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Examining Life in the Juvenile Justice System: A Qualitative Approach Employing Life History Interviews and Reflexivity

presented by

Stephen A. Kapp

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in **Social Work**

Lena D Harold
Major professor

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By

Stephen A. Kapp

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ABSTRACT

EXAMINING LIFE IN THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM: A QUALITATIVE APPROACH EMPLOYING LIFE HISTORY INTERVIEWS AND REFLEXIVITY

By

Stephen A. Kapp

In one form or another, the juvenile justice system has been placing children out of their homes and caring for them in alternative placements for over two hundred years. The youth who live in these settings not only have difficulty adjusting to placement options, but also struggle to adjust to community life when they are returned home.

To shed some light on the types of struggles faced by these young men during placement and in the community, a series of open-ended interviews were conducted with former recipients of the juvenile justice system, now in prison. This qualitative study employed an interview technique called life history interviews, whereby, each of the participants told the story of his life in the juvenile justice system.

Each of the study participants constructed a vivid portrayal of his experiences. Generally, they were critical of the system and the services being offered. The treatment methods, specifically the group treatment, was described as ineffective, forcing them to deceive staff and other residents in order to be released. Additionally, the services were depicted as culturally insensitive with regard to a match between the racial background of staff versus youth and the promotion of mainstream religious practices distinctively different from the spiritual background of most of the children in care.

Different explanations were given to describe the path to criminality. The youth placed in the system for delinquent behavior held themselves and their inability to resist street behavior responsible to ending up in prison. Conversely, the individuals placed in

the system due to abuse or neglect pointed to the system as the cause of their problems, and in some cases their eventual imprisonment. Finally, many of the key points raised by these individuals fit into a critical social science perspective describing the system's primary goal as perpetuating itself.

To my wife, Carolyn, and my daughter, Hannah, for their unconditional love and support throughout this process. Also, to the young men who diligently participated in this project and to the thousands of young men that they represent.

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This project would have never been completed without the enormous support and guidance from many generous individuals. First of all, Rena Harold functioned as my committee chair and advisor throughout the entire doctoral experience. Her emotional, intellectual, and spiritual backing saw me through many personal and professional struggles on this journey. Fred Roberts was another vital source of support. He functioned as a cheerleader for my intellect as we struggled to find ways to apply contemporary anthropology to my interests in social work with children and families. Margaret Nielsen, provided constant optimism during some dark periods of the program The final member of my committee, Vince Hoffman, treated me as a colleague by respecting my skills and offering challenges at some opportune moments.

Others outside of the academic setting were also very crucial to this project. Bill Lovett, may he rest in retirement, pushed this unconventional research project through the various channels of the approval procedure at the Department of Corrections. Irwin Epstein, in his roles as consultant at Boysville and friend to an older doctoral student, offered constant support and helped with the approval process. Paul Neitman and Edward Overstreet of Boysville of Michigan also provided expedient approvals. Judith Kastel lent her editorial prowess and levity to a multitude of drafts. My friends and family were tolerant and patient as I progressed through this lengthy process.

These caring professionals, and many others contributed significantly to the professional, personal, and intellectual connections in my doctoral education.

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INTRODUCTION

For hundreds of years troubled and delinquent children have posed a major challenge for the professionals that attempt to address their needs. Over the last two hundred years an elaborate collection of resources has been developing to work with these children, and sometimes, their families, and occasionally, their communities. This network of services includes: the juvenile court and probation; an extensive series of public and private service agencies, many of which offer a variety of out-of-home placement alternatives; specialized school programs, and much more. This conglomeration is nebulously referred to as the juvenile justice system.

One of the more common practices in this system is to place children who have been associated with delinquent behavior or have been abused by their parents out of their homes in alternative programs ranging from foster homes to institutions. A very common occurrence is for the child to enjoy some success in the placement, but to struggle when he is returned home, and eventually get placed, again, in a subsequent placement. This study asks what is it like for a child to go through this experience of moving around in the juvenile system by soliciting feedback and information from former recipients. Life history interviews were constructed with young men who were formerly in the juvenile system, who are now in prison.

This study allowed these individuals to actively voice in critiques of the system that virtually raised them. They provided some very insightful feedback about treatment, the racial and religious tensions they faced in the programs, and the relative impact of the system on their eventual criminality. Although their stories were very intriguing, it is

important to remember that their recollections were constructed and that these constructions are influenced by many factors, including, but not limited to: their experience since leaving the system, their current situations, and their interaction with the interviewer. These considerations need to be factored into the interpretation and presentation of these data. In an attempt to offset the great potential for biases, a small sub-sample of the participants were re-interviewed. These second set of interviews were organized around the review and critique of a set of preliminary findings. Many of the findings were reinforced and expanded through these additional interviews.

Let me clarify the way the dissertation is organized. In the first chapter a context for the study is set by reviewing some of the critical historical, policy, research, ethical, and practice issues in the treatment of delinquents and troubled children. The second chapter highlights some of the developments in contemporary anthropology, especially medical anthropology, which influenced the design of the study. The remaining chapters deal with the study findings including: an overview of life in the system; a review and critique of treatment issues, especially the group model; and racial and religious tensions in the programs. The final chapter attempts to pull the study together using two strategies. First, the interview data is framed in light of some prominent social theorists. Second, a set of policy, practice, and research implications are drawn from the study findings.

Chapter 1

A REVIEW OF THE HISTORY, POLICY, RESEARCH, ETHICS, AND PRACTICE IN THE TREATMENT OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS

> If I were to classify the order of places, best to worst, in which people may be placed, especially, children or young people, I say first of all, a good home; second of all, a small institution properly managed under proper persons, meaning by a small institution, a hundred or two inmates or less; thirdly, a large institution; and fourthly, a bad home (Mennel, 1973:77).

A. O. Wright , a child advocate, made this insightful and timeless statement in the 1880's. He illuminated a handful of key issues which continue to vex social work professionals attempting to provide services to delinquent children and their families. His reflection alluded to the inevitability of out-of-home placement for some children. For those children, there were a set of alternatives from which to choose. Enjoying prominence among these alternatives were institutions. Professionals faced with facilitating such decisions have always had to assume the responsibility for choosing and managing the most effective alternative for children removed from their own homes.

The last concern has tormented those dealing with troubled youth for hundreds of

years. What is the best way to treat those children whose problems have led to their dislocation from their families? How does one go about making such a decision? Whose needs are primary in these decisions - the child's, the family's, the court's, or the community's? This line of discussion also raises another complicated series of questions concerning the options that are actually available? These issues perplexed child advocates and social work professionals before Wright's time, and continue to do so today. Unfortunately, there is little evidence that such issues will be resolved in the near future.

An extensive discussion will review and analyze the terrain associated with the provision of treatment to delinquent children and their families. A variety of perspectives will be engaged to ground this discussion in the context of actual juvenile justice practices which will hopefully lead to a more complete understanding. First, efforts will focus on the historical context for these challenges. By looking at history, the discussion will examine the degree to which these same struggles existed and how they progressed over time. The remainder of the discussion will focus a more contemporary lens on these issues, by entertaining some of the current debates in policy, research, ethics, and practice. It is hoped that, at the very least, the treatment of these issues will provide a firm grasp of the various paths that have been chosen by those committed to the treatment of these children and their families. Beyond these minimal expectations, one might expect a comprehensive analysis of this nature to provide some suggestions for moving closer to resolving some of the predicaments alluded to by Wright in the opening quote.

History of Juvenile Delinquency

Juvenile delinquency has been with Western society for almost five hundred years. Some of the earlier reported signs were present in Europe during the 16th and 17th centuries. Delinquency appears to be linked with crucial societal changes, even in its primal stages. The timeline in Figure 1.1 (APPENDIX A) portrays some critical milestones in the presence and progression of delinquency from the 1500's in Europe up through the mid-1800's in this country. During this period, as well as today, the treatment

of delinquency was closely linked to critical social changes, especially those related to the unmet needs of children and families excluded from mainstream social and economic structures. Impoverished families have continued to exist from Feudal periods to the development of Industrialization and beyond.

These families have always posed a formidable challenge to the social service entities of the day. Specifically, what happens to the children from these families? How are the families treated? As the timeline shows, different institutional and some other non-institutional options have attempted to address this question since the mid-1500's. A common pattern occurs when institutional alternatives are developed to contend with a growing concern, often perceived as children from poverty-stricken families being out of control. After some period of operation the effectiveness and the quality of their care of these previously popular services of the time (institutions) are questioned. Alternatives are then introduced, which include non-institutional services. These community based programs are often replaced by a new brand of institution, that, ironically, is still viable in the contemporary continuum of care. The cycle of institutional alternatives has included: pauper prisons, Houses of Refuge, and reformatories, which remain a part of the continuum today. Although the various institutions and their respective popularity fades, some type of institutional alternative is preserved. The appeal of this orientation for controlling the problems related to troubled children seems to sustain the viability of this option. The discussion of this history will begin with the development of reformatories, a contemporary alternative which is addressed in this research project.

Reform Schools

During the mid-nineteenth century the number of children needing services continued to increase. As a result, reform schools developed, with an emphasis on rehabilitating children, not simply confining them (Platt, 1977). Frederick Wines, an early penal theorist, viewed reformatories as a place where children could receive "moral training, education, and religion as they would receive in an honest family" (p.50).

Children were placed in reformatories for everything from committing serious crimes, to having a dispute with their parents. Indeterminate sentences were rendered without due process (Mennel, 1973). As the need for institutionalization was accepted, the number of facilities grew. The focus was on prevention and treatment, in an era where the reformers were more optimistic about changing the lives of young people (Krisberg & Austin, 1993).

The cottage system was reputed to be one of the keys to this new, improved method of dealing with juveniles. Specialized programming was provided for each youth. Staff practices were perceived as family-oriented by devoting the entire unit to a distinct group of children. The primary emphasis was devoted to education. Not only was it seen as the cornerstone of rehabilitation, but the curriculum was driven by the individual needs of each child (Mennel, 1973). Another key component of the reform schools was their remote locations in rural areas away from the plight of the urban centers. Enoch Wines describes this as, "The normal place for the education of children is in the fields" (Platt, 1977:49). Generally, the cottage setting was far more accepted at the time than the congregate style of living utilized in the Houses of Refuge.

Nine principles captured the raison d' être of the reformatories:

(1) segregation from adults

(2) guarded sanctuaries, removed from environmental influences

(4) indeterminate sentencing,

(a) encourages participation in own reform and

(b) keeps stubborn offenders from resuming careers

(5) reform is not a form of weakness, punishment will be used as a last resort or if it provides some type of benefit

(6) youth must be protected from idle habits through rigorous discipline, an intense physical regime and constant supervision

(7) built in the country side, following notion of cottage life

(8) work, school, and religion are the heart of the program

(9) middle class values will be taught (sobriety, thrift, "realistic" ambition, adjustment) (Platt, 1977:54-55)

These principles captured the major philosophical tenets that drove the operation of the first reformatories. Many of them, as I will discuss at the end of this section, are still operative in the contemporary reform schools operating today.

The Civil War influenced the continued operation of reformatories. Many fathers went off to war leaving their children's supervision to their mothers. Often times, the older residents of reformatories were sent to fight, as an attempt to deal with the crowded conditions. The funding for the facilities suffered, as the War had a significant impact on the overall economy. These facilities struggled for a significant period during, and immediately after, this conflict (Mennel, 1973).

Developments in the Reform Schools

Reform schools have always been subject to the critique of the reformers of the day. C.L. Brace and Mary Carpenter continually attacked this method of treatment as not being a viable method of rehabilitation. The major premise of their critique was their skepticism related to whether a rural institution could provide any useful preparation to a youth who will, eventually, return to his/her home in an urban setting. (Mennel , 1973; Krisberg & Austin, 1993). At the same time, the superintendents of the facilities were making very large profits (Krisberg & Austin, 1973). In addition, as the budgets for these facilities began to shrink because of the War, violence became more prevalent in these settings. This, in turn, led to a decrease in child placement from these facilities. In some cases, special facilities were opened for the hardened juvenile offenders (Mennel, 1973). Despite some of these challenges, the number of facilities continued to grow in the North and East. In the South, African American children were either placed in prisons and/or put into slavery situations under horrid conditions (Krisberg & Austin, 1993).

The role of spirituality began to surface as a significant issue in the treatment of

children in the mid-1840's. The tension surrounding religious preference was heightened by the provincialism and bigotry of the time, often referred to as The Age of Intolerance. Catholics and Protestants began to compete for children. The source of the competition led each group to contend that children would be better served in their preferred religious context. Catholic facilities opened up and attempts were often made to match the children with the facilities that practiced their preferred faith (Mennel, 1973).

Probably one of the key events in the history of the reformatories, was the Supreme Court decision on Daniel O'Connell in 1868. His parents filed a *writ of habeas corpus* in the Illinois Supreme Court. The Court ruled that placement in a juvenile facility was punishment, not help. The treatment at the Chicago Reform School was denigrated. In this case, the Court favored the intentions of the parents' potential care over the actual treatment of the facility, a complete reversal of the earlier Crouse case. The most significant finding in this case was the interpretation of the act of placing the child as a criminal proceeding, deeming the "best interests of the child" and *Parens Patriae* irrelevant . Furthermore, as a criminal proceeding, the primary emphasis shifted from helping the child to *due process*, a more procedural focus geared toward the needs of the court and not necessarily the child (Bernard, 1993).

Although by this time, a variety of different methods had been developed and tried, the country continued to struggle to determine the best techniques to deal with its troubled youth. The challenge to find safe placements for troubled juveniles was further complicated by questions about the legal requirements necessary to make these crucial decisions about a child's life. As these issues began to receive more attention, the support for the establishment of a separate court for these youth and their families began to grow.

The Juvenile Court

Many circumstances of the time influenced the eventual genesis of the Juvenile Court around the turn of the twentieth century. As mentioned, reform schools were under attack for their quality of care as well as the legal basis under which children were placed in

such facilities. The Children's Aid Society identified five problems with reform schools:

1) parents dumping children,

2) contamination (of the children) by association (with each other),

3) stigma of commitment, the impossibility of examining treatment on an individual basis

4) the dissimilarity of life inside and outside the facility (Krisberg & Austin, 1993).

Other reformers placed emphasis on rehabilitating children without incarceration (Mennel, 1973).

The Supreme Court ruling in the O'Connell (1870) case came at a time when many members of society were becoming fearful that society was suffering from moral weakness. This fear was significantly reinforced by the huge social distance between the reformers and the recipients of the system (Bernard, 1993). Urbanization, immigration, and technology were increasing rapidly. Labor needs were shrinking as the wealth in this country became more concentrated. Just prior to the turn of the century, many perceived these situations as potentially volatile. Attention was focused on maintaining the current forms of social order. On top of all this, in places like Illinois, the primary mode of service, a fledgling, private system, provided few viable alternatives (Krisberg & Austin, 1993).

Reformers were also concerned about the situation. Illinois' Governor Altgeld (1890-1900's) regularly and openly criticized the capitalist exploitation of youth. The women's movement of this period included many influential and well-connected female reformers who were committed to better treatment for children. Jane Addams, Lucy Flowers, and Julia Lathrop, to name a few prominent members, fully exploited their connections with the Chicago BAR Association to push for legislation. Their expertise in children and families was duly recognized, allowing them to obtain an accepted, high profile role in this otherwise sexist society. Their efforts were aimed at providing therapy to children in need, while at the same time, not threatening the established power structures (Platt, 1977).

Platt and others have argued that the women behind the Juvenile Court movement only acted in concert with their own upper class concerns during the period. The efforts of these women, while powerful, as the argument goes, were mostly self-interested and consistent with the wishes of the powers of the time. Otherwise, their influences would have been marginal (Platt, 1977; and Bernard, 1993). I partially agree with this assessment. The juvenile court has a definite track record for supporting social work intervention compatible with over-arching power structures as it goes about the business of tending to the needs of its juvenile clients. More specifically, historically, the juvenile court and social work professionals within this system are more likely to place children in out-of-home placements emphasizing control rather than developing, exploring, investigating and designing options that may serve the youth and her/his family in her/his own homes. Additional attention will be given to these control-oriented strategies later in this discussion of history.

Juvenile Court legislation was passed in Illinois in 1899. The special court for children was conceived with the intention of exploring, developing, and employing beneficial options on behalf of the juvenile. There were no specific prerequisite actions (committing a crime, conflicts with parents, etc.) to identify which children could appear in this court, although there was an appearance of a bias toward lower class and victimless crimes, such as vagrancy and truancy. Institutionalization was a very prominent mode of treatment for dealing with those that appeared in juvenile court (Mennel, 1973).

Initially, the informal nature of the proceeding attracted many judges who were interested in serving in the new court. There was very little emphasis on legal process, and significant attention was directed toward resource identification outside the court system. The judge is this new judicial environ acted as a sort of paternal counselor. At its inception, the juvenile court was staffed by volunteers (Platt, 1977).

Although probation officers (PO), a critical component of juvenile court staff, eventually developed into a profession, the earliest incumbents were often recruited from

within religious organizations. In 1905, the juvenile court began to pay its staff. In this context, it was clear that the primary purpose of the PO was to serve the juvenile court judges. At the same time that advocate Homer Folks was promoting the use of the youth's home as the primary vehicle for rehabilitation, PO's were employing systems of coercion. The fulcrum of this approach centered on the youth's cooperation with the PO. If the youth complied, probation would progress smoothly, leading to eventual release. On the other hand, if the youth did not comply, the PO would eventually threaten the youth with removal from home (Mennel, 1973). Youth that did not follow the wishes of the PO were controlled (Platt, 1977). This new specialized legal system devoted itself to dealing with children and their families. The routine use of these types of approaches had become very widespread by 1925, when all but two states had juvenile courts (Mennel, 1973).

Shortly after the onset of the juvenile court in the early 1900's, a critical Supreme Court ruling supported its routine operating procedure. Frank Fisher's father filed a *writ of habeas corpus* on the grounds that the minor offense committed did not warrant the seven year sentence his son had received. The Pennsylvania Supreme Court reverted to a position taken sixty years prior. They found that the youth was being helped, not punished, by the juvenile court. Additionally, comparisons were made between the state's good intentions and the parents' poor performance. Under the auspices of *Parens Patriae* and the view of the intervention as being in the interest of helping the child, there was no need for due process. The ruling proceeded to refer to the juvenile court as the "salvation of the child" (Krisberg & Austin, 1993:30). This decision was viewed as an endorsement of the juvenile court and the new hope rendered by its practices (Bernard, 1993).

The juvenile court eventually became a full service children and family services agency. Any child with needs was referred to the juvenile court. In 1911, AFDC payments were disbursed by the court to families found appropriately needy by the court. Simultaneously, in Chicago, the social work movement was pushing for social reform. This appeared to have little impact on a juvenile court system driven almost exclusively by a

casework approach to services (Bernard, 1993). Although the juvenile court offered many solutions to children, three conservative middle class themes underscored its philosophy.

1) Juveniles needed to be managed by firm practices of control.

2) Children were removed almost exclusively from lower class homes.

3) The legal classification of every child as "dependent" permitted the court to have full control over children, especially legitimate power over those youth who did not possess the proper forms of motivation (Mennel, 1973; Platt, 1977; and Bernard, 1993).

Juvenile Delinquency in Social Science and Social Work

The onset of the juvenile court occurred simultaneously to many crucial innovations in academic social work circles. By considering the respective development in these two areas, the connections and relationships become clearer. The New York School of Philanthropy, originated in 1898, later became the School of Social Work in 1920. Likewise, at the University of Chicago, the Schools of Civics started in 1920, and eventually became the School of Social Service Administration in 1924. This was one of the earliest attempts to professionalize the skills needed to provide assistance to families in need. At this point, the services were enumerated to include: advice, financial assistance, and linking clients with services matching particular needs. Initially, these services were developed with the intention of relieving the burdens on the juvenile court (Mennel, 1973).

Other efforts within academic environments focused on the context surrounding the clients within the juvenile system as topics for research. In 1907, Paul Kellogg conducted one of the first pieces of applied research, a large scale survey of a cross section of Americans-the Pittsburgh Study. It was one of the earliest attempts to avoid sweeping generalizations about social conditions by using facts collected from the lives of actual people to draw conclusions. Even at its inception, this method was questioned by some, like Robert Woods of the Andover Settlement, who referred to this method as "piled-up actualities" (Mennel, 1973 :53). Undaunted by such critiques this method was replicated at every level of local, state, and federal government as a tool for evaluating the

implementation of social policy (Mennel, 1973).

Another significant study was conducted by Edith Abbott and Sophonsiba Breckenridge in Chicago, where the original emphasis was on truancy. The focus of this study evolved into a full scale analysis of working families in urban settings. The authors developed a substantive series of recommendations around safety standards in factories, mother's aid pensions, and workmen's compensation. Another early resource in social science research was the Children's Bureau established by Congress in 1912. The legislated charge for the Bureau was to study the lifestyles of children. Over two hundred studies were conducted focusing on children and family issues ranging from delinquency to child and infant mortality (Mennel, 1973). Although the interest of the juvenile court was obviously on the provision of service to juveniles, it is clear that it also had a secondary function of serving as a context for those early researchers interested in child and family issues.

Early Theories of Delinquency

The juvenile court related research conducted in these early projects had a major impact on the modern theories of delinquency. Prior to this research, many of the theories of juvenile delinquency were influenced by popular social theories of the time, like Darwinism. One of the earliest influences, G. S. Hall, an evolutionary scientist, made many crucial contributions to the study of delinquency. His work was the forerunner for the experimental psychology movement. Additionally, he was among the first to identify adolescence as a unique developmental stage characterized as a struggle between positive and negative forces (Mennel, 1973).

Cesare Lombroso, an Italian professor of legal medicine, was one of the first to bring empiricism to the study of deviant behavior. His research included physical examinations of literally hundreds of criminals. He was the founder of the atavism theory which attributes criminality to a reversion to a less developed form of the species (Mennel, 1973). Another social scientist relying on empirical data was Franz Boas, an

anthropologist, who identified physical differences in immigrant children. Unlike popular theory of the time, he concluded as the immigrant families became more assimilated these traits would disappear. This is one of the first references to the impact of the social setting on the child (Mennel, 1973).

One landmark study of the time, The Jukes, an in depth profile of an extended family, claimed there was a concrete link between intelligence and delinquency. As intelligence was viewed as an inherited quality, this study was used to make the argument that delinquency could be associated with genetic patterns. In other words, families of delinquents could perpetuate their problems to future generations. These assertions were made despite the caveats of Arthur Westbrook, the author of the study, who warned readers about the lack of attention given to social factors in the study. This study is often referred to as the landmark study for the eugenic argument - improving the quality of the species by properly selecting the quality of parents eligible for reproducing (Mennel, 1973).

Eventually, the hereditary argument was refuted, mostly for its isolated view of individuals, oblivious of social context. This became even more apparent as urban areas began to develop and deteriorate. More attention was given to the social surroundings and its great potential to yield a positive or negative influence (Platt, 1977). The early theories of delinquency generally led scholars into a "cul-de-sac" of fatalistic prognosis for the treatment of the delinquent (Mennel, 1973:100). Additionally, these arguments often purported that selected youth were not actually worthy of the limited philanthropy that may have been available to them (Mennel, 1973).

Modern theories of delinquency

The Child Guidance Clinic was one of the early influences directing attention from the physical attributes of the child. William James and his associates perceived delinquency as a "legal" state, not a psychological one (Mennel, 1977:161). They stressed that delinquency was driven by a psychopathology heavily influenced by the environment and

the youth's unique circumstances. Dr. William Healy, one of James' students, conducted intensive comparative studies into the lives of individual delinquents in search of etiological factors. Although he identified anxiety and family relations as important considerations, his findings were not conclusive and did not give the reformers of the time the simple explanations they were seeking. However, this work led to the professionalization of the field of delinquency.

The recognition of the complexity involved in studying an individual delinquent's life, promoted the use of expert opinion in evaluating children for court. The idea being that an untrained laymen does not have the training or expertise to make sense of this complicated scenario. Additionally, these studies were among the first to promote a multi-faceted approach to treatment for delinquent children. Ironically, this turn of events calling for expert evaluation often led to such findings being ignored by the court as being too specialized for or unrelated to the juvenile court's daily routine (Krisberg & Austin, 1993).

A very unique contribution to this discussion was offered by the Chicago School of Sociology. Not only did they reject positivism, but forwarded a call for activism to study life in urban Chicago related to delinquency. Their findings pointed to the deterioration of the community and the connections between criminal behavior and many local politicos. Among some of the most celebrated works of these scholars were studies of gang life and the routine within a juvenile's life throughout the system (Mennel, 1973).

The scholarly explanations of delinquency covered a diverse range of purported explanations from evolutionary and heredity arguments to intense examinations of the youth's individual circumstances to critiques of the systems and communities within which the youth may reside. Although the eugenic logic has fortunately disappeared from the realm of acceptable arguments, few other issues are settled as the debates continue. Following from this scholarly review of the literature is the discussion of the most effective method for intervening with delinquent, or potentially delinquent, children. This will be addressed by reviewing of some of the more innovative modalities utilized throughout

history.

Unique intervention methods with juvenile delinquents

Again, one can see the influence of the social circumstances of the era. For example, after World War II there was extreme social disorganization which led to the need to protect young female members of the society, or perhaps, vice versa. Unlike the majority of the population which viewed prostitution as a moral problem, Julia Lathrop and Ethel Dummer framed it as a social problem. Consistent with this view was a facility for females opened by Miriam Van Waters, El Retiro. This self-governed facility, strictly for female residents, focused on preparing its residents for placement in the community and then releasing them. This was a striking contrast to the popular method of holding female children until the attainment of adulthood (Mennel, 1973).

Another facility, William "Daddy" George's vacation camps, utilized self-governance as the means of managing the facility. These programs initially opened as temporary recreation spots, later became treatment facilities. In these facilities, each youth earned his care with his labor and progress in the program, which paid economic rewards. An ongoing net worth, calculated for each youth, determined his progress, up to and including his release (Mennel, 1973).

One of the more unique interventions, is the Mobilization for Youth Program in New York, designed to provide a vehicle for recipients to address their concerns. This truly preventive program utilized social conflict as a primary means of addressing and resolving community issues. This program is unique, especially among delinquency services, for focusing the intervention energy away from the client onto structural difficulties in society. After identifying these barriers, community intervention strategies were initiated to address them (Krisberg & Austin, 1973). This method of intervention is especially rare in an interventive world where casework thrives, and it is not uncommon to blame the client for their circumstances. These interventions have typified the rare occasions, historically, when services have withdrawn from the mainstream by directing their efforts toward the

clients actual environmental circumstances. The next section will return to looking at more mainstream trends in the treatment of delinquents and troubled children by attempting to highlight some of the more salient points of this historical review.

Observations on the history of social work and delinquency

There is considerable agreement among these scholars on several key themes related to the role of social work and delinquency. Despite many years and various reforms, the primary function of the juvenile justice system is to control those youth exhibiting behaviors deemed unacceptable. The majority of the energy extended in the interest of reform has been targeted at individuals and not the systems or the conditions that perpetuate these problems. Meanwhile, the impact of the reforms has been to maintain the status quo within the social structure, including: preserving views on moral behaviors, economic systems, control over the forms of rehabilitation, and the power of the juvenile court. Throughout the discussion of history, attention has consistently focused on holding off threats to these vital social entities.

Obviously, the reforms of the time were heavily influenced by the political climate of the times. Complex interactions among reformers, practitioners, academics, and public sentiment played a major role throughout the various dynamic points in time. It was the ability to capitalize on the politics of the time that allowed the various reformers to implement the latest panacea or program that met the need for something fashionable and new. Whether you agree with Bernard's contention that public opinion interacted with a cycle of stringent versus lenient punishments (1993) or Platt's notion that the reformers were acting in the interest of their own needs to ward off perceived dangers to the political structures of the time (1977), it is difficult to disagree with the notion that little has changed drastically within this system. Many of the debates raised in the 1800's continue today.

Before concluding this section, I will mention a few of my own observations and then begin to examine the presence of some of these same issues in a more contemporary context. Given the political volatility of the climate, emphasis seems to be placed more on

managing those dynamics as opposed to any type of proactive management. There is little mention of any type of effort to attempt to improve programs. The process is more attuned to the advent of new initiatives, until their popularity vanishes and takes them along with it. In the case of large scale institutions (reformatories and juvenile court), these services remain but there is little discussion of attempts to ever improve them. Perhaps, even with the more established programs, the effort is solely on trying to manage political images over the ongoing operation. In any case, this is not recognized and seems to be a potential factor in the endless ineffectiveness of these supports.

The inconsistent efforts to assess and improve programs may be very related to the constantly revolving constituencies being served by programs. The constituencies include, but are not limited to: the youth, his family, his community, the court, the various institutions, and those in charge of the social and economics structures. When considering the need to keep many political contingents happy, it is not surprising that clients needs are not the only interests being addressed by program practices. Although programs have historically promoted themselves as serving their clients first and foremost, a closer examination of this issue raises many questions. In an institution, the children are being served through programming, but there are security practices in the interest of maintaining order within the facility and protecting the surrounding community which jeopardize the ability to meets the child's needs. In these settings, the treatment methods change periodically, but the security procedures stay relatively intact. In short, when a program attempts to serve the needs of multiple constituencies (children in care, the community, the needs of the facility for order, etc.), conflicting practices may occur. By observing the resolution or sustaining nature of these conflicts, the relative priority of the constituencies' needs can be observed.

The struggle to address the needs of multiple constituencies may become clearer by comparing and contrasting programs with varying commitments to client needs. An institution may have security practices that do not allow a child to interact in any type of

unrestricted setting prior to discharge, despite the primacy of community adjustment in a treatment plan. Obviously, the tension between the goals of these two constituencies impedes the treatment process. In a very different case, the Mobilization for Youth program encouraged and supported the needs of the client to the degree that public demonstrations and other interventions were promoted which pressured the community to make changes and accommodations favoring the needs of poor families and children. Even in this case, the program was under constant pressure from local and state governments to alter its operations to practices more supportive of local established politics (Hefgot, 1974). To prevent belaboring this point, I will summarize by recognizing that programs are constantly struggling to manage many crucial constituent groups and, as a result, often engage in opposing practices. A review of the operation of these opposing practices may give some indication as to which constituent groups are primary. Often these processes of dealing effectively with an important support group are related to funding. The role of these service programs in a broader economic system was not directly addressed in the literature.

The financial considerations of these service programs seem to warrant some attention in this discussion. Although the agencies providing these services are attempting to produce programs that improve the lives of children, it is the revenues from these same programs that are paying their salaries, that of their staff, and keeping their organizations flush. This is a reality of operating within this type of economic structure, but its effect on developing and managing programs is not clearly discussed in the literature.

Attention to some of these factors may shed some light on the chronic ineffectiveness of the programs that have been developed for the last two hundred years and the endless circulation of issues in and out of popularity. It appears that the political environment not only circumscribes those issues which may or may not be acceptable, but that it also controls the types of services provided to the troubled youth in this country. Even the most basic understanding of the incessant comings and goings of juvenile services

based on timeliness and success/failure is not possible without considering the omnipotence/omnipresence of politics within this system. As we move into a more contemporary analysis of this situation we will find that many of these challenges and struggles highlighted in this historical review continue to pervade the discussion.

Policy Perspective on Juvenile Delinquency

Given the extensive number of unresolved questions identified throughout the history of juvenile delinquency, it is not surprising that similar issues will be included in the discussion of present social policy concerns. Historically, delinquency became a major problem at about the same time that the major urban centers began rapid periods of growth accompanied with corresponding deterioration. While the cities of this country continue to grow, the respective economic condition has progressed accordingly. As the poor are isolated in our urban centers, they must fend for themselves in areas suffering from a horrid lack of available resources (Fabricant & Burghardt, 1992). The urban poor are removed from an economic system that offers them access to little opportunity (Danziger & Gottschalk, 1995; Figueira-McDonough, 1995; Fisher, 1995). Recent and current reforms of programs and services designed to target this population of people have and will continue to result in significant decreases in the amount and type of support available (Burt & Pittman, 1985; Viddeka-Sherman &Viggiani, 1996). Just as various minorities were targeted for oppression, like Irish Americans in the 1800's, African Americans are suffering the limitations incurred by these biased and unfavorable economic conditions (Fabricant & Burghardt, 1992; Danziger & Gottschalk, 1995; Figueira-McDonough, 1995; and Fisher, 1995).

