Pathways and Crime Prevention: A Difficult Marriage?

Alan France & Ross Homel

For at least a quarter of a century the study of the developmental origins of crime and delinquency has been, in the words of Nagin and Tremblay (2005, p. 873), "both an important and contentious topic in criminology." Indeed, as these researchers note, the contemporary international wave of research within this genre is "testimony to the central position of what has come to be called developmental criminology" (p. 874). We estimate that since 1990 the journal *Criminology* has devoted at least one third of its articles to some aspect of developmental criminology. Many other journals, broader perhaps in their theoretical and methodological orientations than *Criminology*, are also now devoting considerable space to themes such as the effects of child abuse and family violence on children and young people's personal development, or the influence of poverty and social exclusion on pathways towards adulthood and perhaps toward crime.

Our aim with this book is to add to this growing body of knowledge, particularly from an Australian and United Kingdom perspective, and to highlight some important theoretical, methodological and policy debates. Drafts of all the chapters were delivered at an international symposium we organised in Brisbane in September 2005. The symposium had the title *Pathways and Prevention*, and had as a primary aim the creation of a dialogue between prevention researchers and developmental and life-

course criminologists and others who do research relevant to the understanding of pathways into and out of crime. We wanted to know how prevention research informs pathways research, and to explore the implications of pathways research for prevention policies and planning.

Woven throughout the book are six core themes that emerged from the symposium papers and the discussions about them:

- improving the *conceptual foundations of pathways research*;

- deepening and widening our thinking about the *methods* that are used in pathways and prevention research;

- exploring new *empirical research into pathways and social contexts*;

- applying the insights of pathways thinking to the *design and implementation of preventive interventions*;

- exploring new *evidence from evaluations of preventive interventions;* and

- reflecting on the *intersections between research, practice and policy.*

Reflecting these themes, the book is divided into two parts. Part 1 concentrates mainly on the first four themes, drawing on seven symposium papers first published in the *Australian New Zealand Journal of Criminology* (Vol.39 No.3, 2006), and two other symposium papers that explore continuities in specific problems (sexual victimisation and bullying) across the life course. Part 2 of the book consists of seven symposium papers that focus on the last three themes that are all related to the theory, policy and practice of prevention from a life course or developmental perspective. The authors of these chapters are united by an interest in improving prevention strategies by drawing upon a contextualised understanding of pathways and of the institutional and political

forces that determine the sustainability of initiatives and that shape the policies that inform practice.

An interdisciplinary emphasis: The Brisbane international symposium

The symposium brought together approximately 60 scholars from a number of countries and from many disciplines, ranging through anthropology, criminology, early childhood studies, education, paediatrics, psychology, political science, public health, social work and social policy, sociology, and statistics. This interdisciplinary mix was quite deliberate, since as we note in Chapter 1, pathways research draws broadly on "…theoretical and empirical work in the field of life course studies and the developmental sciences, including developmental psychology, life span sociology and psychology, life history research, and studies of the life cycle" (France and Homel, p. XX).

Criminology in the past two decades has made important contributions to these fields, and indeed is perhaps coming to be viewed as a model for how some of these disciplines could implement important innovations in life course theory and methods of inquiry. For example it is argued that literacy scholars should be looking to longitudinal research in criminology and the health sciences in order to expand the breadth of topics engaged within reading research (Vanderstaay, 2006). Nevertheless the criminological corpus overall is small in comparison with that of other disciplines, reflecting criminology's specialised focus. We wanted to explore what light might be thrown by cognate research on problems that currently preoccupy criminologists, such as the role of life events in influencing the life course, the theorisation of social context and of human agency, the extent of and predictability of continuity or

discontinuity in antisocial behaviour from childhood to adulthood, and the origins and consequences of crime and violence and other problem behaviours (Farrington, 2005; Sampson & Laub, 2005).

Some of the funding for the symposium came from the interdisciplinary UK research network *Pathways into and out of Crime* that is funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (http://www.pcrrd.group.shef.ac.uk) and a number of speakers spoke about their research through this network. Other speakers were members of the Australian Developmental Crime Prevention Consortium, an interdisciplinary group that wrote the 1999 Federal Government report, *Pathways to Prevention: Developmental and Early Intervention Approaches to Crime in Australia*. Some speakers were not members of either of these groups and presented papers from the perspectives of their own or in some cases other disciplines. This interdisciplinarity has been expressed throughout this book in discussions on both pathways and on prevention.

