



Ceza Hukuku ve Kriminoloji Dergisi Journal of Penal Law and Criminology

Review Article

Open Access

The Role of Preventive and Protective Interventions in The Struggle Against Juvenile Delinquency: A Developmental Framework



Umut Haydar Coşkun¹ & Ayşe Dolunay Sarıca²

¹ Turkish Ministry of Justice, Izmir Court of Law, Izmir, Türkiye

² Dokuz Eylül University, Institute of Educational Sciences, Department of Special Education, Izmir, Türkiye

Abstract

Juvenile delinquency is considered a major risk factor in building a crime career in adulthood. Its future negative impact led authorities to focus on preventive and protective interventions for the risk population. Preventive programs include screening and support provision at the preschool level for both children and their families. Potential familial risks including alcohol and substance use, crime history and family violence as well as the child's physical, educational, and psychosocial needs and future potential for entering the labor force are evaluated and supported accordingly. Protective programs, on the other hand, involve addressing and supporting the needs of children who have undergone or are at risk for abuse and neglect via counseling, health, education and care services. Despite protective and preventive interventions, the large number of juvenile delinquents and individual differences in economic status, educational history and health status limit the success of services. In addition, support programs following delinquency display similar problems with protective and preventive interventions. This article proposes a discussion on the etiology of juvenile delinquency as well as the provided services within a developmental framework. Such a perspective may yield important clues for planning effective interventions for youth at various developmental stages.

Keywords

Juvenile delinquency · early intervention · prevention · protection



Citation: Coşkun, U. H. & Sarıca, A. D. (2025). The role of preventive and protective interventions in the struggle against juvenile delinquency: A developmental framework. *Ceza Hukuku ve Kriminoloji Dergisi–Journal of Penal Law and Criminology*, 13(1), 152-181. <https://doi.org/10.26650/JPLC2024-1582996>

This work is licensed under Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License.

© 2025. Coşkun, U. H. & Sarıca, A. D.

Corresponding author: Umut Haydar Coşkun uhcoskun@hotmail.com



Introduction

Although the concept of "juvenile delinquency" evokes images of serious or destructive criminal activities, it should be considered within a much broader spectrum that includes problematic behaviors such as running away from home, school dropouts, and school absenteeism, which do not constitute crimes before the law.¹ These behaviors can be understood as manifestations of delinquent tendencies that arise from a complex interplay of individual factors such as neurobiological predispositions (for example, imbalances in cortisol or testosterone levels),² moral and psychological conditions, and insufficient legal understanding, as well as environmental influences including socio-economic status, personal motivations, childhood maltreatment, and situational stressors. In this context, a distorted or underdeveloped sense of legal awareness emerges as one of the key contributors to delinquent behavior.³

The most striking fact regarding juvenile delinquency is the significant decrease in crime and arrest rates in Western countries compared to data from 20 years ago.⁴ This trend is complex and unlikely to be attributed to a single cause. In fact, research identifies multiple factors contributing to the relative decline in youth crime rates, including a decrease in illegal firearm possession,⁵ a shift away from reliance on detention and sentencing within the justice system for both juveniles and adults,⁶ changes in the scope or definition of crime due to national legal practices,⁷ significant reductions in alcohol and substance abuse among youth,⁸ demographic shifts marked by an aging population outpacing youth demographics,⁹ substantial increases in wealth,¹⁰ and the positive effects of this wealth on impoverished neighborhoods.¹¹

Whether the decrease in juvenile delinquency and overall crime rates have come to an end remains an ongoing debate.¹² Juvenile delinquency cannot be considered isolated from social upheavals. Given that unexpected events such as terrorist attacks and natural disasters have negatively affected this area in the past, similar developments today and in the future are also likely to increase crime rates. On the other hand, although declining crime rates are generally seen as a positive trend, they bring certain contradictions. While juvenile delinquency has decreased relative to the population, the emergence of new crime categories such as cybercrime, the rise in the number of refugee children, rapid urbanization driven by globalization, and the

¹Donald J Shoemaker, *Juvenile Delinquency*. (Rowman & Littlefield 2017) 3.

²Neeltje E Blankenstein and others, 'Who is at Risk? Applying the Biopsychosocial Model to Explain Non-Violent and Violent Delinquency in Youth' (2024) 69 *Developmental Cognitive Neuroscience* passim.

³Vira Tymoshenko, 'The Role of the Concept of "Legal Awareness" in the Study of Delinquent Behavior' (2025) 15(1) *Law Journal of the National Academy of Internal Affairs* 18, 18.

⁴Susan Young, Ben Greer and Richard Church. 'Juvenile Delinquency, Welfare, Justice and Therapeutic Interventions: A Global Perspective' (2016) 41(1) *BJPsych Bulletin* 21, 23.

⁵Steven D Levitt. 'Understanding Why Crime Fell In The 1990s: Four Factors That Explain The Decline And Six That Do Not' (2004) 18(1) *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 163,173.

⁶Molly Buchanan and others. 'It's F** ing Chaos: COVID-19's Impact on Juvenile Delinquency and Juvenile Justice' (2020) 45(1) *American Journal of Criminal Justice* 578, 586.

⁷Marcelo F Aebi and Antonia Linde. 'Is There a Crime Drop in Western Europe?' (2010) 16(1) *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research* 251, 252.

⁸Andre M. van der Laan and others. 'The drop in Juvenile Delinquency in The Netherlands: Changes in Exposure to Risk and Protection' (2021) 38(3) *Justice Quarterly*. passim.

⁹Gerben Bruinsma and David Weisburd. *Encyclopedia of Criminology and Criminal Justice*. (Springer Reference 2014) 12.

¹⁰Esther Fernández-Molina and Raquel Bartolomé-Gutiérrez 'Juvenile Crime Drop: What is Happening with Youth in Spain and Why?' (2020) 17(3) *European Journal of Criminology* 306, 306.

¹¹Oriana Binik and others 'Neighborhood Social Capital, Juvenile Delinquency, and Victimization: Results from the International Self-Report Delinquency Study-3 in 23 Countries' (2019) 25(1) *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research* passim.

¹²Buchanan and others (n 6) 600.



evolving special needs of children have made both the definition of juvenile delinquency and the responses to it increasingly complex.¹³

The chaotic nature of juvenile delinquency has necessitated a significant shift and has led to multifaceted discussions involving various professions. The inclusion of educational, psychological, economic, social, judicial, and many other dimensions in these discussions has greatly enriched the field of "juvenile delinquency".¹⁴ A concrete reflection of this multidimensional structure can be observed in the United States, where 689 active programs are being implemented with aims such as preventing juvenile delinquency, protecting victims of crime, and reducing the risk of recidivism among children involved in criminal behavior. These programs exemplify a multidisciplinary framework in which professionals from various fields—including law, social work, psychology, education, and healthcare—collaborate across different stages of the juvenile justice system.¹⁵

As a result, interventions targeting juvenile delinquency no longer rely on a single stage, but instead encompass a multi-layered and coordinated process that includes prevention, early detection, protection, intervention, reporting, coordination, and institutional oversight. Each of these stages is shaped through the contributions of various disciplines such as law, education, psychology, social work, public health, and criminology. This interdisciplinary collaboration not only reflects the complex nature of juvenile delinquency but also highlights the necessity of a comprehensive and adaptable system. In this context, the term "juvenile justice system" aptly captures the holistic, dynamic, and multifaceted structure of contemporary interventions aimed at young people.¹⁶ In the remainder of this study, all stages of the juvenile justice process, from early preventive interventions to a child's first contact with the justice system and ultimately to custodial institutions, will be examined within a developmental framework. This approach aims to show how intervention strategies evolve and grow more complex in line with the child's developmental stages.

A. Preventing Juvenile Delinquency

The foremost aim of the contemporary juvenile justice system is to investigate the underlying causes of juvenile delinquency, recognizing that it emerges from a complex web of interrelated factors and produces diverse outcomes. By systematically identifying these root causes, the juvenile justice system seeks not only to prevent future incidents of youth crime but also to contribute to a broader reduction in overall crime rates within society.¹⁷ It is believed that several problematic family dynamics (such as parental rejection, emotional neglect, and exposure to violence) interact with biological and genetic predispositions, contributing significantly to juvenile delinquency.¹⁸ This complexity causes the multifaceted preventive intervention needs of children. Fortunately, these needs have been addressed under the framework of "children's rights" on international platforms, and they have been constitutionally guaranteed through national and international agreements covering many countries.¹⁹

¹³Shoemaker (n 1) 23.

¹⁴Cristian Delcea and others, 'Juvenile Delinquency within the Forensic Context' (2019) 27(4) *Romanian Journal of Legal Medicine* 366, 369.

¹⁵David B Wilson and Mark W Lipsey, 'Scaling up Effective Juvenile Delinquency Programs by Focusing on Change Levers: Evidence from a Large Meta-Analysis' (2024) 23 *Criminology & Public Policy* passim.

¹⁶Alida Merlo, Peter Benekos and Dean Champion. *Juvenile Justice System, The: Delinquency, Processing, and the Law*, Student (Pearson, 2015) 3.

¹⁷Brandon C Welsh, Christopher J Sullivan and David L Olds, 'When Early Crime Prevention Goes to Scale: A New Look at the Evidence' (2010) 11(2) *Prevention Science* passim.

¹⁸Navya Rathi and Eve Dhariwal, 'Family Ties, Broken Paths: Understanding the Roots of Juvenile Delinquency' (2025) 6(1) *Journal on the Rights of the Child of National Law University Odisha* 68,70.

¹⁹Umut Haydar Coşkun 'Dezavantajlı Bireylerde Ruh Sağlığı Hizmeti' in Semra Uçar (ed) *Okul Ruh Sağlığı* (Nobel Yayıncılık 2021) 211.

In addition to the legal protections in place, certain negative conditions existing within the families into which children are born can threaten their best interests. Among these familial factors are alcohol use disorders, drug abuse, criminal history, domestic violence, psychiatric disorders, and the loss of a parent.²⁰ Many of these familial threats cannot be effectively managed with the available resources. In fact, the number of children who have experienced adverse childhood experiences is rapidly increasing due to factors such as migration and economic crises.²¹ Furthermore, research indicates that the adverse experiences of many disadvantaged children—particularly in Western contexts—are not always adequately addressed, which may contribute to increased vulnerability and unmet developmental needs.²²

One of the significant variables that can lead to juvenile delinquency and, in the long term, adult criminality is the adverse childhood experiences and early memories that a child may have had.²³ A newborn requires the attentive care and affection of a primary caregiver, access to breast milk and nutritious complementary foods from six months onward, shelter, and a safe environment—in short, positive early experiences are fundamental.²⁴ All children deserve protection from various forms of abuse, neglect, and family-related adversity—including parental rejection or abandonment—to ensure a foundation for healthy development and reduce the risk of negative long-term outcomes.²⁵

Problematic behaviors in childhood are among the negative effects of adverse early experiences. In adulthood, the repercussions of these early negative memories often include an increased prevalence of psychiatric diagnoses, inpatient treatment,²⁶ chronic illnesses,²⁷ difficulties or impairments in brain development and cognitive functions,²⁸ self-harm, suicide attempts, and an increased likelihood of alcohol use disorders and drug addiction by four to twelve times.²⁹ Additionally, individuals with such backgrounds tend to experience greater financial difficulties in both adolescence and adulthood.³⁰ In conclusion, a growing body of cross-national evidence demonstrates that the cumulative impact of adverse experiences during early life significantly predicts the onset and persistence of criminal behavior from childhood into adolescence and adulthood.³¹

There are also studies highlighting that negative early memories do not necessarily pose a risk of juvenile delinquency. For example, a recent study conducted in the United States found that factors like divorce or growing up with a single parent from an early age do not necessarily increase the risk of juvenile

²⁰Emma Björkenstam and others 'Childhood Household Dysfunction, School Performance and Psychiatric Care Utilization in Young Adults: A Register Study of 96 399 Individuals in Stockholm County' (2016) 70(5) *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* passim

²¹Stephan Collishaw and others 'Brief Report: A Comparison of Child Mental Health Inequalities in Three UK Population Cohorts' (2019) 28(1) *European Child & Adolescent Psychiatry* passim.

²²Jochem Carlijn Bussemakers and others, 'Household Dysfunction and Child Development: Do Financial Resources Matter?' (2022) 51(1) *Advances in Life Course Research* passim.

²³Abigail Williams-Butler and others, 'Racialized Gender Differences in Mental Health Service Use, Adverse Childhood Experiences, and Recidivism among Justice-Involved African American Youth' (2023) 15(2) *Race and Social Problems* passim.

²⁴Michael J Guralnick, 'Why Early Intervention Works: A Systems Perspective' (2011) 24(1) *Infants and Young Children* 6,7.

²⁵Williams-Butler and others (n 23) 103.

²⁶Björkenstam and others (n 20) 473.

²⁷Maureen Sandersen and others, 'Adverse Childhood Experiences and Chronic Disease Risk in the Southern Community Cohort Study' (2021) 32(3) *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved* passim.

²⁸Dante Cicchetti, 'Annual Research Review: Resilient Functioning in Maltreated Children—Past, Present, and Future Perspectives' (2013) 54(4) *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry* passim.

²⁹Vincent J Felitti and others, 'Relationship of Childhood Abuse and Household Dysfunction to Many of the Leading Causes of Death in Adults: The Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE) Study' (1998) 14(4) *American Journal of Preventive Medicine* 245, 250.

³⁰Bussemakers and others (n 22) 1.

³¹Basto Pereira and others, 'The Global Impact of Adverse Childhood Experiences on Criminal Behavior: A Cross-Continental Study' (2022) 124(1) *Child Abuse & Neglect* passim.



delinquency.³² In contrast, another recent study conducted in the Netherlands found that growing up with a single parent is indeed a risk factor for juvenile delinquency.³³ These findings highlight the potential influence of cultural differences on variables like juvenile delinquency and demonstrate that such a complex phenomenon cannot be attributed to a single factor, such as early experiences.