Although it is clear that urban settings in this country continue to decay, there is little agreement on the existence of a corresponding increase in juvenile crime rate. While the connection between urban decay and juvenile crime was frequently used historically as a rationale for new or additional programming, this issue is less clear today. Some see the claim that juvenile crime is on the upswing as strictly a promotional tool for developing

more restrictive programs for youth (Bernard, 1993). Others contend that juvenile crime is actually decreasing (Schwartz, 1989). Although the debate continues, this information was utilized recently as fuel for a lobbying effort which resulted in the development of prison-like programs for youth offenders in the state of Michigan.

While waiting to determine if the increase in juvenile crime is actual or mythical, it is important to observe that no similar ambiguity exists around the need for services for children placed out of home in the juvenile justice system. During the eighties the placement rate of children in private facilities increased 129% (Krisberg, De Como, & Herrera, 1992). In Michigan, 88% of delinquent state wards were placed out of the home, while 71% were also placed in a subsequent facility 12 months after their discharge (Michigan Department of Social Services, 1994). Nationally, one third of the children entering the child welfare system are re-entering the system (Federal Register, 1987). The number of children entering and staying in the system is increasing and there continues to be a great need to provide them with effective services.

Obviously, this increase and the need for services brings significant financial considerations. Michigan's expenditures for residential care for delinquents increased from $36.3 million in 1981 to $87.3 million in 1991. If alternative family or community-based programs had existed, approximately one third of those youth could have utilized such services (Michigan Department of Social Services, 1994). This raises an important and controversial issue regarding the preferable method for treating delinquent children.

If the number of children entering and staying in the system is increasing, then what services should be offered to these children? Residential facilities, a broad rubric for reform schools/training schools and private child-caring facilities, continue to enjoy the same benefits noted historically. These programs are typically placed in a safe rural environment isolating the youth from the degeneration of the urban areas. They are popular with judges for protecting their communities from local offenders by removing them. However, as we will see later the criticisms of institutional life forwarded by Brace and

Carpenter still exist.

Instrumentally, the residential program plays an important role for the PO supervising children early in their careers within the system. These types of placements function as the "fire and brimstone" in the PO's repertoire. At the onset of the PO-probationer relationship, the child is informed that non-compliance with the conditions of his/her contract will lead to placement in a residential facility (Jacobs, 1990). A very subtle shift occurs in this relationship when things cross a threshold from holding the child accountable for negative behavior to preparing the child for an inevitable placement. The PO becomes conciliatory and attention turns from adjusting in a home setting to gracefully accepting the inevitability of out-of-home placement, a short term goal which is nebulously related to the child's overall adjustment (Darrough, 1989). There are many benefits to the PO of placing a child as the resources of managing this child are transferred to the facility. The immense energy and effort required by a PO to maintain a child, who is having limited success with community living, is removed from the his/her crowded work schedule and awarded to the placement facility accepting the youth (Jacobs, 1990). This common scenario illustrates the place and function of residential facilities as deeply ingrained into the system.

If placing children in residential facilities is an accepted and routine option, then it would seem logical to review some of the research literature on the effectiveness of this alternative. For the past three decades, the effectiveness of residential programming has been seriously questioned (Bailey, 1966; Martinson, 1974; Quay, 1987; Woodredge, 1988; and Lipsey, 1991). There is also a segment of the literature that accepts the inevitability of this mode of treatment by focusing on its role within the system. Some of that literature is evaluative in nature, with an emphasis on improving its operation and outcome (Rosenthal & Rosenthal, 1991; Wells, Wyatt, & Hobfoll, 1991; McCubbin, Kapp, & Thompson, 1993; Savas, Epstein, & Grasso, 1993; Kopec-Schrader, Rey, Plapp, & Beumont, 1994). Others have made policy recommendations around the role and function of this modality

(Whittaker & Pffiefer, 1994).

The discussion of residential programming would be incomplete without recognizing the context within which these children are placed-- the overall juvenile justice system. In North Carolina, through legal action the system was found to be obstructing the "right to treatment" (Soler and Warboys, 1990). The New York Department of Social Services overhauled its entire system based on the initial placement of children at its Spofford Detention Center (Gilmore & Schall, 1986). In California, the legislature directed Ventura County to develop a model system that would not replicate the pending state of disarray at the time (Ventura County Mental Health Demonstration Project, 1987).

Similar concerns around ineffective services and intra-agency coordination were expressed at the federal level by: The Select Committee Children, Youth, and Families, U.S. House of Representatives; American Public Welfare National Committee on Child Welfare and Family Preservation; and the Committee for Economic Development (Soler, 1992). Legislatively, PL 99-272 under Title IV-E secured the provision of services to children with an emphasis on independent living. The Adoption and Child Welfare Act (PL-272) was another attempt to make interventions more constructive toward the preservation of families, as opposed to simply care- taking after destructive separation had taken place. Not surprisingly, even after the attention directed by these state and federal initiatives, a significant deficiency remains when you compare the needed services to those that are actually provided (Burt & Pittman, 1985; Jacobs, 1990; Samantrai, 1992; Russell & Sedleck, 1993).

Concluding this critique without reverting back to the juvenile court would be premature. From our historical discussion, it is interesting to recall that many of the difficulties enumerated were present at the turn of 20th century. Further, it was the interest in resolving these same types of problems which warranted the development of a special court system, uniquely designed with the "best interests" of the child in mind. It would be obvious and redundant to consider whether the juvenile court has lived up to its promise,

but it may be instructive to contemplate some of the reasons that the court has performed so poorly.

Before getting into the specific details of this scenario, it is helpful to be reminded of a chronic problem burdening the treatment of delinquent children throughout history. Reformers throughout history have offered their latest panacea as a solution to delinquency. Bernard makes the reality-based argument that delinquency will always be with us and that policy and planning discussions should be targeted at managing this ongoing issue (1993).

Even if we temper our expectations of the juvenile court accordingly, there are many reasons for this consistent mismanagement. The system has many incentives for the early removal of children from their home and into the system (Jacobs, 1990; Huxtable, 1994). Such a feature is nearly fatal when reconsidering the research, mentioned earlier, which points out that escaping from the system is very difficult once a child has been admitted. Historically, many Supreme Court rulings have gone back and forth on the types of legal representation required for the children within this court setting (Bernard, 1993). This may contribute to the incessant inability of children to receive adequate representation in this setting (Schwartz, 1989). This legal infirmity is not limited to the children; parents attempting to maintain or regain their rights to their children are subject to similar lack of due process (Huxtable, 1994).

These reflections on some of the policy questions inherent in the treatment of juvenile delinquency have helped us to consider the populations being targeted for services, the types of services being provided and their respective effectiveness, as well as the operation of the juvenile court within this system. The review has not been kind, although perhaps fair, to the system. However, there are some potential reasons for hope on the horizon.

One of the observations on the history of the juvenile intervention is the diversity of interventions, especially the targeted needs of those interventions. It is in this realm that one may find the key to a better prognosis for our future. Within the last ten years, there

have been some significant, albeit limited shifts in policy. Although we have argued throughout this analysis that the residential treatment is the dominant mode of treatment, there have been some notable exceptions. Massachusetts and Utah have closed their juvenile institutions (Krisberg and Austin, 1993). Additionally, more alternative intervention models have been designed, tested, and in some cases, evaluated.

Family preservation services, the most viable and prominent of the innovations, have been supported with significant legislation (Malluccio, Fein, & Davis, 1994). Consequently, a significant movement is underway establishing the viability of this method of service (Fraser, Pecora, & Haapala, 1991; Kinney, Haapala, & Booth, 1991; as well as many others). Some of these interventions have been found to be effective with difficult populations, specifically delinquent children (Henggeler, 1994).

More recently, intervention models aimed at the community have been reintroduced. Typically, this modality is merely referenced as a burning need in our service repertoire (Fabricant & Burghardt, 1992) but more is actually occurring, services are being designed and implemented (Adams & Nelson, 1995; and Bailey & Koney, 1996). This development will be discussed in more detail, as it relates to practice, later. Although these alternatives are definitely struggling, they continue to survive. If the resurgence of these services is perceived as a trend, it is important to recognize the trend as intensifying attention towards a broader set of client needs and away from institutional needs (this continuum was presented at the end of the history section). These reasons give one hope for guarded optimism in a multi-problematic system.

A self-critique of this discussion, and the literature that is referenced, is concerned with the constant denigration of a system that is obviously in a major stage of turmoil. The tendency in this literature is to enumerate and elucidate the various shortcomings. There is little attention to either constructive improvement or directions for repair and renovation. Unfortunately, a system that continues to lack effectiveness, as it has for 200 years, does not have many advocates suggesting new ways to rehabilitate and alleviate its problems.

The policy discussion has strived to describe the over-arching state of affairs of contemporary methods and services for juvenile delinquents; let us turn the discussion to the possibilities associated with the business of research in this arena.

Research in Juvenile Delinquency

As we look at the research that has been conducted on delinquency, we will observe many parallels from the earlier historic and policy level reviews. For example, it is rare for the lens of a research project to look at the effects of an entire system related to its young recipients (Fanshel Finch, and Grundy, 1989; and Schwartz, Ortega, Guo, & Fishman, 1994). More common, are the research projects focused on specific programs within that system. Additionally, this type of research usually employs a quantitative method. Rarely, does a quantitative study target its scope solely on the interventive aspects of a service (Staff & Fein, 1994).

Other more common quantitative approaches would include a purely descriptive portrayal of a service (Epps, 1994). Within specific programs, it is also customary to examine the relationship between various components, such as treatment and outcome (Wells, Wyatt, & Hobfoll, 1991; McCubbin, Kapp, & Thompson, 1993; Savas, Epstein, & Grasso, 1993). Another common approach is to discern the impact of differential client characteristics in search of a high risk population (Rosenthal & Rosenthal, 1991; and Kapp, Schwartz, and Epstein, 1993).

Often more traditional applications of quantitative research are engaged to determine the effect of specific interventions. This type of undertaking often employs group designs to assess either: the impact of one service over the other or the impact of a specific service over no service (often routine services operate as the status quo, a surrogate for no services) (Davidson, Redner, Blakely, Mitchell, & Emhoff, 1987; Schuerman, Rzepnicki, Littel, & Chak, 1993).

Another more recent use of quantitative methods is meta-analysis, a statistical

process of summarizing the results from multiple studies to determine the cumulative effect of an intervention method or a class of interventions (Glass, McGaw, &Smith, 1981). There have been a number of studies employing this technique to assess juvenile intervention. Typically, the results have not been very favorable towards these services (Garrett, 1985; Davidson, Gottshalk, Gensheimer, & Mayer, 1987; Lipsey, 1991).

Qualitative research is utilized somewhat infrequently with juvenile delinquency. In some instances it has been employed to study lifestyles within large institutions, like the juvenile system, a prison, or juvenile court (Shaw, 1930; Fleisher, 1989; and Jacobs, 1991). Other uses include life in an urban community (Susser, 1982). On occasion, this approach will try to delineate a specific segment of a service setting, like the PO's shift from a confrontational to a conciliatory mode when preparing a youth for out-of-home placement (Darrough, 1989).

This diverse pattern of research method selection is consistent with an ongoing debate within the social work community. A quantitative orientation supporting logical positivism has been heralded in this discussion by its advocates (Schuermen, 1981; Geismer, 1982; Hudson, 1982; Brekke, 1982) as the only viable analytical method of research. The opposing side of the argument insists there is a need to explore alternative methods that may be more suited to the study of the idiosyncratic nature of social work intervention (Heinemen, 1981; Irme, 1984; Witkin & Gottshalk, 1988; Loseke, 1989 & Tyson, 1994).

This debate is reminiscent of other times and other places. Although Mary Richmond and Jane Addams both felt information could be utilized to inform social work practice, their differing definitions of acceptable information kept them apart (Germain, 1970; Germain & Hartman, 1980). The discussion of history recalled Robert Woods referring to the Pittsburgh Study as "piled-up actualities" (Mennel;1973:53). Once again, we find an unresolved issue that continues to plague the field of study for close to one hundred years. In a classic critique of anthropological theory since the 1960's, Ortner

delinquent children are often very difficult to tie to any coherent or beneficial goals related to the client population. One of the difficulties in trying to impose such a mandate is the equally unclear and conflicting goals within this system, especially the juvenile court. There is intense competition among an extensive constituency over whose goals are primary. Some of the more significant constituents include: the judge, the PO, the community, and the child and his/her family (Jacobs, 1990). Obviously, the moral contract initially forwarded around the "best interests of the child" has been eroded.

The juvenile court and its revolving goals could profit from philosophical enlightenment. Many contributors to this literature have raised the importance of effectiveness to a more relevant level by simply removing themselves from the role of social critic. A Kantian analysis of the system would force one to view themselves as a recipient of the system's services (Raphael, 1981). Such a view could bring revitalized energy to maintaining minimum standards and upholding the "generic" rights of the recipients as well as the proprietors of the services (Wakefield, 1988). Rawls' notion of the "veil of ignorance" challenges all citizens to consider the distinct possibility of being a recipient of the service system (1971). Along with the other views, this perspective would support the need for bringing consistent integrity to the service. Although this literature is often condemned for its lofty, unrealistic appeal, in this case, it brings some critical issues to the forefront by modestly suggesting that there is some value to placing oneself in the role of a child delinquent and initiating the analysis from that vantage point.

Taking the delinquent's point of view of the system quickly illuminates issues around self-determination, a primary component of ethical social work (Bernstein, 1967; Reamer, 1983; and NASW, 1996). This value is routinely violated in a system where the recipients are selected against their will, in a highly discriminatory process (Schwartz, 1989). Moreover, once these children and their families have entered this system they have little control over their lives until they are emancipated from it. Very basic rights come into serious jeopardy. The place of residence is determined by someone else. The school they

choose, the religion they choose to practice (Mennel, 1973), the preferred method of treatment, who they can and cannot see and when (this applies to family members) are all rudimentary choices that are removed. Everything, up to and including when they get to leave the system, is determined by other powers within this system and often perpetuated against their will.

By reviewing some of the common practices in the treatment of juveniles from an ethical stance, we have been able to highlight the disregard for some very elementary social justice issues. Although it is naive to think that these philosophical tenets are going to remedy the ills of these services, they may fuel the direction of needed reforms towards the children and families within the system. The concluding section of this chapter will observe a selected segment of the landscape of services for juvenile delinquents from a practice perspective. This point of view will hopefully expand the review by giving direct attention to the critical interactions occurring between juveniles and the various professionals that offer them services within this system.

Practice Issues in the Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency

Attempting to begin any discussion around the practice of treating juvenile delinquents is insurmountable without setting some parameters. Here, attention will be targeted on the practice of designing, delivering, and evaluating aftercare services for children. This subject is especially useful as it highlights an essential program component of what has been established as a very prominent service-residential placement. Another useful attribute of this subject, is the excellent venue and context provided for the discussion of social work intervention with children and families-a critical aspect of this system.

"Imprisonment must be followed by measures of supervision and assistance until the rehabilitation of the former prisoner is complete." (Foucault, 1979:270). This instructive quote from the eminent French social critic, Michel Foucault, is included is his description of "universal maxim of good penitential conditions" (p. 270). In Discipline

and Punish. Foucault emphasizes that these principles are historically ignored because they do not support the premise that correctional programs are designed to promote the surveillance and control of society's undesirables (1979). More attention will be given to this work later. The paradoxical nature of this reference resurrects a vital question from our discussions to this point, especially when the focus is aftercare services for delinquents departing from out-of-home facilities- Are these services designed to facilitate a youth's independence or do they merely complement larger systems of social control? This issue will be examined in the context of a review of aftercare and its respective interventions which leads directly to a set of questions.

Aftercare services

As argued earlier, services for delinquents are heavily dominated by residential facilities. The prominence of such facilities, in itself, justifies the need for effective aftercare alternatives. As stated, over a hundred years ago and currently, residential settings do not necessarily prepare a youth for any type of transition to a return home. Although it has been shown that while in these facilities certain degrees of success are enjoyed, similar performance is not carried over to the next placement (Wasmund, 1980; Osgood, Gruber, Archer, & Newcomb, 1985; Vorrath & Brendtro, 1985). Youth are simply not prepared for life outside the placement facility (Hawkins, Jenson, Catalano, & Wells, 1991). The skills learned within the confines of these programs are not generalizable to outside life (Altschuler, 1992:15). Youth from these facilities typically "need help making the transition" (Mech, 1994:605).

Despite the foundation for establishing the need for aftercare, there is not a matching level of resources being invested. These services can be described as under-funded (Stone, 1987), leaving the actual services at a minimal level (Kapp, Schwartz, & Epstein, 1993). The inertia related to the strategic planning and development of these essential services leads to extensive resources being consumed by less than systematic service delivery (Jacobs, 1990; and Samantrai, 1992). Sporadic and inadequate resources,

specifically high caseloads and staff turnover due to insufficient time to properly deliver the services, plague the implementation of aftercare services (Hess, Folaron, & Jefferson, 1992). Understandably, there is little information available on the effectiveness of these services (Cheetham, 1992; Soler, 1993; Maluccio, Fein, & Davis, 1994) or the implementation of these services (Staff & Fein, 1994).

However, the development of aftercare services began to emerge as a viable area due to three separate initiatives referenced earlier in the policy section of this chapter: court actions against the service systems in many states; federal legislation supporting services for children and families; and the family preservation movement. The remainder of this section will reflect on some of these developments along with their respective implications for social work practice.

Aftercare services related to juvenile justice

Many of the aftercare programs are implemented by the juvenile courts. At the most minimal end of this service continuum are risk scales, which assist PO's in the business of determining the most appropriate type of placement for a youth following an out-of-home facility (Ashford & LeCroy, 1988). Electronic surveillance is often used during before and after a youth is released from a facility (Clarkston & Weakland, 1991). Another alternative combines the surveillance (intensive supervision) and in-home treatment for nine months following a three month residential program (Michigan Department of Social Services, 1992).

Interventions within this arena are attempting to observe the needs of the juvenile courts' multiple constituencies. It is apparent that the safety of the community is paramount in each of these examples. One technique applied in the interest of the community, and common to this group of services, is the risk scales. These tools are utilized to keep the most threatening youth in secure settings, and hopefully, prevent youth that are less volatile from unnecessary placements (Altschuler, 1992). However, there is some evidence to show that such scales are often ignored, and placements for high risk youth are no different

that those of others (Maupin, 1994).

Another difficulty with risk scales is the assumption that the most difficult youth require the most intensive services. Although this logic is compatible with a mentality set on protecting the community by isolating these youth, it may be that a service which is most secure, is not effective. In the long run, this may be hurting the community by exacerbating a youth's problems and maintaining him/her in a placement that is not contributing to his eventual adjustment in the community. Research needs to examine the presumption driving this thinking. Here, we can see the struggle and confusion that is created by the competition among the court's political contingents.

Another common element of these programs is the notion of surveillance. In one case, the technique is practiced in a fashion that is clearly directed at the community's safety. The youth receives an electronic tether that alerts his PO if he violates his established physical boundaries. This form of social control demeans the humanity of its recipient, not to mention its devastation of social work traditions related to client self determination. In the Nokomis program, the surveillance is conducted by a social work professional and complemented with in-home services, very similar to some of the other forms of aftercare emphasizing the child's adjustment to the community and home. These two extremes provide an illustrative mini-continuum for applying surveillance, a community-oriented treatment component. It can be applied in a literal sense, which neglects the client's needs, or a more creative and therapeutic sense that addresses the needs of both parties (youth and community).

One more important ingredient of these programs is the degree to which each aftercare service is integrated into the preceding out-of-home placement. It appears that in each of these cases the linkage between the programs is clearly established. This allows the aftercare staff to begin preparing the youth for the transition well before placement. The electronic tether program utilizes pre-release visits to begin building a foundation for the transition. The Nokomis program begins post-placement planning at the family's initial

visit to the institutional facility allowing all parties to begin preparing for the transition as soon as possible. Additionally, programming can be centered on post-placement success. Although the types of integration enumerated do not ensure that the movement from one facility to a home setting is smooth, at least a structure is established which hopefully, will facilitate, and does not preclude, such a progression.

Aftercare targeting a service system

Another critical development in the aftercare arena was stimulated by the court cases filed against dysfunctional systems in three separate states. Reforms stimulated by legal and administrative intervention led to innovative, useful services directed toward community supports. The Willie M. Program, the Spofford Detention Center, and the Ventura Children's Demonstration improved their respective approaches to service delivery by developing case management systems allowing: valid assessments of actual child and family needs; service directed by actual needs, not service availability; and vital inter-agency coordination (Gilmore and Schall, 1986; Ventura County Children's Mental Health Demonstration Project, 1987; and Soler & Warboys, 1990).

These service innovations are distinctive for their rehabilitation of an entire service system from the inside out. The services were vital to bringing attention to the chronic problems of a large bureaucratic system and illustrating methods for bringing about collaboration focusing on needed services while transcending turf and organizational struggles. The aftercare and case management literature routinely cites these cases, or at least the issues raised and addressed by their innovations. Throughout this overall discussion, emphasis has been given to the disarray that is so prominent in this service realm. In this case, a seemingly random set of intervention energies were organized into common goals and accompanying services. These innovations have led the way for many of the options remaining to be discussed.

Aftercare services utilizing more traditional social work services

This group of programs is very much like traditional social work services, with an

emphasis on aftercare services for families reuniting with a child formerly placed in an out-of-home facility. The Arizona Young Adult Program (AYAP) provides basic living skills, group counseling skills, employment training, vocational training, as well assistance to the youth in developing community supports in independent living settings (Irvine, 1988).

Intensive Aftercare Services (IAS) provides a comprehensive package including: case management, social support network development, school liaison support, parenting training, and crisis intervention (Hodges, Guterman, Blythe, & Bronson, 1988). The remaining two programs in this group are family reunification programs. First, the Casey Family Reunification Program (CFRP) utilizes a social worker and a family support worker to prepare the child and family for reunification. Intensive in-home services may last for thirty days or eighteen months based on a formal case plan developed by the workers and the family (Staff and Fein, 1994). Family Reunification Services (FRS) utilizes client-centered planning and concrete services directed at primary needs to treat the entire family including: building support networks, supporting the learning of new skills (parenting, household management, and relationship building) and intensive home-based services (Walton, Fraser, Lewis, Pecora, & Walton, 1993).

Each of these programs is oriented towards the treatment of a child within his environment. An ecological orientation has been defined as, "enhancing individuals' functioning within their environment and flexibly selecting interventions on the basis of the unique demands of the situation and the client" (Guterman and Blythe, 1986:635). Although the AYAP is ecologically based by supporting a youth in an independent setting, many known facets of the environment are left unaddressed. The IAFS is further along on an ecological continuum by providing social support network development and crisis intervention, resources that will maintain and help to develop the youth and family's "situation". The reunification programs provide an even stronger identification with this orientation by providing intensive family treatment. The family is the setting where the youth will reside. This system of in depth treatment is an investment in the youth's future

by helping to support and develop his/her family an asset. The latter two services are more deeply grounded ecologically by the attention given to supporting the youth's family. This emphasis leads to the development and advancement of a technology for serving families, typically the infrastructure of the youth's environment.

All of these programs are attached to ongoing out of home placements enhancing their use as viable vehicles of treatment. Additionally, significant resources have been invested in their past development. Their attention in the literature, along with their continued use will bode well for their future resource needs.

Thus far, the analysis of aftercare has examined the linkages between aftercare and ongoing program operations in the interest of providing continuity, as well as the degree to which an ecological orientation is employed. Another important consideration is the empirical derivation of a program. Investigating the empirical support for the development of these programs provides a deeper understanding of their background and origin. Additionally, we can attempt to compensate for the lack of effectiveness data by assessing the empirical basis , or lack there of, supporting the intervention. This issue was not as relevant for the earlier aftercare interventions, considering the absence of this type of support. IAS does not provide extensive citations guiding its development, instead a developmental research method was used to generate the program. This method of program development includes five stages: problem analysis, designing the prototype, testing it, refining based on the test, and diffusion/adoption phase (Thomas, 1984). Although this model does not display extensive empirical support directing its original development, it is committed to setting the stage for program refinement through data based innovation.

The empirical basis for program development is also complex for the reunification programs. As stated earlier, these services are based on intensive family preservation, which is a relatively new intervention. The original model is based on a method similar to the service system models. A theoretically-based alternative to a chronically faulty system was forwarded (Kinney, Haapala, & Booth, 1991). An ethical argument has also been

made, "the best way to save a child is to save his family" (Nelson & Landsman, 1992). A research base for these services is developing (Bath & Haapala, 1994); however, the development of such a model for reunifications services is considerably slower (Staff & Fein, 1994: p.196). Although these programs have significant theoretical and practice grounding, the evidence around effectiveness remains inconclusive. Conversely, the next intervention has a solidly empirical grounding.

Specialized Aftercare Program

The last program's emphasis on substance use in the aftercare setting distinguishes it from the previous categories. Project Adapt is an aftercare program designed for substance using delinquents. The program design is based on extensive research related to the common etiological foundations established between adolescent drug use and delinquent behavior as well as the program evaluation literature (Catalano, Howard, Hawkins, & Wells, 1988; Hawkins, Lishner, Jenson, & Catalano, 1987; Wells, Hawkins, & Catalano, 1988; Hawkins, & Catalano, 1985; Catalano, Wells, Jenson, & Hawkins, 1989; and Catalano, Hawkins, Wells, Miller, & Brewer, 1990-1991). The program is built on controlling drug use as the key to successful community integration. This intervention includes: a pre-release skill building and goal setting group aimed at increasing pro-social behavior; and case management to generalize and maintain skills across the life areas, increase pro-social behavior, and coordinate treatment services (Haggerty, Wells, Jenson, Catalano & Hawkins, 1987; Hawkins, Catalano,Gilmore & Wells, 1989).

Project Adapt is obviously well integrated into a program as evidenced by the pre-release groups services. The services are ecologically oriented as the purpose of the skill building group is to increase pro-social behavior in the community. Additionally, the case management is targeted primarily at identifying and providing the supports needed for community support. The program does not go as far as some of the earlier programs as family services will be provided only if needed.

The strength of the program is its grounding in previous research related to child

development, personality, delinquency, and substance abuse. The skill building group targets areas identified in the literature as critical to pro-social behavior. The empirical spirit of this approach to program development will continue beyond the design of the program as the authors have reported preliminary results looking exclusively at the immediate impacts of the skill building component (Haggerty, Wells, Jenson, Catalano & Hawkins, 1987). Earlier discussion reiterating the need to establish empirical links between specific services and distinct client populations are likely to be addressed in this approach to program development.

Observations on aftercare

Each of these programs represents a certain advancement in aftercare as a distinct, deliberate service entity far beyond the earlier notions, related to afterthoughts and rare programmatic investment. Additionally, it is commonplace for these programs to be integrated into ongoing programs enhancing the potential for smooth transitions between settings and services. The Nokomis Challenge is the prototype for making this type of accommodation as the program begins planning the aftercare services immediately upon admission. The other dimensions highlighted in this discussion illustrate greater differences among these programs.

One distinction is the presence of surveillance within some services. The juvenile justice programs emphasize social control as critical. The contrast of this orientation to a social work emphasis on treatment has been discovered in other arenas. A crisis intervention program with domestic violence combined the talents of police officers and social workers. While building the collaboration throughout the project, the program developers reported law enforcement as emphasizing, "jobs of protecting life and property as remaining forever" (Fein and Knaut, 1986). This is contrasted by a social work model viewing the most effective way of protecting society as placing the child in a community setting with the needed services and supports. Surveillance is not typically included in this repertoire. There has been some movement in this area as the juvenile justice programs are

now promoting surveillance along with needed services. Additionally, surveillance can be accomplished via intensive supervision, a less oppressive means than electronic tethering. This development is not insignificant as it provides a basis for law enforcement and social workers to co-exist in the joint design and delivery of aftercare services.

Risk assessment is another ingredient separating a treatment orientation from a juvenile justice approach. The latter approach sees risk assessment as targeting resources to the most needy (most likely to re-offend or most likely to be incarcerated to protect the community). Despite its questionable foundation, risk assessment is a very viable component within juvenile justice. Targeting resources is laudable, but there is no evidence that the most intensive services are the most effective for the youths with the "biggest" problems. Additionally, as mentioned earlier, there is evidence that risk scales are ignored by line workers that are actually making the decisions.

On the other hand, social workers see this as intentionally restricting individuals that have a right to services based on being placed out of the home. This attitude was the spirit behind many of the service system reforms discussed earlier. Social workers give high regard to the notion of empowering their clients. One way to accomplish this is provide access to all available, needed services.

There was general agreement on the need to provide post-placement services that specifically responded to the context of community placement. The basic nature of aftercare acknowledges a difference between out of home placement and community services requiring transitional services. Hence, one expects the services to suit community placement . For example, case management, a very common service in these programs, is primarily aimed at identifying, and securing needed service for successful community adjustment.

Still, the programs differed in the ways in which services were targeted. The juvenile justice programs often combined a variety of services aimed only at the youth surviving in the community. The service system programs concentrated on the youth

within a service system, which is a very limited view of the ecology of community placement. The specialized program expanded this view by providing specific skills to address concrete problems the youth is likely to have in the community environment. The treatment programs and one of the juvenile justice programs go beyond the youth by recognizing the importance of the youth and his family, extending the services to that critical component of the youth's community ecology. The latter services do more than provide a flexible structure that may focus on the family. Program resources are invested in the development and delivery of services designed to enhance the youth's connection to this critical component of his life in the community.

All of these programs maintain a limited view of the child's ecology in aftercare. Emphasis is placed on assisting the youth with his behaviors in the community, and his links to his family, but that is where it stops. There is no mention of assisting the community where the youth and his family will reside. The argument used to expand the circle of treatment to families of children was that it made no sense to assist a child with specific behaviors and attitudes only to place him in the home environment where these patterns were developed and reinforced. Likewise, it is equally unlikely that a youth and his family, even with the aid of intensive family services, can survive within a community or a neighborhood that is seriously struggling.

Just as the intended scope of these services varied, the information used to guide and ground the development of the programs was very diverse. Originally, this was framed as knowing what was wrong and how to fix it. These programs expanded the discussion to knowing what was wrong and choosing a variety of ways for going about fixing it. A very traditional empirical approach was used by the specialized program relying on the established literature to guide program development. Another orientation used practice knowledge encouraged by accepted theories of treatment. Others used program theories guided by ethical concerns that are currently being evaluated. Finally, one model integrates research into the program development process.

It is less important whether the program design was directed by empirical findings, clinical judgement, or theoretical acumen. The value of the development effort will be judged by the evaluation results that determine the impact of the program. Hopefully, that evaluation literature will look beyond the outcomes to the implementation as well as the client's viewpoint of the service.

Further development of aftercare

A variety of different issues have been considered in the development of aftercare services for juveniles by looking at specific programs. The discussion has focused specifically on the link between the services and out of home placement; the information basis guiding the program development; and the scope of the services. However, many key issues related to designing aftercare services have been illuminated. Building on these insights, additional attention will be focused on critical areas requiring further development.

Community intervention

As established in the policy section, the health of the communities where aftercare services are usually delivered is decreasing rapidly. The income of the worker is decreasing and the rate of poverty is increasing. This and other challenges tend to be concentrated among people of color, specifically, among young African American males and African American woman, important constituencies of these services (Boysville/Trieschman Pre-Conference Institute, 1995). African American males are more likely to be unemployed, involved in violent crime, involved with the justice system and drugs. African American females are more likely to be poor, single parents. (Fabricant and Burghardt, 1992: pp. 3-27).

