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NIMBY STRIKES A CLUBHOUSE: A CASE STUDY OF HOW  
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M.A. degree in Department of Psychology

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**NIMBY STRIKES A CLUBHOUSE: A CASE STUDY OF HOW A SETTING  
FACILITATED AN EMPOWERING EXPERIENCE**

**By**

**Tiffeny Reyleen Jimenez**

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **NIMBY STRIKES A CLUBHOUSE: A CASE STUDY OF HOW A SETTING FACILITATED AN EMPOWERING EXPERIENCE**

By

Tiffeny Reyleen Jimenez

This study sought to understand the impact of a Not in My Backyard (NIMBY) response on the personal recovery processes of members of a clubhouse for people with mental illnesses. Qualitative methods were used to gain an in depth understanding of the experiences of clubhouse members. The sample included two different types of members: 1) members who were actively involved in the NIMBY response, and 2) members who were involved routinely in the clubhouse at that time but not actively involved in the NIMBY response. Inductive content analysis was used to identify themes and patterns across and within participants' stories. Results show that members who were actively involved in the NIMBY response had very personal connections to the clubhouse and were quite negatively impacted by the initial NIMBY response. NIMBY active members demonstrated feelings of empowerment in the end. NIMBY active members identified five contextual elements facilitated by the clubhouse that contributed to their empowering experiences over time. These elements included: 1) taking action in response to NIMBY, 2) feeling support: knowing they were not alone, 3) keeping informed about NIMBY, 4) maintaining business as usual, and 5) staying focused on positives. Members who were not actively involved in the NIMBY response did not have similar experiences as those who were actively involved. Findings discuss the importance of settings that build strength, foster understanding, and facilitate leadership for people with mental illness.

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## INTRODUCTION

The impact of stigma on people with Severe Mental Illness (SMI) is becoming increasingly recognized as a pervasive and significant social problem (Corrigan, 2002, 2005; Hinshaw and Cicchetti, 2000; Matorin, 2002; Perlick, Rosenheck, Clarkin, Sirey, Salahi, Streuning, and Link, 2001; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1999). It has been demonstrated repeatedly over the years that stigmatizing attitudes can have a damaging effect on the social functioning and recovery of people with SMI (Corrigan, 1998; Corrigan & Penn, 1999; Fink and Tasman, 1992; Markowitz, 1998; Ralph and Corrigan, 2005; Struening et al., 1995; Wahl, 1999). The rise of community-based rehabilitation programs has been based on the expectation that the recovery of people with SMI would be supported by local communities, yet stigmatizing attitudes towards psychiatric symptoms within the United States persist (Link, 1987; Phelan and Link, 1998; Rabkin, 1974; Roman & Floyd, 1981), and in some cases are on the rise (Phelan, Link, Stueve, & Pescosollio, 2000), leading to various venues of protest and social discrimination.

Service providers and mental health consumers have increasingly been acknowledging and emphasizing the importance of consumer empowerment and self determination in promoting recovery and community integration (Chamberlin, 1978; Corrigan, 2002; Frese and Davis, 1997; Hinshaw and Cicchetti, 2000). This knowledge has contributed greatly to an understanding of how best to structure and provide services. Recovery from mental illness is not only about learning to deal with symptoms of a disorder, but also entails learning to work with the effects of social and self-stigma (Corrigan, 2002). In order to combat some of the social issues surrounding having a

mental illness, and sometimes due to certification requirements, mental health services are moving away from traditional mental health provider sites and branching out into communities where consumers can work towards full community integration by learning within social environments (MDCH/MSU, 2000).

In response to negative public attitudes, stigma, discrimination and other barriers to attaining a satisfying community lifestyle, consumers of mental health services began creating consumer-driven services to meet their individual needs (Frese & Davis, 1997). In these settings they can become involved in a number of opportunities such as gaining vocational assistance, skill building, feeling a sense of belonging, feeling accepted, and gaining a sense of personal power (Beard, 1982; Murphy, 1998). With the benefits emphasized by the empowerment of people with SMI (Corrigan, 2002), and the positive responses provided by consumers of those services (Murphy, 1998), these consumer-driven services appear to be some of the more beneficial services available today. Yet even today, these organizations are being protested and discriminated against by local community members.

A recent trend in the delivery of community mental health services has been the expansion of sites to more accessible locations in order to be more convenient for consumers, and to create a more natural experience of rehabilitation (MDCH/MSU, 2000). This involves placing services in more social and residential neighborhoods. There then becomes a problem between the mental health facility and the neighborhood they're moving into when that community endorses the stigma of mental illness (Corrigan, 2002). When a mental health facility is placed in their ideal location, the community may

respond with resistance. This resistance is often called the “Not In My Backyard (NIMBY) Syndrome” (Dear, 1992; Gilman, 1985).

The NIMBY syndrome is steeped in varying stages of prejudice and discrimination. Much of the literature on NIMBY and social services has focused on the affects of NIMBY on the organization or public agency involved. The literature reports that some facilities have been closed due to the withdrawal of tax dollars, and that organizations can experience various ramifications due to lawsuits against facilities (Dear, 1976; Dear, 1986; Dear, 1992; Enos, 1991). These organizational problems lead to a lack of available services for consumers, which means they may be inconvenienced in order to reach services or even completely out of options for needed services. For these reasons, cases of NIMBY concerning human service facilities can have detrimental effects on client well-being (Dear, 1992). An aspect of client well-being that has not been addressed by the literature on NIMBY and human services is the affect that NIMBY can have on the individuals who are members of organizations that are consumer-run.

The recent shifts in the ideological focus of human services have gone from professionals serving clients to consumers serving themselves in organizations considered consumer-run services (Frese and Davis, 1997). Human services fall somewhere on a continuum between these two extremes and clubhouses are considered to be consumer-driven because of the critical role that staff play in their services. The purpose of this type of an organization is that members come to feel a sense of empowerment. Members of these organizations experience a special type of relationship with the organization. They ideally feel a sense of ownership in the organization, and a sense of power over the services available to them. In a consumer-driven organization,



members help design the services their facility makes available to them and others depending on their personal needs for recovery. This synthesis between consumer needs and organizational services is creating a more personal and empowering environment for consumers. There is a possibility, however, that a NIMBY response<sup>1</sup> from a community could be impacting members more personally when those organizations are attacked; possibly creating a more intense negative or positive impact on a person's process of recovery if and when stigma and discrimination strikes. The extent to which members are actively involved in a NIMBY case<sup>2</sup> could also play a role on the impact of NIMBY on their recovery.

Over the last 30 years we have come to recognize the NIMBY syndrome with regard to people with SMI (Dear, 1992), and although we know that there are a few studies in the literature that has qualitatively examined community responses of NIMBY on human services designed for people with SMI, they have chosen to focus on community attitudes (Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, 1990; Solomon and Davis, 1984; Piat, 2000). Currently, there is no literature that seeks to understand the effects of the NIMBY phenomenon on the recovery of organizational members experiencing these discriminatory responses.

In order to fully understand the impact of NIMBY on members of consumer-run organizations it is important to then look towards the subjective experience of the stigma and discrimination that people with SMI experience. Members of consumer-driven organizations utilize those services in order to assist them through the process of

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<sup>1</sup> The use of the term "NIMBY response" is used to describe the initial reactions that a community or group has in response to the placement of something that they do not want in their neighborhood.

<sup>2</sup> The use of the term "NIMBY case" is used very generally to describe the ongoing discussions, actions, and legal proceedings that continue on after an initial response occurs. A case can vary from situation to situation.

recovery, and recovery from SMI entails dealing with the affects of stigma. How members have responded to this community issue may say something for how clubhouses can deal with these types of community responses in the future.

The focus of this study is to understanding more about the direct effects of stigmatizing attitudes and discrimination people with SMI are faced with in organizations they may personally identify with and their responses to it. This study explores: 1) how the NIMBY response impacted persons in the process of recovery from SMI and 2) how the clubhouse assisted members in dealing with the NIMBY response and throughout the NIMBY case over time.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

To understand why examining the experience of stigma and discrimination of a NIMBY situation for consumer-driven organizations is important; we must first understand the role that consumer-driven organizations play in the lives of their consumers. In order to gain this knowledge, this literature review will explore: the effects of stigma and discrimination on recovery, the potential effects of active citizen participation on recovery, the role of Psychosocial Rehabilitation clubhouses in the recovery of people with SMI, and what we currently know about the NIMBY phenomenon. This review will lead us to better comprehend why it is important that we bring to light the experience of discrimination in a NIMBY protest against a Psychosocial Rehabilitation clubhouse.

### Effects of Stigma and Discrimination on Recovery

Over the last decade and through the consumer movement there has been a paradigm shift in the way mental health service providers perceive, treat, and design their

services for people with serious mental illness. One of the major changes is the increased concentration on a more consumer focused understanding of the mental health consumer and identifying their needs for recovery within the community. Even the United States Surgeon General's report on mental health made recovery a guiding principle in its initiatives in 1999 (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1999). Not too long ago it was thought that recovery from a mental illness was not possible. We have come to understand the concept of recovery in more depth because people with serious psychiatric disorders are coming forward to educate professionals and others of the fact that recovery is possible for a person with a mental illness (Ralph and Corrigan, 2004).

### *Defining Recovery*

For people recovering from mental illness, recovery focuses more on the process of self acceptance and learning to live with their illness (Deegan, 1993; Ralph and Corrigan, 2004, Corrigan, 2005; Frese and Davis, 1997; Davidson et al., 2005; Matorin, 2002). This is different from the more traditional, and professionally defined, sense of recovery where the emphasis is placed more on particular outcomes where a person might expect to return to some premorbid state (Deegan, 1993; Ralph and Corrigan, 2004). The outcome of recovery from SMI cannot be perceived in the same manner as being cured (Lieberman and Kopelowicz, 2005). In fact, some consumer-survivors feel that the experience of a mental illness and the stigma attached to it makes it impossible for them to 'recover' in the more traditional sense (Walsh, 1996). When attempting to define recovery from SMI, it is difficult to separate the ideas of process and outcome because "they are always in dynamic interaction with one another" (Lieberman et al., 2005, p. 106).

In an article written by two psychologists who are recognized as professionals and consumer-survivors, Frese and Davis (1997) tell us that, “Recovery is best understood as a process, not an outcome.” (p. 244) To get other perspectives, in another article examining qualitative studies of recovery from the perspective of people with SMI, Davidson, Sells, Sangster, and O’Connell (2005) found through thematic analysis that:

*Recovery involves a redefinition of one’s illness as only one aspect of a multidimensional sense of self that is capable of identifying, choosing, and pursuing personally meaningful goals and aspirations even when continuing to experience the effects and side effects of mental illness. (p. 150)*

These definitions of recovery from the perspectives of people with SMI help us begin to gain a deeper understanding of the multifaceted nature of recovery from SMI. In efforts to demystify the process of recovery from SMI we can turn to the literature to identify some of its more salient dimensions.

#### *Understanding the Process of Recovery*

Much of our understanding about the recovery process for people with SMI comes from the writings of consumers and much of the early literature in this area focuses on individual case reports of recovery experiences (Ralph and Corrigan, 2005). The increased interest in the process of recovery in the literature is pulling those pieces together. This has led to more overarching efforts to empirically understand the process of recovery which has led to literature reviews and more formal qualitative analyses.

With the goal of defining recovery for future measurement purposes, the Center for Mental Health Services formed a group of consumer leaders called The Recovery Advisory Group (Ralph & Recovery Advisory Group, 1999). This group met every month for a year through teleconferencing to discuss their personal experiences with recovery, while also considering the literature on recovery. The end result of their efforts

was a recovery model that describes the model of recovery. This model displayed the point that recovery could be thought of like a spiral continuum that spanned eight stages: 1) anguish, 2) awakening, 3) insight, 4) action plan, 5) determination to be well, 6) well-being, 7) empowerment, and 8) recovery. They thought that the spiral was most appropriate in representing the process because they could find themselves slipping in and out of any stage at any day. They also felt that this process was experienced both internally and externally. Their internal experience of recovery could be at any stage depending on what was happening with them cognitively, emotionally, spiritually, and physically. Their external experience depended on what was happening in their interactions with others: activities, self-care, social relationships, and social supports. It was also emphasized in a discussion of this study that external influences should be considered highly in ones process of recovery, because negative outside influences (such as discrimination, prejudice, and stigma) can severely deter recovery (Ralph and Corrigan, 2005). Given this point, it is possible that negative social interaction within communities, such as a NIMBY experience, can impede on one's process of recovery.

Consistent with this work, in a literature review of the recovery literature done for the U. S. Department of Health and Human services, Ralph (1999) reviewed personal accounts of recovery. The authors identified four dimensions of recovery (Ralph, 2000): 1) Internal factors, 2) Self-managed care, 3) External factors, and 4) Empowerment. Internal factors included experiences felt within the consumer, self-managed care included how consumers coped with barriers in managing mental health, external factors included the absence of people in their lives adhering to stigmatizing beliefs, and empowerment included an interconnectedness of all the above dimensions that

contributes to an increase in their desire to care for themselves. What is similar about the conclusions of these two inquiries, and is the key point, is that throughout the delicate process of recovery there is a reciprocal relationship between a person's internal mental health and their social environment (Jacobson and Greenly, 2001). This is what leads to the consideration of the impact of stigma and discrimination on a person's mental health while undergoing a process of recovery.

In a very rich qualitative analysis of personal accounts of recovery from four women with psychiatric disability, Ridgeway (2001) identified eight themes from their narratives that included: 1) recovery is the awakening of hope after despair, 2) recovery is breaking through denial and achieving understanding and acceptance, 3) recovery is moving from withdrawal to engagement and active participation in life, 4) recovery is active coping rather than passive adjustment, 5) recovery means no longer viewing oneself primarily as a person with a psychiatric disorder and reclaiming a positive sense of self, 6) recovery is a journey from alienation to a sense of meaning and purpose, 7) recovery is a complex and nonlinear journey, and 8) recovery is not accomplished alone; the journey involves support and partnership. Not surprisingly, this analysis comes to similar conclusions as the two previously cited works, in that internal mental health is directly related to our social environments, but it provides a more descriptive account of how our social networks and negative environments can affect our very personalized notions of mental health and sense of self.

Randall (2000) conducted a qualitative study of people with schizophrenia where she interviewed 46 members of a mutual-help group. She identified four phases of the recovery process: 1) mourning and grief, 2) recognition and awareness, 3) redefinition

and transformation, and 4) enhanced well-being and quality of life. Phase 1 entails stages of despair, anger, and denial; phase 2 entails the understanding of schizophrenia and how it can affect one's life; phase 3 entails a change in beliefs about schizophrenia, the managing of symptoms, the redevelopment of goals and focusing on strengths; and phase 4 entails valuing oneself, approaching life in a positive way, accomplishing goals, and finding meaning and purpose in everyday life. The process of recovery identified in this study displays nicely how the process can be thought of as a shedding of negative images and beliefs about schizophrenia. This study demonstrates how a more positive and strengths-based perspective on the part of the member is necessary in order to be able to fully transform into later stages of recovery. This study also brings to light the fact that this can be a very delicate process where the reinforcement of negative beliefs and attitudes about SMI could severely impact a person in the process of recovery.

The studies cited here detail the process of recovery in very similar ways and quite clearly point out that recovery from SMI is a very delicate process. Each study pays particular attention to the reciprocal relationship between one's recovery and their social environment, identifying the need for positive social "spaces" where a person with SMI can learn to become comfortable with one-self and others. Human services designed for people with SMI are beginning to acknowledge the need for supportive and positive social environments in the process of recovery, and they are designing services to be like "safe spaces" so that members can feel comfortable and in control of their own personal process of recovery. The idea of needing a safe space then brings us to acknowledge the fact that there are unsafe spaces where people with SMI in the process of recovery may feel threatened. Unfortunately this is a reality, and if members' safe spaces are

threatened, as in the case of a NIMBY situation, it must follow that these negative social forces are likely to negatively impact members in the process of recovery.

### *Effects of Stigma on Recovery*

In the many unsafe spaces in our society, people with SMI are faced with stigma and discrimination in various ways and in various places. Overcoming the affects of stigma, both self-stigma and social stigma, are only two of the many facets dealt with in recovery from SMI (Davidson, 2005; Matorin, 2002). Stigma is a very old concept created by the ancient Greeks and has been defined by Goffman (1963) as “an attribute that is deeply discrediting.” (p. 3) To better understand the affects of stigma on recovery it is important to define both social stigma and self-stigma. Social stigma is different from self-stigma in that social stigma takes into account the reactions of the general public towards a stigmatized group (Corrigan, 2005).

