

**ADOLESCENT DECISION-MAKING AND WHETHER STANDARDIZED
PACKAGING WOULD REDUCE UNDERAGE SMOKING**

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1. INTRODUCTION

- 1.1 My name is Laurence Steinberg and I am the Distinguished University Professor and Laura H. Carnell Professor of Psychology at Temple University in Philadelphia. I am a former President of the Society for Research on Adolescence (the largest professional organization of scholars interested in this stage of development) and of the Division of Developmental Psychology of the American Psychological Association. I am the author of approximately 400 scholarly articles and numerous books on adolescent development, including a leading college textbook on the subject.
- 1.2 My work as an independent expert in adolescent judgment, decision making and risk taking has led me to consider the topic of smoking by adolescents extensively. In 2014, I was asked by a committee of the US Institute of Medicine (the *IOM Committee*) to present to it on adolescent and young adult cognitive and psychosocial development and decision making, in the context of the IOM's investigation into the possible public health implications of raising the minimum age of legal access to tobacco products in the USA to 21 and 25 years.¹ I understand that the IOM had been asked by the US Food and Drug Administration to consider this topic. I was also selected to provide an independent review of the IOM Committee's draft report, the final version of which was made publicly available on March 12, 2015 (the *IOM Report*).²
- 1.3 A number of countries around the world are reported to be considering the introduction of standardized (or "plain") packaging for certain tobacco products. Under these laws, tobacco products such as cigarettes would need to be sold in packaging in which all branding is removed and only the brand name in a mandated size, font, and place is permitted on the pack. The size and shape of the pack, and the appearance of the cigarette itself, may also be standardized.³ Lawmakers often cite the need to protect adolescents from taking up smoking as an important justification for these measures. For example, Australia, which was the first country to introduce standardized packaging, stated that, among its objectives, was "*to improve public health by discouraging young people from using tobacco products*".⁴
- 1.4 That is a laudable goal. I share governments' desire to discourage or prevent adolescents from experimenting with smoking. However, my firm belief is that laws must be effective as well as well-intentioned.

¹ See <http://www.iom.edu/Activities/PublicHealth/TobaccoMinimumAge.aspx>.

² The IOM Report is available at: <http://www.iom.edu/Reports/2015/TobaccoMinimumAgeReport.aspx>. See pages vii and E-2.

³ On May 31, 2016, Health Canada launched its "*Consultation on 'Plain and Standardized Packaging' for Tobacco Products*": <http://healthycanadians.gc.ca/health-system-systeme-sante/consultations/tobacco-packages-emballages-produits-tabac/document-eng.php>. That consultation document: "...sets out measures under consideration that build on those introduced by Australia (currently the most comprehensive) to regulate the appearance, shape and size of packages of tobacco products", and to standardize "*the appearance of cigarettes and other tobacco products that are rolled in cigarette paper*".

⁴ See: <http://www.health.gov.au/internet/main/publishing.nsf/Content/tobacco-plain>.

Scope of my report

- 1.5 I have been asked by the law firm Freshfields Bruckhaus Deringer LLP, whom I understand are instructed by JT International (*JTI*), to produce a report, based on my expertise in adolescent decision making, behavior, and development, setting out my expert opinion as to whether the introduction of standardized packaging for and of certain tobacco products will, or is likely to, achieve the objective of discouraging children from taking up smoking.
- 1.6 At the outset, I make clear that I am not, and have never been, an advocate for the tobacco industry and I strongly support the policy aim of reducing underage smoking.

My expertise

- 1.7 I have been looking at the question of why adolescents experiment with smoking and which regulatory measures will, and will not, be effective in combatting this for some years now. For example, this report builds on the views that I originally expressed in my report entitled “Adolescent decision making and the prevention of underage smoking”, dated November 30, 2010, which I prepared in the context of the European Union’s proposals to revise European tobacco control legislation. It is also consistent with the views that I expressed to the IOM Committee in 2014 and in the run-up to the publication of the IOM Report in 2015.⁵ I am familiar with the evidence relating to this topic and I have appended to my report a list of the literature that I have reviewed, including those papers to which I refer below.
- 1.8 In 2015, I acted as an expert witness in proceedings brought by JTI and others in the High Court of England and Wales, which challenged legislation seeking to introduce standardized packaging in the UK. I prepared two reports for use in this litigation, and was also involved in earlier parts of the legislative process. That included providing both oral and written evidence on the issue of adolescent decision making and standardized packaging to Sir Cyril Chantler, who had been appointed by the UK government to carry out an independent review of the evidence on standardized packaging.⁶
- 1.9 I have considerable expertise in the area of adolescent judgment, decision making, and risk taking. As well as being the Distinguished University Professor and Laura H. Carnell Professor

⁵ See: Steinberg, L. (2015). How to improve the health of American adolescents. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 10, 711-715, and Steinberg, L. (2014) *Age of opportunity: Lessons from the new science of adolescence*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.

⁶ I shared my views with Sir Cyril Chantler in a letter dated January 7, 2014. In this letter, I explained that, while I very much agreed with the objective of discouraging or preventing adolescents from taking up smoking, I did not believe that standardized packaging would achieve that objective, I was pleased to then have the opportunity to meet with Sir Cyril Chantler on March 5, 2014, to discuss my views. I am also aware of the judgment of Mr. Justice Green dated May 19, 2016 in the UK proceedings, and I discuss below certain aspects of that judgment as it relates to my reports.

of Psychology at Temple University, I am also a former President of the Society for Research on Adolescence (the largest professional organization of scholars interested in this stage of development) and of the Division of Developmental Psychology of the American Psychological Association. I am the author of approximately 400 scholarly articles and numerous books on adolescent development, including a leading textbook on the subject that is used in colleges in the USA and elsewhere.⁷ My work has been cited in over 6000 peer-reviewed articles.

- 1.10 Since a key issue in this discussion is how (if at all) standardized packaging will affect adolescents' decisions concerning smoking, my expertise on the subjects of adolescent decision making, risk taking, psychological development, and peer relations is certainly relevant. Indeed, it is my belief that a full appreciation of adolescent thinking, behavior, and social relationships is absolutely critical to an informed discussion of this issue. The IOM Committee would not have sought my opinion on adolescent risk taking in the field of tobacco control (see above) if its members felt that I was unqualified to give it or that my scientific expertise was irrelevant. Therefore, while my long academic career has not focused on the field of tobacco control, I do not consider that this renders me unqualified to discuss the issue of smoking initiation among young people. Far from it.
- 1.11 I am not an expert in fields such as consumer marketing, product design, or taxation, and where my report touches on these issues, it is through reference to the work of other academics who are specialists in those fields. That being said, I note that it has been asserted that tobacco company documents evidence a desire on the part of tobacco companies to market cigarettes to adolescents, and that only an expert on those documents can speak to the effects of standardized packaging on them. However, scientific expertise on how and why adolescents make decisions is certainly relevant in this context. I was asked specifically, as a specialist in adolescent development, to apply the scientific evidence on how adolescents make decisions to the question of whether standardized packaging will impact smoking among this group. In my report, I focus not on assertions as to the intentions of tobacco companies, but on how adolescents make decisions, whether packaging in fact leads adolescents to experiment with smoking, and therefore whether standardized packaging will in fact diminish adolescents' experimentation with cigarettes.
- 1.12 The views that I set out in this report are my own, based on my experience as an independent scientist with extensive knowledge based on research in the area of adolescent decision making. They reflect the best contemporary science on this topic.

2. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Why this matters

- 2.1 It is widely acknowledged that most smokers begin smoking some time before the age of 18. Smoking during adolescence significantly increases the risk of chronic smoking in adulthood.

⁷ A copy of my curriculum vitae accompanies this report.

This, in turn, is associated with the most serious and potentially fatal health consequences of smoking: cardiovascular disease, emphysema, and various types of cancer (Scollo and Winstanley, 2012).

- 2.2 For this reason, it makes sense for governments to focus on policy measures that will discourage or prevent adolescents from experimenting with smoking. The question is whether standardized packaging is likely to have that effect, in the light of what we know about adolescents' decision making and risk taking behavior, including our understanding of why adolescents experiment with smoking.

Adolescents are more prone to engage in risk taking behavior than adults

- 2.3 Adolescents who experiment with cigarettes and smoking do so largely because of the potential for peer approval that comes from the act of smoking, which in turn derives from the fact that the behavior is seen as an indication of grown-up status. It is my view that packaging does not play a role in this process.
- 2.4 Adolescents have a propensity to engage in higher levels of risk taking than adults. This is explained by the "dual systems model" of adolescent decision making, which draws on recent advances in developmental neuroscience. The "dual systems model" posits that heightened risk taking in adolescence is a natural by-product of the asynchronous maturation of the "reward system" of the brain, which is responsive to emotion, reward, and novelty, and the "cognitive control system," which is critical for impulse control, emotion regulation, and planned decision making. It has been suggested that the incentive processing system becomes especially aroused early in adolescence, and that this arousal can push the adolescent to engage in sensation-seeking in the pursuit of immediate rewards (including rewards like social status or admiration from peers), but that this arousal generally takes place before the cognitive control system has fully matured (see further paragraphs 3.6 to 3.12 below).

The high rate of risk taking among adolescents is a natural product of brain development

- 2.5 For many, adolescence is thus a period of immature self-control, high sensation-seeking, and high susceptibility to peer influence. The desire to experiment with an activity that is risky and that engenders peer approval by mimicking adult behavior – such as smoking – is a normative aspect of adolescent behavior. I do not believe that the color or other features of cigarette packaging potentially affected by standardized packaging have any impact on adolescents' desire to engage or not to engage in risk taking of this sort (see further paragraphs 5.7 to 5.15 below).

Many adolescents may not even see product packaging before smoking

- 2.6 Instead, given adolescents' inherent and natural propensity for risk taking, the sheer availability of cigarettes within the adolescent's social network is likely the key influence on his or her initial experimentation with smoking, rather than the packaging in which the cigarettes are contained. Indeed, evidence shows that adolescents are more likely to obtain cigarettes from their friends than by any other means (see further paragraphs 5.16 to 5.17 below).

Cigarette packaging is unlikely to influence smoking experimentation

- 2.7 Because there is no direct evidence that standardizing tobacco product packaging or the appearance of the cigarette itself will reduce smoking uptake among adolescents, the main argument advanced by proponents of standardized packaging is that adolescents are particularly susceptible to branding and that standardized packaging will reduce adolescent smoking uptake by reducing the appeal of the products that is said to derive from that branding. My view, however, is that the reward value of smoking for adolescents derives from the act of smoking itself, which fulfills their need for sensation-seeking and which is perceived as a grown-up activity, thereby eliciting peer approval. Relative to the power of peer approval, which accrues regardless of the brand of cigarettes that are smoked, packaging has at best a negligible impact on the reward value of smoking for adolescents who are experimenting with tobacco. This is supported by the existing literature on why adolescents choose to start smoking, as I explain below. Indeed, evidence from Australia demonstrates that, among adolescents (smokers and non-smokers), attitudes toward cigarette brands and pack designs were negative well before the introduction of standardized packaging in that country (see further paragraphs 5.18 to 5.25 below).

Standardized packaging will not reduce smoking initiation among adolescents

- 2.8 Accordingly, I consider that standardized packaging will not achieve the objective of discouraging young people from taking up smoking. Indeed, I do not consider that standardizing tobacco product packaging or the cigarette itself will diminish underage smoking at all, either in terms of initiation or progression.
- 2.9 Neither the recently conducted post-implementation review of Australia's standardized packaging legislation, nor the expert report which accompanied it, which sought to consider the data post the introduction of standardized packaging there, makes specific assertions about the impact of standardized packaging on prevalence or the consumption of tobacco products by adolescents. These materials from Australia tell us nothing about how teenagers have responded to the introduction of standardized packaging there, because they do not identify an effect specifically on adolescents. Because adults and adolescents make decisions differently, one needs to be very careful about generalizing from studies of, or data concerning, adults in drawing conclusions about the behavior of adolescents.
- 2.10 Proponents of standardized packaging continue to focus primarily on consumer research testing participants' attitudes, perceptions, and intentions. That research still provides no direct evidence that standardized packaging affects individuals' actual smoking behavior (as distinct from their stated intentions). I discuss my views on these studies in more detail at paragraphs 6.1 to 6.12 below.

There is considerable research to suggest that other measures are effective at reducing adolescent smoking

- 2.11 Measures that would reduce the availability of cigarettes within adolescents' social networks (such as raising the minimum legal purchase age (*MLPA*) for cigarettes or making cigarettes more expensive) are far more likely to be successful at reducing underage smoking than measures that attempt to reduce adolescents' demand for cigarettes (such as standardized packaging). Research indicates that adolescents, because of their relatively more limited discretionary income, are especially sensitive to cigarette pricing, and that underage smoking rises as cigarette prices fall and declines as prices rise. Raising the MLPA to 21 would also offer the possibility of removing cigarettes from adolescents' peer groups. As many 16- and 17-year-olds have friends who are 18, or even 19, permitting 18- or 19-year-olds to purchase cigarettes allows legally purchased cigarettes to enter the social networks of minors, particularly when they socialize or go to school together. However, far fewer adolescents under 18 socialize with those who are significantly older and who have left secondary school (see further paragraphs 8.1 to 8.14 below).

Standardized packaging may have unintended negative consequences

- 2.12 In contrast, standardized packaging may have unintended negative consequences, particularly if it leads tobacco manufacturers to reduce the price of their products or smokers to choose lower price brands (including illegal tobacco products). As adolescents are relatively more sensitive to cigarette pricing, any measure that leads to a reduction in the price of tobacco products will likely be counterproductive to achieving the objective of reducing underage smoking (see further paragraphs 7.1 to 7.2 below).

3. UNDERSTANDING ADOLESCENT RISK TAKING

Introduction to risk taking in adolescence

- 3.1 Adolescents' experimentation with, and use of, tobacco, is best viewed as a specific manifestation of the more general category of risk taking. As such, before turning to evidence concerning influences on underage smoking in particular, I summarize what is known about adolescent risk taking more generally.
- 3.2 The high rate of risky behavior among adolescents relative to adults, despite massive, ongoing, and costly efforts to educate teenagers about the potentially harmful consequences of such behavior (including a tremendous investment in anti-smoking education), has been the focus of much theorizing and empirical research by developmental scientists for at least three decades (Steinberg, 2008, 2015). Much of this work is relevant to the prevention of underage smoking, because it informs our understanding of why adolescents experiment with cigarettes and the likely effectiveness of various strategies for reducing such experimentation. In the absence of much systematic evaluation of many anti-smoking policies (and, in particular, in light of the relative lack of research concerning the role of packaging variations in adolescents' experimentation with and initiation of smoking, as I discuss in a later section of this report), looking to the broader literature on adolescent risk taking is potentially useful.

- 3.3 Traditionally, research on adolescent risk taking has emphasized adolescents' alleged shortcomings in logical reasoning that presumably leave adolescents open to feelings of invulnerability; information-processing theory, which has emphasized adolescents' alleged deficiencies in things like memory or reasoning, which presumably lead to short-circuited decision making; and a variety of theories that emphasize individuals' perceptions about the consequences of their actions and their perceptions of vulnerability to those consequences. Understanding adolescents' perceptions about the risks of smoking, discussed later, is therefore of central importance in these models.
- 3.4 Much contemporary research on adolescents' reasoning about risk taking has questioned the utility of these dominant theoretical approaches (Steinberg, 2008). Among the widely-held beliefs about adolescent risk taking that have *not* been supported empirically, for instance, are: (a) that adolescents are more likely than adults to believe that they are invulnerable; (b) that adolescents are deficient in their information processing, or that they reason about risk in fundamentally different ways than adults; and (c) that adolescents do not perceive risks where adults do. None of these assertions is correct. Indeed, most studies find few, if any, age differences in individuals' evaluations of the risks inherent in a wide range of potentially dangerous behaviors (e.g., smoking, driving while drunk, having unprotected sex), in their judgments about the seriousness of the consequences that might result from risky behavior, or in the ways that they evaluate the relative costs and benefits of these activities (Beyth-Marom et al., 1993).
- 3.5 Adolescents are knowledgeable, logical, reality-based, and accurate in the ways in which they think about risky activities, including smoking – no different from adults, in fact (Albert & Steinberg, 2011; Steinberg et al., 2009). But they do engage in higher levels of risky behavior than adults. The explanation for this can be found in more contemporary models of adolescent decision making that draw on recent advances in developmental neuroscience.

The dual systems model

- 3.6 The failure of most extant research to uncover or document differences between adolescents and adults in risk assessment or logical reasoning has stimulated the development of new perspectives on adolescent risk taking that draw on recent advances in developmental neuroscience, the study of the ways in which the brain changes as a result of biological maturation and experience. The dominant framework to emerge is what has been called a “maturational imbalance” or “dual systems” model (Casey et al., 2011; Shulman et al., 2016; Steinberg, 2010).
- 3.7 According to this model, heightened risk taking in adolescence is a *natural* byproduct of the asynchronous maturation of two different brain systems: a “reward system” (sometimes referred to as an “incentive processing system” or a “socioemotional system”), which is responsive to emotion, reward, and novelty, and a “cognitive control system,” which is critical for impulse control, emotion regulation, and planned decision making. Briefly, the “dual systems” model posits that the incentive processing system becomes especially aroused early in adolescence, shortly after puberty, and that this arousal pushes the adolescent to engage in

sensation-seeking in the pursuit of immediate rewards, but that this arousal takes place before the cognitive control system has matured enough to provide much-needed self-control. The combination of a highly responsive incentive processing system and a still immature cognitive control system sets the stage for risk taking. It has been suggested that, during late adolescence and early adulthood, there is a decrease in the incentive system's responsiveness to rewarding and emotionally arousing stimuli and improvements in the functioning of the cognitive control system, and, as a consequence, risk taking declines. There is growing support in the scientific literature for numerous aspects of the "dual systems" model (Shulman et al., 2016), in the fields of both neuroscience and psychology (see Engle, 2013, for a recent series of articles on the adolescent brain), and it was recently recognized in the IOM Report (see pages S-2 and 3-9). Support for this view is also found in a recent cross-cultural study of more than 5,000 young people (Steinberg, et al., in press).

- 3.8 A very brief overview of adolescent brain development may be helpful in understanding why risk taking may be a normal feature of adolescence and so difficult to discourage. It is now well-accepted that adolescence is a critical period in brain development, second in importance only to the first five years of life (Steinberg, 2014). Two of the regions of the brain that change especially dramatically during adolescence are the limbic system and the prefrontal cortex (Casey et al., 2011). Changes in the limbic system are especially important for understanding the increase in reward-seeking that takes place during adolescence. The brain's reward system includes several components, most importantly, a limbic system structure called the nucleus accumbens. In experiments in which individuals are presented with rewards while undergoing brain imaging, the accumbens shows a profound increase in activity (Luciana et al., 2012). Many of these experiments used social rewards (e.g., pictures of smiling teenagers or other rewarding stimuli) to show this effect (Somerville, 2013).
- 3.9 We now know that during early and middle adolescence, there is substantial remodeling of receptors for the neurotransmitter, dopamine, in the accumbens, and in the connections between the accumbens and other brain regions (Luciana et al., 2012). Dopamine activity in this area of the brain increases dramatically during the first part of adolescence, and then declines – in fact, there is more dopamine activity in this part of the brain during adolescence than at any other point in development (Steinberg, 2008). Dopamine is an important neurotransmitter for the experience of pleasure, and it plays a significant role in our responses to all sorts of rewarding stimuli, including food, sex, and drugs (including nicotine), as well as more abstract, but no less rewarding, stimuli like social status or admiration. Brain imaging studies indicate that the same regions activated by the prospect of receiving a physical reward are activated by the prospect of receiving a social reward (Guyer et al., 2009).
- 3.10 Current thinking is that the increase in dopaminergic activity during adolescence is a main reason that adolescents are especially responsive to reward and especially susceptible to drugs. Simply put, rewarding stimuli elicit a stronger response from the brain during adolescence than during other periods of development. Moreover, recent research on reward processing indicates that adolescents' heightened responsiveness to reward, relative to adults, is particularly pronounced when individuals are anticipating the reward, and less so when they are actually

being rewarded (Galvan, 2010). In view of this, it is not surprising that young people are especially inclined to attend to the potential rewards of a risky choice and to discount the potential costs, as I discuss later in this report. The decline in reward-seeking that takes place after mid-adolescence is paralleled by a concomitant decline in the brain's responsiveness to rewarding stimuli (Luciana et al., 2012). The heightened sensitivity to rewards during adolescence, relative to childhood or adulthood, applies to social as well as physical rewards, which in part explains why adolescents are especially sensitive to the influence and opinions of their peers (Burnett et al., 2011; Somerville et al., 2011). This is significant because studies show that the rewarding effect on being around peers may prime the adolescent brain to be more easily aroused by and to seek other rewarding stimuli, including legal and illicit drugs (Albert et al., 2013). Importantly, even though individuals' ability to systematically consider the costs and benefits of a risky decision matures over the course of adolescence, as I note in the next paragraph, teenagers generally place more weight on potential rewards than on potential costs when evaluating them (Cauuffman et al., 2010).

- 3.11 Important changes take place during adolescence in the prefrontal cortex as well as in the limbic system (Casey et al., 2015). The prefrontal cortex is the brain's CEO. It is the part of the brain that is especially active when we engage in deliberative reasoning, thinking ahead, and self-control. In brain imaging experiments, when individuals are asked to make decisions, activity in the prefrontal cortex increases markedly. Between preadolescence and young adulthood, there are important structural changes in the prefrontal cortex that make communication within the brain more efficient – faster and more accurate. Unused, and unnecessary, connections between neurons are eliminated (a process called “pruning”), and those that remain become more entrenched, as if a network of a large number of unpaved roads is replaced with a smaller number of superhighways. Moreover, these superhighways become increasingly “insulated” with a white, fatty substance called myelin, which increases the speed of transmission across these brain circuits by a factor of 100. Not surprisingly, as the prefrontal cortex matures, individuals become better at the specific skills that are underpinned by this brain region: between preadolescence and young adulthood, individuals become better at planning ahead, controlling their impulses, and weighing the costs and benefits of a decision before acting. Maturation of the prefrontal cortex, and the cognitive control that results from this maturation, is largely complete by young adulthood.
- 3.12 The timetable and pattern that characterizes maturation of the prefrontal cortex differs from that which characterizes the reward-related changes in the limbic system described earlier. Whereas most of the changes in the limbic system follow an inverted U-shaped curve, with a steep increase in arousal occurring during early adolescence and peaking in middle adolescence, development of the prefrontal cortex is more gradual and protracted. Middle adolescence is therefore a period of heightened susceptibility to risk taking because dopamine activity in the brain's reward regions is at its peak, but prefrontal functioning is still relatively immature (Steinberg, 2008). It is not coincidental that middle adolescence is also a prime time for experimentation with smoking and other risky activities that are potentially rewarding. Accordingly, efforts to prevent smoking should be targeted mainly toward this age group.

Why adolescents take risks

- 3.13 Contemporary models of adolescent decision making explain a series of observations that inform why adolescents take risks and why some experiment with cigarettes:
- (a) *Adolescents are especially sensitive to rewards* (Galvan, 2010), including rewarding stimuli like social status or admiration (Burnett et al., 2011). Thus, when faced with two alternative courses of action (e.g., trying versus forgoing smoking), adolescents will pay greater attention to the potential rewards of each alternative (e.g., gaining the admiration of one's peers) than to their risks.
 - (b) Compared to adults, *adolescents are more likely to focus on the immediate consequences of a decision, rather than think about the longer-term ones* (Steinberg et al., 2009). This does not appear to be due to poor impulse control but instead to the generally weaker orientation to the future evinced by young people, especially during the early adolescent years (i.e., before 16). Thus, it is not so much that teenagers are incapable of delaying gratification (as one might see in a small child) as it is that they just prefer not to.
 - (c) Compared to adults, *adolescents are more likely to pay attention to and focus on the immediate and short-term drawbacks of a choice* (e.g., that smoking will cause bad breath, or that not smoking will lead to social exclusion by peers) than on the longer-term ones (e.g., that smoking may cause lung cancer or heart disease).
 - (d) *Adolescents' decisions about risk taking are more easily swayed than are adults' by the influence of their peers*. Susceptibility to peer influence is high during early and mid-adolescence and declines steadily until about age 18, at which point it levels off (Steinberg & Monahan, 2007). Peer influence tends to exacerbate adolescents' sensitivity to rewards and their preference for immediate rewards (Albert et al., 2013), which may lead them to engage in more risky behavior when they are with their peers than when they are alone (Gardner & Steinberg, 2005). The role of peer and societal influences as the primary drivers for smoking uptake by adolescents is widely recognized (e.g., Osaki et al., 2008). One recent study found that perceived peer pressure to smoke was a more robust predictor of adolescents' smoking than were psychological factors such as impulsivity or sensation-seeking (Defoe et al., in press).
 - (e) Owing to immaturity in brain regions associated with cognitive control, *adolescents are less able to regulate their behavior than are adults* (Casey et al., 2011; Steinberg et al., 2008). Although it is unlikely that adolescents' decisions to *purchase* cigarettes are impulsive, because in order to circumvent age restrictions on the sale of tobacco, they must devise some sort of plan (e.g., decide which retail store is least likely to ask for ID, rehearse what they will say to the salesclerk in case ID is requested or to a stranger or someone they know over 18 to ask for a proxy purchase), their decision to *try* smoking a cigarette for the first time may be made on the spur of the moment – and particularly in circumstances where peer influence is strong and cigarettes are readily available.