Additionally, inner-city youth are developing in ways that promote violence as a prominent coping skill for addressing their daily sense of frustration and under-emphasize skills that may lead to employment or education (Halpern, 1995). Youth that live in families with "decent" values must adapt "street" values to survive. Additionally, the hopelessness around limited opportunities and constant racism fuels the violence which

supports the stereotypes held by middle class blacks and whites towards the ghetto, reinforcing the "oppositional culture" and the code of the streets (Anderson, 1994). Federal and state funding trends have left many social services operations more concerned with issues of accountability, revenue generation, and cost savings than pioneering services that may address these circumstances. Meanwhile, the increase in anti-social forces in these communities has left families with no where to turn (Fabricant and Burghardt, 1992: p. 226).

An analysis of urban communities from a macro view paints an equally needy scenario. Using census data from Phoenix, eight theoretically and empirically derived propositions were tested linking specific socio-economic trends with continued urban decay. The study clearly identified the concentration of, and in many cases the increase in, poverty and segregation, along with an exodus by families with more resources. Social disorganization, educational failure, and high unemployment are associated with these poverty-stricken neighborhoods (Figueira-McDonough, 1995).

Whether one chooses to view this situation from the viewpoint of youth in these neighborhoods or by considering key economic and social factors, it is clear that the condition of urban communities reduces the prognosis for success of aftercare services. It is also clear that the circumstances facing youth receiving these services is worsening. Effective interventions must begin to deal with programmatic strategies for addressing these challenges at the community level.

Significant efforts have focused on theoretical explanations linking community structure and delinquency. Cloward and Ohlin's classic opportunity theory emphasizes the dual impact of the community not only in depriving its members of legitimate options but also in determining the choice of particular deviant behavior (1960). This theoretical orientation drove many of the community interventions in the Johnson administration's War on Poverty, especially the Mobilization for Youth, but this project, along with most others, suffered through many problems in its implementation (Hefgot,1974) making it

difficult to determine its relative impact. Another example is a typology developed from the social disorganization perspective. In this case, the typology is used to predict the relationship between community organization traits and delinquency (Figuiera-McDonough, 1991). Others (Curry & Spergel, 1988; among others) have contributed to similar theoretical debates but little is known about the potential of these concepts for directing actual intervention.

The aforementioned socio-economic analysis emphasizes the importance of interventions that focus on external structures as well as the internal structures. The internal interventions must rely on an intimate knowledge of the functioning resources with an emphasis on building slowly. Also, this article calls for a network of community organizers collaborating on the early exploration and formation of these services (Figueira-McDonough, 1995). A set of principles for organizing services around community reclamation have been developed. These focus the agency's mission and resources directly on the development of community. Additionally, pragmatic strategies are forwarded for organizing the services and affiliating the community with the organization providing these services (Fabricant and Burghardt, 1992).

One of the authors of the last work, consulted about the availability of documented programs in this area, stated, "There are programs out there, but they are not being written-up in professional journals" (Fabricant, 1995). He identified an example, focusing on the political nature of services and how they can be designed to promote the client's understanding of these forces. This urban job training program combines traditional social work principles with an emphasis on educating clients on the often exploitative, and greedy practices of corporate employers driven by profit. This combination not only recognizes feelings of anger and oppression by using it to energize the workers to look for employment, but it raises their consciousness to hopefully avoid, or even protest, abusive treatment in the future. (Swartz, in press).

Recently, more examples have been surfacing in the literature helping to identify

directions for further development and describing the experience from actual applications. Practice theory must be developed acknowledging the need to engage all relevant parties in the process of change: clients, service providers, and community members. A key to the intervention is the ability to support, not interfere, with clients problem-solving skills (Smale, 1995). The *patch* concept, originated in England, was utilized in a project in Linn County, Iowa. Implementation had to be accompanied by a corresponding change in "attitude, organization, practice, and structure" (Adams & Krauth, 1995:90). Another example showed the power of community intervention with adolescent youth. This example illustrates young people's ability to function as resources for community change and the critical role social workers play in making that happen (Checkoway, Finn, & Pothukuchi, 1995)

The examples begin to characterize the uniqueness presented by this type of programming. Even though community organization has a rich history from which to draw, designing and implementing these services to match the needs of inner city youth, their families, and communities presents many remaining unknown challenges. Service organizations interested in further developing or pioneering this technology must be comfortable with investing resources in ongoing, exploratory, developmental, and iterative program development strategies allowing many attempts at designing, testing, piloting, refining, and continually improving the program's design. Additionally, effective strategies to pioneer these innovations must rely on funding sources that are able to accept the idea of investing their assets in the early stages of a program's development, knowing full well that a final product will not be completed for an extended period of time. Similar policy supports will need to be extended if these interventions are going to become viable options with realized effects.

It is likely that this type of programmatic effort would benefit from a multi-disciplinary approach. Similar challenges may have been faced by our colleagues outside of family and children services or even more broadly by professionals outside of social work

and juvenile justice. Research will not only be integral to this effort, but the methods *must fit the madness*. Exploratory research will be absolutely necessary to describe and understand the interventions. Additionally, the research must concern itself with the unique and discerning perspectives of the practitioners delivering the services and the members of the various communities receiving the services.

Empirical needs

In addition to the empirical needs associated with intervening in the community, critical questions remain, generally, about the service arena of aftercare to juveniles. Much attention was devoted in this chapter to the different sources of insight guiding the specification of these services. The actual value of the various sources of information will be determined by outcome research describing the respective effectiveness of various strategies for pursuing empirically-based program development. Additionally, the effectiveness literature should also focus on the impact of these services on various populations. In other words, as the evaluation literature in this field develops, attention should be given not only to effectiveness, but the target population as well as to the information guiding the intervention.

The importance of research on intervention should be reiterated. It is imperative that the delivery of these services is articulated and comprehended. Otherwise, outcome research lacking credible knowledge of the implementation of the service is of very little use to demonstrating and improving effectiveness. Room should also be made within this research agenda for client-centered approaches. Competent methods would not only allow the client populations to present their voices and opinions, but also afford them the dignity of identifying critical issues in the delivery of services (Malluccio, Fein, & Davis, 1994).

Treatment versus control

Efforts should be made to acknowledge and live with the differences in these two service orientations. These different philosophies are here to stay. It is unlikely that either viewpoint will be altered significantly by a conclusive study, consciousness raising,

professional development or whatever. Each contention seems to reside in close proximity to the life blood of the respective professions. These differences seem to peacefully coexist in the daily interactions of the professions. It is hoped that while these differences continue to survive, future aftercare services will continue to build on the extensive common ground, which has the potential for functioning as a catalyst for collaborative efforts.

A review of aftercare practices began with a formidable challenge: Are juvenile aftercare services viable service programs targeted at young offender independence and self-reliance or are they an extension of a pervasive system of social control? The discussion highlighted that although these interventions are still in the formative stages, the significant resources being invested are likely to push these interventions beyond supportive surveillance and control. Although aftercare has been established as a viable, integrated, program component, the degree to which its impact goes beyond complementing an oppressive system will not be known until community interventions are developed and the entire enterprise is explored via an appropriate outcome, intervention, and client-centered research agenda.

Conclusion

As this discussion has examined an extensive section of the landscape around treating juvenile delinquents, there have been many issues which seemed to have survived a considerable passage of time. The onset of delinquency seems to be chronically linked to the growth and corresponding deterioration of our cities. The contemporary take on this trend finds the level of decay escalating in the confines of our urban ghettos. Another prolific issue is the confusion around the primacy of goals being served in this arena. This was present when the first juvenile court was formed in the 1900's. As the court presented its avowed priority as the children, it is very clear that the services promoted and delivered were mindful of other important constituencies. The debate about where these services should be located also continues today. Although the early reformers and current research literature argue effectively that residential facilities placed in urban settings do not contribute

to a child's transition to his/her home in a rural setting, those facilities are very prominent options in today's continuum of care. Another very strong pattern is the utilization of these services by the oppressed minority of the day. The statements regarding the Irish American inferiority at the turn of the twentieth century may not be heard often today, but the concentrated focus of African Americans within the system is surely reminiscent of the same attitude.

Underneath these similar practices is a more latent theme that was confronted directly and indirectly. Foucault, Bernard, and Platt as well as the authors describing the deplorable conditions of our cities referenced the subtle and blatant methods in which the services support the status quo. Although the services within this system do not appear to directly promote current economic and social forces, it is very difficult to find evidence of interventions that are detrimental to the existing power structures. There are momentary lapses where community oriented programs brought attention to routine social injustices, but those instances were exceedingly rare over the broad scheme of history.

Much more commonplace are services which isolate children from their homes while protecting the residents of their communities. Other techniques in the interest of protection are surveillance which demeans the children who are allegedly receiving the help, but facilitating arrest and prosecution in the interest of larger powers. As I watch the growth and prosperity of family preservation, my skeptical side wonders if these services would have enjoyed any attention if they were not available at a fraction of the cost. The hook being cost-effectiveness, not effectiveness. Perhaps, the most destructive application of these practices is the trend toward ignoring the urban ghettos, where legal, productive opportunities are almost non-existent as drug, unemployment, domestic abuse, and crime problems escalate. The corporate world washes its hands of any responsibility, while finding other resources, excluding the American worker, for increasing profit shares. Meanwhile, the same force is in operation in the latest welfare reform based on cutting costs and political sentiment. The services offered to juveniles continue to support macro

policies which support existing structures and abandon those that do not have a niche within those realms.

The future for these services is highly guarded. Although we will know more about the duration and survival of these services fairly soon as we observe the development of family preservation services and community intervention. If these services begin to diminish, then in the very near future an examination of the history around these services will continue to see small deviations in common more oppressive service practices, where the panaceas of the time have simply gone the way of their time-limited popularity. However, if these services continue to develop, it may hold some hope for the recipients of these types of support.

The major struggles, which will face these services as they attempt to break ground on lasting reforms, will be to maintain an energy around continued development and improvement in the face of public sentiment targeted at controlling youth and more stringent services. If public opinion can be managed, there is a possibility of unifying this service realm on the key constituents-the children, their families and communities. In this service world, resource allocation would be based on service effectiveness, and not political expediency. These often seemingly, imaginary developments would permit social work professionals to aspire to the simple, yet powerful critique forwarded by the ethicists--what would you want services to look like, if you were a recipient?

This review of the literature related to some of the historical, policy, ethical, research and practice issues in the treatment of juvenile delinquents has provided a context for the study of the lives of those living within the juvenile justice system. The next chapter will address some of the methodological needs of such a study by drawing on an contemporary debate from the field of anthropology.

Chapter 2

QUALITATIVE APPROACHES IN ANTHROPOLOGY: SOME CURRENT ISSUES AND DEBATES

> I remember this one Thanksgiving dinner. As usual, everybody really got drunk and . . . started fighting. My uncle was yelling at my stepdad about some shit, and he pulls out a gun and shoots it right there in the house. I was so scared. I thought, 'Shit, he's gonna kill somebody right here,' and I was hoping it was gonna be my stepdad. If my uncle had known what the sonofabitch had done to me [sexual abuse], he would have blown his head off right there (17 year old) [Molidor, 1996:253].

A powerful example from a recent study of the lives of female adolescent gang members shows the depth and uniqueness of information that can be produced by a qualitative methodology in social work research. Such qualities are particularly rare in research focusing on the juvenile justice system, where, as with other fields, a quantitative paradigm is the norm (Kapp, Schwartz, and Epstein, 1994). The quote illustrates the ability of this type of data to provide the researcher and the reader uncommon access to the turmoil, violence, and stress in this young woman's life, not typically provided by the more accepted methodology.

Qualitative research also introduces some significant challenges, as illustrated by this example. Specifically, how does the truthfulness of the narrative impact this information? Pertti describes the factist approach as focusing on the truth. This orientation emphasizes a single reality, along with the ways informants can be distracted from that reality, and the researcher's strain to preserve this single perspective (1995). Other approaches including Alasuutari , discussed in greater detail in the chapter, recognize the importance of a narrative, regardless of its truthfulness. Valuable information can be provided about a person's identity and point of view on a topic, without making judgements about the degree of truth in their statements. More recently, in qualitative circles in anthropology, attention has been given to the author's and the informant's role in constructing a reality from which the research is reported. The above research is especially intriguing when a reader recognizes, and begins to inquire about, the process of constructing this viewpoint.

Although the data from the earlier quote are definitely stunning, it is interesting to note that the researcher devotes little effort to describing the research method, other than informing the reader that a structured interview was developed from previous research on adolescent females. No attention is given to the impact of the research method, its implementation, nor the researcher's interaction with the people being studied. This is consistent with some traditions in anthropology, especially qualitative, currently being questioned. Previously, researchers would describe their method according to when and where the data were being collected. This approach to the methodology proved to the readership that the author was there to collect the data, and, by "being there", the author had established the authority to describe the findings (Roberts, 1995).

More recently, the field of anthropology has been asking many more questions of its research method. Having "been there" is no longer sufficient. Significant attention is being focused on the anthropologist's role in the construction of an ethnography and its impact on conducting and presenting the research. This discussion will examine some of

these issues and their respective importance . Additionally, I am going to describe my own personal and professional role related to the study topic. Efforts will also be directed at describing some of the prominent schools of anthropology, especially the applied specialty of medical anthropology. This literature is relevant, given its application in the field of medicine, a system which is analogous in many ways to the juvenile justice system. Additional attention will be given to the current debate in anthropology about the interpretation and presentation of qualitative research. I will also describe some shifts in my point of view as a result of this research. Finally, the method for this study will be explicated.

Locating this Author within the Research Setting

There are a number of personal, professional, and epistemological issues that have brought me to study the experiences shared by young men growing up in the juvenile justice system. Somewhat similar to these youth, I have endured several tragedies in my life, having lost my father as a young teen, a sibling in my early twenties, and dealt with another sibling's episodic movement in and out of psychiatric hospitals for a period of about ten years. As a teen growing up in the late sixties and early seventies, I regularly experimented with drugs and alcohol, often to excess. During this same period leading to adulthood, my diet included whatever I felt like eating, in whatever quantity.
More recently, to my utter shock, I was diagnosed with hairy cell leukemia in the fall of 1995. Not unlike the subjects in my study, I often contemplated what I had done to bring about my illness, as well as my other personal losses. In a discussion of accountability narratives, Michael Lambek describes the value of such reflections and discussions as not assessing causality, but attempting to attach moral and practical meaning to the experience (1993). My attempt to interpret these uncontrollable events seemed to have the potential to create a personal link with the youth in this study. Others have also used their personal experiences to make a connection with the participants in their research

Recently, it is not uncommon for anthropologists to utilize their own pain to

identify with the struggles of the people they studied. Dubisch compared her back pain to the suffering of the Greek women on a pilgrimage to the icon of *Panayia* (1995:102). Rosaldo found he could identify more intimately with the grief expressed by Illongot headhunters after his wife's tragic death. I would agree with his sense of the connection with his interlocutors as, "both overlaid and separate" (1989:10) Although my experiences are not exactly the same as being raised in out-of-home placements or committing serious violent crimes, I can identify with whose lives are plagued by traumatic events, especially, when those occurrences seem inconceivable and are due to circumstances beyond their control.

Although this connection may provide some insights which link the researcher to the people that he or she studies, the value of such a connection should not be overestimated. Some degree of closeness or a renewed understanding might be acquired when a researcher can link some facet of his or her own life to particular circumstances in the life of people being examined, but the value of these insights must be carefully evaluated. For example, I may feel a certain commonality with the adolescents in the juvenile system having endured painful personal and physical circumstances beyond my control, but it would be misguided to assume that I know what it is like to be removed from my parental home as a child, or to spend a significant segment of my youth in an institution.

Professionally, I am also connected to the young men in the juvenile system. After obtaining a bachelor's degree in social work, my first position was that of a caseworker dealing with juveniles in state institutions. I would typically meet these youth in an institution after they had been placed- for either delinquent behavior or status offenses,- acts which were illegal only for a juvenile, for example, truancy, curfew, possession of alcohol, etc. As a caseworker supervising young men and women in the community after institutional placement, I appreciate the ways in which the children's background, his/her family, his/her community, his/her abilities and impulses, as well as his/her limited options

can effect his/her often outrageous behavior.

After working directly with delinquents for three years, I became frustrated with the lack of attention given to the effectiveness of these services and the continued use of extensive resources invested by courts, schools, probation, families, youth and other facets of this system. In an attempt to deal with this, I pursued a master degree specializing in program evaluation. After completion of this program, I eventually took a position as a program evaluator conducting quantitative research in a large, private, childcare agency. This experience expanded my view of the system. The frustrations of working with youth and their families within this chaotic system were reinforced by a consistent finding- youth succeed within the facilities, but then fail soon after returning home. A definite cycle was being perpetuated by the youth prospering in a group home, returning home, failing at home, and then being placed in another out-of-home facility. Although the facilities were not preparing the youth for community placement (Hawkins, Jenson, Catalano & Wells, 1991; Altschuler, 1992; Mech, 1994), it was unclear what to do about that. Did the current services and their accompanying treatment paradigms need to be fixed, or was a different approach to treatment needed?

As an evaluator, one of my final research projects followed youth to the adult system, discovered the rate of imprisonment, and developed a successful predictive model of risk factors (Kapp, Schwartz, & Epstein, 1994). However, none of these findings prescribed the answer for these youth or the programs. After I spent endless meetings with practitioners to review the findings for this study and did not discover viable improvements, and my frustration began to grow. Although this study had achieved credibility for its quantitative methodological elegance, its use for directing the re-design of these programs was minimal, particularly, as it related to identifying a set of legal, cultural, and service system needs for the empirically determined high risk population (African American youth with two or more felonies prior to placement in the residential facility that were not placed home at discharge).

One consideration was the absence of the voices of the youth who were involved in the program, but were now in prison. The data from the residential programs had been collected years earlier, and the corrections data came from an administrative arm of state government. During the period of time where the individuals in the study actually moved from the juvenile to the adult system, we had no contact with them! Among other things, this method implied that, as a researcher, I could examine this problem without involving the people whose lives were on the line. Even though I may have been capable of designing a quantitatively sound study, certainly there was no evidence that I was able to answer questions about the improvement of residential programs for keeping youth out of prisons, without some help.

This type of input, or lack thereof, raises some ethical issues when you consider the NASW Code of Ethics. One of the primary directives for social workers is the self-determination of the client regarding the treatments employed and the goals being sought (NASW, 1993). My concerns about the absence of the "benefactors" of the juvenile services in this study is supported by these ethical caveats. The emphasis of these directives is to focus your treatment and advocacy in the best interests of the client. Even when one assumes my efforts were honorable and conscientious (not to be debated here), it is difficult to understand how this research has honored the spirit of self-determination, when the clients were never directly consulted about issues related to juvenile services and imprisonment.

Although other colleagues identified this as a new area for research, reminding me that the early findings would be tentative at best, my attitude was not altered as I was less likely to pursue further quantitative approaches, until the methodology had been broadened to include qualitative. I became very curious about the youth in this study and their take on the situation, wondering what they might have to say about their escalation from the juvenile justice system to prison.

In 1993, I took a leave from my job in the large private agency, after significant

reorganization of the evaluation enterprise due to state budget cuts. Having an interest in teaching research and evaluation, as well as expanding my methodological skills to include qualitative approaches, I enrolled in an interdisciplinary doctoral program in social science and social work. My specialization outside of social work was anthropology. A chance to pursue this new interest area with a new method originated in a research course in this area. I was able to design, and eventually conduct, a study which included in-depth interviews with youth previously in the juvenile system but now in prison. As I analyzed the data from these interviews and conducted more follow up interviews, my professional and personal curiosity drove me to wonder what it was like to be raised within the juvenile justice system. This was more than attempting to develop an understanding of having "been there". It was an opportunity to test my assumption that the youth now in prison would be able to provide useful input into potential methods for improving the services within the juvenile justice system. Although my experience with passed research raised my awareness of the value of including the participants in this study, there is also an abundance of resources within social science literature which will enlighten this same approach.

The following issues will serve as preparation to completing this qualitative study. Reviewing a variety of theories for defining culture will illustrate some exemplary parameters as I try to construct a representation of the lives of these individuals. Considerable time will be devoted to a review of some of the relevant literature from medical anthropology. This area of the field, which happens to be a specialty within the Anthropology Department at Michigan State University, illustrates the use of these tools in modern systems for healing and rehabilitation, fully equipped with social and economic power structures.

The critical view within this specialization will be especially germane as it portrays the power structures' ability to maintain itself at the expense of the individual service recipient. Finally, the examination of the current revolution in anthropology will provide some guidance that will hopefully minimize potential biases created by my professional and

personal ties with these individuals, and, possibly, provide some insight into how to use these connections as assets.

Different Frameworks for Defining Culture

This study will be addressing a wide stream of emotional, social, psychological, and economic facets involved in the youth growing up in the juvenile justice system. As a methodological context, it will be beneficial to review the theoretical landscape in anthropology by describing some of the tools used to characterize the construction of culture. Although there is a vast body of work involving the variety of techniques for examining and assessing culture, this review will concentrate on medical anthropology.

Medical Anthropology

This literature is especially helpful as it portrays the value of this type of analysis within an established contemporary service system, the field of medicine and health care. Parallels can be drawn between this setting and the juvenile justice system. Both of these large hierarchical systems are comprised of elaborate, modern power structures where the avowed primary intention is the delivery of many kinds of services to an extensive clientele. This discussion will show that although these two systems are not identical, this literature enumerates issues and analytic approaches relevant to any service delivery system.

The Body

I will initiate this discussion by looking at the treatment of one of the most basic elements of medicine--the body. Michael Foucault, the eminent French philosopher and social critic, was one of the earliest and most influential authors to consider the control and surveillance techniques utilized on the body in penal, mental, and medical institutions (1975,1979, and 1980). Here, I am noting his emphasis on the body and the direction provided for medical anthropology; the techniques of control will be discussed in another section. Foucault's influence was one of the few common threads in this dynamic debate on useful ways to view the body, especially as it related to disease, another conceptual

foundation of medicine. There is little agreement on this moving target (Lock, 1993), but the differing proponents make very sound arguments. Let me illustrate some of them.

In Arthur Kleinman's study of depression in China, he found macrosocial factors to be the defining forces which prevented the acknowledgement of this condition. Any recognition of such emotional symptoms would draw attention to larger social issues, and this would not be tolerated. The significant number of patients diagnosed and treated for symptoms of depression by doctors trained in a western perspective had previously been dealt with locally as suffering from neurasthenia, a more physically defined and culturally acceptable condition (Kleinman, 1986). In another study of the influence history and culture on medicine, Fabrega's tracked the concept of somatization over time and discovered few consistencies. One commonality, however, was the need to substantiate and legitimize illness and disability. As stated in the previous research, this was heavily influenced by local societal norms (1990).

Beyond recognizing the significance of such cross - cultural differences, many have suggested ways to view/study the body. Scheper-Hughes & Lock cast the body as a composition of three separate entities: 1) the individual body - the lived self, 2) the social body - a natural body which links nature society and culture, and 3) a body politic - produced by social and political forces (1987). Good used semantic maps to capture all things associated with heart disease in Iran. A comprehensive model surfaced, including the body, mind, physical, and emotional symptoms grounded in a localized context of social meaning (1977). Another integrated model, determined by examining pain in India, included: a localized taxonomy of pain, technical aspects of medical care, the linguistics of pain, and spirituality related to pain (Pugh, 1991).

By examining chronic diseases in this country, a distinction was made between conditions as "I have" and "I am". Those using the latter language to describe their condition (I am an AIDS patient, I am an alcoholic, etc.) were more likely to be held responsible for having the disease. These illnesses led to roles and identities reinforced by

medical professionals, kin, and fellow diagnosees. This system operates in the interest of the system's needs at the expense of the patient's. (Estroff, 1993). This discussion illustrates the useful and distinctive ways anthropological theory can be used to assess and evaluate the role of the individual (body) in a medical setting, as well as the factors that can influence that role. An equally valuable literature illustrates the utility of these tools within the health service system. Attention will briefly move in that direction.

Health Care System

The application of medical anthropology within the health care system is very enlightening. In one case, medical discourse goes beyond simply describing the patients' symptoms. Epidemiological narratives, often used to describe preventative strategies for treating disease, emphasize a homogeneity in the population, ignoring cultural differences and stressing the professional view over those of patients. Also, by choosing which profile to promote, an ethical and moral stance is being forwarded (which conditions to highlight, which factors to emphasize, and which treatments to recommend) in the interest of justifying medical intervention (Frankenberg, 1993). In medical practice, although illness is made meaningful by human experience, it is defined through social and political forces based on medical professional knowledge. Through a hermeneutic exchange between the patient and physician, the medical professional designates which symptoms to address. Illness realities are then determined on the basis of the prescribed treatment intervention (Good and Good, 1981).

In an ironic example of medical discourse, Janzen develops a detailed medical taxonomy of Nzoamambu medical cosmology. Janzen's very precise, empirical, text, which reads like a medical textbook, integrates western disease classifications with gossip, curse, and other forms of witchcraft. Ironically, the text is constructed using a very formal convention typically associated with techniques of power and control which would normally negate the influence of local folklore and other customs. However, this text, despite its formalized style, is reflective of the local importance of non-traditional factors on

the medical condition. The author emphasizes the directive from the International Classification of Diseases, advising that a credible interpretation is dependent on a full understanding of the local culture where the disease resides. Janzen points out that the precision utilized in traditional western medical discourse can be honored along with the local understanding of illness (1978). This discussion of medical discourse has portrayed the ability of anthropological tools to highlight the struggles which often exist between the patients and larger forces within the health care system. There is another theoretical approach in medical anthropology that even more closely examines the power relationships in this exchange.

Critical Perspective

The critical perspective, a theoretical specialization within medical and other sub-fields of anthropology, focuses directly on the struggles of a patient to acquire credible treatment in a system often dominated by larger more powerful entities. This perspective stresses the complementarity between the interactions of actors at the micro level of the health care system and the maintenance of larger systemic goals. Daily transactions of key actors at the local or micro level are scrutinized within the context of larger system, or macro forces. This unique method of looking from the top down portrays some very fascinating, and often ironic, contradictions and conflicts within health care.

Foucault, again, has had a significant influence on these authors. In Discipline and Punishment, he traces the history of corrections and punishment, from a time when horrid public torture of the body was practiced to the present, where the emphasis was on the treatment of the soul. Although the newer techniques of control are viewed as far more humane, Foucault contends that once the subtly of this new approach has been understood the overall improvement is minimal. In many ways these practices are seen as equally ruthless. Modern correctional efforts are directed at creating a disciplinary individual by utilizing new techniques of power through a multiplicity of control, surveillance, and classification. The mechanisms in place in such a system serve to perpetuate the delinquent

behavior in a way that supports the system at the expense of the individual. Foucault contends that these mechanisms operate beyond the walls of the prisons in all facets of western society. Additionally, he contends that social science has been a major contributor to pioneering many of these concepts of social control (1979). The critical perspective literature in medical anthropology describes the use of these techniques in support of the health care system with little regard for patient care.

Through careful observation of patient-physician interactions, Waitzkin found that all symptoms and concerns that did not fit neatly into the medical frameworks of disease and treatment were dismissed. Key contextual issues around the patient's "emotional, and economic status" were converted into bodily symptoms which could be treated medically. Patient stress was not only marginalized, but treated oblivious of important social and contextual issues. Additionally, the recommended treatment regimens seemed to uphold traditional class, and gender roles. The physician's lack of social critique and the interventions promoting limited personal gratification (medication for depression as opposed to actively pursuing long term disability through medical endorsement of symptoms) enhance the consent and control of the patient (Waitzkin, 1991).

The study of the conflicted roles within psychiatry illustrate the use of helping skills to exploit patients. Psychiatrists are often employed by institutional or corporate entities to offer opinions regarding the suitability of their patients for standing trial or for retaining a professional position. Professional training in the interest of patient rights, as well as the sensitivity and confidentiality of the patient-client relationship, are rendered meaningless by the contract with larger system components. Ironically, the professional skills which are used to engage the patient and develop trust in the interest of a therapeutic relationship generate information which is used against the patient, to maintain the needs of the larger societal structures. In this instance, both the individual and the psychiatrists are appropriated against their personal and professional intents (Fabrega, 1991).

Pentimento, an multi-layered painting, drawing or mural, is the image used by

Lorna Rhodes to describe the temporally grounded layers of action operating within an urban, acute psychiatric unit. Initially, the facility was based solely on confinement; this was enhanced by a medical model of mental illness, which was further augmented by a systems approach assessing the social context. Although none of these modes solely addresses the needs of the facility or the patients, they are all in operation at one point or another based on the particular action. These modes are all subservient to the facility's primary functions, *gestures,* key goals such as getting patients discharged, and they are employed meticulously towards this accomplishment (1991). A woman with a chronic illness is very resistive to the multiplicity of intrusive procedures in a hospital. Staff perceive her as having a compromising mental state. She is also viewed as deserving her condition. Her behavior and attitude are outside of the medical paradigm and stigmatized accordingly (Taussig, 1986).

Another excellent example of the critical perspective, outside of medical anthropology, examined the social reproduction in England's school system. Willis identifies paradoxical forces which determine the placement of working class youth in working class jobs. The working class lads have a well defined group culture that values sexist, racist, and macho views as well as emphasizing a common sense method of learning. This is in direct resistance to the culture within the school system where knowledge generated through traditional academic learning is valued, and those that seek upper-middle class lives should follow a similar orientation. The educational staff use control and ridicule to maintain the working class children in the classroom and dominate their resistance in subservient roles within their classrooms, which further delineates this schism. Willis emphasizes the unintended impacts of institutions as being supported by three levels of functioning: 1) the party line - that all children can be whatever they want and education is a viable means 2) the pragmatic - how things are actually done within the pressures of daily survival and 3) the cultural - an existing oppositional informal culture which actually opposes the party line (1977).

The medical anthropology literature demonstrates the level of understanding that can be gained through the sociocultural investigation of a service system. The literature from the critical perspective has illustrated the ways individuals can be dominated within a system. Recently, anthropology has turned a type of critical gaze onto itself and its established practices. Although the previous discussion has argued for the use of anthropological tools for defining culture and its operation within a large political service entity, the following critique challenges some accepted traditional uses of these tools. The remainder of the discussion will be focussed on this development and its impact on the practice of ethnography.

Self-critique of Anthropology

This self-conscious exploration of ethnography has been referred to as an "experimental moment" (Marcus and Fischer, 1986). Many crucial questions are being raised about the relationship of the ethnographer and the peoples they have studied. In her study of rural Ireland, Scheper-Hughes identifies her "lingering anxiety over whether it is defensible to befriend, and ultimately disarm a people and steal, as it were, their guarded secrets" (1979, p. 11). Despite this apparent reticence, she proceeded to accomplish all of these tasks en route to her critical portrayal of the devastating effect of high morals, strict religious beliefs, righteous parenting practices, and economic struggle due to the farming crisis on the mental health of young men that remain in the Dingle peninsula community of Ballybran (1979).

Others have questioned the presumed objectivity of ethnography. Tedlock ridicules the concept of participant observation as an oxymoron. Not only does she find it implausible for the ethnographer to simultaneously maintain involvement and objectivity, but she also criticizes the tendency to emphasize the latter in text. She acknowledges and supports the recent trend toward a more integrative presentation of both the author and the people in the social setting. Roberts supports this integration, calling the preparation of text a sort of multifaceted cultural discussion between the Self and Other (1995).