Conflicting research findings have prompted a large research group in Sweden to conduct a study testing the various factors that may influence delinquency using a large sample.³⁴ By collecting a wide range of socio-demographic data, the researchers aimed to determine whether adverse outcomes—such as future delinquency, homelessness, academic failure, or school dropout—could be predicted based on the life conditions and histories of impoverished children. They concluded that such predictions could not be made due to the regular changes in life dynamics and the complex interactions of all experiences. A similar situation is observed in criminological theories, where modest success has been achieved in making predictions about the causality of delinquency.³⁵

Based on existing evidence, it is essential to adopt a dynamic and multidimensional perspective in assessing children's risk factors and needs, recognizing that these may evolve significantly across development.³⁶ Rather than focusing solely on static factors such as family mental health or socioeconomic status, a more holistic view of the child's environment and internal strengths is needed. Each child's developmental path is unique, and interventions should be tailored accordingly to reflect their changing needs and circumstances.³⁷

1. Early Preventive Approaches (0-3 Ages)

Until the 1980s, intervention programs focused on the special needs of at-risk infants and young children were not widely available in many developed countries, particularly in the United States. This lack of focus was largely due to the insufficient emphasis placed on early development at the time. However, as the impact of early experiences on an individual's future health and criminal career became more evident, the necessity of intervention programs began to gain general acceptance.³⁸ Consequently, governments began dedicating public resources to intervention programs aimed at addressing the special needs of at-risk children, resulting in a significant increase in the number of programs developed for young children and expectant mothers.³⁹

Since then, early intervention efforts have increasingly focused on improving parenting skills in families with children aged 0 to 3. These programs typically begin during the prenatal period and continue through early childhood, offering home visits, developmental assessments, and parenting support. A multidisciplinary team consisting of pediatricians, home visitors, childcare providers, and developmental specialists works together to monitor the child's well-being and provide support tailored to the family's needs. The

³²Shannon Jacobsen and Amarat Zaatut, 'Quantity or Quality?: Assessing the Role of Household Structure and Parent-Child Relationship in Juvenile Delinquency' (2022) 43(1) *Deviant Behavior* passim.

³³Janique Kroese and others, 'Single-Parent Families and Adolescent Crime: Unpacking the Role of Parental Separation, Parental Decease, and Being Born to a Single-Parent Family' (2021) 7(4) *Journal of Developmental and Life-Course Criminology* passim.

³⁴Matthew Salganik and others, 'Measuring the Predictability of Life Outcomes with a Scientific Mass Collaboration' (2020) 117(15) *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* passim.

³⁵Mark T Berg and Christopher J Schreck, 'The Meaning of the Victim–Offender Overlap for Criminological Theory and Crime Prevention Policy' (2022) 5 *Annual Review of Criminology* 277, 278.

³⁶Bussemakers and others (n 22) 1.

³⁷Kathryn McGill and Stefurak, "'Man Up": Sex-Differentiated Pathways of Juvenile Delinquency through Trauma, Borderline Traits & Offense Patterns' (2021) 72(3) *Juvenile and Family Court Journal* 37, 37.

³⁸Welsh, Sullivan and Olds (n 17) 116

³⁹Hirakazu Yoshikawa, 'Long-Term Effects of Early Childhood Programs on Social Outcomes and Delinquency' (1995) 5(3) *The Future of Children* passim.

main goal is to improve parent–child interactions, with particular attention to strengthening the mother–child bond. By addressing emotional, developmental, and behavioral needs early, these interventions aim to reduce long-term risks and promote healthier outcomes for children in vulnerable circumstances.⁴⁰

The long-standing implementation of early intervention programs has made longitudinal effectiveness studies possible. These studies have reported that children participating in intervention programs showed a significant reduction in the risk of delinquency and the number of problem behaviors that could be classified as juvenile delinquency.⁴¹ Additionally, the risk of receiving disciplinary action in high school decreased, while the likelihood of high school graduation significantly increased.⁴² It has also been noted that the parental support provided through these programs reduces cases of child neglect and abuse and⁴³ has positive and lasting effects on low cognitive skills, which are considered a risk factor for delinquency.⁴⁴ Families benefiting from intervention programs have reported positive gains in both the short and long term.⁴⁵ At this point, it is worth noting that preventing crime also reduces the number of crime victims, resulting in social benefits that far exceed those initially anticipated.⁴⁶

While early intervention programs have shown promising results, it is crucial to recognize that many children worldwide still lack access to these essential services due to global disparities. Therefore, we cannot afford to view the situation through rose-tinted glasses. Compounding the issue is the challenge of accurately and globally identifying the special needs of at-risk children.⁴⁷ Despite the positive outcomes of longitudinal studies, the average cost of intervention programs per child (\$58,000)⁴⁸ has sparked debate in many Western countries, particularly in the United States. Policymakers argue that such programs may represent an inefficient allocation of public resources, prompting further scrutiny of their long-term economic viability.⁴⁹

In response to political opposition, researchers have demonstrated that early intervention programs not only avoid additional public costs but also deliver long-term benefits that greatly outweigh initial expenditures. By helping to reduce crime rates, these programs avert millions of dollars in public spending.⁵⁰ A study conducted in Bangladesh revealed that community-based preventive interventions significantly reduced juvenile delinquency and generated substantial social value.⁵¹

Although intervention programs yield positive results, evolving societal conditions require them to adapt. Political trends, wars, migration, and similar phenomena increase both the number of disadvantaged

⁴⁰Jessica May, Kristina Osmond and Stephen Billick, 'Juvenile Delinquency Treatment and Prevention: A Literature Review' (2014) 85(1) *Psychiatric Quarterly* passim.

⁴¹Guralnick (n 24) 6.

⁴²Arthur Reynolds and others, 'Long-Term Effects of an Early Childhood Intervention on Educational Achievement and Juvenile Arrest: A 15-Year Follow-up of Low-Income Children in Public Schools' (2001) 285(18) *JAMA* passim.

⁴³Kerry Gwynne, Bijou A Blick and Gabrielle M Duffy, 'Pilot Evaluation of an Early Intervention Programme for Children at Risk' (2009) 45(3) *Journal of Pediatrics and Child Health* passim.

⁴⁴Remy Pages, John Protzko and Drew H Bailey, 'The Breadth of Impacts from the Abecedarian Project Early Intervention on Cognitive Skills' (2022) 15(2) *Journal of Research on Educational Effectiveness* passim.

⁴⁵Ann P Turnbull and others, 'Family Supports and Services in Early Intervention: A Bold Vision' (2007) 29(3) *Journal of Early Intervention* passim

⁴⁶Berg and Schreck (n 35) 277.

⁴⁷Pia R Britto and others, 'Nurturing Care: Promoting Early Childhood Development' (2017) 10064 *The Lancet*

⁴⁸Kenneth A Dodge and others, 'Impact of Early Intervention on Psychopathology, Crime, and Well-Being at Age 25' (2015) 172(1) *American Journal of Psychiatry* 59,60.

⁴⁹Welsh, Sullivan and Olds (n 17) 116

⁵⁰Mark A Cohen and Alex R Piquero, 'New Evidence on the Monetary Value of Saving a High-Risk Youth' (2009) 25(1) *Journal of Quantitative Criminology* passim.

⁵¹Zahidul Islam and others, 'Juvenile Delinquency in Bangladesh: The Impact of Familial and Economic Factors in Dhaka City' (2024) 2 *Journal of Indonesian Economic Research* passim.



children and their risk factors, making it essential to update the scope and content of these programs. This shift demands more funding, qualified staff, and new or revised strategies to meet emerging needs effectively. For instance, a recent study⁵² revealed that children who consumed well water at an early age were adversely affected in terms of intelligence levels due to lead exposure, which subsequently increased their risk of delinquency and problem behaviors linked to crime. This finding underscores the importance of integrating current research and recent developments into early intervention programs to enhance both their short- and long-term effectiveness.

Another critical consideration is to ensure sustained, targeted interventions for at-risk children as they transition from one developmental stage to the next. A meta-analysis of 39 early intervention programs⁵³ found that the cognitive skills developed through these programs were further strengthened when combined with high-quality preschool education in a setting free from risk factors. Indeed, without a healthy transition to preschool, the cognitive gains achieved through early intervention programs can be lost. Therefore, it is expected that a child at risk who completes a specialized early intervention program will have access to quality preschool education and will be free from risk factors. This expectation is referred to as the "principle of developmental continuity."⁵⁴

2. Early Preventive Approaches (3-6 Ages)

Beginning at the age of 3, children enter the preschool stage (ages 3-6) and benefit from access to quality preschool education. Indeed, research has shown that high-quality preschool education fosters positive socioemotional development, including skills such as empathy, emotional understanding, self-expression, and effective peer interaction.⁵⁵ Preschool education affects not only social relationships but also mental health and overall development protectively, both in the short and long term. Children who gain social skills, self-regulation, and competence are less likely to experience low academic achievement, school dropout, substance use, and other risky behaviors.⁵⁶ The same positive effects were also observed in children's levels of anxiety and aggression,⁵⁷ and significantly prevented future adjustment issues and destructive behaviors.⁵⁸ These positive outcomes are particularly pronounced in girls, showing even higher rates of impact regarding the risk of delinquency.⁵⁹

These positive outcomes of preschool education in the short- and long-term have particularly increased the emphasis on preschool education in Western countries, leading to a significant rise in enrollment rates over the years. According to the 2019 data, the enrollment rate for preschool education among three-year-olds in OECD countries reached 76.5%, while for four-year-olds it was 89.8%, and for five-year-olds it reached 95.79%, covering nearly all children.⁶⁰ A similar increase is also noteworthy in Turkey, reflecting the rise in

⁵²Jacqueline MacDonald Gibson and others, 'Early Life Lead Exposure from Private Well Water Increases Juvenile Delinquency Risk Among US Teens' (2022) 119(6) *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* passim.

⁵³John Protzko, 'The Environment in Raising Early Intelligence: A Meta-Analysis of the Fadeout Effect' (2015) 53(1) *Intelligence* passim.

⁵⁴Arthur J Reynolds, Katherine A Magnuson and Suh-Ruu Ou, 'Preschool-to-Third Grade Programs and Practices: A Review of Research' (2010) 32(8) *Children and Youth Services Review* 1121, 1129.

⁵⁵Matthew Manning and others, 'Is Teacher Qualification Associated with the Quality of the Early Childhood Education and Care Environment?' A Meta-Analytic Review' (2019) 89(3) *Review of Educational Research* passim

⁵⁶Damon E Jones, Mark Greenberg and Max Crowley, 'Early Social-Emotional Functioning and Public Health: The Relationship between Kindergarten Social Competence and Future Wellness' (2015) 105 *American Journal of Public Health* passim.

⁵⁷Nicholas D Mian and others, 'An Ecological Risk Model for Early Childhood Anxiety: The Importance of Early Child Symptoms and Temperament' (2011) 39 *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology* passim.

⁵⁸Marc H Bornstein, Chun-Shin Hahn and O Maurice-Haynes, 'Social Competence, Externalizing, and Internalizing Behavioral Adjustment from Early Childhood Through Early Adolescence: Developmental Cascades' (2010) 22(4) *Development and Psychopathology* passim.

⁵⁹David Álvarez-García and others, 'Impact of Family and Friends on Antisocial Adolescent Behavior: The Mediating Role of Impulsivity and Empathy' (2019) 10 *Frontiers in Psychology* passim.

⁶⁰OECD, 'Enrollment Rate in Early Childhood Education (Indicator)' (OECD 2022) <https://doi.org/10.1787/ce02d0f9-en> accessed July 7, 2024.

preschool enrollment rates observed in OECD countries. According to the latest data from the Ministry of National Education,⁶¹ participation in preschool education for children aged 3-5 has reached 50.46%, while the rate for five-year-olds stands at 83.41%. Despite this positive trend, participation in preschool education remains significantly below the OECD average.

While OECD statistics on preschool enrollment are generally encouraging, participation in high-quality early childhood education remains largely concentrated among children from middle- and upper-socioeconomic backgrounds. Children from socioeconomically disadvantaged families continue to be underrepresented in such programs, despite facing greater developmental vulnerability.⁶² The varying barriers that disadvantaged children face in accessing preschool education across different societies complicate the development of a universal solution to this issue. Each community has unique challenges, such as cultural beliefs, economic constraints, and systemic inequalities, which need to be addressed to effectively enhance access to quality early education for all children. For example, In Germany, children living with a single parent are particularly affected,⁶³ while in the United States, a significant portion of those impacted are African American children.⁶⁴ Countries like India, which have millions of at-risk children, face this issue on a much larger scale.⁶⁵

It is important to acknowledge that accessing preschool education for disadvantaged children can be a challenging process, but it is only one step in the overall process. After ensuring this access, the second critical step is to establish a connection between the early intervention programs that these children benefit from and the preschool education programs, thereby facilitating a smooth transition into the preschool education program.⁶⁶ The purpose of establishing a connection between early intervention and subsequent educational experiences is to help maintain the developmental gains achieved during early childhood and to inform future service planning based on evolving child and family needs. The goal is to prepare these children for school.⁶⁷

The framework outlined above suggests that it is expected that children who have benefited from early intervention programs will enter preschool education with fewer problematic behaviors, and that solutions will be sought for new problems that may arise during preschool education.⁶⁸ It should be emphasized once again that very few at-risk children benefit from early intervention programs. As a result, many problematic behaviors observed in at-risk children became obvious during the preschool period. The most commonly observed issues during this stage include impulsivity, anxiety, aggression, attention deficit, hyperactivity, and difficulties in adjustment and emotional regulation.⁶⁹

⁶¹ Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, '2021-2022 Örgün Eğitim İstatistikleri' (Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı 2022) <https://www.meb.gov.tr/2021-2022-orgun-egitim-istatistikleri-aciklandi/haber/27552/tr> accessed 8 July 2024.

⁶² Judith Archambault, Dominique Côté and Marie-France Raynault, 'Early Childhood Education and Care Access for Children from Disadvantaged Backgrounds: Using a Framework to Guide Intervention' (2020) 48(1) *Early Childhood Education Journal* passim.

⁶³ Pia S Schober and C Katharina Spiess, 'Early Childhood Education Activities and Care Arrangements of Disadvantaged Children in Germany' (2013) 6(1) *Child Indicators Research* 709, 709.

⁶⁴ Kizzy Albritton, Rachel E Mathews and Karla Anhalt, 'Systematic Review of Early Childhood Mental Health Consultation: Implications for Improving Preschool Discipline Disproportionality' (2019) 29(4) *Journal of Educational and Psychological Consultation* passim.

⁶⁵ Neelima Chopra, 'Quality Early Childhood Education for Disadvantaged Children: An Investigation in the MCD Schools' (2016) 24(2) *International Journal of Early Years Education* 49, 51.

⁶⁶ Mary A Khetani and others, 'Early Intervention Service Intensity and Young Children's Home Participation' (2020) 20(1) *BMC Pediatrics* passim.

⁶⁷ Nicole Gridley and others, 'Psychometric Properties of Parent-Child (0-5 Years) Interaction Outcome Measures as Used in Randomized Controlled Trials of Parent Programs: A Systematic Review' (2019) 22(1) *Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review* passim.

⁶⁸ Shulamit N Ritblatt, Audrey Hokoda and Charles Van Liew, 'Investing in the Early Childhood Mental Health Workforce Development: Enhancing Professionals' Competencies to Support Emotion and Behavior Regulation in Young Children' (2017) 7(9) *Brain Sciences* passim. 4.2 [JP].