(f) *Adolescents' decision making is more easily disrupted by emotional and social arousal than is that of adults* (Albert & Steinberg, 2011). An important implication of this is that conventional research that finds few differences between adolescents and adults in the way they think about risk may reach very different conclusions than would be the case if the same decision making were studied when individuals were actually in the moment. To be more concrete about it, asking questions during a focus group or telephone survey about the potential risks of smoking or the impact of packaging on likely cigarette use may yield very different responses than one would get if one asked the same questions to a group of adolescents (who are more likely to engage in risk taking than adults) who were drinking beer with their friends at a party (and this is a significant limitation on the subset of the standardized packaging research that does consider adolescent behavior). Accordingly, it is wise to interpret the results of research on adolescents' responses to hypothetical changes in packaging with great caution. How adolescents respond to a hypothetical cigarette package when they are alone and completing a research questionnaire in a laboratory or research center will tell us very little about how they would react when offered a cigarette at a party, surrounded by their peers, and where they may not even see the package.

3.14 Taken together, these features of adolescent decision making support the extant research concerning the key risk factors for smoking in adolescence, particularly peer influence and a community context in which cigarettes are readily available.

4. UNDERSTANDING ADOLESCENT SMOKING BEHAVIOR

4.1 This section of my report considers the extensive behavioral research that has been conducted on why people start to smoke. This considers both personal factors and external influences on individuals' decisions. I also consider what role, if any, health information regarding the risks of smoking plays in this decision making context.

Risk factors for smoking in adolescence

4.2 As I noted earlier, adolescents' experimentation with tobacco is best viewed as a specific instance of risk taking more generally. Smoking shares many characteristics with other forms of risky behavior in which adolescents engage: like reckless driving, the underage use of alcohol, use of illicit drugs, delinquency, or unsafe sex, smoking is a potentially socially rewarding behavior that also has potentially harmful consequences that are of uncertain likelihood for any given individual (Willoughby et al., 2013). Moreover, data on age trends in smoking suggest a picture that is similar to that observed for other forms of risk taking. Generally speaking, almost all types of risk taking are higher in adolescence and young adulthood than before or after, with most forms of risky behavior increasing steadily from preadolescence through mid-adolescence, peaking sometime in mid to late adolescence, and declining during early adulthood (Steinberg, 2008). These age differences have been commented upon and observed across generations. As noted earlier, middle adolescence, a period during which many forms of risk taking peak, is the time during which most individuals who smoke first try cigarettes.

- 4.3 Three sets of risk factors for smoking during adolescence have been studied extensively by scientists interested in adolescent decision making: psychological characteristics that incline individuals to smoke, interpersonal influences that encourage and support smoking, and a community context in which smoking is seen as normal and in which cigarettes are readily available (Scollo and Winstanley, 2012). Generally, the more risk factors that are present for an individual, the more likely she or he is to smoke (Hawkins, Catalano, & Miller, 1992; Ostaszewski & Zimmerman, 2006; Petraitis, et al., 1995).

Psychological characteristics of adolescents who smoke

- 4.4 It is well established that individuals with certain personality characteristics and beliefs are more likely to smoke than their peers. These characteristics include high sensation-seeking, negative affectivity (the tendency to experience negative emotions, such as anger or anxiety), impulsivity, and inattentiveness (Chassin et al., 2009; Tapert et al., 2002; Wills et al., 2001; Wong et al., 2006; Defoe et al., in press). In addition, individuals who have more tolerant attitudes about smoking (and about deviance from social norms in general, a trait that is sometimes referred to as “unconventionality”) are at greater risk for smoking (Schulenberg et al., 1996; Petraitis et al., 1995).

Interpersonal influences on adolescent smoking

- 4.5 The role of peer and family influences as the primary influences on smoking uptake by young people is widely acknowledged (e.g., Jones et al., 2004: “The influence of friends who smoke is significant for both the initiation and the maintenance of adolescent smoking”; Osaki et al., 2008; Defoe et al., in press). This has been hypothesized as being through three mechanisms: (a) interpersonal factors, including cognitive functions or sensation-seeking that influence self-efficacy and internal motivation to use substances; (b) social factors, such as parent and peer influences; and (c) environmental factors, including general values that influence adolescent beliefs and evaluations about the cost and benefits of substance use (Defoe et al., in press).
- 4.6 Consistent with what I have said about the especially rewarding nature of peer approval, adolescent smoking is very much influenced by the behavior of others in the adolescent’s social network. Most directly, adolescents are very likely to obtain cigarettes from friends and relatives.
- 4.7 Beyond the obvious influence of friends, however, adolescent smokers are more likely than non-smokers to have family members and friends who use and tolerate the use of tobacco (Chassin et al., 2009; Defoe et al., in press). In other words, their immediate environment is one in which tobacco use is common. Consistent with this, adolescents who expect smoking to improve their social relationships also are more likely to smoke (Griffin et al., 2001; Smith et al., 1995).

Community context: price and availability of cigarettes

- 4.8 Adolescents who become smokers are more likely to live in a context in which significant others smoke and in which there is easy access to cigarettes (Chassin et al., 2009). Important

community factors are the price of cigarettes and the ease of availability of tobacco (Allison et al., 1999; Li, Stanton, & Feigelman, 2000; Petraitis et al., 1995; Sen & Wirjanto, 2010). A fair amount of research indicates that adolescents, because of their relatively more limited discretionary income, are especially sensitive to cigarette pricing. Changes in cigarette prices have an especially large impact on underage smoking, which rises as cigarette prices fall and declines as prices rise (Francis, 2000; Leverett et al., 2002; Waller et al., 2003). Adolescents' use of other tobacco products, such as cigars, is also very price-sensitive (Ringel et al., 2005). Price appears to be a stronger influence on smoking among adolescents who smoke regularly than among those who are experimenters (Gruber, 2001). One interpretation of this is that adolescents who are interested in experimenting with smoking will try any available cigarettes, regardless of price, because at the time of experimentation, they are not contemplating becoming regular users. By extension the same probably holds true for packaging—at the point of experimentation, any cigarette, regardless of its packaging, may be acceptable.

- 4.9 If it is correct that adolescents are sensitive to price, and if it is right that limiting access to cigarettes will reduce initiation, then the sale of cheaper, more accessible counterfeit and contraband cigarettes may lead to an increase in youth initiation⁸. Some research suggests that such counterfeit and contraband cigarettes are now widely used by underage smokers even in countries that permit conventional packaging, such as Canada (Barkans et al., 2013; Callaghan et al., 2009, 2011; McLaughlin, 2007). Several researchers have noted the possibility that younger smokers, given their price sensitivity, may be induced to purchase counterfeit cigarettes if they are significantly cheaper (Lee et al., 2006; Moodie et al., 2012). Although methodological concerns have been raised about this study, in one piece of focus group research (Moodie, Ford et al., 2011), adolescent and young adult participants were adamant that price was a far more important consideration than packaging, regardless of whether the packaging were plain, conventional, or obviously counterfeit.
- 4.10 From a community context perspective, there are, of course, other reasons why adolescents smoke beyond the price and availability of cigarettes. However, as discussed above, it is these two factors which, according to the available research, are key. By contrast, and as I discuss further below, the impact of packaging on an adolescent's decision to start smoking is so trivial that removing it by standardizing packaging would neither lead adolescents who had otherwise decided to try smoking not to do so, or motivate otherwise uninterested adolescents to start.
- 4.11 In summary, the literature on adolescent development and decision making yields several insights that help explain why adolescents experiment with smoking and other forms of risky behavior. As I go on to explain in detail below, adolescents understand the risks of smoking and know that it has harmful long-term health consequences, which helps explain why adolescents' beliefs about the risks of smoking are not highly predictive of whether they actually smoke (Slovic et al., 2004). Experimentation with cigarettes is likely driven by emotional and social factors, such as enjoying the new experience, feeling sophisticated by

⁸ For example, criminals might illegally import conventionally packaged products from other countries or produce counterfeit products in old-style, branded packaging or in new-style plain packaging.

engaging in a risky behavior and feeling mature by engaging in an adult activity, or having fun with friends. In view of what we know about adolescent decision making, it is likely that experimentation with cigarettes is a specific manifestation of the more general tendency during this age period to engage in impulsive risk taking in the service of sensation-seeking. This sort of sensation-seeking often takes place with, and is highly influenced by, peers (Defoe et al., in press). It is unlikely that changes in cigarette packaging will modulate this inclination.

- 4.12 Although adolescents as a group are more likely than children or adults to engage in risky behavior, only a minority of adolescents smoke. This is because individual differences in personality incline some individuals to be more sensation-seeking than others, and because differences in the availability of cigarettes within households, peer groups, and neighborhoods and their price affect adolescents' access to cigarettes. In addition, adolescents differ with respect to the attitudes toward smoking of their peers and parents, and in the extent to which they are swayed by the influence of others.

Adolescents' understanding of the health risks of smoking

- 4.13 Many attempts to prevent underage smoking are predicated on the assumption that individuals who are made aware of the dangers of smoking will be less likely to begin smoking, or more likely to stop smoking if they have started. For this reason, much of the effort invested in discouraging underage smoking has sought to increase adolescents' awareness of the adverse health consequences of smoking. In this regard, one of the stated goals of standardized packaging is to make on-package health warnings more salient. It is therefore of interest to ask whether and to what extent adolescents understand the health risks of smoking and whether improving their awareness and understanding of these risks leads to a reduction in underage smoking. Several broad conclusions can be drawn from the extant literature.
- 4.14 Taking the UK as an example, it is abundantly clear that adolescents in the UK are aware of and understand the risks of smoking and know that it has harmful long-term health consequences. For example, a survey reported on by the NHS found that: "*when asked about their beliefs about smoking, the majority of pupils reported strong agreement with the negative effects of smoking. Almost all the pupils thought smoking can cause lung cancer (99%), makes your clothes smell (97%), harms unborn babies (97%), can harm non-smokers' health (96%) and can cause heart disease (93%).*"⁹ Given the fact that adolescents' awareness of the health risks of smoking is nearly universal (and was achieved without standardized packaging), it is difficult to imagine how the introduction of standardized packaging could – statistically or conceptually – increase this awareness.
- 4.15 Some studies find that adolescents overestimate the likelihood of the health consequences of smoking occurring, other studies find that they underestimate them, and still others find a mix of accuracy and inaccuracy, depending on the specific consequences inquired about (IOM, 2007). For example, adolescents tend to overestimate the likelihood of smoking leading to lung

⁹ The NHS Information Centre, Lifestyles Statistics, "Statistics on Smoking: England", 2012, page 47. Available at: <https://catalogue.ic.nhs.uk/publications/public-health/smoking/smok-eng-2012/smok-eng-2012-rep.pdf>.

cancer but underestimate the likelihood of dying from a different smoking-related cause (most probably because anti-smoking education may emphasize cancer more than other smoking-related illnesses). Nevertheless, the vast majority of adolescents believe that smoking is linked to serious long-term illness and disease, although adolescents who smoke are somewhat less likely to share this belief than are non-smokers (Zhao & Pechmann 2007). These studies also suggest that highlighting the long-term health risks of smoking would have little impact on adolescent smoking, a conclusion that emerges from many studies of adolescents' responses to anti-smoking advertising (Zhao & Pechmann, 2007) and with the literature on adolescent decision making reviewed earlier in this report; indeed, some experts caution that fear-based anti-smoking ads may sometimes do more harm than good (Pechmann & Reibling, 2006).

- 4.16 The very notion that adolescents' knowledge of the risks of smoking alone has a strong influence on their decision to smoke, which has motivated most efforts to discourage underage smoking, is questionable. Decisions to engage in any potentially dangerous activity are based not only on the perceived risks of the activity but on its perceived benefits, such as admiration from peers.¹⁰ Moreover, an adolescent's decision to smoke is largely influenced by emotional and social factors, and not simply by the information he or she has about the activity. As discussed in an earlier section of this report, contemporary views of adolescent decision making have challenged the view that adolescents' decisions about risky activities can be understood solely in terms of the absence or presence of rational or logical reasoning about the costs and benefits of engaging in the activities.
- 4.17 According to these contemporary views, merely telling adolescents about the health risks of smoking, whether through traditional school-based anti-smoking education, anti-smoking media campaigns, or package warnings, may not be a very effective strategy, particularly as it repeats information that they already know. Attempting to dissuade adolescents from smoking by attempting to educate them about its potential health risks presumes a level of planned decision making that may not adequately capture the process through which many adolescents decide to smoke. If adolescents' choice to experiment with smoking is impulsive or driven mainly by non-health related concerns (e.g., fitting in with peers, feeling adult-like), providing additional health information may have limited success, especially with individuals who are characterized by a psychological profile associated with greater risk for smoking or situated within a social context in which smoking is admired or even encouraged. This in turn suggests that the presence of health warnings on the packaging of tobacco products is unlikely to have a significant influence on smoking experimentation and initiation among adolescents. It follows that even if, as advocates of standardized packaging measures assert, the effect of standardized packaging is to make on-pack health warnings more salient (which, as I explain in a later section of this report, is questionable), this is unlikely to have any influence on adolescents' experimentation with, and initiation of, smoking.

¹⁰ However, as I go on to discuss at paragraphs 5.9 to 5.15 below, I do not consider that peer admiration stems from or is connected to the packaging of tobacco products.

5. **STANDARDIZED PACKAGING IS UNLIKELY BE TO EFFECTIVE IN REDUCING UNDERAGE SMOKING**

5.1 There are several reasons, in light of what I have already discussed, to think that standardized packaging is unlikely to have any impact on adolescents' experimentation with, or progression to regular use of, tobacco products.

Risk taking in adolescence is normal

5.2 As discussed earlier, recent advances in neuroscience explain why risky behavior is more common during adolescence than before or after. Specifically, adolescence is a time when individuals' inclination to seek rewards is very high and their ability to rein in these impulses is still immature. The peak age for virtually all types of risky behavior, including experimentation with tobacco, is during the middle and late adolescent years. It is precisely because risk taking behavior in adolescents is both natural and normal that efforts that aim to diminish individuals' desire to engage in risky behavior such as smoking are generally ineffective (Steinberg, 2015). Such efforts represent an uphill battle against evolution and endocrinology. As I describe below, interventions that affect the availability of cigarettes to adolescents are far more effective than those that seek to influence adolescents' demand for them. Standardized packaging is focused on attempting to diminish adolescents' demand for cigarettes and so is unlikely to succeed in reducing underage smoking.

Adolescents' decisions are motivated primarily by their perceptions of short-term rewards, rather than by their beliefs about long-term costs

5.3 Most anti-smoking educational interventions (including on-pack health warnings) are premised on the notion that adolescents would not smoke if only they knew that smoking was harmful to their health. But extant research on adolescent risk taking suggests that just providing adolescents with information on the health risks of smoking or attempting to foster better decision making skills will be of limited effectiveness in curbing experimentation with tobacco, since it does not appear that adolescents are either ill-informed or intellectually incapable of making rational decisions about smoking.

5.4 Some advocates of standardized packaging measures have claimed that such measures may make on-pack health warnings more salient, and so increase adolescents' awareness of the risks of, and in turn diminish, smoking. It is notable that the evidence that exists on this topic does not show that increased salience of health warnings affects adolescent experimentation with, or use of, tobacco products. The evidence consists of studies that asked participants whether they noticed health warnings more on branded cigarette packs or standardized cigarette packs and eye-tracking studies that compared participants' focus on health warnings on branded cigarette packs as against standardized cigarette packs.

5.5 None of these studies assessed whether participants' consumption was or would be altered as a result of standardized packaging. In any event, recent Australian research has found that there has been no change in adolescents' cognitive processing of on-package health warnings since

the introduction of standardized packaging in Australia (White et al., 2015b). The study found that, even before standardized packaging, adolescents in Australia exhibited high degrees of awareness of the health risks of smoking, consistent with the other UK studies noted earlier. Furthermore, the researchers also found that the introduction of larger (and new) graphic health warnings and standardized packaging had virtually no impact on knowledge about specific diseases and, even more fundamentally, had no impact whatsoever on “*cognitive processing*” of the warnings (e.g., how frequently adolescents paid attention to the warning, chose not to have a cigarette because of the warning, or thought about quitting because of the warning).

- 5.6 Moreover, as already demonstrated, adolescents are already well-aware of the health risks of smoking. Therefore, even if standardized packaging were shown to increase the salience of health warnings, it is difficult to see how this would increase adolescents’ (near universal) awareness of these risks. Further, as I have stated, adolescents’ decisions are less influenced by the perceived long term costs of risky behavior than are those of adults, and adolescents instead privilege short-term rewards to a greater extent than do adults. It is therefore questionable how effective on-pack health warnings about the long-term health consequences of smoking are at influencing adolescent smoking behavior at all, particularly with respect to those adolescents whose psychological profile may make them less open to such interventions than others (as I have described above). Even if adolescents were influenced by such warnings, they are less likely than adults to obtain cigarettes in their original packaging, and so to be in a position to examine and contemplate on-package warnings before smoking. When an adolescent is handed a cigarette at a party by a friend, the cigarette has been separated from any warning information.

Adolescents’ behavior is strongly influenced by their relationships with peers and their intense desire for peer approval

- 5.7 As noted above, the principal risk factors for smoking in adolescence are the ready availability of cigarettes and peer influence. Specifically, adolescents’ smoking behavior is influenced by the behavior of their friends and by adolescents’ strong desire for peer approval (Defoe et al., in press). One of the things that adolescents do to seek peer approval is to engage in behaviors that they associate with being an adult, such as drinking, driving, or smoking. Given the way that the adolescent brain works, there is an inherent appeal of behaviors that are exciting, that are perceived as rewarding, and that are expected to elicit the approval of one’s peers. These influences on adolescent decision making have been confirmed in dozens of studies of how adolescents think.
- 5.8 Adolescents’ interest in smoking therefore comes primarily from the act of smoking itself, and its influence on peer approval and social status, and not from other factors (e.g., the package). It is widely believed among experts on adolescent behavior that a principal driver of risk behavior in adolescence, including smoking, is the desire to seek approval of peers (Moffitt, 1993). This approval with regard to risk taking behavior comes primarily from the act itself. In my view, changing the packaging in which cigarettes are supplied is not likely to overpower these basic motives. To draw an analogy, many young people in the United States who are too young to

drink legally attend parties at which beer is served from unmarked kegs. They drink the beer without even knowing what brand they are drinking. It is inconceivable that an American teenager would decline an invitation to drink at a keg party because the brand of beer to be served was not revealed, or was one that he or she disliked. The appeal of underage alcohol consumption is tied to engaging in a behavior that is ordinarily reserved for adults and in the social and physiological rewards that it offers. These factors are entirely independent of the brand or packaging of the alcohol. Another example of adolescents engaging in risky behavior in order to garner peer approval, where branding plays no role, is the consumption of marijuana or other illegal drugs. Many adolescents experiment with such drugs *without the existence of any branding whatsoever*. Indeed, recent analyses have found that rates of marijuana use among adolescents actually *fell* in Colorado after marijuana was legalized and branding was introduced (Scientific American, 2016). To the extent that adolescents experiment with smoking (or with marijuana) because it is also an activity that is seen as reserved for adults, because it also is done in a social context, and because it also carries social and physiological rewards, the packaging itself becomes irrelevant.

- 5.9 It has been argued that the information about a brand that is communicated by a branded package of cigarettes can have a reward value to adolescents that is independent of the reward value of smoking (which I have just described). In other words, the argument is that the packaging of a tobacco product can itself contribute to its appeal, because packaging itself can influence (or the adolescent believes that it will influence) peer approval and social status. The argument is as follows: if an adolescent believes that his peers will think that he is “cool” if he smokes, but even cooler if he smokes a particular brand of cigarette, then removing or minimizing brand information and related design features would, on this argument, reduce the overall “coolness” factor. However, there are several reasons to be skeptical about this argument.
- 5.10 First, standardized packaging does not in fact remove all brand references. Packages are still identified as containing one brand of cigarette rather than another (albeit the brand name has to appear in a mandated size, font, and place permitted on the pack). If, as hypothesized, brand X has greater status with adolescents than brand Y, it is still possible for an adolescent who is obtaining cigarettes from friends, family, or even from a retailer to request brand X, or for one adolescent to communicate his or her “coolness” to another by smoking that particular brand.
- 5.11 Second, the argument that there is reward value for adolescents in the cigarette package itself, above and beyond the act of smoking and the peer approval that it is expected to engender, comes from studies – mainly in adults – that compare the appeal of standardized and non-standardized packages. However, the question is not whether, given a choice between a standardized and a non-standardized package, an adolescent would be more likely, all other things being equal, to choose the latter: it seems obvious that they might. In my view, research comparing the relative appeal of standardized and non-standardized packaging is irrelevant to the central question raised by the proposed change in the law. When assessing the likely effectiveness of a measure that would mandate standardized packages, the central question is this: if there were no options other than standardized packages, would adolescents who were

otherwise inclined to smoke choose not to? There are no studies that directly answer this question. Studies that purport to examine whether participants would prefer different shapes, sizes and designs of cigarettes themselves (such as Moodie, Ford et al., 2011, or Borland and Savvas, 2013) suffer from the same problem.

- 5.12 Third, branded packaging is less significant to adolescents than it is to adults because of the way they obtain cigarettes. As I describe below, many adolescents obtain cigarettes that have already been removed from their packaging.
- 5.13 Fourth, given adolescents' predilection toward individualizing the outward appearance of products that they use, it would be easy for underage smokers who are concerned about projecting a particular image to personalize the packaging of the cigarettes they smoke (in the same way that many adolescents do when buying personalized cases for smartphones). In fact, a rise in sales of personal cigarette cases has been reported in some countries following the implementation of graphic warnings on packs (Day, 2003; Jackson, 2003). In Australia, early news reports following the introduction of standardized packaging suggested a proliferation of adhesive labels and cardboard covers designed to make plain cigarette packages more attractive (Kiernan, 2013; Wells, 2013; Willoughby, 2012). Clearly, it would be precisely those adolescents who find plain packages least appealing who would be most likely to take measures to transform plain packages into ones that convey a desired image to others.
- 5.14 Fifth, in light of what we know about adolescent decision making and risk taking, and the evidence on the overwhelming effect of peer influence and availability of cigarettes as risk factors for adolescent smoking, even if the appeal of cigarette packaging affected smoking initiation (which has not been shown to be the case), its impact would be so trivial as compared to other risk factors that removing it by standardizing packaging would not cause adolescents who had otherwise decided to try smoking not to do so. An adolescent who is offered a cigarette at a party may decline it for any number of reasons, but not because of the color, design, or shape of the packet that it comes from.
- 5.15 Finally, and fundamentally, I note that White et al. (2015a) demonstrates that, for adolescents (smokers and non-smokers), attitudes toward cigarette brands and package designs were already *negative*, even before the introduction of standardized packaging in Australia. This study suggests that adolescents in Australia were continuing to experiment with smoking for reasons other than the "*appeal of packaging*" or "*social excitement*". I go on to discuss the supposed link between so-called pack appeal and smoking experimentation below.