Abu-Lughod argues that an emphasis on the objective side of ethnography, especially the use of generalization, serves a purpose for the anthropologist, providing a power base. She suggests, instead, that the text should strive to capture specifics, "ethnographies of the particular " (1991:150). Dubisch continues to recognize the constructed nature of this enterprise. It is situated by the position of the ethnographer and developed through text from the initial proposal through the presentation of an ethnographic text. Also, the text is routinely produced with a reader, not the peoples being studied, in mind (1995).

In Frederick Barth's critique of the continuing changes in anthropology, he proposes keeping both the useful and pragmatic, regardless of its traditional or trendy origin. He offers the following integrative directives when considering the concept of "culture": 1 - the concept of culture can only be determined in the context of practice; 2 - all views are singular and positioned, representing the anthropologist's construction; and 3 - all meanings are contestable within as well as between social circles and cultural traditions (1994). His insightful clarification seems to optimize both contemporary and established practices.

Although these concerns scrutinize the very core of ethnography, they only begin to scratch the surface of this ongoing identity-crisis in anthropology. Many of the concerns raised in the debate can be grouped under the rubrics of reflexivity and representation.

Reflexivity and Representation

The heart of the discussion about the ethnographer's relationship to the other he/she studies come down to these two issues: reflexivity and representation. Roberts has suggested the following definitions: reflexivity examines the self's influences on our understanding of and our relationship to the other, and representation deals with how the self is related to the text in which the other is represented (1995). These definitions call for an expanded view of ethnography.

Pierre Bourdieu has written extensively on reflexivity. Along with Roberts, his

writings do not necessarily focus on the researcher, but more on the social and intellectual conscious embedded within his/her tools. Bourdieu also sees the research endeavor as a collective enterprise and not the work of a lone academic. Reflexivity is promoted as a way of strengthening the epistemology of social science, not as a way to attack or diminish it (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:36).

Bourdieu identifies a series of common social science practices as vital threats to reflexivity. Often the social class and origin of the researcher invades the inquiry (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:39). For example, Molidor's research with female gang members periodically utilized "little formal education" and "dysfunctional families" to describe the lives of these young girls (Molidor, 1996). Such comparisons are biased toward highlighting class discrepancies. At the same time, describing what is missing does not establish a clear picture of the local circumstances for the reader.

Another threat is the potential for the author's allegiance to a field of study to interfere with the examination and representation of a social world (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:39). Wikan's study of Balinese life illustrates that trend. Her intriguing portrayal of these people was often diverted by a critique of Geertz's previous findings in this setting. Obviously, Geertz is a celebrated anthropologist and his work in this area has received considerable criticism and acclaim. Wikan's findings did not support his supposed representation of these people as totally lacking empathy, while viewing each other as merely faces. She found the Balinese to be very warm, and capable of very strong interpersonal ties, and constantly attempting to manage their relationships around feelings from the heart (1990).

Although her presentation of the Balinese was very insightful, comparisons with Geertz's work were often illustrative of their divergent views, the constant references began to yield marginal returns. The reader legitimately began to wonder whether the study of the Balinese was secondary to an ongoing intellectual conflict in the literature. Bourdieu's concern in such a case would be that the author's specialized contribution to

the field, in this case, the denigration of a highly celebrated and controversial anthropologist, becomes more important than the study of a sociocultural setting.

A final major threat to reflexivity is what is referred to as the intellectualist bias towards interpreting problems rather than solving them. This is clarified by Bourdieu's encouragement to " think unthought categories of thought" (1992:40). My clearest interpretation, consistent with other reflexive notions, is to attempt to interpret social conditions from within the setting and to understand influences from your own experiences.

Seremetakis's study of the death ritual in Maniat, Greece seems consistent with this directive. In this provocative and fascinating profile of the role of Greek woman in the *klama*, the death ritual, some very unconventional methods of analysis led to key perceptions. By using ambiguity as a framework, she is able to expand the meaning of the ritual to include gender, class, and economics. She also uses dreams as a viable source of data. A non-traditional temporal measure is used to depict the death ritual as having no beginning, end, or middle (1991). Bourdieu would approve of this work for its ability to constantly scrutinize and neutralize the act of constructing the object.

Keesing's critique of contemporary anthropology is generally supportive of these Bourdieuian notions. He argues that a preoccupation with "radical alterity" - a need to find very unique elements in the society being studied often precludes the recognition of common elements. Although his suggestion that the common elements be sought, is slightly different than Bourdieu's push for thinking the "unthought", his final recommendations are very compatible with a reflexive review. He encourages scrutinizing the "political economy of knowledge", avoiding the idealized positions forwarded by ideological forces and the focus on "submerged and subdominant" cultural traditions (Keesing, 1992). These last tenets are useful techniques for exploring and uncovering biases in research processes and findings.

Although Bourdieu is "obsessed" with reflexivity and his writings about it can be

somewhat prescriptive, input from him, as well as others, has been a major force for the recent emphasis on reflexivity. In turn, reflexivity has led many to look hard at their relationship with the people they are studying and reflect on how that relationship may influence the lens through which they are viewing and representing their study populations and their surroundings. More examples of reflexivity will be discussed, especially those emanating from a dialogic critique of anthropology.

More Examples of Reflexivity-Dialogic Critique

A dialogic critique of anthropology has contributed some viable points to the ongoing self-examination within anthropology. A brief sketch of the critique will be followed by some examples of the issues raised. This critique is grounded in verbal performance as the primary form of participation in most forms of communication. According to Mannheim and Tedlock, roles are constructed through an exchange of evaluative comments. Within each social event a participant structure is needed. The participants are socially positioned actors with access to authority and power. All individuals possess some history of interaction with others in the encounter. The ingredients contribute to the interpretation of an event and when an ethnographer is added to the mix, this is "culture making" (1995, p. 13).

This framework is compatible with reflexivity. It assumes the constructed nature of the ethnography, while recognizing that these interactions are taking place in a dynamic setting. The ethnographer's role is that of a fellow participant who does not alone hold the key to seeking truth. Each of these components is compatible with the earlier challenges to the traditions of objectivity and with the emphasis on including the fieldwork experience and the author-setting relationship within text. Some very innovative points are made by other contributors within this framework.

Mannheim and Tedlock's critique illustrates how a researcher can lack power in a fieldwork situation. This point is made very clear when three generations of women trace their family's immigration from the rural hinterlands to the urban areas of Peru. Although

the ethnographer does choreograph the discussion and the setting, she holds no special position within the exchange. In fact, the discussants are annoyed by her questions and find her inquiry to be of no interest. Their primary interest is in translating their experiences to each other (Isbell, 1995).

Life history, an important ethnographic genre, requires the ethnographer to play the role of an active participant in constructing the story. Behar's life history of a Mexican woman shows that history is something that is made, and the power of this technique is to observe the construction of a meaningful history by an actor as interpreted by a researcher. The version constructed by the actor should be accepted and then interpreted by the ethnographer around cultural themes associated with gender, race and class. This type of representation requires a self-reflective narrative to be based on the relationship between the story teller and the anthropologist. This strategy forces the researcher to shift from the role of story teller to listener (1995).

This prescription is employed in the telling of the life history of an illiterate Moroccan tilemaker, who believes he is married to a camel-footed, she-demon. Crapanzano does not question Tuhami's, the informant, construction of his own life, instead, he attends to casting it in a larger sociocultural setting. The author is also forthcoming about his emotional closeness to Tuhami (Crapanzano, 1980).

The ethnographer's place in conversation adds another interesting wrinkle to the self examination. The context in which identified speech emerges is created by the researcher. As stated earlier by Tedlock, the act of constructing this context as well as the ethnographer's contribution to this production should not be left out of the text (Becker and Mannheim, 1995). Tannen also challenges the concept of "reported speech", arguing that the reporting party is not an "inert vessel", but a participant in constructed dialogue that revolves around the relationship of the quoter and the quoted (1995, p.201).

Others expand the importance of power in talk by arguing that the entire conversational undertaking is based on collusion. While language is indefinite, words have

multiple meanings which are expanded when put together into sentences; it is interesting to note that talk can lead to the sharing of ideas and long term plans. Dialogue requires unspecified general knowledge as well as a specific understanding of the local situation. The merging of indefiniteness and precision occurs when the parties agree to collude on the construction of the world they are creating. A type of domination can take place when power relationships are upheld by what is discussed and how it is discussed (McDermott and Tylbor, 1995).

The previous discussion challenges an ethnographic notion of objectivity prevalent in the past. This formerly accepted paradigm promoted the anthropologist's control and ownership of the setting, relieving him/her of the responsibility of describing either the setting or the author's vantage point with regard to the setting. By relinquishing the avowed control, the dialogic critique, and others, have recast the anthropologist as a fellow participant, who may actually be viewed as a nuisance by informants in that setting. The only control that may exist in this realm is related to the analytic perspective, albeit limited. As this perspective has many possible variants, it must be explicated and defended. Further, as the perceptive lens is being chosen, its impact on what is being viewed and presented must also be acknowledged and disclosed. The power formerly held by an ethnographer in the field has been shifted. The ethnographer is now acknowledged as having power in the process of constructing text. Along with that acknowledgement, comes a responsibility to examine and articulate the position from which the text is constructed.

Embarking on a Journey

In line with this discussion, one of the major challenges for a researcher is to examine and articulate the point of view being employed. The first attempt to capture the lens utilized in this research will build on Jill Dubisch's description of her research of Greek woman and their pilgrimages to the icon on the island of Tinos. For the woman in her research the icon, *Panayia*, represented core spiritual issues related to the church, a

miracle, and common suffering identified with the Virgin Mary. Dubisch describes her own personal and professional journey occurring in the process of this research around her changing perceptions of: 1) Greece, an area where she has conducted extensive fieldwork; 2) her relationships to her own gender and feminist perspective; and 3) her struggles to locate herself within the politics of anthropology (Dubisch, 1995). Although it is not remarkable to acknowledge the impact of the research project as an undertaking, attempting to reflect upon that impact and its effect on the research processes and products can be enlightening. Understanding the influence of the research process seems to be one of the keys in the struggle to understand the perspective used to observe, interpret, and present the lives of those that are being studied.

As mentioned earlier, my professional background prior to conducting this study was heavily influenced by my training and experience in quantitative research methods. In a previous position as the Director of Program Evaluation, I managed a large clinical information system which was utilized to promote data-based decision-making throughout this large family and children's agency. The quantitative paradigm under which I was operating dictated that the dataset used for analysis should be as complete as possible. In practice, this meant that everything possible should be done to get all of the 1000+ families annually receiving services within the agency to complete the standardized battery of research instruments while participating in the various programs.

Among other duties, it was my role to have a feasible rationale to share with practitioners, during initial training and other times, as to how to get families to complete these forms and why it was acceptable to consider these tools part of the clinical process. Managers within the agency were held accountable for their staff's willingness to comply with this objective. In short, my orientation was to get these instruments completed in an attempt to preserve the integrity of our dataset, while paying little attention to the rights and needs of the families receiving services around the collection of this data.

In the context of this present research project, which interviewed former recipients

of juvenile justice services now living in prison, my perspective on the collection of research data was seriously challenged. The first challenge came from the institutional review board of Michigan State University, the University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects (UCRIHS). In discussions of my proposal for conducting this research with the Chair of that Committee, questions were raised about the rights of the participants in this research. How would the procedures ensure their right to choose to participate in this research project? If they chose to participate, how would the procedure ensure that they would not receive backlash from other inmates or prison staff? If they chose to participate and the discussion forced them to recall a painful issue, what was the researcher's responsibility? Could the participant choose to pursue those issues? And if so, what was the researcher's role in such a process?

Inmates are considered a protected population. Research conducted within the context of a prison must address the unique needs of this population. Unlike any of my previous experiences, I was forced to consider the potential impact of this research on the subjects of the study. Before the proposal was approved by UCRIHS, there needed to be clear procedures that not only protected the rights of these individuals but attempted to anticipate potential problems that might occur due to their involvement.

As a result of having to deal with these concerns, I began to consider the involvement of people in research and the impact it may have on their personal, mental, and emotional states. Serendipitous to my personal reflection, the Department of Corrections research staff reinforced this orientation as I sought their approval for this project. These researchers shared my previous quantitative orientation. Fortunately, I had a certain degree of credibility with them from my previous collaboration on research projects; otherwise, this project would have never been approved. Initially, the study was met with protests as to why anyone would want to waste their time with such a project. Additionally, I was ridiculed for wanting to spend exorbitant amounts of time with these inmates (1-3 hours). Wouldn't fifteen minutes be enough?!! After holding my ground on the study, it was

approved. Later, in a public meeting it was acknowledged by one of my contacts that this study would have never been approved had it not been for my perceived integrity earned through previous research, using more accepted methods.

My initial impressions about the value of this research was reinforced by the insightful, and articulate renditions of life in the juvenile system expressed by the participants. These data were so rich that my class project blossomed into my dissertation. Critical ideas were expressed around cultural issues, treatment issues, and a set of issues related to the current performance, as well as potential improvements in the system. The depth of the data strongly convinced me that the initial struggles to get approval were well worth the investment of my efforts.

Another critical form of reinforcement occurred at a juvenile justice conference where these data were presented as preliminary findings. The audience was full of practitioners from facilities that routinely serve this population. At various points in the presentation, as I shared quotes from these former recipients, the practitioners in the audience were annoyed by these tentative findings. Comments were made to dismiss these findings. One common criticism was the idea that, since these individuals were in prison, their reactions were predictable and their opinions were not that important. We should spend our attention and efforts talking with individuals who had made it successfully in the community, not those in prison. Similar responses have occurred when I have attempted to use some selected quotes in a research class to demonstrate the value of qualitative research data.

In each of these cases, I have encouraged the audience and potential consumers of research, to withhold their judgement about the "truth" of what is being said. Instead, these findings can be very enlightening ways to learn about the construction of history and meaning for these individuals. This process of making sense of one's life in a juvenile justice setting can be very valuable for those struggling to offer effective services to delinquents. More attention will be given to this point, in the research method section.

During this same time period, I started to learn more about a fairly new development in social work literature – the strengths perspective. This orientation is being forwarded as an alternative to an emphasis on client deficits and pathology. It can be particularly useful when considering the lives of clients who are chronic veterans of service systems. The shift in focus is from the various problems that led to the continued involvement, to the personal assets these individuals may possess, despite the oppressive nature of this system (Saleebey, 1992). Located within this discussion is an interpretation of research from an empowerment orientation. A major component of this perspective is attempting to conduct research within the social environment of the those that are being studied. Another component is the seeking of participation of those within that environment in a way that illustrates their needs (Holmes, 1992).

An empowerment orientation to research continued to shift my focus away from a point of view that saw participants as contributing to datasets needing to be complete to facilitate the most useful data analysis. Instead, I became more interested in the impact of my research on the lives of its participants. Important to this change in vantage point is the defense of the right to heard by those that participate in receiving services and relevant research.

Getting these voices to be heard is conceptually very simple. The emphasis is on allowing them to tell the story from their perspective. In practice, however, this becomes much more complicated. This requires the researcher, as well as the reader, to abandon established habits. Attempting to advocate from this point of view forces a shift from constantly checking the validity of the responses, to an effort to understand these perspectives as they are presented. As therapists, practitioners, judges, or policy analysts, there is an ongoing attempt to counter the perspectives of the former recipient with issues related to an accountability for previous illegal behavior or a need to become more highly engaged in the services as they are offered.

Another argument, presented by my contacts at the Department of Corrections, was

the generalizability of my sample to all delinquent children. He described my sample as "autopsies", failures of the system ending up in prison. The degree of generalizability to children within juvenile justice does need to be recognized, but another need is to give these individuals the right to be heard.

Foucault's might argue that "autopsies" are the business of contemporary correctional systems. It is likely that he would view the various rationales as routine techniques implemented in the interest of control of these individuals and maintaining the system. This study will strive to get beyond these mechanisms by eliciting input directly.

The interpretation offered by the Foucauldian critique, again, shifts energy in the direction of an advocacy orientation. These individuals have a right to be heard in the interest of respecting their dignity and self worth, important components of the ethical social work practice. Their perspective is not only valid, but very important. If we can gain understanding about their experience, there is great potential for greater knowledge of the system within which they were located. Extensive resources were invested in these youth and great potential exists for learning about their lives within this system. Also, these individuals have extensive knowledge of typical treatment in this arena, as well as knowledge that is not routinely referenced in discussion of system and program innovation. Their experiences with the operation of the system are likely to yield insights useful to the overall system and all of its recipients.

By listening, exploring, accepting and attempting to report their point of view, valuable insights can be gained about the ways in which services are provided. Clifford Shaw claims many crucial things can be learned about the way a delinquent boy views/viewed his world. This practice highlights the: 1) point of view, 2) social cultural setting, and 3) sequence of events (1930, p. 3). Whether or not these perspectives are complementary to our treatment paradigms, legal processes, or service systems, it remains critical to know the viewpoint of those on the inside when planning operations, assessing effectiveness, and contemplating innovations in the interest of improvements.

Although this discussion has attempted to address attempts by those in the system to dismiss these individuals by highlighting their right to be heard and the corresponding benefits their voices will provide, another critical issue remains unaddressed. More attention needs to be given to the researcher's point of view and the impact of that perspective on the study. As a caucasian male with twenty years of experience in various facets of the juvenile justice system, it is important that I recognize myself as a practitioner within that system.

Despite my years of frustration within that system and my own awareness that successful overhaul of this system is unlikely, my ideas about the treatment of juveniles are grounded by a set of norms, practices, and values from that system. Although I argue my consciousness has been raised about the importance of hearing these individuals, it is inherent in my background that their comments will be filtered through my own personal background. In most cases, I am confident that I will be able to honor many of their critiques of the system. However, I admit that I will have a difficult time envisioning the treatment of these children outside of this system, or even within a system such as this after major renovation. Additionally, to a certain degree their comments may be influenced by their awareness of my background within this system. It is from this point of view that I will attempt to construct the lives of these individuals, as it is reported to me.

The present struggles within anthropology, as well as my attempts to articulate my personal view point within this research, are the context for the method that will be described in detail.

Method

Thus far, the discussion has raised many substantive challenges that a competent research method should address. The review of a previous quantitative study (Kapp, Schwartz, & Epstein, 1993) highlighted a need for the research to provide information that will be useful to direct service and policy practitioners. Qualitative research has shown an ability to provide this type of information in the past (Shaw, 1930; Loseke, 1989).

Previous study also recommended further research inquiring into the specific needs of the high-risk population identified in that study: African American youth with two felonies prior to admission who were not discharged to a home setting. Specifically, what are the cultural and service system needs of this group?

Several features of this design will directly address this dimension. A qualitative design will combine flexibility and focus in a manner that facilitates this type of research question. Focus will permit the study to directly address the youth's life within this system, while identifying other issues that may be particularly germane. The line of inquiry may pursue the youth's attitude about services, links with family members, to mention a few possibilities. A major asset is the flexibility incorporated into this design which will also allow the focus of the study to be driven by the ongoing significance of issues as they arise. Many quantitative studies, utilizing a priori designs, do not enjoy such a luxury (Anderson, 1994). Qualitative research is also developing a track record with younger populations (MacLeod, 1987; Taylor, 1990; Molidor, 1996). This success with younger people should apply to the younger men in this study as they are asked to describe their experiences as adolescents.

This feature which provides simultaneous flexibility and focus, also permits the research subjects, former service recipients, to participate in determining the study's direction. Through the discussion with the interviewer, the choice of which issues are relevant and worthy of pursuit will be decided by the former service recipient within the broad parameters of this discussion of a juvenile justice service experience. This supports a previously mentioned social work ideal of self-determination. Although this ethic is usually reserved for service and clinical discussions, it should be equally applicable to research and program evaluation, also important facets of social work practice.

The review of the literature in anthropology has illustrated the value of studying a service recipient within a broader context, unlike the discussion of the juvenile justice literature which found systemic and broader scopes of analyses lacking. Many of the

examples illuminate the operation of social and economic structures as they relate to the provision of services. Additionally, one is able to examine the exploitation that may take place when the needs of the service system itself, become primary. If this study is trying to respond to a recommendation from a previous study to consider the cultural and service needs of a high risk population, it would also appear necessary to draw on other techniques that have not only looked at similar service entities, but have illuminated the methods in which clients and systems can interact for the purposes of maintaining the systems. This would be particularly useful in examining the juvenile justice system, where we have previously in this paper, raised questions about the struggle between offering services that treat children versus those that control them.

The current debate in anthropology also offers some concrete suggestions useful to the design of this study. Briefly, this critique encourages researchers to accept the constructed nature of this type of inquiry. Researchers are asked to be aware of their role in this enterprise and to analyze the impact of their perspective on interpretation and presentation. Obviously, this advice is pertinent to the design of a study which employs a caucasian, middle-age, middle-class, male to represent the lives of juveniles, most of whom are African American, within a vast service system. Examining the lens from which this story is being framed is definitely a useful strategy for enhancing the informed portrayal of these individuals. This form of self-critique does not preclude bias but it forces the researcher to examine a very critical and common source of prejudice. The remainder of this section will distinctly elaborate the plan for including these directives in a research design.

The Interview Process

> In the life-history is revealed, as in no other way, the inner life of the person, his moral struggles, his successes and failures in securing control of his destiny in a world too often at variance with his hopes and ideals (Burgess, 1928:133).

Life history is a specific qualitative technique that is very suitable to examination of a youth's life within the juvenile justice system. Using this approach will not only facilitate the youth's description of his own version of this experience, but it allows for later interpretation by the researcher in the context of larger social forces, while preserving the grounding provided by the participant's perspective (Behar, 1995). Life history permits the researcher to emphasize the construction of meaning and history without assessing it for accuracy (Crapanzano, 1980). Life history also brings a longitudinal and narrative coherence. Finally, there is an intimate level of description provided by the person in context (Halpern, 1995).

The interview for the life history was constructed jointly with the participants by asking them to reconstruct their own personal history within the juvenile justice system. Specific questions were asked to identify the exact placements and their timing, but few other concrete questions were be asked beyond what the young man thought of each facility. This allowed him to identify and expound on issues as he felt was necessary. Such a technique was employed to hold this researcher's experience and related viewpoints at bay, while these young men were allowed to relate their experiences. The researcher listened for ideas related to their evaluations of various services, along with ideas they may have for future program innovation. A very similar organization was utilized in Clifford Shaw's classic work - The Jack-roller. In that instance, he created the sequence of placements for the juvenile in his study and then asked the youth to write a sort of autobiographical account of his experience within that structure (Shaw, 1930).

In my research, I listened for ideas related to their evaluations of various service components, along with ideas they may have for future program innovation. If the participant offered short, nondescriptive answers, the interviewer extended probes asking him to describe the various facilities. Additionally, probes were offered to encourage the participant to comment on his impressions of the various facilities, in a seemingly neutral language. For example, what did you think of _____? What was it like at

_____?

Recording the Data

The data from the interviews were documented by the interviewer's handwritten notes. Although it was very difficult to try and keep the interview organized, listen for emergent themes, take notes, ask for clarification, extend verbal probes, and tend to the interviewee at the same time, this approach was seen as more manageable. Given the tight approval procedures of the Department of Corrections and the University (UCRIHS), it seemed unlikely that recording equipment would meet those standards.

The data collection process was managed by politely asking the respondents to wait patiently while the note taking caught up with the conversation. Although there are times where the quotes do not seem complete, this is rare and this process seemed to be functional. After the interviews the notes were transcribed and used for analyses by the software in that form.

The Sample

The sample for the study was a convenience sample. Initially, these individuals were identified from a group of individuals formerly placed at a specific juvenile facility and currently imprisoned. It is worthwhile to note that this study has focussed only on imprisoned young men. The pragmatics of locating participants forces us to focus on these individuals. Although pursuing those living in the community would be an excellent companion approach, resources do not permit it to be addressed here.

Two more sets of screening determined the specific population and the necessity for a convenience sampling strategy. First, individual prisons were chosen based on the perceived willingness of the administration to cooperate with such a project, according to the advice of my contact within the Department of Corrections. Obviously, the facilities needed to house a significant pool of individuals from the previously described list of currently imprisoned, and formerly placed in the specific juvenile facility. Next, a sub-sample of individuals within each facility was chosen as candidates for the study.

Initially, each warden was sent a letter describing the study. Subsequent to receiving the letter, the warden received a follow-up call to discuss the study, obtained permission to contact the various individuals, and determined future arrangements for the proceeding. An administrative assistant functioned as the contact for each facility. Upon receiving approval, and making subsequent contacts with administrative assistants, each inmate was contacted individually.

Each individual was written a personal letter describing the study and asking him to participate in the study. In line with current UCRIHS policy and procedures (Appendix B), the participants were made fully aware of: their rights to refuse to participate; the specifics of their participation; protections that preserved their confidentiality and limited reprisals from prison staff; and different scenarios and procedures to address issues related to the potentially sensitive material in the study.

After receiving the letter requesting their involvement, each inmate informed prison personnel of their decision. If the inmate chose not to participate, no further contacts were made. If the individual chose to participate, arrangements were made for this researcher to conduct a personal face-to-face interview.

The interviews were arranged in cooperation with the administrative assistant at the respective facilities. At the onset of each interview, the entire set of participant protections were reviewed, and clarified. At this point, each participant signed a consent form stating that the arrangements for completing the interview had been made clear to him and that he was willing to participate under those circumstances. In-depth interviews were then conducted (n=8). The proceedings were recorded by the interviewer's notes. Although tape recording may have offered benefits regarding accuracy and manageability, it created complexities around approval from UCHRIS, and the Department of Corrections, when interviewing this protected population.

Reflexivity

References to the earlier debates in anthropology pose some interesting challenges to this method. Reflexivity would suggest that the researcher should consider systematic biases ingrained in all social science research techniques. Additionally, the dialogic critic would devote attention to roles and relationships around power in any research transaction. The setting and perspective used by the researcher also hold the potential for directing the interpretation and presentation of the research. These issues definitely hold some relevance in this situation.

There are additional realities related to potential role relationships. I am Caucasian, while most of the interviewees are African American. I am not a resident of a prison, nor have I ever been placed in a juvenile facility. Additionally, it is known by the participants that I previously worked in a juvenile facility where they were placed. There are also many unknown factors that could influence this research. Does this conceptual view of the juvenile justice system slant the way questions are asked and answered? Although the interview is very open-ended, do such biases still invade the exchange? How does currently being imprisoned alter, if it does, the young men's view of juvenile services? These are just a few questions which could conceivably alter the interpretation and presentation of these young men's life in the juvenile system.

Recognizing that this researcher will bring an established perspective to this research, the previous critique would challenge the researcher to grapple with those biases hoping to understand their impact on the study and its presentation. In this study, I am suggesting the engagement of the participants in this process. It is highly conceivable that their feedback on biases introduced by the researcher, and the respective research techniques would be very helpful. Their assistance in interpreting the data may accomplish what Bourdieu refers to as strengthening the epistemology of the study.

After a set of preliminary analyses was conducted, the interviewer conducted additional individual interviews with a small group of the initial participants (n=2) and

solicited their feedback on these tentative conclusions. The initial findings were presented to them and their reactions were solicited. Their impressions were very helpful in minimizing the unconscious biases in the research method and clarifying the initial findings. Obviously, this complement to the study was contingent on the approval of the Department of Corrections, the staff at the various facilities, and the individual participants.

Data Analysis

The analysis strategy for this project attempted to fully exploit both the breadth and depth offered by these data. Initially, efforts focussed on gaining a full appreciation of the participants' description of their experiences. Next, common themes and responses were assembled and reviewed as one strategy for identifying salient issues, but another level of analysis examined exceptional cases. For example,a particular facility may have enjoyed a similar reputation among a segment of the population. Equally vital were the unique cases, where an individual may have held a rare viewpoint on a particular facility. These data will have many powerful attributes that will be investigated. Unlike many other studies, the recipients of these facilities will be providing their impressions of the facilities. The understandings provided by that perspective will be useful both from an aggregate as well as an individual view. A separate analytic technique was used to examine narrative structures. This technique established plots for the life stories. The plots were then compared and contrasted. Finally, these plots were examined to determine any relationship to differing world views (Alasuutari, 1995).

The data from this project was analyzed using HyperResearch Software program (ResearchWare, 1993). This content analysis package allowed the data to be organized according to themes across the various respondents. This content was driven by the salience of issues as identified by the respondents. As mentioned, one cut of this analysis was to determine common themes as identified by the entire population. The software facilitated a more complete understanding across participants by allowing various codings and organizations of the data by common thematic elements.

This data was also interpreted using what was referred to earlier as a critical point of view. This view will attempt to make sense of the data by viewing the action of local actors in the context of larger macro policies practices within juvenile justice. Another important facet of the interpretation was the determination of the researcher's perspective in conducting this research and appraising the impact of that view point on conducting and presenting this study.

The final stage of analysis was governed by the feedback generated during the reflexivity stage of the study. The participants provided useful responses to the initial analysis which informed the interpretation and presentation of the study. As stated, earlier, a sub-sample of the study was asked to react to a set of preliminary findings. These data were used to either support or refute or augment the findings.

During the various stages of analyses, the following process was utilized to organize the data. The data was coded using the facility provided by the software package. HyperResearch allows specific data to be assigned multiple codings. Findings were then generated using a report facility which can be organized by the different themes which are created by grouping related codes. These findings (reports) are part of an iterative process which includes reviewing the reports, re-organizing and re-generating them, until the most useful profile is presented. The most useful profile includes a presentation which seems to fully represent the impressions of the respondents.

At times during the presentation of the data, it may have been helpful to provide a system for identifying the specific respondents. This would have allowed the reader to ascertain the commonality of certain responses across participants. This type of presentation was avoided to protect the confidentiality of the respondents. I promised them that their identity would remain hidden throughout the study. If patterns of responses were apparent, individual participants would be able to easily recognize themselves. This would violate our agreement. When salient themes are reported, the themes are viable across a significant segment of the study are followed by numerous quotes. In the case where a

theme is less prolific, there will be fewer quotes supporting this. This method of presentation allows the reader to discern the commonality of the various findings.

The study has been grounded in critical historic, policy, ethical, and practice contexts, along with a methodological description building on current debates in contemporary anthropology. The review of those controversies has been used to argue for a qualitative research method using life histories to give the former recipients a voice in describing the juvenile justice system. Also, inherent in the debate was the notion that these stories are constructed by the participants and the interpretation and presentation of the findings should attempt to reflect upon key factors in those constructions. Finally, some of the participants were re-interviewed and asked to react to the preliminary findings. This step was employed as a reflexive technique aimed at minimizing biases built into this study, as with all social science research. The remainder of this dissertation will focus on the findings from the research.

The Construction of a Narrative

This chapter began with a very powerful quote from a troubled teenage girl about a family gathering, her history of being sexual abused, and the family's tendency toward violence. Although this vignette was absolutely riveting, one can still ask the question was she telling the truth? Any type of social science endeavor must struggle with the importance and prognosis for finding truth in the research. In Nancy Scheper-Hughes's study of rural Ireland, she is well aware of the Irish tradition where by the locals have a tendency to "cod" the outsider (p.12). She claims that the best way to combat this practice is to know the locals well enough to recognize their non-verbal clues. She also acknowledges that lies can provide valuable data (1979). Alasuutari reminds us that there is not a guaranteed method that ensures that we get the truth (1995). The dialogic critic, referenced earlier, argues that entire ethnographic enterprise is a construction that is heavily influenced by the interaction between the anthropologist and the people being studied.

The question of truthfulness and the process of constructing a narrative are very

relevant issues in this research involving a population that is allegedly seasoned in the areas of deception and manipulation. Those skills have been honed in criminal activity on the streets. Additionally, these gentlemen each spent many years allegedly participating in treatment programs that did not exactly result in meaningful rehabilitation. Finally, at a later point in this study, the participants describe "frontin'", faking, as a useful skill in the group process. These characteristics may leave the reader with a healthy skepticism about the degree to which the participants in this study are telling stories that are not truly grounded in their experiences. To address this critique I will acknowledge and discuss the complexity of the construction that is at the foundation of this research, describe the interview process in some degree of detail, and frame an argument supporting the credibility of my participants within that context.