Social stigma has been defined by Jones (1984) as: “...a person whose social identity or membership in some social category, calls into question his or her full humanity- the person is devalued, spoiled or flawed in the eyes of others” (Jones et al., 1984). It is widely recognized that people with mental illness experience more negative effects from social stigma than many other groups (Corrigan, 2004) and this fact is reflected in the many ways in which their opportunities in life are restricted or withheld by others. People with SMI experience many social and economic disadvantages due to social stigma such as, being prevented from acquiring adequate housing, given little to no opportunities for independent employment, and many are restricted from experiencing satisfying relationships with family, friends, and significant others. It is difficult to imagine a life so steeped in discrimination in the United States where all people have the



right to these very essential life opportunities. The experience of social stigma can best be described by a person with a mental illness. In an article written by a consumer about her experiences around hopes for recovery, Murphy (1998) tells us how social stigma impacted her life:

*Looking back, my biggest struggle was not with the illness itself, but with being tossed aside by the normally functioning world and made an outcast of society. Being treated as less than human because of mental illness sent me into the darkest depression. (p. 185)*

What is so very interesting about social stigma is that it is deeply imbedded in our culture. One very useful framework for which to think about the origins and cycle of social stigma is one presented by Rappaport (1999), which describes “dominant cultural narratives”. Rappaport uses a narrative approach to explain dominant cultural narratives to be common “community representations of life that are known by most people within a culture” (p. 4). Rappaport states that these narratives are “over-learned stories communicated through mass media or other large social and cultural institutions and social networks.” (p. 4) In regards to people with SMI, these dominant cultural narratives can be thought of as the more common and salient beliefs and judgments that people in communities have, and communicate about, people with SMI. These dominant cultural narratives are quite negative and influence people in the community to have certain beliefs and to make certain negative judgments about people with SMI, often times based on exaggerated and presumptuous accusations. These beliefs and judgments play out in their everyday encounters with people with SMI and thus recreate and sustain the social stigmatization, and discrimination, of people with SMI in our culture. These dominant cultural narratives are reinforced over time through the media and casual conversation, making it almost inevitable that when a person is diagnosed with a mental illness later in

life, they then may also experience the debilitating effects of another type of stigma; self-stigma.

Self-stigma is the internalization of the negative stereotypes and social stigma that exists within the dominant cultural narratives of a certain culture. Living in a society that promotes independence and monetary achievement, such as the United States, is difficult when you have SMI because it also promotes and encourages negative views of life with a mental illness (ie., they are dangerous, child-like). Independent living and job security is scant for people with SMI because they experience daily discrimination in every area of their lives, so it's no surprise that people with mental illness would internalize these social beliefs without some alternative. Once again, it is difficult to imagine the ways in which self-stigma can affect a person, and only a person with a mental illness can explain to us what this feeling must be like:

*I tortured myself with the persistent and repetitive thought that people I would encounter, even total strangers, did not like me and wished that mentally ill people like me did not exist. Thus, I would do things such as standing away from others at bus stops and hiding and cringing in the far corners of subway cars. Thinking of myself as garbage, I would even leave the sidewalk in what I thought of as exhibiting the proper deference to those above me in social class. The latter group, of course, included all other human beings. (Gallo, 1994, pp. 407-408)*

It becomes quite difficult to resist internalizing the negative cultural narratives when every person and place in a person's life adheres to the dominant cultural narratives. Organizations and resources for mental health that are set up to assist people with SMI through recovery are places where you would think that negative dominant cultural narratives would not have permeated or be permitted. Many of these places are designed within the traditional medical model philosophy and are thus plagued with the negative assumptions and expectations of people with SMI. Despite their efforts, these

organizations and services have a tendency to promote hopeless and stigmatizing “community narratives”. Community narratives are best described as common stories shared by a group of people that tell them things about themselves as being a part of that group.

Self-stigma does not always affect everyone within a stigmatized group (Crocker & Major, 1989; Hayward & Bright, 1997). It used to be thought that self-stigma was an automatic reaction to being a part of a stigmatized group (Allport, 1954/1979; Erickson, 1956; Jones et al., 1984), but self-stigma only occurs when a person agrees with and internalizes the stereotypes associated with the dominant cultural narratives of the group that they are a part of (Crocker & Major, 1989).

The degree to which a person might agree with the stereotypes of their group depends in part on their level of personal identification with that group (Corrigan, 2004). Depending on a person’s level of identification with a stigmatized group, the experience of being stigmatized can vary, bringing some to oppose negative images of people with SMI and cause them to create more positive self-images (Brehm, 1996) and others to not identify with the stigmatized group at all where they may feel and do nothing (Corrigan, 2004). Several studies in the literature support that despite having a psychiatric disorder many people have positive self-images (Brehm, 1966) and react to stigma with energy and righteous anger (Corrigan et al., 1999; Chamberlin, Ellison, & Crean, 1997). This literature demonstrates the various affects that stigma can have on each person’s recovery process.

One possible explanation as to why some people with SMI do not internalize the dominant cultural narratives of this stigmatized group is that they are identifying more

with an organization that adheres to an “alternative community narrative” (Rappaport, 1993; Mankowski and Rappaport, 1995, Rappaport, 1995). Rappaport (1993) describes an alternative community narrative as “a story repeatedly told among many members of a setting” that provides an alternative way of thinking about oneself that is quite different from the dominant community narrative. Rappaport demonstrates this idea by describing how self-help organizations are just one type of place where alternative community narratives are thought to be useful:

*...self-help organizations can be viewed as a special class of communities in which an alternative identity is provided and that those who become embedded members do so by transforming their personal life stories so as to conform to the community narrative. (p. 249)*

Organizations such as these seek to liberate their members and strive to provide for their members a community narrative and safe space in their community where they can use an alternative world view to create their own personal stories of who they are. In essence, these types of organizations are questioning the dominant stories in existence for people with SMI, and they are creating new ways for their members to understand the world that is more conducive to their mental and physical well-being. Depending on the degree to which members personally identify with or have internalized the organization’s community narrative, there is then a possibility that these organizations are acting as a buffer between the mass amounts of existing stigma and discrimination, and persons in the process of recovery from SMI.

With a more detailed understanding of stigma, and its affects on recovery from SMI, we can now attempt to understand how members’ involvement in organizations that encourage recovery provides a safe social forum and promote active citizen participation

are important resources and safe spaces needed in order for members to thrive and survive in a very negative and stigmatizing world.

### The Potential Affects of Active Citizen Participation on Recovery

In the processes of recovery identified from the literature above, many of the later stages of recovery for people with SMI include elements of engagement, active participation, and empowerment. This review will not go into the details of all of these elements, but it is important to understand how active citizen participation can play a role in the recovery of people with SMI, how it has the potential to promote empowerment, and its role in clubhouses. It is particularly important to understand its potential effects on recovery in this study due to the fact that there were some members who were active participants in the NIMBY response and some that were not.

### *Defining Active Citizen Participation*

Active citizen participation is “a process in which individuals take part in decision making in the institutions, programs, and environments that affect them” (Heller, Price, Reinharz, Riger, & Wandersman, 1984, p.339). Research shows that becoming an active participant in ones community and life issues can bring many benefits to both the active person and to the organization or group of which they may be associated with (Pretsbly, Wandersman, Florin, Rich, and Chavis, 1990; Zimmerman, 1990). Active participation can evoke new understandings and contribute to the acquisition of certain knowledge that can only be learned through experience (Kieffer, 1984). Becoming an active participant can also lead to an increase in a person’s sense of community (Chavis & Wandersman, 1990), which can also then lead to a sense of empowerment and control over ones life (Kieffer, 1984; Zimmerman, 1990; Zimmerman and Rappaport, 1988). In fact,

Wandersman and Florin (2000) found that becoming an active participant in any dimension of a person's life can lead to "individual impacts, such as changes in attitudes, beliefs, and skills" (p. 264). All of these findings have implications for the numerous potential positive effects that active citizen participation can have on the processes of recovery experienced by people with SMI.

#### *Active Citizen Participation Can Promote Empowerment*

Empowerment is a term that has become increasingly incorporated into practice models associated with people with mental illness (Clark & Krupa, 2002) and mental health advocacy associations such as the National Empowerment Center (Chamberlin, 1996). The concept of empowerment is often difficult to define (Barnes & Bowl, 2001), and can be thought of as an outcome, an ideology, and as a process (Clark & Krupa, 2002; Fitzsimons & Fuller, 2002; Zimmerman & Warschausky, 1998). In applying the concept of empowerment to people with SMI, Linhorst (2006) views it as a process and defines it as "the meaningful participation of people with severe mental illness in decision making activities that give them increased power and control, or influence over important areas of their lives" (p. 9). As this definition implies, empowerment as an outcome, is a result of becoming actively involved in processes that are empowering. Processes that are empowering might include becoming an active participant in activities that increase knowledge of resources, improve social skills, increase confidence, or exercise power and influence over one's life (Linhorst, 2006). Psychosocial Clubhouses are examples of settings where people with SMI can become actively involved in such empowering processes.

#### *Active Citizen Participation in Clubhouses*

It is possible that becoming an active participant in any meaningful area of a person's life can promote recovery and empowerment. Clubhouses are consumer-driven services where their members' active participation in the clubhouse is a crucial element. It is important for clubhouses to promote active participation among its members because without their participation, they could not serve the individual needs of their members. The effects of active participation are also consistent with the goals of clubhouses to promote empowerment, competency, and recovery within their members (MDCH/MSU, 2001; Herman, Onaga, Pernice-Duca, & Oh, 2005). Since people with SMI can become empowered through action, actively responding to opposition, such as a NIMBY response, can be an empowering experience. Overall, the findings of this literature on active citizen participation suggest that active involvement can potentially affect the impact that a NIMBY response has on the recovery of clubhouse members.

### The Role of Clubhouses

Negative public attitudes, stigma, discrimination and other barriers in daily functioning gave rise to the consumer movement where consumers of mental health services began creating consumer-operated services to meet their individual needs (Frese & Davis, 1997; Peckoff, 1992). With the focus on consumer power and the evolution of community mental health, it soon became recognized that people with SMI needed various resources to function in the world, and this gave rise to psychosocial rehabilitation services. One such consumer-driven service, of which is technically considered to be a member-driven service, is the psychosocial rehabilitation clubhouse model. It is important to note here that psychosocial rehabilitation clubhouses should not be confused with consumer-run services because they are not run by consumers; they are

driven by consumers with the assistance of professional staff. Psychosocial rehabilitation clubhouses fall somewhere in the middle on a continuum of services with consumer-run services at one extreme and professionally run services at the other.

Psychosocial rehabilitation clubhouses can be thought of as safe space that seek to break down the barriers of stigma, dependency, and isolation that prevent people with SMI from experiencing full participation in their communities (Propst, 1997). Within a psychosocial rehabilitation clubhouse, clubhouse members are engaged in operating all aspects of the club with staff assistance. All clubhouses are considered to be following the criteria of psychosocial rehabilitation programs but only some clubhouses follow the guidelines and philosophy of the Fountain House Model of psychiatric rehabilitation in full. In this section, the relevance and purpose of psychosocial rehabilitation programs will be explained, followed by a thorough description of the unique philosophy and values that underlie the Fountain House Model and clubhouse community narrative.

### *Purposes of Psychosocial Rehabilitation Programs*

Psychosocial rehabilitation (PSR) programs for people with SMI have historically lacked a clear definition, and due to the various agencies that have claimed to practice PSR, certification continues to be a necessity (Cnaan, Blankertz, Messinger, 1990; Mueser, Drake, Bond, 1997; Corrigan, 2003). PSR includes services aimed at long-term recovery and maximizing self-sufficiency separate from the stabilization of psychiatric symptoms (Anthony, 1993; Barton, 1998; Barton, 1999). Psychosocial rehabilitation services are focused on an individual level of change and are generally designed to meet six programmatic goals: inclusion, opportunity, independence, empowerment, recovery, and quality life (Anthony, 1993; Barton, 1999; Corrigan, 2003; Ralph, 2000). In order to



meet these goals, PSR focuses on six service strategies: skill training, instrumental support, goal setting, transfer training, cognitive rehabilitation therapy, and family education and support (Barton, 1999; Corrigan, 2003). Although there are various services available under the umbrella of PSR, it is among these services that clubhouses are included.

In a meta-analysis of outcome studies in the literature, Barton (1999) sought to assess the empirical status of psychosocial rehabilitation within community support systems and found that the literature strongly supports the use of these services. PSR services have proven to reduce hospital utilization, positively affect employment opportunities, increase skill development, increase client satisfaction and increase the amount of time spent in the community (Arana, Hastings & Herron, 1991; Beard, Malamud and Rossman, 1978; Becker and Bayer, 1975; Bond, Dincin, Setze & Witheridge, 1984; Bond, Miller, Krumwied, & Ward 1988; Bond & Resnick 2000; Dion & Anthony, 1987; Stein and Test, 1980; Witheridge et al, 1982; Wolkon, Karmen and Tanaka, 1971). In particular, psychosocial clubhouses have proven to be an effective venue where people with SMI can establish and maintain better work habits, enriched social skills, and a more hopeful view of the future (Beard, Propst, & Malamud, 1982; MDCH/MSU, 2001).

All PSR services can be considered to be of the more cost-effective community resources available to people with SMI (Barton, 1999) that provide varying levels of assistance to their members on an as needed basis. In fact, according to longitudinal outcome research studies conducted in Maine and Vermont (Harding, Brooks, Ashikaga, 1987(a); Harding, Brooks, Ashikaga, 1987(b); DeSisto, Harding, McCormack, 1995), due

to the developmental aspects of having a psychiatric disability and the nature of recovery from SMI, it was found that long-term rehabilitative interventions can have cumulative effects on individuals over time (Mueser, Drake, Bond, 1997). The findings of these studies suggest that the utilization of PSR services by people with SMI over extended periods of time may also decrease the amount of needs and demands required of more acute and costly mental health services (Barton, 1999; World Health Organization, 1996). Many PSR clubhouses differ from other PSR services because they are trained within a specific clubhouse community narrative called the Fountain House model.

#### *The Fountain House Clubhouse Model*

Many PSR clubhouses around the world are based on the Fountain House Clubhouse model. The Fountain House model is a model of community rehabilitation specifically designed for people with SMI that was started by a self-help organization for people with SMI called “We Are Not Alone” (WANA) in New York City in 1948. Due to its popularity among people with SMI, and the success of the model internationally, this model gave rise to the International Center for Clubhouse Development (ICCD) in 1994. The ICCD functions to facilitate and support the development of clubhouses and advocate for the rights of people with SMI around the globe. Many PSR clubhouses are trained by the ICCD but only some actually maintain the standards inherent in the Fountain House model due to local funding restrictions. Beard, Propst, and Malamud (1982) provide the following description of the Fountain House model:

*Fountain House itself is an intentional community designed to create a restorative environment within which individuals who have been socially and vocationally disabled by mental illness can be helped to achieve or regain the confidence and skills necessary to lead vocationally productive and socially satisfying lives. (p. 7)*

Clubhouses can be considered alternative settings within the community that provide opportunities for their members to gain a sense of empowerment and to explore their possible selves throughout their process of recovery. With voluntary membership into clubhouses, members are free to make personal choices as they see fit for themselves, but all of the operations and standards of clubhouses are designed to maintain this unique safe space that is the clubhouse community. Daily operations of a clubhouse all function within the philosophy of the Fountain House model and could not function appropriately without it.

### *The “Heart” of the Fountain House Model*

In order to retain and maintain the restorative environment of clubhouses, the Fountain House model is based on a fundamental belief system that includes four essential parts: 1) the belief that all people with SMI have the potential to be productive, 2) the belief that work and employment is “a deeply generative and re-integrative force in the life of every human being” (p. 7), 3) the belief that men and women should have a place to socialize together and to provide support and encouragement for one another at all days and times, and 4) the belief that everyone is entitled to pleasant, affordable, and adequate housing.

Not only does the Fountain House model have a firm belief system, they also have four essential criteria that must be conveyed to each person as they choose to become involved in the clubhouse. It is imperative that these four criteria must be sustained throughout membership as these four criteria maintain the “heart” of the Fountain House model. The four criteria include: 1) the clubhouse belongs to all members who choose to participate in the clubhouse and that their membership is crucial,

2) the presence of all members is expected each day and their presence makes a difference to everyone in the clubhouse, 3) each member should feel like they contribute to the clubhouse where they also feel that their presence is wanted by other members and staff, and 4) that each member feel that they are needed in the program; that the clubhouse could not function without them.