Adolescents obtain cigarettes in different ways than adults

- 5.16 As I have noted, the conditions under which adolescents, who may be experimenters or irregular users, and adults, who are likely to be regular smokers, obtain cigarettes are very different. Adolescents, who cannot legally buy cigarettes, often obtain them from friends, often without necessarily seeing the package in which they were sold (Cancer Research UK, 2012). This particular report acknowledged that "*to some extent the pack appeared peripheral compared with the cigarette in youth smoking, particularly at the initiation/experimentation*

stage” (page 31).¹¹ Indeed, adolescents, who cannot legally be sold cigarettes, are more likely to obtain cigarettes from their friends and family members than by any other means (Emery et al., 1999; Johnston et al., 2014). In Australia, which has introduced standardized packaging, a government survey concluded that “*the vast majority of adult smokers (18 and over) bought cigarettes at shops/retailers. As there are legal restrictions on the sale of tobacco products to minors, those aged 12-17 were far less likely to regularly buy cigarettes at shops, and more likely to obtain them from a friend, acquaintance or relative*” (Australian Institute of Welfare’s 2013 National Drug Strategy Household Survey, at page 26).

- 5.17 The differences between the ways in which adults, on one hand, and adolescents, on the other, obtain cigarettes diminish the reach and force of policies aimed at regulating how cigarettes are packaged, as far as adolescents are concerned. Even if it were correct that variations in packaging influence adolescents’ decisions concerning smoking (which, as I have said, is unlikely, based on studies of why young people say they start smoking), such variations would have less of an impact on individuals who frequently obtain cigarettes after they have been removed from their package. This also limits the generalizability of studies that simulate adult shopping behavior in retail outlets to the behavior of underage individuals (e.g., Nonnemaker et al., 2016).

Deficiencies in research on the effect of standardized packaging on adolescent smoking experimentation

- 5.18 As noted above, Australia is the first country to introduce standardized packaging. However, despite three years now having passed since the introduction of the measure, there remains no evidence that it has led to a decline in the prevalence of smoking among adolescents. A report seeking to measure the actual effects of standardized packaging in Australia, which was published by the Australian government in February of this year, suggested that packaging changes there (e.g., the introduction of standardized packaging and larger health warnings) contributed to a reduction in smoking prevalence. However, this report did not differentiate between the reported impact on adult smokers and the impact on adolescents. This is a problem, because results of research on adults are not readily generalizable to adolescents. (This limitation includes not only studies that seek to look at individuals’ reactions to variations in packaging, but also to studies that look at aggregate trends where the data are not sufficient to allow adolescents and adults to be considered separately.) Indeed, the Australian government’s report did not identify any effect of standardized packaging on smoking among 14-17 year olds.

¹¹ There are some older studies of adolescents in the U.S. which point to higher rates of cigarette brand recognition (Fischer et al. 1991). However, I do not believe that these studies tell us much about whether adolescents experiment with smoking because of packaging. Whether individuals recognize something, whether what they recognize appeals to them, and whether or how they act upon that recognition are all entirely different issues. After all, people recognize all sorts of images that disgust or repel them. In any event, as I have stated at paragraph 1.3, even standardized packages of cigarettes still list the brand name of the product in question.

5.19 Perhaps as a result of the uncertainty as to whether the introduction of standardized packaging in Australia has in fact had any impact on smoking among adolescents there, more recent proposals to introduce similar measures elsewhere continue to rely primarily on the same consumer research (testing participants' attitudes, perceptions, and intentions) that has been relied on to justify previous measures.¹² The difficulty is that the existing consumer research on this topic is deficient, as I go on to explain below. It is puzzling, to say the least, that proponents of standardized packaging continue to use package appeal as a surrogate for actual smoking behavior, when in fact it is possible to examine existing post-implementation data that could potentially provide direct evidence on whether the introduction of standardized packaging has impacted rates of adolescent smoking.¹³

Existing research relating to standardized packaging

5.20 As a behavioral scientist, I am qualified to evaluate experimental studies involving adults as well as those involving adolescents. One of the reasons for the deficiency in the existing research is that there are relatively few studies that consider the effect of standardized packaging on the smoking behavior of adolescents, as opposed to adults, and those that do exist have used similar, and similarly flawed, methodologies to those used in the adult studies. One must be very cautious in attempting to extrapolate the results of studies involving adults to adolescents, given the differences in adults' and adolescents' decision making that I have described.

5.21 What studies there are on the smoking behaviors of adolescents have reported that adolescents as well as adults find branded packages more appealing than plain ones, and that package appeal declines as a function of how many branding elements are removed and whether the prominence of the health warning has been increased (although, as I have noted, it is not the case that plain packages do in fact increase the prominence of the health warnings) (Germain et al., 2010; Hammond, 2010; Hammond et al., 2009; Hammond et al., 2013; Quit Victoria; Van Hal et al., 2012). One study that directly compared adolescents' opinions about the factors most likely to influence cigarette preference found that price was more important than packaging, (Moodie, Ford et al., 2011).

5.22 None of these studies directly addresses whether levels of smoking initiation or progression among adolescents would be different, were standardized packaging introduced. Instead, the existing research primarily asks consumers to imagine how they might behave if they had the opportunity to purchase cigarettes in standardized packages. Demonstrating that, when presented with a particular pack design by a researcher, a person will say that he or she would

¹² For example, in its recent consultation document on plain and standardized packaging for tobacco products, Health Canada refers to "*independent research spanning at least two decades and multiple countries*", but not to the Australian post-implementation data. See: <http://healthycanadians.gc.ca/health-system-systeme-sante/consultations/tobacco-packages-emballages-produits-tabac/document-eng.php>.

¹³ Albeit, I understand that there were other packaging changes introduced at the same time as standardized packaging in Australia, meaning that, even if there were any effects, it would be difficult to isolate these from the effects (if any) of the other measures.

be more likely to quit smoking, or never to take it up, is not the same as demonstrating that the packaging actually leads to a change in behavior. There is a long tradition of research showing that it is far easier to change what people say they will do than to change their actual behavior (Bangert-Drowns, 1988). Moreover, as discussed above, great caution needs to be exercised when seeking to extend the results of surveys concerning adolescents' attitudes about standardized packaging, assessed in controlled, laboratory experiments, to the prediction of adolescents' behavior in the real world, because the decision making of adolescents (who are more likely to engage in risk taking than adults) under conditions of emotional arousal is likely to be very different from that when responding to a survey questionnaire.

- 5.23 Extant studies of packaging mainly examine consumers' perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs, rather than their actual purchasing or smoking behavior. At present, there is still no direct evidence that plain packaging affects individuals' actual use of cigarettes. Some studies purport to do this, but they are small scale experimental designs of questionable quality (Moodie, Mackintosh et al., 2011; Moodie & Mackintosh, 2013), and/or they suffer from other flaws. For example, in one study conducted during the roll-out of plain packaging in Australia, which compared the attitudes and intentions of adults who smoked plain packaged cigarettes with those who smoked conventionally packaged ones (Wakefield et al, 2013), the authors report that those who had been smoking plain packaged cigarettes were more likely to rate their cigarettes as being lower in quality, tended to rate them as less satisfying, and were more likely to think about quitting, although they were no more likely to express actual intentions to quit. It is important to bear in mind, though, that the packaging was not randomly assigned to some smokers and not others, and it is imprudent to draw any causal conclusions from correlational data. It is conceivable that those who were smoking plain packaged cigarettes had chosen to do so, in all likelihood, because they placed less value on which particular cigarettes they smoked, as may be reflected in their stated intention to quit smoking. The fact that they reported that the plain packaging actually made them feel this way (when they in fact have no idea why they felt the way they did) may confuse cause and consequence—the desire to quit may have affected the choice of plainly packaged cigarettes, rather than the reverse. In any event, this study does not provide any information on whether participants, who said that plain packaging made them more likely to quit, or found smoking less satisfying, actually changed their behavior.
- 5.24 Further, a more recent study by Maynard et al. (2015) appears to challenge any alleged link between perceptions of packaging appeal and smoking behavior. Although the study has some limitations for present purposes (the participants were adult smokers, not adolescents; behavior was only tested for a 24-hour period; and the study did not disaggregate any effect of the increase in graphic health warnings from any effect of the introduction of standardized packaging), it found that, while plain packages diminished ratings of “the experience of using the pack” as well as ratings of the pack's attributes, and increased the self-perceived impact of the health warning, they did not change smoking behavior. Further evidence in support of this conclusion comes from data from Australia, which show that adolescents tended to smoke brands that are rated as having the least appealing packaging. The three most popular brands among youth in Australia (‘Winfield’, ‘Peter Jackson’ and ‘Longbeach’) have been rated (albeit by adults) in Parr et al. (2011), a study commissioned by the Australian government, as

having the *least attractive* packaging. Conversely, ‘Alpine (Original)’, which was perceived as having the second most attractive packaging in the same study, is not a popular brand among youth in Australia. Instead, the most popular brands among youth in Australia are those which are also popular with adult smokers, consistent with my contention that a major reason for adolescent experimentation with smoking is to feel more adult.

- 5.25 An additional problem with typical standardized packaging experiments is that they rely on research subjects being presented with a choice between a product in a conventional package and one in a standardized package. This might be informative to questions about the sorts of packages that a manufacturer interested in selling a product ought to choose. However, if the question under consideration is whether mandating standardized packaging would reduce the prevalence of smoking, it is not at all clear that research comparing standardized and conventional packaging is the least bit informative. If someone is thirsty, he or she may prefer a beverage in a colorful bottle to one in a plain bottle. But it is unlikely that, if given the choice between a plainly bottled beverage and nothing, a thirsty person would choose to forgo purchasing any beverage at all and remain thirsty. Indeed, in one focus group study in which smokers rated cigarettes in plain brown packages less appealing than those in branded packages, the participants explicitly noted during follow-up questioning that this preference was a consequence of the comparison between standardized packaging and other forms of packaging, and that they did not believe that standardized packaging would reduce the appeal of smoking if all cigarettes were sold in this form (Moodie et al., 2011).

6. ARGUMENTS ADVANCED TO SUPPORT STANDARDIZED PACKAGING

- 6.1 I have explained why I do not believe that standardized packaging would discourage smoking among young people. I understand that a number of arguments have been advanced by those who take the opposite view.

Reducing the ‘appeal’ of cigarette packaging

- 6.2 The core of the argument advanced to support standardized packaging is that adolescents are particularly susceptible to branding and that standardized packaging will reduce adolescent smoking uptake by reducing the appeal of the products.¹⁴
- 6.3 I have discussed in detail above at paragraphs 5.9 to 5.15 that my view is that the reward value of smoking for adolescents derives from the act of smoking itself, which fulfils their need for sensation-seeking and which engenders peer approval through its signification of adult status, not because of the packaging in which cigarettes are presented (to which the adolescent may not even be exposed when first experimenting with smoking). This is supported by the existing literature on why adolescents choose to start smoking, as I have explained above.

¹⁴ See, e.g., the Government of Canada’s consultation document on plain and standardized packaging for tobacco products, which states that “*In independent research spanning at least two decades and multiple countries, numerous studies have suggested that plain and standardized packaging requirements reduce the appeal of tobacco packages and the products they contain, particularly among young people*”.

6.4 It is my view that adolescents who experiment with smoking do so because they want to engage in this risk taking behavior, and that they do so regardless of the packaging. I find it highly improbable that an adolescent who is interested in smoking would decline a cigarette from a friend at a party because of the packaging (if indeed she even sees it). Instead, as I have noted above, she may take and try that cigarette out of a belief that this will engender her friend's approval or enhance her own social status, by making her look or feel grown-up.

Removing the 'spillover effect'

6.5 It has been hypothesized that standardized packaging will affect adolescent smoking both directly and indirectly. As just discussed, the direct effect is said to inhere in the reduction in the appeal of cigarettes through the removal of features from the packages that are said to entice adolescents to experiment.¹⁵ The indirect effect is hypothesized to result from adolescents' inclination to behave in ways that make them feel more adult. In this regard, it has been suggested that some branded tobacco packaging designed to appeal to adult smokers may, inadvertently, also appeal to adolescents and that by reducing the appeal of tobacco products to adults, standardized packaging will have the benefit of diminishing this alleged 'spillover' effect.¹⁶

6.6 However, the existence of the purported spillover effect is predicated on the assumption that branded packaging encourages *adults* to smoke when they would not otherwise have. Although this is not the focus of my report, my review of the behavioral research (above) leaves me skeptical as to whether standardized packaging has that effect on adults. Further, the analysis of changes in Australian smoking prevalence after the introduction of plain packaging has been deemed by some commentators to be inconclusive.¹⁷

6.7 In the absence of evidence that packaging has either a direct or indirect effect on adolescent smoking, the best hope to teenagers from taking up smoking is to implement supply-based policies to prevent them from accessing cigarettes, as I go on to discuss. This strategy will also counter the spillover effect, if it exists.

Increasing the 'prominence and effectiveness' of health warnings

6.8 Proponents of standardized packaging also take the position that it is likely to increase the effectiveness of on-package health warnings.

6.9 However, as I have explained above, it is abundantly clear that adolescents are aware of and understand the risks of smoking and know that it has harmful long-term health consequences.

¹⁵ I have already noted that those who favor the introduction of standardized packaging often point to tobacco companies' efforts to market to minors as a reason why standardized packaging is needed. As I have said, I am not an expert in tobacco marketing, but I have stated above why, based on my expertise in adolescent decision making, I do not believe that packaging causes young people to experiment with smoking. This conclusion stands regardless of what tobacco companies' intentions may or may not have been.

¹⁶ See, e.g., paragraph 75 of the judgment of Mr. Justice Green, [2016] EWHC 1169 (Admin).

¹⁷ See, e.g., paragraph 614 of the judgment of Mr. Justice Green, [2016] EWHC 1169 (Admin).

- 6.10 Rather, adolescents privilege short-term rewards over long-term risks and are more susceptible to making decisions about smoking experimentation “in the moment” and under the influence of their peers. To a sensation-seeking 15-year-old focused on what he or she experiences to be the here-and-now rewards of smoking (such as fitting in with peers or appearing grown-up), emphasizing the possibility of developing a disease 40 years in the future is not likely to be a deterrent. Therefore, even if standardized packaging were shown to increase the prominence of health warnings (and it is not proven that it does), this would in my view have no influence on adolescent experimentation with, or use of, tobacco products. Furthermore, recent research in Australia has found that graphic warnings whose presence on cigarette packages preceded the introduction of standardized packaging were no more likely to be remembered by adolescents after standardized packaging was implemented than before (White et al., 2015b), directly challenging the notion that standardized packaging increases the salience of on-package health warnings.
- 6.11 Indeed, it is notable that the evidence that exists on this topic does not show that increased salience of health warnings affects adolescent experimentation with, or use of, tobacco products. The evidence consists of studies that asked participants whether they noticed health warnings more on branded cigarette packs or standardized cigarette packs and eye-tracking studies that compared participants’ focus on health warnings on branded cigarette packs as against standardized cigarette packs. None of these studies assessed whether participants’ consumption was altered as a result of standardized packaging. In any event, recent Australian research has found that there has been no change in adolescents’ cognitive processing of on-package health warnings since the introduction of standardized packaging in that country (White et al., 2015b). A recent study involving adolescents in the USA, Spain, and France likewise found that the effect of the “graphicness” of health warnings was not impacted by whether it was printed on a standardized pack or not (Andrews et al., 2016). Another study involving adults has similarly shown no effect from standardized packaging on the salience of on-package health warnings (Schuz and Eid, 2016). This conclusion is consistent with a recent fMRI study, involving adult smokers, which found no impact of standardized packaging on neural activity (Green et al., 2016).

7. THE POTENTIAL FOR STANDARDIZED PACKAGING TO HAVE NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES

- 7.1 My concern is not simply that standardized packaging is an ineffective policy for reducing underage smoking, but also that it may have unintended, negative consequences. For example, the Impact Assessment accompanying draft regulations seeking to introduce standardized packaging in the UK suggested that “[w]ith standardised packaging we expect a more rapid decline in sales of high price than of low price brands because of a greater likelihood of quitting among smokers of high price brands and due to downtrading from high price to low price brands among those who continue to smoke” (paragraph 28). Any measure that results in lower prices of tobacco products could be counter-productive to achieving the objective of reducing smoking among young people. As discussed at paragraphs 4.8 to 4.9, young people are relatively more sensitive than adults to cigarette pricing, and that this should be an

important consideration when assessing standardized packaging and its potential impact on pricing.

- 7.2 There is also a risk that the introduction of standardized packaging could serve to make adolescents perceive smoking as being even more attractive, because they are engaging in an activity that is now perceived as being less mainstream. In the light of what we know about adolescent risk taking and desire for peer approval, to the extent that experimenting with smoking is perceived by adolescents in this way, there is a chance that adolescents with rebellious inclinations will be influenced to try smoking when it is implicitly marked as an activity frowned upon by adults.

8. MORE EFFECTIVE METHODS TO ACHIEVE THE OBJECTIVE OF REDUCING UNDERAGE SMOKING

- 8.1 As adolescents are well aware of the risks of smoking, are naturally inclined towards risky behavior, and are inclined towards behavior that engenders peer approval (e.g., through its signification of adult status), strategies aimed at reducing adolescents' demand for cigarettes, such as standardized packaging, will not be effective in reducing their smoking uptake. As I have argued, adolescents' inclinations toward risk taking and desire for peer approval are inherent features of the period that are not likely to be changed by policy interventions that seek to influence demand.
- 8.2 This is starkly apparent, if we consider that many countries have over the years introduced a wide range of measures with the intention of reducing demand for tobacco products, including health warnings on packaging and bans on advertising and promotion.¹⁸ Smoking rates have, fortunately, declined in many (but not all) countries around the world in recent decades, among both adults and adolescents. However, there still remains a significant proportion of young people who still experiment with tobacco, even in those countries who have implemented the toughest demand-based interventions.
- 8.3 It is my belief that supply-based measures that focus on reducing the availability of cigarettes in adolescents' social networks are far more likely to be effective, particularly with this group of young people who have shown themselves to be immune to other, demand-based interventions. Limiting adolescents' access to cigarettes could be achieved by raising the MLPA to 21 years for cigarettes and/or by increasing their price (e.g., by raising the tax on them).

Raising the MLPA for the purchase of tobacco products

- 8.4 In 2007, the MLPA for the purchase of cigarettes in England, Scotland and Wales was raised from 16 to 18. Studies of the effects of this measure are informative. One recent report indicated that it led to a significant drop in the prevalence of smoking among 16- and 17-year-olds (Fidler & West, 2010). Another, using a different data set that focused on 11- to 15-year-

¹⁸ See, e.g.: <http://www.who.int/tobacco/publications/surveillance/reportontrendstobaccosmoking/en/index4.html>.

olds, likewise reported that increasing the minimum age for purchase was associated with a statistically significant reduction in regular smoking, and that the proportion of students who reported finding it difficult to buy cigarettes from a shop increased significantly in many socio-economic groups (Millett et al., 2011). Increases in the MLPA in Finland and Sweden also have been reported to reduce underage purchasing and/or underage smoking (Rimpela & Rainio, 2004; Sundh & Hagquist, 2006; Hagquist et al., 2007). Several studies that have attempted to model the impact of increasing the MLPA on underage smoking in the United States have concluded that this would lead to significant reductions (Ahmad, 2005a; Ahmad, 2005b; Ahmad & Billimek, 2007).

- 8.5 It is my view that raising the MLPA is an effective means of combating underage smoking, provided that the laws are enforced. Because of research indicating that attempts to reduce youth access to cigarettes through the more vigilant enforcement of age restrictions on retail sales can be undermined by adolescents' ability to obtain cigarettes from friends or adults willing to purchase cigarettes on their behalf (Robinson & Amos, 2010), some experts have asked whether more effective enforcement of age of purchase restrictions should be combined with laws criminalizing "proxy purchases" (adults purchasing cigarettes for minors). It is my understanding that many countries and states currently prohibit proxy purchasing by adults for minors. It is probable that such laws, if vigilantly enforced, would help restrict proxy sales and therefore reinforce access measures based on ensuring compliance with legal purchase age requirements. Laws that criminalize proxy purchasing complement measures to increase the MLPA.
- 8.6 The studies I have referred to above looked at the effect of raising the MLPA from 16 to 18. There are two potential advantages to raising the MLPA still further, to 21. First, and critically, such a measure offers the possibility of removing cigarettes from secondary students' social networks. As already noted, adolescents frequently obtain cigarettes from friends, and because adolescents tend to be friends with people of the same age, raising and enforcing the MLPA will likely limit the availability of cigarettes in the social networks of younger individuals. Conversely, because many 16- and 17-year-olds have friends, romantic partners, and schoolmates who are 18, or even 19, permitting 18- or 19-year-olds to purchase cigarettes guarantees an easy flow of legally purchased cigarettes into the social networks of many underage smokers, especially if they attend school together. In contrast, far fewer adolescents under 18 socialize with individuals who are significantly older, such as young adults who have left school. They therefore would encounter more difficulty obtaining cigarettes socially if the MLPA were raised several years beyond age 18. Second, given research indicating that the chances of an individual becoming a chronic smoker are far less if the initiation of smoking is delayed until after adolescence, discouraging more people from smoking as teenagers will have a significant long-term impact on the health of the adult population.
- 8.7 My view that raising the MLPA is an effective means of combating underage smoking is supported by the report of the US IOM Committee noted earlier. It considered evidence from a number of experts, including myself, and used statistical modeling and other methods to predict the likely public health outcomes of raising the minimum age of legal access for tobacco products in the USA. The IOM Committee examined whether raising the MLPA, to 19, 21, or

25, would be an effective measure to reduce underage smoking. It concluded that “*forcing underage smokers to find and use indirect sources raises their costs of obtaining tobacco products...it is likely to reduce their consumption...The committee has estimated that raising the MLA to ages 19, 21 or 25 will reduce tobacco use by secondary school studies who lack ready access to social networks of older youth*” (IOM Report, page 248).

8.8 In addition, the IOM Committee found that:

- (a) “*increasing the minimum age of legal access to tobacco products will likely prevent or delay initiation of tobacco use by adolescents and young adults*” (conclusion 7-1, page S-3);
- (b) “*the largest proportionate reduction in the initiation of tobacco use will likely occur among adolescents of ages 15 to 17 years*” (conclusion 7-2, page S-4);
- (c) “*the impact on the initiation of tobacco use of raising the minimum age of legal access to tobacco products to 21 will likely be substantially higher than raising it to 19*” (conclusion 7-3, page S-4);
- (d) raising the MLPA in the US to 21 for a hypothetical birth cohort of 100,000 individuals “*would translate into 10 percent fewer smokers, with approximately 3,000 individuals never initiating plus another 600 individuals delaying smoking initiation until an older age*” (page 7-14). In addition, in relation to the long term effect on adult smoking prevalence, the modeling projects that raising the MLPA to 21 would decrease adult smoking prevalence rates by 11-12 per cent (page 7-18); and
- (e) “*...the added effect of raising the minimum age beyond age 21 to age 25 will likely be considerably smaller*” (conclusion 7-3, page S-4).

8.9 Finally, the IOM Committee also found that the positive outcomes of increasing age restrictions in other spheres are “*highly suggestive with respect to the prospects that raising the [MLPA] for tobacco will appreciably reduce smoking rates,*” citing Kypri et al. (2006), who concluded that “*no traffic safety policy, with the possible exception of motorcycle safety helmet laws, has more evidence for its effectiveness than do the minimum legal drinking age laws [in the USA]*” (IOM’s report, page 6-4).

8.10 My views on the effectiveness of raising the MLPA to 21 have been confirmed by recent empirical research conducted by Schneider et al. (2015). The study found that after raising the MLPA to 21 in Needham, Massachusetts, in 2005, smoking and cigarette purchases declined significantly more in Needham relative to 16 comparison communities. Indeed, the proportion of high school students who smoked in the previous month was *cut in half* after raising the MLPA, an effect that was seen regardless of adolescents’ gender, age, or ethnicity. The authors concluded that raising the MLPA was relatively simple to implement and that their findings provided strong evidence of the potential of this measure to save lives by preventing youth access, initiation, and ultimately addiction.