For example, criminology has always been strongly influenced by psychology (Garland, 2002), but the influence has tended to come from a kind of psychology that accords a central place to individual development at the expense of external influences. In their chapters Jacqueline Goodnow and Jeanette Lawrence, both developmental psychologists, contest this view of development, raising important questions about the social contexts that help shape individual biographies and the nature of person-environment interactions across the life-course. In our own paper we approach the question of pathways by drawing more upon the sociological literature, especially the works of writers such as Bourdieu (1991), arguing that much debate in

this area could benefit from theories that offer explanations of the cultural practices of young people in disadvantaged communities. From a different angle Don Weatherburn, trained as an experimental psychologist, questions our ability to explain juvenile crime rates at the aggregate level using sociological constructs of informal social control such as collective efficacy. He and Bronwyn Lind argue that the overwhelming weight of evidence supports an individual-level explanation, with the key process being the corrosive effects of poverty on the capacities of families and parents to provide loving, nurturing environments for their children.

New insights at the symposium did not only arise from debates between psychologists and sociologists. Linda Caldwell and Ed Smith come from a leisure studies background and draw not only upon recent debates within their own discipline but also on their own data to show how leisure and its theorisation is critical to the developmental perspective on youth crime. A major emphasis in the papers from the ESRC Network is the relevance of social anthropology and cultural studies to enhancing our understanding of pathways into and out of crime. Hazel Kemshall and her colleagues, for example, draw upon the work of Lupton (1999) while Kaye Haw uses the work of Douglas (1966) and Barthes (2000) to show how understanding cultural practice can add significant knowledge to our understanding of social processes. As a final example, Marie Leech, a social worker by training, draws with her colleagues on such diverse fields or "lenses" as organisational learning, knowledge management and integration and implementation sciences to analyse how the learnings from a community-based developmental project can be captured and translated into routine practices.

Creating dialogue between pathways and prevention research

As we have already stated, we very much wanted at the Brisbane symposium to create a dialogue between those researching pathways and those researching prevention. However, it is striking how little attention pathways researchers (including developmental criminologists) seem to pay to prevention. In the voluminous literature on longitudinal studies in criminology the implications for prevention are often reduced (at best) to a listing of risk factors that may be "both causal and modifiable" (Farrington, 2003, p. 175). As one example of many, only in the very last sentence of their chapter on the development of male offending in the Pittsburgh Youth Study do Loeber and his colleagues (2003, p. 131) observe that, "One of the greatest challenges for us in the future is to translate research findings into practice … challenges include the generation of information relevant for preventive interventions…"

Similarly, in the larger life course literature little attention is paid, at least explicitly, to prevention or early intervention. For example, the 728 page *Handbook of the Life Course* (Mortimer & Shanahan, 2004) has no references to these terms in its index, and none of the 34 chapters appears to mention them. In fact there is plenty of material in the book that provides food for prevention thinking, particularly the discussions of desistance from crime (Sampson & Laub; and Uggen & Massoglia), and the discussion of social capital as a unifying concept for understanding the links between socio-economic status and health over the life course (Frytak et al.). However, the lessons must be drawn out by the assiduous reader.

While we did our best to get pathways authors presenting at the symposium to write about the implications of their work for prevention few realistically managed to "cross

the divide". Most papers in Part 1 of this book focus to a large extent on theoretical or empirical issues to do with pathways into and out of crime. This being said all the papers do give us valuable insights into issues we might need to consider when constructing future prevention programmes. By way of illustration, the ideas that Jacqueline Goodnow proposes for describing social contexts have important preventive implications, for example by drawing our attention to *when* in the life course we might intervene. Limiting the focus to the early years leads to a limited view of contextual influences across the life span, a theme amplified within an historical and policy context by Alan Hayes in Part 2. Similarly, Jacqueline's discussion of context as routes or opportunities is critically important because it points to such preventive strategies as making routes available for disadvantaged young people and keeping them open, a point we explore at some length in our own chapter.

The difficulties in bridging the gap between pathways and prevention research are not all one way. If pathways researchers tend to treat prevention problems as an afterthought, prevention researchers have not generally been very energetic in absorbing the pathways literature and theorising the prevention process in the light of new findings about life course development. Much prevention work is very 'mission-oriented' and focused on technical processes that take a set of problems to be tackled as unproblematic. When prevention has been informed by evidence what tends to emerge is simple models that link social problems to 'risk and protection,' giving limited attention to the complex processes that underlie these apparently straightforward statistical relationships (Homel, 2005).