Multiple Influences in this Complex Narrative

The skepticism mentioned earlier is probably warranted given the numerous complexities inherent in the construction of this narrative. First of all, these young men, now in their mid-twenties, are relying on their memories to reconstruct something that may have happened at any time during their childhood. They are all. In addition, their recollections are bound to be impacted by some very critical events that have occurred during this extended period of time. Some of the more obvious events include becoming imprisoned. That experience could contribute to a bitterness which may leave these stories with a negative overtone. Also, these young men, especially the African Americans, have raised the value of spirituality in their lives. Many of them have become practicing members of the Nation of Islam. Such all-encompassing changes would definitely influence the views of a person's experience in the juvenile justice system.

Other sources of influence would include the conversations these individuals have had with fellow inmates, also former recipients of the system. It is likely that one of these exchanges may have changed a perception about being in the juvenile justice system. In addition, to talking with other inmates about their experiences, these individuals also

admitted discussing the subject with younger inmates as they come into the prison. It is also likely that discussion with this "new breed" of former delinquents has impacted their perceptions. These are just a few of the more obvious factors that influence the construction of a narrative which may turn out to be more than just one's thoughts at the moment.

In addition to the factors in the informants' past which affect the construction, there are the many potential biases brought to this exchange by the researcher. The researcher pursued this project, in the first place, because of his interest in children's issues related to the juvenile justice system. In this role as a type of child advocate, he has a bias toward the system being ineffective. He also freely admits that he has first hand experience in the juvenile justice system unsuccessfully trying to change things that clearly do not work. These issues are all part of a larger experience of working within the juvenile justice for almost twenty years.

Personally, I am a middle class white male, who has endured a significant share of tragedies, but really has no inkling what it is like to be a juvenile growing up in this system. In all honesty, I approached the lives of these young men with a sense of fear, respect, and interest. Accompanying that background, is an entire battery of biases about what works and what does not work. Some of these biases are more conscious than others.

The potential influences on the construction are multiplied when the researcher and the informants and their respective backgrounds interact. The participants in the study were aware of my former employment with a large organization which had major commitments to their group and spiritual programs. Often the participants asked me if I knew specific staff members. The participants' knowledge of my previous employment may have made them more or less likely to raise issues in the context of that agency's history. Earlier, the method section described a process of making a historical map of placements as a way of bringing some structure to the discussion. This may have forced the participants to talk

about all of the services they received instead of, those that were, in fact, most memorable. This could have conceivably forced them to make more generalized comments.

Another element of the interview process, which warrants consideration in this discussion, is the process of recording the data. I chose to keep a written record of these interviews, partially because I did not know the implications of taking electronic equipment into the prison. My concerns related to the strict security procedures for this population honored by both the University (UCRIHS) and the Department of Corrections. As a result, I had to try and manage at least three tasks simultaneously: maintain the interview according to the loosely planned structure; listen and probe for new issues or unclear issues; and record the entire encounter. I often asked the participants to repeat things or to patiently wait while my notes caught up with the conversation. Although I tried to do this in the most respectful manner it could have impacted the interview. I could have missed things. I may have interrupted a rhythm which may have disrupted a thought process.

In addition to these data collection issues, there may have been some more subtle interactions between myself and the participants. It is possible that the individuals in the study were telling me what they thought I wanted to hear. Or I may have been perceived as the place to lodge complaints, and not a more objective assessment. It could be that some or all of these individuals were having a bad day, likely in a prison setting.

There is one final piece of this construction that may leave some readers viewing the discussion as unbalanced. The viewpoint is solely that of the former recipient, and there is no sign of any opportunity for a rebuttal from the numerous dedicated professionals providing these services. In many cases, the negative report given may have reflected a planned part of a therapeutic process. It is not uncommon for the treatment process to stimulate pain and suffering, especially when ingrained habits are being questioned and potentially changed. Although there is no chance for a clinical interpretation, it should be noted that this discussion is not taking the dedication and devotion of these professionals for granted.

First of all, I would encourage professionals in this system to view this critique as a critique of the system, and not their personal or professional integrity. Having worked within that same system, I know that these practitioners have most likely struggled frequently with routines and procedures that are maintained and unquestioned despite their harm to clients. So if anyone should understand an uncensored critique of the system, it should be the system's various practitioners. Hopefully, a constructive frame can be employed which recognizes the utility of this critique. If some of the issues raised in this critique are occurring in one's practice or are likely to occur, steps should be taken to either discontinue or avoid such practices.

Now that the discussion has identified a myriad of factors that could potentially impact this narrative, I would like to ground my sense of this construction within a description of the interview process.

The Interview Process

The most useful way to consider the approaches utilized to construct this narrative is to reflect upon the actual interview process. Although I mentioned earlier that the approval processes strengthened my commitment to giving these individuals their own voice, I must admit that the interview process provided further reinforcement. Before the reader can appreciate this or my notion on the construction of this narrative, more attention needs to be give to the interview process. A specific interview will be described, with general comments added when it is appropriate.

In a pre-interview visit to a prison, I was told by the warden that they would bypass the "strip-search" since I was conducting an approved research project. Not knowing whether the warden was serious or testing me, I flippantly replied that I was disappointed. I later learned that she was serious, as were the security procedures of the prison. Upon announcing my arrival at the first prison, I was instructed to fill out a form with my name, address, and the reason for my visit. Then, I was instructed to place all of my belongings in a locker, with the exception of my driver's license. When my name was called, I was

asked by a guard what I was carrying. My calendar and a note pad were examined intensively. At this point, I was frisked, with my clothes on!

I was told to wait in front of a large mechanical door made of two inch metal bars until receiving clearance. Eventually, a loud buzz was heard and this metal bar swung open. When I walked through these doors, an ultraviolet stamp was placed on my hand. This verifies that I was a guest, in case a prisoner would try to escape with my clothes, or something to that effect. At this point, it was clear that I was in the prison. The guard took me through a series of locked doors and through a yard to a particular cell block. I was announced to the guard on duty in that cell block before they would allow us to enter. "This guy wants to interview _____ [name of interviewee]." " OK."

After we were allowed to enter, I was literally handed off to the other guard in this cell block. My previous escort departed long before I realized it. The newest guard instructed me to stay where I was, inside the guard station, until the "prisoner was secured". Momentarily, a six foot two African American weighing about two hundred and fifty pounds, wearing handcuffs behind his back, and leg chains came into sight and was taken to an adjoining room by three other guards. I was then let into this room, and the door was shut behind me. My first thought was to look for this individual but I could not see him.

Eventually, I noticed he was sitting in a small cell located against the wall. I introduced myself and stuck my hand through the slot in the door used for mail or papers or lunch or something, and he shook it. I informed him that our first task was to go through the consent agreement. As I was going over it, he stated in an irritated tone that he had read it. I apologized and stated that I was required to go over this with everyone and that I appreciated him reading it ahead of time. After my speech, I asked him if we had any questions and he did not, so we both signed it.

I described the interview process to him, that I would be taking notes and that I would be sitting across the room at a desk. He agreed. He then asked me if I still worked

at the agency where he was placed formerly and I had worked. I explained that I was on leave and in school. He asked me if I knew a couple different staff people, I did not. The process for developing a map of placements histories was reviewed, and we began the interview. After we were finished with the map, I asked him to help me verify the placements and their respective order. He readily did so.

At this point, we began to review each placement. He told me the things he liked and disliked about each placement. His portrayals were very descriptive, and he seemed to enjoy the discussion. When he described his failure in an independent living placement and the crime which brought him to prison he begin to show some emotion by becoming very sullen while he speech slowed down. I asked a question about the independent living program, he responded. When I asked him if he was all right after the discussion of his crime, he seemed to cheer up and wanted to continue the interview.

He clearly described being placed in the system as a young child and moving from place to place throughout the system. He recalled his disappointment when he discovered the degree to which he was institutionalized in an independent living program. It was obvious to him that the program did not offer him the support he needed. During a discussion of the state of juvenile corrections for today's juvenile offenders, he appeared very concerned.

I don't know what they need, 'cause I never got it!

After concluding this very pleasant interview, I explained how I thought the study would progress, told him I would send copies of reports, if he wanted, and he did, and told him to take care. Three guards came in and got him, on my signal. They put his cuffs on in the cell, and then brought him out to put on his leg chains. He jokingly made a remark to the guards about needing three officers to put him back in his cell. It appeared that the additional security was a precaution to protect me, an outside visitor. I waited and

reviewed the dozen or so pages of notes from this interview. A different guard then led me to the next cell block for another interview.

Jill Dubsich describes the Greek woman making the pilgrimage to the icon of *Panayia* as having "muted voices", they are talked about but rarely heard from (1995, P.194). In the case of these individuals, their voices are never heard and they are probably never talked about. After the interviews, I felt personally responsible for giving these young men a voice. First of all, their abundant security made them totally inaccessible. During the approval process, one of my contacts at the Department of Corrections called these young men "autopsies". I did not understand how prophetic his remarks would eventually be. These men were taken out of society, never to be heard from again, at least as far as their juvenile services was concerned. The importance of supporting their voice was reinforced by their willingness to give vivid descriptions of their experiences. Additionally, the discussion illustrated their complete knowledge of the system. By the time I had penetrated the various forms of security, my intent was to honor their thoughts and capture their impressions. Hence, I accepted their stories with few challenges.

In the end, I accept the credibility of my respondents for a variety of reasons. During the interviews, they continually came across as engaging, attentive, and sincere. The seemed to resonate to an interest in advocating for future children in the system. I addressed this issue directly in the letters asking for participation and by some of the questions asked during the interview. During one of the follow-up interviews, one of the interviewees asked if I "had gotten them to stop doing that stuff!" The advocacy issue was also addressed by specific questions focusing on the future recipients of juvenile services. The responses to these questions seemed thoughtful and attentive.

Beyond my perception of their sincere participation, there is some empirical support for my sense of their credibility. Alasuutari contends that one indicator which may bolster a researcher's confidence in the credibility of respondents is the saturation point. This technique is often used to get to the "truth of the matter" (1995, p.58). The saturation point

was reached on many key themes like the racial and spiritual tension, and the commentary on the group process. The credibility of the data was also supported in the follow-up interviews. The interviewees tended to confirm and expand the preliminary findings, few of the initial learnings were disputed.

Although a researcher is never sure about the credibility of the people he/she studies and the stories they offer, I have confidence in the respondents in this study. I believe in their credibility and that the issues raised in this study should be heard and considered by professionals in this system. Finally, giving them a voice is a respectful thing to do for them and future recipients of juvenile services.

Chapter 3

GROWING UP IN THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM: VOICES FROM THE INSIDE

> I would appreciate it if you wouldn't take notes. The last person that took notes when I was talking was the cop I confessed to and I caught a life sentence. I can't deal with you takin' notes (research participant during interview).

The above statement came from a participant in this research project during an interview. As I quickly learned, the process of taking notes during our conversation made him very uncomfortable. He explained that he had confessed to committing a murder to a police officer when he was "high" at a local fast food restaurant. As it turned out, he felt the arresting officer had taken liberties with his confession and, thus, he was unfairly found guilty and sentenced to life in prison. Consequently, we both agreed that it would be better to terminate the interview at that point in the discussion, as the process of recording the data was unacceptable to him.

This incident, early in the research process, is typical of many astonishing findings in this project. Although I believed I was familiar with the treatment of juvenile delinquents, these young men continually raised issues that I did not anticipate. Centering these interviews on the views of the recipients, revealed many fresh perspectives. The primary goal will be to present a clear picture of their described

experiences. In support of this tenet, the use of social theory as an explicit guide for analysis will be limited, at least initially. The emphasis will be on my finding a voice that is fully aware of the perspective I bring to the analyses while attempting to represent the interviewees description of life as a juvenile. While recognizing my analytical abilities are somewhat limited by the biases mentioned in the previous chapter, my energy will be devoted to fully describing these stories as they were presented.

This chapter begins by providing the reader with some background information on the study and the context for the research. First, the interview process is reviewed, particularly as it relates to describing the overall experience of these subjects within the juvenile system. Then, some background information is provided about the various options in the juvenile system. After describing some trends in the number and types of placements described by these young men, I address emergent themes related to the overall experience. The chapter will conclude by looking at the narrative structure utilized to tell these stories, specifically as these structures reflect differences by the legal reasons for placement.

An Overview of the Life within the System

A major cornerstone of the interview process was the development of a type of map describing the path taken by each individual through the juvenile justice system. These maps were jointly constructed by the interviewer and the individual participant (Figure 3.1). One way to begin the task of describing their lives within this setting is to reflect on these placement history maps in a summary fashion. Other segments of this discussion will examine common themes by topic. A final data analytic strategy in this chapter will look at the differing narrative structures utilized to depict their experiences.

In general, the placement history map in Figure 3.1 (Appendix A) is very typical. This map representing one individual's interview experience shows significant movement within the system, a common trait within this population. He lived in a number of places, most of which were out-of-home placements within the system, but he had lived with his

mother and also an aunt. The number and diversity of placements were very consistent with all of the participants.

These young men were placed out of their homes an average of slightly over five times. These placements could include different facilities, or being placed into the same facility more than once. In every case, these young men spent the vast majority of their adolescence in living arrangements outside of their family homes. Below is a list of the alternative types of out-of-home placements. This range of options comprise what is often described as a continuum of care. The continuum offers varying levels of services and security (listed below in order from least restrictive to most restrictive or highest security). This range of alternatives operates as a list of available options from which to choose when considering the placement of a youth. It is assumed that the needs of the child, the community and other constituents can be matched to the specific type of program.

1) Foster homes

A family is paid a monthly stipend for the youth to live in their home. Youth in this setting are given the opportunity to live in a family environment while attending public schools. There could be anywhere from one to three or more youth in a foster home, depending on the size of the home. Foster home licensing procedures are provided by local offices of state human service organizations.

2) Group homes

A group of paid staff provide a treatment program in a single family dwelling in a community setting. These programs typically offer recreational, educational and therapeutic services, such as group and/or family therapy. This type of program would usually accommodate 12-15

youth, although the capacity can vary by state for all of these programs.

3) Residential treatment settings

A multi-site setting with paid staff providing more intensive treatment to youth, most often in a rural or isolated setting. There is typically a higher ratio of staff to youth than in a group home. Program components would be somewhat similar to a group home, ranging from recreational to therapeutic. Residential treatment facilities are usually organized by teams devoted to distinct units of 12-15 youth.

4) Detention centers

Locked facilities where youth are held pending events, such as commitment or dispositional hearings or placement in a more restrictive setting. The primary purpose of these programs is to provide a secure placement for the child while waiting for these events. Usually, educational and recreational programs are offered.

5) Training schools

Based on the reform schools of the 1900's, these institutional settings hold anywhere from 100-300 youth at one time. The youth are separated into groups of 12-15 with specific staff teams assigned to them. The treatment components are usually similar to the previous residential treatment centers. Security in these facilities is very high as are the ratios of staff to children.

Not only do these youth live in many different living situations, they were very likely to experience a variety of different types of arrangements. All but one of the individuals encountered at least three of the previously described categories of facilities.

Although this continuum of services is intended to provide a flexible array of options to address the unique needs of troubled children, in the cases of most of these youth, it seemed these alternatives were merely places to be. From the perspective of these individuals, there is little evidence that needs were met in any productive fashion. The maps look like long sets of chronological paths in and out of placements, with no apparent direction, unless, possibly, to the streets and then, to prison.

Each placement illustrates important transition points in the life of the particular youth. At one level, it represents a key decision about basic rights related to: where the child is going to live, with whom the child is going to live, and the rules under which the child is going to live. The rules at a specific facility restrict vital issues like whom the child may visit (including family members, other relatives, friends, etc.), how often they may visit him, and under what circumstances. The basic human rights of these individuals are involved in such decisions.

The process for determining the alternatives is based on the assessment of multiple parties. Each of the parties brings his/her own point of view to the decision process addressing the question of which placement is in the "best interest of the child". Playing integral parts in this process are the youth's social worker, a facility representative, juvenile court personnel, and the youth's family. The range of the options is also influenced by the crime that led to the youth's commitment. Finally, the youth must also support the plan.

> Once you get committed you got no say on that deal. Nine times out of ten if you got violent crimes it's _____, _____, or _____(training schools). Get interviews if you don't have violent crimes. Decision made between you, the counselor, and your representative.

Although a youth may agree to exercise his right to reject a specific facility, the decision is often tainted by the decision process and the limited alternatives. Although this

choice may be the best of the available options, it is always less then optimal.

> Like a double standard. We'll send you here. You got to go through different stages of development. In a way, it is crazy, some ways straight, but a joke.

Some participants were skeptical about the amount of influence they actually had in such decisions.

> Psychiatrists and social workers actually make decisions about where you go.

> I told my worker I did not want to be there, but she kept me there.

Another key element of living in this system is the amount of moving around that actually takes place.

> It's a lot like prison. It is about moving people, move a lot in, move a lot out.

The process of moving children through the system has many problems. A crucial problem is the lack of favorable options to match the needs of children during these vulnerable stages of development.

> Foster homes. Everybody wants a home. At least a foster home gives a child a home, and not an institutional setting. No child should have to go through that.

Even in the case of a child doing well in a program, the best case scenario, he is then moved on to another program which may, or may not, suit his needs.

> After you go there, they send you to a residential program. The good things only last so long.
>
> Could have held on at residential, wasn't fair.

Many former recipients describe the impact of this process as being very dismal

> If these people know how to make psychiatric judgements, they should know that children eventually catch on to the way they are being treated and the places they end up.
>
> A lot of people go and end up worse. Kid that age needs something to hold on to. Need love or to be wanted. Not an animal.
>
> We all know it ain't good to jump from this environment to that environment to that environment . . . They do it with a child from babies up to 18.

During their involvement with this system, these young men are exposed to extensive movement within the system, from places with a lot of structure and security to those with less. They have little influence on the decision process. At some point, these recipients become very skeptical of any of the potential benefits for being in this system. Once this realization has occurred, there seems to be a corresponding impact on their attitudes. There

is a tendency to lose hope about ultimate goals related to living independently in the community.

Futility of Life within the System

Early in their careers, it became clear to these young men that they were losing control of their lives. They were being forced to live with people with whom they did not want to live, follow rules that did not appear to make a lot of sense, and suffer unfair consequences when those rules were violated.

> Thing don't relate at all. I come into the joint immature, why do I have to help these other guys.

> I did something to get put there, I have these other punks checkin' me, I have staff checkin' me, makes a guy more angry than he already is.

> Psychological tips don't be helpin' a guy.

> I knew that something was rotten. I wasn't obedient to the official rules and regulations. Each time I did something that staff did not like, I was restrained.

> Many times I was actually restrained before the behavior occurred.

> Had no control. Locked up, rebellious, not willing to submit to rules, wanted to be liberated. Do it on my own, but I did not have an affirmative format. Better to say I was not being put in tune the right way.

> Gotta be somewhere at a certain time, get consequences that ain't

necessary, ain't doin' nothin' but makin' the situation worse.

Such intensity and pressure caused AWOL's and reluctance to accept authority.

Along with these feelings of having lost control of their lives is a very strong attitude of resentment and bitterness. This is shown by the description of the service system, "a hard cold, environment for children," or, "too much like slavery with all the restrictions imposed".

The officials keeping me from something they did not want me to know.

They push people to the limit to see what is right and wrong, but they are holding the answer.

Don't always need to give a reason or you will get restrained. Need to allow them to make more decisions. You nag a person so long, they gonna explode.

The loss of many basic forms of personal control, and a sense of resentment associated with an awareness of this lack of control leaves these individuals feeling powerless over the direction of their lives. They have little influence over where they live, the rules in those various locales, and the treatment they receive from the various people associated with those places. Unfortunately, when given the opportunity to leave these out-of-home placements and live in the community, experiences and the corresponding outlook remains quite similar.

Adjusting to Life in the Community

Similar feelings of frustration and hopelessness are also prevalent in a unique segment of their lives "outside" of the system. As indicated earlier, in the residential treatment and group home literature, there was agreement regarding the difficulty of translating the skills learned in the program to their eventual placement in a community setting. The sentiments of these youth are extremely consistent with that finding. Often, these young men had periods of time where they would reside in community situations, unlike the previous list of facilities. In these instances, they would either live with a family member after completing a program, or they might live in an unstructured setting designed to give them an opportunity to practice independent living skills. Such placements would often occur after having successfully completed one of the various service programs. This may mean they achieved significant accomplishments in that setting or both the staff and youth felt little was to be gained by staying in that setting—often referred to by practitioners as *maximum benefits*. Although the regimen in these circumstances is very different, similar attitudes often apply in the community.

In many instances, the attempt to make a successful adjustment to community life was described as frustrating as attempting to adapt to a program. Although the professed goal of most programs was to place these youth in community settings, a common sentiment was that the services did not provide adequate preparation. One young man's description of the experience illustrates that frustration.

> _____ [specific facility] never taught me to be independent. I was always dependent on the group structure. Out there on my own I was too old for programs. When I left the programs, and there were no more programs, I could not make the connection they were trying to make. I could not stay in a job for two months. I was never fired, I would just move on. I still needed someone to keep the reins on me, to remind me that

> if you have respect for people you can get what you want. I needed someone to keep tabs on me. I wasn't about robbin' or stealin'. I needed stiff direction. I had been so institutionalized. The streets and the programs are different planets, you know what I mean?

> It was a struggle to apply the skills learned in the program setting to a very different environment. I learned to compromise, but there were no compromises at home. It was my mama's way. So I could not apply the program.

Others tended to see the problem of adapting to the community as succumbing to the temptation of a "street" lifestyle. At all times while in community placement, these youth were constantly faced with the alternative of returning to the familiar habits of life on the streets. The routine associated with community life, outside of the juvenile delinquency programs was a violent, aggressive lifestyle typified by illegal behavior and the regular use of alcohol and drugs .

Not only did this provide a lifestyle to which they were accustomed, but it also was extremely prevalent and offered an attractive, exciting atmosphere.

> I had a lot of street and program knowledge. Would have used the program knowledge, but it was easy to get caught up in the scene back in the streets.

> On community visits, started hangin' around with the guys, got to drinkin' and just gave up.

The programs intended to help them survive did not appear to facilitate any type of deterrent

to re-engaging in this often hazardous lifestyle . Additionally, the streets offered excitement, entertainment, and financial incentives.

This narrative addresses the often natural and irresistible transition back to street living.

> Got back to _____. Hangin' with the fellas. Gettin' high stealin' cars, playin' around selling drugs. I guess it all led to me hangin' in the street sellin' drugs. Got in trouble for driving cars with no license. In and out of jail for traffic violations, got caught sellin' drugs, I had a 7 ticket warrant, finally caught up with me, and I had rock cocaine.

Many of these individuals recognized their responsibility in choosing life on the streets over another lifestyle.

> After I got out of _____ [program], I knew what I had to do. I would jump, and do am I gonna do now.

> Got the right thing, I just choose to do something else.

> Cause I remember everything I did in each program, but once you get out it comes to that final test--Are you gonna hang?

Although many acknowledge the importance of the responsibility for determining their eventual fate, many do not. The next section will provide some explanation to these differences related to personal responsibility and its role in a much broader view of the system's impact.

Becoming a Criminal

To examine some differences in the ways incipient criminality is perceived by these young men, a different analytic technique was employed. As a departure from the thematic orientation taken thus far, more attention was focused on the structure of the narratives used by these individuals to tell their stories. Pertti Alasuutari has suggested comparing life stories at a more abstract level. Each story plot has a structure that should be recognized. He proposed breaking down components of the story according to the relevance to the plot. Emphasis is then placed on making plot summaries for comparing and contrasting the text. Identified story types were then be tied to each plot. These plots were examined for their linkage to a type of world view (1995, pp. 72-78).

This data analysis technique was very useful in trying to understand the notion of responsibility and its role as it relates to future involvement with the criminal justice system. Additional light was shed on a surprising finding from a study referenced earlier. Specifically, children adjudicated as being delinquent, having been found guilty of having committed a crime as a juvenile, were as likely to be imprisoned as child welfare cases, those children removed from their parental homes due to abuse and neglect (Kapp, Schwartz, & Epstein, 1993).

When the structures of the narratives are examined, the stories seemed to differ according to these legal parameters. Not only do the experiences differ in some ways, but these young men also have differing perspectives on their rehabilitation process. The individuals placed in the system as child welfare cases were more likely to hold the system responsible for their dismal situations in the juvenile justice system and later as adults. The youth placed as delinquents were more likely to take personal responsibility for the circumstances of their life.

Child Welfare Youth

The child welfare cases, by definition, were placed out of home earlier in life (between the ages of 7-9 versus early to mid-teens for delinquent youth) because they had

been abused by their parents in one way or another. So, as a function of duration, they lived in more out-of-home placements for a longer period of time. In addition to the length of their experience, another major difference is the way the young men seem to hold the system responsible for their circumstances.

For each of these young men, a major life event in the system functions as a turning point, after which they seemed to have given up hope. The critical events are key points at which the ultimate goal of living with a family or living on their own was thwarted. After undergoing each of these events, the individuals gave up hope of obtaining these ultimate goals. They seemed to hold the system accountable for their lack of hope. This progression is clarified by examining some of the events. The first is related to a young man being removed from an acceptable placement in a foster home because the foster parents' parents (foster grandparents) could not deal with his racial background.

> You know what caused me to be alleviated from there, check this out man. It was Christmas. They parents came, they look at you with an evil eye. Knew something was wrong but not told directly. After the celebration, the female started packing my stuff. Let me know that I was leaving. My caseworker picked me up on Monday or Tuesday. I didn't find out until after I left, the caseworker divulged, "Those white people's parents told them if they did not get rid of this nigger, they were going to divorce you from the family".

In a similar case, an adoptive placement is also the center of the major event. The impending adoptive home is described as a positive place.

> Felt good about myself, and I liked it at that time of my life.

But for legal reasons he would not stay there.

> Illegal for me to be living there until papers were signed.

During the interim, an alternative placement was chosen in a different city.

> Worker took me to _____Center. As soon as I saw _____(city), I was turned off, I begged my worker not to send me.

Not only did this young man see himself as being placed against his will, but he was required to engage in a treatment program which he felt was unnecessary, given the temporary nature of his stay.

> I could not fit in because I would not break up the fight, share feelings with a group.

During this period of transition, a critical event occurred,

> One day, I was talking to another girl whose brother was at _____ [a different facility] with me. My girlfriend got jealous, she hit me in the mouth with the door and I went off on her. On February 15th, 1985, my adoptive mother left me a note and $10 wishing me a good life. After that I did not care.

This person definitely saw this event as a turning point in his life. Although one could argue that his behavior may have influenced the outcome of this event, he saw the responsibility for the circumstances as a function of being in an unnecessary placement

after he was deprived of his adoptive home.

The third example is related to placement in a facility geared to providing independent living opportunities. After numerous placements from a very young age, this young man was placed in this facility with high hopes of being able to eventually live on his own. Unfortunately, the program was a disappointment,

> It was a new town and I didn't know anybody. It was my first taste of freedom. They were trying to teach me to be independent in a town where I did not know anybody, I had never been anywhere but Detroit. It didn't work. It was a hit [setup] from the beginning. I never understood why they put me there to begin with. I ended up running back home. Went back home and ran the streets.

In each of these cases, which represent all of the child welfare cases in the sample, the individual described a big event that was the centerpiece of his experience in the system. The event was portrayed as something over which the person had no control.

Additionally, these events were critically linked to the notion that the system had not met their needs, leaving them as victims. In one instance, the services never lived up to an implicit promise to make him self-reliant.

> It made me see a different world. I can be something and somebody. I had adopted that thought. The programs were confidence boosters. When I left the programs and there were no more programs, I could not make the connections they were trying to make.

He saw himself as being deprived of the independence he felt he deserved, specifically as it related to finding ways to apply the things he had learned in various programs to living in the community.

In the other cases, the condemnation of the system is stronger. These young men more vehemently hold the system responsible for what happened to them.

> When I was originally placed it was because I didn't have any parents, not because I committed a crime. If you do a crime, they are looking at what happens now. Not what happened in the past. Look at what has been done. I am the guy that has to be taken out of the picture/society.

Here is another view of the system's negative impact.

> As I look at those (services), it was a hidden slavery society. It was a place that was designed to destroy me-psychologically brainwash.

These three individuals, originally placed out of the home as child welfare cases, seem to agree that they have been made victims of the system. However, their sentiments about these services contributing to their eventual imprisonment is different.

The first, previously describing the lack of independent living skill development, holds himself responsible for his imprisonment.

> In prison because of bad decision-making. I wasn't going to let my brother get hurt, and a fight went too far. He was mad and I was mad, and he ended up freezin' to death. I would probably do it all over again.

The other individuals have a different view on the placement of responsibility for their time in prison.

> _____ [a specific facility] made me very angry. It had the greatest impact

on me coming to prison.

> Being in juvenile facilities is very much related to me being in prison. This is why I speak of slavery today for a system which I am temporarily part of. Slavery as a juvenile, slavery as a resident of this prison.

When I shared the preliminary findings with one of these individuals in the process of the follow-up interviews, he supported the notion of the programs contributing to his imprisonment.

> Especially what you go through. All this and it's not like it is supposed to be. It is like I went through all of this for nothin'. It makes you want to rebel.

This perspective about being placed in the system as a child and being made one of its victims, in some cases to the point of imprisonment, is very interesting, especially when it is compared and contrasted to those views of individuals placed out of home for delinquent acts.

Delinquent Youth

The individuals placed out of their home for involvement in illegal behavior view the impact of juvenile services on their imprisonment very differently. They do not hold the system responsible for their circumstances, as a child or an adult. Their sense of having a personal choice in the matter is very strong, which is logical and rationale. Although they often question the judgement behind their decisions, they accept personal responsibility for committing an illegal act. On occasion, some discredit the idea of blaming other things or people for their personal situation. They are very willing to admit a preference for the excitement of the street with little regard for the consequences of their

behavior.

> I did that on my own. I did it for the rush and the money.

> If I didn't get caught, I would get geeked up (high) and do it again.

These youth were very willing to point to the attraction of street life, as discussed earlier, as being very enticing to them. Unlike the child welfare individuals, they refused to identify the services and programs as leading to their involvement in the adult criminal justice system. One unique description portrays the issue as a matter of letting time pass, "I just recently figured out what I wanted to do. That be the problem with these cats, keepin' them out of trouble while they figure out what they want to do."

Others more directly credit the program and services they received while highlighting their personal responsibility for their situations.

> Got the right thing, I just choose to do something else. 'Cause I remember everything I did in each program, but once you get out it comes down to that final test-are you gonna hang out with the same crowd or are you gonna get new friends and do the right thing!"

> Had a lot to offer a person, if they took the time to understand. That there still leaves the ultimate decision, it still lies on them. If a person has in his mind that he gonna be a criminal, you ain't gonna do nothing about it.

In each case in the sample, the delinquent youth admitted the attraction of the street life, chose not to blame the programs for their behavior, and highlighted the significance of personal responsibility.

This attitude about responsibility and decision-making was confirmed in a follow-up interview with a young man placed in the juvenile system as a delinquent.

> Everybody knows the difference between right and wrong. To kill, rape, steal is wrong. If you place that problem with someone else, that is wrong. You know that is wrong. It is an excuse that allows you to act that way. Something in the past doesn't affect me. It doesn't make no sense [blaming someone/something else for your situation].

Additionally, he supported the importance of surviving on the street as one of the crucial factors leading to additional trouble.

> People don't know when to quit. Majority of people searching for things to get high off of, or a better life financially, not emotionally. Those things there cause them to end up here.
>
> I knew it was wrong to sell drugs, kill people. My thought process, this shit got to be done. Got to kill. This me or them.