*The Fountain House Model as a “Shared Community Narrative”*

The most unique aspect of the Fountain House clubhouse model is that it follows and functions within this very comprehensive “shared community narrative” that is the heart of the Fountain House model. Again, it is helpful to use Rappaport’s (2000) application of the narrative approach as a framework for understanding the Fountain House model as a shared community narrative:

*Shared narratives are the currents in which our individual lives move down the river of time. They are the resources that empower or impede. They give our lives direction and meaning. Who we end up being is to some extent determined by the currents we are riding, i.e., those narratives we appropriate into our own personal life stories. (p. 6)*

It is believed that over time as a member of the clubhouse, members will experience a shift in self-awareness where they will feel that their life is more rewarding, less disabling, and less financially dependent (Beard, Porpst, Malamud, 1982). If we think about clubhouses as being conducive to the Fountain House model’s shared community narrative, designed to empower their members, we can begin to understand how members can experience a more positive shift in self-awareness. The more experiences people have within the safe space of the shared community narrative the less they may be inclined to identify with the dominant cultural narratives offered to them within their local communities. The clubhouse community narrative is reinforced not

only through its verbal and written philosophies but through its daily activities and operations, where the heart of the Fountain House model can be supported, confirmed, and challenged in the behavioral applications of it with other members and staff.

### *Daily Operations & Standards of Clubhouses*

Clubhouses operations are based on five distinct and unique clubhouse standards. Clubhouse standards include the following: 1) independent space requirements, 2) the Work-Ordered Day, 3) independent employment, 4) equal staff and member relationships, and 5) membership. The independent space requirements are in place to ensure that each clubhouse has its own unique identity that includes its name, its address, its phone number, and a comfortable welcoming location near public transportation and away from mental health centers. The independence of a clubhouse from other mental health centers is essential in order for the philosophy of the clubhouse model to function completely independent of the formal mental health system.

Clubhouses function on the basis of the Work-Ordered Day. The Work-Ordered Day is basically the daily work required of staff and members, working side-by-side, in running the clubhouse. Daily work might include creating newsletters, cooking, cleaning, accounting, and other activities that vary depending on each individual club. This Work-Ordered Day is designed specifically to ensure the continuity of the daily operations of the clubhouse. Members are not paid for their contributions to the clubhouse community. This work is completely separate from the independent employment opportunities available to members of the clubhouse.

The independent employment piece of clubhouses is provided by a program created by clubhouses called Transitional Employment (TE). The TE program provides

the opportunity for members to return to paid work positions in the community. The most unique aspect of the TE program is that the clubhouse guarantees employers the coverage of all placements in which the member is obligated to even when they need to be absent from the job for whatever reason. All staff and members are available to support the success of the employed member, and at no time will they attempt to discontinue any opportunity for job placement based on previous placement history. This set-up is both comforting and appropriate for members given the nature of the process of recovery that members experience.

Clubhouses require that there be equal relationships among members and staff. The distinction between staff and members is that staff are generally hired employees that do not have a mental illness, but this is not always the case. Some clubhouses do have staff with mental illnesses. Members are expected to run the clubhouse only utilizing staff as needed, but staff and members all carry out equal duties in the day to day functioning of the clubhouse. This non-hierarchical relationship between staff and members is important so that members feel a genuine sense of self-sufficiency. This set-up also works to combat the hierarchical relationships inherent in other mental health services that are working within more of a dominant cultural narrative. Clubhouses vary on this dimension due to the fact that these services still function in a medical and social system that utilizes hierarchical relationships in their training of professionals. These relationships in the clubhouses will also vary because clubhouses utilize hired staff who do not have mental illness and that have been trained in some profession prior to their employment with a clubhouse.

Clubhouses are established and maintained based on membership, and as with any membership, there is some level of ownership in the club by its members. Because membership inherently involves some level of ownership in the organization, it is expected that members each individually support and adhere to the Fountain House model philosophy. Membership is available to anyone with a history of mental illness, it is completely voluntary, it grants access to all clubhouses, and there is no expiration date. There is no limit to the amount of involvement there can be by any one member and involvement is always encouraged and supported. Members of clubhouses should not be thought of as consumers undergoing rehabilitation they must be thought of as, and think of themselves as, members. As members they are expected to contribute to the everyday activities that make up the clubhouse program and follow the community narrative of the Fountain House clubhouse model.

Clubhouses create safe spaces conducive to empowerment, competency, and recovery from SMI (MDCH/MSU, 2001; Herman, Onaga, Pernice-Duca, & Oh, 2005). They provide a context in which people with SMI can actively explore aspects of themselves, their hopes, their identity, and their recovery. The daily operations and distinct clubhouse philosophy quite clearly show that this is a distinct environment that works very differently than many other structured services available to people with SMI. The heart of this alternative community setting has the potential to find its way into the hearts of its members so that they may develop new, more positive personal stories of and for themselves. These settings may better equip people to repel and transform the negative dominant cultural narratives inherent in the world around them into more positive and promising anecdotes. Regardless of the fact that these alternative settings are

positive places for their members, they are still required to function in a world where their values are in contrast to the dominant cultural narratives; cultural narratives that can create problems and make it difficult for them to fulfill their goals.

### The NIMBY Phenomenon

The NIMBY (Not In My Backyard) phenomenon is a form of community opposition that refers to “the protectionist attitudes of and oppositional tactics adopted by community groups facing an unwelcome development in their neighborhood.” (Dear, 1992; p 288) This societal phenomenon developed over 30 years ago during a time of much socio-political change and centered around the era of deinstitutionalization of people with various disabilities. As people were being discharged from institutions there became a need for community-based services (i.e., group homes, supervised apartments, hostels). Along with the rise of Community Mental Health Services (CMHS) came an unexpected abundance of negative community reactions to people with SMI. Although it seemed that the general public agreed with deinstitutionalization, and that community based services were indeed needed services, the common response by residents was, and still is, that they should not be located in their neighborhoods; hence we now have the term “Not In My Backyard”.

#### *Why NIMBY is a Problem for Human Services*

The NIMBY response spans various controversial issues from prisons, to landfill sites, to power plants, to low-income housing, and to a wide range of human service facilities (Balukas & Baken, 1985; Bean et al., 1989; Berdiansky & Parker, 1977; Birch, 1985; Blendon & Donelan, 1989; Dear & Gleeson, 1991; Dudley, 1988; Fattah, 1984;



Gale et al., 1988; Green et al., 1987; Herek & Glunt, 1988; Kastner et al., 1979; Laws & Lord, 1990; Lee et al., 1990; Marin, 1987; National Campaign to End Hunger and Homelessness, 1988; National Coalition for the Homeless, 1987; Page, 1989; Piper & Werner, 1980; Smith, 1981; Rogers & Ginzberg, 1989; Solomon, 1983; Sontag, 1989; Wolch et al., 1988; and Wolch & Akita, 1989). All of these facilities serve some purpose in our society and need a place within our communities, but only human service facilities deal with the issue of social exclusion based on group identity when faced with a NIMBY response in their community. Human service facilities that experience NIMBY have included HIV/AIDS clinics, homeless shelters, disability centers, and community mental health facilities for people with SMI (Dear, 1992).

Much of the literature in existence on the NIMBY phenomenon against human service facilities examines only the attitudes and perspectives of the local community members (Dear & Gleeson, 1991; Dear & Taylor, 1982; Gale, Ns, & Rosenblood, 1988; Kastner, L. A, Reppucci, N. D. & Pezzoli, 1979; Klein, 1968; Page 1989; Piat, 2000; National Coalition for the Homeless, 1987; National Campaign to End Hunger and Homelessness in America, 1988; Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, Program on Chronic Mental Illness, 1990; Solomon & Davis, 1984). Much of the research on community attitudes is concerned with understanding how people feel about the people who utilize those services and why they feel that way (Balukas, & Baken, 1985; Bean, Keller, Newburg, & Brown, 1989; Blendon, & Donelan, 1989; Green, 1987; Herek, & Glunt, 1988; Lee, Jones & Lewis, 1990; Marin, 1987; Rogers & Ginzberg, 1989; Smith, 1981). Some literature has sought to provide resources to human services by creating text that provides them with the facts to understand the NIMBY phenomenon and ways that they

can cope with the potential problems associated with being involved in it as a service center (Dear, 1992; Dear & Laws, 1986; Fattah, 1984; Foster & Roberts, 1998).

Currently, there is no literature that seeks to understand the experience of the NIMBY phenomenon from the perspective of the consumer.

NIMBY protests against human service facilities can have devastating effects for the consumers who need to use those services. NIMBY situations usually undergo lengthy processes which delay service functioning (Dear, 1992). This delay makes it so that people who utilize the services may have to do without services or have to travel long distances in order to obtain services elsewhere. Some human services may even lose funding and have to close down completely as a result of not being able to function. Going long distances or without services may seem like a facility location issue but at some level one might ask what the exclusion of these facilities from local neighborhoods might mean to the people who use those services.

When NIMBY tactics are used against the placement of human service facilities it is usually quite successfully masked as a simple protest against the location of a facility. These facilities are not just buildings however, these are places that people need to go to get the services they need in order to live successfully in the world. So when communities protest the location of a human service facility in their neighborhood, they are protesting the placements of vital services for certain types of people. This makes NIMBY against human services a more socially acceptable means of discrimination against certain groups of people in order to keep them out of their community.

*NIMBY against Clubhouses*

People with SMI have a long history of being socially excluded and discriminated against, and the dominant cultural narratives that exist about this group of people seem to almost provoke NIMBY attitudes. Given what we already know about the delicate process of recovery that a person with SMI experiences throughout their life, and that their environment plays a significant role in that process, it seems only natural to wonder what effects NIMBY responses by local communities might have on human service facilities that they utilize. Clubhouses are of particular concern because of the unique role they play in the lives of their members. Depending on how the members have responded to this NIMBY response, that itself may play some role in the ways in which it has impacted their recovery and generally.

As discussed earlier in this review, clubhouses can be thought of as an alternative community where people with SMI can regain the sense of self and skills necessary to lead meaningful lives. Clubhouses are also considered to be restorative environments where their members can undergo their process of recovery on their own terms. Individual members of clubhouses are expected and encouraged to create and sustain the clubhouse community, which creates within members some level of ownership and personal identification with the organization. In fact, adhering to the unique shared community narrative of a clubhouse provides the foundation necessary for creating a sense of empowerment and recovery. With the all encompassing nature inherent in belonging to a clubhouse it leads one to wonder how a NIMBY response by a local community against a clubhouse might impact its members. The relationship between the consumer and the facility in this situation is reciprocal and interconnected. Therefore, a protest against a clubhouse facility may also feel like a protest against all of those people

who compose its membership. Again, given what is known about the process of recovery for people with SMI, there is little doubt that this NIMBY response has affected these members in some way.

Opposition arguments of NIMBY protests by local communities are almost always the same (Dear, 1992). When we take the common arguments made in NIMBY responses and place them in context with the members of clubhouses, it is easy to see the blatant discrimination at play. Common statements made by communities center around four points (Dear, 1992). Residents are against the location of the clubhouse in their neighborhood because: 1) they think that the members of this facility (clubhouse) are a danger to themselves and their children, 2) that the presence of the members of this clubhouse being in their neighborhood will lower their property values, 3) that the presence of the members of this clubhouse brings the potential decline of neighborhood quality, and 4) that the members of this clubhouse would be better off somewhere else.

Although these four argument points are common among all NIMBY responses to all types of unwanted facilities, these points are quite similar to the dominant cultural narratives in our culture that are used to describe people with SMI. These are the exact types of dominant cultural narratives that clubhouses try so hard to rid from the lives of their members by adhering to their own shared community narrative. In a case of NIMBY against a clubhouse, these negative discriminatory responses are shouted at them through newspapers, in the news, in their front yards, at zoning meetings, and on the streets. This is why current NIMBY efforts against Clubhouses in Michigan have been winning their cases regarding relocating into new semi-residential neighborhoods, because the residents in the communities are breaking the ADA and the Rehabilitation Acts. Members of

clubhouses are only trying to create for themselves positive narratives conducive to their recovery but the world around them insists on reinforcing a version that leads to social oppression and internal mental restraint.

### *The Impact of NIMBY on a Midwestern Clubhouse*

This study was conducted in a Midwestern state, where there were 46 PSR clubhouses. All of these clubhouses are funded by and under provision of the Medicaid provider. Many of them are funded by Federal Block Grants to be trained by the ICCD if their proposals are accepted, but some are not. Clubhouses are required to be certified by the Commission on the Accreditation of Rehabilitation Facilities (CARF) to be sure that they meet PSR standards. The end result of what actually composes a clubhouse in this particular state is based on certain standards created by the Medicaid program which includes PSR standards and some ICCD standards. Many clubhouses in this state are not certified by the ICCD as Fountain House clubhouses because Medicaid does not fund the continued assistance of the ICCD throughout the life of a clubhouse. Therefore, depending on the clubhouse, only some actually are ICCD certified as a Fountain House clubhouse. PSR clubhouses in this state all vary somewhat in meeting the many standards required of them (CARF, PSR, ICCD, Fountain House, Medicaid), yet all follow the Fountain House model's "shared community narrative" to some extent.

Although some Clubhouse programs are located in long-standing community mental health agency locations, many (63%) have re-located to locations in the community away from mental health center operations (MDCH/MSU, 2001). There are clubhouses that seek to meet ICCD standards and those clubhouses are encouraged to be "free-standing" agencies. This status is important to ensure that the Clubhouse is not

viewed by members as a rehabilitation center. Unfortunately, the relocation of community-based mental health services into certain neighborhoods has yielded negative reactions from local residents called NIMBY.

### A Case of NIMBY against a Clubhouse

This study focused on one clubhouse that experienced a NIMBY protest against its efforts to relocate. In March of 2004, a clubhouse was proposing to relocate to a facility in a semi-residential neighborhood just a few miles from their current location. Residents in the community were invited by the clubhouse staff to attend an informal “get to know us” gathering at the proposed site for their Planning Commission Public Hearing. It was at this meeting that local residents brutally objected and loudly protested for two hours against the relocation of the clubhouse into the proposed facility.

At this first meeting, members of the press recorded and documented how protesting residents sneered and booed anyone speaking in favor of the clubhouse move. From that moment on, residents continued to voice a number of concerns such as: falling property values, less business for local businesses, the possibility that the members will stop taking their medications, but mostly fear of violence for themselves and their children. These concerns were voiced through the media on numerous occasions, both newspapers and on the news. This neighborhood also created a web page on their community website where an ongoing conversation took place among local residents about the relocation of this clubhouse and why they should continue to fight it.

*From the Perspective of the Clubhouse*

This clubhouse needed to relocate because the owners of the land they were located on were requesting their space back, but the clubhouse also wanted to relocate because the current location of the clubhouse was not conducive to the social needs and activities of the clubhouse community. The clubhouse applied for and received some funding to find a more suitable location for their club, so they proceeded to locate, begin restructuring, and pay rent on the proposed facility. Since the beginning of this NIMBY case, this clubhouse had patiently been waiting for their chance to relocate into a new facility and diligently held fast to their right to do so. At the time the study was conducted, it is important to note that, it was becoming clear that there was a good chance the clubhouse would win the lawsuit against the city because the United States government joined the clubhouse in their fight against the city just two months before this study began.

*A Timeline: Major Events that Occurred Throughout the NIMBY Case*

The first part of this NIMBY case was experienced by the clubhouse through the neighborhood protests; the NIMBY response. As the clubhouse had begun to work towards their move to their ideal location, neighborhood groups had begun to organize against the clubhouse. Although the clubhouse had tried to “meet and greet” local community members in a very civilized way, community members did not react similarly. Local community members reacted with disgust and disdain at the members of the clubhouse and attempted to use clubhouse members’ personal characteristics against them in building a case for them not moving into their neighborhood. This was devastating to the clubhouse members who were involved in the NIMBY case in the beginning.

After months of deliberation, the clubhouse was denied the request for a special land use permit by the city's Zoning Board of Appeals to move into the new facility. In January of 2005 the clubhouse began considering their options and decided to work with its auspice agency to file a lawsuit against the city in Federal Court on the premise that the city denied the clubhouse the use of a special land use permit to use the proposed facility on the basis of discrimination. This point is substantiated by the fact that the city makes no provision for zoning anywhere within the city for services such as clubhouses for people with SMI. Their auspice agency had become knowledgeable of this legal process, and thus helpful in the more current NIMBY case, because they experienced this a few years before when another clubhouse that they worked with tried to relocate and was struck by a NIMBY response.

In June of 2005, in the Federal Court, the clubhouse had its first hearing that sought to compel the city to respond to the subpoenas. This was thought of at the time as "our first win" but the city promptly filed a motion to dismiss it and had requested to be heard on a later date. On July 20<sup>th</sup>, 2005 the city's motion to dismiss was heard by the court and the Attorney General's Office of the Civil Rights Commission stated they were to file an amicus brief in addition to one submitted on behalf of Michigan Protection and Advocacy Services (MP&AS). In waiting for the additional amicus briefs to be submitted, and for a statement to be drafted by the judge, it was expected that the next hearing would take place in mid-August of 2005. In September of 2005 the United States Justice Department filed a complaint against the city on the basis of discrimination and in support of the clubhouse. On November 29<sup>th</sup> of 2005, the lawsuit against the city was won by the clubhouse.