- 8.11 A study by Winickoff et al. (2015) in the USA has suggested that raising the MLPA is also a measure that would receive popular support. The study found that the vast majority of adults (70.5%) support raising the MLPA for tobacco to 21. This majority support persisted across respondent characteristics, including smoking status, geographic region, race, sex, education, and age – including adults aged 18-20. In fact, the only sub-group of respondents among which a majority did not support raising the MLPA to 21 was smokers aged 18-20.
- 8.12 Consistent with my views on the effectiveness of raising the MLPA, I note that, in the US, two states have mandated an increase in the MLPA from 18 to 21 years of age (Hawaii and California). Several municipalities in the US, including New York, Chicago, and San Francisco also have increased the MLPA to 21.

Raising the price of tobacco products

- 8.13 In addition to raising the MLPA as a means of limiting minors' access to cigarettes, a second measure that is likely to be effective (either separately or in conjunction with other supply-based measures) is to increase the price of cigarettes. There is strong evidence that price increases are directly related to reductions in smoking, and that adolescents, because of their limited income, are especially sensitive to price increases (Ahmad & Billimek, 2007; Ahmad & Franz, 2008; IOM, 2007; Lewit et al., 1981). They may be particularly effective at reaching the significant proportion of young people who continue to experiment with smoking in countries that have made demand-focused interventions over several decades (see paragraph 8.2), as some commentators have suggested that smoking behavior among young people is more common among those from less affluent households.¹⁹
- 8.14 It is important to note that raising the MLPA to 18 or beyond and increasing taxes on cigarettes have different effects on adolescents than adults. Raising taxes on cigarettes affects both adults and adolescents, although the relative impact on adolescents is greater given their more limited economic resources. Raising the MLPA, in contrast, has no immediate impact on adults, but a substantial one on adolescents. Raising the MLPA beyond 18 would, of course, affect existing smokers over the age of 18, but below the new MLPA, who would be prevented from lawfully obtaining cigarettes.

9. CONCLUSION

- 9.1 There are no studies that directly address whether levels of smoking initiation or progression among adolescents would be different, were standardized packaging required. The evidence base on this issue is thus extremely limited. However, given the indirect evidence, and what we know about adolescent decision making (i.e., that adolescents experiment with tobacco products because of more general inclinations toward risk taking), it is improbable that the introduction of standardized packaging will affect underage smoking at all, either in terms of

¹⁹ Survey data in Australia, which has a long history of tobacco control interventions, suggests that “*younger students living in disadvantaged areas were more likely to experiment with smoking than students living in more advantaged areas*”. (Tobacco in Australia, Chapter 9, paragraph 9.1.3.)

initiation or progression. In all likelihood, adolescents who would have experimented with tobacco products sold in conventional packages would instead experiment with tobacco products sold in plain ones. The early data from Australia do not show any impact of standardized packaging on smoking among adolescents there, three years after the introduction of the measure.

- 9.2 Policies that limit adolescents' ability to obtain tobacco products, regardless of their packaging, are likely to have the greatest impact on underage smoking. Many adolescents smoke tobacco products, in spite of their knowledge of the health risks of doing so and society's best efforts for the last three decades to deter them from doing so, and it is likely that they will continue to do so as long as tobacco products are available to them, regardless of the containers in which they are sold. Stopping adolescents from obtaining tobacco products and combating peer influence by removing tobacco products from peer networks is key.
- 9.3 My analysis of the scientific literature on adolescent decision making, as well as of the few studies that have examined means of reducing adolescent smoking, leads me to conclude that the access-based solutions which I have described are likely to be far more effective at combating smoking among adolescents than any other measure. Limiting adolescents' access to tobacco products can be achieved in a number of ways, but broadly these fall into two categories: making tobacco products harder to obtain by restricting adolescents' ability to buy them; and raising the price of tobacco products so that adolescents are less able to afford them and adults are less likely to be willing to share their tobacco products with adolescents. The two strategies most likely to succeed in combating minors' access to tobacco products are raising the MLPA for tobacco to 21 (combined with effective enforcement) and increasing the price of cigarettes, both of which will greatly diminish the likelihood that adolescents will be in social situations with peers who have tobacco products.

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Curriculum Vitae

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PRESENT POSITIONS

Distinguished University Professor, Temple University (1999-)
Laura H. Carnell Professor of Psychology, Temple University
(1998-) Professor of Psychology, Temple University (1988-)

EDUCATION

The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland (1970-71)
Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York (1971-74)
A.B. in Psychology
Cornell University, Ithaca, New York (1974-77)
Ph.D. in Human Development and Family Studies

PREVIOUS POSITIONS

Director, John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Research Network on
Adolescent Development and Juvenile Justice (1997-2007)
Director of Graduate Studies, Department of Psychology, Temple University (1994-1999,
2001-2007) Director, Division of Developmental Psychology, Department of Psychology,
Temple University (1991- 94)
Professor of Child and Family Studies, University of Wisconsin--Madison (1983-89)
Faculty Associate, National Center on Effective Secondary Schools, School of Education,
University of Wisconsin--Madison (1985-89)
Associate Professor of Social Ecology, University of California, Irvine (1982-83)
Faculty Associate, Public Policy Research Organization, University of California, Irvine
(1979-83) Associate Director for Undergraduate Studies, Program in Social Ecology,
University of California, Irvine (1981-82)
Assistant Professor of Social Ecology, University of California, Irvine (1977-82)
Lecturer in Human Development and Family Studies, Cornell University (1976-77)

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

Society for Research in Child Development
Society for Research on Adolescence (President, 1998-2000)
Association for Psychological Science (Fellow)

EDITORIAL BOARDS

Developmental Psychology (1984-95)
Journal of Youth and Adolescence (1985-92)
Child Development (1987-91; 1993-95; Associate Editor, 1995-98)
Journal of Research on Adolescence (1990-93)
Psychological Bulletin (1992-93)
Parenting (2006-2009)
Psychological Science in the Public Interest (2008-)
Developmental Cognitive Neuroscience (2009-)
Psychology, Public Policy, and Law (2012-)

HONORS AND AWARDS

Phi Beta Kappa and Graduation with Honors and Distinction in Psychology, Vassar College (1974)
National Science Foundation Graduate Award, Honorable Mention (1975)
Cornell University Fellowship (1976-1977)
Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, Participant, Forum on the First Twenty Years of Life (1982)
Command Performance (Student Initiated Teaching Award), University of California, Irvine (1983)
Faculty Scholar, William T. Grant Foundation, Program in the Mental Health of Children (1983-1988)
Fellow, American Psychological Association, Division 7 (Developmental Psychology) (elected 1987)
Faculty Excellence Award, University of Wisconsin School of Family Resources and Consumer Sciences
Alumni Association (1988)
Highest Impact Authors in Psychology, 1986-1990, Institute for Scientific Information (1992)
Great Teacher Award, Temple University (1994)
Scientific Core Group Member, John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Research Network on
Psychopathology and Development (1994-2000)
Anathan Family Foundation Visiting Professorship, Western Psychiatric Institute and Clinic, University
of Pittsburgh Medical Center (November, 1995)
Top Developmental Psychology Authors in Productivity and Impact, *Developmental Review* (1995)
Editor's Choice for non-fiction, *Booklist* (for *Beyond the Classroom*) (1996)
President, Society for Research on Adolescence (1998-2000)
Visiting Scholar, Institute of Child Development, University of Minnesota (April, 1998)
Laura H. Carnell Professor of Psychology, Temple University (1998-)
Gallagher Lecturer, Society for Adolescent Medicine (1999)
Distinguished University Professor, Temple University (1999-)
Visiting Professor of Adolescent Medicine, Morristown Memorial Hospital (December, 1999)

John P. Hill Memorial Award for Outstanding Contributions to the Study of Adolescence, Society for Research on Adolescence (2000)

Highly Cited Researcher, Institute for Scientific Information (2001)

Paul W. Eberman Faculty Research Award, Temple University (2003)

Urie Bronfenbrenner Award for Lifetime Contribution to Developmental Psychology in the Service of Science and Society, American Psychological Association (2003)

Distinguished Scientist Lecturer, American Psychological Association (2005)

President, Division of Developmental Psychology, American Psychological Association (2007-2008)

Fellow, World Innovation Foundation (elected 2007)

Presidential Citation, American Psychological Association (2008)

Fellow, Association for Psychological Science (elected 2008)

Award for Distinguished Contributions to Research in Public Policy, American Psychological Association (2009) (citation and biosketch in *American Psychologist*, 2009, November, 737-739).

Inaugural Laureate, Klaus J. Jacobs Research Prize for Productive Youth Development (2009)

Stauffer Award for Outstanding Faculty Service, Temple University Alumni Association (2010)

Social Policy Book Award, Society for Research on Adolescence (for *Rethinking Juvenile Justice*) (2010)

Member, John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Research Network on Law and Neuroscience (2011-)

Harrington Distinguished Visiting Professor, Baldwin-Wallace College (2011)

Henry and Bryna David Lectureship, National Academy of Sciences, Washington (2011)

National Associate, National Research Council, The National Academies (elected 2011)

Fellow, American Academy of Arts and Sciences (elected 2013)

Highly Cited Researcher, Institute for Scientific Information (2013)

Listed in The World's Most Influential Scientific Minds, Thomson Reuters (2014)

Elizabeth Hurlock Beckman Award (2014)

Outstanding Contribution Award, American Society of Criminology, Division of Developmental and Life-Course Criminology (for Sweeten, G., Piquero, A., & Steinberg, L. (2013). Age and the explanation of crime, revisited. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 42, 921-938) (2015)

Highly Cited Researcher, Thomson Reuters (2015)

SELECTED RECENT PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Board of Directors, Juvenile Law Center, Philadelphia (2003-2010)

Board on Children, Youth, and Families, The National Academies (2005-2008)

Research Advisory Panel, The National Campaign to Prevent Teen and Unintended Pregnancy (2007-2009)

Chair, Committee on the Science of Adolescence, The National Academies (2008-2012)

Invited briefing, U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Education and Labor (2009)

Lead scientific consultant, Amicus curiae brief filed by the American Psychological Association in U.S.

Supreme Court cases, *Roper v. Simmons* (2004), *Sullivan v. State of Florida* (2009) and *Graham v. State of Florida* (2009), *Miller v. Alabama* (2012), *Jackson v. Hobbs* (2012).
 Faculty Affiliate, University of Chicago Crime Lab (2010-)
 Advisory Board, The University of Virginia Center to Promote Effective Youth Development (2011-)
 NIH Special Emphasis Panel: Basic Research on Self-Regulation (2011)
 Member, MacArthur Foundation Research Network on Law and Neuroscience (2011-)
 Planning Committee for a Workshop on Improving the Health, Safety, and Well-Being of Young Adults,
 The National Academies (2013)
 International advisory board, Consortium on Individual Development, Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) (2013-)
 Advisory Board, Duke University Center for the Study of Adolescent Risk and Resilience (2013-)
 External Advisory Board, Adolescent Brain Cognitive Development (ABCD) Study, National Institutes of Health (2015-)

BOOKS AND EDITED VOLUMES

- Steinberg, L. (2017). *Adolescence* (11th edition). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Steinberg, L. (2014). *Age of opportunity: Lessons from the new science of adolescence*. New York: Eamon Dolan/Houghton Mifflin Harcourt. (Audio edition: Brilliance Audio, 2014; Chinese (complex) edition, Taipei: Commonwealth Magazine Co., 2015; Chinese (simple) edition, Beijing: China Youth Press, 2016; Italian edition, Torino: Codice, 2015; paperback edition: New York: Eamon Dolan/Mariner Books, 2015; Japanese edition, Tokyo: Nikkei Business Press, 2015; Russian edition, Moscow: Mann, Ivanov, and Ferber, 2016).
- Steinberg, L. (2014). *Adolescence* (10th edition). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Steinberg, L. (2011). *You and your adolescent: The essential guide for ages 10 to 25*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Steinberg, L. (2011). *Adolescence* (9th edition). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Steinberg, L., Bornstein, M., Vandell, D., & Rook, K. (2011). *Lifespan development*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Steinberg, L., Vandell, D., & Bornstein, M. (2011). *Development: Infancy through adolescence*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth. (Korean edition: Seoul: Cengage Learning Korea, 2012).
- Steinberg, L. (Chair). (2011). *The science of adolescent risk-taking*. (Washington: National Academies Press), with members of the Committee on the Science of Adolescence of the Institute of Medicine and the National Research Council.
- Lerner, R., & Steinberg, L. (Eds.) (2009). *Handbook of adolescent psychology* (3rd edition). New York: Wiley.
- Steinberg, L. (Ed.) (2008). *The future of children: Juvenile justice*, 18(2).
- Scott, E., & Steinberg, L. (2008). *Rethinking juvenile justice*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. (Paperback edition: Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010).
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- Lerner, R., & Steinberg, L. (Eds.) (2004). *Handbook of adolescent psychology* (2nd edition). New York: Wiley.
- Steinberg, L. (2004). *The ten basic principles of good parenting*. New York: Simon & Schuster. (Paperback edition, New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005) (German edition, Düsseldorf: Patmos Verlagshaus, 2005; Brazilian edition, Rio de Janeiro: GMT Editores, 2005; Indonesian edition: Bandung: Kaifa, 2005; Chinese (complex) edition, Taipei: Commonwealth Magazine Co., 2005; Chinese (simplified) edition, Beijing: Peking University Press, 2006; Korean edition, Seoul: Sigma Press, 2006; Portuguese edition, Lisbon: Publicacoes Europa America, 2006; Spanish edition, Barcelona: Ediciones Medici, 2006; Greek edition, Athens: Dioptra Publishing, 2006; Hebrew edition, Israel: Trivaks–Matar Publishing, 2007; German trade paperback edition, Düsseldorf: Patmos, 2008).
- Steinberg, L. (2002). *Adolescence* (6th edition). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Steinberg, L. (1999). *Adolescence* (5th edition). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Protecting youth at work: Health, safety, and development of working children and adolescents in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, 1998), with members of the Committee on the Health and Safety Implications of Child Labor of the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council.
- McLoyd, V., & Steinberg, L. (Eds.) (1998). *Studying minority adolescents: Conceptual, methodological, and theoretical issues*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
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- Steinberg, L., & Meyer, R. (1995). *Childhood*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Steinberg, L. (with W. Steinberg). (1994). *Crossing paths: How your child's adolescence triggers your own crisis*. New York: Simon & Schuster. (Paperback edition, New York: Fireside/Simon & Schuster, 1995).
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- Steinberg, L., & Levine, A. (April, 1992). Surviving adolescence. *Ladies Home Journal's Parent's Digest*, p.45 and ff.
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- for Some.” Review of F. Furstenberg, Jr., J. Brooks-Gunn, and S. Morgan. (1987). *Adolescent mothers in later life*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Reviewed in *Contemporary Psychology*, 34, 229-232.
- Steinberg, L. (1987, April 25). Why Japan’s students outdo ours. *The New York Times*, p. A15.
- Steinberg, L. (September, 1987). Bound to bicker: Pubescent primates leave home for good reasons. Our teens stay with us and squabble. *Psychology Today*, pp. 36-39. (Reprinted in J. Olson-Fallon, (ed.). (1992). *Growing up, growing old*. New York: HarperCollins, pp. 48-54; and in D. McQuade and R. Atwan, (Eds.). (1998). *Thinking in writing: Rhetorical patterns and critical response* (4th edition). New York: McGraw-Hill, pp. 374-379.
- Greenberger, E., & Steinberg, L. (1986, December 10). The debit side of adolescent employment. *Education Week*, p. 24.
- Steinberg, L. (1984). “What Makes a Lifespan Development Text Good?” Review of J. Turner and D. Helms. (1983). *Lifespan development* (2nd edition). New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston; J. Gibson. (1983). *Living: Human development through the lifespan*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley; and R. Lerner and D. Hultsch. (1983). *Human development: A life-span perspective*. New York: McGraw-Hill. Reviewed in *Contemporary Psychology*, 1984, 29.
- Steinberg, L. (1984). Review of *The serious business of growing up*. E. Medrich, J. Roizen, V. Rubin, and S. Buckley. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. 1982. Reviewed in *Children and Youth Services Review*.
- Steinberg, L. (1982). Review of *Developmental perspectives on child maltreatment*. R. Rizley and D. Cicchetti (Eds.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1981. Reviewed in *Child Development Abstracts and Bibliography*.
- Steinberg, L. (1982). Review of *The adolescent: A psychological self-portrait*. D. Offer, E. Ostrov, and K. Howard. New York: Basic Books, 1981. Reviewed in *Social Casework*.
- Steinberg, L. (1980). Review of *Child influences on marital and family interaction: A life-span perspective*. R.M. Lerner and G.B. Spanier (Eds.). New York: Academic Press, 1978. Reviewed in *Contemporary Sociology*, 9, 545-546.
- Steinberg, L., & Green, C. (1979). What parents seek in day care. *Human Ecology Forum*, 10, p. 14 and ff.

UNPUBLISHED TECHNICAL REPORTS

- Steinberg, L. (2010). *Adolescent Decision Making and the Prevention of Underage Smoking*. Report submitted to the European Commission’s Health and Consumer Directorate General (DG SANCO).

RESEARCH GRANTS, AWARDS, AND CONTRACTS

National Institute of Mental Health

Thomas Olino (PI), “Developmental Changes in Reward Responsivity: Associations with Depression Risk Markers”
(2016-2021) (\$3,211,838) (Role: Co-Investigator)

John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation

Elizabeth Cauffman (PI), “Crossroads: The Impact of Formal vs. Informal Justice System Processing on Juveniles’ Desistance from Crime”
(2015-2017) (\$1,000,000) (Role: Co-Principal Investigator)

Department of Defense, U.S. Army Medical Research and Materiel

Command Laurence Steinberg (PI), “Group Influences on Young Adult Warfighters’ Risk-Taking”
(2012-2015) (\$529,000) (Role: Principal Investigator)

National Institute of Child Health and Human Development

Jennifer Lansford (PI), “Parenting, Adolescent Self-Regulation, and Risk Taking Across Cultures”
(2012-2017) (\$4,891,112) (Role: Co-Investigator)

National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism

Kathryn Harden (PI), “Genetic Influences on Adolescent Decision-Making and Alcohol Use”
(2012-2015) (\$418,381) (Role: Co-Investigator)

National Institute on Drug Abuse

Jason Chein (PI), “Improving Adolescent Decision Making Through Cognitive Control Training”
(2012-2015) (\$420,750) (Role: Co-Investigator)

MacArthur Foundation Research Network on Law and Neuroscience

BJ Casey (PI), “Neural and Behavioral Correlates of Age Differences in Psychological Capacities Relevant to Judgments of Criminal Responsibility”
(2011-2016) (\$561,250) (Role: Co-Principal Investigator)

Pennsylvania Department of Health (Health Research Formula Fund Grant)

Laurence Steinberg (PI), “Social Influences on Alcohol Consumption in Adolescent Versus Adult Mice”
(2011-2012) (\$25,000) (Role: Principal Investigator)

Robert Wood Johnson Foundation (via subcontract from University of Pennsylvania)

Laurence Steinberg (PI), “Correlates and Consequences of Positive Health in Adolescence”
(2011-2013) (\$231,000) (Role: Principal Investigator)

National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism

Jason Chein (PI), “Combined Effects of Alcohol and Peer Context on Behavior and Neural Correlates of Risk-Taking”
(2011-2016) (\$1,719,935) (Role: Co-Investigator)

John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation

Laurence Steinberg (PI), “Models for Change Research Initiative, Phase V”
(2010-2016) (\$3,000,000) (Role: Principal Investigator)

Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice

Elizabeth Cauffman (PI), “Crossroads: Formal versus Informal Processing in the Juvenile Justice System”
(2010-2013) (\$500,000) (Role: Co-Principal Investigator)

John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation

Laurence Steinberg (PI), “Models for Change Research Initiative, Phase IV”
(2009-2016) (\$500,000) (Role: Principal Investigator)

Jacobs Foundation

Klaus J. Jacobs Research Prize in Productive Youth Development
(2009) (1,000,000 Swiss Francs; approx. \$1,000,000) (Role: Inaugural Prize Recipient)

John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation

Laurence Steinberg (PI), “Models for Change Research Initiative, Phase III”
(2008-2016) (\$735,000) (Role: Principal Investigator)

Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice

Edward Mulvey (PI), “Pathways to Desistance: A Prospective Study of Serious Adolescent Offenders, Renewal Proposal”
(2008-2009) (\$600,000) (Role: Co-Principal Investigator)

National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice

Edward Mulvey (PI), “Pathways to Desistance”
(2008-2010) (\$995,707) (Role: Co-Principal Investigator)

John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation

Laurence Steinberg (PI), “Models for Change Research Initiative, Phase II”
(2007-2016) (\$2,655,000) (Role: Principal Investigator)

John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation

Laurence Steinberg (PI), “Models for Change Research Initiative”
(2007-2016) (\$600,000) (Role: Principal Investigator)

Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice

Edward Mulvey (PI), “Pathways to Desistance: A Prospective Study of Serious Adolescent Offenders”
(2007-2009) (\$130,000) (Role: Co-Principal Investigator)

Pennsylvania Council on Crime and Delinquency

Edward Mulvey (PI), "Pathways to Desistance: A Prospective Study of Serious Adolescent Offenders"

(2007-2008) (\$149,268)

(Role: Co-Principal Investigator)

National Institute of Drug Abuse

Laurence Steinberg (PI), "Peer Effects on Neural and Behavioral Markers of Risk-Taking"

(2006-2011) (\$999,315)

(Role: Principal Investigator)

John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation

Laurence Steinberg (PI), "Continuation of the Pathways to Desistance Study: Renewal Proposal"

(2006-2017) (\$1,500,000)

(Role: Principal Investigator)

Pennsylvania Council on Crime and Delinquency

Edward Mulvey (PI), "A Prospective Study of Serious Adolescent Offenders"

(2006-2007)

(Role: Co-Principal Investigator)

Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice

Edward Mulvey (PI), "A Prospective Study of Serious Adolescent Offenders, Renewal Proposal"

(2006-2008)

(Role: Co-Principal Investigator)

National Institute of Drug Abuse

Edward Mulvey (PI), "Pathways to Desistance from Substance Use Problems and Crime"

(2005-2010)

(Role: Co-Principal Investigator)

National Institute of Child Health and Human Development

Laurence Steinberg (PI), "NICHD Study of Early Child Care and Youth Development, Phase IV"

(2005-2009)

(Role: Principal Investigator)

Pennsylvania Council on Crime and Delinquency

Edward Mulvey (PI), "A Prospective Study of Serious Adolescent Offenders in Philadelphia"

(2005-2006)

(Role: Co-Principal Investigator)

Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice

Edward Mulvey (PI), "A Prospective Study of Serious Adolescent Offenders, Renewal Proposal"

(2005-2006)

(Role: Co-Principal Investigator)

Pennsylvania Council on Crime and Delinquency

Edward Mulvey (PI), "A Prospective Study of Serious Adolescent Offenders in Philadelphia"

(2004-2005)

(Role: Co-Principal Investigator)

National Institute of Mental Health

Nathan Fox (PI), “The Effects of Early Temperament on Social Behavior in Adolescence”
(2004-2007) (Role: Co-Principal Investigator)

Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice

Edward Mulvey (PI), “A Prospective Study of Serious Adolescent Offenders, Renewal Proposal”
(2004) (Role: Co-Principal Investigator)

Pennsylvania Council on Crime and Delinquency

Edward Mulvey (PI), “A Prospective Study of Serious Adolescent Offenders in Philadelphia”
(2003-2004) (Role: Co-Principal Investigator)

Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice

Edward Mulvey (PI), “A Prospective Study of Serious Adolescent Offenders, Renewal Proposal”
(2003) (Role: Co-Principal Investigator)

Pennsylvania Council on Crime and Delinquency

Edward Mulvey (PI), “A Prospective Study of Serious Adolescent Offenders in Philadelphia”
(2002-2003) (Role: Co-Principal Investigator)

National Institute of Mental Health

Ronald Dahl (PI), “Affect Regulation and Adolescent Brain Maturation”
(2002-2006) (Role: Co-Investigator)

William T. Grant Foundation

Edward Mulvey (PI), “A Prospective Study of Serious Adolescent Offenders”
(2002-2005) (Role: Co-Principal Investigator)