It appears that the legal status and circumstances under which these individuals were placed is significantly related to their respective views on their eventual placement in prison. Child welfare cases were committed to the juvenile system because they were in need of care and protection. The individuals placed as child welfare cases in this study appear to be holding the system responsible for its negligible performance on this charge. In some cases, they feel their imprisonment is a result of poor treatment, and an erosion of a commitment made by the system to care for them when they were young children.

On the other hand, the individuals placed in the system for their delinquent behavior are more likely to assume personal responsibility for their imprisonment. They appear to

have accepted the placement in this system as some sort of retribution for their illegal behavior and this is linked to their decision to commit that behavior. Likewise, upon discharge from these programs, they continue to hold themselves responsible for these acts which they tend to attribute more to an inability to avoid the trappings of returning to street behavior rather than a result of the service programs within this system (Figure 3.2-Appendix A).

Despite these significant differences in the reasons for placement, it is ironic that these individuals eventually end up in similar programs, especially when research is beginning to indicate that youth from either of these groups are equally likely to go to prison (Kapp, Schwartz, & Epstein, 1993; Schwartz, Kapp, & Overstreet, 1992). In the follow-up interviews, this issue was discussed. An individual with a delinquent background offered this explanation.

> Group from _____, 9 of 10 were criminals. Everybody else, Momma put them in the home. I see those folks now in the penitentiary. Which one gonna dominate.

In this chapter, these young men have described the instability of bouncing from place to place as residents of various out-of-home placements along with the impact of that experience on their respective outlooks on life. Interesting differences were noted among youth placed as child welfare cases versus those placed as delinquent children. In the case of the former, the system was identified as one of the key factors contributing to an unstable life as a juvenile and culminating in prison stay as an adult. The latter, on the other hand, were very quick to identify their own personal role and accompanying responsibility in creating their life situation.

In the next chapter, these young men provide specific feedback on the types of services they received. The distinction between the two reasons for being placed in the

system (child welfare versus delinquent cases) does not appear to influence the type of feedback about services. Even though delinquents are not likely to blame the services they may have received, it should not be assumed they have a positive outlook on those programs. In the next chapter, when the discussion turns to a consumer-oriented review of these programs, it becomes obvious that these services are viewed with a very critical eye.

Chapter 4

TREATMENT ISSUES FROM A CONSUMER'S POINT OF VIEW

The previous discussion established the extensive experience in the juvenile justice system of each of the participants in this study. This background serves as an excellent basis for commenting, comparing, and critiquing the quality of services provided in the various facilities. Each individual was very likely to have been subjected to extensive involvement in group, family, and individual therapy provided by professionals from various facilities with an eclectic set of different theoretical orientations. The following description of their insightful observations illustrates the therapeutic acumen they developed while receiving this array of service interventions. Attention is given to treatment issues raised by the participants while engaged in general discussions. The interviewer did not ask specific questions about any of these various components of their service experience; the study participants raised the comments in a general discussion of out-of-home placements.

Group Treatment

The most common topic throughout the entire interview process was the effectiveness of group treatment in many of these facilities. The training schools and a large number of the private group homes and residential treatment facilities employed group treatment as a key element of their therapeutic regimen. Hence, it was very common for an individual to have been in as many as two to four different facilities using a group approach. Additionally, these facilities typically based their program on the same model.

The "preferred" model follows what Maier categorized as group approaches, based

on Positive Peer Culture (PPC), Reality Therapy, etc. (1981). One of the more common approaches utilizes Positive Peer Culture for developing effective social functioning by working through the resolution of problems. In this environment, staff hold the youth responsible for "caring" for themselves and their other group members. Habits conducive to a nurturing environment are reinforced through the use of modeling caring, relabeling behavior, and reversing responsibility. (For a more detailed description, see Vorrath & Brendtro, 1985). These former group members describe these therapeutic experiences in this fashion,

> Everyone had to participate. Every night, get up front, positive time to say what someone had did through the day they thought was positive.

> Amongst group, you in a problem-solving situation. Actin' out call a circle (group forms a circle), or help discuss their problem. I would call a circle and let a group know what a circle for--Was he right for what he did? What would he do next time? Common sense. 'Cause something small could turn into something big, if not handled right.

In an attempt to generalize the therapeutic progress in the program to life outside the facility, community volunteer experiences provided the youth with an opportunity to apply the newly-acquired skills in a community setting (Brendtro & Wasmund, 1989). Similar to other treatment approaches, a program of quality control is important to credible and consistent implementation of this method of group therapy. Brendtro and Ness (1982) developed a program of training, monitoring, and supervising to prevent the following difficulties: abuse of confrontation, rote communication, lack of family involvement, poor staff relations, poor listening habits, staff abuse of control, and neglect of individual group member needs . The concern around the importance of quality systems for maintaining the

credibility of the intervention, as we will see, is very relevant to the comments made by these seasoned group participants.

This common topic was almost always discussed critically. Often in qualitative analyses, the researcher finds a particular story is told consistently, almost predictably, by the study participants. This is often referred to as the saturation point (Alasuutari, 1995, p.58). A good example of the point of saturation is the frequency and consistency of the negative comment and critique on this group model. For instance, the participants described the treatment environment as problematic. Particularly, the concept of being forced to work with a group of delinquent youth with similar problems and attitudes. These comments from different individuals illustrate their concerns.

> You could look at other guys getting it and wish they quit acting a fool.
>
> If you got the patience to deal with someone else, then you can get out.
>
> I did not give a fuck about other guys' problems, I came by myself, not with him.
>
> Then, they want you to support someone else.
>
> Thing don't relate at all.
>
> I did something to get put there, I have these other punks checkin' me, makes a guy more angry than he already is.
>
> Come into the joint by myself, I'm immature, why do I have to help these other guys.

> Went there as an innocent man; I did not understand that as a group member it was my responsibility to break up a fight.

Being involved intimately with other youth in their similar circumstances was very troublesome for these individuals.

In some cases, group therapy was not viewed as promoting their eventual independence. The participants felt that continual confrontations with their fellow group members infringed on their individual personal autonomy.

> Give the person the option to think for themselves; that option is cut away. If you choose to do something, it is questioned; if you're trying to make a better man, let their decision alone.

> Let people make more decisions; if it does not work out, the group and staff can help understand why.

The previous article on quality control (Brendtro and Ness, 1982), encouraged therapists to pay particular attention to the use of confrontation. Consistent with that article, the incessant clash among fellow group members, as well as the disputes between staff and youth, were not perceived as contributing to a beneficial environment.

Constantly being "at odds" with their peers was harmful from the participants' point of view, especially when the model invited intense personal evaluation from all group members. In most cases, these individuals did not perceive the staff as monitoring or influencing the constructive nature of these peer interactions.

> If a juvenile had a conflict, they got to hurt you.

If a member did not like you, they took advantage of shit.

If they didn't like you, they could get back at you through restraint.

When group is not responsible, one guy can screw up chow so you get nothin but PB & J sandwiches.

If one man is acting like an asshole, you can ruin the whole day and hold you up all day.

You can talk about Joe's problems, then Dick and Harry are laughin' about it. Then, if you got a problem, you wonder if they just gonna laugh about it.

If you are going through something bad, would you want to talk with a bunch of guys who only want to get out of the program?

So you have to be cut-throat with other people. To be honest, if they tried to run PPC in here, do you know how many people would get hurt?

The interaction with other youth in the group process was seen as very problematic. There was rarely a sense of being helped by other members of the group. In the treatment process, staff were not perceived as facilitating a positive approach based on better and more constructive communication oriented towards solving the problems of group members.

In fact, other former group treatment recipients felt the staff's role in the adversarial nature of the environment was more aggressive.

> Info is used by staff against, gathered by kids. While we are pointing fingers, Mr. _____ is sitting back remembering what happened for discussion about the next level or home visits.
>
> Like guys in the group used for this purpose. Would set individuals up against one another. Best friend would place pressure on me that I did not agree with. Shows how staff would use fellow inmates against one another so smooth; it was a scheme.

Another strong sentiment expressed concern about the deception encouraged by this component of the programs.

Many of the young men discussed the idea of PPC promoting "frontin' ", the notion of presenting a false self or faking. This was seen as a necessary skill developed and promoted in order to survive the group experience.

> PPC... Like a straight-up hold-up! If you got the patience to deal with somebody else, then you can get out... Front your way through, teaches you how to front.
>
> As a groupmate, being positive is frontin'.
>
> It's emotional, guy was checking, he was frontin'.
>
> If the group is going smooth, you group is laced up, nobody is frontin'.

The notion of "frontin'" involves deceit in a number of different ways. Group members used it to feign their interest in the problems of others. They employed it to test

other group members to find out how and if they might react to certain types of issues. It was used to act as if one's problems are being dealt with effectively. In some cases, youth used it to fabricate problems that could be easily managed, in order to get them through the program. These youth saw some form of "frontin'" as a necessary developmental skill to cope with the group process. As group treatment was the nucleus of many different programs, some degree of success in a group setting was commonly a requirement of release. To put in another way, "frontin'" and group treatment went hand-in-hand. Until a youth learned and accepted it, he would not complete a group program. Also, struggling through the group process was very painful prior to accepting this reality.

The following vignette describes the process of manipulation used by one individual to orchestrate his release. This story was relayed in one of the follow-up interviews around the topic of PPC and the previously discussed opinions.

> Everything was dependent on your ability to front. When you come to _____, you can leave in six months, if you are able to front. If you able to be good when you need to be good.
>
> Group-two months-learn to know everybody. Individual-two months-you on the road to freedom. Release- you got to ask the group. Did this here, I want my release. Asked for release at six months, denied.
>
> Talked about my family. Got restrained three times, that my problem. Created a problem. Got a call from someone comin' up to kill me. Popped up on time. Talked about my mother. Then I got my release. Said I dealt with my problems. Laid down a class to get outta there.

This scenario displays the various ways the group model can be exploited using the technique of "frontin", but it also shows the sophistication with which these individuals were able to manipulate the program. This individual, among others, saw his experience

with deceit and manipulation as valuable skills to help him to function selling drugs on the street. Although finding one's way through the group experience was the cornerstone of many programs, it was viewed as very negative. The other members of the group were generally viewed as not being constructive, and staff members were perceived as doing little to guide the group experience in more positive directions. In many cases, they were seen as utilizing these dynamics against the children in their care. The only acceptable way to navigate through this experience was the use of "frontin'". This technique was used in all facets of the group treatment process by its members to protect them as they progressed through this segment of the various programs. In many cases, "frontin'" became very useful when they eventually re-engaged in street behavior. However, group treatment was not the only component of these programs where the youth had less than constructive experiences.

Warehousing Children

Routinely, these young men described the majority of the facilities in a negative way. The most common portrait of a program was that, beyond basic safety issues, it really did not offer much to its residents.

> That place was just a warehouse for children. You had a room and got three meals. There was no program, no structure, no goals.

> Warehouses for children, _____ and _____ [facilities]. Those other places weren't anything.

> There were 3-4 floors. As long as you were eating and physically healthy, you were left alone.

> There were no doctors or counselors comin in for you to talk to.

> Around the older guys at _____ [facility]. Nothin' to do but run the halls.

> That was terrible! It was just a lady collecting a check for keeping kids. I ran the streets until I was tired. Then I went back home. Parents drank. It was a mess. It was like being home.

> I was trying to get away from there. Called up people [DSS] and told people they were unfit for foster parents. So I went on to Detroit .

> It was black owned and run. Supported by the church. Staff made sure no one was murdered, but that was about it.

These comments describe many of these facilities as merely keeping children off of the streets but offering little else.

In some cases, the staff would emotionally and/or physically abuse the youth in their care. The abuse was perpetrated in many forms. Sometimes it was described as simply being a result of very poor care. In other cases, it was described as verbal abuse by staff, or portrayed as physical abuse by staff.

> Foster parents just out for money, they let us do what we wanted—smoke weed.

In other instances, the staff were more aggressive in their abuse of the children in their care.

> She would make fun of me because my girlfriend was a virgin.

> Illicit things were going on all the time between residents and the staff: homosexuality, drugs being passed.

One participant described an incident about his physical abuse by a staff member.

> Mr. _____, roughed me up. If things did not go my way, it would be taken out on me. I did not get a home visit, had no material things, and used to get depressed about not having no one. He picked me up all the way, I probably said something that caused him to do that.

This account depicts a staff member using physical force as a method of dealing with a emotionally-distraught youth and his problems.

As illustrated, there were occasions where the children described themselves as being abused in one form or another. But the most common description of these programs was that they were simply "places-to-be", while they were stuck in this system. The treatment was described as minimal, as was the staff investment in working with them. Although the majority of these services were portrayed negatively, there were instances where the participants felt good things were actually occurring in these places.

Positive Experiences

Most of the discussion in this chapter has been on the details of less-than-optimal treatment situations. The remainder of this chapter will deal with the study participants' point of view related to effective treatment practices. First, attention will be given to their own positive experiences. Then, these former recipients will offer some ideas about the possible future improvements of services. The suggestions for improvements are mostly based on positive recollections of useful treatment experiences.

There were a few cases, albeit isolated, where the programs were described as helping the children placed in them. Not only is it important to note these cases, but it is also interesting to examine exactly which part of these services received a positive review. When describing some of these services, the participants referred to the facility as promoting a very safe, nurturing environment.

> We dealt with the program. There was no physical violence and the staff cared.

> The programs were pretty good at trying to get you to understand yourself.

Other portrayals included more details, but basically addressed similar issues concerning safety and the quality of care.

> I was really little when I went there. They had structured programs for kids five to seven. It was like a family unit. Kids being kids. There were no goals. We went to school, I played little league baseball and happened to be good at it.

> It was a good program, a pretty good program. It reminded me of _____[a program where he had stayed as a young child]. I stayed there three years, I must have liked it. From thirteen to sixteen, I grew up at _____, far as teenage wise. I learned to work, become a group leader. I earned a level where I walked around by myself. It was a family structure. When I had a problem, I could sit down and talk about it. You didn't have to fight.

In yet another case, a staff was described as having independently provided a young man with an opportunity to improve himself.

> The most I learned from one staff member, who was going to law school, at _____ State.He used to take me to the library. I saw more by just hanging around in that library than I did in the program.

In these cases, the important criteria seems to be a stable, nurturing environment where the staff seems committed to the children in their care.

Another set of positive memories centered on the successes the participants had achieved. Education and employment, mostly odd jobs for spending money, were common sources of this sense of accomplishment. Although completion of these goals did not automatically provide any of these programs with a complimentary review, the tasks were usually completed in the context of a program component.

Education was often ranked high in this list of redeeming memories. Typically, the youth would have preceded their school experiences in these programs with abysmal performance in public school programs. This may have influenced the significance of these educational strides.

> They tried to help you, I went from fifth grade to 11th grade.

> School, liked school. Real world school.
> Got driver's education there.

> Like alternative education. Two different teachers. Only two hours out of the whole day. Wood shop, ceramics.

Equally popular were work experiences arranged by the programs to give the youth a type of employment training. These manual labor jobs were remembered fondly and routinely.

> Make us earn our own money doing different projects. Like _____ [facility], staff would hook up job. They call it credit to use for Grand Prix, Cedar Point, whatever.

> Go clean race track and earn money to go on camping trips, Cedar Point. Built shooting range, built wheel chair ramps.

> Gave a job on ground crew. Trim bushed, edge grass, painted _____[staff person's] building, cleaned out pond, redid pool tables.

This next description addresses a list of achievements and why they seem to be important.

> They tried to help you. I went from fifth grade to eleventh grade, before I left. Gave you driver's ed., small mechanics, auto mechanics. Let you work with lots of things to give you options for when you go home as a teenager. Get a job on the side fixin' engines or groundskeepin', instead of just hangin' with friends. Once the group did a project, let us go on a campin' trip. Take you out and trust you doin' things.

This young man addresses the feeling of accomplishment, having completed the tasks, but he also describes being treated with respect and dignity by the staff allowing him to perform these duties in the community. The quality of the treatment is a common theme in

the next section. Based on their extensive experience in this system, these individuals suggest things about the system which should be promoted and those that should be discarded. These recommendations for improvement are drawn from their remembrances of positive and beneficial experiences. Unlike the previous discussion of positive experiences, these descriptions were recalled in the context of a discussion about ways to improve the system.

Treatment Philosophy

Although the final section of this chapter describes their ideas and strategies for improving this system, these young men are fully aware of the complexity associated with this system. This discussion is not laden with suggestions for the sweeping changes that one might have expected from embittered former recipients, nor are there simplistic ideas about new or needed programs. Instead, the comments are very thoughtful ideas aimed at improving these services for future recipients. The discussion is organized around a set of preferences based on their experiences, what they viewed as missing from the services, and finally a discussion of their treatment philosophy. The section on philosophy is based on their intimate personal experiences. A plea and a hope for other children enduring this system are expressed, along with recognition of their potential, and some ideas about how to reach them.

Improvements based on Positive Memories

Much of the attention to this point has focussed on the many failings within this system. The negative review of the system has been the overwhelming sentiment; however, many of these young men had program experience(s) which they were able to portray as beneficial . This discussion refers to those described in a discussion of ideas for improving the system. In some cases, an overall program was given an unqualified positive appraisal.

> Staff great. If you had a problem, went right to staff. Did not matter which

one.

Taught me how to be an individual and take responsibility.

How to deal with my problems. How to be somebody, respect others and myself.

Had a lot of offer a person, if they took the time to understand.

Had a chance to talk with somebody, talk with my advocate [staff assigned to him], fully make me understand.

Taught me how to live. I would fully recommend it to a lot of people.

A guy's attitude would change. Felt like he was loved. Pointed out that it could be another way.

Us bein' as young as we were, the goal was to bring us, all the young people, together to show that they can be together.

That was about the best place I had ever been. The staff were real nice.

I learned a lot. How to get along with people. Learned how to treat people. Other programs only made me angry.

Very good place. Stayed there from eight to thirteen. Staff taught us nobody was better than the next man. Love. They really did care about us

and we really cared about them. The program was good looking back.

In other cases, these young men had high regard for a specific program component. Some type of family counseling/therapy program was often an integral part of the treatment. For some, this was described as a meaningful component.

Come up with the family. It helped get them back together.

They had the family thing. Your family comes up. You go through the family to see what problems come up with the family. Helped get the family back together.

In one case, the effects of this service have continued to benefit a specific individual into adulthood.

"Come up for a meeting and I will get a meeting scheduled". They were worried about the meeting and said they would never come. Scheduled it anyway. Told 'em, "I want you to meet someone". After first meeting, felt pressure was off. Had meeting every other weekend. Drew us back together as a family, ya know.

It's helped. 'Cause in the last five years in the pen, I can talk with them. Before, I was afraid what they were going to do. Now, I can ask them hard questions. They like friends and family.

In addition to praising family treatment, some individuals commended specific educational components.

School. Liked School. Real world school.

School. Schooling was great! Teachers was there for you.

More frequently, these young men shared their positive memories about recreational and physical education types of activities.

Good exercise, if you want to workout. Every sport you could think of. Not like prison.

They had some straight things, activities, man! You were constantly doing something. You were being young. Going camping. To movies, skating. They had football games.

Learning new experiences, like going to Gaylord, Michigan.

Different kinds of programs. Learning something to do with nature.

They took us up north a lot. Taught us how to survive in the wilderness. Showed us things normal kids really didn't do. We were on top of the world. They taught us how to ski.

Whether positive references are made to whole, or to specific programs, the comments apparently center on two different themes. In the discussion of the more traditional therapeutic elements, most of the emphasis is on being treated with dignity and

respect by caring staff. In the description of the redeeming features of the special program elements, much of the focus is on activities that allowed these individuals to enjoy themselves. It appears that it is not staff qualifications or program characteristics which designate these activities as exceptional. Instead, it is the emphasis on the caring and committed staff, and the opportunities for sheer enjoyment from participating in the recreational activities. In other words, these individuals place a high value on working with staff who cared about them and having fun. These elements seem to be rare commodities for the children raised in these systems.

The Needs of Future Recipients

Although the positive appraisals of this system often related specifically to basic ingredients, these young men also understood the complex needs of children within these systems. Many needs are identified by these individuals. Education was noted as an important tool that must compete with street lifestyles and values.

> Education plays about twenty percent. Might say, "I'm tired of school, when you see people in Benz. I wanna get that there."

The value of family is also identified as an important area where needs often go unmet.

> When there is good family, you don't see many doing somethin' (getting in trouble).

> If not doin' it, need childcare. No mother, no father. No idea what kinda kid the youth is. That's why I am like I am today.

> Concentration should be on putting children back in the homes of their

> families. Dealin' with problems where they be at: family problems, family sickness.

Although some of the comments about specific components of the system are interesting, the most salient advice about fixing this system is related to having been through this system and wanting to help others avoid it. In our discussions of the system for the future, it was almost as if the former recipients were suggesting that the juvenile recipients of today's juvenile justice system be treated as they, themselves, would have preferred being treated. If they had access to these things and this type of advice, maybe things would have been different for them. This process of discussing the needs of children within the system may have given the study participants a vicarious second chance.

Some of these young men spoke openly about wanting another chance.

> Everyone in here wished they had another chance.

> I never felt I had hope. Looking back on it, if I had seen things like this, I would change.

When discussing proposed changes in the juvenile system, the needs of present and future recipients seemed to be the focus. By offering their insights, and, in some cases, a willingness to engage in personal exchanges, there seemed to be a connection. Helping someone to avoid their own mistakes was the next best thing to getting a second chance. The ideas about what needed to be done seemed to be based on a combination of two things: what they felt, at that time, would have met their needs and an understanding of the needs of current recipients of these services. Their impressions of current juveniles come from their own understandings and associations with new younger residents of the prison

system and discussion with other inmates.

These young men characterize current juveniles in this system as people with significant potential mired in a dire situation. They recognize that a major shift in attitude must take place with this population. They feel it is not too late to make such changes, and the investment is worth it, given the unlimited potential of this group. The first obstacle in reaching this population is a destructive attitude.

> Kids got the attitude I can do what I want. If you come in with a beastie type manner, it ain't gonna matter!
>
> Kids are not taken things seriously, they be shaken up!
>
> Before they get into negative: gold chains, nice cars, hanging at the corner, disrespect for woman, show them that's wrong!
>
> First of all, it's having something to do. Learning new things. That can be habit-formin'. When I haven't got nothin' to do. . . Idle mind is the devil's workshop. Gotta teach kids right from wrong.

An awareness of the destructive attitudes of young men who come off of a tumultuous street environment is tempered by placing a high value on the untapped potential offered by these same individuals at a critical point in their lives.

> You have got to cultivate a seed.
>
> Juvenile is the best time to instill inspirations in a child's mind.

> Black person don't know himself. Can be someone, can become great man of the black community.

Another comment called for both present and former recipients to get beyond their struggles and begin to succeed.

> Eventually, we got to rise up together.

The last remark illustrates the ability for these young men to identify with those who are currently receiving services. Discussions of treatment philosophy mostly concentrated on the challenge and necessity of meeting the needs of troubled juveniles.

With one exception, it was rare for any of these individuals to promote specific program ideas. The one prominent exception addresses two specific elements. First of all, these former recipients see inherent appeal in giving juveniles presently in the system the opportunity to hear from current adult members of the corrections system about some of the more dismal things that might be in store for them. An important piece of this suggestion was the credibility established by getting this information from a bona fide veteran of the system, not a professional paid staff person.

> I would like to talk to those children. Would like to talk to them about the after life story. What happens to them after they leave and how they can stay out of trouble.

> It's like if the services are looking for betterment, it should come from those that have that experience. Have to hire people that have experience. Individuals like me would not be threatening. Motivation for giving juveniles the benefit of someone who has been incarcerated and give them

something to look at to keep from coming this direction.

Closely related to hearing from someone with real experience, is the idea of giving young recipients of the juvenile system some type of exposure to the prison system. Let them know, first hand, what they can expect if they do not change their ways.

> At _____, juveniles did not see the prison experience. No examples of the future. Give juveniles something to look at, to encourage them to enter society.
>
> If you want them to avoid going to prison, take them through quarantine at Jackson. There is so much evil in that place, you don't belong in that place no matter who you are, or what you did.
>
> If you could take them on a straight-up tour. If they could see someone get stabbed, hit over the head with a combination lock, gut set-up.
>
> Walk casually through here and see how we live.
>
> People need to see what goes on in these places. Looks like we having a good time: tv, meals, drugs, sex. Need to know this is not a walk. What is really going on, see the terror behind these places.

The exposure to prison seems to address two issues. Apparently, as juveniles, these individuals did not have an appreciation for what was going to happen to them. First, emphasizing the strong possibility of going to prison and what they might expect in prison is important. Second, giving today's juveniles the benefit of this information may convince

them to stay out of trouble and to avoid prison.

During the follow-up interviews, however, I had discussed this with two different individuals. They both agreed that this technique would not alter anyone's behavior in any way that might help another to avoid prison. Neither individual believed a relevant connection would be made by a juvenile in today's system. For slightly different reasons, these individuals saw a juvenile in today's system as thinking this information may apply to someone else, but not to him. One young man, adjudicated as a child welfare case, felt that juveniles in a circumstances similar to his would not be committing crimes and would dismiss this as a possibility.

> I learned it wouldn't do any good. It will not work with white and black teens. When I wasn't doing anything [committing crimes as a juvenile] to go to prison [he would not have seen himself as a candidate for prison]. So don't think that would work.

A different individual, with a delinquent background, felt that a youth currently on the streets would have an attitude that would prevent him from paying any serious attention to prison as a possibility.

> Scared Straight tip. Disagree. You have individuals, I am the toughest nut on the street. They don't believe they get caught.
>
> Just come from four block yard at Jackson. Saw more people get stabbed and come up half dead that I saw in my entire life.
>
> Prison it ain't a helluva solution.
>
> Take and snatch up forty people out of the old neighborhood. Put 'em on block and let 'em go yard for a week.

"Look Nigga! I makin' money. I ain't going to the penitentiary."

In this young man's mind, a week on the yard in the state's roughest prison would probably make an impression on someone, but that impression would not relate to curbing illegal behavior. He feels that a delinquent on the street is too involved in financial rewards associated with that lifestyle. In addition to enjoying these benefits, he finds it very unlikely that a person in this situation would ever consider the possibility of being apprehended and prosecuted for this behavior.

The initial suggestions about exposing juveniles to prison came up in the first round of interviews. It is my sense that the major point of this issue was that as delinquent youth, it was not made clear to them that they would end up in prison and what that life would be like. Hence, they felt future juvenile should hear from them what is waiting, if they don't change their ways. Upon further reflections, during the follow-up interviews, it was recognized that current juveniles may pay attention to such an intervention, but it would not change their behavior. In one case, a youth placed as a child welfare case admitted that as a juvenile, he would not have seen himself as having the potential to commit a serious crime. In another, a young man with a delinquent history as a child found it very unlikely that a juvenile committing crimes would recognize the possibility of getting caught. A youth in this mode would be more likely to be enthralled with the benefits of his illegal behavior– money, excitement, power, etc.

After enduring and experiencing the various options offered by the juvenile system, the individuals in this study present a very informed critique of these services. Although their opinions may be altered by the ways time and their attitudes have influenced the preservation of these memories, these reviews provide some very critical information on what it is like to receive such services. From the harsh critique of the group model to the pleasant memories of receiving quality care from committed staff and enjoying recreational

activities these recollections provide an unique appraisal of the experience of living within the confines of the juvenile system. When these individuals reflect upon the future for other troubled children, like themselves, they insist there can be great potential behind some very negative attitudes.

The most consistent and concrete suggestion was the idea of letting today's recipients of the juvenile system receive some exposure to a prison environment. Even though discussions in the follow-up interviews saw the potential for this option as having limited returns for anyone's overall rehabilitation, many felt it was necessary to let them know what the future may hold. It is almost as if they are suggesting that something be done to prevent children, like them, from going through the same experience. The key to the argument for pursuing the rehabilitation for today's recipients is that despite the highly negative attitudes and outlooks they possess, and the irresistible temptations the street will always hold for them, these young men hold great potential which should be optimized in other ways than struggling through a juvenile system, and ending up sitting in a prison cell. In addition to critiquing services, many issues were raised regarding cultural conflicts presented by the system. The next chapter will address those differences.

Chapter 5

Racial and Spiritual Tension: An Outsider's View from the Inside

Thus far, the discussion has reviewed the experiences and impressions of former recipients of services of the juvenile justice system related to living in this environment and the quality of their treatment. This chapter will focus on the ethnic, racial, and spiritual background of these individuals. Specifically, attention will be given to a description of life within this system, given the racial and spiritual characteristics these young men brought to the various facilities. It is useful to remember that seven of the eight participants were African American. Their comments and feedback will be the focus of this discussion. The remaining Caucasian participant did not raise any of these issues in the interview.

Generally, the treatment was described as not being sensitive to much diversity, cultural, or otherwise. In some cases, young men dealt with very open and blatant racist attitudes and practices. The portrayal of spiritual practices and their respective treatment/promotion was also described by these youth as being insensitive to their background and experience. Additionally, these young men found that the approach to addressing spirituality was not only dogmatic, but also demeaning. Little attention was given to helping the youth to understand the spiritual principles driving the basic practices. The lack of background and understanding of the foundation of the chosen and promoted religious belief system made application of religion in daily life very difficult for these youth. This was further complicated by the lack of connection between the program of spirituality and the daily practices of staff, when dealing with these young men.

Racial Tension

To fully appreciate the context for these descriptions, an examination of the current practices of these individuals is useful. Each of the African Americans in the study described his spirituality as an important part of his life. Three of the seven were practicing members of the Nation of Islam. Although there was no distinct pattern among the other participants, each spoke respectfully of his personal faith. I am pointing out this background not as a way of describing these individuals as unique or different; in fact, other accounts of prison life have emphasized the importance of spiritual beliefs (Carr, 1975; Rideau & Wikberg, 1992; McCall, 1994) . Instead, this additional detail is being given to the reader as additional background which may help interpretation. It is very likely that their perspective on the juvenile justice system, especially as it relates to spiritually and culturally sensitive practices, has been influenced by their respective faiths.

Estrangement, Preferential Treatment and Abuse

The most consistent view of the conflict between African American youth and white males could be described as alienation due to the lack of familiarity. These African American youth were from urban areas populated, almost exclusively, by other African Americans. This made the move to an out-of-home facility staffed almost exclusively by Caucasians very shocking. One young man described a particular program as,

> white people at a campus setting.

Many others spoke of the tension created by being placed in facilities with few, if any, African American staff.

> There were an awful lot of white people. Don't get me wrong, I am not a racist, but I grew up in a neighborhood of all black folk. And when I got to

_____ [facility], it was the first white people I ever met.

How does a guy from the ghetto deal with the European guys that he is used to stickin' up in the suburbs? He can't relate!

Trying to get along with staff was different. Mr. ____ took us to his house where he had trucks. Ain't used to getting along with people, you can tell. He wasn't used to dealin' with us and we weren't used to dealin' with him.

Similar circumstances were applicable in the communities where the facilities were located. During community activities, these youth often dealt with a similar situation. "I was the only black person in the area, so I was spotted easily. "

The follow-up interviews provided a more thorough explanation of the experience of leaving a fairly homogenous racial environment and being placed in a facility where the staff are predominantly Caucasian. One young man further explained this attitude as more than a lack of familiarity. His own orientation was firmly grounded in anti-Caucasian beliefs prominent in his family and neighborhood. The move into a program operated by mostly Caucasian staff was a drastic change Further, he often promoted his views among his peers; however, he still saw a need to put this aside in the interest of encouraging racial compatibility.

I didn't have no respect for white folks. I was sort of into control, was able to get brothers to follow what I thought. My Grandaddy was a racist. He didn't want nothin' to with white people. Some did not know (about attitudes towards Caucasians). Not racist, just in an environment just don't allow white folks to be around, especially white males. If one came in our neighborhood, we used to rush them, just for somethin' to do.

> This is like takin' a child out of an environment and place them in an different environment. Will not do well in that environment.
>
> Gonna always have those that feel they are superior to others. It has to come to a point where someone has to learn to put this aside. You may feel that way because of this here, but you got to keep to yourself.