### *Winning the Case*

After only four of the interviews had been conducted for this study, the clubhouse had won their lawsuit against the city. As a result of their winning the lawsuit a number of things happened: 1) the clubhouse gained the ability to move into their new location, 2) the city paid \$300,000.00 in damages, 3) the city's commission was ordered to attend training and education on the requirements of Title II of the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), 4) the U.S. government was granted authority to review the status of these requirements if at anytime they believe they have been violated, and 5) a public advisory board meeting is required to be held at the clubhouse on a regular basis in order to continue educating the local community about the facts associated with people living with mental illness.

Although the clubhouse won the case in the end, the point is that in the end, the members of this clubhouse had been exposed to very brutal and extensive displays of negative public stigma. Although NIMBY has been considered a socially acceptable way for community members to protest the placement of unwanted facilities in their neighborhoods, discrimination is not acceptable and can affect people in varying ways. Therefore, we must consider the repercussions that this type of protest might have on consumers of human service facilities, especially those human services that seek to devalue and eradicate the existing dominant cultural narratives that contribute to social stigma. Thus the goal of the proposed study was to find out how a NIMBY response affects members in the process of recovery from SMI.

### *Research Questions*

This study sought to explore the affects of stigma and discrimination experienced as a result of a NIMBY protest on the recovery of members of a consumer-driven Psychosocial Clubhouse. This study addressed the following research questions:

1. How did the NIMBY response impact members in the process of recovery from SMI?
  - a. Was the experience of active participants in the NIMBY case different from those members who were not actively involved?
  - b. How did the NIMBY case impact members' feelings about the clubhouse and their involvement with it?
2. How did the clubhouse assist members in dealing with the NIMBY response and throughout the NIMBY case over time?

## METHODS

### *Values, Biases, and Assumptions of the Researcher*

Much of my desire to work with and for people who have mental illnesses today comes from my past experiences working with people who have mental illnesses. My career path began during my studies as an undergraduate at San Francisco State University in California, where I worked as an intern at a Community Mental Health (CMH) outpatient clinic that served the most severe clients with mental illness in the city. I chose this placement for my internship because I thought I wanted to pursue a career as a clinical psychologist. I wanted to work with people with mental illness in that capacity, with the goals of understanding them and helping them. I had not expected my perspective on my career, and individuals with serious mental illness to shift in such

important ways during my involvement with this particular clinic. The experiences I had at this CMH clinic, as well as the experiences I have had with other community-based mental health agencies more recently, have contributed tremendously to my current values, biases, and assumptions about the work I believe is left to be done with and for this particular population.

I spent almost two years at the CMH clinic as an intern in many different arenas: prevocational program counselor, co-facilitator of a weekly dual diagnosis psychotherapy group and assisting with the organizing and operation of the weekend program. Although I was basically considered and treated as a volunteer, I was also responsible for assisting in the delivery of client services to a wide variety of their forensic clients living with mental illness. Being an unpaid intern who was relatively free to explore my position as I saw fit, it was easy for me to see through the medical model inherent in the business of CMH. My job did not depend on it. I believe that this is the reason why I was able to view the clients in ways that my paid co-workers could not. My position there allowed me to look closely at the needs of the clients and see how the community services, and the everyday community environment, was enriching or hindering their ability to grow, and ultimately survive.

Through my experiences at the CMH clinic I got the chance to know the clients not as clients, but as individuals with strengths, weaknesses, interests, hobbies, concerns, and very interesting world-views. I spent almost every weekend working on the weekend group at the clinic, and it was there that I was free to know the clients as people. On the weekends clients were not there because they had to see doctors or case workers, they were there to relax and enjoy the casual company of others who would not look down on

them. Prior to this intimate exposure, I had many preconceptions regarding the capabilities of people who experience mental illness. I soon came to realize that these preconceptions were a result of social conditioning and ignorance. Upon this realization I wondered how many other people adopt similar views based on the same learning process. I wondered about how this process could be remedied. I came to the conclusions that this population is in need of respect and acceptance and that further unexplored community action was in order. I was fortunate to have had the opportunity to work with some amazing people, both staff and clientele, who have helped me to understand that pathology is simply part of every life and should be accepted, if not embraced as essential to the ecosystem of soul. This experience has been the critical catalyst in the discovery of my professional endeavors and has led me to where I am today.

Based on my experiences in working with people who experience mental illness in San Francisco, and my natural aversion to the more dominant medical model philosophies on mental illness, I sought entry into a graduate program in Community Psychology at Michigan State University. I chose this area of study at this particular school because the focus was on valuing diversity, community-based field work, empowerment and social change. Upon entry into my graduate program I wondered if people with mental illness experienced the same struggles in this area of the country. In an effort to learn more about the needs of people who experience mental illnesses in this new state, I began working with the Michigan Consumer Evaluation Team (MCET). MCET is a consumer-staffed non-profit evaluation service that seeks to improve Community Mental Health Services (CMHS) in the state of Michigan. MCET interviews consumers of mental health services, using consumer interviewers, and providing

feedback to the providers. I worked as a data consultant for MCET for almost 2 years and through the analyzing of their data I learned much about how the mental health services in Michigan are utilized and experienced by clients. Although much of my interaction with the consumer staff was casual and brief, their voices were my primary interest. It was through my relationships with these consumer staff persons that I learned about the NIMBY response against the clubhouse I speak about in this study today.

I have been working with the clubhouse of interest in this study for the last 2 years. My interest in knowing this clubhouse began when I learned of the discrimination they were experiencing through the NIMBY phenomenon in March of 2004. I was surprised to hear of such a huge public display of discrimination. I gradually became more closely connected to the members and staff of this clubhouse nearing the start of our collaborative relationship on this research study. With the philosophy of clubhouses being focused on valuing consumer voice and empowerment, and the context of this specific clubhouse to stay wholeheartedly committed to that philosophy, it was easy for me to become intimately connected with this particular clubhouse over time. Throughout the process of this research study I have come to work even more collaboratively with this clubhouse. Over the last month we have been working together on a presentation of this study's findings, along with the personal stories of members' experiences, which was just presented at the Michigan Consumer Conference 2006.

The focus of my work, my professional goals, my values, biases, and attitudes have all been influenced by the above experiences. I learned from my internship at the CMH clinic that there needs to be less focus placed on the views of professionals and more focus placed on the needs of the client. It was clear to me through that experience

that working within the philosophy of the medical model would not accomplish such a task. I learned from my colleagues in community psychology that there are alternative philosophies to work within in order to better focus on and address the needs of people with mental illness and that social change is needed for many underserved populations in this country; that a cultural shift is necessary. I learned from my experience with MCET how difficult it is to make progress in opposition to the medical model when all mental health services and dominant beliefs and attitudes are based within that philosophy. I learned from my working relationship with the clubhouse that discrimination against people with mental illness is alive and well today, that the right context can support healthy recovery for people who experience mental illness, and that it is time that people with mental illnesses become active participants in the social change that is possible tomorrow. I have learned many lessons, and I hope to learn many more, that will continue to contribute to the focus of my work as an advocate for people who experience mental illness, and more generally as a social change agent for all other underserved and oppressed populations.

### *Setting Description*

The setting of this study was the current location of the clubhouse described above. This clubhouse was established in 1991 and was built based on the Fountain House Clubhouse Model, which started in 1948. This clubhouse is also accredited by CARF as a Psychosocial Rehabilitation Program. This clubhouse has the support of their auspice agency and their local Community Mental Health Authority. This clubhouse has 73 members and 10 staff, 5 of which are consumer staff (July 18, 2005). The mission of

this particular member-driven clubhouse is to provide support, instill a sense of belonging, and increase independence for persons diagnosed with SMI.

### *Participants*

Table 1 on page 47 summarizes all of the demographic characteristics across all of the participants as well as within their prescribed groups (NIMBY active and Clubhouse involved). In total, there were twelve members of the clubhouse that agreed to participate in the study. Six members were actively involved in the NIMBY case (NIMBY active = 50%) and six members were involved with the NIMBY case only through the clubhouse (Clubhouse involved = 50%). In the total sample, 42% (5/12) are male and 58% (7/12) are female. There are 33% (4/12) who identified as Caucasian, 17% (2/12) as African American, and 42% (5/12) who identify as being of European descent. Participants represent a range of serious mental illnesses: 17% (2/12) have clinical depression, 33% (4/12) have bipolar disorder, and 42% (5/12) have schizophrenia. One participant did not feel comfortable disclosing their diagnosis. Participants have an average age of 52 (range 30 to 56 years old) and a little under half of them have completed some college or trade school (42%, 5/12) with a few that have completed a college degree (25%, 3/12). The employment status of the participants included 42% (5/12) employed part-time, 50% (6/12) unemployed, and 8% (1/12) utilizing the clubhouse's Supported Employment program.

**Table 1****Participant Demographics**

<b>Characteristic</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>NIMBY Active (6)</b>		<b>Clubhouse Involved (6)</b>		<b>Total (12)</b>	
		<b>%</b>	<b><u>n</u></b>	<b>%</b>	<b><u>n</u></b>	<b>%</b>	<b><u>n</u></b>
Gender	Male	33.3	2	50	3	42	5
	Female	66.6	4	50	3	58	7
Age	Range in years	34-53		30-56		30-56	
	Mean	46.666		49.666		48.16	
	SD	6.420		9.031		7.977	
Ethnicity/Race	Caucasian/ White	33.3	2	33.3	2	33	4
	African American/ Black	16.6	1	16.6	1	17	2
	European	33.3	2	50	3	42	5
	Other	16.6	1	0	0	8.3	1
Education	Some High School	0	0	16.6	1	8.3	1
	High School Graduate	33.3	2	16.6	1	25	3
	Some College	66.6	4	16.6	1	42	5
	Associates Degree	0	0	16.6	1	8.3	1
	Bachelors Degree	0	0	33.3	2	17	2
Employment	Not Employed	33.3	2	66.6	4	50	6
	Part-time Employed	66.6	4	16.6	1	42	5
	Transitional/ Supported Employment	0	0	16.6	1	8.3	1
Marital Status	Never Married	16.6	1	33.3	2	25	3
	Partnered	16.6	1	0	0	8.3	1
	Divorced	33.3	2	33.3	2	33	4
	Widowed	16.6	1	0	0	8.3	1
	Single	26.6	1	33.3	2	25	3
Housing	Independent	66.6	4	16.6	1	42	5
	With Roommate	16.6	1	16.6	1	17	2
	House with Family	16.6	1	50	3	33	4
	Supervised Community Living	0	0	16.6	1	8.3	1
Diagnosis	Schizophrenia	50	3	33.3	2	42	5
	Clinical Depression	16.6	1	16.6	1	17	2
	Bipolar Disorder	16.6	1	50	3	33	4
	Not willing to disclose	16.6	1	0	0	8.3	1



### *Design and Use of Qualitative Methods*

We know little about the experience of stigma and discrimination in the lives and recovery of members of Clubhouses, therefore this issue was explored using qualitative interviewing methods. Qualitative interviews are useful in this case because it allows us to understand participants' experiences by providing a firm grasp of the issues at hand, while also providing the ability to move beyond preconceived notions (O'Day, 2002). Moreover, Stein and Mankowski (2004) argue that using qualitative research methods with underserved populations (such as people with SMI) has the potential to further the efforts of needed social change:

*In asking those who are marginalized to be the focus of qualitative study, researchers seek to understand and legitimate participants' points of view to a larger social audience or to empower those who have previously been silent or excluded from society. (Stein and Mankowski, 2004; p 23)*

Thus, to gain an understanding of how people with SMI experienced a NIMBY response, individual interviews were used to bring together and accentuate the personal stories of these members (Patton, 2002).

#### *Measurement: Semi-structured open-ended interviews*

Clubhouse members that were experiencing the later stages of a NIMBY protest case were interviewed using a semi-structured, open-ended interview protocol (See Appendix A). The two staff members who were interviewed were also interviewed using a semi-structured, open-ended protocol (See Appendix B). This method of interviewing is purposeful in exposing each member's individual and unique experience of the NIMBY response. The interview protocol consisted of 5 areas of inquiry: 1) the story of their involvement with the clubhouse, 2) the impact of the NIMBY response on members in the process of recovery from SMI, 3) the impact of the NIMBY case on members'

feelings about the clubhouse, 4) ways in which the clubhouse has assisted members in dealing with the NIMBY response and throughout the case, and 5) Demographics.

All interviews were transcribed verbatim and were examined for accuracy by comparing them with their original recordings. Any and all identifying information was removed from the transcripts to ensure confidentiality. Recorded tapes and transcripts from the interviews were stored in a locked cabinet.

### *Procedures*

#### *Recruitment*

An informational meeting was held at the clubhouse to explain to all members what the study was about and who has been asked to participate. Two separate groups of participants were selected: 1) those members actively involved publicly to the NIMBY case, and 2) those members involved in the clubhouse but not publicly involved in the NIMBY case. For those members that were publicly involved in the NIMBY case, a list was compiled by recording which members were named for making public comments in newspapers, and by recommendation from a key informant (the director of the clubhouse) as to who was publicly involved. This list identified 9 members. Three members from this list were not interviewed because they no longer attended the clubhouse. One had moved out of the area. Based on information from the key informant it was determined that the other two members had not stopped attending the clubhouse because of NIMBY response. They were no longer attending the clubhouse because they had other responsibilities (e.g., job/ family commitments) that were requiring more of their time and attention. The six members who met inclusion criterion received a letter from the director of the clubhouse asking them if they would like to participate (See Appendix C).

All six contacted the investigator directly through mail, e-mail or by phone to set an interview time.

For the second group of participants, consisting of members involved in the clubhouse, but not publicly involved in the NIMBY case, potential participants were identified using the following procedure. A list of all members who were either active or inactive members of the clubhouse at three points in time was compiled by the director. The clubhouse director used the clubhouse data base to identify all members of the clubhouse who had active and inactive member status in the clubhouse at the following three points in time: (1) six months prior to the NIMBY response (September/2003), (2) during the initial NIMBY response (March/2004), and at the time of recruitment (October/2005). Active status in the clubhouse means that the member has attended the clubhouse in the last 90 days a minimum of 4 times per month. Inactive member status in the clubhouse means that the member has attended the clubhouse a minimum of once every 90 days.

This list included 58 members. All members with guardians were then withdrawn from the list leaving a total of 40 members. The second group of participants were randomly selected from this group. The clubhouse director sent a letter to the first 10 selected members of this second group describing the study and inviting them to contact the researcher if they would like more information about the study or would like to participate (See Appendix D). A follow up letter was sent two weeks later. Those members interested in participating were asked to contact the investigator by mail, phone, or e-mail to set a date for an interview. Five members responded to this second set of letters.

Letters were then sent to 5 more randomly selected members. Although 2 members responded, two of them ultimately declined to participate in interviews. One member decided at the interview that he no longer wanted to participate and another member would only provide some information about his NIMBY experience through an email. Recruitment of the second group ceased at this point for several reasons: 1) response rates were low (6/15), 2) as interviews continued, it became clear that members from this group had little to say about the NIMBY response, and 3) the NIMBY case was resolved legally which changed the context of the study. A total of 6 members were recruited for this group.

Two staff members of the clubhouse were also interviewed for this study to get another perspective as a source of triangulation of the experience. The director was invited to be interviewed and chose to participate. She was asked to recommend another staff member who had been involved with and close to the members throughout the NIMBY case who she believed was well aware of the member's experience and the clubhouse response. This staff member was invited to participate and agreed to be interviewed. Interviews were set up based on their availability.

### *Interviewing*

Interviews took place at the current location of the clubhouse in private office spaces. All interviews ranged from 25 minutes to 98 minutes and all were tape recorded. All questions followed an interview protocol. At the time of the interview, an explanation of the project was given and an opportunity where the participant could choose not to participate. The member was reminded that the interview would be recorded, should take no longer than 90 minutes and that confidentiality would be ensured. The consent form

was explained and asked to be signed (See Appendix E and F). Participants were paid a small fee for their participation. An amount of \$15 was deemed appropriate as an incentive but not so much that it would be coercive, as outline in section 8.06 of the APA Ethical Principles of Psychologists Code of Conduct (2003). All participants were compensated in cash upon completion of their interview. Four interviews with the NIMBY involved members took place before the final court decision was made. The remaining eight interviews, with both NIMBY active and clubhouse involved members, took place in the two months following the final decision.