Conclusion

Developmental criminology and life course themes, including developmental prevention, have not been as prominent in the writings of criminologists from Australian in the past two decades as they have been in work in North America. In the UK "pathways research" is more entrenched and certainly there seems to be no end to government funded prevention initiatives, but the dominant risk-prevention paradigm has created deep divisions. We offer this book as a contribution to the field that draws especially (but not solely) on work being done in Australia and the UK. Our hope is that the theoretical, methodological and policy issues raised will heighten interest in pathways and prevention research and lead to fruitful interdisciplinary collaborations that help to create better models for theory and practice.

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Introduction to Part 1: Understanding pathways into and out of crime

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All authors in this section have a common interest in pathways research and in its implications for prevention policy and practice, but there are widely divergent interpretations of what a "pathway" is and differing views on the kind of theoretical lens through which the concept should be viewed. Probably all authors, regardless of their theoretical stance, would agree with Jeanette Lawrence when she states in Chapter 2 (p. XX): "The pathway is a useful metaphor for prevention strategists, because it assists social scientists to organise information about individual lives into coherent and interpretable patterns." However, not all would accept the term "developmental pathway" despite the non-deterministic, whole-of-life and socially embedded notion of pathways that Lawrence (consistent with thinking in contemporary developmental psychology) outlines in her chapter. Indeed the terms "development" and "developmental" are highly controversial in some quarters (e.g., Hil, 1999).

Perhaps Sampson & Laub (2005a) in their recent critique of the developmental criminology paradigm best express the main concerns of the critics. Their paper is published in Special Volume 602 of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, November 2005, which consists entirely of papers presenting different sides of the debate on how we should think about and do research on "development" in criminology. Sampson and Laub question the notion of developmentally distinct groups that have unique causes, a central feature of the

famous typology introduced by Terrie Moffitt (1993) that distinguishes *life course persistent* from *adolescent-limited offenders*. As they state in a related paper, developmental accounts tend to assume "pre-programming" that leads to a view of the life course as "an unwinding, an unfolding, or an unrolling of what is fundamentally 'already there'" (Sampson & Laub, 2005b: 178). Sampson and Laub acknowledge that some developmentalists emphasise social interactions, but they argue that developmental models nevertheless remain limited because they accord insufficient weight to human agency and to "random developmental noise", as well as to the turning points embedded in institutional transitions that so characterised the pathways of the sample of Glueck men that they studied (Sampson & Laub, 1993).

A number of the chapters in this book add to the North American debate, firstly by addressing the relationship between individual pathways and social context or social structure. Jacqueline Goodnow explores the "available paths/ routes/ opportunities/ maps" that help structure and influence pathways into and out of crime, a theme that we also develop in our chapter by distinguishing societal access routes from individual developmental pathways. We argue for greater awareness of social structure, political action and localised cultural influence, while Jacqueline highlights additional ways of theorising context as "activities/ routines/ cultural practices". Jeanette Lawrence on the other hand argues for recognition of a life course perspective that explores the intra-individual and inter-individual aspects of "experience" as critical to understanding the different pathways into and out of crime.

A second way the present set of chapters contributes to current debates relates to the relationship between risk factors and offending. Pathways research and developmental

criminology in particular have, over the previous twenty years, been much influenced by the risk factor paradigm (Farrington, 1994). Three chapters directly challenge the dominance of this approach, raising questions about the ways it has come to construct the "problem" in particular ways that limit our thinking. Kaye Haw for example is interested in how the concept of "risk factor" has become a "generative metaphor" which has lifted the concept to mythological status in the UK, especially amongst policy makers and practitioners with power to intervene in the lives of children.

Robert MacDonald and Hazel Kemshall and her colleagues take a different approach. MacDonald draws upon data from his qualitative longitudinal study in the UK to show how risk factor analysis has been unable to explain the complexity of pathways for young people with difficult lives. He argues, similar to Sampson and Laub, that even though many young people may well have signs of risk, the future is far less predictable than claimed in the risk factor model. As he says "stuff happens sometimes for the better, sometimes for the worse and sometimes with unclear, equivocal outcomes" (p. XX), leaving the question of predictability uncertain. Hazel Kemshall and her colleagues explore the conceptualisation of risk in late modern society, arguing that the dominance of "artefact" approaches to risk analysis is limited and that social constructionist approaches have much to offer in trying to make sense of how young people defined as "at risk" become involved in offending.