He clearly ties his intolerance of Caucasians to his family background and the socialization from his neighborhood. When he was moved from his home to a facility run by Caucasians, it was difficult for him to adjust. However, he does see a need for himself and others to put aside this point of view and find a more constructive method of dealing with this issue in a more harmonious fashion.

In a follow-up interview with another individual, a different point of view was presented. He did refer to a belief system reinforced since childhood, but he did not experience difficulty with racial problems. Instead, he implied that such difficulties were probable for others, and he placed responsibility on the facility for managing the operation in a way that condoned these differences.

> Grew up with the idea that all races are equal. Treat all races equal.
>
> Never had racial problems in programs. Programs were half black and half white. We had assholes, but we stuck together. It's all about who the authority figure is. You can stop racial stuff from happenin' in a place like that.

His acknowledgement of the potential for racial inequality was actualized by others within this system. In some cases, preferential treatment was given to youth who were not of African American origins.

> I thought the white kids got a lot of special attention. In group, we would stop and have the group focus on the white kid's problems more often. We focused on everyone's problems, but not as much time was given by the group to the black kids' problems as white kids'.

From the perspective of a black participant, another problem derived from the fact that the African American youth were more likely to come from non-traditional families. Programs with a family treatment component often did not accommodate this characteristic.

> On Sundays it was family day. Lots of black kids did not have families or they families could not make it in all the way from _____ (the city). Those kids were supposed to disappear because it was family day.

One participant clearly suffered abuse and discrimination while in the system. He was the individual mentioned in a previous chapter whose seemingly successful foster home placement was abruptly interrupted over a Christmas holiday because the parents of his foster parents would not tolerate a non-white foster child in their children's home (see p. 96).

During the follow-up interview, another former recipient of the system acknowledged the pain and suffering this individual must have felt as a result of this experience. The reader should be reminded that during these interviews the study participants were shown a set of preliminary findings. In the context of discussing those findings, one of the follow-up interviewees made these comments.

Knew he was accepted and then rejected, he was hurtin' for a longtime. He felt really bad. The individual removed from the foster home for racist reasons had difficulties with similar motivations in another facility. His belief in the Nation of Islam may have influenced his

description of additional racially motivated treatment at another facility.

> As I look at those, and _____, it was a hidden slavery society. It was a place designed to destroy me. Psychologically brainwash me. Make me submissive to the white folks the Europeans. I am not a racist, I just took my opinions from my experience.

While many of these African American young men spoke of the estrangement they felt during their treatment in a predominantly white setting, others described explicit preferential treatment given to their Caucasian counterparts. In some cases, the treatment went beyond this to clearly abusive situations motivated by racist beliefs. Beyond these discriminatory practices, these young men described the obstacles encountered by a young African American male as they face the struggle to succeed in the community. Although attention earlier focussed on the challenges of adjusting to life in the community, this issue was raised again from the perspective of being an African American youth and trying to survive in the community.

The Struggle to Adjust to Life in the Community as an Young African American Male

Earlier the discussion addressed the difficulty of adjusting to living and legally maintaining oneself in the community. This often seemingly insurmountable challenge is further complicated by being a young African American male who inevitably returns to a urban setting fraught with extensive violence and few legal opportunities. Similar to earlier discussions, these individuals commonly referred to the great potential of the young African American male, while acknowledging the significance of the struggle. These individuals described the prospect of returning to the community as often potentially overwhelming. However, they continue to see the great potential held by the young African American male and offer some encouraging words for them.

Some made comments about the sheer difficulty of surviving in an urban setting.

> Blacks have very little to grasp unless we really struggle.

> In a state of shock, can't go no further than father or nothin'.

> For blacks, it be a struggle everyday. Growin' up you watch everyone struggle. Work at McDonalds for $3.50 an hour. Don't want to struggle, chose to use drugs. It better than strugglin', they'll have somethin' to eat tomorrow.

Others also discussed the struggle, but put an emphasis on trying to find ways to make it.

> Need to learn about themselves and stay in school. Got more ability than they possibly think they can.

> Black person don't know himself. Can become someone, can become a great black man of the community!

> Good and better than those before, if they apply themselves to the things they do.

> It's gonna take work! Examples: role models in the community. How can a mother or a father be a role model when they be a strugglin' person? Got to learn they can go higher. Until they learn that there, the community gonna stay messed up.

Growing up as an African American male posed unique struggles in the minds of these young men. However, they continue to maintain a positive orientation about the potential for greatness that young African American males can achieve. After summarizing the section on racial tension, attention will shift to similar experiences related to spirituality.

These young African American males described frequent discriminatory practices in various programs within the juvenile justice system. Not only was there often a significant disparity between the racial makeup of staff and the clientele, but there were also discriminatory practices in varying degrees of severity. In a situation that they, themselves, often describe as dismal, many of these individuals still manage to hold some hope for others like themselves, other young African American males. One of the key goals for the youth, as well as these facilities, is the successful adjustment by these young men after being placed in the community where many forms of racial inequality are prevalent. The prognosis for these programs and services to contribute significantly to such a goal is guarded, considering that the facilities are perpetuating similar forms of discrimination in daily practices. Prejudicial practices were not limited to racial tension. Other types of intolerance seemed to be a routine part of the treatment of spirituality within many of these service programs.

Spirituality

> Churches are in neighborhoods where you are not welcome to begin with, and they not interested in worshiping with you. Let's be for real, they are not happy to see you.

This young man's description of attending religious services at a church in a local neighborhood is another example of the kinds of discrimination faced when youth from these programs ventured into the community. This quote not only illustrates some of the racial tension in programs, but it also shows some of the frustration introduced by religious programming in juvenile justice programs. Spirituality was integrated into many of the programs, usually presented in the form of mainstream religious practices. Additionally, many of the facilities had some type of affiliation with a larger religious organization, typically Catholic. Hence, many of the young men in these programs were exposed to conventional Catholic religious services. A similar type of estrangement was described because these young men did not have Catholic backgrounds. Additionally, these individuals resented the dogmatic and belittling methods used to promote these religious practices.

There is a somewhat parallel situation between the racial disparity and the exposure to a very foreign religious entity. The religious orientation, as it was presented, made no sense to these individuals.

> I never had religion. I wonder what the hell is this. Woman running around in habits, they supposed to be my friends.

> My family was Baptist, I didn't understand Catholic straight-up.

Accompanying this exposure to an unfamiliar concept was a very dogmatic approach to its presentation. There was little flexibility in the choice of a religion, and participation was mandatory.

> Religion of Christ was set up through the nuns, as though you automatically became a part without question, and you automatically joined the church.

There were very few options given to these young men when it came to their spiritual practices. The rigid scheme of little religious choice was further complicated by a compulsory participation, complete with sanctions for non-compliance. As adults with active spiritual lives, these individuals were very critical of the method used to present this material. They seemed to be incensed by the way in which something they valued and saw as critical to their own mental health was handled so poorly by these facilities. It was perceived as incomplete and demeaning. The presentation of the information was described as inaccurate. The key principles of the belief system were not presented. Without this important background, these individuals felt they were not given the information which would allow them to begin to put the belief system into practice in their daily lives.

> _____ [facility] did not teach us, they just took us to church on _____ Drive."

> Person needs time to make decisions. Let them know what they readin'. Can't just give them the Bible. People want to know, when they leave out of here. Religion plays a big role. Everybody lookin' for power. If you don't have the ability to teach you on the God path, you gonna fail every trip.

> If they want you to be a Catholic, they got to teach you about the Catholic religion. Can't understand the Bible, unless taught by someone studying it. If you don't understand the Ten Commandments, they came down from God, they are totally useless.

The simplistic methods apparently used to present religious materials did not support actual

application of practices. The lack of attention given to the basic principles of the religion does not support the eventual use in daily life. The discussions that occurred in the context of the follow-up interviews further illustrated and clarified this point. In one case, one individual, who was a practicing member of the Nation of Islam tied the lack of understanding provided by religious programming within juvenile facilities to a similar problem within religious circles in the community.

> Spirituality is not taught. You have people that believe and know what they believe. Most of training schools, or whatever, is Catholic. We are going to go here and listen to the service and then leave. Don't learn none of that there about the Creator and gettin' closer.
>
> It's like a mother. You go to church for two hours. You don't know what you are drinkin' the juice for, what you eatin' the bread for. Do this so you can do what is goin' on on Monday.
>
> So, you need to learn and follow the teachin's of that religion. Jesus, Elijah Mohammed, Virgin Mary. Belief count for nothin' unless it is carried into practice. Belief was not taught.
>
> That is why the community is so messed up. Being told to believe in Jesus, the Holy Ghost. Go to neighborhood. What is a Baptist? "I don't know." Why don't you follow what Jesus Christ is saying? If this is what the organization is built on, teach that through beliefs. We as a people got to come to realize that we need to put my main man, the Almighty God, first. Instead of everything else.
>
> Don't force home the people. They won't accept religion if it forced on them. Will to chose.

For this young man, the teaching of religious beliefs needs to start with a basic set of

values which can drive and guide his daily practices. As a young man in a juvenile facility, he described himself as being required to attend, but having no understanding of the contents of the religious ceremony, or its relevance to his life. He felt that a similar approach was utilized by religious organizations in the community which, also, left regular participants struggling to understand the belief system and its significance in everyday life.

In a different follow-up interview, another participant expressed a similar sentiment about the lack of value of the religious services within juveniles programs. This individual held the staff, and their ambivalence toward a value system complementing religious practices, accountable for the trivial impact of this component.

> I didn't get anything from going to it. More than willing to go to church to get out of the program. If you have people that really believe in the Bible, then a spirited program would really work.
>
> Everyone is all sinners and need to be saved. Catholic homes strict. Treat a child like a place like this (prison). Not right for a child. You know, you're in an atmosphere where you are concerned about someone getting somewhere in life. Not just this life but the next one.
>
> Just because a place called St. _____ or St. _____, doesn't mean the place is backing it up with practices. A lot of time you never heard about God. It is the kid and the staff. Half of them never give a damn if you make it or not. They just want to get paid. Have a decent day.

This young man's opinion about the religious programming in juvenile programs were very consistent. He could not see any connection between the things being espoused in church to his daily life. Like his counterparts in this system whom I interviewed, he felt the information did not have any significance in his daily life, but he attributed this breakdown

to separateness between the religious programming and the remainder of the program. He felt staff had little or no interest in or understanding of the values presented in the Bible. The staff were portrayed by this young man as only wanting a paycheck and a quiet shift.

This chapter has addressed many of the different forms of alienation expressed by African American youth upon entering a facility. The young men described a type of isolation brought on by the racial imbalance between youth and staff, and required attendance at unknown religious services presented in a fragmented fashion which made them irrelevant in their daily life. In some cases, they routinely observed the preferential treatment given to non-African American youth. In one case, the racial discrimination from foster parents resulted in a child being put in an abusive situation. These individuals, who had undergone similar transformations from resenting or ignoring spirituality to making it an important part of their life, felt the techniques used to present religion were degrading. No clear system of values and beliefs was forwarded. They described the presentation as not only being offensive, but also as not providing tools which would assist with the integration of these ideas into practice in their daily lives.

Obviously, the challenge of adjusting successfully in an urban setting possesses very special challenges for the youth facing these situations and the professionals attempting to assist them. The participants in this study identified some missing elements of culturally sensitive practice. If the professionals and the services they provide are committed to contributing, they need to honor these suggestions starting with staff patterns which racially and culturally reflect those of their clientele. Beyond this, there is a need to offer support to their staff which facilitates sensitivity to key issues in clinical and practice settings while avoiding abusive situations. With these vehicles in place, agencies can begin to offer culturally sensitive services that may not only comprehend the details in the struggle for the African American youth, but may also provide services that actually contribute to making those transitions successful ones.

A lengthy discussion of the succinct feedback provided by the individuals in this

> This is like takin' a child out of an environment and place them in an different environment. Will not do well in that environment.
>
> Gonna always have those that feel they are superior to others. It has to come to a point where someone has to learn to put this aside. You may feel that way because of this here, but you got to keep to yourself.

He clearly ties his intolerance of Caucasians to his family background and the socialization from his neighborhood. When he was moved from his home to a facility run by Caucasians, it was difficult for him to adjust. However, he does see a need for himself and others to put aside this point of view and find a more constructive method of dealing with this issue in a more harmonious fashion.

In a follow-up interview with another individual, a different point of view was presented. He did refer to a belief system reinforced since childhood, but he did not experience difficulty with racial problems. Instead, he implied that such difficulties were probable for others, and he placed responsibility on the facility for managing the operation in a way that condoned these differences.

> Grew up with the idea that all races are equal. Treat all races equal.
>
> Never had racial problems in programs. Programs were half black and half white. We had assholes, but we stuck together. It's all about who the authority figure is. You can stop racial stuff from happenin' in a place like that.

His acknowledgement of the potential for racial inequality was actualized by others within this system. In some cases, preferential treatment was given to youth who were not of African American origins.

> I thought the white kids got a lot of special attention. In group, we would stop and have the group focus on the white kid's problems more often. We focused on everyone's problems, but not as much time was given by the group to the black kids' problems as white kids'.

From the perspective of a black participant, another problem derived from the fact that the African American youth were more likely to come from non-traditional families. Programs with a family treatment component often did not accommodate this characteristic.

> On Sundays it was family day. Lots of black kids did not have families or they families could not make it in all the way from _____ (the city). Those kids were supposed to disappear because it was family day.

One participant clearly suffered abuse and discrimination while in the system. He was the individual mentioned in a previous chapter whose seemingly successful foster home placement was abruptly interrupted over a Christmas holiday because the parents of his foster parents would not tolerate a non-white foster child in their children's home (see p. 96).

During the follow-up interview, another former recipient of the system acknowledged the pain and suffering this individual must have felt as a result of this experience. The reader should be reminded that during these interviews the study participants were shown a set of preliminary findings. In the context of discussing those findings, one of the follow-up interviewees made these comments.

Knew he was accepted and then rejected, he was hurtin' for a longtime. He felt really bad. The individual removed from the foster home for racist reasons had difficulties with similar motivations in another facility. His belief in the Nation of Islam may have influenced his

description of additional racially motivated treatment at another facility.

> As I look at those, and _____, it was a hidden slavery society. It was a place designed to destroy me. Psychologically brainwash me. Make me submissive to the white folks the Europeans. I am not a racist, I just took my opinions from my experience.

While many of these African American young men spoke of the estrangement they felt during their treatment in a predominantly white setting, others described explicit preferential treatment given to their Caucasian counterparts. In some cases, the treatment went beyond this to clearly abusive situations motivated by racist beliefs. Beyond these discriminatory practices, these young men described the obstacles encountered by a young African American male as they face the struggle to succeed in the community. Although attention earlier focussed on the challenges of adjusting to life in the community, this issue was raised again from the perspective of being an African American youth and trying to survive in the community.

The Struggle to Adjust to Life in the Community as an Young African American Male

Earlier the discussion addressed the difficulty of adjusting to living and legally maintaining oneself in the community. This often seemingly insurmountable challenge is further complicated by being a young African American male who inevitably returns to a urban setting fraught with extensive violence and few legal opportunities. Similar to earlier discussions, these individuals commonly referred to the great potential of the young African American male, while acknowledging the significance of the struggle. These individuals described the prospect of returning to the community as often potentially overwhelming. However, they continue to see the great potential held by the young African American male and offer some encouraging words for them.

Some made comments about the sheer difficulty of surviving in an urban setting.

> Blacks have very little to grasp unless we really struggle.

> In a state of shock, can't go no further than father or nothin'.

> For blacks, it be a struggle everyday. Growin' up you watch everyone struggle. Work at McDonalds for $3.50 an hour. Don't want to struggle, chose to use drugs. It better than strugglin', they'll have somethin' to eat tomorrow.

Others also discussed the struggle, but put an emphasis on trying to find ways to make it.

> Need to learn about themselves and stay in school. Got more ability than they possibly think they can.

> Black person don't know himself. Can become someone, can become a great black man of the community!

> Good and better than those before, if they apply themselves to the things they do.

> It's gonna take work! Examples: role models in the community. How can a mother or a father be a role model when they be a strugglin' person? Got to learn they can go higher. Until they learn that there, the community gonna stay messed up.

Growing up as an African American male posed unique struggles in the minds of these young men. However, they continue to maintain a positive orientation about the potential for greatness that young African American males can achieve. After summarizing the section on racial tension, attention will shift to similar experiences related to spirituality.

These young African American males described frequent discriminatory practices in various programs within the juvenile justice system. Not only was there often a significant disparity between the racial makeup of staff and the clientele, but there were also discriminatory practices in varying degrees of severity. In a situation that they, themselves, often describe as dismal, many of these individuals still manage to hold some hope for others like themselves, other young African American males. One of the key goals for the youth, as well as these facilities, is the successful adjustment by these young men after being placed in the community where many forms of racial inequality are prevalent. The prognosis for these programs and services to contribute significantly to such a goal is guarded, considering that the facilities are perpetuating similar forms of discrimination in daily practices. Prejudicial practices were not limited to racial tension. Other types of intolerance seemed to be a routine part of the treatment of spirituality within many of these service programs.

Spirituality

> Churches are in neighborhoods where you are not welcome to begin with, and they not interested in worshiping with you. Let's be for real, they are not happy to see you.

This young man's description of attending religious services at a church in a local neighborhood is another example of the kinds of discrimination faced when youth from these programs ventured into the community. This quote not only illustrates some of the racial tension in programs, but it also shows some of the frustration introduced by religious programming in juvenile justice programs. Spirituality was integrated into many of the programs, usually presented in the form of mainstream religious practices. Additionally, many of the facilities had some type of affiliation with a larger religious organization, typically Catholic. Hence, many of the young men in these programs were exposed to conventional Catholic religious services. A similar type of estrangement was described because these young men did not have Catholic backgrounds. Additionally, these individuals resented the dogmatic and belittling methods used to promote these religious practices.

There is a somewhat parallel situation between the racial disparity and the exposure to a very foreign religious entity. The religious orientation, as it was presented, made no sense to these individuals.

> I never had religion. I wonder what the hell is this. Woman running around in habits, they supposed to be my friends.

> My family was Baptist, I didn't understand Catholic straight-up.

Accompanying this exposure to an unfamiliar concept was a very dogmatic approach to its presentation. There was little flexibility in the choice of a religion, and participation was mandatory.

> Religion of Christ was set up through the nuns, as though you automatically became a part without question, and you automatically joined the church.

It's mandatory to go to church. No decisions.

From a black man's perspective, you don't adapt to church that well, even though Grandma's into religion, we don't take well to it. Don't teach you about religion, If you don't go to church, you get restrained or can't play.

They could open up the religious options. There is Christian, Muslim, Jewish, not just Catholic. Teach the religion to those that want to be involved.

Keep the state from takin' over. If they get a Muslim, they don't get an option to follow your religion.

They programmed me to be Christian. To be submissive to them. It was my nature, I knew something was not right. I was rebellious to the programming they were inspiring. I could not adjust to the facility. Once I got a taste of it, I was gone.

Felt like a slave inside these juvenile services. Services and officials have a program to brainwash the child, particularly the black child. I call them juvenile slave plantation. You as a European, have your culture. I have my culture. Your religion is Christian, mine is Islam, or I might be professing whatever my parents professed. Each time I went to a juvenile facility it was Christianity or Catholic. That is part of their services. If you did not accept going to their church, there was most likely retribution.

There were very few options given to these young men when it came to their spiritual practices. The rigid scheme of little religious choice was further complicated by a compulsory participation, complete with sanctions for non-compliance. As adults with active spiritual lives, these individuals were very critical of the method used to present this material. They seemed to be incensed by the way in which something they valued and saw as critical to their own mental health was handled so poorly by these facilities. It was perceived as incomplete and demeaning. The presentation of the information was described as inaccurate. The key principles of the belief system were not presented. Without this important background, these individuals felt they were not given the information which would allow them to begin to put the belief system into practice in their daily lives.

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This young man's opinion about the religious programming in juvenile programs were very consistent. He could not see any connection between the things being espoused in church to his daily life. Like his counterparts in this system whom I interviewed, he felt the information did not have any significance in his daily life, but he attributed this breakdown

to separateness between the religious programming and the remainder of the program. He felt staff had little or no interest in or understanding of the values presented in the Bible. The staff were portrayed by this young man as only wanting a paycheck and a quiet shift.

This chapter has addressed many of the different forms of alienation expressed by African American youth upon entering a facility. The young men described a type of isolation brought on by the racial imbalance between youth and staff, and required attendance at unknown religious services presented in a fragmented fashion which made them irrelevant in their daily life. In some cases, they routinely observed the preferential treatment given to non-African American youth. In one case, the racial discrimination from foster parents resulted in a child being put in an abusive situation. These individuals, who had undergone similar transformations from resenting or ignoring spirituality to making it an important part of their life, felt the techniques used to present religion were degrading. No clear system of values and beliefs was forwarded. They described the presentation as not only being offensive, but also as not providing tools which would assist with the integration of these ideas into practice in their daily lives.

Obviously, the challenge of adjusting successfully in an urban setting possesses very special challenges for the youth facing these situations and the professionals attempting to assist them. The participants in this study identified some missing elements of culturally sensitive practice. If the professionals and the services they provide are committed to contributing, they need to honor these suggestions starting with staff patterns which racially and culturally reflect those of their clientele. Beyond this, there is a need to offer support to their staff which facilitates sensitivity to key issues in clinical and practice settings while avoiding abusive situations. With these vehicles in place, agencies can begin to offer culturally sensitive services that may not only comprehend the details in the struggle for the African American youth, but may also provide services that actually contribute to making those transitions successful ones.

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A lengthy discussion of the succinct feedback provided by the individuals in this

study has addressed many facets of the life-style they endured as young men. Issues were identified by these individuals ranging from the instability of life within this system to the quality of treatment and the frequency of discriminatory practices. The final task of pulling this study together in a comprehensive fashion will be addressed in the final chapter. The summary will pursue two major tasks: to draw on contemporary social science literature to analyze and interpret some of the study findings, and to provide a set of recommendations around the practice, policy , and research implications of this study.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION: 1) AN INTERPRETATION DRAWING ON CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL THEORY AND 2) THE IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY, PRACTICE AND RESEARCH

The feedback given by the former recipients of the services of the juvenile justice system has provided countless rich and insightful portraits of their recollections of life within the system. The task for the final chapter will be to pull this information together using two different strategies. Up to this point, my emphasis has been on reporting their stories with little interpretation, beyond my own biases. The first task will be to examine their comments in light of some of the social science literature related to corrections and institutional placements. In this section , the highly celebrated and controversial works of Michel Foucault and Erving Goffman will be the primary references for elaborating on the comments of former recipients. The remaining task will be to reflect on the utility of these thoughtful critiques for those working in and receiving services from the juvenile justice system, particularly considering the implications of this study for policy, practice, and research.

First , a few comments about the choice and usage of these particular social science theories. Ironically, the works of both Goffman and Foucault have been around for some time and have generated extensive critical response. I want to make it clear that these two perspectives are not being chosen because the works are believed to be more valid than any other. Nor would I argue that their application is more applicable to matters of troubled and delinquent children than other social science orientations. Finally, I want to admit that my

understanding of their points of view is not well developed. These two authors were simply chosen for their fit with the descriptions provided by the participants in this study and the additional explanation offered by their perspective as a frame of analysis.

Using Goffman's Work to Consider A Troubled Child's Career

Erving Goffman's classic book, Asylum, offers an interesting context for grounding this discussion. After observing life within a mental institution for a year, he was able to develop some ideas about client/staff interactions and the moral persona of a patient in one of these facilities that enhance our discussion . He describes the stages of pre-patient, in-patient, and out-patient as a career (1961a). This definitely fits the lengthy processes the participants in this study endured from placement to placement, to community placements and back to out-of-home placements. The amount of time devoted to this process suggests the usage of the term career is appropriate.

The process of commitment to a mental health facility is especially germane to our discussion of the process utilized to admit young men to the juvenile justice system, particularly as it relates to subsequent treatment. Goffman found that eventual commitment was less a function of behavior and more related to what he called "career contingencies", resources making one more or less likely to being admitted: "socioeconomic status, proximity to mental health facilities, visibility of offense" (p.134). Additionally, he found that once admitted to these facilities the pre-patient behavior was irrelevant to treatment. The patient was immediately subjected to an endless series of staff judgements based on the needs of the facility (1961a). This is very consistent with the findings forwarded by previous research (Kapp, Schwartz, & Epstein, 1993; Schwartz, Kapp, & Overstreet, 1992) and the experiences of former recipients with the process of children being placed in juvenile justice programs for different reasons (delinquent behavior versus parental abuse or neglect), but receiving similar treatment which results in similar rates of adult imprisonment.

Closely related to Goffman's findings about the irrelevancy of unique personal

circumstances and the personal scrutiny initiated by staff towards patients in the interest of the facility is another of his contentions which describes the ways patients construct their identity while in the facility. This construction of self for patients occurs outside the realm of what staff would find acceptable (1961a). The explanation of becoming a criminal described by the participants in this study is also constructed in a way that would be outside of the staffs' approval. Although the child welfare cases and the delinquent cases approach this in a very different way, neither would appear to be acceptable to staff within these facilities. The former literally hold the staff and the corresponding treatment accountable for their problems within the system, and, in some cases, their eventual imprisonment. The latter find the treatment almost irrelevant to their imprisonment, instead, holding themselves and their inability to avoid street behaviors as the true cause. Neither of these explanations of the path to imprisonment is complimentary or consistent with something the staff would likely support.

As patients become more and more comfortable with the constructions of self outside of staff areas of approval, Goffman describes this as ultimately progressing to a level of shamelessness in the eyes of staff and their expectations (p.169). In the case of the former recipients of the juvenile system describing their experiences, the ideas and opinions of staff are not held in high esteem. Closely related to this tendency to construct their self images outside of what staff would approve is a sense of rebellion and contempt for the staff that subjected them to faulty treatment. This is apparent in their description of the group model. It is also applicable to the attention and priority given to finding ways to keep tomorrow's troubled children from having to experience a similar quality of treatment.

A third relevant issue identified by Goffman is the self-serving nature of daily operations performed by staff geared to legitimize their expertise, function, and purpose of their jobs in society (1961a). This orientation is also very likely in juvenile facilities which offer programs and services excluding culturally sensitive practices. These types of practices offer no ongoing support to the status quo of program operation. Additionally,

attention in this area may pose a threat by requiring staff to surrender control. Goffman closes his essay on total institutions by acknowledging the functioning within these types of facilities and posing a question. He wonders, and invites his readers to join him in asking the question, why do these facilities operate in this fashion (1961b)? What purposes are served? One answer to these questions is offered by Foucault's work. We will attempt to answer Goffman's query by integrating Foucault's work with the findings from this study.

The Benefit of Operating a System in this Way

Similar to Goffman's finding that people inside the mental health institution operate in ways that complemented and reinforced the value of its routine functioning, our historical analysis of the juvenile justice system found that the vast majority of services were supportive of major social and economic structures of the time. When the presence of wayward and troubled youth threatened the social order, new interventions of control and dominance were developed. For example, when the juvenile court determined that every child was dependent and legally a candidate for the its services a sort of carte blanche was established whereby the court could chose those that needed proper motivation. In order to examine more about the operation of the juvenile justice system and its ability to dominate its recipients, we will refer to Michel Foucault's, Discipline and Punish (1979).

Foucault compares the brutality of public punishment in the 18th century France to the more covert uses of control in more contemporary correctional systems. He contends that although the modern forms of power and control are more subtle, the use of them is more dominant. These techniques are applied in the interest of holding complete control over the individual (1979). Using this viewpoint to examine the lives of former recipients of the juvenile justice system is very enlightening. Thus far, the critique has been pointed at flaws in the system. The Foucauldian critique, just as Goffman's inquiry, asks what is being accomplished by the system as it is functioning? From the recipient's point of view the system is defective. The critique being offered asks that the recipients and their needs

be put aside in order to examine this question from a different point of view.

The historical analysis and the critique by some of its former recipients consistently portray the system as moving along without positively impacting the lives of the people it is allegedly serving. Instead of asking how can this be, it may be more instructive to inspect the system's operation from a different point of view. A more useful frame for this analysis may be to look for ways in which the current system appears to be succeeding. I would argue that the critique offered by the young men in this study is very useful when organized around these Foucauldian notions.

Michel Foucault describes the use of discipline as a technique for normalizing conduct and administering the affairs of social collectives. He also refers to its prominence as a general formula for domination. Those that were dominated were utilized to perform lower class duties. The need for utilizing these techniques to maintain the lower class justified the need for more police. The ultimate point being the prevention of solidarity among the lower class (1979). He describes discipline as a technique for having a "hold over others's bodies, not only so they may do what one wishes, but so they may operate as one wishes, with the speed, technique, and efficiency that one determines" (p.138). For illustrative purposes, it may be useful to consider the descriptions provided by these young men about the group treatment process in light of some of the principles forwarded by Foucault. Specifically, this section will look at the group process for the presence and operation of the discrete instruments of discipline.

Foucault describes hierarchical observation as a technique where individuals are observed without seeing the observer. It is the threat of observation that serves to control the individual (p.170). In the group process, the youth are not only watched by the staff, but they are also under the eyes of their fellow group members. Many youth spoke of the tenuous nature of their relationships with other group members. It was often unknown whether various group members were their friends or observers. More than one example was offered where a youth found out his perceived friend was more of an informant of the

group process. Eventually, the youth would figure out that he was constantly being watched and modify his behavior accordingly.

Another notion of discipline is the corrective nature of punishment. When punishment is imposed, it is geared toward enforcing the appropriate behavior (p.179). The young man who described fronting in the group process, illustrated how he had tried to get through the group process without following the proper steps. When he finally figured out the correct procedures, he implemented them and got his discharge. Although Foucault may question his sincerity, he recognized it was a game with rules, he was denied his release until he was able to follow the appropriate steps.

Also, important to this form of discipline is an even system of gratification-punishment. Foucault talks about a punitive balance sheet which can be employed to offer either negative consequences or positive rewards given the greatest potential for dominance (p.180). The group process also employed such an even balance between negative and positive consequences. In some cases, the young men talked about their releases being held up because they had not complied with group expectations. At the same, the recreational activities which they described with such high regard were also tied to their performance in group.

These few examples will conclude the application of a Foucauldian critique to this analysis. However, it is intriguing to observe the great ease with which some of the elements of his critique are applied to the group process. Additionally, it is not difficult to imagine these mechanisms being used to control the youth with little regard for their treatment. This explanation does help to explain why these facilities which are not helping the youth to return and remain home continue to survive, and sometimes thrive. The point of the program, using this logic, is not the treatment of these young men, but to dominate the youth for the purpose of societal control.

As stated, I am hesitant to take the Foucauldian analyses much farther. This is in part due to the many critiques and controversies associated with his work as well as my

own elemental grasp of it. Another reason to move on is Foucault's critique of the entire section (next section) related to implications of this study as being naive. He would simply state that the ideas for improvement are ludicrous, because the suggestions will never be implemented because they are not in the interest of the system's primary purpose--the domination of the individuals in the system. However, as a practitioner of this system, I have trouble accepting this critique and would feel as if I am abandoning the children in this system, if I did not offer my suggestions within the framework of the status quo. Despite my ambivalence, I will close this section by repeating my own intrigue with the ease of applicability offered by the Foucauldian critique and acknowledging my curiosity about its further utility.

Well aware of the barriers offered by the critique explicitly driven by contemporary social science, there remains a responsibility to clients within this system. The need for advocates who are willing to promote client needs is as great as it has ever been. Not only are these systems held hostage by the aforementioned structures, but large scale reforms are taking place with the need of these powerful constituencies in mind. Now more than ever, there is a need for advocates willing to work with and for clients within this system. The remaining section is a set of recommendations for those that will continue to work with this population despite the guarded prognosis for thorough changes in the interest of client needs.