### *Methods of Analysis and Interpretation*

Due to the exploratory nature of this proposed study, where no prior literature or hypotheses exist, inductive analysis was used. Inductive content analysis is an approach that is used in qualitative analysis to identify underlying themes across participants and underlying stories within participants (Patton, 2002). In order to explore each members' individual experience of the NIMBY response, it's overall impact on members, and ways in which the clubhouse may have assisted members in dealing with the NIMBY response, two methods of qualitative analysis was used: cross-case analysis and within-case analysis.

#### *Cross-case Analysis*

Using a cross-case strategy of analysis entails identifying themes across individual cases within similar areas of inquiry. This strategy was used to examine the research questions to identify any common themes across participants. First, all interviews were transcribed, read, cleaned and organized. Coding was started before all of the interviews were completed. Coding was done separately for the two groups (i.e.,

NIMBY active and Clubhouse involved). For the NIMBY active members, the first step of the analysis process was open coding all the transcripts and checking those codes by discussing them individually with the chair of this project. Based on these discussions, and further coding of the transcripts, refinements to the initial open coding framework were made (See Appendix G). The interviews coded earlier in the process were recoded as necessary. The second step involved thematic coding of the open codes. Themes of similar content were sought across the NIMBY active member interviews; this is called content analysis (Patton, 2002). These patterns in themes were examined to see if they could be made into larger categories. Categories were then considered and judged for meaningfulness (See Appendix H). After development of the initial framework, there were several additional versions that reflected minor adjustments. Many of these adjustments concerned codes and themes related to meaningful roles within the clubhouse. There were two more major reconceptualizations in this iterative process: the decision to add coding of members' relationship to the clubhouse (See Appendix I), and the reorganization of codes after coding the clubhouse involved members data in order to make the themes and meta-themes across the two groups more consistent when appropriate (See Appendix J).

A parallel coding process was used for the clubhouse involved group of members. The first step of the analysis process for this group was open coding all the transcripts around the members' relationship to clubhouse (See Appendix K). Codes were checked by discussing them individually with the chair of this project. The second step involved thematic coding of the open codes. Themes of similar content were sought across the clubhouse involved member interviews using NIMBY active framework as a reference

for its organization (See Appendix L). Based on discussions with the chair, a major shift in this framework occurred. The decision was made that the framework developed for the NIMBY active members was not helpful in organizing the codes for this group. Thematic coding was then conducted based only on the open codes. After a thematic framework was created, minor refinements continued until a final framework was agreed upon for the clubhouse involved members (See Appendix M). In order to assess the impact of the NIMBY response on the clubhouse involved members, summaries of each member were created. Due to the fact that 4/6 reported no impact from their experience of the NIMBY response; 1/6 reported a little negative feelings around the NIMBY response in the beginning, but no lasting impact; and 1/6 described a process that fit with more with thematic coding for group 1, no additional framework was developed for this group. After discussing the final framework with the chair, a final analysis included further analyzing the identified themes of empowerment (See Appendix N).

#### *Within-case Analysis*

Within-case analysis was used to examine each of the member's individual experiences of the NIMBY response over time. This part of the analysis brought to light the stories of the members' lives and their personal experience of being involved in a NIMBY response, which was important in looking for commonalities and consistencies across stories. For the clubhouse involved members, a case summary of each person's story was written that highlighted the member's experience of the NIMBY response, recovery, and engagement with the clubhouse before and during the NIMBY experience. Across all members' interviews, individual within-case timeline figures were drawn that described the stories of each member. Stories were examined for differences and

similarities across participants. Consistencies across the NIMBY active member's stories were so great, that one timeline figure effectively captured the stories of all five participants. The clubhouse involved members, on the other hand, experienced three varying paths that were quite different from the NIMBY active group: little response to NIMBY, no response, and no negative response to NIMBY but increased involvement in the clubhouse over time.

#### *Authentication of the Data*

Authenticating the data refers to the validity, credibility, or correctness of the data collected, including the description, explanation, and interpretation of the findings (Maxwell, 1996). Validity and credibility is necessary in all methods be it quantitative or qualitative. For qualitative methods specifically, Guba and Lincoln (1989) refer to this as the "trustworthiness criteria" (Guba ad Lincoln, 1989) which includes: internal validity, external validity, reliability, and objectivity. The proposed study sought to address and minimize any and all threats to the validity and credibility of its findings using five criteria: 1) prolonged engagement, 2) member checks, 3) negative case analysis, 4) peer debriefing, and 5) assessing the non-generalizability/ transferability of the findings.

Since the beginning of the NIMBY response against the clubhouse, there has been prolonged engagement with the director of the clubhouse, its auspice agency, and its members on a monthly basis, which has brought rise to the proposed study. This criterion is important to ensure that there has not been misinformation about what has been happening at the clubhouse, to establish a trusting relationship with the members and staff of the clubhouse, and to build a more comprehensive understanding of the clubhouse's culture. Member checks were used to ensure that the interpretation of the



findings were consistent with the intended meaning of the participants'. For this criterion, the findings were taken back to the participants for confirmation and further understanding. Individual meetings were set up with seven of the twelve participants across both NIMBY active members and Clubhouse involved members, but once the investigator was at the clubhouse, the members decided that they wanted to discuss the findings as a group. The members discussed together how the findings very clearly demonstrated their individual experiences. After this meeting, a few of the members expressed an interest in presenting the data at an up and coming conference. The data from this study was then presented at that conference with the members who volunteered to participate in the presentation.

To ensure that the investigator is viewing all the many experiences of the members and not merely just trying to prove hypotheses, negative case analysis was conducted. This included examining cases that did not follow a usual theme. In this study, there was a story of a clubhouse involved member that did not follow the usual themes of that group. This case was given considerable attention in the analysis and in the discussion of the findings. In fact, thorough and careful consideration of this member's experience as a negative case further highlighted the implications of the findings.

Peer debriefing with the chair of the study is another way that credibility was accomplished and this involved having extensive conversations around conclusions of the data where various possible findings were discussed. The data was coded by the investigator and those codes were discussed with the chair to reduce possibilities of researcher bias. To address the issue of generalizability and transferability, a full description of the case context, scenario, and participants was provided. This description

will clearly show that the findings are not necessarily generalizable, or transferable, but may be found to be generalizable if other similar studies are conducted.

### *Saturation*

The proposed study sought to understand the impact of stigma and discrimination experienced as a result of a NIMBY protest case on recovery of members of a consumer-driven Psychosocial Clubhouse. This was accomplished by looking specifically at how it has impacted their recovery, their views about the clubhouse and their involvement with it. It was expected that the questions created for the interview protocol would bring us to this understanding, and that saturation would be reached through a full inquiry of how NIMBY has made members feel about themselves and the clubhouse. For the NIMBY active members, all of the NIMBY active members who were still involved in the clubhouse were interviewed. These interviews were enough to reach saturation, yielding a very consistent story of how the NIMBY response impacted members, as well as a consistent story of how they were affected by the NIMBY case over time. By the final interview, there was no new information emerging around the first two research questions (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

For the clubhouse involved members who were not actively involved in the NIMBY case, it was expected that the stories of NIMBY impact would be far more varied. We did not anticipate necessarily being able to interview enough people to reach saturation, but were interested in whether or not these members were impacted similarly to those who were involved. As anticipated, saturation, as defined above, was not reached for the clubhouse involved members. Recruitment efforts ceased once it was clear that the clubhouse involved members were consistently less impacted by the experience than

those who were NIMBY involved. Their experiences are informative in terms of how they contrast with those who were actively involved.

## RESULTS

### How the NIMBY Case impacted Members and How the Clubhouse Assisted

#### Members through the Case over Time: Summary of Main Findings

Members who were actively involved in the NIMBY case (NIMBY active members) were more empowered by the end of the NIMBY case than those members who were not (clubhouse involved members). NIMBY active members were more negatively impacted by the NIMBY response early in the case than clubhouse involved members. The level of exposure to the negativity of the NIMBY response and member's relationship with the clubhouse may explain why the NIMBY active members were so negatively impacted in the beginning. Although NIMBY active members were devastated in the early stages of the NIMBY response, over time and through active engagement in the NIMBY case within the clubhouse, these members described feelings of empowerment in the end. The clubhouse acted as an empowered organization throughout the NIMBY case and appears to have played a large role in the member's experiences of the NIMBY case overall.

#### Impact of the NIMBY Response on Members' Recovery: In the Beginning

In the end the clubhouse won their lawsuit against the city, so it is not surprising that members spoke very positively about the ending stages of the NIMBY case in their interviews. While keeping this information about the context of this study in mind, results

show that NIMBY active members demonstrated a more empowering stage of recovery than clubhouse involved members in the end, but NIMBY active members were also more devastated by the NIMBY response in the beginning.

#### *Impact on NIMBY Active Members in the Beginning*

In the very early stages of the NIMBY case where the negative response from the community was at its height, NIMBY active members were more negatively impacted by the NIMBY response in the beginning than clubhouse involved members. NIMBY active members varied in what they were exposed to, but all described experiencing very strong negative feelings and having very negative reactions to the NIMBY response from the community (See Figure 1). Across all of the NIMBY active members, a) all of them expressed feeling overwhelmingly bad in some way, and b) some of them discussed having a mental health breakdown, and c) some experienced an impact on their clubhouse attendance.

#### *Feeling Overwhelmingly Bad*

NIMBY active members discussed having varying bad feelings that ranged from feeling hurt, upset, sad, devastated, angry, shocked, degraded, and disappointed:

*I was devastated by what they thought of us, ya know, murderers, child molesters, and we're gonna break in their houses, I was really devastated because that's not our people.<sup>3</sup>*

*Well, I was proud to be a member of [the clubhouse] and after the [the city of the new clubhouse location] thing, they made me feel like, you know, very insecure and like maybe there is something wrong with me sort of thing. Um, inferior, they made me feel inferior...those people were so agitated and you know, they, they glared at you and just, I felt like a second class citizen is what I felt like.*

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<sup>3</sup> Two direct quotes are included in the written results section to demonstrate themes but a minimum of three quotes were necessary to identify a theme. Indicators of other quotes that fit each theme can be referenced in the final coding framework in the appendix.

### *Having a Mental Health Breakdown*

There were members that were so negatively affected by the NIMBY response that they had a mental health breakdown, where they had to go into the hospital, or felt close to going back into the hospital.

*Yes, it did effect me because I had to go into the hospital because it was effecting me because I had to get my feelings together, what was going on really, and what was going to happen...There are people that are not giving us a chance. That's not right. That's what made me sick.*

*You can call it a psychiatric break or I just call it falling out where you're, your illness is very bad and require, I mean, it was just, it was to the point where I was almost killing myself so, it was that bad so...*

### *Impact on Clubhouse Attendance*

Depending on how members felt about what they were experiencing, members began increasing or decreasing their involvement in the clubhouse accordingly. Early on in the development of the NIMBY process there were members that decreased their time spent in the clubhouse.

*Yeah [I stopped attending the clubhouse] because it's like a, it's a put down. And I thought that's not the way to go so I changed... I felt, that was the kind of person that I really, I thought I, that's the kind of person I was. But I'm not... I put myself down because they were. And it didn't make me any better.*

A member, who eventually increased her involvement in the clubhouse, attended a planning commission meeting early in the NIMBY process where residents were treating her badly. She had decided not to be involved in the NIMBY response anymore because they were acting so horribly:

*Yeah, yeah, I guess I just, I was curious is what I was and then after [attending the planning commission meeting] I said forget it. I'm not coming back. I said I can't handle it, you know? All these bad vibes... I can only take so much stress and you know, they were seething with anger.*

Regardless of the reaction of members to reduce their involvement in the clubhouse and avoid the NIMBY response as much as possible, these NIMBY active members went back to their regular involvement in the clubhouse where they were able to regain strength and confidence over time.

#### *Impact on Clubhouse Involved Members in the Beginning*

In contrast to the experiences of the NIMBY active members, for the most part, clubhouse involved members were not similarly impacted by the NIMBY response in the beginning. The impact experienced by the clubhouse involved members ranged from little impact, to no impact at all (See Figures 2 and 3). The one member who experienced a little impact from the NIMBY response had felt somewhat negatively upon exposure to the NIMBY information. This member was the only member from the clubhouse involved group that experienced any negative feelings about NIMBY. She<sup>4</sup> discussed how she felt upset by the community response and felt more alone in the world:

*Well, it basically tells me that a lot of people still have the same beliefs and feelings about the mentally ill as they did back in the 1960's. Nothing has really changed in forty years... [It makes me feel like] a loner. It makes you a real loner. The 5% that are mentally ill, that makes everyone of those people a loner.*

The comment above was the most negative response that was heard from the clubhouse involved group. All the rest of the clubhouse involved members felt no impact from their exposure to NIMBY. One member stated that she “*didn't really think anything about it*”. Another member who also felt no impact upon exposure discussed how he had felt simply that reality was being spoken through the newspapers:

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<sup>4</sup> In an effort to conceal the identity of the participants in this study, gender identifiable terms may have been altered. The terms “he” and “she” will be used interchangeably and randomly throughout the paper.

*It was just reality coming out in the newspaper. Reality being spoke of where nobody else would talk about it. It was just really being spoke. Because that's what's real out there. It really is. On the, on the newspaper it was reality. People that were afraid their, their fears were like, ok, we don't wanna admit this but no way, not them in out backyard. Because this is going too far.*

### Possible Reasons Why Differential Experiences of NIMBY in the Beginning

Some notable differences between the NIMBY active members and the clubhouse involved members that may help explain why NIMBY active members were more negatively impacted by NIMBY in the beginning are: a) the level of direct or indirect exposure members had to the NIMBY response, and b) members' individual relationships with the clubhouse; prior to the NIMBY case. These two elements were explored due to their saliency across the interviews and because they may help to explain the different experiences of the NIMBY case by both groups of members.

#### *Direct and Indirect Exposure to the NIMBY Response*

NIMBY active members and clubhouse members had different levels of exposure to the NIMBY response in the beginning. Given the highly negatively charged nature of the NIMBY response in the beginning, it is possible that those members who had direct exposure to the NIMBY response could have been more negatively impacted by such displays of hatred disdain by the community because they were directly attacked. Overall, NIMBY active members had more direct exposure to the NIMBY response than clubhouse involved members.

All of the NIMBY active members experienced some level of exposure to the NIMBY response directly or indirectly. Direct exposure to the NIMBY response would include those members that attended the first planning commission meeting or had seen and felt the negative response by the community first hand. It was at the first planning

commission meeting that community residents brutally protested the move of the clubhouse. Indirect exposure to the NIMBY response would include those members that heard about that meeting through the media or through the clubhouse. Although the level of exposure that NIMBY active members experienced varied (5/6 had some direct exposure to the NIMBY response), all of them had strong negative feelings about the community response.

In contrast to the NIMBY active members, the clubhouse involved members all reported that they had heard about NIMBY response indirectly and they expressed little to no impact upon exposure to the NIMBY information. Three of the six members learned about NIMBY at clubhouse meetings,

*It was a sporadic meeting, or a spontaneous meeting. We were being filled in, what was being said, you know, by the local community and uh, basically we were told it was a, just a few trouble makers causing a big scene.*

and one member had not heard anything until much later.

*[I first heard] that we're going to move in. And then about a month later they said, [the director] said that they were in legalities with [the protesting community].*

#### *Members' Individual Relationships with the Clubhouse Prior to NIMBY*

Although the interviews took place very late in the NIMBY case, all members were asked to reflect on their feelings about the clubhouse and their involvement with it prior to hearing about the NIMBY response. It was not hypothesized that these groups of members would differ on this dimension but it was clear from the cross case analysis that the NIMBY active members had deeper and more personal individual relationships with the clubhouse than the clubhouse involved members prior to the NIMBY response. Both



groups of members felt that the clubhouse provided them with varying opportunities to be social, to learn, and to have meaningful roles, but NIMBY active members described the clubhouse in ways that the clubhouse involved members did not. NIMBY active members described the clubhouse additionally as a supportive place of safety and acceptance. The fact that NIMBY active members had deeper connections with the clubhouse prior to the NIMBY response could provide some insight into why the NIMBY active members were more negatively impacted by the NIMBY response against the clubhouse in the beginning. It might also be the reason why those particular members become involved in the NIMBY case at all.

#### *What the Clubhouse Means to NIMBY Active Members*

In order to understand the impact of the NIMBY response on the NIMBY active members, it is important to first explore members' perceived relationships with the clubhouse prior to, and at the beginning stages of the NIMBY response. All of the NIMBY active members reported feeling strongly that the clubhouse was: 1) a supportive place of safety and acceptance that 2) provided them with varying opportunities to be social, to learn, and to have meaningful roles.

#### *The Clubhouse is a Supportive Place of Safety and Acceptance*

NIMBY active members were all in agreement regarding what being a member of the clubhouse meant to them. A number of themes were identified that created a common framework across all of the NIMBY active members. All of these members' very personal connections to the clubhouse were based on the belief that the clubhouse was a supportive place of safety and acceptance. More specifically, NIMBY active members identified the clubhouse as: a) a place of support, b) like a family, and c) as a safe space.