⁶⁹ Márta Miklósi and Karolina Eszter Kovács, 'Factors Influencing School Bonding Among Juvenile Offenders-The Experience of a Systematic Review' (2025) 8 *International Journal of Educational Research Open*, passim.

In addition to these school-related issues, another challenge faced by at-risk children who have access to preschool education is the structural problems of the preschool programs they attend. For example, in schools attended by at-risk children, there are often limitations in the quality of the educational staff⁷⁰ as well as budgetary and material constraints, and these programs do not focus on the special needs of the children.⁷¹ The issues arising from the education system make it difficult to identify the problems faced by at-risk children during preschool education, develop appropriate solutions, and prepare the child for school age. As a result, socio-economically disadvantaged children cannot compete with their peers from middle and upper socio-economic groups who have access to quality preschool education programs. Consequently, all these inequalities faced by children in the risk group led to many issues from preschool being carried over into their school years.⁷²

3. School-Age Preventive Approaches

The transition to formal schooling is an important developmental milestone for all children; for at-risk children, it carries the potential to reduce future risks by fostering protective school bonds.⁷³ For those who have completed early intervention and preschool programs, long-term success depends heavily on a smooth school transition and access to a high-quality learning environment.⁷⁴ Longitudinal studies show that these children are more likely to maintain and build upon their early gains when they attend schools with low student-to-teacher ratios, adequate physical conditions, and stable placements without frequent school changes.⁷⁵

Unfortunately, many children in at-risk groups cannot access quality preschool education, making formal schooling their first structured learning experience. This often delays the recognition of developmental needs and highlights the failure to address educational inequities early on. The specific needs of at-risk children in educational settings often first become evident through academic failure, a challenge that persists across all levels of education.⁷⁶ For example, a significant proportion of students who perform below average on achievement tests administered throughout their schooling, as well as on international assessments such as the OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), are found to be at-risk children.⁷⁷

Identifying the initial signs of academic failure in disadvantaged children during school age and implementing tailored interventions is crucial. In this context, the primary responsibility lies with the school administration, classroom teachers, and school psychological counselors.⁷⁸ When specialists do not address early academic failures using appropriate methods and in a coordinated manner, the gap between at-risk children and their peers widens rapidly. Additionally, due to the effects of stigma, their ability to establish a strong connection with school, motivation to engage in lessons, and sense of belonging to the school

⁷⁰Chopra (n 65) 49.

⁷¹Tebeje Molla and Andrea Nolan, 'The Problem of Inequality in Australia's Early Childhood Education and Care Sector: A Policy Frame Analysis' (2019) 63(3) *Australian Journal of Education* 322, 333.

⁷²Manning and others (n 55) 370.

⁷³Deirdre Curle and others, 'The Transition from Early Intervention to School for Children Who are Deaf or Hard of Hearing: Administrator Perspectives' (2017) 22(1) *The Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education* passim.

⁷⁴Arthur J Reynolds and others, 'Processes of Early Childhood Interventions to Adult Well-Being' (2017) 88(2) *Child Development* passim.

⁷⁵Arthur J Reynolds, Katherine A Magnuson and Suh-Ruu Ou, 'Preschool-to-Third Grade Programs and Practices: A Review of Research' (2010) 32(8) *Children and Youth Services Review* passim.

⁷⁶Coşkun (n 19) 218.

⁷⁷Michael O'Connell, 'Is the Impact of SES on Educational Performance Overestimated?' Evidence from the PISA Survey' (2019) 75(1) *Intelligence* passim.

⁷⁸Coşkun (n 19) 219.

community can be significantly compromised in the long term. Moreover, when academic failure becomes chronic, it can lead to school absenteeism, and in the long term, ultimately result in dropping out of school.⁷⁹

School absenteeism and dropout, which are components of juvenile delinquency, extend beyond mere academic difficulties for at-risk children. Specifically, when boys disengage from or drop out of school, they face an increased likelihood of involvement in street work, substance abuse, and criminal activities, which may result in a prolonged trajectory of delinquency from an early age.⁸⁰ In contrast, when girls drop out of school, their needs diverge, often manifesting in the elevated risks of child marriage and early motherhood. Consequently, international organizations such as UNICEF and the World Bank, as well as national NGOs, are actively working to support and promote the continued education of girls to mitigate these risks.⁸¹

The role of school bonding in preventing delinquent behavior and the importance of safe school environments are frequently discussed, and their preventive impact is often emphasized; however, our knowledge about how to implement these concepts effectively in practice remains quite limited. For example, sport and physical activity-based programs are increasingly being used to prevent school dropout. The underlying assumption of these interventions is that they can strengthen students' attachment to school and thereby keep them away from risky behaviors. However, there is still limited knowledge in the literature about the long-term effects of such practices on youth and the conditions under which they are effective.⁸² Moreover, recent research shows that the type of sport plays a critical role in shaping these outcomes. While some sports like soccer have been associated with increased risks of violent behavior and subsequent contact with the criminal justice system, others such as basketball and baseball appear to have no such criminogenic effects. This variation highlights the need to consider sport-specific dynamics when designing and evaluating sport-based intervention programs.⁸³

Another issue is the lack of adequate professional training among school staff in facilitating family involvement and building functional relationships with other public personnel. A similar study conducted with school psychological counselors in Turkey revealed comparable findings. The participating counselors reported experiencing difficulties in promoting family involvement due to insufficient professional knowledge and skills. They stated that their undergraduate education did not adequately prepare them to provide preventive and protective services tailored to the needs of at-risk children. Furthermore, they expressed uncertainty about when to collaborate with external individuals, institutions, and organizations, as well as how to effectively manage this process.⁸⁴

One reason experts face challenges in engaging families is the characteristics of the families of at-risk children themselves. A significant factor contributing to this challenge is that these children and their families often come from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds, which complicates efforts by school staff to establish effective communication and collaboration. This lack of engagement can hinder the ability to connect families with essential institutions and resources.⁸⁵ Families with similar linguistic and cultural

⁷⁹Kültigin Ögel, *Madde Kullanımı ve Bağımlılık: Riskli Davranışlar Gösteren Çocuk ve Ergenler* (Yeniden Sağlık ve Eğitim Derneği Yayınları 2007) 3

⁸⁰Kültigin Ögel, İtir Tari ve Ceyda Yılmazçetin-Eke, *Okullarda Şiddet ve Suçu Önleme* (Yeniden Sağlık ve Eğitim Derneği Yayınları 2006) 30.

⁸¹World Bank, 'Educated Girls, Ending Child Marriage' (World Bank 2017) <https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/immersive-story/2017/08/22/educating-girls-ending-child-marriage> accessed July 10, 2024.

⁸²Chelsea L Piggott and others, 'Using Sport and Physical Activity Interventions to Develop Life Skills and Reduce Delinquency in Youth: A Systematic Review' (2024) *International Review of Sport and Exercise Psychology* passim.

⁸³Malikova Sholpan Baltabekovna and others, 'Adolescent Sports, Violent Delinquency, and Being Processed through the Criminal Justice System: A Longitudinal Analysis of Males' (2025) *97 Journal of Criminal Justice* passim.

⁸⁴Gökçe Çokamay, Emine Gül-Kapçı and Mustafa Sever, 'Okul Ruh Sağlığı Hizmetlerinde Yaşanan Sorunlar: Psikolojik Danışmanların Görüşleri' (2017) *16(4) İlköğretim Online* passim.

⁸⁵Michelle LaRocque, Ira Kleiman and Sharon M Darling, 'Parental Involvement: The Missing Link in School Achievement' (2011) *55(3) Preventing School Failure* passim.



backgrounds often choose schools that reflect their own traits, creating an additional barrier. For at-risk children and their families, this clustering limits collaboration with school staff and sustains a tradition of weak family-school cooperation. Moreover, when families with low motivation for engagement are concentrated, service quality declines, family involvement drops, and efforts to ensure a safe school environment are undermined. The concentration of at-risk students further complicates school efforts to prevent juvenile delinquency.⁸⁶

Efforts to find solutions to this problem have led to the emergence of intervention programs implemented during the school age. Within the scope of these programs, assessments are conducted to identify the educational, social, and environmental risks faced by children; based on these assessments, individual action plans are developed with the aim of preventing school dropout and reducing delinquent behavior.⁸⁷ These intervention programs, such as the Fast Track prevention program, continue uninterrupted from primary through high school. Research shows that such programs lead to reduced rates of school dropout, antisocial behavior, and substance use among participating children, with positive effects lasting into adulthood.⁸⁸ However, it is important to emphasize once again that very few children have access to these services.⁸⁹ As a result, many at-risk children are deprived of safe school environments and the support they need, which negatively affects their educational success and limits their employment opportunities. Despite all these challenges, every at-risk child who manages to stay in school represents a significant gain for society.

4. Preventive Approaches for Transitioning to Adulthood

Although global high school graduation rates have increased in recent years, many children from disadvantaged backgrounds still fail to complete their education. Long-term residence in poor neighborhoods significantly lowers the likelihood of graduation, especially for at-risk youth.⁹⁰ For at-risk children, transitioning into adulthood without completing high school presents considerable challenges. Individuals without a high school diploma are, in most cases, employed in unskilled or precarious jobs or unemployed.⁹¹ This situation in the transition to adulthood marks the beginning of a significant cycle of disadvantage for at-risk children, perpetuating poverty. Prolonged and chronic poverty significantly increases the risk of mental health issues, including anxiety disorders and depression, as well as the likelihood of engaging in criminal behavior.⁹² In addition, a significant number of disadvantaged individuals commit suicide each year due to unemployment.⁹³ What is even more concerning is the intergenerational transmission of poverty, as individuals who struggle with poverty throughout their lives are more likely to pass these conditions on to subsequent generations, further intensifying the cycle of disadvantage.⁹⁴

Breaking this intergenerational cycle is only feasible through preventive and protective policies. Given that each child's characteristics, interests, abilities, circumstances, and disadvantages are unique, it is

⁸⁶Jun Li and Mary J. Fischer, 'Advantaged/Disadvantaged School Neighborhoods, Parental Networks, and Parental Involvement at Elementary School' (2017) 89(3) *Sociological Inquiry* passim.

⁸⁷Dodge and others (n 48) 60.

⁸⁸Kenneth A Dodge and Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group, 'Fast Track Randomized Controlled Trial to Prevent Externalizing Psychiatric Disorders: Findings from Grades 3 to 9' (2007) 46(10) *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry* passim.

⁸⁹Dodge and others (n 48) 60.

⁹⁰Claire Snyder-Hall, 'What's the Matter with College?' Exploring White Working-Class Resentment Toward Higher Education' (2018) 40(3) *New Political Science* passim.

⁹¹Eva Zschirnt and Rosita Fibbi, 'Do Swiss Citizens of Immigrant Origin Face Hiring Discrimination in the Labor Market?' (2019) 20(1) *Université de Neuchâtel Working Paper* passim.

⁹²Gülendam Karadağ and Gülelgül Mermer, 'Dezavantajlı Gruplar Olarak İşsizlerin/Yoksulların Ruh Sağlığının Korunması' (2020) 20(1) *Türkiye Klinikleri* passim.

⁹³John A Kaufman and others, 'Effects of Increased Minimum Wages by Unemployment Rate on Suicide in the USA' (2020) 74(3) *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* passim.

⁹⁴Gordon Jack, 'Using Local Areas Data to Improve the Lives of Disadvantaged Children and Families' (2011) 16(1) *Child & Family Social Work* passim.

crucial for at-risk children to receive qualified and individualized vocational guidance that addresses their specific needs. Many of the challenges faced by at-risk children in establishing career goals for higher education or selecting a profession after high school arise from a lack of sufficient motivation and uncertainty regarding where to begin.⁹⁵ For example, some at-risk children hesitate to pursue education in different social environments due to concerns about stigma, while others may worry about showcasing their abilities for partly personal reasons.⁹⁶ Addressing these concerns by school psychological counselors, who are most accessible to children, can provide essential education, information, guidance, and psychological support to at-risk children, potentially offering a significant solution to this issue.⁹⁷

For some at-risk children, environmental factors such as limited access to social networks serve as significant barriers, hindering their transition to adulthood and limiting their access to employment opportunities. For these children, expanding internship opportunities and post-graduation employment prospects during their schooling could represent an effective goal for school counseling services.⁹⁸

B. Protecting Against Juvenile Delinquency

In an ideal universe, the expectation is to prevent the act of crime and victimization before they occur. Indeed, once a risk factor that threatens criminal behavior or development emerges, it becomes more challenging to intervene successfully or protect the child.⁹⁹ Despite practical challenges, preventive efforts based on this principle have led to fewer adult and violent crimes, as well as reduced child involvement and victimization in Western countries. However, global population growth over the past 60–70 years has prevented this decline from being reflected in the total offense numbers.¹⁰⁰ Therefore, the continued high numbers of both offenders and victims compared to the expected targets is a significant indicator that preventive measures are not sufficiently accessible in society and that these measures are not functioning effectively enough.

It should also be noted that even under the most ideal conditions, not all negative life events can be controlled by "preventive measures," which are primarily implemented in educational environments. The complex nature of life always leaves room for extraordinary developments. Some children's special needs may emerge suddenly in a context independent of school or educational settings, affecting their entire lives. For instance, the development and safety of some children may be at risk due to later emerging factors such as the death of a parent. Some children may unexpectedly become victims of crime or witnesses to criminal acts, while others may be forced to migrate to another country due to reasons like war. Additionally, some children might become ensnared in the cycle of juvenile delinquency under the influence or coercion of another adult, even before the age of 12.¹⁰¹ The negative experiences of mistreatment, abuse, and neglect that some children have faced or are likely to face significantly elevate their risk status, placing them in the category of "children at risk who need protection." Indeed, having experienced a traumatic event in the

⁹⁵Thomas P. Hébert, 'An Examination of High-Achieving First-Generation College Students From Low-Income Backgrounds' (2018) 62(1), *Gifted Child Quarterly* passim.

⁹⁶Paula Olszewski-Kubilius and Susan Corwith, 'Poverty, Academic Achievement, and Giftedness: A Literature Review' (2018) 62(1), *Gifted Child Quarterly* passim.

⁹⁷Indira Pillay, 'The Impact of Inequality and COVID-19 on Education and Career Planning for South African Children of Rural and Low-Socioeconomic Backgrounds' (2021) 3(1) *African Journal of Career Development* passim.

⁹⁸Coşkun (n 19) 221

⁹⁹Shoemaker (n 1) 343

¹⁰⁰Stefano Caneppele and Marcelo F Aebi, 'Crime Drop or Police Recording Flop?' On the Relationship Between the Decrease of Offline Crime and the Increase of Online and Hybrid Crimes' (2019) 13(1) *A Journal of Policy and Practice* passim.