Don Weatherburn and Bronwyn Lind engage with the North American debate in an entirely different way, by taking the fight directly onto territory carved out by Robert Sampson in an influential series of papers on the concept of collective efficacy (e.g., Sampson, 2004; Sampson, Raudenbush & Earls, 1997). Weatherburn and Lind argue

in contrast to Sampson that the crucial link between structural factors like poverty and crime is the capacity of parents to parent effectively, and not the collective efficacy of residents in an area to intervene to maintain order. If this argument is correct then neighbourhood level interventions should be accorded a lower priority than approaches that strengthen families and support parents. The policy choice is a real one but as the authors emphasise it needs to be informed by research that more rigorously compares the explanatory power of both proposed pathways.

Methods

The methods we use as scholars to do pathways or prevention research are, a core theme of this book. In many respects the debates in the special volume of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* revolve around issues of method, particularly the appropriateness of the search for typologies of offender trajectories using the semi-parametric group-based methods developed by Nagin (1999). While not always focused on statistical methods, the chapters in this book also aim to provide alternative perspectives on how we might explore pathways.

Kemshall and her colleagues, drawing upon a wide range of work within the ESRC research network, argue for a synthesis of epistemological positions within social science. They suggest that such a synthesis should be based on the recognition of the importance of using diverse methods to investigate the complex social processes underpinning pathways. They summarise the results of three research projects that explored the influence of some classic risk factors from a strong constructionist position (school exclusion), a moderate constructionist position (social capital and risk taking), and a weak constructionist position (substance use). The issue for these

authors is one of "fit" across differing levels of analysis rather than "grand explanatory theory" (p. XX).

We also argue in our own chapter for a form of methodological pluralism, one that values and centralises the voice of young people. Previous research in this field has paid limited attention to what the young themselves have to say about pathways, and such a research strategy could provide valuable insights into the access routes they perceive as available to them as well as the barriers to moving forward in their lives. Rob MacDonald goes further in arguing for the return to ethnography as a tool for achieving a more qualitative, biographical and historically informed understanding of the diversity of social processes that influence the choices young people make. He emphasises, for example, the value of interviewees' retrospective biographical accounts in exploring the impact of events on transitions, as well the crucial importance of understanding risks presented by the historical and spatial contexts, such as the historically unprecedented influx of cheap heroin in the mid-1990s.

Jacqueline Homel's study of bullying at school and in post-school settings, especially the workplace, illustrates the value of listening to the voices of young people and the value of the biographical and qualitative approach to pathways research advocated by MacDonald. Using extensive qualitative data from focus groups with young adults, Jacqueline explores at some depth the relationships between different forms of bullying at different ages, and the complex nature of the interactions between developmental transitions and social settings (school, home, workplace and the larger economic and political contexts). She also highlights some specific methodological

problems that arise when measuring social contexts and when comparing behaviours in different settings at different life phases.

Implications for prevention

Across these first seven chapters there are a range of implications for prevention work. Don Weatherburn and Bronwyn Lind explore the links between poverty and violence, illustrating the potential of pathways research to influence prevention practice by, in this case, contrasting a 'collective efficacy pathway' with a 'family support pathway'. Other chapters in this part of the book have equally important implications for prevention thinking. We have already noted that the ideas that Jacqueline Goodnow proposes for describing social contexts have important preventive implications by drawing attention to when in the life course we might intervene and how we might adopt preventive strategies to make access routes available for disadvantaged young people and keep them open.

Jeanette Lawrence's theoretical analysis of developmental pathways in Chapter 2 similarly links development with prevention by taking as a starting point observations and analyses of typical and atypical patterns of experience in people's lives. While accepting the main elements of Sampson and Laub's (2005a) critique of developmental criminology, she recommends that prevention planning be based on the kind of fine-grained analysis of trajectories carried out by Nagin and Tremblay (2005), with careful attention to the distinctive strategies required for dealing with beginnings, middles and ends of patterns.