### *Clubhouse as a Place of Support*

Support can be received and given in many places in people's lives, and these NIMBY active members discussed how the clubhouse was a source of social support for them in a variety of ways. One member described very nicely how support works for her<sup>5</sup> and how important and helpful that support can be in people's lives:

*...not only [the clubhouse], my family, my church, people, when I was down to my lowest point, someone helped bring me, lift me back up and I want to do the same thing and [the clubhouse] is a great plus for this in society. I know that for a fact... Well, when they tried to, when they really sympathize, empathize with how I felt and tried to be supportive. It was the support system that really got it, you know? ...it's the support system. We all need supports whether it's religion or whatever. We need that support system to go on and, you know what I'm saying?*

NIMBY active members talked about how three aspects of support, including: a) receiving support from the clubhouse, b) giving support to others, and c) the importance of having staff that believe in their potential.

#### Receiving support

It is not surprising that members would feel that the clubhouse is a place to receive support, because that is one of the primary roles of a clubhouse. A clubhouse environment is designed to be understanding and help facilitate the process of recovery for people with SMI, and it appears that, from what these members state, this clubhouse has done just that. Members described receiving support in a number of ways: feeling understood, feeling that people at the clubhouse cared and were kind, feeling that the clubhouse pushes them to reach their goals, and that the clubhouses notices when they are not there and will reach out to her to bring them back in.

*Um, you know, if I'm having a bad day, you know, they understand and there's like, you know, a really great feeling knowing that when you're having a bad day,*

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*that people aren't looking at you saying oh, you know, you're just, you know, get out of the depression and that sort of thing and they understand here and they're supportive and if I have a problem I can go to any staff and they'll sit and talk to me so...*

*When we get here we get support... I like to keep progressing and moving and [the clubhouse] has helped me. They push me too. When I'm not here, believe me, I get many calls, they say [name of interviewee] please come home, please, we miss you and that makes me really feel good.*

### Giving support

Some of the NIMBY active members described ways in which they would frequently give support to others at the clubhouse and how doing so made them feel good. Giving support was discussed in different ways: by being there to talk with members and by being there to help others when necessary.

*I call it leadership. When I help someone else it's making me feel like I accomplished that. It makes me feel good too, to help another person.*

One member described that she was involved in both giving and receiving support at the clubhouse as needed.

*When I was sent here, really, it helped me start to focus more, not so much on myself, not on myself but more on others because a lot of people, it's not just to seeing my face that makes them feel good about themselves, I really appreciate the talking to these people, these members we have here...Information I give, where ever I go as a seminar, newspaper, doctor, where ever, that's pertinent to the mental health system, anything, any facet of life I try to pass it on. This is my purpose at this clubhouse because they basically share just about everything they've got. You know? They try to lift someone up when they're down, we try to lift their spirit and bring em up to the same level as everybody else, because I was doing it and this time now people are helping me because every time, some times you have a down spell and you need someone's help as well and I understand...*

### Staff's belief in members

A couple of members explained that having the support of the director of the clubhouse was an important element of support. They felt that the director of the clubhouse was a true believer in people with mental illnesses, who was committed to them, and who has cared for them. A couple of members expressed their appreciation for the position that the director had chosen to take in support of people with mental illnesses:

*Well, no, [the club director] is a true believer. She's been here from the beginning. And there hasn't been any really true believers. No one ever committed to the length that she has been here. They come here and then they go some where else. They're not true believers. True believers go with the flow and accept what's given them for their pay, and you know, so...*

*I saw the caring of lawyers and [the clubhouse auspice agency] and [the director], who's been fighting for us ever since, since she got in the business of this, caring for us. I mean, I saw a real commitment that you don't see unless you really do care about what you believe in.*

#### *Being a Part of a Clubhouse is being Part of a Family*

In addition to the clubhouse being described as a place of support, NIMBY active members also referred to the clubhouse as a family. Although the description of the clubhouse as a family has somewhat varied meaning for each of these members, it seems clear that by describing a clubhouse as a family, members expressed that being a member of the clubhouse is something that was essential to them; something that sustained them in some ways.

*[I come to the clubhouse] for support and a feeling of family and we have um, there's some members, where [the club director] is the mother and there's [another clubhouse member], myself, [another club member] and [another club member]. We're all sisters and we're all, basically we're children of mom, so, yeah. We have a good time with that. I feel it's my family. I tried to stay away and withdrawal from [the clubhouse] and I found that I couldn't so...I came back. So it's my family...I couldn't exist without the clubhouse, I mean it was like I was totally on my own and that wasn't working. I mean I have a roommate but I mean*

*aaah I don't know...I just needed to come back to the family and I needed the warmth of the clubhouse.*

*...it's like we're a family. Every one here is like a family. We look out for each other and try to uh, if something's wrong we try to...find out what's wrong. It's the connection and the love that they show toward one another...and willingness to help show people things can be better...And that's a feeling I love about this place.*

### *The Clubhouse is a Safe Space*

NIMBY active members discussed that they have come to feel that their clubhouse is a safe space where they feel accepted for who they are:

*Well, basically, it was the first place on the face of the earth that had accepted my [being gay] along with my mental health. It was the first place on the earth I wasn't any different then anybody else inside the walls of the Clubhouse... Acceptance, yeah, you know. I like being able to come to the clubhouse and not feel threatened, ya know. Being gay is a threatening experience in the United States so, aaah, everyday I don't end up dead I'm happy. (laughs) I come to the clubhouse to shut the door. On the waves of the pond, ya know, when you throw a stone in and it makes ripples you just come in and you shut the door and the waves stop...I come here because I have permission to keep anything and everything outside that door. If I don't want any, if I don't want society in, to come in that door they don't. If I don't want my doctor to come in that door, they don't. My case worker doesn't come inside that door. My mother won't be able to come inside that door. [My girlfriend] won't be able to come inside that door. Nobody can come inside that door unless they have my permission to do so and it's my space.*

*I feel different from other people sometimes but then here's like a place to let myself be normal, and not that I'm not normal, I'm not any different when I'm out in public but I just, I don't know, don't feel as safe sometimes. Mmmmm... safer. Yeah, I feel safe at certain areas too, just it's safer. I mean it's, I want people to treat me the way that they want me to treat them, ya know. You're supposed to treat one another the way you want to be treated and that's what I believe...*

### *Being Part of a Clubhouse Provides Many Opportunities*

NIMBY active members not only felt that the clubhouse was a space where members felt supported, where they felt like part of a family, or where they felt safe; they

also described that the clubhouse provided members with various opportunities. The clubhouse environment was such a space where opportunities were provided, where they could explore their options, and work towards personal goals. NIMBY active members pointed out that they felt that the clubhouse provided for them opportunities to: a) be social and have friends, b) to learn, and c) to have meaningful roles.

*The Clubhouse is a Place to be Social and Have Friends*

Clubhouses have many opportunities for members to be social with one another in all aspects of the work order day as well as the many social activities that occur weekly. These NIMBY active members discussed how they felt about the social opportunities provided to them and the friends they acquired.

*Yes...it feels like I have, like I've got a lot of friends here because, ya know, I just think that this place is a wonderful place to be, to be together and do things together and have friends. (104a-4)*

*Some would even come there and help me clean and so forth, take me out and go to the movies and so forth, that kind of thing. They might have an activity and I'll meet them at the mall, drive to the mall, and go up there and socialize with them. Oh yeah. They like that they work here. They were so glad to see me. I ain't even out of the car, 'here comes your pal', like oh god, they're really there. (103a-12)*

*The Clubhouse is a Place to Learn*

The clubhouse's supportive environment provides an opportunity for these NIMBY active members to learn and apply skills everyday.

*[My life is] better...I've been getting new skills here like computer skills. You can pay a bundle of money to take a computer class but I can come here for free and, also, other members that are very well versed and can help me as well. There's um, a couple of members that, if I'm in a bind on the computer that will bail me out.*

*[The clubhouse] has been a very good help to me and it's been a learning experience for me. Things I wasn't sure of, I find myself being able to understand and apply it to my day to day as well as being a help to someone out there.*

### *The Clubhouse is a Place to Have Meaningful Roles*

For these NIMBY active members, the clubhouse has provided them with, not only the role of being member of a clubhouse, but a space where they could create more specific roles for themselves that have personal meaning and value to them. Everyday members are provided opportunities to be a part of social events, contribute to a work order day, and attend groups. All of these opportunities that are provided by the clubhouse are what provides members with the potential to have roles in whatever it is that is meaningful to them. For some members, it is important to them to simply know that they contribute to the daily functioning of the clubhouse:

*Before it was like going to classes now as members we run the clubhouse. So, that gives us the opportunity to really say wow we should be proud of ourselves for doing that. Running the clubhouse.*

*[Being a part of the clubhouse makes me] feel accomplished. That I, yeah, that I did something worthwhile. I'm participating in the functioning of the clubhouse.*

NIMBY active members also described that they saw themselves having more specific roles in the clubhouse besides that of merely a clubhouse member. The roles they discussed meant very personal things to them, roles that they may claim as part of their personal identity. These more personal and meaningful roles that members talked about ranged from: being the one who runs and maintains the clubhouse library, to feeling that they were a leader in the clubhouse, to feeling a responsibility in maintaining the computer systems in the clubhouse, to feeling that their life has in some way set an example of what is possible for others with SMI.

*Well, I've contributed to our library. I have the books; for the most part they're in the different categories and...Yeah and I've been working in the library so that's*

*my contribution and if people want to know how to work in the library, I train them and I teach people how to alphabetize and stuff like that so that's my accomplishment.*

*My responsibility is to try to take care of and keep the up keep on the computers. Cuz I have 25 years of computer experience.*

It was quite clear that these NIMBY active members had very special and personal ties with the clubhouse by the way they viewed the clubhouse as a supportive place of safety and acceptance. This clubhouse was not merely a mental health facility where people with mental problems went to get services. All of these members viewed the clubhouse as an essential part of their lives in some way and so when the NIMBY response occurred against the clubhouse, it's easy to see why these particular members became actively involved in it. Becoming involved in the NIMBY response seems as though it was a natural response for these members; to speak up on behalf of a place they considered to be a second home, their family.

#### *What the Clubhouse Means to Clubhouse Involved Members*

In contrast to the importance of the clubhouse for NIMBY active members as a family and a safe space, the clubhouse involved members generally focused on how the clubhouse provides them with the chance to take part in various opportunities.

#### *The clubhouse provides many opportunities within the clubhouse*

Much like the NIMBY active members, many of the clubhouse involved members felt that the clubhouse provided them with various opportunities for meaningful involvement, including opportunities: a) to be social and have friends, b) to be with others like them, c) to learn needed skills, and d) to have meaningful roles.

#### The clubhouse is a place to be social and have friends



Clubhouses are places where members have many opportunities to be socially involved and this also allows for opportunities for members to create friendships.

Clubhouse involved members reported that the clubhouse was a place for socializing, talking, and bonding with others.

*I like to socialize. This is the place to socialize at... Yeah, I have uh, enjoy personal contact with clients and talking to them and uh, having some meaningful discussions... Well, it makes me not so isolated, you know? It gives me a place to go to you know? So, I don't become a hermit, you know? I can talk to people.*

Some members talked about the importance of having friends at the clubhouse:

*I consider most of the memberships here friends. Most of them. Like I say about myself, [the clubhouse] is good for me. Ah, my goal, my next goal I'm gonna be working on, when I get the diet and everything right, is umm, to make friends on the outside. I am workin on that.*

#### The clubhouse is a place to be with others like them

Clubhouse involved members describe how being with others like them was helpful for them: it helped them to see how best to deal with their illnesses, it helped them to not feel alone with their illnesses, and it helped them to become accepting of their illnesses, because they learned to accept each other.

*...[being a member of the clubhouse] changed the experience of my illness. I think it uh, sheds light on the fact that I can deal with my illness because uh, I'm with a group of people all with similar illnesses dealing with their problems as best they can as I'm trying to deal with my illness best I can.*

*Yes. [Before joining the clubhouse I was] very withdrawn, I really, the clubhouse has helped me to accept others as well as myself. To accept others with mental illness, cuz I was just as much a judge as society, I'm ashamed to say. And that means of myself too. And I just wanted to crawl in a hole and die somewhere.*

#### The clubhouse is a place to learn needed skills

Much like the NIMBY active members, clubhouse involved members felt that the clubhouse provided opportunities for them to learn needed skills. The variety of tasks and activities that compose the work ordered day in the clubhouse provided members with opportunities to learn varying skills. Having a variety of tasks and activities available to members, as well as flexibility in the assignment of tasks and activities also provided members with the ability to choose activities that they enjoyed and wanted to master. Clubhouse involved members reported that being a part of the clubhouse helped them to learn how to work with others, how to maneuver through varying tasks, and how to learn responsibility through commitment to the clubhouse over time.

*It teaches [us] how to work with other people. And not be isolated, and to feel good about their self, because they're doing something. Ya know...their learning how to cook a meal. Or they're learning umm, sanitation even, about in the kitchen. Like bleaching the cupboards the counters. Or, or washing their hands, or how to cook a meal or how to um, do laundry, or how to bleach the whites, or all kinds a things we do here. It's like running a house.*

*I gotta learn to commit to some things, and really its me that's going through some personal things that I need to learn how do deal with it, but I gotta learn commitment, I gotta learn trust, I gotta learn a lot of things that I just thought of that I need to start learning how to do. I think if I get up in the morning and do something about it, it's like I get up to go to work everyday, I just figure I gotta try and get used to doing things, so that's the reason I come here everyday, it's a way for me to practice getting to work on time, to get here on time, you know, if I get here on time in the morning and you know, if I pick up on the little things, I might be ready by the time I leave. To you know, get a real job and hopefully they'll say, 'Well, he ok.' Ya know?*

#### The clubhouse is a place to have meaningful roles

Much like the NIMBY active members, clubhouse involved members reported that the clubhouse is a place where they can have meaningful roles. For most clubhouse involved members, their descriptions of these roles were more task oriented than the NIMBY active members' descriptions, which focused more on their roles and

responsibilities within the clubhouse. Clubhouse involved members felt that the clubhouse provided them with activities and some felt good about being part of an organization. Few members felt they had more personally meaningful roles and responsibilities in the clubhouse.

*Having things to do.* Some of the clubhouse involved members described their participation or role with the clubhouse very simply. These clubhouse involved members did not refer to the overall functioning of a clubhouse, they described the activities that they took part in and for them that was it. Some of these members described various activities and tasks of the work ordered day that they took part in while others reported participating in very specific tasks on a regular basis. Either way, these members made it very clear that the clubhouse gave them things to do.

*I answer phones, uh, regularly, uh, Mondays and Tuesdays, or whenever I'm in. I like uh, typing articles, various articles for their newsletter. I've been doing that for a long time.*

*I work on the clerical unit, like when they're doing attendance and stuff like that. I type the bulletin up for em', I clean up sometimes, answer phones, work in the snack room where they sell all the stuff at, and that's about it really. I might vacuum every once in a while or take the trash out...or I'll help with certain things like if they need someone to go to the grocery store, I'll go to the grocery store with them. That's about it.*

*Being a member of an organization.* Clubhouse philosophy stresses that their job as a member is to contribute to a work ordered day that is set up to maintain the everyday functioning of the clubhouse. It is explained that if they do not do certain things in the club that those things will not get done. This places a certain level of ownership and responsibility in the hands of the members by just being a member. Given this fact it is

not surprising that some of clubhouse involved members described feeling that they personally contribute to the successful functioning of the clubhouse.

*I think my role here is like anybody else here, to mingle amongst each other, work with each other, and like even taking attendance here, there's a number of us that get together to do that. Together. So it's not all one person. And we send it to the [clubhouse auspice agency], but they send it to the government. It's we run the club house all of us do. Not one person.*

*I like being a part of things actually being worked on and being completed, tasks being completed... When I work the Snack Shack, just seeing products go out and counting the till and, you know, knowing that you're responsible to increase the proceeds of the clubhouse in one area.*

*Personally meaningful roles or responsibilities.* There were two clubhouse involved members who described having personally meaningful roles and responsibilities. One was a member of the advisory board, who also described himself as feeling responsible for educating members about the importance of voting. The other ran a self-help group at the clubhouse. Interestingly, both of these individuals saw their primary role as involvement in activities that go outside the realm of the basics of a clubhouse's work ordered day. For these members it seems that the clubhouse was a space where they could provide support or information to others that was outside of the clubhouse's primary mission.