John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation

Laurence Steinberg (PI), “Research Network on Adolescent Development and Juvenile Justice”
(2002-2016) (Role: Principal Investigator)

William Penn Foundation

Laurence Steinberg (PI), “A Prospective Study of Serious Juvenile Offenders in Philadelphia”
(2002-2005) (Role: Principal Investigator)

Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice

Edward Mulvey (PI), “A Prospective Study of Serious Adolescent Offenders, Renewal Proposal”
(2001-2002) (Role: Co-Principal Investigator)

Robert Wood Johnson Foundation

Edward Mulvey (PI), “A Prospective Study of Serious Adolescent Offenders”
(2001-2004) (Role: Co-Principal Investigator)

William T. Grant Foundation

Edward Mulvey (PI), “A Prospective Study of Serious Adolescent Offenders”
(2001-2004) (Role: Co-Principal Investigator)

Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice

Edward Mulvey (PI), "A Prospective Study of Serious Adolescent Offenders, Renewal Proposal"
(2000-2001) (Role: Co-Principal Investigator)

National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice

Edward Mulvey (PI), "A Prospective Study of Serious Adolescent Offenders, Renewal Proposal"
(2000) (Role: Co-Principal Investigator)

Open Society Institute, The Soros Foundations

Laurence Steinberg (PI), "The Competence of Adolescents as Trial Defendants"
(1999-2002) (Role: Principal Investigator)

John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation

Laurence Steinberg (PI), "Research Network on Adolescent Development and Juvenile Justice"
(1999-2001) (Role: Principal Investigator)

MacArthur Foundation Research Network on Psychopathology and Development

Laurence Steinberg (PI), "Development of Assessment Modules for Middle Childhood,
Extension and Supplement,"
(1999-2000) (Role: Principal Investigator)

MacArthur Foundation Research Network on Psychopathology and Development

Laurence Steinberg (PI), "Assessment of Life Stress in Children and Adolescents: Development
of the PACE/LEDS"
(1999) (Role: Principal Investigator)

John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation

Laurence Steinberg (PI), "Research Network on Adolescent Development and Juvenile
Justice, Supplement"
(1998) (Role: Principal Investigator)

MacArthur Foundation Research Network on Psychopathology and Development

Laurence Steinberg (PI), "Assessment of Life Stress in Children and Adolescents: Development
of the PACE/LEDS"
(1998) (Role: Principal Investigator)

MacArthur Foundation Research Network on Psychopathology and Development

Laurence Steinberg (PI), "Development of a Context Module for Middle Childhood,
Supplement"
(1998) (Role: Principal Investigator)

MacArthur Foundation Research Network on Psychopathology and

Development Laurence Steinberg (PI), "Assessment of Life Stress in Children and
Adolescents"
(1997-1998) (Role: Principal Investigator)

MacArthur Foundation Research Network on Psychopathology and Development Laurence Steinberg (PI), “Development of a Context Module for Middle Childhood”
(1997-1998) (Role: Principal Investigator)

John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation
Laurence Steinberg (PI), “Research Program on Adolescent Development and Juvenile Justice”
(1997-1998) (Role: Principal Investigator)

MacArthur Foundation Research Network on Psychopathology and Development Laurence Steinberg (PI) “Child and Adolescent Life Events Development”
(1996-1997) (Role: Principal Investigator)

MacArthur Foundation Research Network on Psychopathology and Development Laurence Steinberg (PI), “Development of a Context Module”
(1996-1997) (Role: Principal Investigator)

John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation
Laurence Steinberg (PI), “Adolescent Development and Juvenile Justice: Planning Grant”
(1996) (Role: Principal Investigator)

MacArthur Foundation Research Network on Psychopathology and Development
Laurence Steinberg (PI), “Adolescent LEDS Collaborative Project”
(1995-1996) (Role: Principal Investigator)

MacArthur Foundation Research Networks on Successful Pathways Through Middle Childhood and on Psychopathology and Development
Laurence Steinberg (PI), “Establishment of a Joint Task Force on Family Processes”
(1995-1996) (Role: Principal Investigator)

William T. Grant Foundation
Laurence Steinberg (PI), “Family, Peer, and Community Influences on Psychological Adjustment in Late Adolescence”
(1991-1995) (Role: Principal Investigator)

Temple University Biomedical Research Fund
Laurence Steinberg (PI), “Parenting Practices Related to Aggressive and Nonaggressive Rule-Breaking Behavior in Adolescence”
(1990) (Role: Principal Investigator)

The Lilly Endowment
Laurence Steinberg (PI), “Family, Peer, and Community Influences on Adolescent Achievement”
(1990-1993) (Role: Principal Investigator)

Temple University Research Incentive Fund

Robert Fauber (PI), "Adolescent Autonomy and Parenting Style"
(1989-1990) (Role: Co-Principal Investigator)

**Graduate School Research Committee, University of Wisconsin--
Madison** B. Bradford Brown (PI), "Ethnographic Study of Three High
Schools"

(1988-1990) (\$23,713) (Role: Co-Principal Investigator)

**National Center on Effective Secondary Schools, U.S. Department of
Education** B. Bradford Brown (PI), "Noninstructional Influences on
Academic Achievement"

(1988-1990) (Role: Co-Principal Investigator)

William T. Grant Foundation

Laurence Steinberg (PI) "Adolescent Autonomy and Family Relations"
(1987-1988) (Role: Principal Investigator)

**National Center on Effective Secondary Schools, U.S. Department of
Education** B. Bradford Brown (PI), "Noninstructional Influences on
Academic Achievement"

(1987-1988) (Role: Co-Principal Investigator)

**Graduate School Research Committee, University of
Wisconsin** Laurence Steinberg (PI), "Family Transitions
During Adolescence,"

(1986-1987) (Role: Principal Investigator)

**National Center on Effective Secondary Schools, U.S. Department of
Education** Laurence Steinberg (PI), "Student Achievement and
Responsibility"

(1985-1986) (Role: Principal Investigator)

Graduate School Research Committee, University of Wisconsin

Laurence Steinberg (PI), "Changes in Family Relations During Adolescence"
(1984-1985) (Role: Principal Investigator)

William T. Grant Foundation

Laurence Steinberg (PI) "Faculty Scholars Award"
(1983-1988) (Role: Principal Investigator)

University of California Focused Research Program

Ellen Greenberger (PI) "Early Work Experience and Adolescent Stress"
(1979-1982) (Role: Co-Principal Investigator)

The Ford Foundation

Ellen Greenberger (PI), "Early Adolescents at Work: Dissemination of Findings to National and International Policy-Makers"
(1979-1982) (Role: Co-Principal Investigator)

The Spencer Foundation

Ellen Greenberger (PI), "Early Adolescents at Work: Effects of Part-Time Employment on Family Relations, Peer Relations, and Psychosocial Development"
(1979-1982) (Role: Co-Principal Investigator)

National Institute of Education

Ellen Greenberger (PI), "Early Adolescents at Work: Costs and Benefits to Learning and Social Development"
(1979-1981) (Role: Co-Principal Investigator)

National Institute of Education

Ellen Greenberger (PI), "Early Adolescents at Work: Effects of Part-Time Employment on Literacy and Maturity"
(1978-1979) (Role: Co-Principal Investigator)

Committee on Instructional Development, University of California

Laurence Steinberg (PI), "Development of Instructional Materials for 'Human Development over the Life Cycle'"
(1978) (Role: Principal Investigator)

College of Human Ecology, Cornell University

Laurence Steinberg (PI), "A Longitudinal Study of Physical Growth, Intellectual Growth, and Family Interaction in Early Adolescence"
(1977) (Role: Principal Investigator)

PRESENTATIONS

Keynotes, Plenary Addresses, and Named Lectures

- Gray Matters Summit, Confederation of Oregon School Administrators, Eugene, August, 2016
Claritycon2016, Clarity Child Guidance Center, San Antonio, June, 2016.
Pearl Leibovitch Clinical Day, Agence Ometz, Montreal, May, 2016.
Betty and Bernard S. Shapiro Family Endowment Lecture, Agence Ometz, Montreal, May, 2016.
37th Annual Conference of Agencies and Organizations Serving Troubled Youth, Snowbird, Utah, May, 2016.
SPEAK, San Francisco, April, 2016.
Science of Hope, Foundation for Healthy Generations, Seattle, April, 2016.
Teachers College, Columbia University, November, 2015.
Learning & the Brain Society, Boston, November, 2015.
Genoa Science Festival, Genoa, October, 2015.
Lois Bloom Lecture, Child Study Center, Pennsylvania State University, September, 2015.
World Congress on Community Corrections, Los Angeles, July, 2015.
Spiker Memorial Lecture, Department of Psychology, University of Iowa, April, 2015.
34th Annual School Psychology Conference, Temple University, March, 2015.
Catholic Partnership Schools Education Summit, Mt. Laurel, New Jersey, March, 2015.
University of Chicago Crime Lab, January 2015.
Models for Change Ninth Annual Working Conference, Washington, December, 2014.
Families First Fathers Breakfast, Boston, October, 2014.
Juvenile Defender Leadership Summit, Louisville, October, 2014.
American Academy of Psychiatry and the Law, Chicago, October, 2014.
FLUX (International Congress for Integrative Developmental Cognitive Neuroscience), Los Angeles, September, 2014.
European Association for Research on Adolescence, Izmir, Turkey, September, 2014.
National Council of Family and Juvenile Court Judges, Chicago, July, 2014.
National Center for Mental Health and Juvenile Justice, Washington, May, 2014.
Grimes Lecture, Department of Psychology, La Salle University, March, 2014.
Society for Research on Adolescence, Austin, March, 2014.
Birch Lecture, International Neuropsychological Society, Seattle, February, 2014.
Boyd McCandless Lecture in Developmental Psychology, Department of Psychology, Emory University, October, 2013.
P. Browning Hoffman Memorial Lecture in Law and Psychiatry, University of Virginia School of Law, October, 2013.
2013 Youth Services Conference, Wisconsin Department of Children and Families, Wisconsin Dells, WI, October, 2013.
Models for Change National Court Leadership Symposium, Washington, October, 2013.
Society for Research in Psychopathology, Oakland, September, 2013.
Sulzberger Colloquium, Center for Child and Family Policy, Duke University, September, 2013.
Sulzberger Distinguished Lecture, Center for Child and Family Policy, Duke University, September, 2013.
Teenwise Minnesota, St. Paul, Minnesota, May, 2013.
Teaching Institute, Society for Research in Child Development, Seattle, April, 2013.
Allen L. Edwards Psychology Lecture Series, University of Washington, February, 2013.
Adolescent Brain Development and Trauma: Moving from Theory to Action, Casey Family Programs, Philadelphia, October, 2012.

American Psychological Association, Orlando, August, 2012.
Henry and Bryna David Lecture, National Academy of Sciences, Washington, November, 2011.
Cognitive Development Society, Philadelphia, October 15, 2011.
Harrington Distinguished Visiting Professor Lecture, Department of Psychology, Baldwin-Wallace College, October, 2011.
Breiland Lecture, University of Illinois School of Social Work, September, 2011.
Gatlinburg Conference on Research and Theory in Intellectual and Developmental Disabilities, San Antonio, 2011.
Joint Meeting on Adolescent Treatment Effectiveness, Baltimore, December, 2010.
Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University, December, 2010.
Phillips Andover Academy, November, 2010.
Third Annual El Paso County Mental Health Law Conference, El Paso, October, 2010.
Mercyhurst Criminal Justice Conference, Erie, PA, October, 2010.
Alaska Addictions Professional Association, Anchorage, May, 2010.
Cherlin Memorial Lecture, Department of Psychology, Yale University, October, 2009.
Award address for Distinguished Contributions to Research in Public Policy, American Psychological Association, Toronto, August, 2009.
MacArthur Foundation Models for Change Annual Meeting, Washington, December, 2008.
Presidential address, Division of Developmental Psychology, American Psychological Association, Boston, August, 2008.
Minnesota Association for Children's Mental Health, Duluth, Minnesota, April, 2008.
Jean Piaget Society, Quebec City, June, 2008.
Justin Wise Polier Colloquium, Citizen's Committee for Children, New York, April, 2007.
APA Distinguished Scientist Lecture, Rocky Mountain Psychological Association, Phoenix, April, 2005.
Joint Meeting on Adolescent Treatment Effectiveness, Washington, April, 2007.
Barbara Lemann Memorial Lecture, Tulane University Health Science Center, March, 2005.
Russell Barkley Lecture, Department of Psychiatry, University of Massachusetts Medical School, November, 2006.
Master Lecture, XVIII Congresso di Psicologia dello Sviluppo, Siacca, Italy, September, 2004.
National Family & Parenting Institute, London, April, 2002.
University of Virginia Institute of Law, Psychiatry and Public Policy, Richmond, March, 2002.
Presidential address, Society for Research on Adolescence, Chicago, March, 2000.
Konopka Lecture, University of Minnesota, February, 2000.
Parent Education Institute, University of Minnesota, St. Paul, June, 2001.
Children, Youth and Families at Risk Program Initiative, Cooperative Extension Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, San Diego, March, 2001.
Cummins Endowment for Adolescent Medicine Lecture, Morristown Memorial Hospital, Morristown, NJ, December, 1999.
Gallagher Lecture, Society for Adolescent Medicine, Los Angeles, March, 1999.
Colorado Principals' Center Winter Institute, Denver, February, 1997.
Golden Apple Foundation Annual Dutch Koldyke Forum, Chicago, October, 1996.
Anathan Foundation Lecture, Western Psychiatric Institute and Clinic, University of Pittsburgh Medical Center, September, 1995.
Goucher College Educational Conference, March, 1994.
Matthew Vassar Lecture, Vassar College, New York, September, 1996.
European Association for Research on Adolescence, Liège, Belgium, May, 1996.
Delaware Association of School Administrators, Dover, January, 1991.
Grantmakers for Children and Youth, San Francisco, November, 1987.
Empire State Organization of Youth Employment Services, Syracuse, June, 1987.

Vermont Association for Middle Level Education, Burlington, November, 1985.

Invited Talks

Aspen Institute Society of Fellows, Aspen, August, 2016.
Aspen Ideas Festival, June, 2016.
The Ford Foundation, June, 2016.
Bermuda Sloop Foundation, Hamilton, Bermuda, June, 2016.
Trinity School and Dalton School, New York, April, 2016.
Clinton Global Initiative Winter Meeting, February, 2016.
St. Clements School, Toronto, February, 2016.
Hinsdale School District, Hinsdale, IL, January, 2016.
DuPage County Health Department, Wheaton, IL, January, 2016.
Glenbard Parent Series, Glen Ellyn, IL, January, 2016.
National Governors Association, Center for Best Practices, Washington, December, 2015.
Jacobs Foundation, Zurich, December, 2015.
Seven College Conference, Smith College, December, 2015.
The Shipley School, Bryn Mawr, PA, November, 2015.
Center for Law, Brain, and Behavior, Harvard Law School, November, 2015.
Temple Law Review Symposium, Temple University, October, 2015.
Philadelphia Family Court Judges, September, 2015.
Neshaminy School District, Langhorne, PA, September, 2015.
Aspen Ideas Festival, Aspen, July, 2015.
The Philadelphia School, Philadelphia, April, 2015.
Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University, April 2015.
Vera Institute of Justice, Congressional Briefing, Washington, February, 2015.
Glenbard Parent Series, Glen Ellyn, IL, November, 2014.
Family Action Network, Northfield, IL, November, 2014.
Family Action Network, Evanston, November, 2014.
School of Education, University of California, Irvine, October, 2014.
College of Health and Behavioral Sciences, Chapman University, October, 2014.
The Pacific Club, Newport Beach, October, 2014.
Free Library of Philadelphia, September, 2014.
Town Hall, Seattle, September, 2014.
Education/Psychology Library, University of California, Berkeley, September, 2014.
Graduate School of Education, Harvard University, September, 2014.
Teachers College, Columbia University, September, 2014.
Masters in Applied Positive Psychology Program, University of Pennsylvania, September, 2014.
Conference on the Third Decade of Life, Volkswagen Foundation, Hannover, Germany, June, 2014.
Workshop on Development of Recommendations for the Assessment of Adolescents' Competence in Clinical Care. World Health Organization, Brocher Foundation, Geneva, June, 2014.
Conference on Preventing and Responding to Prescription Drug Abuse on Campus, Temple University, June, 2014.
Hamilton Project Forum, National Press Club, Washington, May, 2014.
Graduate School of Education, Harvard University, April, 2014.
Institute of Medicine, Committee on the Health Implications of Raising the Minimum Age for Purchasing Tobacco Products, April, 2014.

Advocates for Children of New Jersey, East Windsor, New Jersey, March, 2014.

Camden County Council on Alcoholism and Drug Abuse, Camden, December, 2013.
Talks to Teachers, University of Pennsylvania, November, 2013.
Preconference on evolutionary psychology, Society for Research in Child Development, Seattle, April, 2013.
Colloquium on Law, Neuroscience, and Criminal Justice, Stanford Law School, March, 2013.
Casey Family Foundation Board of Trustees, Seattle, February, 2013.
National Scientific Council on the Developing Child, Washington, December, 2012.
MacArthur Foundation Models for Change National Conference, Washington, December, 2012.
Lower Merion School District, Ardmore, Pennsylvania, November, 2012.
Cuidad de Las Ideas, Puebla, Mexico, November, 2012.
Calleva Research Centre, Magdalen College, University of Oxford, October, 2012.
Germantown Academy, Philadelphia, October, 2012.
Conference on Promoting Positive Development in the Third Decade of Life, Center for the Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford University, June, 2012.
University of Minnesota Extension, St. Paul, April, 2012.
Population Research Center, Columbia University, April, 2012.
New York State Judicial Institute, White Plains, NY, December, 2011.
Parents Translational Research Center, University of Pennsylvania, October, 2011.
Advocates for Children of New Jersey, East Windsor, New Jersey, April, 2011.
Jacobs Foundation Conference, Marbach, Germany, April, 2011.
Raymond and Beverly Sackler U.S.A.-U.K. Scientific Forum, The National Academy of Sciences/The Royal Society, Irvine, CA, March, 2011.
Jacobs Foundation, Zurich, December, 2010.
Citizens for Juvenile Justice Leadership, Boston, December, 2010.
Parents of Students of Phillips Academy, Andover, MA, November, 2010.
National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, Rockville, MD, July, 2010.
German Psychological Association, Dornburg, Germany, June, 2010.
Corporate Alliance for Drug Education, Philadelphia, June, 2010.
Association for Psychological Science, Boston, May, 2010.
Alaska Addictions Professional Association, Anchorage, May, 2010.
State of Alaska Division of Juvenile Justice, Anchorage, May, 2010.
University of Chicago School of Law, April, 2010.
Bloomberg School of Public Health, The Johns Hopkins University, October, 2009.
New York City Bar Association, New York, May, 2009.
Learning and the Brain Society, Washington, May, 2009.
U.S. House of Representatives Education and Labor Committee, Washington, April, 2009.
University of North Carolina at Greensboro, January, 2009.
Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University, November, 2008.
The World Bank, Washington, November, 2008.
Pennsylvania Senate Judiciary Committee, Harrisburg, September, 2008.
Jacobs Foundation Forum on Youth, Berlin, July, 2008.
Newkirk Center for Science and Society and the Center for Psychology and Law, University of California, Irvine, May, 2008.
Minnesota Association for Children's Mental Health, Duluth, April, 2008.
National Institute on the Teaching of Psychology (NITOP), St. Pete Beach, Florida, January, 2008.
U.S. Food and Drug Administration, Washington, December, 2007.
Norfolk Academy, Norfolk, Virginia, November, 2007.
APA Grand Challenges Summit, Baltimore, October, 2007.
Wisconsin Family Impact Seminar, Madison, October, 2007.

CAB Health and Recovery Services, Salem State College, Salem, Massachusetts, October, 2007.
National Governors' Association Service Policy Advisors' Retreat, New Orleans, June, 2007.
Coalition for Juvenile Justice, Washington, June, 2007.
United States Senate Judiciary Committee, June, 2007.
Leiden University, The Netherlands, May, 2007.
National Conference of State Legislatures Spring Forum, Washington, April, 2007.
Philadelphia Prison Society and the Institute for Violence Research and Prevention, Philadelphia, April, 2007.
Carrier Clinic, Bridgewater, New Jersey, March, 2007.
City and Juvenile Judges Association, New Orleans, January, 2007.
Grantmakers for Children, Youth, and Families, Los Angeles, September, 2006.
NIH conference on Reward Neurocircuitry in Adolescent Development and Decision Making, Bethesda, January, 2006.
Governor's Commission on College and Career Success, Harrisburg, November, 2005.
Grantmakers for Children and Youth, Denver, September, 2005.
National Institute of Justice, Washington, July, 2005.
Subcommittee on Select Education, U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Education and the Workforce, July, 2005.
Young Presidents' Organization Southern 7 Chapter, Greenbrier, West Virginia, June, 2005.
American Psychological Society, Los Angeles, May, 2005.
Rock Island/Milan School District, Rock Island, Illinois, April, 2005.
Chapin Hall, University of Chicago, November, 2004.
Fred Friendly Seminar on Juvenile Justice (produced for PBS). Filmed in Berkeley, California, October, 2004.
Fall Mental Health Forum, Riverbend Foundation, Florence, Alabama, October, 2004.
Illinois State Legislature Taskforce on Trying Juveniles as Adults, Chicago, October, 2004.
International Society for Addiction Medicine, Helsinki, June, 2004.
Young Presidents' Organization Philadelphia Forum, May, 2004.
Ohio Juvenile Defenders' Summit, Dayton, Ohio, April, 2004.
Young Presidents' Organization Philadelphia Forum, March, 2004.
Young Presidents' Organization South America University, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, January, 2004.
New York Academy of Sciences, New York, September, 2003.
National Consortium on Violence Research (NCOVR) Summer Workshop, San Juan, June, 2003.
Urban Institute, San Francisco, May, 2003.
Pennsylvania House of Representatives, Committees on Health and Human Services and Children and Youth, April, 2003.
Young Presidents' Organization Philadelphia Forum, 2003.
Master Lecture, Society for Research in Child Development, Tampa, Florida, April, 2003.
National Conference of Juvenile and Family Court Judges, Philadelphia, March, 2003.
Council of Juvenile Corrections Administrators, Charlotte, January, 2003.
Annie E. Casey Foundation Roundtable on Family Strengthening Youth Development, Baltimore, December, 2002.
Florida Conference of Circuit Judges, Amelia Island, Florida, December, 2002.
University Extension, Iowa State University, October, 2002.
Iowa State University, October, 2002.
Young Presidents' Organization Prague University, Prague, October, 2002.
Institute for Adolescent Risk Communication, University of Pennsylvania, June, 2002.
Adolescent Health Institute, University of New Hampshire Cooperative Extension, Lake Winnepesaukee, New Hampshire, June, 2002.

National Consortium on Violence Research (NCOVR) Summer Workshop, St. Augustine, Florida, June, 2002.

White House Conference on Character and Community, June, 2002.

Brookings Institution, Washington, May, 2002.

Practical Parenting Partnerships, Lake Osage, Missouri, April, 2002.

European Association for Research on Adolescence Summer School, Puidoux-Chexbres, Switzerland, July, 2001.

Young Presidents' Organization Venice University, Venice, Italy, June, 2001.

National Institute of Justice, Washington, March, 2001.

Casey Journalism Conference, College Park, Maryland, June, 2000.

Brookings Institution, Washington, May, 2000.

White House Conference on Teenagers, May, 2000.

Congressional Research Briefing, Joint Center for Poverty Research, Washington, January, 2000.

Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and the Daniel J. Evans Graduate School of Public Affairs of the University of Washington, Kirkland, Washington, December, 1999.

Rochester Child Health Congress, University of Rochester Medical Center, October, 1999.

National Association of Secondary School Principals, Hershey, PA, October, 1999.

U.S. House of Representatives Bi-Partisan Working Group on Youth Violence, September, 1999.

National Research Council, Committee on Law and Justice, May, 1999.

EdSource Conference on Public Schools, Irvine and San Ramon California, March, 1999.

National Conference on Juvenile Justice, Minneapolis, March, 1999.

Subcommittee on Crime, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. House of Representatives, March, 1999.