Implications for Policy, Practice and Research

The following recommendations are geared for those practitioners of this system that continue to operate with the children's best interest in mind, and at heart, in their roles as advocates, direct service staff, administrators, policy makers, researchers, volunteers, and executive directors. One of the young men in the study acknowledged a major problem with the system when he posed this question, "What are they gonna do with these programs? They can't wipe 'em out, no place for juveniles!" His issue raises a significant reality for many of the practitioners that remain within the system. Although the system

has major flaws, it is not clear what would be the best method to utilize when thinking about the task of fixing it. However, there are still many vulnerable young men and woman in this system with great potential. The last section is written in the interest of those present and former recipients and their untapped abilities. It hopefully will also be of interest to professionals working to build on the unlimited resources offered by these young adults.

The frame for this final section will hopefully exploit the insights of the critique in a manner that is useful for the practitioner. When doing the final follow-up interview, it became clear to me that this lens had become the primary way of framing this study. The first words that came out of this young man's mouth before sitting down, shaking hands, or any type of reacquainting were, "Have you gotten them to stop doing this stuff!?" It is from that perspective that the remaining section will be presented.

In Thomas Bernard's historical review of the juvenile justice system, he reminds us that juvenile crime has been with us for literally hundreds of years and despite the myriad of panaceas offered by countless reformers it will always be with us. The strategy we should take is one of attempting to manage this problem, not wipe it out through the magic of innovation (1993). In line with this, recommendations are offered which hope to exploit the critical review and present innovations that may unsettle some of the forces presently controlling this system. Finally, the critique is consistent with a rich tradition in social work to support the needs of the oppressed in the most inhumane systems while working for productive change despite its dismal prospect. Such a call is currently going out to social work practitioners in the sweeping child welfare reforms that seem to be occurring oblivious of any awareness of children's needs (Videka-Sherman & Viggiani, 1996).

Policy Implications

Policy discussions in juvenile justice circles would be greatly served by reflecting on the major forces that have been overwhelmingly supported by services. The historical review, the data from past recipients and the critical perspective make the same argument–

juvenile clients are not being addressed. Services need to be directed towards the issue of clients, in support of key client structures. The primary service modalities do not appear to either prepare youth for or support them while they are in community placement. This finding is supported by the literature as well as the description of these services offered by former recipients. Resources need to be invested in service options that are more directly oriented to maintaining children in community settings. Family support and community support programs are prime candidates for providing such supports. Although these programs have existed off and on for at least a hundred years, their emphasis has been secondary. Resources have been invested very sparsely in these types of programs, especially when compared to expenditures for out-of-home programs.

There has been growing attention lately which is very encouraging, especially when there have been effectiveness data that support their use with delinquent children (Henggeler, 1994). Likewise, although community intervention has been around for many years, it is also experiencing a bit of a resurrection. A recent example is Reinventing Human Services: Community and Family Centered Practice, a very thorough treatment of the history, economics, and practice of community intervention (Adams & Nelson, 1995). As stated in an earlier chapter, these modes of intervening within the heart of client systems need to be sustained initiatives accompanied by significant resources, not just passing fads or creative expectations to normal service provision.

Additionally, interventions need to be supported and evaluated with respect to effectiveness. This is necessary in the case of new innovations as well as those that have been around for a while. Residential programs have now acquired a very respectable literature supporting their ineffectiveness (cited earlier). Additionally, their former residents in this study describe them as offering little in the way of skills which aid in the process of adjusting to community living. It is time to hold these programs accountable and either improve them or replace them. They contribute to the status quo by providing ineffective services for juveniles which perpetuate their involvement. Recent innovations

have shown promising results, albeit in some cases preliminary. The family support programs, in some cases, have been shown to be effective, as mentioned earlier (Henggeler, 1994).

Another successful program has integrated skill building and group treatment during and after a shortened out-of-home placement for substance abusing youth with a delinquent history (Haggerty, Wells, Jenson, Catalano, & Hawkins 1989). These interventions are quite promising for their attention to client structures, their innovative approach to service delivery and their corresponding empirical support. They should serve as exemplars for further innovation.

In addition to promoting the resourceful types of service programs, attention should be focussed on the child welfare youth that are committed to the system at very young ages. There is some preliminary evidence that they are unlikely to continue to be treated in facilities with other delinquents (Kapp, Schwartz, & Epstein, 1993), possibly due to juvenile justice legislation reforms. Beyond that, little is known. The stories from the individuals in this study make it sound like the possibilities of being integrated into successful community placements are unlikely. Additionally, their stories have created an awareness and understanding of the types of resentment they bring to the adult system when that transition is made.

One speculation is that eventually these children are legally adjudicated delinquent and inevitably placed in the same facilities. This notion is not supported by any empirical evidence. At any rate, this population is well deserving of special attention. Their needs are unique as they are placed in the system because of behaviors over which they had no control. Additionally, they are in the system for an extended number of years given the young age of adjudication and extensive resources are devoted to their care. As children of the system at such young ages, they definitely warrant advocacy, effective long term supports, further investigation and evaluation. These critical policy issues also have serious implications in a practice setting.

Implications for Practice

Many of the serious criticisms offered by the former recipients of this system have implications for those interested in direct practice with children in the juvenile justice system. The group model, PPC, as it was practiced in these settings was reported as very ineffective by these former recipients. The youth interviewed in this study, not only had bad experiences, but they felt it promoted skills that contributed to failing in community placement. If programs are committed to this model, the staff implementing it need to be supported with clinical supervision. Even with clinical supervision, the impact of the program needs to be constantly assessed through quality assurance or ongoing evaluation practices. Again, agencies using this approach need to find ways to improve this method or eliminate it.

The issue of cultural sensitivity in practice is a very serious issue. Although there are many barriers to achieving and maintaining a racial and ethnic match between staff and clients, it is a critical issue. The mismatch introduces an initial form of alienation to clients who come into a facility where there are no staff of their racial or ethnic background. Although this is an issue that is often difficult for remotely located programs to maintain, it is important to strive to at least improve the ratio. The argument is not that only staff of a similar background will be able to provide effective services. It is more that the agency that downplays the significance of this ratio is also likely to minimize the importance of cultural sensitivity. In an era where troubled youth, especially delinquent youth, possess complex and sensitive cultural needs, it is essential for direct care staff to understand at least the significance of these challenges. This basic understanding is necessary before practitioners can begin to think about designing and implementing interventions to support a youth attempting to address those challenges.

An even more basic component of social work practice is commitment to the client. The criticisms of various facilities highlighted this as one of the more important criteria used to remember positive experiences. The youth did not comment on sophisticated

treatment models. Nor did they reference the type or level of training of the staff in the programs. They were more likely to remember and comment on situations where they clearly felt staff cared about them. Another frequently mentioned component was the instances where staff allowed the youth to have a good time, mostly through activities. I would argue that staff being committed to the youth in their programs was closely related to providing these fondly remembered enjoyable experiences.

On one hand, the importance of staff caring about the youth sounds simplistic. However, it is a core issue in the NASW Code of Ethics (NASW, 1996) related to commitment to clients and their core well-being. It is also most likely to be at the center of most therapeutic relationships. Often, as individual social workers pursue self-development plans to expand their professionalization, advanced training and various types of specialization, attention is given to credentials. The feedback from these young men should serve as a reminder of the necessary conditions of a helping relationship– a genuine care and concern for your client. Also, such a foundation must be maintained as one pursues additional credentials recognized by the field. The uniqueness of the findings from this study, in part, can be attributed to the research method. The final section of this chapter will discuss the implications of this research method for the field of social work.

Implications for Research

This study has raised a considerable range of crucial questions relating to the treatment of young adults in the juvenile justice system. Perhaps, one of the more significant was posed in the dissertation proposal, "Is asking former recipients of the juvenile justice system to reflect upon the services and programs they received a viable research method?" Beyond helping a single doctoral student accomplish a major academic goal, there is much to consider in this question.

Providing a Voice

One of the more notable things about this study is the opportunity to give this silent population a voice. Foucault (1980) has identified ways in which knowledge generation

can lead to the subjugation of critical information that may lie outside the realm of accepted techniques. The sources of the subjugated knowledge are often people with little access to formal resources related to power, economic, and social resources-- individuals on the margin of society. The processes of information production becomes more a function of which techniques are employed and by whom they are utilized . Ann Hartman has discussed the use of this process in social work, where the DSM, a diagnostic tool, can be used to produce a diagnosis while dismissing vital information a client may have to offer about his/her situation (Hartman, 1994).

In this study, there are many different ways to explain why input is never sought from this population about their experiences. Typically, the youth in these programs come from struggling communities with limited resources and no access to political powers which might amplify their voices. As recipients of the juvenile justice system, they are viewed as failures with no relevant knowledge to offer to the professionals running this system. As children, they are considered too immature to participate in any kind of rational discussion about the quality of the services they had received. As inmates of a prison system, they are removed from society and have little to offer those of us who are not incarcerated.

Once the information was collected, additional and similar reasons were forwarded for not listening to the opinions they had offered. They were described by the corrections staff as "autopsies"-- casualties of the system with no information to offer. This study should have been done with those who made it, not this group. Practitioners, at a conference where the preliminary results were presented, felt the critique of the group model should be ignored. "What do you expect? These guys ended up in prison!"

These loud protestations aroused my curiosity about this resistance, and reinforced my commitment to this method. Despite some struggles to negotiate the various systems to gain access to the participants, I obviously was able to complete this study and enjoy some of the accomplishments it has and will hopefully continue to bring. After all, these critics

have overlooked the value of doing autopsies. Many significant breakthroughs in medical science have come from autopsies. This study also proved to be worthwhile. First of all, I was able to conduct a research project grounded in sound ethical practices by seeking and documenting the opinions of this oppressed population. Secondly, it was well worth the investment of my time as insightful critiques were constructed around: the instability of their childhood and adolescence; a personal understanding of their paths to criminality; the quality of the services they received; and the culturally insensitive practices in various programs.

Reflexivity--the Follow-up Interviews

The concern for the voice of these young men was maintained and supported by the reflexive technique of conducting follow-up interviews with some of the initial respondents. During a second interview, the selected follow-up sub-sample was asked to review preliminary findings and assist with the interpretation. This technique, inspired by the work of Bourdieu and others (referenced earlier) related to reflexivity and the biases in the research process, was designed to keep their voices alive by asking the respondents to help with the interpretations of the findings. Although efforts were initially made to give these young men a voice in the study, there is always a threat that their voice will disappear somewhere between the collection of the data and the presentation of the findings. The follow-up interviews were included to reinforce their voice and diminish the possibility of their voices getting lost somewhere in the research process.

Not only were the follow-up interviews useful for preserving the voices of the participants, but as stated in the writings of Bourdieu and others, the integrity of the findings was enhanced. The follow-up interviews clarified and expanded the understanding of issues related to the path towards criminality, the use of the group model, and the implementation/impact of culturally insensitive practices. The follow-up interviews were not only valuable in supporting the ethical research practice of giving these former clients a voice, but this use of reflexive practices also strengthened the quality of the

information collected and presented.

Issues for Further Research

Although this study achieved some success in highlighting the voices of a typically silent population by using life history interviews and reflexivity to learn about the experience of former recipients in the juvenile justice system, many issues were raised that could benefit from further research. The caveats raised by many of the different constituents of this study are indeed valid when considering future research. The former recipients provided very articulate and insightful portrayals of their experiences. However, knowledge of services could only be expanded by enlarging the sample to include more individuals with similar backgrounds as well as those with different experiences.

It would be valuable to know if some of the significant findings in this study related to the path to criminality, the quality of treatment, and cultural insensitivity would be supported by the experiences of others. Including individuals with a similar career pattern starting in the juvenile justice system and progressing to an adult prison would be worthwhile for attempting to assess the generalizability of the findings. These issues could be a function of this population or possibly, even a function of the researcher or the approach to the method. Likewise, including young men who experienced juvenile services and did not proceed to an adult prison would be invaluable. Obviously, it would be fascinating to hear their stories about progressing through the juvenile system and not ending up in prison. Other findings about the quality and the cultural insensitivity of services could be compared and contrasted to these other samples.

Expanding the sample is not the only methodological alternative requiring additional consideration. Many of the concepts raised in this study could be further tested in a quantitative format. The same issues identified as warranting additional exploration with different samples could be captured as structured items for larger scale surveys using the above suggestions regarding samples. Testing these concepts in larger scale studies using quantitative methods would further expand the validity of these findings. Are they simply a

function of this population, this method, or do they apply with other young men in similar and/or different circumstances?

In addition to expanding the sample and the method for this study, the concept of reflexivity could be further expanded. The follow-up interviews, while very valuable at verifying and expanding my understanding, were used in a truncated fashion. Simply put, although the second interview provided additional information, it was still a closed event, only one more interview with a sub-sample of the original sample. Often times issues may have not been raised during the second interview, or information covered in the follow-up interview was not placed under similar participant review. This process could have benefitted from a more open structure resembling more of an open dialogue between the researcher and the study participants constantly checking on the participants' point of view. This may include critical feedback from the participants on the text created by the researcher.

Obviously, further developments related to reflexive practices would need to be balanced against the pragmatics of conducting ongoing field research. For example, in this project contacting the participants required negotiating with the central research function of the state department of corrections, the administration of the individual facilities and finally, with the participants. Similar studies with other juvenile or adult correctional populations are probably equipped with similar administrative procedures. Additionally, human subject review panels are also part of this approval process. Access to the study populations in many other forms of field research typically includes similar procedures. However, the inclusion of reflexive practices, especially those involving the study participants, is well worth the investment of time. In the planning phases of the field research process, I would encourage researchers in most arenas to create as many opportunities as possible for the researcher and the participants to interact and exchange ideas, beyond the initial collection of the data, about the findings and results.

The Utility of Qualitative Methods in the Study of Juvenile Delinquency

The quality of the findings generated in this study and the potential for repeating and expanding this study using different samples and alternative methods speaks very well for the utility of this type of method, especially in the area of juvenile delinquency. The needs of young men and women faced with limited choices related to succeeding in their communities are very unique. They bring many issues to treatment that are somewhat distant from the world of the researcher and are constantly changing. These dynamics include: cultural challenges, proven in this study to be foreign to many service providers; a community saddled with high crime, few viable employment and educational options; and a struggle to avoid a dangerous lifestyle on the streets offering excitement and economic opportunities, albeit illegal ones.

Perhaps, one of the greatest strengths of a qualitative method is the opportunity it provides for the researcher to admit his/her ignorance of the aforementioned factors and the need to work collaboratively with the people who face these challenges on a daily basis. Early in this dissertation, I described a situation where an individual asked me to quit taking notes because the last time someone took notes while he was talking, he ended up getting a life sentence as the law enforcement official had taken liberties with his confession. If nothing else, this experience taught me how little I understood about his life.

Through the process of including these young men in this study, they were able to help me to expand my understanding. They were able to answer my ignorant questions and raise issues that I would have not addressed. These young men assisted in the process of documenting the context of the struggles and challenges inherent in negotiating this system. The individuals receiving these services proved their ability to assist in identifying the needs these services should strive to address. I think this type of technique has great potential for continuing to educate the professionals working with children engulfed in the juvenile justice system. What it is like to be in the system? What is the quality of the services? and How does one address their ongoing unmet needs? By giving these

individuals a voice to use in educating researchers and other professionals, we are also giving them an opportunity to enlighten other constituencies about their lives and ways to optimize their potential. These insights have great value as critical input to those striving to develop service, policy, and practice innovation.

Conclusion

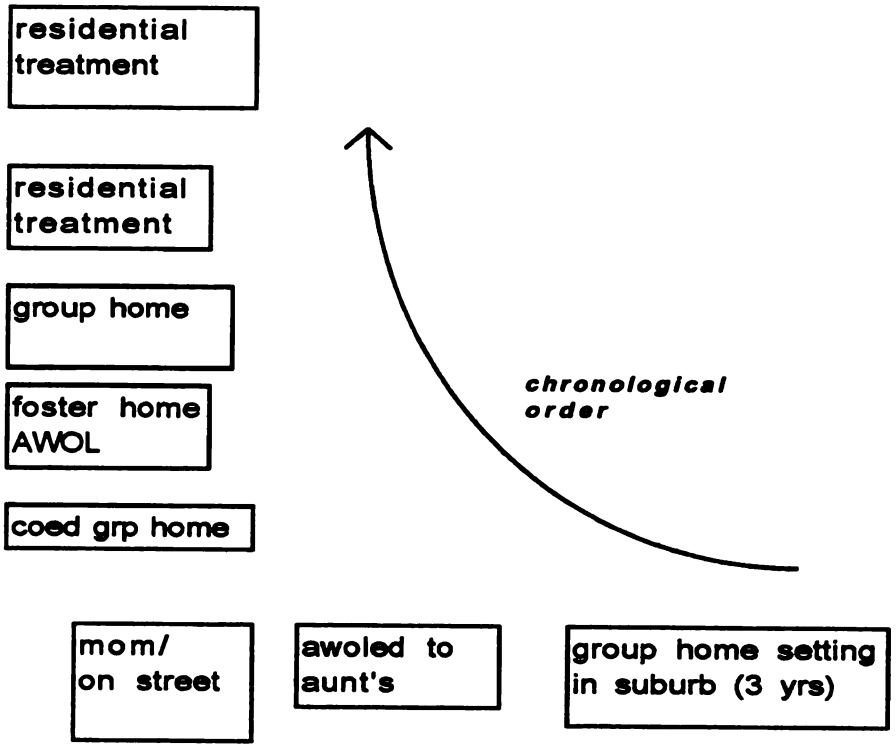
This study began under some very limited notions about testing a method for a research class in anthropology. A secondary purpose was to determine if the input from former recipients would shed any light on the needs of juveniles who had been statistically earmarked for prison by a predictive model (Kapp, Schwartz, & Epstein, 1993). The process of obtaining approval through the state department of corrections and the human subject review panel was very complicated but it also worked as a type of initiation into qualitative research. After considering the reasons offered by some of the practicing professionals in this field of delinquency as to why such a project was useless, on one hand, and dealing with ways to conduct such a study that preserved and protected the dignity of the participants, on the other, I was convinced my small project needed to be implemented.

The individuals who participated in the study were articulate, thoughtful and cooperative. Their critical insights were thorough and thought provoking. Thanks to their diligent participation, I was able to construct a formidable critique of the juvenile system from their perspective, at least as I understand it. Concrete descriptions of the needs of high risk youth were forwarded and preliminary indications were developed about the promise of this type of method. Hopefully, these insights provide enough basis to serve as directives for future service innovation and stimulus for additional research emphasizing the voices of the people who have learned by receiving the services.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Figure 3.1
Placement history



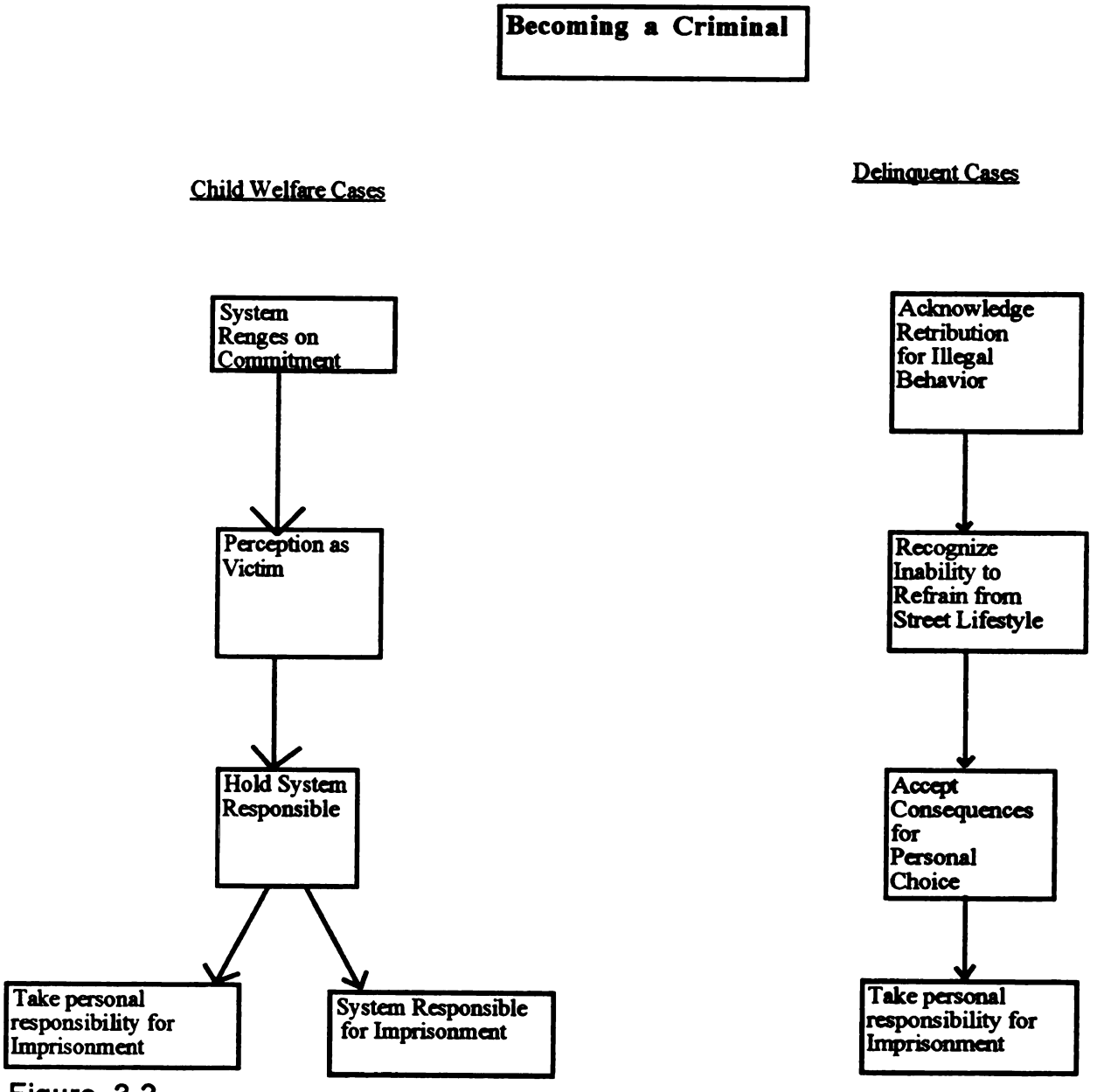

Becoming a Criminal
Child Welfare Cases
Delinquent Cases
System Renges on Commitment
Perception as Victim
Hold System Responsible
Take personal responsibility for Imprisonment
System Responsible for Imprisonment
Acknowledge Retribution for Illegal Behavior
Recognize Inability to Refrain from Street Lifestyle
Accept Consequences for Personal Choice
Take personal responsibility for Imprisonment

Figure 3.2

APPENDIX B

MICHIGAN STATE
UNIVERSITY

April 26, 1994

TO: Stephen A. Kapp
1055 Alamo Ct.
Tecumseh, Michigan 49286

RE: IRB#: 94-101
TITLE: EXPLORING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN JUVENILE JUSTICE SERVICES AND ADULT IMPRISONMENT: TESTING A QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGY
REVISION REQUESTED: N/A
CATEGORY: FULL REVIEW
APPROVAL DATE: 04/19/94

The University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects'(UCRIHS) review of this project is complete. I am pleased to advise that the rights and welfare of the human subjects appear to be adequately protected and methods to obtain informed consent are appropriate. Therefore, the UCRIHS approved this project including any revision listed above.

RENEWAL: UCRIHS approval is valid for one calendar year, beginning with the approval date shown above. Investigators planning to continue a project beyond one year must use the green renewal form (enclosed with the original approval letter or when a project is renewed) to seek updated certification. There is a maximum of four such expedited renewals possible. Investigators wishing to continue a project beyond that time need to submit it again for complete review.

REVISIONS: UCRIHS must review any changes in procedures involving human subjects, prior to initiation of the change. If this is done at the time of renewal, please use the green renewal form. To revise an approved protocol at any other time during the year, send your written request to the UCRIHS Chair, requesting revised approval and referencing the project's IRB # and title. Include in your request a description of the change and any revised instruments, consent forms or advertisements that are applicable.

PROBLEMS/ CHANGES: Should either of the following arise during the course of the work, investigators must notify UCRIHS promptly: (1) problems (unexpected side effects, complaints, etc.) involving human subjects or (2) changes in the research environment or new information indicating greater risk to the human subjects than existed when the protocol was previously reviewed and approved.

If we can be of any future help, please do not hesitate to contact us at (517)355-2180 or FAX (517)336-1171.

Sincerely,

David E. Wright, Ph.D.
UCRIHS Chair

DEW:pjm

cc: Fredric M. Roberts

OFFICE OF
RESEARCH
AND
GRADUATE
STUDIES

University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects (UCRIHS)
Michigan State University
225 Administration Building
East Lansing, Michigan
48824-1046
517/355-2180
FAX: 517/336-1171

MICHIGAN STATE
UNIVERSITY

April 8, 1997

TO: Fredric M. Roberts
354 Baker Hall

RE: IRB#: 94-101
TITLE: EXPLORING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN JUVENILE JUSTICE SERVICES AND ADULT IMPRISONMENT: TESTING A QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGY
REVISION REQUESTED: N/A
CATEGORY: FULL REVIEW
APPROVAL DATE: 04/07/97

The University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects' (UCRIHS) review of this project is complete. I am pleased to advise that the rights and welfare of the human subjects appear to be adequately protected and methods to obtain informed consent are appropriate. Therefore, the UCRIHS approved this project and any revisions listed above.

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Sincerely,

David E. Wright, Ph.D.
UCRIHS Chair

DEW:bed

cc: Stephen A. Kapp

OFFICE OF
RESEARCH AND GRADUATE STUDIES

University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects (UCRIHS)

Michigan State University
246 Administration Building
East Lansing, Michigan
48824-1046

517/355-2180
FAX: 517/432-1171

MICHIGAN STATE
UNIVERSITY

April 2, 1996

TO: Stephen A. Kapp
1055 Alamo Ct.
Tecumseh, Michigan 49286

RE: IRB#: 94-101
TITLE: EXPLORING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN JUVENILE JUSTICE SERVICES AND ADULT IMPRISONMENT: TESTING A QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGY
REVISION REQUESTED: N/A
CATEGORY: FULL REVIEW
APPROVAL DATE: 04/01/96

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MICHIGAN STATE
UNIVERSITY

April 5, 1995

TO: Stephen A. Kapp
1055 Alamo Ct.
Tecumseh, Michigan 49286

RE: IRB#: 94-101
TITLE: EXPLORING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN JUVENILE JUSTICE SERVICES AND ADULT IMPRISONMENT: TESTING A QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGY
REVISION REQUESTED: N/A
CATEGORY: FULL REVIEW
APPROVAL DATE: 04/03/95

The University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects'(UCRIHS) review of this project is complete. I am pleased to advise that the rights and welfare of the human subjects appear to be adequately protected and methods to obtain informed consent are appropriate. Therefore, the UCRIHS approved this project including any revision listed above.

RENEWAL: UCRIHS approval is valid for one calendar year, beginning with the approval date shown above. Investigators planning to continue a project beyond one year must use the green renewal form (enclosed with the original approval letter or when a project is renewed) to seek updated certification. There is a maximum of four such expedited renewals possible. Investigators wishing to continue a project beyond that time need to submit it again for complete review.

REVISIONS: UCRIHS must review any changes in procedures involving human subjects, prior to initiation of the change. If this is done at the time of renewal, please use the green renewal form. To revise an approved protocol at any other time during the year, send your written request to the UCRIHS Chair, requesting revised approval and referencing the project's IRB # and title. Include in your request a description of the change and any revised instruments, consent forms or advertisements that are applicable.

PROBLEMS/ CHANGES: Should either of the following arise during the course of the work, investigators must notify UCRIHS promptly: (1) problems (unexpected side effects, complaints, etc.) involving human subjects or (2) changes in the research environment or new information indicating greater risk to the human subjects than existed when the protocol was previously reviewed and approved.

If we can be of any future help, please do not hesitate to contact us at (517)355-2180 or FAX (517)336-1171.

Sincerely,

David E. Wright, Ph.D.
UCRIHS Chair

DEW:pjm

cc: Fredric M. Roberts

OFFICE OF
RESEARCH
AND
GRADUATE
STUDIES

University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects (UCRIHS)

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CONSENT FORM

You have been selected as a candidate to participate in a study that I am conducting as a doctoral student at Michigan State University. As the former Director of Ongoing Program Evaluation at Boysville of Michigan, I previously conducted a study in collaboration with the Michigan Department of Corrections. In that project, we identified a group of former clients (who left in 1985 or 1987) that were imprisoned over a five year period. You were included in that study.

The purpose of this study is to understand more about the services you received as a juvenile and how they relate to your involvement with the prison system as an adult. Unlike other research in which you may have participated, I will be asking you a series of very open-ended questions (What services did you receive and what did you like or dislike about them?). I would like to take about two hours of your time to discuss your impressions of the experience with juvenile justice services, your ideas about their effectiveness, and how those things relate to your present status.

This form describes things that will be done in the research to protect your privacy and your rights. Also, the form is used to document your understanding and agreement to these conditions. Prior to conducting the interview, we will review the entire form and its contents. I will address all of your questions. If you agree to participate in the study under these circumstances you will be asked to sign this consent form. If you do not want to participate in the study, I will thank you for your time and terminate the discussion. No one, outside of myself, the warden, and your Residential Unit Manager will know that you have been chosen as a candidate. The warden and the Residential Unit Manager has been asked to keep your selection as a candidate for this project to himself/herself. Also, if you agree to participate you have the option of either not answering specific questions or of stopping the interview at any time. **Your participation in this research is totally voluntary!**

In the context of the discussion, you may reveal self-incriminating things that you have done in the past. If this type of thing comes up in the interview, I want you to know that I will not be reporting that information to anyone. However, if I am subpoenaed and questioned, I am legally obligated to testify to that information.

Also, if you inform me that a staff member of an agency where you have received services in the past, performed a questionable or illegal act, I will not be following up with that either. In this case, I will be glad to share with you the names and addresses of appropriate officials for dealing with that information. If you choose, you can contact them. At your request, I will also be glad to explain your rights in that process and do what I can to ensure that the process is honored and your rights protected, without taking a position on the issue. In any case, if you divulge information about questionable events that have occurred while you were receiving services, I will extend every effort to maintain your anonymity. That information will be divulged only in the context of the previous review processes, if you choose to initiate one.

I will do everything in my power to keep the information that you provide totally confidential. Your answers will be written on code sheets that have only a number on them. The key for this numbering system is known only by me and I have it kept in a secure place. When I analyze and report the information collected in this study, the identity of the participants will be stripped away. Findings will either be reported in a summary fashion or the identity of specific individuals will be presented anonymously. This is done to protect your identity so that nothing you tell me in the interview will have an effect on your treatment in this facility. Although I will extend every effort possible to assure confidentiality, I can make no absolute guarantee. In the past, in other studies, unique circumstances have led to problems in maintaining confidentiality. You need to know that although this is not my intention, it can occur.

If you have comments. or questions about the research project you can contact me or my professor, Dr. Fredic M. Roberts, Anthropology Department, 354 Baker Hall, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48824.

Let me just reiterate that your involvement in this research is strictly voluntary. If you receive any pressure from anyone, either inform myself or Dr. Roberts. We will ensure that your participation is voluntary. Also, if you have any questions about the form or this research please ask me to clarify them before you provide your consent. If you understand and agree to the conditions of this research, please sign below.

UCRIHS APPROVAL FOR
THIS project EXPIRES:

APR 0 7 1998

SUBMIT RENEWAL APPLICATION
ONE MONTH PRIOR TO
ABOVE DATE TO CONTINUE

_____

_____

___ I would like a copy of the study findings.

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