¹⁰¹Daniel Tuelo Masilo, 'Prevention of Child Sexual Abuse within the Family System: Guidelines for an Educational Social Group Work Program.' (2018) 27(4) *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse* passim.

past serves as a major risk factor for their future potential criminal careers or new victimization stories, and these negative experiences can cause irreparable damage.¹⁰² This situation adversely affects not only the child but also the community to which they belong, necessitating that public institutions and society as a whole allocate resources to protect children from risk factors.¹⁰³

1. Protective Approaches to Juvenile Delinquency

In contrast to the educational approaches emphasized in earlier preventive interventions, the process of "child protection" primarily involves direct and, at times, stringent interventions or measures. Consequently, "child protection" practices cannot be considered isolated from social service policies that address maltreatment, neglect, and abuse.¹⁰⁴ After a child is reported to be "at risk" or in need of "protection," specialists conduct direct interviews and multidimensional assessments that include the child's social environment. Because of these investigations, experts may propose protective/supportive measures, such as placing the child under institutional supervision, to address the risks threatening the child's development.¹⁰⁵

It is necessary to emphasize a point here. Although "protective measures" are predominantly considered as social service policies, in both Western countries and Turkey, all "protective" interventions involve the participation and coordination of multiple institutions and organizations.¹⁰⁶ For example, In Turkey, this coordination is led by the Ministry of Family and Social Policies and includes units affiliated with the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of National Education, and other public institutions.¹⁰⁷ Collectively, these components constitute the "child justice system," and efforts are made to achieve the goal of "child protection" in a coordinated manner.

It should be acknowledged that the coordination established regarding the "Child Justice System" and protective measures is a significant asset. Indeed, the participation of many institutions and organizations has facilitated the signing of numerous international agreements, such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child¹⁰⁸ as well as many national laws like the Child Protection Law,¹⁰⁹ aimed at protecting children and addressing their special needs. These agreements have allowed for the legal safeguarding of children's needs in education, psychological support, health, physical care, and housing, making "child protection" a universal obligation. As a result, more public resources, greater attention, and increased efforts have been allocated to the goal of protecting children.¹¹⁰

Academic studies have played a significant role in the regulations made by public institutions and states. For instance, under the title "Child Abuse/Neglect Issues" in the DSM¹¹¹, there is a focus on "child protection," highlighting risk factors such as sexual exploitation of children, parental neglect, and psychological abuse.

¹⁰²Joseph P. Ryan, Abigail B. Williams and Mark E. Courtney, 'Adolescent Neglect, Juvenile Delinquency and the Risk of Recidivism' (2013) 42(3) *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* passim.

¹⁰³Martin Webber, Chris McCree ve Paul Angeli, "Inter-Agency Joint Protocols for Safeguarding Children in Social Care and Adult Mental-Health Agencies: A Cross-Sectional Survey of Practitioner Experiences" (2013) 18(2) *Child & Family Social Work* passim.

¹⁰⁴Steve Rogowski, 'From Child Welfare to Child Protection/Safeguarding: A Critical Practitioner's View of Changing Conceptions, Policies and Practice' (2015) 27(2) *Practice* passim.

¹⁰⁵İsmet Galip Yolcuoğlu, 'Türkiye'de Çocuk Koruma Sisteminin Genel Olarak Değerlendirilmesi' (2009) 18(18) *Sosyal Politika Çalışmaları Dergisi* 43, 44.

¹⁰⁶Webber, McCree and Angeli (n 103)150

¹⁰⁷Zeki Karataş and Aliye Mavili, 'Çocuk Adalet Sisteminde Suça Sürüklenen Çocuklara Yönelik Uygulamalarda Karşılaşılan Sorunlar' (2019) 19(45) *Sosyal Politika Çalışmaları Dergisi* 1013, 1043.

¹⁰⁸Convention on the Rights of the Child, Law No. 6423, adopted on 9 December 1994, published in the Official Gazette on 27 January 1995, Issue No. 22184.

¹⁰⁹Child Protection Law, Law No. 5395, adopted on 3 July 2005, published in the Official Gazette on 15 July 2005, Issue No. 25876.

¹¹⁰Rogowski (n 104) 99.

¹¹¹American Psychiatric Association, *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (5th edn, American Psychiatric Publishing 2013)

The inclusion of child protection in internationally recognized diagnostic manuals has also been a guiding factor in field studies and academic research aimed at this goal. As a result, approaches at-risk children have gained various dimensions.¹¹²

When addressing at-risk children, it is crucial to consider both "child protection" and the principle of "the best interests of the child." This principle emphasizes prioritizing the child's well-being in decisions by public institutions, minimizing harm, and meeting their needs. In this context, protecting at-risk children is the goal, while ensuring their well-being throughout the process reflects the best interests of the child.¹¹³

The measures recommended by experts for at-risk children include counseling, education, health, care, and housing measures, as stated in the Child Protection Law. For example, experts who identify issues such as lack of motivation in lessons, school absenteeism, parental conflicts, and adjustment problems may request a counseling measure and refer the child to the relevant units. If a child is found to have physical or mental health needs requiring treatment, or if there are signs of such needs, hospitals are expected to provide assessment, diagnosis, and treatment under the "health measure." Additionally, children who are observed not attending school or experiencing school dropout are reported to the relevant units under the "educational measure." In cases where a child's basic needs, such as care and housing, are not being met, "care" and "housing" measures can be implemented.¹¹⁴

A similar process applies to experts working in other ministries. For example, experts who prepare reports on children reported or referred within the scope of social services first fulfill their responsibilities in areas such as care and housing measures. After fulfilling these responsibilities, they can recommend educational, health, and counseling measures tailored to the special needs of at-risk children. When it comes to implementing these measures, which fall under the authority of other experts, they may also seek assistance from the relevant child court judge or prosecutor.¹¹⁵

Another important point to emphasize is that establishing coordination among institutions for protecting children is not sufficient on its own. It must be recognized that the goal of child protection is dynamic by nature. Each year, new children are born, some of whom face risks for various reasons, new special needs arise, and inexperienced public personnel begin to work every year.¹¹⁶ Therefore, collaboration among institutions and organizations is not enough; there is a pressing need for a sustainable national action plan or coordination strategy.

2. Challenges in Protecting Against Juvenile Delinquency

Efforts to reduce or prevent antisocial behavior have often relied on a "one size fits all" approach, applying the same strategies to all individuals regardless of their specific needs or circumstances. However, this standardized model overlooks the considerable diversity that exists not only in how antisocial behavior is expressed but also in its underlying biological, psychological, and social-environmental roots. Factors such as hormonal imbalances, emotional dysregulation, aggressive tendencies, socioeconomic hardship, exposure to trauma, and negative peer influences interact in complex ways. Therefore, prevention and intervention strategies must be adapted to the unique biopsychosocial profiles of young individuals and

¹¹²Rogowski (n 104) 100.

¹¹³Remzi Demir, 'Türk Medeni Kanunu'na Göre Çocuğun Kişiliğinin Korunması' (2019) 9(2) *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi* 271, 276.

¹¹⁴Karataş and Mavili (n 116) 1013.

¹¹⁵Gamze Erükçü and Emrah Akbaş, 'Türkiye'de Çocuk Mahkemeleri Uygulamalarına Eleştirel Bir Bakış' (2012) 1(3) *İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Araştırmaları Dergisi* 135, 141.

¹¹⁶Yolcuoğlu (n 105) 43.

the specific contexts in which they live.¹¹⁷

Another significant challenge in child protection is achieving effective coordination between institutions. The overlapping responsibilities and areas of practice among different agencies often lead to disagreements over which personnel should carry out specific tasks, as well as when and how these tasks should be performed.¹¹⁸ Several factors contribute to this issue, including differences in the educational backgrounds of professionals working in child protection, the absence of clearly defined roles within legal frameworks and strategic plans, the need for interventions to address not only at-risk children but also families with histories of substance abuse and criminal behavior, and power struggles among field workers.¹¹⁹

Another factor contributing to the ineffectiveness of "child protection" practices or strategies is the attitude or motivation of the experts who come into contact with at-risk children and the institutions to which they belong. Indeed, even if there are legally established laws/regulations and necessary budgets, the quality of the services provided depends on the field workers. There is no serious enforcement mechanism to ensure service quality or to address potential violations by the experts.¹²⁰ The most devastating consequences of this can be observed in at-risk children, for whom the responsibility of care and supervision has been entrusted to institutions. Unfortunately, at-risk girls growing up under institutional supervision disproportionately face early pregnancies, involvement in prostitution, and criminal careers in the future. Similarly, boys raised in institutional care also exhibit patterns of widespread neglect, histories of abuse, and criminal careers.¹²¹ Lastly, economic constraints remain a key barrier to implementing the Child Protection Law. Despite the official emphasis on reaching all at-risk children, field findings show that only a limited number are reached, and many still lack proper assessment of their special needs.¹²² To illustrate from the United States, where "child protection" mechanisms are relatively more established, it is estimated that 3.3 million children nationwide are subjected to neglect, abuse, and maltreatment, yet only 780,000 of these cases have been identified.¹²³ Due to limited resources, very few of those identified can access quality protective and supportive measures. This negative situation directly and indirectly impacts the field workers, leading to a loss of motivation and burnout among them.¹²⁴

The result of all these difficulties in the protective phase is the practical inability to prevent many risk factors that are theoretically preventable, leading to an increase in the number of children who begin a career in juvenile delinquency.¹²⁵ For children who are drawn into crime, various services, sanctions, and policies are implemented.

C. Services for Juvenile Delinquents

The independent handling of children in juvenile courts, which are specialized tribunals for minors, and the consideration of their developmental characteristics during trials represent a significant and encour-

¹¹⁷Blankenstein and others (n 2) 1.

¹¹⁸Jo Rose, Dilemmas Of Inter-Professional Collaboration: Can They Be Resolved? (2011) 25(2) *Children & Society* 151, 151.

¹¹⁹Rose (n 118) 152.

¹²⁰Jenny J Pearce, 'What's Going On to Safeguard Children and Young People from Child Sexual Exploitation: A Review of Local Safeguarding Children Boards' Work to Protect Children from Sexual Exploitation' (2014) 23(3) *Child Abuse Review* passim.

¹²¹Ca Rees and J Selwyn, 'Non-Infant Adoption From Care: Lessons For Safeguarding Children' (2009) 35(4) *Child: Care, Health and Development* passim.

¹²²Pearce (n 122) 159

¹²³Allison Sinanan, 'The Impact of Child, Family, and Child Protective Services Factors on Reports of Child Sexual Abuse Recurrence' (2011) 20(6) *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse* 657, 658.

¹²⁴Michele Tavormina and Laurene Clossey, 'Exploring Crisis and Its Effects on Workers in Child Protective Services Work' (2017) 22(1) *Child & Family Social Work* 126, 127.

¹²⁵Shoemaker (n 1) 3.



aging milestone in a historical sense. While today the prosecution of a child in a juvenile court is viewed as normal or ordinary, it is important to remember that this positive development was achieved through decades of advocacy for children's rights and that in Western countries, it has been less than a century since children were treated as "little adults" in adult courts.¹²⁶

Although juvenile courts may be considered a relatively new practice, academic research and the positive outcomes of these courts have contributed to their significant acceptance and widespread adoption by society.¹²⁷ However, it is important to remember that there is an ongoing tension within society, bureaucracy, and academic circles between "meeting the needs of delinquent children" and "the desire to punish them." This tension, stemming from the fact that juvenile courts are relatively new practices both in the West and in Turkey, continues to impact the functioning of the child justice system today.¹²⁸

In discussions about "punishment" and "protection" in juvenile delinquency, although there are differing perspectives and a resulting tension, it is important to highlight another point. With new practices, there are significant differences and important gains for delinquent children, particularly in the judicial process and decisions. For instance, while adults are referred to as "defendants" during legal proceedings, children under the age of 12 with a history of offending are designated as "children in need of protection," while those aged 12 to 18 are referred to as "juvenile offenders." All processes concerning children are conducted in specialized courts known as juvenile courts.¹²⁹

The differences concerning juvenile offenders extend beyond mere nomenclature. While adult criminality is often addressed within the framework of "crime and punishment" in courts, juvenile delinquency is assessed through a process aimed at meeting special needs, restorative justice, and rehabilitation.¹³⁰ Because of these evaluation processes, while adult offenders often face punitive sanctions, juvenile offenders are more frequently subject to services addressing their special needs. Through restorative justice, efforts are made to prevent them from reoffending.¹³¹ Juvenile courts have been structured to achieve this goal, transforming into a multidimensional system that includes the perspectives of experts such as social workers and implements child-friendly measures tailored to special needs. Therefore, it is not surprising that the first thing that comes to mind when thinking of juvenile courts is the services offered.¹³²

Although many studies have been conducted in the last 30 years to address this question, accurately predicting who will commit a crime, when, where, and for what reasons is nearly impossible with any model.¹³³ However, the best predictor of future criminal behavior is past criminal conduct. Therefore, taking measures tailored to the special needs of children who first appear in the judicial system due to a history of delinquency and ensuring the effective implementation of these measures is vital. These measures, which respond to the unique needs of delinquent children and are successfully implemented, serve as a barrier against their future criminal careers.¹³⁴

¹²⁶Robert M. Mennel, 'Origins of The Juvenile Court: Changing Perspectives on the Legal Rights of Juvenile Delinquents' (1972) 18(1) *Crime & Delinquency* 68, 69.

¹²⁷Young (n 2) 21.

¹²⁸Erükçü and Akbaş (n 115) 137.

¹²⁹Aybike Dinç, 'Türkiye'de Çocuk Mahkemelerinin Çocuk Adalet Sistemindeki Yeri' (2020) 5(1) *Toplum ve Kültür Araştırmaları Dergisi* 62, 65.

¹³⁰Kathleen J Bergseth and Jeffrey A. Bouffard, 'Examining the Effectiveness of A Restorative Justice Program for Various Types of Juvenile Offenders' (2013) 57(9) *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology* passim.

¹³¹Mehmet Eryalçın and Veysel Duyan, *Suçta Sürüklenen Çocuk ve Gençler* (Yeni İnsan Yayınevi 2021) 3.

¹³²Elin Hultman, Staffan Höjer and Monica Larsson, 'Age Limits for Participation in Child Protection Court Proceedings in Sweden' (2020) 25(2) *Child & Family Social Work* passim.

¹³³Salganik (n 34) 8398

¹³⁴Dalun Zhang and others, 'Juvenile Offenders with and without Disabilities: Risks and Patterns of Recidivism' (2011) 21(1) *Learning and Individual Differences* 12, 14.