Center for Children, Families, and the Law, University of Virginia, November, 1998.

Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, Annapolis, November, 1998.

American Bar Association Criminal Justice Standards Task Force on Juveniles in the Adult Criminal System, Washington, October, 1998.

Family Resource Network of the School District of Philadelphia, September, 1998.

Arkansas Governor's Working Group on Juvenile Violence, Little Rock, August, 1998.

Arkansas Public Defenders Commission, Little Rock, August, 1998.

Senate of Pennsylvania Committee on Education, June, 1998.

Corrections Program Office, U.S. Department of Justice, Houston, May, 1998.

National Institute of Drug Abuse, Rockville, November, 1997.

Teachers College, Columbia University, July, 1997.

Vice President and Mrs. Gore's "Family Re-Union" conference on Families and Learning, Nashville, June, 1997.

The Communitarian Network, Washington, June, 1997.

Brookings Institution, Washington, May, 1997.

Fourth Annual Invitational Public Schools Conference, Temple University, May, 1997.

National Urban League, National Press Club, Washington, February, 1997.

Chester County Intermediate Unit, Exton, Pennsylvania, December, 1996.

Alliance for Education, Worcester, Massachusetts, December, 1996.

Center for School Study Councils, University of Pennsylvania, December, 1996.

Pennsylvania State Board of Education, Philadelphia, November, 1996.

National Academy of Sciences, Commission on Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education, September, 1996.

Central New York State Psychological Association, Syracuse, October, 1995.

Vassar College, September, 1995.

Penn State University, Delaware County Campus, April, 1994.

Center for Substance Abuse Prevention, School of Medicine, University of Maryland, Baltimore, November, 1993.

New Jersey Public Health Association, Jamesburg, New Jersey, October, 1993.
Josselyn Center for Mental Health, Northfield, IL, October, 1993.
Rochester Symposium on Developmental Psychology, University of Rochester, October, 1993.
Urie Bronfenbrenner Symposium, Cornell University, September, 1993.
Social Science Research Council, New York, May, 1992.
Pennsylvania Family Policy Seminar, Harrisburg, April, 1992.
National Commission on Children, St. Paul, October, 1990.
Division of Developmental Psychology, American Psychological Association, Boston, August, 1990.
Council on Foundations, Toronto, April, 1989.
National Council for Families and Television, Studio City, California, December, 1988.
Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, Washington, September, 1988.
Puget Sound Community Colleges, Seattle, September, 1987.
Temple University Medical School, November, 1986.
Pennsylvania Juvenile Court Judges Seminar, National Center for Juvenile Justice, Hershey, Pennsylvania, October, 1986.
National Invitational Conference on the Health Futures of Adolescents, Daytona Beach, April, 1986.
Social Science Research Council, Santa Barbara, December, 1983.
House Subcommittee on Labor Standards, United States House of Representatives, Washington (co-authored testimony presented by E. Greenberger).
Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, July, 1982.
National Center for Vocational Education, Ohio State University, May, 1980.
National Institute of Education, Washington, March, 1979.
Foundation for Child Development, Palo Alto, California, November, 1978.

COLLOQUIA

Department of Psychiatry, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, November, 2015.
Institute of Human Development and Social Change and Department of Applied Psychology, New York University, March, 2015.
Center for Psychology and Law, University of California, Irvine, March, 2014.
University of Virginia Center to Promote Effective Youth Development, October, 2013.
Department of Psychology, UCLA, April, 2013.
Committee on Education and Center for Human Potential and Public Policy, University of Chicago, April, 2013.
Program in Law, Psychology, and Human Development, Cornell University, November, 2012.
Consortium on Law and Values, University of Minnesota School of Law, November, 2012.
Department of Pediatrics, Cooper Medical School of Rowan University, October, 2012.
University of Texas, Dallas, October, 2012.
Institute of Cognitive Science, Colorado University, September, 2012.
Department of Education, University of California, Irvine, March, 2012.
Institute of Human Development and Behavior Change Research Network, University of California, Berkeley, March, 2012.
Neuroscience and Public Policy Seminar Series, University of Wisconsin, Madison, November, 2011.
Department of Psychology, University of California, Davis, October, 2011.
Department of Applied Psychology, New York University, October, 2011.
Department of Psychology, Baldwin-Wallace College, October, 2011.

NY/NJ Developmental Colloquium Series, New York University, September, 2011.
Mercyhurst College, October, 2010.
Center for the Center for Neuroscience and Society and Department of Psychology, University of Pennsylvania, October, 2010.
Center for the Humanities at Temple, Temple University, September, 2010.
Institute for the Study of Child Development, Robert Wood Johnson Medical School, April, 2010.
Carolina Consortium on Human Development, Chapel Hill, March, 2010.
Harris School of Public Policy Studies, University of Chicago, February, 2010.
Department of Psychology & Neuroscience, Duke University, October, 2009.
Curry School of Education, University of Virginia, September, 2009.
Department of Psychology and Center for Drug Abuse Research Translation, University of Kentucky, April, 2009.
Sackler Institute for Developmental Psychobiology, Weill Medical College of Cornell University, March, 2009.
Department of Psychology, UCLA, May, 2008.
Columbia Law School, November, 2007.
Department of Society, Human Development, and Health, Harvard School of Public Health, January, 2007.
Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs and the Center for Research on Child Wellbeing, Princeton University, December, 2006.
Child and Family Research Section, NICHD, November, 2006.
Department of Psychology, Drexel University, May, 2006.
Graduate School of Social Work and Social Research, Bryn Mawr College, November, 2005.
Bloomberg School of Public Health, The Johns Hopkins University, July, 2005.
School of Education, Western Illinois University, April, 2005.
Department of Child Psychiatry, Tulane University School of Medicine, March, 2005.
Department of Human Development and Family Studies, University of Wisconsin, Madison, December, 2004.
University of Virginia School of Law, November, 2004.
Department of Psychology, Ursinus College, November, 2004.
Villanova University School of Law, February, 2004.
Cornell University, November, 2003.
Department of Mental Health, Bloomberg School of Public Health, The Johns Hopkins University, March, 2003.
Child Study Center, New York University School of Medicine, January, 2003.
School of Social Ecology, University of California, Irvine, April, 2002.
Departments of Psychology, Education, and Urban Studies, Vassar College, October, 2001.
Bush Center in Child Development and Social Policy, Yale University, October, 2001.
Irving B. Harris School of Public Policy, University of Chicago, June, 2001.
Center for Mental Health Services Research and Department of Law and Psychiatry, University of Massachusetts Medical School, May, 2000.
Department of Psychology, University of Delaware, October, 1999.
Institute of Child Development, University of Minnesota, April, 1998.
Department of Psychology and Human Development, Bryn Mawr College, November, 1997.
Center for Research on Young Children and Families, Teachers College, Columbia University, June, 1997.
Graduate School of Education, Harvard University, March, 1997.
Florida Atlantic University, January, 1997.
Graduate School of Education, University of Pennsylvania, December, 1995.

Department of Psychology, New York University, September, 1994.
 Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center, New York, May, 1994.
 Department of Educational Psychology, University of Illinois, April, 1994.
 Department of Adolescent Medicine, Children's Hospital of Philadelphia, February, 1994.
 Center for Family Research, University of Georgia, January, 1994.
 Department of Sociology, The Johns Hopkins University, December, 1993.
 Department of Human Development and Family Studies, Penn State University, April, 1992.
 Department of Child and Family Development, University of North Carolina at Greensboro,
 February,
 1992.
 Institute of Child Development, Department of Pediatrics, Robert Wood Johnson Medical School,
 December, 1991.
 Department of Individual and Family Studies, University of Delaware, October, 1990.
 Russell Sage Foundation, New York, June, 1989.
 Institute of Child Development, Department of Pediatrics, Robert Wood Johnson Medical School,
 October, 1988.
 Department of Psychiatry, Michael Reese Hospital and the Committee on Human Development,
 University of Chicago, May, 1988.
 Department of Psychology, Stanford University, January, 1988.
 Stanford Center for the Study of Families, Children, and Youth, January, 1988.
 Department of Psychology, Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville, January, 1988.
 Department of Human Development and Family Studies, Cornell University, December, 1985.
 College of Human Development, Pennsylvania State University, November, 1981.
 Bush Foundation Program in Child Development and Social Policy, UCLA, September, 1981.

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

- Frick, P., Ray, J., Thornton, L., Wall, T., Steinberg, L., & Cauffman, E. (November, 2016). The effect of juvenile justice-related factors on trajectories of callous-unemotional traits. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "The Importance of Environmental Influences for Youth with Juvenile Psychopathy" at the American Criminological Society, New Orleans.
- Silva, K., Patrianakos, J., Chein, J., & Steinberg, L. (May, 2016). Cognitive fatigue increases late adolescents' risk-taking and reward-seeking behavior without affecting ability to learn from negative consequences. Poster presented at the Association for Psychological Science, Chicago.
- Silva, K., Chein, J., & Steinberg, L. (April, 2016). Improving young soldiers' decision-making by changing the age mix of combat squads. Poster presented at the Society for Research on Adolescence, Baltimore.
- Duell, N., Silva, K., Icenogle, G., Banich, M., Chein, J., & Steinberg, L. (April, 2016). Influence of working memory on Stroop performance: A developmental examination. Poster presented at the Society for Research on Adolescence, Baltimore.
- Silva, K., Shulman, E., Chein, J., & Steinberg, L. (April, 2016). Peers increase adolescents' exploratory behavior and sensitivity to positive and negative feedback. Poster presented at the Society for Research on Adolescence, Baltimore.
- Simmons, C., Cavanagh, C., Cauffman, E., Frick, P., & Steinberg, L. (April, 2016). The influence of father-child relationship quality on delinquency. Poster presented at the Society for Research on Adolescence, Baltimore.

- Cauffman, E., Cavanagh, C., Simmons, C., Frick, P., & Steinberg, L. (April, 2016). Substance use among first time juvenile offenders. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "Substance Use, Violence, and Health During Adolescence and the Transition to Adulthood," at the Society for Research on Adolescence, Baltimore, April, 2016.
- Mahler, A., Cauffman, E., Frick, P., & Steinberg, L. (April, 2016). Expectations for future success among adolescent first-time offenders. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "Expectations for the Future and Adolescent Adjustment," at the Society for Research on Adolescence, Baltimore, April, 2016.
- Fine, A., Cavanagh, C., Donley, S., Steinberg, L., Frick, P., & Cauffman, E. (April, 2016). The role of peer arrests on the development of youths' attitudes towards the justice system. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "Exploring Mechanisms of Legal Socialization During Adolescence," at the Society for Research on Adolescence, Baltimore, April, 2016.
- Duell, N., Icenogle, G., Chein, J., & Steinberg, L. (April, 2016). A cross-cultural examination of the dual systems model of adolescent risk taking. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "Advances in the Dual Systems Model of Adolescent Risk Taking," at the Society for Research on Adolescence, Baltimore, April, 2016.
- Participant, "Current State of Affairs on Adolescent Risk-taking Research." Panel discussion at the Society for Research on Adolescence, Baltimore, April, 2016.
- Wall, T., Salcedo, A., Frick, P., Ray, J., Thornton, L., Steinberg, L., & Cauffman, E. (March, 2016). Understanding the Link between Exposure to Violence and Aggression in Justice-Involved Adolescents. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Law-Psychology Society, Atlanta.
- Clark, J., Frick, P., Thornton, L., Ray, J., Steinberg, L., & Cauffman, E. (June, 2015). Parenting and conduct problems in first time male offender juveniles with callous-unemotional traits. Poster presented at the Society for the Scientific Study of Psychopathy, Chicago.
- Thornton, L., Frick, P., Ray, J., Steinberg, L., & Cauffman, E. (June, 2015). Sex, drugs, and callous-unemotional traits in a sample of juvenile justice-involved males. Poster presented at the Society for the Scientific Study of Psychopathy, Chicago.
- Silva, K., Shulman, L., Chein, J., & Steinberg, L. (May, 2015). Peers increase adolescents' exploratory behavior and sensitivity to positive and negative feedback. Poster presented at the Association for Psychological Science, New York.
- Cohen, A., Breiner, K., Dellarco, D., Heller, A., Rudolph, M., Pedersen, G. . . Casey, B.J. (April, 2015). Young adults act like adolescents under transient negative and sustained positive emotion. Poster presented at the Social and Affective Neuroscience Society, Boston.
- Smith, A., Steinberg, L., & Chein, J. (March, 2015). Age-related changes in cortical thickness of the anterior insula. Poster presented at the Society for Research in Child Development, Philadelphia.
- Shulman, E., & Steinberg, L. (March, 2015). Is there really anything wrong with today's twentysomethings? Poster presented at the Society for Research in Child Development, Philadelphia.
- Rosenbaum, G., Botdorf, M., Steinberg, L., & Chein, J. (March, 2015). Working memory training in adolescents decreases laboratory risk taking in the presence of peers. Poster presented at the Society for Research in Child Development, Philadelphia.
- Icenogle, G., & Steinberg, L. (March, 2015). Adolescent Decision Making: Pubertal Status and Age Differentially Predict Behavior on the Iowa Gambling Task. Poster presented at the Society for Research in Child Development, Philadelphia.
- Botdorf, M., Rosenbaum, G., Patrianakos, J., Steinberg, L., & Chein, J. (March, 2015). Gender

- differences in adolescent cognitive control in the face of emotional, but not non-emotional, stimuli. Poster presented at the Society for Research in Child Development, Philadelphia.
- Duell, N., & Steinberg, L. (March, 2015). Predictors and benefits of school engagement in adolescent offenders. Poster presented at the Society for Research in Child Development, Philadelphia.
- Smith, A., Steinberg, L., & Chein, J. (March, 2015). Increased engagement of reward-processing regions during peer observation reflects higher rates of risk-taking behaviors. Paper at a symposium entitled, "Peer Influence and Risky Decision-Making: Insight from Neuroimaging," Society for Research in Child Development, Philadelphia.
- Fine, A., Cauffman, E., & Steinberg, L. (March, 2015). Impulsivity assessments and implications for predicting adolescent offending. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "Development as Process: Delinquency, Substance Use, and Risk Taking During Adolescence," Society for Research in Child Development, Philadelphia.
- Steinberg, L., & Breiner, K. (March, 2015). Is the increase in reward-seeking during adolescence universal? Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "Sensation Seeking Across Adolescence and Young Adulthood: National and Historical Variation in its Level, Growth, and Correlates," Society for Research in Child Development, Philadelphia.
- Cauffman, E., Donley, S., Bechtold, J., & Steinberg, L. (November, 2014). Sensation seeking among at-risk adolescents: Findings from the Crossroads study. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, San Francisco.
- Ray, J., Frick, P., Thornton, L., Cauffman, E., & Steinberg, L. (November, 2014). Dispositional factors distinguish latent classes of delinquency and substance use: The moderating role of neighborhood context. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, San Francisco.
- Bruett, L., Drabick, D.A.G., Steinberg, L., Ridenour, T., Reynolds, M., & Tarter, R.E. (November, 2014). Prospective transactional influences of maternal psychological control, child emotion dysregulation, and child internalizing symptoms. Poster presented at the annual meeting of the Association for Behavioral and Cognitive Therapies, Philadelphia, PA.
- Shulman, E., Bechtold, J., Cauffman, E., & Steinberg, L. (May, 2014). Partners in crime: Co-offending in adolescence and early adulthood. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Life History Research Society, Pittsburgh.
- Shulman, E., Monahan, K., & Steinberg, L. (March, 2014). Perceived risks and rewards of crime in adolescence and early adulthood. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "Digging Deeper into Adolescent Risk-Taking: Individual and Contextual Factors," Society for Research on Adolescence, Austin.
- Dmitrieva, J., Gibson, L., Steinberg, L., & Piquero, A. (March, 2014). Predictors and consequences of gang membership: Comparing gang members, gang leaders, and non-gang-affiliated adjudicated youth. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "New Research on Risks, Correlates, and Consequences of Gang-Involvement for Adolescents," Society for Research on Adolescence, Austin.
- Koski, J., Smith, A., Chein, J., Steinberg, L., & Olson, I. (March, 2014). The influence of social status on peer influence and risky decisions. Poster presented at the Society for Research on Adolescence, Austin.
- Hamilton, J., Shulman, E., & Steinberg, L. (March, 2014). Psychosocial maturity as a mechanism linking childhood peer victimization and risky behavior in adolescence. Poster presented at the Society for Research on Adolescence, Austin.
- Seltzer, M., Steinberg, L., & Alloy, L. (March, 2014). Adolescent racial identity: A person-focused analysis of the relationship between stressors and internalizing symptoms. Paper presented at the Anxiety and Depression Association of America, Chicago.

- Potter, C., Steinberg, L., & Harden, P. (November, 2013). "Hooking up" in high school: Implications for future relationship satisfaction and depressive symptoms. Poster presented at the Association for Behavioral and Cognitive Therapies, Nashville.
- Discussant, "Reforming Juvenile Justice: A Developmental Approach, a New Report from the National Research Council." (November, 2013). Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Washington.
- Thornton, L., Ray, J., Frick, P., Kahn, R., Cauffman, E., & Steinberg, L. (June, 2013). The role of callous-unemotional traits in processing decision for first-time offenders. Poster presented at the Society for the Scientific Study of Psychopathy, Washington.
- Discussant, "Examining Peer Influences on Adolescent Health Risk Behaviors: Behavioral Neuroscience, Genetic, and Socio-Contextual Perspectives." (April, 2013). Society for Research in Child Development, Seattle.
- Discussant, "When is Adolescent Decision-Making Risky and Why? Evidence from Behavioral and Neuroimaging Studies." (April, 2013). Society for Research in Child Development, Seattle.
- Cauffman, E., Cavanagh, C., & Steinberg, L. (April, 2013). Family matters: Taking stock of school discipline and arrest. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "The School-to-Prison Pipeline: Pathways Between School, Arrest, and Detention," Society for Research in Child Development, Seattle.
- Benson, L., Kern, M., Steinberg, E., & Steinberg, L. (April, 2013). An integrative approach to studying positive psychological and physical health from adolescence into adulthood. Poster presented at the Society for Research in Child Development, Seattle.
- Bodie, J., Drabick, D., & Steinberg, L. (April, 2013). Risk for antisocial behavior among adolescents and young adults: The mediating role of psychosocial maturity. Poster presented at the Society for Research in Child Development, Seattle.
- Weigard, A., Chein, J., Albert, D., Smith, A., & Steinberg, L. (April, 2013). Effects of peer presence on delay discounting in late adolescents: replication using an anonymous peer paradigm. Poster presented at the Society for Research in Child Development, Seattle.
- Shields, B., Drabick, D., & Steinberg, L. (April, 2013). Impact of anxiety symptoms on the relation between deviant peer behavior and alcohol use among adolescent offenders. Poster presented at the Society for Research in Child Development, Seattle.
- Chair, Paper session entitled "Paper Session: Individual and Contextual Predictors of Adolescent and Early Adulthood Risk Behaviors" (April, 2013). Society for Research in Child Development, Seattle.
- Hampton, A., Drabick, D., & Steinberg, L. (April, 2013). Psychopathy and intelligence: Predictors of juvenile aggressive and income offending during a three-year follow-up period. Paper presented at the Society for Research in Child Development, Seattle.
- Thornton, L., Frick, P., Ray, J., Cauffman, E., & Steinberg, L. (March, 2013). Adolescents with callous unemotional traits and their roles in group crime and non-detected offending. Paper presented at the American Psychology-Law Society, Portland, Oregon.
- Ray, J., Frick, P., Thornton, L., Cauffman, E., & Steinberg, L. (March, 2013). Callous-unemotional traits distinguish subgroups of offenders among a sample of justice involved males: A latent class analysis. Paper presented at the American Psychology-Law Society, Portland, Oregon.
- Cavanagh, C., Cauffman, E., Frick, P., & Steinberg, L. (March, 2013). Like mother, like son: Attitudes and antisocial behavior. Paper presented at the American Psychology-Law Society, Portland, Oregon.
- Thomas, A., Cauffman, E., Frick, P., & Steinberg, L. (March, 2013). Effects of probation officer monitoring on juvenile offending: Influence of justice system attitudes. Paper presented at the American Psychology-Law Society, Portland, Oregon.

- Smith, A., Chein, J., & Steinberg, L. (October, 2012). Peer influences on the integration of reward valuation and impulse control processes during adolescence. Poster presented at the Society for Neuroscience, New Orleans.
- Invited participant, Symposium entitled “Adolescent Culpability and the Supreme Court—Challenges to the Use of Social Science in Advocacy” (August, 2012). American Psychological Association, Orlando.
- Albert, D., Chein, J., Smith, A., Uckert, K., & Steinberg, L. (March, 2012). The future is now: Differences between adolescents and adults in neural and behavioral markers of intertemporal choice evaluation. Poster presented at the Cognitive Neuroscience Society, Chicago.
- Smith, A., Chein, J., Weigard, A., & Steinberg, L. (March, 2012). Influence of peers on the calculation of risk in a probabilistic gambling task. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled “Factors Affecting Susceptibility to Peer Influence on Risky Behavior: The Role of Puberty, Situational Context, and Parenting,” Society for Research on Adolescence, Vancouver.
- Monahan, K., Cauffman, E., Steinberg, L., & Mulvey, E. (March, 2012). Patterns of antisocial behavior from adolescence to early adulthood: The development of psychosocial maturity. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled “Pulling Themselves Up or Getting Dragged Down: Diverse Pathways in Adolescent Risk-Taking,” Society for Research on Adolescence, Vancouver.
- Steinberg, L. (March, 2012). Toward a positive psychology of adolescence. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled “Positive Adolescent Health,” Society for Research on Adolescence, Vancouver.
- Steinberg, E., Kern, M., & Steinberg, L. (March, 2012). Positive psychological well-being as a predictor of adolescents’ physical health. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled “Positive Adolescent Health,” Society for Research on Adolescence, Vancouver.
- Kretsch, N., Polk, R., Harden, K.P., & Steinberg, L. (March, 2012). Peer influence on risky decision-making: The role of pubertal status. Poster presented at the Society for Research on Adolescence, Vancouver.
- Wurster, T., & Steinberg, L. (March, 2012). Gender differences and predictors of romantic conflict in adolescent relationships. Poster presented at the Society for Research on Adolescence, Vancouver.
- Discussant, “Should I Stay or Should I Go? Social Influences on Risk-Taking in Adolescence and Early Adulthood at Neural and Behavioral Levels.” (March, 2012). Society for Research on Adolescence, Vancouver.
- Morrison, A., Heimberg, R., & Steinberg, L. (November, 2011). Voluntary attentional control moderates the development of anxiety in youth. Paper presented at the Association for Behavioral and Cognitive Therapies, Toronto.
- Smith, A., Chein, J., & Steinberg, L. (November, 2011). Developmental differences in reward processing in the presence of peers. Paper presented at the Society for Neuroscience, Washington.
- Monahan, K., Cauffman, E., & Steinberg, L. (April, 2011). Developmental differences in impulse control and antisocial behavior from adolescence to early adulthood. Paper presented as part of a symposium entitled “Individual Differences in Change in Impulsivity-Like Constructs from Childhood into Adolescence: Associations with Risky Behaviors,” Society for Research in Child Development, Montreal.
- Albert, D., Chein, J., Uckert, K., O’Brien, L., & Steinberg, L. (April, 2011). Task-dependent differences in the influence of peers on adolescent decision-making and reward processing. Paper presented as part of a symposium entitled “Self-Regulation During Adolescence: Neurobiological Mechanisms and Clinical Implications,” Society for Research in Child Development, Montreal.

