (d) improving community conditions for youth, and (e) promoting the constructive potential of media.

Support for such preventive interventions is provided in the characteristics of the resilient subgroup in the adolescent sample. Resilient youth were more likely to do well in school, to come from intact, supportive families, and to resist delinquency behaviors and steady relationships. These findings substantiate the underlying role that families, schools, and communities can play in offsetting challenging social and economic conditions. The results of this study also suggest that schools need to reach beyond their typical boundaries to alter an adolescent's dispositions to problem behavior. Although it seems clear that improving an adolescent's academic achievement is helpful to deter problem behavior, it is not enough. Rather, interventions must be broader, including targets such as lowering adolescents' involvement in delinquent behaviors.

This study demonstrates the complex array of issues surrounding adolescent problem behaviors. Hence, preventive interventions should extend beyond the "information only" boundaries that are commonplace in our schools. Preventive interventions that are compatible with the social and cultural issues faced by contemporary adolescents' needs to be developed, implemented, and evaluated. In addition, for school social workers and other interventionists to be maximally effective, they must concentrate their efforts on the cognitive, affective, and developmental needs of specific subtypes of adolescent youth, especially those with high problem behaviors. Here, it seems likely that school social workers may need to expand from child-centered" approaches to strategies based in family systems and socio-cultural theories such as parent-adolescent communication, risk recognition within a social context, and culturally appropriate social assertiveness. Similarly, a multi-component preventive approach requires school social workers and other professionals to be versed in a broad range of strategies such as classroom-based and small group treatments, self-management training, communication skill development, and conflict resolution techniques (Stoiber & Kratochwill, 1998).

School programs that foster resilience among urban, culturally diverse youth most reexamine the school culture, policy, and structures in order to provide “protective processes” within the school/ community environment. Some of the strategies may include:

Preschool to First Grade

- Adapt social and instructional arrangements in classrooms and schools to accommodate and promote help seeking activities.
- Incorporate teams of teachers who work with preschool/first grade students over a two-to three- year period to incorporate stronger relationships and follow growth and progress over this developmental period.

All Grades

- Develop school programs and policies to promote positive peer interaction between and among students, parents, and community members.
- Provide a variety of extracurricular programs that allow students to pursue interests that promote self-efficacy.
- Provide professional development and support teams for teachers and students that provide solutions options to student who are in crisis or who are “falling through the cracks”.

- Develop strong linkages with churches / community counseling centers and health agencies that are genuinely interested in serving neighborhood clients.
- Provide Mentors for students who are facing high-risk situations to reduce risk exposure.
- Use multi-age groups and tutoring to foster a sense of competence and efficacy.
- Collaborate with community and youth agencies that allow student to invest in academic pursuits outside of school.
- Provide opportunities for athletic intramural and intermural activities at the middle and secondary school levels.

Summary

In summary, the complex nature of linkages between risk and resilience factors and problem behaviors revealed in the present findings support the need for expanded multi-focused preventive and intervention efforts rather than those emphasizing micro-skills or narrow knowledge content alone. The magnitude and heightened incidence of problem behavior demonstrated among urban, culturally diverse adolescents should provide momentum for school social workers and other mental health workers to respond to the diversity of issues surrounding problem behaviors. The focus of intervention needs to extend beyond targeting behaviors to engaging urban adolescent as persons who are contextualized by challenging issues. Opportunities aimed at promoting more active and ongoing development for intervening with troubled youth such as interactive institutes, action-research projects, and focused professional discussion groups are suggested for enhancing school social workers competence as interventionists.

Transforming schools and communities into environments that foster resilience will not be an easy task. Strengthening the protective processes in schools and communities requires fundamental change in the beliefs, visions, rituals, and behaviors of educators and community members.

References

- Benard, B.(1991). Fostering resiliency in kids: Protective factors in the family, school, and community. Portland, OR:Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory.
- Berger, R.L., McBreen, J.T., & Rifkin, M.J.(1996). Human behavior: A perspective for the helping professionals. White Plains, N.Y: Longman.
- Bronfenbrenner,U.(1979). The ecology of human development: Experiments by nature and design. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bronfenbrenner,U.(1986).Ecology of the family as a context to human development: Research perspectives. Development Psychology, 22,723-742.
- Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development (1995). Great Transitions: Preparing adolescents for a new century. Washington, D.C. Author.
- Clark, R.M. (1983). Family life and school achievement:Why poor black children succeed or fail. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Comer,J.(1984). Home-school relationships as they affect the academic success of children. Education and Urban Society, 116(3), 323-337.