When examining the Child Protection Law in Turkey,¹³⁵ we see that there are measures aimed at preventing recidivism among juvenile offenders, and the importance of these measures is emphasized. The provisions outlined in the Child Protection Law address five main areas: counseling, health, housing, care, and education, which are applicable not only to at-risk children but also to those who have not yet engaged in delinquent behavior. Generally, a look at global practices shows that similar categories are addressed in various implementations.

1. Counseling Services

The most frequently used measure for juvenile offenders is counseling.¹³⁶ Counseling interventions focus on providing support for the education, development and psychological well-being of juvenile offenders, addressing their unique needs and offering guidance to their families on effective child-rearing practices.¹³⁷ In Turkey, school psychological counselors primarily implement counseling measures. Within this framework, these counselors conduct individual sessions with juvenile offenders and their families, providing counseling and guidance services tailored to the child's special needs.¹³⁸

The effectiveness of these counseling measures in Turkey raises questions. For nearly 20 years, there has been no research or data regarding the impact of these counseling measures on recidivism. The Ministry of National Education¹³⁹ has also addressed this issue in the "Counseling Measures Handbook" prepared for school psychological counselors, highlighting the need for theoretical and practical in-service training related to juvenile delinquency, criminology, and interactions with juvenile offenders.

When examining counseling measures in Western countries that encompass parent education, family therapy, and individual therapy programs, it is observed that these counseling practices do not have negative effects¹⁴⁰ and can reduce recidivism to some extent.¹⁴¹ However, the effect of reduced delinquency was not observed in a significant majority of children benefiting from counseling measures. This reduction in recidivism is more evident among children who are first-time offenders; in contrast, the effectiveness of counseling measures significantly diminishes or completely vanishes for children who have been involved in delinquency two or more times.¹⁴²

The limited effectiveness of counseling measures stems largely from the overwhelming majority of delinquent children not participating voluntarily and motivated in counseling sessions, viewing these sessions as a "legal obligation." The success of counseling sessions is directly related to voluntary participation; otherwise, the therapeutic impact is significantly weakened.¹⁴³ The functional effectiveness of counseling measures in a small group was also influenced by the widespread presence of antisocial personality disorder

¹³⁵Child Protection Law (n 109)

¹³⁶Semra Saruç and Derya Kayma Güneş, 'Suça Sürüklenen Çocuklar Hakkında Hazırlanan Sosyal İnceleme Raporlarının Mahkeme Kararlarına Etkisi' (2014) 25(1) *Toplum ve Sosyal Hizmet* 109, 122.

¹³⁷Child Protection Law (n 109)

¹³⁸Fatih Camadan, 'Meb Tarafından Psikolojik Danışma ve Rehberlik Hizmetleri ile İlgili Olarak Yayınlanan Yönetmeliklerdeki Kararların Değerlendirilmesi' (2021) 50(2) *Milli Eğitim Dergisi* passim.

¹³⁹Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 'Danışmanlık Tedbiri Uygulamaları El Kitabı' (Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 2015) https://orgm.meb.gov.tr/meb_iys_dosyalar/2015_08/28114710_danmanlktedbiriuygulamalarelkitab26.8.15.pdf accessed 8 July 2023.

¹⁴⁰Julia H Littell, Melanie Popa and Burnee Forsythe, 'Multisystemic Therapy For Social, Emotional, and Behavioral Problems In Youth Aged 10-17' (2005) 1(1) *Campbell Systematic Reviews* passim.

¹⁴¹Mark W Lipsey, "The Primary Factors that Characterize Effective Interventions with Juvenile Offenders: A Meta-Analytic Overview" (2009) 4(2) *Victims and Offenders* passim.

¹⁴²Bergseth and Bouffard (n 130) 1054

¹⁴³Scott W Henggeler and others, 'Multisystemic Therapy with Violent and Chronic Juvenile Offenders and Their Families: The Role of Treatment Fidelity in Successful Dissemination' (1997) 65(5) *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* passim.

among delinquent children, as there is no proven psychological therapy method specifically effective for this condition.¹⁴⁴

2. Health Services

Health measures involve providing professional treatment and rehabilitation support for the physical and mental health of juvenile offenders to prevent their reoffending. Longitudinal studies conducted with juvenile offenders highlight the critical importance of health measures. For instance, a study involving a sample of 2,000 children who had a history of first-time offending three years prior yielded striking results. It found that behavioral problems, adjustment disorders, mental health issues, substance use, and cognitive dysfunctions were commonly observed among juvenile offenders, with nearly every child experiencing difficulties in at least one area.¹⁴⁵ Similar research findings have been observed in many countries, including Turkey. These studies further emphasize the prevalence of mental health problems and cognitive dysfunctions among juvenile offenders, highlighting the special needs of these children.¹⁴⁶

Given the devastating harm that crime inflicts on public health and the economy, it is essential to urgently address the needs of juvenile offenders through appropriate treatment.¹⁴⁷ However, a more troubling picture emerges from the treatment results. Health measures targeting conditions such as mood disorders, anxiety, antisocial personality disorder, substance abuse, and high-risk behaviors like self-harm or harm to others in juvenile offenders are not sufficiently effective in preventing recidivism.¹⁴⁸

The ineffectiveness of health measures is hidden in the self-report forms completed by juvenile offenders. Despite the prevalence of mental health issues among these children, they often deny or downplay these problems in their self-reporting.¹⁴⁹ Therefore, more research, comprehensive screening processes, and targeted interventions are needed to mitigate the negative psychiatric and psychosocial outcomes among juvenile offenders.¹⁵⁰

3. Educational Services

Another measure applied to juvenile delinquents is the educational measure. The educational measure includes provisions to enable the child to continue their interrupted education, participate in vocational training courses, or join the workforce. As seen in the definition, the educational measure is not solely about getting a child who has dropped out back to school. This process involves selecting an educational program tailored to the child's needs and specifically organizing the environment, as well as directing the child toward a profession that aligns with their interests, skills, and motivation. The aim of implementing educational measures for juvenile delinquents is to fill children's free time and reduce problematic behaviors in the short term, while in the long term, it is to ensure they complete school or vocational training and increase their

¹⁴⁴Simon Gibbon and others, 'Psychological Interventions for Antisocial Personality Disorder' (2020) 9 *Cochrane Database of Systematic Reviews* 1, 4.

¹⁴⁵Laura S Abrams and Anna Hyun, 'Mapping A Process of Negotiated Identity Among Incarcerated Male Juvenile Offenders' (2009) 41(1) *Youth & Society* passim.

¹⁴⁶Çilem Bilginer and others, 'Suça Sürüklenen Çocukların Adli Psikiyatrik Değerlendirme ve Rapor Sonuçları: İki Yıllık Retrospektif Dosya Taraması' (2021) 24(2) *Klinik Psikiyatri Dergisi* 217.

¹⁴⁷Susan M Tarolla and others, 'Understanding and Treating Juvenile Offenders: A Review of Current Knowledge and Future Directions' (2002) 7(2) *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 125.

¹⁴⁸Young (n 2) 21.

¹⁴⁹Rene de Breuk and others, 'The Validity of Questionnaire Self-Report of Psychopathology and Parent-Child Relationship Quality in Juvenile Delinquents with Psychiatric Disorders' (2007) 30(5) *Journal of Adolescence* passim.

¹⁵⁰Shruti Tilak and others, 'A Case-control Analysis of Significant Mental Health Risk Factors Among Children in Conflict with the Law in Mumbai, India' (2025) *Journal of Indian Association for Child and Adolescent Mental Health* passim.

employment rates.¹⁵¹ Indeed, it has been reported that the excessive free time that juvenile delinquents have,¹⁵² along with unemployment¹⁵³, results in an increase in the frequency of offenses.

From this perspective, we can say that successfully implemented educational interventions can significantly reduce recidivism.¹⁵⁴ However, it is difficult to prove this in practice. There is a lack of strong evidence to support the claim that educational interventions reduce recidivism.¹⁵⁵ Research shows that educational interventions have achieved the goal of preventing recidivism in very few juvenile offenders, and that the overwhelming majority of these children have been unable to complete their schooling or vocational training programs.¹⁵⁶ Indeed, similar situations have been observed in studies conducted with juvenile offenders in Turkey, where a significant prevalence of school dropout was noted among the research samples.¹⁵⁷

4. Care Services

Another measure implemented in juvenile courts is the care measure. The care measure involves placing a child under institutional protection or supervision when the responsible caregivers fail to provide adequate care and supervision, leading to neglect, abuse, or mistreatment. These care measures, particularly those applied in neighborhoods with high rates of delinquency,¹⁵⁸ are critically important for preventing reoffending.¹⁵⁹ Research involving chronically delinquent children often reveals a history of neglect, abuse, mistreatment, and violence. These studies emphasize the significant impact that negative life experiences have on the likelihood of juvenile delinquency.¹⁶⁰ Moreover, these negative life experiences are not only highly correlated with juvenile delinquency, but similar correlations are also found with adverse outcomes such as substance abuse,¹⁶¹ suicide,¹⁶² school dropout, and academic failure.¹⁶³

In theory, the potential for well-timed and qualitative care measures to disrupt this bleak picture is certainly significant. However, when we look at the effectiveness of implemented care measures in preventing juvenile delinquency, it is challenging to find positive results.¹⁶⁴ Among care measures, the most traditional method—placing a delinquent child under protection and into a state-run institution—often reveals more

¹⁵¹Richard J Morris and Kristin C Thompson, 'Juvenile Delinquency and Special Education Laws: Policy Implementation Issues and Directions for Future Research' (2008) 1 *Journal of Correctional Education* passim.

¹⁵²Angela L Newberry and Renae D Duncan, 'Roles of Boredom and Life Goals in Juvenile Delinquency' (2001) 31(3) *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* passim.

¹⁵³Jeremy D. Staff, Wayne Osgood, John E. Schulenberg, Jerald G. Bachman and Emily E. Messersmith, "Explaining The Relationship Between Employment and Juvenile Delinquency" (2010) 4(1) *Criminology* passim.

¹⁵⁴Zhang and others (n 134) 13.

¹⁵⁵Taiping Ho and Gregory C. Rocheleau, 'A Follow-Up Study On Recidivism Among Adjudicated Juveniles With Special Education In The Juvenile Correctional Facility' (2020) 20(3) *Youth Justice* passim. 4.2 [JP]

¹⁵⁶Snyder-Hall (n 90) 605

¹⁵⁷Gülen Güler, Mehmet Ali Sungur and Meryem Özlem-Kütük, 'Suça Sürüklenen Çocukların Klinik ve Sosyodemografik Özelliklerinin Değerlendirilmesi' (2018) 23(1) *Adli Tıp Bülteni* 46, 46.

¹⁵⁸Hui Huang, Joseph P Ryan and Michelle-Ann Rhoden, 'Foster Care, Geographic Neighborhood Change, and The Risk of Delinquency' (2016) 65(1) *Children and Youth Services Review* passim.

¹⁵⁹Anna Stewart, Michael Livingston and Susan Dennison, 'Transitions and Turning Points: Examining The Links Between Child Maltreatment and Juvenile Offending' (2008) 32(1) *Child Abuse & Neglect* 51, 66.

¹⁶⁰Ryan, Williams and Courtney (N 102) 454.

¹⁶¹Vanessa B Puetz and Eamon McCrory, "Exploring The Relationship Between Childhood Maltreatment and Addiction: A Review of The Neurocognitive Evidence" (2015) 2 *Current Addiction Reports* passim.

¹⁶²Heather N Taussing, Scott B Harpin and Sabine A Maguire, 'Suicidality Among Preadolescent Maltreated Children in Foster Care' (2014) 19(1) *Child Maltreatment* passim.

¹⁶³Sheree L Toth and Dante Cicchetti, 'The Impact of Relatedness with Mother on School Functioning in Maltreated Children' (1996) 34(3) *Journal of School Psychology* passim.

¹⁶⁴Fatma Çavuş-Bekçe and Nurullah Çalış, 'İhmal ve İstismarı Önlemeye Yönelik Çocuk Koruma Politikalarında Uzmanlaşmış Koruyucu Aile Modelinin Yeri' (2021) 32(4) *Toplum ve Sosyal Hizmet* passim.



negative outcomes than positive ones. Some studies have reported that bringing together children with multiple delinquency histories and at-risk children leads to destructive consequences,¹⁶⁵ highlighting the lack of adequate security measures in institutions and¹⁶⁶ the worsening of mental health problems among the children there.¹⁶⁷

The difficulties experienced in state-run institutions and the ineffectiveness of care measures have opened the door to seeking new solutions.¹⁶⁸ One of these practices is the foster care model, which has been implemented for 40 years and has reported promising results from relatively short-term randomized studies.¹⁶⁹ However, a similar problem observed in state-run institutions also exists in foster care, where significant successes achieved with small groups cannot be generalized to larger groups. As a result, the negative outcomes reported in research involving foster families are more pronounced.¹⁷⁰

In studies related to foster families, negative factors are often identified, such as the foster child continuing to live in neighborhoods with similar patterns of delinquency, frequent changes of foster families or homes, and the foster family being a relative of the delinquent child. These factors significantly reduce or undermine the effectiveness of foster care practices. Indeed, the lack of longitudinal studies demonstrating the functionality of foster families in preventing delinquency also highlights an academic gap.¹⁷¹

5. Housing Services

The final measure implemented in juvenile courts is the housing measure. The housing measure involves providing suitable accommodation for juvenile offenders who lack housing options or whose well-being is at risk in their current living situation. Interventions under this measure include residential care facilities, staff-secured emergency shelters, and housing rental assistance, all while ensuring that the child is subjected to the least possible restriction.¹⁷²

Although discussions regarding causality continue,¹⁷³ it has long been recognized that there is a relationship between the housing opportunities provided to children and recidivism.¹⁷⁴ Recent studies show that when a child's housing needs are met in an environment with low crime prevalence and adequate resources at their residence, the likelihood of recidivism, receiving a psychiatric diagnosis, and experiencing chronic health issues in the future significantly decreases for the juvenile offender.¹⁷⁵ Indeed, international organizations have not remained silent on the necessity of housing measures, emphasizing the importance

¹⁶⁵Olayinka Atilola, 'Different Points of a Continuum? Cross Sectional Comparison of The Current and Pre-Contact Psychosocial Problems Among The Different Categories of Adolescents in Institutional Care in Nigeria' (2012) 12(1) *BMC Public Health* 1, 11.

¹⁶⁶Sibnath Deb and others, 'Children Under Institutional Care: Ensuring Quality Care and Safety' (2020) 1(1) *Disadvantaged Children in India: Empirical Evidence, Policies and Actions* passim.

¹⁶⁷Katharin Hermenau and others, 'Maltreatment and Mental Health in Institutional Care—Comparing Early and Late Institutionalized Children in Tanzania' (2014) 35(2) *Infant Mental Health Journal* passim.

¹⁶⁸Çavuş-Bekçe and Çalış (n 164) 1565.