- Keating, D., Houts, R., Morrison, F., & Steinberg, L. (April, 2011). Executive functioning and cognitive outcomes during adolescence. Paper presented as part of a symposium entitled "Executive Functioning, Psychosocial Development, and Adolescent Risk-Taking," Society for Research in Child Development, Montreal.
- Albert, D., & Steinberg, L. (May, 2010). Resistance to peer influence moderates pathways from parental monitoring to early adolescent risk behavior. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "Adolescents at Risk: Examining Variables that Predict Sex, Drug Use, and Self-Injury," Association for Psychological Science, Boston.
- Boessen, A., Hipp, J., Cauffman, E., Fagan, J., & Steinberg, L. Youth transition and neighborhood effects: Residential instability among serious adolescent offenders. (November, 2009). Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "Linking the Micro to the Macro for Understanding Patterns of Crime," American Society for Criminology, Philadelphia.
- Maslowsky, J., Buvinger, E., Keating, D., & Steinberg, L. (March, 2010). Cost/benefit analysis mediation of the relationship between sensation seeking and risk behavior. Paper presented as part of a symposium titled "Why Do Risk Behaviors Increase During Adolescence? New Studies on Individual and Developmental Mechanisms," Society for Research on Adolescence, Philadelphia.
- Keating, D., Houts, E., Steinberg, L., & Morrison, F. (March, 2010). Executive function and adolescent risk behavior in a national sample. Paper presented as part of a symposium titled "Why Do Risk Behaviors Increase During Adolescence? New Studies on Individual and Developmental Mechanisms," Society for Research on Adolescence, Philadelphia.
- Discussant, "Why Do Risk Behaviors Increase During Adolescence? New Studies on Individual and Developmental Mechanisms." (March, 2010). Society for Research on Adolescence, Philadelphia.
- Chair, "Using Propensity Score Matching to Control for Selection Effects in Research on Extracurriculars, Employment, and Media Exposure" (March, 2010). Society for Research on Adolescence, Philadelphia.
- Steinberg, L. (March, 2010). Does Exposure to Sexy Media Lead Adolescents to Have Sex? A Reanalysis and a New Conclusion. Paper presented as part of a symposium titled "Using Propensity Score Matching to Control for Selection Effects in Research on Extracurriculars, Employment, and Media Exposure," Society for Research on Adolescence, Philadelphia.
- Hodgdon, H., & Steinberg, L. (March, 2010). The impact of emotional maltreatment on aggression in a sample of serious juvenile offenders. Poster presented at the Society for Research on Adolescence, Philadelphia.
- O'Brien, L., & Steinberg, L. (March, 2010). Peer influence on delay discounting. Poster presented at the Society for Research on Adolescence, Philadelphia.
- Discussant, "Family and Peer Relations in Adolescence: Insights from Developmental Social Neuroscience." (March, 2010). Society for Research on Adolescence, Philadelphia,
- Chung, H., Mulvey, E., & Steinberg, L. (March, 2010). Neighborhood context and depressive symptoms: A focus on serious juvenile offenders. Paper presented as a part of a symposium titled "Neighborhood Influences on Adolescent Mental Health and Behavior: A Dynamic, Process-Oriented Perspective," Society for Research on Adolescence, Philadelphia, March, 2010.
- Cauffman, E., Boessen, A., Hipp, J., Fagan, J., & Steinberg, L. (March, 2010). The Impact of Residential Instability on Juvenile Offending. Paper presented as a part of a symposium titled "Neighborhood Influences On Adolescent Mental Health and Behavior: A Dynamic, Process-Oriented Perspective," Society for Research on Adolescence, Philadelphia, March, 2010.

- Albert, D., Steinberg, L., & Banich, M. (March, 2010). Age differences in strategic planning as indexed by the Tower of London. Paper presented as part of a symposium titled "Immature, Impetuous, and Imprisoned: Examining the Relation Between Psychosocial Capacities and Antisocial Tendencies," Society for Research on Adolescence, Philadelphia.
- Monahan, K., Steinberg, L., & Cauffman, E. (March, 2009). Age differences in peer selection, peer socialization, and offending: The role of resistance to peer influence. Paper presented at the American Psychology-Law Society, San Antonio.
- Hodgdon, H., & Steinberg, L. (April, 2009). The impact of child maltreatment and emotional regulation on mental health in a sample of juvenile offenders. Paper presented as part of a symposium entitled "Risk Factors for Antisocial Behavior: Gender Differences and Similarities," Society for Research in Child Development, Denver.
- Chein, J., DiSorbo, A., Albert, D., O'Brien, L., Eagan, D., & Steinberg, L. (April, 2009). Neural markers of peer influence on adolescent risk taking. Paper presented as part of a symposium entitled "Neuroimaging Peer Relations in Adolescence: fMRI Studies of Peer Influence, Peer Evaluation, and Social Exclusion," Society for Research in Child Development, Denver.
- Chair, organizer, and discussant, "Neuroimaging Peer Relations in Adolescence: fMRI Studies of Peer Influence, Peer Evaluation, and Social Exclusion." (April, 2009). Society for Research in Child Development, Denver.
- Dmitrieva, J., & Steinberg, L. (April, 2009). Services that work: In search of juvenile justice programs that reduce recidivism. Paper presented as part of a symposium entitled "Improving Functioning of Incarcerated Adolescents: Effectiveness of Formal and Informal Interventions," Society for Research in Child Development, Denver.
- Steinberg, L., & Burchinal, M. (April, 2009). What matters most? Differential impact of early child care versus early parenting on adolescent functioning. Paper presented as part of a symposium entitled "Effects of Early Childcare and Parenting in Adolescence: New Results of The NICHD Study of Early Child Care and Youth Development," Society for Research in Child Development, Denver.
- Vandell, D., Belsky, J., Burchinal, M., & Steinberg, L. (April, 2009). The NICHD Early Child Care Research Network Do Effects of Early Child Care Extend to Age 15 Years? Results from the NICHD Study of Early Child Care. Paper presented as part of a symposium entitled "Effects of Early Childcare and Parenting in Adolescence: New Results of The NICHD Study of Early Child Care and Youth Development," Society for Research in Child Development, Denver.
- Booth-LaForce, C., Roisman, G., Susman, E., Barnett-Walker, K., Owen, M., Belsky, J., Bradley, R., Houts, R., Steinberg, L., & The NICHD Early Child Care Research Network. (April, 2009). Early parenting and child-care antecedents of awakening cortisol levels in adolescence. Paper presented as part of a symposium entitled "Effects of Early Childcare and Parenting in Adolescence: New Results of The NICHD Study of Early Child Care and Youth Development," Society for Research in Child Development, Denver.
- Belsky, J., Steinberg, L., Houts, R., & Halpern-Felsher, B. (April, 2009). The development of reproductive strategy in females: Harsh maternal control, early menarche, increased sexual risk taking. Paper presented as part of a symposium entitled "The Belsky, Steinberg, and Draper Evolutionary Theory of Socialization: Prospects and Pitfalls," Society for Research in Child Development, Denver.
- Albert, D., O'Brien, L., DiSorbo, A., Uckert, K., Eagan, D., Chein, J., & Steinberg, L. (April, 2009). Peer influences on risk taking in young adulthood. Poster presented at the Society for Research in Child Development, Denver.
- O'Brien, L., & Steinberg, L. (April, 2009). Predicting externalizing behavior across middle childhood: The role of planning. Poster presented at the Society for Research in Child Development, Denver.

- Steinberg, L. (April, 2009). A social neuroscience perspective on adolescent risk-taking. Paper presented as part of a symposium entitled "Current Theories of Adolescent Risk Taking," Society for Research in Child Development, Denver.
- Burchinal, M., McCartney, K., & Steinberg, L. (April, 2009). Examining the black-white achievement gap among low-income children in the NICHD Study of Early Child Care. Paper presented as part of a symposium entitled "Early Achievement Disparities by Race/Ethnicity and Social Class: Strengthening our Understanding of Process," Society for Research in Child Development, Denver.
- DiSorbo, A., Albert, D., O'Brien, L., Steinberg, L., & Chein, J. (November, 2008). Adolescent risk-taking: Socio-emotional neural system vulnerability to peer influence. Poster presented at the Society for Neuroscience, Washington.
- Chassin, L., Dmitrieva, J., Knight, G., Modecki, K., Cauffman, E., Steinberg, L., & Losoya, S. (July, 2008). Does adolescent alcohol and marijuana use suppress the development of psychosocial maturity? Paper presented as a part of a workshop entitled "Alcohol Use and Problems over Time: Latent Growth Curve Models in Alcohol Research," Research Society on Alcoholism, Washington.
- Dmitrieva, J., Farruggia, S., Cauffman, E., & Steinberg, L. (March, 2008). A VIP in need is a VIP indeed: The role of very important caring adults in adjustment of juvenile offenders. Paper presented as part of a symposium entitled "Important Non-Parental Adults in the Lives of High-Risk Youth," Society for Research on Adolescence, Chicago.
- Panelist, "SRA from Birth to Maturity: A Roundtable on the First 22 Years." (March, 2008). Society for Research on Adolescence, Chicago.
- Monahan, K., Steinberg, L., Mulvey, E., & Cauffman, E. (March, 2008). Trajectories of offending among serious adolescent offenders. Paper presented as part of a symposium entitled "Trajectories of Problem Behavior from Adolescence Through Adulthood: Evidence from the U.S., New Zealand, and Puerto Rico," Society for Research on Adolescence, Chicago.
- Monahan, K., & Steinberg, L. (March, 2008). The impact of residential transition on antisocial behavior during adolescence. Poster presented at the Society for Research on Adolescence, Chicago.
- Dmitrieva, J., Steinberg, L., & Cauffman, E. (March, 2008). Arrested development: The effects of incarceration experiences on adolescents' development of psychosocial maturity. Paper presented as part of a symposium entitled "Contact with the Juvenile Justice System and Adolescent Psychosocial Adjustment," Society for Research on Adolescence, Chicago.
- Chair, organizer, and discussant, "Neural Underpinnings of Psychosocial Maturity: Cross-National Findings from Three Studies." (March, 2008). Society for Research on Adolescence, Chicago.
- Cauffman, E., Shulman, E., Claus, E., Banich, M., Graham, S., Woolard, J., & Steinberg, L. (March, 2008). Responding to reward versus punishment: How adolescents differ from adults in performance on the Iowa Gambling Task. Paper presented as part of a symposium entitled "Neural Underpinnings of Psychosocial Maturity: Cross-National Findings from Three Studies," Society for Research on Adolescence, Chicago.
- Rankin, L., & Steinberg, L. (March, 2008). Does parenting have enduring effects on patterns of competency and adjustment among serious juvenile offenders? Poster presented at the Society for Research on Adolescence, Chicago.
- Dmitrieva, J., & Steinberg, L. (March, 2008). Adolescent offenders' sense of self-worth: Exaggerated for leaders but low for followers. Poster presented at the Society for Research on Adolescence, Chicago.
- Discussant, "The Brain Bases of Executive Control and Reward Processing in Adolescence" (March, 2008). Society for Research on Adolescence, Chicago.

- Albert, D., Woolard, J., & Steinberg, L. (March, 2008). The development of strategic planning: Age differences on the Tower of London. Poster presented at the Society for Research on Adolescence, Chicago.
- Maslowsky, J., Keating, D., Banich, M., Cauffman, E., Steinberg, L., & Woolard, J. (March, 2008). Reasoned versus reactive risk taking: Unique contributions of impulsivity and risk assessment to adolescent risk behavior. Poster presented at the Society for Research on Adolescence, Chicago.
- Sood, E., & Steinberg, L. (August, 2007). The role of potential protective factors for substance use among early- and non-early-maturing girls. Poster presented at the American Psychological Association, San Francisco.
- Monahan, K., O'Brien, L., Steinberg, L., & Dmitrieva, J. (May, 2007). Impulsivity, anxiety, and offending: the role of context. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "Interaction Effects of Personality Traits and Context on Problem Behaviors: Early Childhood Through Adolescence," American Psychological Society, Washington.
- Monahan, K., Steinberg, L., & Cauffman, E. (March, 2007). Peer groups and deviant behavior: the role of friendship quality and resistance to peer influence. Paper presented as part of a symposium entitled "Peer Relations of Aggressive and Delinquent Youth," Society for Research in Child Development, Boston.
- Goldweber, A., Cauffman, E., Piquero, A., & Steinberg, L. (March, 2007). Peer relationships and offending: what distinguishes group from solo offenders? Paper presented as part of a symposium entitled "Peer Relations of Aggressive and Delinquent Youth," Society for Research in Child Development, Boston.
- Bubier, J., & Steinberg, L. (March, 2007). Psychological adjustment among adolescents: does having friends outside of school make things better or worse? Poster presented at the Society for Research in Child Development, Boston.
- Lee, J., & Steinberg, L. (March, 2007). Ethnic identity and attitudes towards the police among African American juvenile offenders. Poster presented at the Society for Research in Child Development, Boston.
- Monahan, K., & Steinberg, L. (March, 2007). Gainful activity and adolescent offending: The role of employment and school attendance. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "An Evaluation of Biological and Environmental Influences on Trajectories of Externalizing Behaviors Across the Lifespan," Society for Research in Child Development, Boston.
- Hodgdon, H., & Steinberg, L. (March, 2007). The impact of childhood maltreatment on adolescent psychological functioning and the effects of peer support. Poster presented at the Society for Research in Child Development, Boston.
- Belsky, J., Steinberg, L., Houts, R., Friedman, S., DeHart, G., Cauffman, E., et al., (March, 2007). Rearing antecedents of pubertal timing. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "Gene X Environment Interaction and Differential Susceptibility: Promising Avenues for the Study of Child Development," Society for Research in Child Development, Boston.
- Blatt-Eisengart, I. & Steinberg, L. (November, 2006). Sex differences in the longitudinal relations among risk and protective factors and adolescent antisocial behavior. Poster presented at the Association for Cognitive and Behavioral Therapies, Chicago.
- Steinberg, L. (August, 2006). How developmental science informs decisions about juvenile justice policy and practice. Paper presented as a part of an invited symposium entitled "Developmental Science: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Understanding Development," American Psychological Association, New Orleans.
- Testa, C., & Steinberg, L. (August, 2006). Depression and health risk-taking during adolescence. Poster presented at the American Psychological Association, New Orleans.

- Keyser, J., & Steinberg, L. (August, 2006). Impact of ethnicity, socio-economic status, sexual attraction, and family structure on dieting among adolescent girls. Poster presented at the American Psychological Association, New Orleans.
- Chair, "The MacArthur Juvenile Capacity Study: A New Approach to the Study of Adolescent Cognitive Development." (March, 2006). Society for Research on Adolescence, San Francisco.
- Steinberg, L. (March, 2006). A new approach to the study of adolescent cognitive development. Paper presented as part of a symposium entitled "The MacArthur Juvenile Capacity Study: A New Approach to the Study of Adolescent Cognitive Development," Society for Research on Adolescence, San Francisco.
- Graham, S., & Steinberg, L. (March, 2006). Age differences in future orientation. Paper presented as part of a symposium entitled "The MacArthur Juvenile Capacity Study: A New Approach to the Study of Adolescent Cognitive Development," Society for Research on Adolescence, San Francisco.
- Discussant, "Transactional Relations between Adolescents and Parents: Who Influences Whom?" (March, 2006). Society for Research on Adolescence, San Francisco.
- Discussant, "Parent-Adolescent Relations and Adolescent Internalizing and Externalizing Behaviors." (March, 2006). Society for Research on Adolescence, San Francisco.
- Von Bank, H., Brown, B., & Steinberg, L. (March, 2006). Does awareness of peer crowd affiliation affect self-concept and well-being? a longitudinal, symbolic interactionist study. Paper presented as part of a symposium entitled "Peer Groups, Crowds, and the Social Network: The Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Peer Relationships," Society for Research on Adolescence, San Francisco.
- Testa, C., & Steinberg, L. (March, 2006). Overweight adolescents' struggle to lose: outcomes of dieting and exercise. Poster presented at the Society for Research on Adolescence, San Francisco.
- Wilson, K., Lee, J., & Steinberg, L. (March, 2006). Adolescent sexual activity: links between relational context and depression. Poster presented at the Society for Research on Adolescence, San Francisco, March, 2006.
- Wilson, K., Steinberg, L., & Alloy, L. (March, 2006). A test of the hopelessness theory of depression in adolescence. Poster presented at the Society for Research on Adolescence, San Francisco.
- Blatt-Eisengart, I., Drabick, D., & Steinberg, L. (March, 2006). Sex differences in the longitudinal relations among family risk factors and preadolescent externalizing symptoms. Poster presented at the Society for Research on Adolescence, San Francisco.
- Piquero, A., Fagan, J., Mulvey, E., Steinberg, L., & Odgers, C. (November, 2005). Developmental Trajectories of legal socialization among serious adolescent offenders. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "Legitimacy, Procedural Justice, and Compliance," American Society of Criminology, Toronto.
- Steinberg, L. (August, 2005). Between and rock and a soft place: Developmental research and the child advocacy process. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "Psychology and Children: Translating Research into Better Policy and Services," American Psychological Association, Washington.
- Discussant, "The Unintended Consequences of Social Policy on Youth Development." (April, 2005). Society for Research in Child Development, Atlanta.
- Discussant, "Environmental Chaos and Children's Development: Expanding the Boundaries of Chaos." (April, 2005). Society for Research in Child Development, Atlanta.
- Chung, H., Little, M., & Steinberg, L. (November, 2004). The transition to adulthood for juvenile offenders: A developmental perspective. Paper presented as part of symposium entitled "On Your Own Without a Net: The Transition to Adulthood for Youth Involved in the Justice System," American Criminological Society, Nashville.

- Piquero, A., Cauffman, E., Mulvey, E., & Steinberg, L. (November, 2004). Predicting disposition among serious juvenile offenders: Who gets locked up? Paper presented as part of symposium entitled "New Findings from the Pathways to Desistance Study," American Criminological Society, Nashville.
- Gardner, M., Steinberg, L., & Garrett, R. (April, 2004). Risk-Taking Across Three Age Groups: The Role of Susceptibility to Peer Influence. Poster presented at the Conference on Human Development, Washington.
- Cauffman, E., Schubert, C., & Steinberg, L. (March, 2004). Romantic relationships among serious adolescent offenders: Gender similarities and differences. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "Improving Our Understanding of Female Offending," American Psychology-Law Society, Scottsdale, Arizona.
- Cauffman, E., Piquero, A., Mulvey, E., & Steinberg, L. (March, 2004). Predicting disposition among serious juvenile offenders: Who gets locked up? Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "Sanctions and Services for Serious Juvenile Offenders: Findings from the Pathways to Desistance Study," American Psychology-Law Society, Scottsdale, Arizona.
- Participant, invited conversation hour, "Human Subjects Issues in Research with Adolescents," Society for Research on Adolescence, Baltimore, March, 2004.
- Chair and organizer, "Predictors of Re-Offending in a Sample of Serious Juvenile Offenders," (March, 2004). Society for Research on Adolescence, Baltimore.
- Cauffman, E., & Steinberg, L. (March, 2004). Psychosocial maturity and recidivism among adolescent offenders. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "Predictors of Re-Offending in a Sample of Serious Juvenile Offenders," Society for Research on Adolescence, Baltimore.
- Steinberg, L., & Chung, H. (April, 2003). Variations in patterns of offending: The impact of family and neighborhood. Paper presented as part of a symposium entitled "The Psychological Development of Serious Juvenile Offenders: The MacArthur Study of Pathways to Desistance," Society for Research in Child Development, Tampa, Florida.
- Discussant, "Adolescent Decision Making and Drug Abuse." (April, 2003). Society for Research in Child Development, Tampa, Florida.
- Steinberg, L. (November, 2002). Familial and neighborhood correlates of serious juvenile offending. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "Serious Juvenile Offending," American Society of Criminology, Chicago.
- Chair, "Juveniles' Competence to Stand Trial: The MacArthur Study." (August, 2002). American Psychological Association, Chicago.
- Steinberg, L. (August, 2002). Age differences in capacities underlying competence to stand trial. Paper presented as part of a symposium entitled "Juveniles' Competence to Stand Trial: The MacArthur Study," American Psychological Association, Chicago.
- Chair, "Adolescents' Competence to Stand Trial as Adults: The MacArthur Juvenile Competence Study." Society for Research on Adolescence, New Orleans, April, 2002.
- Steinberg, L. (April, 2002). Age differences in capacities underlying competence to stand trial. Paper presented as part of a symposium entitled "Juveniles' Competence to Stand Trial," Society for Research on Adolescence, New Orleans.
- Discussant, "Emotion Regulation in Adolescence." (April, 2002). Society for Research on Adolescence, New Orleans.
- Invited presenter, symposium entitled "What is the Meaning of Good Science in the Field of Adolescent Development?" (April, 2002). Society for Research on Adolescence, New Orleans.
- Steinberg, L. (March, 2002). Age differences in capacities underlying competence to stand trial. Paper presented as part of a symposium entitled "Juveniles' Competence to Stand Trial," American Psychology and Law Society, Austin, Texas.

- Steinberg, L. (March, 2002). The juvenile psychopath: Fads, fictions, and facts. Paper presented as part of a symposium entitled "Recent Research and Legal Developments on Juvenile Psychopathy," American Psychology and Law Society, Austin, Texas.
- Discussant, symposium entitled "Gender, Mental Disorder, and Juvenile Justice." (November, 2001). American Society of Criminology, Atlanta.
- Chair, "A New Framework for Studying Adolescent Development and Psychopathology." (April, 2001). Society for Research in Child Development, Minneapolis.
- Discussant, "Pathways to Parental Knowledge: Monitoring Research in the 21st Century." (April, 2001). Society for Research in Child Development, Minneapolis.
- Discussant, "The Impact of Exposure to Community Violence On Children and Youth: Fact or Fluke." (April, 2001). Society for Research in Child Development, Minneapolis.
- Discussant, "Assessment of Psychopathy Among Adolescents and Adults: Developmental and Legal Implications." (November, 2000). American Criminological Society, San Francisco.
- Steinberg, L., & Cauffman, E. (March, 2000). A developmental perspective on the commission, investigation, and judgment of adolescent crime. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled, "Justice for Juveniles: Factors Relating to the Commission, the Investigation, and the Judgment of Adolescent Crime," American Psychology and Law Society, New Orleans.
- Discussant, "Autonomy during Adolescence: Developmental Processes in Diverse Contexts." (March, 2000). Society for Research on Adolescence, Chicago.
- Organizer and chair, "Lethal Violence in American Schools: Rhetoric, Reality, and Rational Responses." (November, 1999). American Society of Criminology, Toronto.
- Steinberg, L., & Cauffman, E. (November, 1999). A developmental perspective on school violence. Paper presented as a part of an invited symposium entitled "Lethal Violence in American Schools: Rhetoric, Reality, and Rational Responses," American Society of Criminology, Toronto.
- Steinberg, L. (July, 1999). A developmental perspective on the transfer of adolescents to adult court. Paper presented as a part of an invited symposium entitled "Separating the Men from the Boys: Thresholds for Criminal Punishment of Adolescent Offenders," American Psychology and Law Society and the European Psychology and Law Society, Dublin.
- Discussant, "Methodological Challenges in Research with Racial and Ethnic Minority Populations: The Unspoken Issues." (April, 1999). Society for Research in Child Development, Albuquerque.
- Steinberg, L. (April, 1999). Should juvenile offenders be tried as adults? A developmental perspective on changing legal policies. Paper presented as a part of an invited symposium entitled "The Changing Landscape for Children: Important Issues as We Enter the Millennium," Society for Research in Child Development, Albuquerque.
- Chair and organizer, "Should Violent Juvenile Offenders Be Tried as Adults?" (February, 1998). Society for Research on Adolescence, San Diego.
- Steinberg, L., Avenevoli, S., & Hecker, T. (March, 1998). Developmental perspectives on waiver of adolescents to adult court. Paper presented as part of an invited symposium entitled, "Should Violent Juvenile Offenders Be Tried as Adults?" Society for Research on Adolescence, San Diego.
- Invited participant, "Healthy Sexuality in Adolescence." (February, 1998). Society for Research on Adolescence, San Diego.
- Discussant, "Adolescence and the Law: Developmental Perspectives." (April, 1997). Society for Research on Child Development, Washington,
- Discussant, "Children's Perspectives on the Family System." (April, 1997). Society for Research on Child Development, Washington.