From a different perspective, an implication of the work of Hazel Kemshall and her colleagues in exploring at some depth the *meaning* of school exclusion to the young

people involved could be to question the preventive benefits of a simple-minded program that focused on exclusion without attending both to how schools construct the phenomenon of "exclusion" and to the mismatch between student's needs and the school experience.

Paul Mazerolle and Jacqueline Homel use contrasting methodologies to explore continuities in *victimisation* across the life course, thus adding to the more common emphasis on continuities in offending. Paul and his colleagues from the Queensland Crime and Misconduct Commission explore continuities in sexual victimisation from childhood to adulthood in a sample of offenders, finding both high levels of victimisation and high levels of continuity. Their multivariate analyses of risk factors include a range of personal, life style and relationship variables. Their results favour a 'heterogeneity model' over a 'state dependent or experiential model', which means that stable characteristics of individuals or their environments are more important in promoting continuity than more ephemeral lifestyle-related contingencies. Long-term developmental rather than situational prevention approaches therefore seem to be called for.

Jacqueline Homel's study of bullying is relevant to both victimisation and offending in a range of contexts across childhood and early adulthood. On the basis of her research Jacqueline proposes a number of specific prevention strategies, including timing interventions to take maximum advantage of the potential of life transitions (such as leaving school) to also be *turning points* for victims or offenders, and focusing prevention programs on the *norms* that operate in workplaces and other settings, not just on individual bullies and victims.

It is clear from these examples that pathways research has plenty to say about

prevention. What is needed now is a new generation of preventive initiatives using

innovative methodologies that explicitly build on previously unexplored insights from

pathways studies.

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Introduction to Part 2: Prevention theory, policy and practice

Ross Homel and Alan France

The theoretical debates about the nature of developmental criminology recorded in the November 2005 *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* go to the heart of the criminological enterprise because they are concerned with fundamental issues of causation, the nature of the life course, and the methods we use to think about and to do our research. The North American debate and the arguments proposed in a number of the chapters in this book are also fundamentally important to those interested in the prevention of crime and related social problems, not least because if the critics are correct accurate prediction from individual traits, from risk factors, and from prior experiences seems largely beyond reach (see Homel, 2005 for a discussion of some of the theoretical issues).

Despite these challenges the authors of the chapters in Part 1 were able to make a range of observations about the implications for prevention planning of their work on pathways. We discussed some of these implications in our introduction to Part 1. In this second part of the book we focus directly on prevention, exploring empirical evidence from evaluations of preventive interventions and in particular the intersections between research, policy and practice. It is this last theme that most dominates the seven chapters in this section.

The first three chapters are directly or indirectly about the *Pathways to Prevention* report and the project in Brisbane that arose from the report. The project is a prevention initiative that was developed in 1999 by one of the editors (Homel) in

partnership with the national community agency Mission Australia. It is a universal, 'early intervention', developmental prevention project in a socially disadvantaged area that, in its first phase, combined child-focused programs delivered through state preschools with services for families, within a community development framework[i]. The project had its beginnings in the Federal Government report, *Pathways to Prevention: Developmental and Early Intervention Approaches to Crime in Australia* (1999), written by a group of scholars from several disciplines that came together as the Developmental Crime Prevention Consortium.

The success of the Developmental Crime Prevention Consortium's report in getting the concept of 'early intervention' onto the policy map in Australia is the starting point for Alan Hayes' chapter. Alan expresses concerns that the policy agenda has been hijacked by an over-emphasis on the early years at the expense of 'early in the pathway', the latter being the major focus of the 1999 report. He clarifies the meanings of 'prevention' and 'early intervention', arguing that early intervention is a special case of prevention, and goes on to demonstrate that the empirical evidence on developmental pathways does not support a case for an exclusive focus on the early years. What is needed, at any age, is a central focus on the "sustaining social systems" both as the loci for prevention and as the engines for the formation and maintenance of positive pathways (p. XX).

In Chapter 11 Kate Freiberg, Ross Homel and Cherie Lamb analyse data from the *Pathways Project* to explore the relationship between levels of family adversity or strengths and children's developmental competencies, a relationship they argue is largely mediated by parent efficacy, or the sense of confidence and control that

parents feel in parenting tasks. This reinforces the importance of family empowerment programs as a way of promoting positive outcomes for children and moderating the effects of poverty-created stressors, but also highlights the need for society-wide policies to reduce these stressors. Their study therefore illustrates some of the central themes of Alan Hayes' chapter.