¹⁶⁹Anna Smyke and others, 'A Randomized Controlled Trial Comparing Foster Care and Institutional Care For Children With Signs Of Reactive Attachment Disorder' (2012) 169(5) *American Journal of Psychiatry* 508.

¹⁷⁰JayJay Cutuli and others, 'From Foster Care To Juvenile Justice: Exploring Characteristics Of Youth In Three Cities' (2016) 67 *Children and Youth Services Review* passim.

¹⁷¹Joseph P Ryan and others, 'Kinship Foster Care and The Risk of Juvenile Delinquency' (2010) 32(12) *Children and Youth Services Review* 1823.

¹⁷²Joseph P Ryan and others, 'Juvenile Delinquency in Child Welfare: Investigating Group Home Effects' (2008) 30(9) *Children and Youth Services Review* passim.

¹⁷³Andrew Felon, Natalie Slopen, Michel Boudreaux and Sandra J Newman, 'The Impact Of Housing Assistance on The Mental Health of Children in The United States' (2018) 59(3) *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 447, 455.

¹⁷⁴Gordon H Baker, 'Juvenile Delinquency and Housing in a Small City' (1954) 45(1) *J. Crim. L. Criminology and Police Sci.* passim.

¹⁷⁵Andrew Felon and others, 'The Benefits Of Rental Assistance For Children's Health and School Attendance in The United States' (2021) 58(4) *Demography* passim.



of meeting children's housing needs in the Convention on the Rights of the Child.¹⁷⁶ With this international treaty, which Turkey has also signed, "the provision of housing opportunities for children" is defined as a fundamental child right.

Although its importance has been emphasized through research and secured by the Convention on the Rights of the Child, it is difficult to say that housing measures or the right to housing are implemented without issues. Influenced by the significant increase in disadvantaged populations worldwide and in Western countries, housing problems have not decreased; rather, they have become more chronic. For example, while millions of disadvantaged children in the U.S. are affected by housing issues and this number increases every year, only a small portion of these disadvantaged children can benefit from "housing measures."¹⁷⁷

6. Challenges Faced in the Provision of Services

The establishment of goals aimed at preventing juvenile reoffending, along with services to achieve these goals, is undoubtedly an important milestone in addressing juvenile delinquency. However, as seen in the overall picture, the effectiveness of these services in reducing reoffending remains limited.¹⁷⁸

The limited participation of families in the juvenile court process is one of these issues. Families' involvement in juvenile court hearings largely remains confined to their physical presence, while the focus is primarily on the juvenile and their lawyer, who are more actively engaged in the proceedings.¹⁷⁹ This situation results in the family having very little say when decisions and measures are being taken in court.¹⁸⁰ The weak participation of families in the court process negatively affects their trust in public institutions, diminishing their motivation and involvement during the implementation of measures. This low motivation among families also contributes to the measures being insufficiently functional.¹⁸¹ Interventions such as educational measures and counseling measures require family participation.¹⁸²

Another challenge in the implementation of measures for delinquent children is the failure of the juvenile court judge to enforce the measures deemed appropriate by the social worker. In a study conducted by Saruç and Kayma-Güneş,¹⁸³ files from a juvenile court in Ankara were examined, revealing that only 10% of the measures recommended by experts were implemented by the court during 2010. Although the implementation rates of the measures have increased in subsequent years, there is still no evidence that the goal of 100% compliance has been approached. Both studies conducted in Turkey¹⁸⁴ and abroad point to widespread¹⁸⁵ mental health issues, substance abuse, destructive behavior problems, and cognitive skill deficits among juvenile offenders, with these identified special needs increasing the risk of suicide in these children. It is important to remember that the delays in implementing these measures do not only have health-related consequences. For example, the delay in educational measures applied to juvenile offenders significantly reduces their chances of returning to school and completing their education.¹⁸⁶ In conclusion,

¹⁷⁶Convention on the Rights of the Child (n 117)

¹⁷⁷Fenelon and others (n 108) 447.

¹⁷⁸May, Osmond and Billick (n 40) 295

¹⁷⁹Liana Pennington, 'A Case Study Approach to Procedural Justice: Parents' Views in Two Juvenile Delinquency Courts in The United States' (2015) 55(5) *British Journal of Criminology* passim.

¹⁸⁰Liana Pennington, 'Socializing Distrust of The Justice System Through The Family in Juvenile Delinquency Court' (2017) 39(1) *Law & Policy* passim.

¹⁸¹Pennington (n 179) 901.

¹⁸²Zhang and others (n 134) 12.

¹⁸³Saruç and Kayma-Güneş (n 136) 109

¹⁸⁴Bilginer and others (n 146) 217.

¹⁸⁵Abrams and Hyun (n 145) 26.

¹⁸⁶Wendy Cavendish, 'Academic Attainment During Commitment and Postrelease Education-Related Outcomes of Juvenile Justice-Involved Youth with and without Disabilities' (2014) 22(1) *Journal of Emotional and Behavioral Disorders* passim



given this negative picture, the existence of delayed or unimplemented measures for juvenile offenders is a significant cause for concern.

Another factor affecting the effectiveness of measures for juvenile offenders is stigmatization. The overwhelming majority of juvenile offenders not being able to complete their education,¹⁸⁷ with the educational measures is largely due to these stigmatization histories.¹⁸⁸ In particular, juvenile offenders released from detention often face prejudice from peers and teachers, resulting in low academic expectations within schools. This disregard for their specific needs hinders their successful reintegration into the educational system.¹⁸⁹ When considering that the return of juvenile offenders to education significantly reduces new incidents of delinquency, this situation emerges as another concerning issue. Even more troubling is that the stigma problem is also evident in other interventions, such as counseling measures, where juvenile offenders experience this cycle of stigma at every stage of the intervention and in social contexts.¹⁹⁰

Another factor affecting the functionality of measures aimed at juvenile offenders is the widespread presence of low cognitive functioning and mental impairments among these children.¹⁹¹ The presence of mental impairments in juvenile offenders significantly increases the likelihood of reoffending.¹⁹² However, it is difficult to say that this specific situation is fully considered in the measures taken for juvenile offenders. For instance, when educational measures are applied to juvenile offenders with intellectual disabilities due to their academic failures or school dropouts, we cannot claim that a special education program tailored to their needs is also being organized.¹⁹³ Additionally, we cannot say that all of these children received support from a psychological counselor or peer mentor regarding the academic difficulties they faced at school, nor that their families were involved in this counseling process.¹⁹⁴ It is not realistic to expect that a special needs child who is merely enrolled in school and placed in a classroom will complete their high school education and a vocational training course without issues. Indeed, the fact that very few children with intellectual disabilities who are involved in delinquency manage to finish high school and vocational training confirms that these expectations are unrealistic.¹⁹⁵

Another factor affecting the functionality of the measures for delinquent children is the large number of children with a first-time delinquency history. For instance, it has been reported that at least 1 million children in the United States come into contact with the juvenile court system each year due to delinquency.¹⁹⁶ When this large population of children who have only experienced court involvement is combined with those who have not yet had court experience but have had police interactions, it results in a significantly large group that requires services. This emerging population considerably diminishes the quality of the services provided.¹⁹⁷ Indeed, research conducted in the U.S. and other Western countries highlights a chaotic

¹⁸⁷Cavendish (n 186) 42.

¹⁸⁸Ed Smeets, "Education in Young Offender Institutions and Secure Youth Care Institutions" (2014) 20(1) *Educational Research and Evaluation* passim.

¹⁸⁹Snyder (n 90) 605

¹⁹⁰Smeets (n 188) 67.

¹⁹¹Joseph Schwartz and others, 'Intelligence and Criminal Behavior in A Total Birth Cohort: An Examination of Functional Form, Dimensions of Intelligence, and The Nature of Offending' (2015) 51(1) *Intelligence* passim.

¹⁹²Zhang and others (n 134) 12.

¹⁹³Ho and Rocheleau (n 155) 328

¹⁹⁴Zhang and others (n 134) 12.

¹⁹⁵Cavendish (n 186) 42.

¹⁹⁶Henggeler and others (n 143) 821.

¹⁹⁷Shoemaker (n 1) 23.

problem regarding access to resources, indicating that many children remain invisible within the system.¹⁹⁸

Conclusion

From the moment of conception, a child may be subjected to the harmful effects of poverty, parental abuse, neglect and/or parental abandonment, exposure to individuals with criminal histories, substance abuse, or other risky behaviors, and lack of access to adequate housing options. These adverse conditions in the home environment can also affect the child's educational experiences or interactions with the outside world. A child may confront issues such as academic failure, school absenteeism or dropout, street work, and substance use, which are often influenced by familial factors. Additionally, a child's developmental disability, such as intellectual disabilities, learning difficulties, behavioral disorders, or antisocial personality disorder, may go unrecognized and untreated. Considering these unmet needs, a tendency for criminal behavior may emerge during the childhood years.

Although there is a universal effort to identify and meet the needs of at-risk children to reduce juvenile delinquency, only a small proportion of these children receive preventive, protective, and supportive services. The inability of treatment and delinquency prevention services to achieve success means that some children's criminal histories cannot be curtailed, leading to developmentally inappropriate services for certain children with a history of multiple crimes. Among these services are the placement of these children in institutions resembling "juvenile prisons" and the temporary restriction of their freedom. At this point, the corrective nature of such practices should be questioned and the outcomes of these restrictive experiences should be systematically identified.

It is well established that the positive outcomes of restrictive interventions, such as juvenile detention, often fall short of expectations. Thus, it is crucial to recognize a fundamental characteristic of human behavior: it is nearly impossible to explain any human behavior based on a single factor. Behavior is always the product of multiple influences, requiring consideration of individual differences. Therefore, applying uniform solutions to understand the causes of behavior and to prevent or correct behaviors among individuals in similar circumstances carries the risk of deviating from effective approaches. As such, interventions aimed at addressing juvenile delinquency, as discussed in this paper, must consider each child's unique biological, psychological, and social characteristics when explaining the causes of delinquency and developing individualized treatment strategies.

Spanning from prenatal care to school-age followed by the transition into young adulthood support systems demonstrates a developmental framework implying that the earlier and more systematically an intervention is applied, the greater the chances of preventing the continuation of delinquent behavior. The findings of this article suggest that fragmented or late-stage interventions, especially those introduced only after a child enters the juvenile justice system, are insufficient in addressing the cumulative effects of early trauma and systematic neglect. To be effective, delinquency prevention must embrace a long-term, layered approach that prioritizes: (1) universal access to early childhood interventions, (2) structured transition support into school and adolescence, and (3) restorative rather than punitive responses in the justice system. Furthermore, coordinated collaboration among education, health, justice, and social service institutions is essential in ensuring that no child "falls through the cracks". Establishing sustainable child protection systems—backed by professional training, financial investment, and cross-sectoral communication—emerges as a necessity rather than a luxury.

¹⁹⁸Fenelon and others (n 175) 447.



Equally critical is the recognition that the sociocultural context matters. Intervention models must be tailored to local realities, including socioeconomic disparities, cultural perceptions of justice, and institutional capacity. This underscores the need for adaptive, context-sensitive strategies in both policy formulation and field practice. In conclusion, juvenile delinquency is not merely a legal issue, but more of a developmental one. Only through sustainable, developmentally attuned, and child-centered efforts can societies hope to prevent the intergenerational transmission of disadvantage and crime.



Peer Review	Externally peer-reviewed.
Author Contributions	Conception/Design of Study- U.H.C., A.D.S.; Data Acquisition- U.H.C., A.D.S.; Data Analysis/Interpretation- A.D.S.; Drafting Manuscript- U.H.C.; Critical Revision of Manuscript- U.H.C.; Final Approval and Accountability- U.H.C.
Conflict of Interest	The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.
Grant Support	The authors declare that this study has received no financial support.



Author Details **Umut Haydar Coşkun**

¹ Turkish Ministry of Justice, Izmir Court of Law, Izmir, Türkiye

 0000-0002-0892-8175  uhcoskun@hotmail.com

Ayşe Dolunay Sarıca

² Dokuz Eylul University, Institute of Educational Sciences, Department of Special Education, Izmir, Türkiye

 0000-0003-3626-9469 

Bibliography

- Abrams L and Hyun A, 'Mapping A Process of Negotiated Identity Among Incarcerated Male Juvenile Offenders' (2009) 41(1) *Youth & Society* 26-52.
- Aebi F and Linde A, 'Is There a Crime Drop in Western Europe?' (2010) 16 *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research* 251-277.
- Albritton K, Mathews R and Anhalt K, 'Systematic Review of Early Childhood Mental Health Consultation: Implications for Improving Preschool Discipline Disproportionality' (2019) 29(4) *Journal of Educational and Psychological Consultation* 444-472.
- Álvarez-García D, González-Castro P, Núñez JC, Rodríguez C and Cerezo R, 'Impact of Family and Friends on Antisocial Adolescent Behavior: The Mediating Role of Impulsivity and Empathy' (2019) 10(1) *Frontiers in Psychology* 1-9.
- American Psychiatric Association, *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (5th edn, American Psychiatric Publishing 2013)
- Archambault J, Côté D and Raynault M, 'Early Childhood Education and Care Access for Children from Disadvantaged Backgrounds: Using a Framework to Guide Intervention' (2020) 48 *Early Childhood Education Journal* 345-352.
- Atilola O, 'Different Points of a Continuum? Cross Sectional Comparison of The Current and Pre-Contact Psychosocial Problems Among The Different Categories of Adolescents in Institutional Care in Nigeria' (2012) 12(1) *BMC Public Health* 1-11.
- Baker GH. 'Juvenile Delinquency and Housing in a Small City' (1954) 45 *J Crim L Criminology & Police Sci* 442-442.
- Baltabekovna MS, Bekmuratovna OA, Zhakslykkyzy ZA, Karibayevna AS and Beaver KM, 'Adolescent Sports, Violent Delinquency, and Being Processed through the Criminal Justice System: A Longitudinal Analysis of Males' (2025) 97 *Journal of Criminal Justice* 1-7.
- Barrett D, Katsiyannis A, Zhang D and Kingree J, 'Predictors of Teen Childbearing Among Delinquent and Non-Delinquent Females' (2015) 24 *Journal of Child and Family* 970-978.
- Basto-Pereira M, Gouveia-Pereira M, Pereira R, Barrett E, Lawler S, Newton N and Stapinski L, 'The Global Impact of Adverse Childhood Experiences on Criminal Behavior: A Cross-Continental Study' (2022) 124 *Child Abuse & Neglect* 1-12.
- Berg M and Schreck C, 'The Meaning of The Victim-Offender Overlap for Criminological Theory and Crime Prevention Policy' (2022) 5(1) *Annual Review of Criminology* 277-297.
- Bergseth K and Bouffard J, 'Examining the Effectiveness of A Restorative Justice Program for Various Types of Juvenile Offenders' (2013) 57(9) *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology* 1054-1075.