- Steinberg, L. & Avenevoli, S. (June, 1996). Disengagement from school and problem behavior in adolescence: A developmental-contextual analysis of the influences of family and part-time work. Conference on New Perspectives on Adolescent Risk Behavior, UCLA, Los Angeles.
- Steinberg, L., and Greene, M. (March, 1996). Is 'Americanization' bad for adolescents' achievement and mental health? Paper presented as a part of a symposium on "The Development of Immigrant Adolescents," Society for Research on Adolescence, Boston.
- Invited participant, "Conceptual and Methodological Issues in Research on Parenting." (March, 1996). Society for Research on Adolescence, Boston, March, 1996.
- Steinberg, L., & Cauffman, E. (September, 1995). Adolescent development and adolescent decision-making. Temple University Law School Conference on Children's Rights, Philadelphia. Discussant, "Developmental Processes: Similar or Different Across Ethnic and Racial Groups?" (March, 1995). Society for Research in Child Development, Indianapolis.
- Cauffman, E., & Steinberg, L. (March, 1995). Moderating effects of neighborhood parenting on family socialization processes. Paper presented as part of a symposium entitled "Community Effects on Adolescent Development: New Approaches to the Study of Neighborhoods and Their Impact," Society for Research in Child Development, Indianapolis.
- Chair and organizer, "Community Effects on Adolescent Development: New Approaches to the Study of Neighborhoods and Their Impact." (March, 1995). Society for Research in Child Development, Indianapolis.
- Fletcher, A., & Steinberg, L. (February, 1994). Generational status and country of origin as influences on the psychological adjustment of Asian-American adolescents. Paper presented as part of a symposium entitled "Psychosocial Adjustment of Asian-American Adolescents," Society for Research on Adolescence, San Diego.
- Participant, "Roundtable Discussion on Parent-Peer Linkages in Adolescence." (February, 1994). Society for Research on Adolescence, San Diego.
- Participant, "Roundtable Discussion on Adolescent Sexuality." (February, 1994). Society for Research on Adolescence, San Diego.
- Lamborn, S., Steinberg, L., Darling, N., Mounts, N., & Dornbusch, S. (April, 1993). Adolescents' perceptions of parenting styles: Short-term longitudinal implications for adjustment. Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association, Atlanta.
- Steinberg, L., Fletcher, A., & Darling, N. (March, 1993). Influence of parental authoritativeness in the adolescent's peer network on adolescent misconduct. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "Interactive Influences of Parents and Peers on Adolescent Misbehavior," Society for Research in Child Development, New Orleans.
- Darling, N., Steinberg, L., & Gringlas, M. (March, 1993). Community integration and value consensus as forces for adolescent socialization: A Test of the Coleman and Hoffer hypothesis. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "Community and Neighborhood Influences on Adolescent Behavior," Society for Research in Child Development, New Orleans.
- Fletcher, A., Darling, N., & Steinberg, L. (May, 1992). Parenting practices as moderators of peer influence on adolescent deviance. Paper presented at the Society for Life History Research, Philadelphia.
- Discussant, PRIDE Conference on the Impact of Social Context on Early Adolescent Trajectories (October, 1992). Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA.
- Discussant, "Psychosocial Antecedents of the Timing of Puberty." (March, 1992). Society for Research on Adolescence, Washington.

- Steinberg, L., & Lamborn, S. (March, 1992). Autonomy redux: Adolescent adjustment as a joint function of emotional autonomy and relationship security. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "Adolescent Autonomy: Is It All It's Cracked Up To Be?" Society for Research on Adolescence, Washington.
- Steinberg, L., & Weinmann, L. (July, 1991). Adolescent adjustment as a function of timing of parental divorce and remarriage. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "Adolescents and Divorce: International Perspectives from Longitudinal Research," International Society for the Study of Behavioural Development, Minneapolis.
- Steinberg, L., & Darling, N. (May, 1991). The broader context of social influence in adolescence. Paper presented at an international conference on "The Development of Motivational Systems in Adolescence: Interindividual Differences and Contextual Factors in Interaction," German Research Foundation and the University of Geissen, Schloss Rauischholzhausen, Germany.
- Steinberg, L., Mounts, N., Lamborn, S., & Brown, B. (April, 1991). Authoritative parenting and adolescent adjustment across varied ecological niches. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "Authoritative Parenting and Adolescent Adjustment," Society for Research in Child Development, Seattle.
- Mounts, N., Brown, B., Lamborn, S., & Steinberg, L. (April, 1991). Parenting style and crowd membership: Contributions to adolescent development. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "From Family to Peer: Family Influences on Peer Relations from Early Childhood through Adolescence," Society for Research in Child Development, Seattle.
- Chair and organizer, "Social Influences on Maturational Timing." (March, 1990). Society for Research on Adolescence, Atlanta.
- Belsky, J., & Steinberg, L. (March, 1990). Toward a biosocial theory of pubertal timing. Paper presented as part of a symposium entitled "Social Influences on Maturational Timing," Society for Research on Adolescence, Atlanta.
- Dornbusch, S., Steinberg, L., & Ritter, P. (March, 1990). Ethnic differences in beliefs about the value of school success: An empirical assessment of Ogbu's hypothesis. Paper presented as part of a symposium entitled "Ethnic Variations in Adolescent Experience," Society for Research on Adolescence, Atlanta.
- Brown, B., Steinberg, L., Mounts, N., & Philipp, M. (March, 1990). The comparative influence of peers and parents on high school achievement: Ethnic differences. Paper presented as part of a symposium entitled "Ethnic Variations in Adolescent Experience," Society for Research on Adolescence, Atlanta.
- Bogensneider, K., & Steinberg, L. (August, 1989). Maternal employment and adolescent achievement: A process model. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "Maternal Employment and Child Outcomes: New Perspectives on 'Process' Issues," American Psychological Association, New Orleans.
- Speaker, John P. Hill Memorial Symposium. (April, 1989). Society for Research in Child Development, Kansas City.
- Mounts, N., Lamborn, S., & Steinberg, L. (April, 1989). Relations between family process and school achievement in different ethnic contexts. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "Ethnic Comparisons of Parent and Peer Influences on Adolescent Development," Society for Research in Child Development, Kansas City.
- Steinberg, L. (March, 1989). Parenting adolescent achievers: When families make a difference (and when they don't). Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "The Ecology of Student Achievement in High Schools: Noninstructional Influences," American Educational Research Association, San Francisco.
- Steinberg, L., & Brown, B. (March, 1989). Beyond the classroom: Family and peer influences on high school achievement. Invited paper presented to the Families as Educators special interest group, American Educational Research Association, San Francisco.

- Lamborn, S., Brown, B., & Steinberg, L. (March, 1989). The social contexts of adolescence: Influences on student engagement. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "Student Engagement in High Schools," American Educational Research Association, San Francisco.
- Discussant, "Hormone Contributions to Adolescent Behavior." (March, 1988). Society for Research on Adolescence, Alexandria, Virginia,
- Steinberg, L., & Elmen, J. (March, 1988). Authoritative parenting and school success. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "Noninstructional Influences on Adolescents' School Achievement: An Ecological Approach," Society for Research on Adolescence, Alexandria, Virginia.
- Elmen, J., & Steinberg, L. (March, 1988). Achievement orientation in early adolescence: Social correlates and developmental patterns. Paper presented at the Society for Research on Adolescence, Alexandria, Virginia.
- Steinberg, L. (November, 1987). Reciprocal relation between marital happiness and child development among midlife parents of teenagers. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "Marriage, Parenting, and Child Development: Reciprocal Relationships," National Council on Family Relations, Atlanta.
- Steinberg, L. (April, 1987). Pubertal status, hormonal levels, and family relations: The distancing hypothesis. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "Hormone Status at Puberty: Consequences for Adolescents and Their Families," Society for Research in Child Development, Baltimore.
- Steinberg, L. (April, 1987). Emotional autonomy, parental permissiveness, and adolescents' susceptibility to antisocial peer pressure. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "Family and Peer Influences on Adolescent Problem Behavior," Society for Research in Child Development, Baltimore.
- Steinberg, L. (March, 1986). Recent research in adolescent development. Invited workshop, Society for Adolescent Medicine, Boston.
- Silverberg, S., & Steinberg, L. (March, 1986). Adolescent individuation and adult identity. Paper presented at the Society for Research on Adolescence, Madison, Wisconsin.
- Steinberg, L., & Silverberg, S. (August, 1985). Emotional autonomy during early adolescence. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "Family Factors in Adolescent Development: Recent Research," American Psychological Association, Los Angeles.
- Steinberg, L., & Greenberger, E. (July, 1985). The changing ecology of adolescent development. Invited presentation as a part of a symposium entitled "Adolescent Development in Context," International Society for the Study of Behavioural Development, Tours, France.
- Co-organizer, "Youth Employment and Unemployment." (July, 1985). International Society for the Study of Behavioural Development, Tours, France,
- Steinberg, L. (April, 1985). Emotional autonomy in early adolescence. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "Parent-Child Relations in the Transition to Adolescence: Family Adaptations to Developmental Change," Society for Research in Child Development, Toronto.
- Steinberg, L. (March, 1985). The ABCs of transformations in family relations at adolescence: Changes in affect, behavior, and cognition. Paper presented at the Third Biennial Conference on Adolescence Research, Tucson.
- Greenberger, E., & Steinberg, L. (August, 1981). Part-time employment of youth during high school. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "Youth and Work in Cross-Cultural Perspective," American Anthropological Association, Los Angeles.
- Greenberger, E., & Steinberg, L. (August, 1981). The workplace as a context for the socialization of youth. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Los Angeles.

- Chair, "Working: Effects of Early Work Experience on Adolescent Development." (April, 1981). Society for Research in Child Development, Boston.
- Steinberg, L., Catalano, R., & Dooley, D. (April, 1981). Economic antecedents of child maltreatment. Paper presented at the Society for Research in Child Development, Boston.
- Steinberg, L., & Greenberger, E. (April, 1981). Is work experience valuable? Some unanswered questions. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "Evaluating School-to-Work Transition Models," American Educational Research Association, Los Angeles.
- Steinberg, L., Greenberger, E., & Garduque, L. (August, 1980). Adolescent learning and intellectual development: The contribution of work. Paper presented at the American Psychological Association, Montreal.
- Greenberger, E., Steinberg, L., & Vaux, A. (April, 1980). Adolescents in the workplace: Effects of part-time employment on family and peer relations. Paper presented at the Western Psychological Association, Honolulu.
- Steinberg, L., Greenberger, E., & Garduque, L. (April, 1980). Part-time employment during adolescence: Costs and benefits to schooling and learning. Paper presented at the Western Psychological Association, Honolulu.
- Discussant, "Symposium on Maternal Stress" (April, 1980). Western Psychological Association, Honolulu.
- Steinberg, L., & Greenberger, E. (June, 1979). Continuities and discontinuities in occupational development: The nature and effects of early adolescent work. Paper presented at the International Society for the Study of Behavioural Development, Lund, Sweden.
- Steinberg, L., & Greenberger, E. (April, 1979). Part-time employment during high school: Some costs and benefits to schooling and learning. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "*Youth: Transition to Adulthood* Reconsidered: The Place of Work in the Education of Adolescents," at the American Educational Research Association, Boston.
- Steinberg, L. (April, 1979). Changes in family relations at puberty. Paper presented as a part of a symposium entitled "Psychological Correlates of Pubertal Changes," Society for Research in Child Development, San Francisco.
- Steinberg, L., & Green, C. (April, 1979). How parents may mediate the effects of day care. Paper presented at the Society for Research in Child Development, San Francisco.
- Steinberg, L. (March, 1978). Changes in family relationships at adolescence: A developmental perspective. Paper presented at the Arizona Symposium on Families and Adolescents, Tucson.
- Steinberg, L. (August, 1977). Research in the ecology of adolescent development: A longitudinal study of the impact of physical maturation on changes in the family system in early adolescence. Paper presented at the Foundation for Child Development conference on Research Perspectives in the Ecology of Human Development, Ithaca, New York.
- Steinberg, L., & Hill, J. (April, 1977). Family interaction in early adolescence. Paper presented at the Society for Research in Child Development, New Orleans.
- Gubman, E., & Steinberg, L. (March, 1976). Regarding research: Ask any grandmother. Paper presented at the Groves Conference on Marriage and the Family, Kansas City, Missouri.

TEACHING

Undergraduate and Graduate Courses Taught

Cornell University (1976-77)
Adolescence and Adulthood
Adolescence in Modern Society

University of California, Irvine (1977-83)
Introduction to Human Behavior
Human Development Over the Life-Cycle
Abnormal Behavior
Adolescent Development
Perspectives on Child Rearing
Seminar in Human Development (Graduate)

University of Wisconsin--Madison (1983-88)
Development from Middle Childhood to Late Adulthood
Adolescent Development in Social Context
Adolescence, Family, and Work (Graduate)
Adolescence and the Family (Graduate)
The Family at Mid-Life (Graduate)
Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Adolescent Development (Graduate)

Temple University (1988-)
Introduction to Psychology (Developmental Psychology Unit)
Developmental Research Methods
Adolescent Development
Capstone Course in Psychology
Core Course in Developmental Psychology (Graduate)
Developmental Research Methods (Graduate)
Seminar in Socioemotional Development (Graduate)
Seminar in Adolescent Development (Graduate)
Seminar in Developmental Psychopathology (Graduate)
Seminar in Neuroscience and the Law (Graduate)

Supervision of Master's Students (Committee Chair/Thesis Advisor)

Raymond Aguilar (1980). "Value Systems, Attitudes, and the Effects of Job Experiences: A Comparison Between Mexican-American and Anglo-American Youngsters." Program in Social Ecology, University of California, Irvine.

Deborah Ogawa (1980). "Environmental Correlates of Classroom Aggression." Program in Social Ecology, University of California, Irvine.

Pamela Adelman (1982). "Achievement Attributions and Sex-Role Stereotypes." Program in Social Ecology, University of California, Irvine.

Christine Jackson (1984). "Measurement of Coronary Prone Behavior in Children." Program in Social Ecology, University of California, Irvine.

Ronald Saletsky (1986). "Adolescent Decision-Making Autonomy and Parent-Adolescent Conflict." Department of Child and Family Studies, University of Wisconsin--Madison.

- Dorian Schattell (1986). "Child Development Knowledge and Punitiveness in College Students." Department of Child and Family Studies, University of Wisconsin--Madison.
- Layli Phillips (1990). "Ethnic Identity and Adjustment in Adolescence." Department of Psychology, The Pennsylvania State University.
- He Len Chung (2000). "Investigating Violent and Nonviolent Criminal Offending Across Gender: Pre/Perinatal Disturbances and Familial Factors as Predictors." Department of Psychology, Temple University.
- Lori Siegel (2000). "The Utility of a Checklist Versus the PACE/LEDS Interview in the Prediction of Children's Behavioral and Emotional Problems." Department of Psychology, Temple University.
- Jennifer Silk (2000). "The Interaction Between Parenting and Temperament in the Prediction of Child Psychopathology: A Replication Using the Child's Perspective." Department of Psychology, Temple University.
- Jessica Keyser (2006). "The Impact of Ethnicity, Socioeconomic Status, Sexual Attraction, and Family Structure on Dieting Among Adolescent Girls in the Add Health Study." Department of Psychology, Temple University.
- Hilary Hodgdon (2006). "The Impact of Childhood Sexual Abuse, Physical Abuse, and Neglect on Adolescent Psychological Functioning and the Effects of Supportive Peer Relationships." Department of Psychology, Temple University.
- Cheryl Testa (2006). "Depression and Health Risk-Taking During Adolescence." Department of Psychology, Temple University.

Supervision of Doctoral Students (Committee Chair/Dissertation Advisor)

- Susan (Silverberg) Koerner (1986). "Psychological Well-Being of Parents with Early Adolescent Children." Dept. of Child and Family Studies, University of Wisconsin--Madison.
- Marguerite Clark (1987). "Patterns of Friendship among Middle-Aged Adults." School of Social Sciences, University of California, Irvine.
- David Norton (1988). "Adolescent Autonomy and Family Cohesion During Early Adolescence." Department of Child and Family Studies, University of Wisconsin--Madison.
- Julie Elmen (1988). "Achievement Orientation in Early Adolescence: Social Correlates and Developmental Patterns." Department of Child and Family Studies, University of Wisconsin—Madison.
- Karen Bogenschneider (1990). "Maternal Employment and High School Achievement: Mediators, Moderators, and Developmental Effects." Department of Child and Family Studies, University of Wisconsin--Madison.
- Nina Mounts (1990). "Peer Influence in Adolescence: An Ecological Approach." Department of Child and Family Studies, University of Wisconsin--Madison.
- Lance Weinmann (1991). "Patterns of Change in Middle Adolescent Adjustment: The Role of Relationships with Parents and Peers." Department of Psychology, Temple University. (Winner of the 1991 Georgoudi Dissertation Prize given by the Temple University Department of Psychology.)
- Frances Sessa (1991). "Family Structure, Parenting, and Adolescent Adjustment." Department of Psychology, Temple University.
- Marcy Gringlas (1994). "Parent-Adolescent Interaction in Homes of Depressed Mothers." Department of Psychology, Temple University.
- Aaron Hogue (1994). "Peer Influences on Adolescent Depression." Department of Psychology, Temple University.

Layli Phillips (1994). "Psychological Adjustment and Identity Development Among Biethnic Adolescents." Department of Psychology, Temple University.

- Anne Fletcher (1994). "Psychosocial Influences on Academic Success of African-American Adolescents." Department of Psychology, Temple University.
- Doris Sasse (1995). "Personality Features, Familial Characteristics, Heterosocial Relations, and Body Fat as Risk Factors for Eating Disorder Symptoms in Early Adolescence: A Causal Modeling Analysis." Department of Psychology, Temple University.
- Audrey Gennes (1996). "Homophily of Disordered Eating in Middle School Peer Groups." Department of Psychology, Temple University.
- Elizabeth Cauffman (1996). "Maturity of Judgment in Adolescence: Psychosocial Factors in Adolescent Decision-Making." Department of Psychology, Temple University.
- Mitchell Greene (1997). "Psychological Adjustment of Hispanic-American Adolescents." Department of Psychology, Temple University.
- Suzanne Fegley (1997). "False Self Presentation in Early Adolescence." Department of Psychology, Temple University.
- Michele Reimer (1997). "The Development of Shame in Early Adolescence." Department of Psychology, Temple University. (Winner of the 1997 Page Award for Research on Personality and Psychopathology and the 1997 Georgoudi Dissertation Prize, both given by the Temple University Department of Psychology.)
- Victoria Green (1997). "Maternal Employment and Adolescent Adjustment." Department of Psychology, Temple University.
- Jennifer Shukat Rosenau (1998). "Familial Antecedents of Academic Difficulties Among Disadvantaged High School Youth." Department of Psychology, Temple University.
- Shelli Avenevoli (1998). "The Continuity of Depression from Childhood to Adolescence." Department of Psychology, Temple University.
- Thomas Hecker (1998). "Uses of Mental Health Evaluations in the Juvenile Justice System." Department of Psychology, Temple University. (Winner of the 1998 Georgoudi Dissertation Prize given by the Temple University Department of Psychology.)
- Amanda Sheffield Morris (2000). "Familial Influences on Emotion Regulation in Early Childhood." Department of Psychology, Temple University. (Winner of the 2000 Georgoudi Dissertation Prize given by the Temple University Department of Psychology.)
- Marjory Roberts Gray (2001). "Development of Romantic Relationships in Adolescence." Department of Psychology, Temple University.
- Michael Fraser (2001). "An Examination of the Specificity of the Link Between Stress and Disorder Using the Adolescent Life Events and Difficulties Schedule." Department of Psychology, Temple University.
- Amy Sugarman (2001). "Peer Influences on Adolescent Girls' Eating Behavior and Attitudes: A Grounded Theory Approach." Department of Psychology, Temple University.
- Jennifer Silk (2002). "Emotion Regulation in the Daily Lives of Adolescents: Links to Adolescent Adjustment." Department of Psychology, Temple University. (Winner of the 2002 Georgoudi Dissertation Prize given by the Temple University Department of Psychology and runner-up for the 2004 Hershel Thornburg Dissertation Award given by the Society for Research on Adolescence.)
- He Len Chung (2004). "Family, Peer, and Neighborhood Influences on Desistance Among Serious Juvenile Offenders." Department of Psychology, Temple University.
- Lori Siegel (2004). "Peer Relationships and Depression in Adolescence." Department of Psychology, Temple University.
- Margo Noel Gardner (2005). "A Typology of Serious Juvenile Offenders." Department of Psychology, Temple University. (Winner of the 2006 Hershel Thornburg Dissertation Award given by the Society for Research on Adolescence.)

- Michelle Little (2005). "Formal Legal Sanctions and Adolescent Social Development: Social Disruption and Iatrogenic Influence within Secure Juvenile Settings." Department of Psychology, Temple University.
- Joanna Lee (2008). "Black Youth and The Boys in Blue: Associations Between Police Treatment, Mental Health and Ethnic Identity In African American Juvenile Offenders." Department of Psychology, Temple University.
- Kathryn Monahan (2008). "The Development of Social Competence from Early Childhood Through Middle Adolescence: Continuity and Accentuation of Individual Differences Over Time." Department of Psychology, Temple University. (Winner of the 2010 Dissertation Award from Division 7 of the American Psychological Association.)
- Hilary Hodgdon (2009). "Child Maltreatment and Aggression: The Mediating Role of Moral Disengagement, Emotion Regulation, and Emotional Callousness among Juvenile Offenders." Department of Psychology, Temple University.
- Dustin Albert (2011). "Neurodevelopmental Substrates of Peer Influences on Adolescents' Choice Evaluation and Decision Making." Department of Psychology, Temple University.
- Ashley Smith (2015). "Development of the Anterior Insula: Implications for Adolescent Risk-Taking. Department of Psychology, Temple University (Co-chair with Jason Chein).

Supervision of Postdoctoral Fellows

- Susie Lamborn, Ph.D. (University of Wisconsin, 1986-1989)
- Nancy Darling, Ph.D. (Temple University, 1990-1993)
- Frances Sessa, Ph.D. (Temple University, 1995-1998)
- Joanna Lapkin, Ph.D. (Temple University, 1996-1998)
- Thomas Hecker, Ph.D. (Temple University, 1999-2003)
- Lela Rankin, Ph.D. (Temple University, 2006-2008)
- Julia Dmitreva, Ph.D. (Temple University, 2006-2008)
- Nicole Strang, Ph.D. (Temple University, 2011-2013)
- Elizabeth Shulman, Ph.D. (Temple University, 2012-14)

UNIVERSITY-LEVEL SERVICE

*University of
California, Irvine*
Committee on
Courses (1982-83)

University of Wisconsin--Madison (1983-88)
Executive Committee, Institute on Aging (1983-86)
University Senate (1984-86)
Chancellor's Search Committee for Dean of the School of Family Resources and
Consumer Sciences
(1984-85)
Vice-Chancellor's Committee to Review Child and Family Studies Doctoral Program
(1985-86)
Graduate School Research Committee (1986-88)

Temple University (1988-)
Invited Participant, Faculty Senate Forum on the Future of Temple University (1991)
College of Arts and Sciences Committee on Interdisciplinary Activities (1991-92)
Director, Division of Developmental Psychology, Department of Psychology (1991-
94)
Chair, Personnel Committee, Department of Psychology (1992-93, 1995-96, 2005-06)
Awards Committee, College of Arts and Sciences (1993-96) (Chair, 1994-95)
Provost's Committee on Strategic Planning for Girard College (1994)
Executive Committee, College of Arts and Sciences (1994-96)
Chair, Graduate Board, Department of Psychology (1994-99, 2001-07)
Great Teachers Award Committee (1995-97)
Graduate Committee, College of Arts and Sciences (1996-97)
Provost's Academic Planning Priorities Committee (1996-97)
University Affirmative Action Committee (1997-99)
Presentation of Camille Cosby for honorary degree at commencement (1997)
Commencement Address, President's Scholars Commencement (1998)
Exceptional Salary Adjustment Award Committee (1999-)
Commencement Marshal (1999-2002)
Research Policies Advisory Committee, College of Liberal Arts (2001)
Symposium Planning Committee, Center for Public Policy (2001)
Search Committee for Vice-President for Research and Dean of the Graduate School
(2001-02)
Internal Research Advisory Committee of the Vice-Provost for Research (2001-04)
Co-Chair, Million Dollar Club (2004-05)
Graduate Committee, College of Liberal Arts (2005-06)
Search Committee for Vice President for Research and Strategic Planning (2007)
Budget Priorities Committee, College of Liberal Arts (2008-2011)
Chair, Provost's Research Review Committee (2009-)
Search Committee for Senior Vice-Provost for Research Administration and Graduate
Education (2009-
10)
Ad hoc Committee on Graduate Education, College of Liberal Arts (2015)