*I like to, ya know, help educate uh, various members about the importance of uh, voting during election time. Because uh, that really, that's the place where it's gonna hopefully make the difference. I mean if you, you want, when you vote for someone, you want hope, how do you hope, you wanna, ya know, read about that person. Get to know that person, uh, somewhat. And get to know what their goals are, so that uh, you stand a better chance of voting for someone who's gonna make a difference instead of someone who's gonna show favoritism to the rich and wealthy.*

*...I do a [self help] group here [at a specific day and time] and if I come in during the week, then I'll have a meeting then too... When I'm not here I ask people to do*

*a group, like yesterday, I asked [another member] to do a group. I talked to him Tuesday afternoon, he said sure. He wasn't, he didn't show up.*

The clubhouse involved members had seemingly different personal ties with the clubhouse than the NIMBY active members. The NIMBY active members described feeling strongly that the clubhouse was a supportive place of safety and acceptance that is like a family, but the clubhouse involved members did not describe feeling that way at all. Although the clubhouse involved members felt similarly to the NIMBY active members, when they reported that the clubhouse provides them with many opportunities to be social, to learn skills, and to have meaningful roles, most of the clubhouse involved members described roles that were more task oriented and less personal in nature than the NIMBY active members. In contrast to the NIMBY active members, clubhouse involved members talked about how the clubhouse was important because they were able to be around others who have mental illnesses; others like them. Overall, the clubhouse seems to be important to clubhouse involved members, but these members do not seem to have the depth of personal ties or sense of responsibility that were expressed by the NIMBY active members.

Overall, clubhouse involved members did not have the depth of personal connections to the clubhouse as the NIMBY active members and they did not have the same level of direct exposure to the NIMBY response when it's negativity was at it's height. These elements could be considered explanations for why there were such dramatic differences in the impact of the NIMBY case on members in the beginning. These factors may also provide some explanation for why there were also such differences in how members were impacted by the NIMBY case in the end.

## The Impact of the NIMBY Case on Members in the End

By the end of the NIMBY case, NIMBY active members reported feelings that were consistent with empowerment as cited in the academic literature. This was in stark contrast to the experiences reported by the clubhouse involved members who did not describe any changes in their recovery, their feelings about themselves, or their involvement with the clubhouse, in the end.

### *Impact of the NIMBY Case on NIMBY Active members in the End*

NIMBY active members were negatively impacted by the NIMBY response in the beginning of the NIMBY case but in the end, they experienced a complete turn around in their feelings about themselves and the clubhouse (See Figure 1). NIMBY active members reported that: a) they still felt good about themselves, b) they felt better about themselves, and c) they felt better about the clubhouse. Interestingly, the transformation among these members in moving from devastation to feeling it is important to take a stand is consistent with the academic literature on empowerment. (Linhorst, 2006; Rappaport, 1987; Zimmerman, 1990; Zimmerman and Rappaport, 1988).

### *Still Feel Good About Self*

Regardless of the negative feelings that members experienced at the start of the NIMBY process, NIMBY active members felt strongly that the NIMBY response did not have any lasting negative impacts on their process of recovery or their feelings about themselves in the end.

*No, [NIMBY] hasn't [affected me]. I know my capabilities and I know my strengths and I know that I'm not what they say that I was or am. Nope. I'm still me. I know what the truth is and the truth will set you free. Sorry.*

One member talked about how the NIMBY response reinforced the idea that she just needs to go and show people that she can do things and that her illness is not a disability:

*...oh it's made me realize, I'm, uh, it's not going to cause me to think about it one way or the other because my whole point is just to go out there and do what, don't let this, my illness clog what I'm doing, to show you I CAN DO, you know? Uh, that's not going to be an issue for me at all, no...*

#### *Feel Better about Self*

Although initially, NIMBY active members said that the NIMBY response did not change the way they felt about themselves, many of them mentioned later in their interviews that they felt noticeably better about themselves than they did before the NIMBY case. Members learned a great deal from the NIMBY situation, about themselves and the community and some members seemed to gain a better understanding of the world around them. Members reported feeling stronger, more hopeful, happier, proud, and more motivated. Some felt proud for being a part of something that achieved something so great, and some felt more motivated to go out and fight in other ways.

*Uh-huh. I'm still, matter of fact it made me a better person. Well, it did. It made me really hopeful and I'm gonna start showin' and sharin' and being a strong force again, in this, like I told [the clubhouse director], I'm going to be the strong, same strong person, the person that's going to fight for the members but I'm going to do it a better way.*

*I feel really proud of myself now. I feel like I've achieved something like a goal in our life that can make us all feel like 'hey we did it'.*

#### *Feel Better About the Clubhouse*

NIMBY active members felt good about the clubhouse before the NIMBY response but in the end they felt even more proud of the clubhouse and how they dealt with the NIMBY situation. Members felt the clubhouse did the better thing by “taking the

high road”, they felt proud of the clubhouse for not giving up, and that nothing had changed for some members because they will continue to support the clubhouse.

*Actually, um, I'm more proud of being a member of the Clubhouse because we weathered the storm and weathered all the negative comments and we took the higher ground. We did not respond with anger and we did not respond with unkind words so we are the better people...we did not stoop and we did not call them all these names. We could have called them a whole bunch of names and we didn't. Oh yeah, we didn't say a damn thing. We just let them beat their own shield.*

*Um, I guess when we found out we won, I took a lot of pride in the clubhouse because we worked relentlessly with [the auspice agency] and it was a long haul and I'm really proud of the clubhouse for sticking with it because I think anybody else would have said forget it and just given up and we didn't give up. I didn't. I hoped and then when I heard that the department of justice was involved, then I knew that it was going to happen but um, for awhile I was not optimistic.*

#### *Feeling Stronger & Motivated to Act in the End*

In the end, NIMBY active members were feeling much better, but members had also reported feeling more confident and stronger than they had before experiencing the NIMBY case. NIMBY active members reported that they not only felt better, they felt: a) better able to deal with having a mental illness, and now see that it is b) important to take a stand for their rights and the rights of others.

#### *Better able to Deal with Having a Mental Illness*

Some NIMBY active members felt that after they experienced NIMBY they were now more able to deal with their mental illness. There are things that that members have had to avoid or dismiss in their lives because of their mental illnesses, but members have gained a lot from what they've learned and experienced throughout the NIMBY process. This experience has helped them become more open, and confident, and willing to take on certain challenges. One thing they learned throughout this case is that they do not have



to be ashamed of their illness. Members reported feeling that they have come more to terms with their illness, that they feel more comfortable talking with others about their illness, and that they overcame some fears in experiencing the process.

*So gradually, over the years, I've gotten better and better but um, just in the last couple of years, I've kind of come to terms with my illness and um, you know, I don't go around proclaiming it but you know, people like, especially in my building. People, new people come in, they want to know why I live there so I just say I have a disability. I'm not so much afraid to tell people I have an illness. I don't want to tell people specifics but basically I'm not afraid to tell someone I have a disability. Before, I um, I had a lot of trouble doing that, you know?*

*I feel better in the sense that now I, now when I go to my apartment I can talk, I mean, the people there know about [the clubhouse] in the paper and I always kept [quiet] of what my outside life was, what I was doing on the outside. But now I'm not and I opened up a little bit.*

#### *Feel it is Important to Take a Stand*

Members talked about how they felt that it is important that people stand up for their rights and help to end stigma of mental illness. Winning the lawsuit meant more to members than just being able to move to a new location, and these NIMBY active members are not going to let this lesson go unlearned. Members acknowledged the power of voice and how important it is for people with mental illnesses to speak out to end the stigma of mental illness; some vowed to continue to fight for their rights, and others reported learning to never let go of what they believe in.

*And you know, the stigma that people from [the city of the new clubhouse location], you know, were thinking, that is not going to be erased if people don't step up and, you know, say this is, I have a mental illness and I'm functioning and I work and this, that, and the other, you know? ... I guess I feel like you know, when we do move to [the city of the new clubhouse location] that I, I would like to, you know, be a part of whatever it is we can do to get the community involved with the clubhouse.*

*...it has taught me how to never let um, go of what you believe in and what you're striving for because that shows weakness in yourself and you know, you've got to*

*be strong or more of a balance...I'll continue this fight for the mental health system myself to promote it, to understand it, and to help people to understand...Oh yeah...It really, encourages me because, you know, there was a time where you couldn't see what was going to happen; whether we were going to have a clubhouse [or not].*

#### *NIMBY Active Members' Experiences in the End: From the Empowerment Perspective*

Many of the feelings that NIMBY active members reported at the end of the NIMBY case were consistent with the academic literature on Psychological Empowerment (PE). Empowerment is “a process by which people, organizations, and communities gain mastery over issues of concern to them” (Rappaport, 1987). PE is when an individual person feels empowerment (Zimmerman, 1990). Empowerment is described as both a process and an outcome but “empowered outcomes are one consequence of empowering processes.” (Zimmerman, 1995; p. 585). Feeling empowered can involve having an understanding of one's socio-political environment, having an awareness of resources and factors that can enhance or hinder efforts to achieve goals, having a sense of motivation to control, believing that goals can be achieved, or having the decision-making and problem-solving skills necessary to actively engage in one's community (Zimmerman, 1990). From the empowerment perspective, NIMBY active member's responses at the end of the NIMBY case reflected feelings of empowerment by: 1) being aware of the factors that influence achieving their goals, 2) believing that goals can be achieved, and 3) having the motivation to take control and act.

#### *Awareness of the Factors that Influence Achieving Goals*

Throughout the NIMBY case, NIMBY active members learned about the socio-political environment in which they live and its potential impact on their lives. They gained an awareness of the various factors that contribute to achieving their goals, as well

as the factors that hinder their ability to reach their goals. Understanding the way in which stigma can impact people's perceptions of others and the importance of setting a positive example for other people with SMI are just two of the ways in which NIMBY active members demonstrated becoming more aware and empowered in the end.

*I now have an understanding of what this is and occasionally I do have the same stigma that they do, the NIMBY stuff, on certain issues, but once I get more information I can work through it and that's what I think needs to be done with the people in [our new location].*

*...the stigma that people from [our new neighborhood] are showing, is not going to be erased if people don't step up and say...I have a mental illness and I am functioning and I work, and this and that and the other, you know?*

#### *Believing that Goals can be Achieved*

In addition to what members learned about the factors that can influence reaching their goals and the larger issues in the socio-political environment, they learned through the clubhouse's response to the NIMBY case how to work with those factors. NIMBY active members had experiences throughout the NIMBY case that brought them to believe that the goal of moving to their new neighborhood could be achieved. As an empowered organization, the clubhouse contributed to members' beliefs that what they hoped to achieve could and would actually happen through their efforts. Believing that moving to the new location was possible was an important aspect of empowerment experienced by NIMBY active members.

*[My transportation] driver would ask me 'are you moving yet?'. They always said that to me, and I said 'not yet but we will be'. I says 'I believe that we're going to go there'.*

*...it has taught me how to never let go of what you believe in and what you're striving for because that shows weakness in yourself and you know, you've got to be strong or more of a balance...*

### *Motivation to Take Control & Act*

An important aspect of PE is feeling motivated to control the factors that influence meeting one's goals. Once a person can identify the factors that influence reaching their goals, they can then begin to identify how to go about removing any barriers to achieving their goals. Although believing that a goal can be achieved is not always enough to motivate someone to act, sometimes seeing it happen is motivating. In this case, the clubhouse set quite an example of how to win over discrimination by winning the lawsuit, and this created some motivation within the NIMBY active members. In the end of this NIMBY case, NIMBY active members expressed how they wanted to become more active against discrimination in the future.

*...when we do move to [the new neighborhood] I would like to be a part of whatever it is we can do to get the community involved with the clubhouse.*

*I'm gonna start showin' and sharin' and being a strong force again, in this, like I told [the clubhouse director], I'm going to be the strong, same strong person, the person that's going to fight for the members but I'm going to do it a better way.*

Although the NIMBY active members were devastated by the NIMBY response, and should not have had to experience such discriminatory reactions from their new neighbors, it seems they have gained something from the experience in the end. The literature on empowerment is quite consistent with what the members have reported by the end of the NIMBY case, and these are important findings to consider in contrast to the experiences of the clubhouse involved members. Experiences of the NIMBY case by the end of it was expressed quite differently by the clubhouse involved members.

### *Impact of the NIMBY Case on Clubhouse Involved Members in the End*

In contrast to the experiences of NIMBY active members, clubhouse involved members were not only less impacted by the NIMBY response in the beginning, they reported no change in their feelings about themselves and the clubhouse by the end of the NIMBY case. Almost all of the clubhouse involved members were fairly unaffected by the NIMBY response overall (See Figures 2 and 3). In the end, all but one member stated that the NIMBY response did not affect them personally and had no affect on how they felt about being a part of the clubhouse:

*No [impact].*

*I don't see what the big deal is about moving in there but I guess if they really want it.*

As was mentioned earlier, the level of exposure that the clubhouse involved members had to the NIMBY response and the personal connections that they had with the clubhouse prior to the NIMBY case may have had something to do with why these members were virtually unaffected in the end.

Across all of the NIMBY active members there is clear pattern of change, transformation, and redefinition. All of these NIMBY active members experienced negative feelings about the NIMBY response in the beginning and then began feeling more positive and stronger as individuals and as part of a clubhouse in the end. The clubhouse involved members had experiences that were quite different from the NIMBY active members in that they underwent no changes in their feelings about themselves or the clubhouse by the end of the NIMBY case. It is speculated that the differences between these two groups of members (personal connections with the clubhouse prior to NIMBY, level of exposure to the initial NIMBY response) could be the reasons for these

differences of experiences. Although those differences are quite interesting in and of themselves, an examination of what members experienced with the clubhouse over time, between the initial NIMBY response and winning the NIMBY case in the end, is another important aspect of the NIMBY case that sheds some light on the differences of experiences. It might be that NIMBY active members were more empowered in the end because of how they were actively engaged in the NIMBY case over time.

#### How the Clubhouse Assisted Members through the NIMBY Case over Time

To place into context how members who were actively involved in the NIMBY case became more positive and stronger by the end of the case, it is critical to examine: a) how the clubhouse reacted to the NIMBY response, and b) how the clubhouse assisted members through the NIMBY case over time. Due to the distinctly different experiences between the NIMBY active members and the clubhouse involved members, special focus will be placed on the experiences of the NIMBY active members in order to understand what exactly occurred over time that brought them to experience a positive transformation consistent with the later stages of recovery and empowerment. The experiences of the clubhouse involved members will be discussed in contrast with them at the end.

#### *How the Clubhouse reacted to the NIMBY Response: An Empowered Organization*

In understanding the experiences of members with the clubhouse over time, it is essential to have some information about the context and background of how the clubhouse reacted to the NIMBY response and continued case over time<sup>6</sup>. The clubhouse

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<sup>6</sup> The contextual information was provided through an interview with the clubhouse director and consumer staff, discussions with auspice agency staff, and reviews of newspaper articles.

as an organization had knowledge of, and good relations with, their networks, and based on that quickly identified and mobilized their existing resources in order to be able to take legal action as advised. Over time the clubhouse reached out to all of their organizational networks where they requested and received their support. The lawsuit gained such a vast amount of recognition that the United States government learned of it and chose to become involved in their efforts. By the end of the NIMBY case they had won their lawsuit against the city under the ADA and their case has been logged in a report titled “Enforcing the ADA: A Status Report from the Department of Justice”.

It could be said that this clubhouse reacted as an empowered organization would. Empowered organizations are known to effectively compete for resources, network with other organizations, influence policy decisions, or offer effective alternatives for service provision (Zimmerman, 2000). The ability of this clubhouse to respond so comprehensively to the NIMBY response, and be successful in its aims, provides some evidence of its status as an empowered organization. Aside from how the clubhouse responded to the NIMBY response as an organization from an outsider’s perspective, they also responded to the needs of their members internally.

In the beginning stages of the NIMBY response, the clubhouse staff decided they wanted to work very closely with their auspice agency. An auspice agency is a sponsoring agency that some clubhouses are affiliated with. Some clubhouses have an auspice agency in order to work collaboratively with them to increase their effectiveness in the community. The auspice agency had been supportive of the clubhouse’s choice of relocation and was with them at every step to ensure a successful move (i.e. assisted with permit authorizations and building plans, provided grant funding for materials, provided

legal representation). This particular auspice agency had experienced a similar NIMBY response from another area in the state just three years prior to this case. This history provided them with an understanding of what could happen in this case and how to approach and prepare for what was yet to come.

The auspice agency was tremendously supportive to the clubhouse and its members. The CEO of the auspice agency viewed himself as an advocate for the members and was personally invested in worked closely with the clubhouse. He involved their marketing representative to ensure that a positive frame would be placed on the NIMBY response as it was portrayed in the media. He frequently met with clubhouse members to keep them informed about what was happening with the NIMBY case. He also made his counseling staff available for members if they felt they needed to speak with someone about feelings they might be having about the very negative NIMBY response.