- Bilginer Ç, Karadeniz S, Hızarcı S, Yılmaz B and Kandil S, 'Suça Sürüklenen Çocukların Adli Psikiyatrik Değerlendirme ve Rapor Sonuçları: İki Yıllık Retrospektif Dosya Taraması' (2021) 24(2) *Klinik Psikiyatri Dergisi* 217-227.
- Binik O, Ceretti A, Cornelli A, Schadee A, Verde A and Gatti U, 'Neighborhood Social Capital, Juvenile Delinquency, and Victimization: Results from the International Self-Report Delinquency Study-3 in 23 Countries' (2019) 25 *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research* 241-241.
- Björkenstam E, Dalman C, Vinnerljung B, Weitoft R, Walder D and Burström B, 'Childhood Household Dysfunction, School Performance and Psychiatric Care Utilization in Young Adults: A Register Study of 96,399 Individuals in Stockholm County' (2016) 70(5) *J Epidemiol Community Health* 473-480.
- Blankenstein NE, Bouwmeester S, van Haeringen SL, van Klink RT, van der Meule LM, and Jansen LMC, 'Who is at Risk? Applying the Biopsychosocial Model to Explain Non-Violent and Violent Delinquency in Youth' (2024) 69 *Developmental Cognitive Neuroscience* 1-13.
- Bornstein M, Hahn C and Haynes O, 'Social Competence, Externalizing, and Internalizing Behavioral Adjustment from Early Childhood Through Early Adolescence: Developmental Cascades' (2010) 22(4) *Development and Psychopathology* 717-735.
- Britto P, Lye S, Proulx K, Yousafzai A, Matthews S, Vaivada T and Perez-Escamilla R, 'Nurturing Care: Promoting Early Childhood Development' (2017) 10064 *The Lancet* 91-102.
- Bruinsma G and Weisburd D, *Encyclopedia of Criminology and Criminal Justice* (Springer Reference 2014).
- Buchanan M, Castro E, Kushner M and Krohn M, 'It's F** ing Chaos: COVID-19's Impact on Juvenile Delinquency and Juvenile Justice' (2020) 45 *American Journal of Criminal Justice* 578-600.
- Bussemakers J, Kraaykamp G, Schoon I and Tolsma J, 'Household Dysfunction and Child Development: Do Financial Resources Matter?' (2022) 51 *Advances in Life Course Research* 1-14.
- Buz S, Düzyurt K and Sağlam M, 'Aile Mahkemesinde Çalışan Sosyal Çalışma Görevlilerinin Sosyal İnceleme Raporlarına İlişkin Değerlendirmeleri: Ankara Adliyesi Örneği' (2015) 26(2) *Toplum ve Sosyal Hizmet* 7-30.
- Camadan, F., 'MEB Tarafından Psikolojik Danışma ve Rehberlik Hizmetleri İle İlgili Olarak Yayınlanan Yönetmeliklerdeki Kararların Değerlendirilmesi' (2021) 50(230) *Milli Eğitim Dergisi* 1015-1038.
- Caneppele S and Aebi M, 'Crime Drop or Police Recording Flop? On The Relationship Between The Decrease of Offline Crime and The Increase of Online and Hybrid Crimes Policing' (2019) 13(1) *A Journal of Policy and Practice* 66-79.
- Cavendish W, 'Academic Attainment During Commitment and Postrelease Education-Related Outcomes of Juvenile Justice-Involved Youth with and without Disabilities' (2014) 22(1) *Journal of Emotional and Behavioral Disorders* 41-52.
- Chopra N, 'Quality Early Childhood Education for Disadvantaged Children: An Investigation in The MCD Schools' (2016) 24(2) *International Journal of Early Years Education* 49-62.
- Cicchetti D, 'Annual Research Review: Resilient Functioning in Maltreated Children-Past, Present, and Future Perspectives' (2013) 54(4) *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry* 402-422.
- Cohen M and Piquero A, 'New Evidence on The Monetary Value of Saving a High Risk Youth' (2009) 25 *Journal of Quantitative Criminology* 25-33.
- Collishaw S, Furzer E, Thapar A and Sellers R, 'Brief Report: A Comparison of Child Mental Health Inequalities in Three UK Population Cohorts' (2019) 28 *European Child & Adolescent Psychiatry* 1547-1549.
- Coşkun UH, 'Dezavantajlı Bireylerde Ruh Sağlığı Hizmeti' in Semra Uçar (ed), *Okul Ruh Sağlığı* (Nobel Yayıncılık 2021).
- Cristina C, Bachi B, Cioni R, Shecke H, Nieminen I, Zabłocka-Żytka L and Woźniak-Prus M, 'Professionals' Digital Training For Child Maltreatment Prevention In The COVID-19 Era: A Pan-European Model' (2022) 19(2) *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 1-15.
- Curle D, Jamieson J, Buchanan M, Poon B, Zaidman-Zait A and Norman N, 'The Transition from Early Intervention to School for Children Who are Deaf or Hard of Hearing: Administrator Perspectives' (2017) 22(1) *The Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education* 1-10.
- Cutul JJ, Goerge RM, Coulton C, Schretzman M, Crampton D, Charvat BJ, Lalich B, Raithel J and Gacitua CL, 'From Foster Care To Juvenile Justice: Exploring Characteristics Of Youth in Three Cities' (2016) 67 *Children and Youth Services Review* 84-94.
- Çavuş-Bekçe F and Çalış N, 'İhmal ve İstismarı Önlemeye Yönelik Çocuk Koruma Politikalarında Uzmanlaşmış Koruyucu Aile Modelinin Yeri' (2021) 32(4) *Toplum ve Sosyal Hizmet* 1565.
- Convention on the Rights of the Child (adopted 20 November 1989, entered into force 2 September 1990) UNGA Res 44/25, ratified by Turkey by Law No 6423 (adopted 9 December 1994, published in Official Gazette No 22184, 27 January 1995).
- Child Protection Law, Law No 5395 (adopted 3 July 2005, published in Official Gazette No 25876, 15 July 2005).
- Çokamay G, Kapçı E and Sever M, 'Okul Ruh Sağlığı Hizmetlerinde Yaşanan Sorunlar: Psikolojik Danışmanların Görüşleri' (2017) 16(4) *İlköğretim Online* 1395-1406.

- Deb S, Sunny AM and Majumdar B, Children Under Institutional Care: Ensuring Quality Care and Safety (Disadvantaged Children in India: Empirical Evidence, Policies and Actions 2020) 175-215.
- Delcea C, Muller-Fabian A, Radu C and Perju-Dumbravă D, 'Juvenile Delinquency within The Forensic Context' (2019) 27(4) Romanian Journal of Legal Medicine 366-372.
- Demir R, 'Türk Medeni Kanunu'na Göre Çocuğun Kişiliğinin Korunması' (2019) 9(2) Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi 271-303.
- Diñç A, 'Türkiye'de Çocuk Mahkemelerinin Çocuk Adalet Sistemindeki Yeri' (2020) 5 Toplum ve Kültür Araştırmaları Dergisi 62-79.
- Dodge K and Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group, 'Fast Track Randomized Controlled Trial to Prevent Externalizing Psychiatric Disorders: Findings From Grades 3 to 9' (2007) 46(10) Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry 1250-1262.
- Dodge K, Bierman K, Coie J, Greenberg M, Lochman J, McMahon R, Pinderhughes E and Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group, 'Impact of Early Intervention on Psychopathology, Crime, and Well-Being at Age 25' (2015) 172(1) American Journal of Psychiatry 59-70.
- Erükçü G and Akbaş E, 'Türkiye'de Çocuk Mahkemeleri Uygulamalarına Eleştirel Bir Bakış' (2012) 1(3) İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Araştırmaları Dergisi 135-153.
- Felitti V, Anda R, Nordenberg D, Williamson D, Spitz A, Edwards V and Marks JS, 'Relationship of Childhood Abuse and Household Dysfunction to Many of The Leading Causes of Death in Adults: The Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE) Study' (1998) 14(4) American Journal of Preventive Medicine 245-258.
- Fenelon A, Boudreaux M, Slopen N and Newman SJ, 'The Benefits of Rental Assistance for Children's Health and School Attendance in the United States' (2021) 58(4) *Demography* 1171-1195
- Fenelon A, Slopen N, Boudreaux M and Newman SJ, 'The Impact of Housing Assistance on the Mental Health of Children in the United States' (2018) 59(3) *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 447-463
- Fernández-Molina E and Gutiérrez RB, 'Juvenile Crime Drop: What is Happening with Youth in Spain and Why?' (2020) 17(3) *European Journal of Criminology* 306-331
- Gibbon S, Khalifa NR, Cheung NHY, Völlm BA and McCarthy L, 'Psychological Interventions for Antisocial Personality Disorder' (2020) 9 *Cochrane Database of Systematic Reviews* 1-207
- Gibson J, MacDonald J, Fisher M, Chen X, Pawlick A and Cook P, 'Early Life Lead Exposure from Private Well Water Increases Juvenile Delinquency Risk among US Teens' (2022) 119(6) *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 1-11
- Green G, DeFosset A and Kuo T, 'Residential Mobility among Elementary School Students in Los Angeles County and Early School Experiences: Opportunities for Early Intervention to Prevent Absenteeism and Academic Failure' (2019) 10(2176) *Frontiers in Psychology* 1-13
- Gridley N, Blower S, Dunn A, Bywater T, Whittaker K and Bryant M, 'Psychometric Properties of Parent-Child (0-5 years) Interaction Outcome Measures as Used in Randomized Controlled Trials of Parent Programs: A Systematic Review' (2019) 22 *Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review* 253-271
- Guralnick M, 'Why Early Intervention Works: A Systems Perspective' (2011) 24(1) *Infants and Young Children* 6-28
- Güler G, Sungur MA and Kütük M (2018) 'Suça Sürüklenen Çocukların Klinik ve Sosyodemografik Özelliklerinin Değerlendirilmesi' (2018) 23(1) *Adli Tıp Bülteni* 39-46
- Gwynne K, Blick BA ve Duffy GM, 'Pilot Evaluation of an Early Intervention Programme for Children at Risk' (2009) 45(3) *Journal of Pediatrics and Child Health* 118-124.
- Hébert TP, 'An Examination of High-Achieving First-Generation College Students From Low-Income Backgrounds' (2018) 62(1) *Gifted Child Quarterly* 96-110.
- Henggeler S, Melton G, Brondino M, Scherer D and Hanley J, 'Multisystemic Therapy with Violent and Chronic Juvenile Offenders and Their Families: The Role of Treatment Fidelity in Successful Dissemination' (1997) 65(5) *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 821-833
- Hermenau K, Hecker T, Elbert T and Ruf-Leuschner M, 'Maltreatment and Mental Health in Institutional Care—Comparing Early and Late Institutionalized Children in Tanzania' (2014) 35(2) *Infant Mental Health Journal* 102-110
- Ho T and Rocheleau G, 'A Follow-Up Study on Recidivism among Adjudicated Juveniles with Special Education in the Juvenile Correctional Facility' (2020) 20(3) *Youth Justice* 328-343
- Huang H, Ryan J and Rhoden MA (2016) 'Foster Care, Geographic Neighborhood Change, and the Risk of Delinquency' (2016) 65 *Children and Youth Services Review* 32-41
- Hultman E, Höjer S and Larsson M, 'Age Limits for Participation in Child Protection Court Proceedings in Sweden' (2020) 25(2) *Child & Family Social Work* 304-312



- Islam MZ, Akter S, Hossain MS and Tasnim N, 'Juvenile Delinquency in Bangladesh: The Impact of Familial and Economic Factors in Dhaka City' (2024) 2 *Journal of Indonesian Economic Research* 84-95.
- Jack G, 'Using Local Areas Data to Improve the Lives of Disadvantaged Children and Families' (2011) 16(1) *Child & Family Social Work* 61-70
- Jacobsen S and Zaatut A, 'Quantity or Quality?: Assessing the Role of Household Structure and Parent-Child Relationship in Juvenile Delinquency' (2022) 43(1) *Deviant Behavior* 30-43
- Jones DE, Greenberg M and Crowley M, 'Early Social-Emotional Functioning and Public Health: The Relationship between Kindergarten Social Competence and Future Wellness' (2015) 105 *American Journal of Public Health* 2283-2290.
- Karadağ G and Mermer G, 'Dezavantajlı Gruplar Olarak İşsizlerin/Yoksulların Ruh Sağlığının Korunması' (2020) 20(1) *Türkiye Klinikleri* 56-60
- Karataş Z and Mavili A, 'Çocuk Adalet Sisteminde Suça Sürüklenen Çocuklara Yönelik Uygulamalarda Karşılaşılan Sorunlar' (2019) 19(45) *Sosyal Politika Çalışmaları Dergisi* 1013-1043
- Kaufman J, Salas-Hernández L, Komro K and Livingston M, 'Effects of Increased Minimum Wages by Unemployment Rate on Suicide in the USA' (2020) 74(3) *J Epidemiol Community Health* 219-224
- Khetani MA, McManus EC, Albrecht VC, Kaelin JK, Dooling-Litfin EA and Scully and High Value Early Intervention Research Group, 'Early Intervention Service Intensity and Young Children's Home Participation' (2020) 20(1) *BMC Pediatrics* 1-10
- Kreese J, Bernasco W, Liefbroer A and Rouwendal J, 'Single-Parent Families and Adolescent Crime: Unpacking the Role of Parental Separation, Parental Decease, and Being Born to a Single-Parent Family' (2021) 7(4) *Journal of Developmental and Life-Course Criminology* 596-622
- LaRocque M, Kleiman I and Darling S, 'Parental Involvement: The Missing Link in School Achievement' (2011) 55(3) *Preventing School Failure* 115-115
- Levitt S, 'Understanding Why Crime Fell in the 1990s: Four Factors That Explain the Decline and Six That Do Not' (2004) 18(1) *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 163-190
- Li A and Fischer M, 'Advantaged/Disadvantaged School Neighborhoods, Parental Networks and Parental Involvement at Elementary School' (2017) 90(4) *Sociology of Education* 355-377
- Lipsey MW, 'The Primary Factors That Characterize Effective Interventions with Juvenile Offenders: A Meta-Analytic Overview' (2009) 4(2) *Victims and Offenders*, 124-147.
- Littell J, Popa M and Forsythe B, 'Multisystemic Therapy for Social, Emotional, and Behavioral Problems in Youth Aged 10–17' (2005) 1(1) *Campbell Systematic Reviews* 1-63
- Manning M, Wong G, Fleming C and Garvis S, 'Is Teacher Qualification Associated with the Quality of the Early Childhood Education and Care Environment?' A Meta-Analytic Review' (2019) 89(3) *Review of Educational Research* 370-415
- Masilo D, 'Prevention of Child Sexual Abuse within the Family System: Guidelines for an Educational Social Group Work Program' (2018) 27(4) *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse* 335-346
- May J, Osmond K and Billick S, 'Juvenile Delinquency Treatment and Prevention: A Literature Review' (2014) 85 *Psychiatric Quarterly* 295-301
- McGill K and Stefurak T, "Man Up": Sex-Differentiated Pathways of Juvenile Delinquency through Trauma, Borderline Traits & Offense Patterns' (2021) 72(3) *Juvenile and Family Court Journal* 37-65
- Mennel R, 'Origins of the Juvenile Court: Changing Perspectives on the Legal Rights of Juvenile Delinquents' (1972) 18(1) *Crime & Delinquency*, 68-78.
- Merlo A, Benekos P and Champion D, *Juvenile Justice System, The: Delinquency, Processing, and the Law* (Pearson 2015)
- Mian N, Wainwright L, Briggs-Gowan M and Carter A, 'An Ecological Risk Model for Early Childhood Anxiety: The Importance of Early Child Symptoms and Temperament' (2011) 39 *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology* 501-512
- Miklósi M and Kovács KE, 'Factors Influencing School Bonding Among Juvenile Offenders–The Experience of a Systematic Review' (2025) 8 *International Journal of Educational Research Open* 100441. 4.2
- Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 2021-2022 Örgün Eğitim İstatistikleri (Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı 2022) <https://www.meb.gov.tr/2021-2022-orgun-egitim-istatistikleri-aciklandi/haber/27552/tr> accessed 8 July 2023
- Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Danışmanlık Tedbiri Uygulamaları El Kitabı* (Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı 2015) https://orgm.meb.gov.tr/meb_iys_dosyalar/2015_08/28114710_danmanlktedbiriuygulamalarelkitab26.8.15.pdf accessed 8 July 2023
- Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Millî Eğitim İstatistikleri* (Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı 2020) <http://sgb.meb.gov.tr/www/milli-egitim-istatistikleri-yayinlanmistir-orgun-egitim-20192020/icerik/397download> accessed 8 July 2023
- Molla T and Nolan A, 'The Problem of Inequality in Australia's Early Childhood Education and Care Sector: A Policy Frame Analysis' (2019) 63(3) *Australian Journal of Education* 332-339