- Costa, F.M., Jessor, R., Donovan, J.E., & Fortenberry, J.D.(1995). Early initiation of sexual psychosocial unconventionality. Journal of Research on Adolescence, 5,93-121.
- Ercikson, E.(1963). Childhood and society (2nd ed.). New York: W.W. Norton.
- Edmonds, R.(1986). Characteristics of effective schools. In U.Neisser (Ed.), The school achievement of minority children: New perspectives (pp.93-104), Hillsdale,NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Fine. M.A., & Schwebel, A.I. (1991). Resiliency in black children from single-parent families. In W.A. Rhodes &W.K. Brown (Eds.), Why some children succeed despite the odds (pp.23-40). New York: Praeger.
- Forman,S.G. (1993). Coping skill interventions for children and adolescents. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Fortenberry, J.D., Costa, F.M., Jessor, R & Donovan, J.E.(1997). Contraceptive behavior and adolescent life styles: A Structural Modeling Approach. Journal of Research on Adolescence. 7,307-329.
- Garmezy, N. (1983). Stressors of Childhood. In N. Garezy & M. Rutter (Eds.),Stress, coping, and development in children(pp.43-84). New York:McGraw-Hall.

- Garmezy, N.(1987). Stress, competence, and development: Continuities in the study of schizophrenic adults, children vulnerable to psychopathology, and the search for stress-resistant children. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 57, 159-174.
- Garmezy, N.(1991). Resiliency and vulnerability to adverse developmental outcomes associated with poverty. American Behavioral Scientist, 34(4), 416-430.
- Germain, C.B.(1991). Human behavior in the social environment: An ecological view. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Gottlieb, B.H.(1991). Social support in adolescence. In M.E. Colten & S. Gore (Eds.), Adolescent stress: Causes and consequences (pp.281-306). New York:Aldine de Gruyter.
- Grannis, J.C.(1992). Students' stress, distress, and achievement in an urban intermediate school. Journal of Early Adolescence,12, 4-27.
- Hamburg, D.A., & Takanishi, R.(1996). Great transitions: Preparing American youth for the 21st century- The role of research. Journal of Research on Adolescence, 6,379-396.
- Hauser, S.T., & Bowlds, M.K. (1990). Stress, coping and adaptation. In S.S. Feldman & G.R. Elliot (Eds.) At the

- threshold: The developing adolescent (pp.388-413).
Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Heath, S.B., and M.W. McLaughlin, Eds. (1993). Identity and Inner-City Youth: Beyond Ethnicity and Gender. New York: Teachers College Press. ED 360 415.
- Kazdin, A.E. (1993). Adolescent mental health. American Psychologist, 48,127-141.
- Ketterlinus, R.D. & Lamb, M.E. (1994). Adolescent problem behavior: Issues and research. Mahwah, N.J.: Erlbaum.
- Kidder, T. (1990). Among School Children. New York: Avon.
- Kliewer, W., Sandler, I., & Wollchik, S. (1994). Family socialization of threat appraisal and coping: Coaching, modeling, and family context. In F. Nestmann & K. Hurrelman (Eds.), Social networks and social support in childhood and adolescence (pp/271-292). New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- Kolbe, L.J. (1990). An epidemiological surveillance systems to monitor the prevalence of youth behaviors that most affect health. Health Education, 21, 44-48.
- Leadbeater, B.J., Blatt, S.J. & Quinlan, D.M. (1995). Gender linked vulnerabilities to depressive symptoms, stress, and problem behaviors in adolescents. Journal of Research or Adolescence, 5, 1-29.

- Losel, F., & Bliesener, T. (1994). Some high-risk adolescents do not develop conduct problems: A study of protective factors. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 17, 753-777.
- Noddings, N. (1988). Schools Face Crisis in Caring. *Education Week*, December 7.
- Pearce, J.C. (1992). Evolution's end: Claiming the potential of our intelligence. San Francisco, CA: Harper Collins.
- Rutter, M., B. Maughan, P. Mortimore., Ouston, J., & Smith, A. (1979). Fifteen thousand hours. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Rutter, M. (1987). Psychosocial resilience and protective mechanisms. In J. Rolf, A. Masten, D. Cicchetti, K. Nuechterlein, & S. Weintraub (Eds.), Risk and protective factors in the development of psychopathology (pp. 181-214). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Sarason, S. (1990). The predictable failure of educational reform. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass. ED354 587.
- Small, S.A. & Luster, T. (1994). Adolescent sexual activity: An ecological, risk factor approach. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 56, 181-192.

- Stoiber, K.C., & Kratochwill, T.R. (Eds.). (1988). Handbook of group intervention for children and families. Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Weis, L. and M. Fine, Eds. (1993). Beyond Silenced Voices: Class, Race, and Gender in United States Schools. New York: State University of New York Press. ED 361 416.
- Werner, E., & Smith, R.S. (1982). Vulnerable but invincible: A study of resilient children. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Wu, L.L., & Martinson, B.C. (1993). Family structure and risk of premarital birth. American Sociological Review, 58, 210-222.