The conclusions of Freiberg and her colleagues are also very much in line with the outcomes of the research that helped shape the current "blizzard of new initiatives and programmes" in the UK that Gillian Pugh describes in Chapter 16 (p. XX). Of course in scale the *Pathways Project*, located in only one disadvantaged region of one Australian city, is dwarfed by the massive expenditure in the UK on Sure Start and other government funded child-oriented programs, but it does have the advantage of being largely independent of government and founded in a research-practice partnership established for 'the long haul.' Under such conditions innovation and rigorous research and development are possible, producing new knowledge that can inform larger scale initiatives such as Communities for Children in Australia or Sure Start in the UK.

How to capture the 'learnings' from projects like *Pathways to Prevention* is the central theme of Chapter 12 by Marie Leech, Caryn Anderson and Catherine Mahoney. As these authors put it, "How can we tap the intellectual capital generated in projects such as Pathways and therefore improve outcomes across programs and geographical areas for service users?" (p. XX). To address this question they propose several conceptual lenses that draw on theories of knowledge management and other fields of enquiry that are not generally the bedtime reading of either pathways or

prevention researchers – but probably should be. Utilising limited interview data with key people, they assess the extent to which the rather intuitive processes developed in the *Pathways Project* fitted the description of a learning organization and created the conditions for successful practice-research engagement.

The next three chapters in this part of the book address specific prevention challenges. Linda Caldwell and Edward Smith engage with the criminological literature on youth crime, and propose a much richer framework for theorising the role of leisure in human development and the prevention of risky behaviour than is usually found in that literature. The nub of their theoretical contribution is to enrich our understanding of leisure as simultaneously a social institution most closely associated with the world of adolescence and a context of risk and protection that provides a natural setting for prevention (p. XX). They report the results of an ad hoc analysis of the data from a prevention experiment that was designed with other outcomes in mind but which yielded promising results in terms of the effects on rates of property damage of teaching youth to make healthy decisions in their leisure.

Rebecca Denning and Ross Homel use the Youth Justice Service in Queensland as a case study of the challenges involved in embedding developmental prevention principles into the routine practices of a large government department. Their finding that the new policies and programs did not reduce recidivism, although there were frequent references in the official documents to key research findings and prevention principles, is not itself cause for great surprise. The value of the chapter lies in its analysis of the causes of failure simultaneously in the lack of clarity and goal ambiguities in the policy, and in operational failures that included poor workforce capacity to deal effectively with youth offenders, a lack of commitment to

rehabilitative goals, and communication failures and conflicts amongst caseworkers. Because Queensland is not likely to be the only jurisdiction in which such problems manifest, the results of the case study analysis are likely to have wide application.

Karin Ishimine and David Evans do not address prevention directly in their chapter on the quality of childcare. Their focus rather is on the quality of these settings, the variations in quality between centres in disadvantaged areas compared with 'partially disadvantaged' areas, and the relationship between the quality of long day care centres and the social skills development of the young children who attend them. In a sense therefore they are reporting the results of a 'quasi-experiment' in which social processes create the experimental condition of 'disadvantage' and the outcomes are the quality of the setting and the social skills of children. They find clear links between quality and disadvantage but the effects on social skills development are less clear, pointing to the need for larger scale research into issues that have become urgent given the huge growth in the numbers of young children in child care.

We conclude this book with Gillian Pugh's chapter on UK policies to promote the wellbeing of children and young people. Gillian's chapter, to which we alluded earlier, is significant for its lucid summary and insightful analysis of the effects of the huge investment in programs for children that has been made in the UK in the past decade. Few other countries can match such an investment, and none have made such a serious effort to learn from research and to base practice on evidence of what works. The UK experience is, therefore, a vast experiment that has captured the imagination and interest of many observers around the world. It is an unfinished experiment, and there are political trends identified by Gillian that suggest that some components may

be aborted before they have time to develop as intended. The lessons so far are nevertheless instructive, and what she refers to as "the ambitious change agenda" (p. XX) should serve as a policy template for Australia and other developed countries.

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[i] Because the *Pathways Project* is located in a disadvantaged area, it is properly referred to as a 'selective intervention', not 'universal'. However it was universal in the sense that all children and families in the area were eligible to participate; there was no selection of children on the basis that they were 'high risk,' although there is evidence that many families with high-level needs self-selected into the program.