- Moran, P., Jacobs, C., Bunn, A. and Bifulco, A., 'Multi-Agency Working: Implications for an Early-Intervention Social Work Team' (2007) 12(2) *Child & Family Social Work* 143-151
- Morris R and Thompson K, 'Juvenile Delinquency and Special Education Laws: Policy Implementation Issues and Directions for Future Research' (2008) 1 *Journal of Correctional Education* 173-190
- Newberry A and Duncan R, 'Roles of Boredom and Life Goals in Juvenile Delinquency' (2001) 31(3) *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 527-541
- Newman S and Holupka CS, 'Housing Affordability and Children's Cognitive Achievement' (2016) 35(11) *Health Affairs* 2092-2099.
- O'Connell M, 'Is the Impact of SES on Educational Performance Overestimated? Evidence from the PISA Survey' (2019) 75(1) *Intelligence* 41-47
- OECD, 'Enrollment Rate in Early Childhood Education (Indicator)' (OECD 2022) <https://doi.org/10.1787/ce02d0f9-en> accessed 8 July 2023
- Olszewski-Kubilius, P. and Corwith S, 'Poverty, Academic Achievement, and Giftedness: A Literature Review' (2018) 62(1) *Gifted Child Quarterly* 37-55.
- Ögel K, *Madde Kullanımı ve Bağımlılık: Riskli Davranışlar Gösteren Çocuk ve Ergenler* (Yeniden Sağlık ve Eğitim Derneği Yayınları 2007)
- Ögel K, Tarı I ve Yılmazçetin-Eke, C, *Okullarda Şiddet ve Suçu Önleme* (Yeniden Sağlık ve Eğitim Derneği Yayınları 2006)
- Pages R, Protzko J and Bailey D, 'The Breadth of Impacts from the Abecedarian Project Early Intervention on Cognitive Skills' (2022) 15(2) *Journal of Research on Educational Effectiveness* 243-262
- Pearce J, 'What's Going On' to Safeguard Children and Young People from Child Sexual Exploitation: A Review of Local Safeguarding Children Boards' Work to Protect Children from Sexual Exploitation' (2014) 23(3) *Child Abuse Review* 159-170
- Pennington L, 'A Case Study Approach to Procedural Justice: Parents' Views in Two Juvenile Delinquency Courts in the United States' (2015) 55(5) *British Journal of Criminology* 901-920
- Pennington L, 'Socializing Distrust of the Justice System Through the Family in Juvenile Delinquency Court' (2017) 39(1) *Law & Policy* 27-47
- Piggott CL, Spray CM, Mason C and Rhind D, 'Using Sport and Physical Activity Interventions to Develop Life Skills and Reduce Delinquency in Youth: A Systematic Review' (2024) 1 *International Review of Sport and Exercise Psychology* 1-26.
- Pillay, I., 'The Impact of Inequality and COVID-19 on Education and Career Planning for South African Children of Rural and Low-Socioeconomic Backgrounds' (2021) 3(1) *African Journal of Career Development* 1-7.
- Protzko J, 'The Environment in Raising Early Intelligence: A Meta-Analysis of the Fadeout Effect' (2015) 53 *Intelligence* 202-210
- Puetz V and McCrory E, 'Exploring the Relationship Between Childhood Maltreatment and Addiction: A Review of the Neurocognitive Evidence' (2015) 2 *Current Addiction Reports* 318-325
- Rathi N and Dhariwal E, 'Family Ties, Broken Paths: Understanding the Roots of Juvenile Delinquency' (2025) 6(1) *Journal on the Rights of the Child of National Law University Odisha* 68-88.
- Re de Breuk C, Clauser G, Stams N and Doreleijers T, 'The Validity of Questionnaire Self-Report of Psychopathology and Parent-Child Relationship Quality in Juvenile Delinquents with Psychiatric Disorders' (2007) 30(5) *Journal of Adolescence* 761-771
- Rees CA and Selwyn J, 'Non-Infant Adoption from Care: Lessons for Safeguarding Children' (2009) 35(4) *Child: Care, Health and Development* 561-567
- Reynolds A, Magnuson K and Ou S, 'Preschool-to-Third Grade Programs and Practices: A Review of Research' (2010) 32(8) *Children and Youth Services Review* 1121-1131
- Reynolds A, Ou S, Mondri C and Hayakawa M, 'Processes of Early Childhood Interventions to Adult Well-Being' (2017) 88(2) *Child Development* 378-387.
- Reynolds A, Temple JA, Robertson DL ve Mann EA, 'Long-Term Effects of an Early Childhood Intervention on Educational Achievement and Juvenile Arrest: A 15-Year Follow-up of Low-Income Children in Public Schools' (2001) 285(18) *JAMA* 2339-2346
- Ritblatt SN, Hokoda A and Van Liew C, 'Investing in the Early Childhood Mental Health Workforce Development: Enhancing Professionals' Competencies to Support Emotion and Behavior Regulation in Young Children' (2017) 7(9) *Brain Sciences* 120.
- Rogowski S, 'From Child Welfare to Child Protection/Safeguarding: A Critical Practitioner's View of Changing Conceptions, Policies and Practice' (2015) 27(2) *Practice* 97-112
- Rose J, 'Dilemmas of Inter-Professional Collaboration: Can They Be Resolved?' (2011) 25(2) *Children & Society* 151-163
- Ryan J, Williams A and Courtney M, 'Adolescent Neglect, Juvenile Delinquency and the Risk of Recidivism' (2013) 42 *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 454-465
- Ryan JP, Hong JS, Herz D and Hernandez P, 'Kinship Foster Care and the Risk of Juvenile Delinquency' (2010) 32(12) *Children and Youth Services Review* 1823-1830
- Ryan JP, Marie J, Herz D and Hernandez PM, 'Juvenile Delinquency in Child Welfare: Investigating Group Home Effects' (2008) 30(9) *Children and Youth Services Review* 1088-1099

- Salganik M, Lundberg I, Kindel A, Ahearn C, Al-Ghoneim K, Almaatouq A and Altschul D, 'Measuring the Predictability of Life Outcomes with a Scientific Mass Collaboration' (2020) 117(15) *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 8398-8403
- Sandersen M, Mouton C, Liu Blot M and Hargreaves M, 'Adverse Childhood Experiences and Chronic Disease Risk in the Southern Community Cohort Study' (2021) 32(3) *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved* 1384-1402
- Saruç S and Kayma-Güneş D, 'Suça Sürüklenen Çocuklar Hakkında Hazırlanan Sosyal İnceleme Raporlarının Mahkeme Kararlarına Etkisi' (2014) 25(1) *Toplum ve Sosyal Hizmet* 109-122
- Schober P and Spiess K, 'Early Childhood Education Activities and Care Arrangements of Disadvantaged Children in Germany' (2013) 6 *Child Indicators Research* 709-717
- Schwartz J, Savolainen J, Aaltonen M, Merikukka M, Paananen R and Gissler M, 'Intelligence and Criminal Behavior in a Total Birth Cohort: An Examination of Functional Form, Dimensions of Intelligence, and the Nature of Offending' (2015) 51(1) *Intelligence* 109-118.
- Sela-Shayovitz R ve Haviv N, 'Juvenile Delinquency and COVID-19: The Effect of Social Distancing Restrictions on Juvenile Crime Rates in Israel' (2022) 22(3) *Journal of Experimental Criminology* 785-808. 4.2 [JP]
- Shoemaker D. *Juvenile Delinquency* (6th edn, Rowman & Littlefield 2017)
- Sinanan A, 'The Impact of Child, Family, and Child Protective Services Factors on Reports of Child Sexual Abuse Recurrence' (2011) 20(6) *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse* 657-676.
- Smeets E, 'Education in Young Offender Institutions and Secure Youth Care Institutions' (2014) 20(1) *Educational Research and Evaluation*, 67-80.
- Smyke A, Zeanah C, Margaret M, Drury S, Fox NA, Nelson CA and Guthrie D, 'A Randomized Controlled Trial Comparing Foster Care and Institutional Care for Children with Signs of Reactive Attachment Disorder' (2012) 169(5) *American Journal of Psychiatry* 508-514
- Snyder-Hall C, 'What's the Matter with College? Exploring White Working-Class Resentment Toward Higher Education' (2018) 40(3) *New Political Science* 605-612
- Staff J, Osgood W, Schulenberg J, Bachman J and Messersmith E (2010) 'Explaining the Relationship Between Employment and Juvenile Delinquency' (2010) 4 *Criminology* 1101-1131
- Stewart A, Livingston M and Dennison S, 'Transitions and Turning Points: Examining the links between child maltreatment and juvenile offending' (2008) 32(1) *Child Abuse & Neglect* 51-66
- Tarolla S, Wagner E, Rabinowitz J and Tubman J, 'Understanding and Treating Juvenile Offenders: A Review of Current Knowledge and Future Directions' (2002) 7(2) *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 125-143
- Taussig H, Harpin S and Maguire SA, 'Suicidality Among Preadolescent Maltreated Children in Foster Care' (2014) 19(1) *Child Maltreatment* 17-26
- Tavormina M and Clossey L, 'Exploring Crisis and Its Effects on Workers in Child Protective Services Work' (2017) 22(1) *Child & Family Social Work* 126-136
- Tilak S and others, 'A Case-control Analysis of Significant Mental Health Risk Factors Among Children in Conflict with the Law in Mumbai, India' (2025) *Journal of Indian Association for Child and Adolescent Mental Health* 1-7.
- Toth S and Cicchetti D, 'The Impact of Relatedness with Mother on School Functioning in Maltreated Children' (1996) 34(3) *Journal of School Psychology* 247-266
- Turnbull P, Summers J, Turnbull R, Brotherson M, Winton P, Roberts R and Snyder P, 'Family Supports and Services in Early Intervention: A Bold Vision' (2007) 29(3) *Journal of Early Intervention* 187-206
- Tymoshenko V, 'The role of the concept of "legal awareness" in the study of delinquent behavior' (2025) 15(1) *Law Journal of the National Academy of Internal Affairs* 18-24.
- van der Laan A, Rokven J, Weijters G and Beerthuisen M, 'The Drop in Juvenile Delinquency in the Netherlands: Changes in Exposure to Risk and Protection' (2021) 38(3) *Justice Quarterly* 433-453
- Webber M, McCree C and Angeli P, 'Inter-Agency Joint Protocols for Safeguarding Children in Social Care and Adult Mental-Health Agencies: A Cross-Sectional Survey of Practitioner Experiences' (2013) 18(2) *Child & Family Social Work* 149-158
- Welsh B C, Sullivan C J and Olds D L, 'When Early Crime Prevention Goes to Scale: A New Look at the Evidence' (2010) 11(2) *Prevention Science* 115-125.
- Williams-Butler A, Liu FY, Howell T, Menon S and Quinn C, 'Racialized Gender Differences in Mental Health Service Use, Adverse Childhood Experiences, and Recidivism Among Justice-Involved African American Youth' (2023) 15(2) *Race and Social Problems* 101-114
- Wilson DB and Lipsey MW, 'Scaling up Effective Juvenile Delinquency Programs by Focusing on Change Levers: Evidence from a Large Meta-Analysis' (2024) 23 *Criminology & Public Policy* 261-286.
- World Bank, 'Educated Girls, Ending Child Marriage' (World Bank, 2017) <https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/immersive-story/2017/08/22/educating-girls-ending-child-marriage> accessed 8 July 2023

- Yolcuoğlu İ, 'Türkiye'de Çocuk Koruma Sisteminin Genel Olarak Değerlendirilmesi' (2009) 18(18) *Sosyal Politika Çalışmaları Dergisi* 43-58
- Yoshikawa H, 'Long-Term Effects of Early Childhood Programs on Social Outcomes and Delinquency' (1995) 5(3) *The Future of Children* 51-75
- Young, S., Greer, B. and Church R, 'Juvenile Delinquency, Welfare, Justice and Therapeutic Interventions: A Global Perspective' (2016) 41(1) *BJPsych Bulletin*, 21-29.
- Zhang D, Barrett D, Katsiyannis A and Yoon M, 'Juvenile Offenders with and without Disabilities: Risks and Patterns of Recidivism' (2011) 21(1) *Learning and Individual Differences* 12-18
- Zschirnt E and Fibbi R, 'Do Swiss Citizens of Immigrant Origin Face Hiring Discrimination in the Labor Market?' (2019) 20(1) *Université de Neuchâtel Working Paper* 1-38