Once the use of a special land use permit became an issue, one of the auspice agency's staff, who was also an attorney, was brought onto the scene. When the planning commissioner asked that the clubhouse provide answers to almost 50 questions asked by the neighbors (illegal questions asking for members' personal medical information), in addition to their special land use permit request so that the request could be "better evaluated", the attorney advised them that they should seek legal advice on zoning and discrimination issues. They were again supported by the auspice agency in gaining legal advice and this marked the basis of the lawsuit held against the city.

*How the Clubhouse Assisted NIMBY Active Members over Time*



Although NIMBY active members all described being very negatively effected by what they had experienced or witnessed initially during the NIMBY response, they described going through a similar process of feeling better over time. In describing their transformation, members described a variety of ways in which their participation with the clubhouse helped them to cope with their negative feelings. The clubhouse: a) Provided opportunities for action in response to NIMBY, b) provided support to members, c) kept members informed about the NIMBY case, d) maintained clubhouse business as usual, and e) kept members focused on the positives. After considering how the clubhouse assisted and supported NIMBY active members over time, it is quite clear how their active participation with the clubhouse contributed to their feelings of empowerment in the end (See Figure 1).

#### *Provided Opportunities for Action in Response to NIMBY*

For those members who decided they wanted to actively participate in the NIMBY case, the clubhouse environment was such that members felt they had the choice to be active in various ways. In fact, in an interview with the clubhouse director, he explicitly stated the clubhouse's standpoint on member participation in response to the NIMBY case:

*[Staff and members] told the truth of the meetings to the members and the members decided for themselves if they wanted to become involved in anything personally. They knew ahead of time what might happen, and we did not encourage participation for that reason, but we didn't discourage it either.*

Members chose to speak out publicly, talk with others at the clubhouse about NIMBY, and or participate in clubhouse board meetings.

#### Speaking out

Members spoke out in different ways. Some members went to planning commission meetings and some made comments in newspapers. Regardless of how they spoke out, all of them reported feeling better as a result of that action.

*I just, just know that when we came out there all grouped together and talked and the county told us, we're going to fight em', we're taking em, this is not going to happen if we can help it...it was more calming.*

*"[The newspapers] talked to me more than one time but I didn't think I was going to be in the paper (laughs). I thought woowow this is something exciting, I had said something about it, ya know. I felt good. It was a good feeling. Everybody's reading it; everybody's going to know what's up, what's happening."*

#### Talking with other members

Talking with other clubhouse members about the NIMBY case was an important way for members to engage in the clubhouse dialogue about the NIMBY case and to come to an understanding of it for themselves. Some members felt they were contributing to a positive dialogue about the NIMBY case in the clubhouse through discussion, and others reported that talking with members helped them to feel better and to get over their negative feelings.

*Yes we [talked about NIMBY] because how else are we gonna learn something from it? We have meetings like in the afternoon, ... and we talked a lot about stuff like that then too so all the members know what's happening. We can give response. We were involved because we were watching the newspapers all the time and seeing what people are saying. We would talk about it to see how each individual member ...how they felt and that we all just decided that we're not giving up, we're gonna go for it...I get the [local newspaper] for [staff] now and I help bring extra clippings for the clubhouse and then we talk about it so that's something good too.*

*Talking about it here with the members has also been good.*

#### Participation in clubhouse board meetings

Clubhouse board meetings were places where members could go once a month to keep informed about new updates on the status of the NIMBY case. Some of the NIMBY active members talked about how being at the board meetings was good for them because it helped to clear up any confusion they had about what was going to happen:

*And we talked about the [the new clubhouse location] too. So that kept you informed about things and I wanted to know what was going on because I wanted to make sure that we're not going to give up and keep fighting and I learned that the more you hear about [the new clubhouse location] the more you really realize what's going to happen, ya know. We're ready.*

*Because I'm involved in the board meeting every month I get an update that way so that really helps me keep informed but otherwise I don't hear a lot about it and I know that the minute we hear something, especially if it's good news, it's going to be...(laughs) everyone's gonna know.*

#### *Provided Support to Members*

Members who reported feeling support from others described how important it was to them to feel that support. Support seemed to bring for members a variety of things, such as: feeling understood, feeling that someone cared about them, feeling nurtured and comforted, feeling accepted for who they are, a feeling of trust, and feeling a sense of validation. Members discussed feeling support from a few different sources: from a) inside the clubhouse and auspice agency, and b) from outside the clubhouse from the media to the federal government. Their experience of support throughout the NIMBY process brought a growing sense of validation; that they were right, that they have rights, and that a line had definitely been crossed by the community protestors.

*It made me feel calm and better knowing that we're not in this alone. It's no longer stigmatized mental illness it's umm human beings looking out for each other. Ok, besides the mental illness in us...*

#### Support from the clubhouse and auspice agency

Much of the social support that was experienced initially was support from the clubhouse staff and members, as well as the club's auspice agency. In the clubhouse members saw and felt the support of the staff and discussed how much it meant to them. At some point in the NIMBY process the clubhouse and the auspice agency had decided that they were not going to give up on this, and for one member, that was all it took to make him begin to feel better about it:

*The way they went after that point, I felt that way but then by the [clubhouse auspice agency] and [the clubhouse] not giving up, the weight actually was being lifted and I knew it was in good hands so, and I was supportive and I was having good thoughts, you know?... Um, there's power in, uh, what made me feel better is not giving up. Don't give up because they become a loser. A quitter never wins and a winner never loses. And I was certain we were gonna come out on top just keep up that determination and never let them cloud your thinking, your vision.*

One member talked about how nice it was to feel support specifically from the auspice agency:

*They have been there if we need them and a couple of the case managers have come over and talked to us individually here about what's going on and how we're feeling, and stuff like that. Yes, oh [an auspice agency staff person] and others have asked me how I was doing.*

The clubhouse and the auspice agency were all doing such a good job of working on the variety of issues that they were faced with that one member stated that he had at some point stopped worrying about it; had begun to feel more comfortable with the NIMBY issues:

*I don't let it bother me right now because right now I feel that we are doing the best that we can do with the help of the lawyers that we have and I have seen in the background, ya know, [a staff member] going over to [street where the new club will reside] and everybody else going over there and working on things trying to figure out how we're going to make this work. Make the building work for us if we get, if we win the case. Umm so I have seen that.*

### Outside support

Support within the clubhouse and from the auspice agency was just the beginning. The clubhouse did not learn until later the extent at which they would eventually receive outside support. Once the local newspapers began tracking the NIMBY story, the clubhouse began receiving a lot of attention. When the newspapers reported accurate and factual information about the clubhouse, and on the side of the clubhouse, members began to feel that they were being further validated and supported by the media. One member actually referred to a particular author who wrote an uplifting article in a newspaper:

*She's one of the most inspiring contributors of [the clubhouse] that I've known anybody could give to anybody, because in the [local newspaper] oh golly, it was nice. It was short but it was nice and very well written. Her name was [a woman's name]. Uh-huh. And I really, that really, that really lifted my spirits up... One thing about it I really appreciate, somebody saying some good about this clubhouse because we're getting backing from good agencies and corporations out of this world, you know, and it really is, it really, it's good for the morale of the members, it really is. Someone got their back and you know, and I really appreciate that...*

As time went on members began to see other people and groups becoming involved from everywhere that were interested in their NIMBY case of discrimination, like other clubhouses, advocacy organizations, Community Mental Health, and the International Center for Clubhouse Development (ICCD). The support that really seemed to encourage members the most was that of the United States Government's Department of Justice. Once they heard that the United States was going to back them up in their lawsuit against the city they knew that they had won. They learned that they had this support from the government approximately one month before the interviews with members took place. One member talked about how good she had felt about this news:

*Well look at that one article, I can't remember who said it, who they say is on our side, the United States in on our side. Yeah, that's the good part about the whole thing too, having that. I mean on our side that is really gonna help out. Especially for what [the people from the new clubhouse location] are saying 'bla blah...' (laughs).*

Another member talked about how he felt that winning the case with the U.S. was something much bigger than just a NIMBY protest against the movement of a mental health service facility; that this had the potential to contribute to making changes in the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA):

*And this has been a very sensitive topic but however it works out I think all the members are going to be better off because it's...now I understand that there's some U.S. congressmen who are looking at this and looking to draft up some legislation to add onto the ADA [law]. That a couple of them are looking at, cuz a lot of us are not congressmen and legislators, and the lawyers are looking at it and looking to see if they can draft something up into the ADA.*

Seeing the clubhouse and the auspice agency work together to stand up for the rights of the members, and not give up over such a long period of time, showed these NIMBY active members how important it is to stand up for their rights. Seeing the clubhouse win the lawsuit and all the organizations and people support them showed members that they were not alone and that they deserve to be treated equally. Overall, the numerous types of supports that the clubhouse received were critical in developing a more confident and validated sense of self among the members. The varying levels of support that members experienced over time were reported by these members to be important elements in members' processes of coming to feel better about themselves and the clubhouse.

*Kept Members Informed About the NIMBY Case*

The clubhouse staff was consistent about keeping members informed about what was happening with the NIMBY case. Keeping informed was important to the members because they were able to understand the NIMBY issues in more depth. Members kept informed by attending board meetings, being at club meetings, reading newspapers, or talking with others about the NIMBY issues. Keeping informed about the NIMBY response brought about many different thoughts and feelings for members. Members reported that keeping informed made them feel they were better able to understand what was happening, made them learn some things about themselves, and that it was encouraging and uplifting when they heard positive updates.

*I think it's a positive if anything because I understand what this is and occasionally I do have that same stigma that they do. The NIMBY. On certain issues but when I get more information I can work through it and that's what I think needs to be done with the people in [the city of the new clubhouse location]."*

*Well, I stood back and I listened to [staff] and the lawyers and stuff talk and I felt more confident knowing that we were going to take them to court over it I felt a lot more relieved that we're not going to let them try and get away with it if we can.*

#### *Maintained Clubhouse Business as Usual*

Maintaining the daily functioning of the clubhouse and staying on task with business as usual was helpful for NIMBY active members in different ways. Some members seemed to take their cues from the paid clubhouse staff to continue to work in the clubhouse as usual because it is a business. Others felt that keeping busy with daily tasks not only helped them not to dwell on the NIMBY problems themselves, but that doing so also contributed to the well-being of the clubhouse membership.

*I mean, we do our daily tasks and we keep focused on what needs to be done in the clubhouse to make it run. I mean, it hasn't effected the operation of the*

*clubhouse at all because we've been focused on what needs to be done to keep us running, ya know, like doing daily attendance, MESH, and answering the phones. Cuz we're a business so...I think that [the director] told me that we can't let what's going on affect the clubhouse, the daily participation of the members, ya know.*

*We just going on like this dang thing never happened. We know the problem but we ain't going to let it stop us...I think its business as usual. In fact I haven't seen no differences. Like I said, I have seen better things. I've seen that things have gotten a whole lot better. It's good; it's going the right way. It's going the right way. It's going up, it's not going down.*

### *Kept members focused on the Positives*

In a variety of ways members described the ways in which they stayed focused on the positives in spite of the negative messages they were getting from the community. The clubhouse created an alternative narrative that focused on the positives to counteract the stigmatizing views the members were being exposed to. The NIMBY active members had become part of the public conversation that took place about them not only in the clubhouse but also in the public media and this alternative community narrative helped guide their behaviors, thoughts, and discussions about the NIMBY response. Members described a positive focus in the following ways: a) we took the high road, b) they're wrong and we're right, c) we can have a wonderful impact on them, and d) we can continue to make changes.

#### "We took the high road"

The part of the narrative that discussed how the clubhouse "took the high road" brings to light the fact that the clubhouse did not stoop to the level of the protesting community. The protesting community was acting out their hatred by calling members names and accusing members of being terrible people but the clubhouse chose not to



respond to those remarks. Members discussed how the clubhouse chose to address the NIMBY response in a more dignified manner.

*I think that the way that we responded and the way that we did not act to all the negativity, it's like, ya know, I mean, basically we were quiet, I mean there were no comments or no, we didn't respond to everything that was, ya know, said and in the paper and we were basically letting the neighborhood shoot itself in the foot. We just let them go on and they kept going and they kept showing their hatred and bigotry, so we just sat and were quiet, ya know, and just shook our heads and (shaking her head and laughs). So they had stuff in the newspaper and I'd say, 'can you believe they said that?' but we've been very quiet. Basically we haven't beaten our shield...[we've acted through a] code of honor and a code of respect...so it's like the clubhouse has taken at knee, when you're not threatening you go to your knee and you put your sword pointing to the ground to show em' that you're not hostile and so that's what I think the clubhouse has done. It has taken at knee and just let everybody else go...*

*I held in a lot of what I had to say but I was really devastated and I just wanted to go see what it was about, why we weren't being permitted. And I wanted to see ummm, ya know, was it as bad as they said? And sure enough it was.*

“They’re wrong and we’re right”

The piece of the alternative narrative that states “they’re wrong and we’re right” speaks to the fact that the protesting community was wrong for responding to the clubhouse in such a discriminatory way and that the clubhouse is right for fighting for their right to go anywhere they want to. This piece of narrative brought some members to feel that they were upholding truth and justice.

*We have the right to be...just because we're mentally ill shouldn't... we shouldn't be excluded from a community, ya know.*

*I feel very uncomfortable about that, the long time to move, because I feel they're doing the wrong thing and we want to do the right thing, ya know, and it's hard...I just feel that it's discrimination. I really do. That's like taking our rights away, ya know, of who we really are, ya know, cuz we wouldn't treat them like that.*

“We can have a wonderful impact on them”

The piece of the narrative that stated that “We can have a wonderful impact on them” is based in the belief that the members of the clubhouse are good people. It also points out that the people of that protesting community will need to wait and see over time that they are good people that can make a positive contribution to the community, and that this will, in turn, reduce the negative stigma that these people have of people with mental illnesses.

*I feel I'll just treat them like I'll treat everyone else. No matter what they say to me I'm just gonna not let it bother me because we're ok, ya know, like I said, they don't know what they're talking about. I feel it will be great to be there. Fix the place up for ourselves, it could be wonderful.*

*I think once were in there and we're settled and we're doing things, I think they'll realize that we're a benefit to their community, so in that respect, it is worth every penny that we've spent because they in turn passed on to other people, you know, how they...the stigma, and how they feel about people with mental illnesses, you know? Generation to generation.*

“Continue to make changes”

The piece of the narrative that states that they are going to “continue to make changes” refers to the fact that they plan to continue to challenge the dominant cultural narratives that exist about people with mental illnesses. One way that they have begun this mission is by fighting and winning this NIMBY case, because they are potentially setting a precedent for others in need of human service programs.

*It's a stepping stone and it's set the precedent for other lawsuits you know, um, about, you know, the American's with Disabilities Act and zoning, so , yeah...and you know, the stigma that people from [the protesting community] were thinking, that is not going to be erased if people don't step up and, ya know, say this is...I have a mental illness and I'm functioning and I work and this, that, and the other, ya know? Um, I mean, I don't go around telling everybody my mental illness but I still think it's important that, you know, we beat the stigma. I think we really stepped up to the plate and tried to educate people about us.*

*Anyways...we make the pathways. Or like we used to say...we've bent the grass.”*

When the clubhouse was faced with new developments from the NIMBY response, it maintained an environment where they could comfortably discuss their concerns, vent about their thoughts and feelings, and participate in responding however they felt necessary (within the confines of the lawsuit). The adoption of the alternative community narrative about the NIMBY response that was created within the clubhouse helped maintain the fundamental belief system of the clubhouse, while also assisting members in making sense of the NIMBY response for themselves.

### *The Important Role of the Visionary*

It became even clearer that these NIMBY active members had adopted and internalized an alternative community narrative once it was summarized in full in the interview with the director. The following quote from the director summarizes the alternative community narrative that was accepted and exemplified throughout the NIMBY active members' interviews:

*We pretty much processed everything as a group. And so they would speak up in those meetings too and they would share what was, you know, in their thoughts and what their experience was, and whatever, and uh, we just kept the theme of, we're gonna take the high road. You know. We're not gonna lower ourselves to um, the way that they're, you know, treating us. That, you know, we're going to just continue on our, you know, path. And um, they they're wrong and we're right. (Laughs) you know, that kind of a thing. That we're just gonna stay strong as a group and um, that the CEO or no one else is ever gonna let anything happen to us... Time will heal all, and so just give us a chance, we'll get in there and I think we can have a wonderful impact on them and continue to make changes.*

Since the interview with the clubhouse director took place after all of the member's interviews had been analyzed, the director was asked how this narrative originated within the clubhouse. The director explained that he was the one to start some of this narrative but that it was the choice of the members to accept it or not. The director explained that it

is part of his role as the director to be a visionary for the clubhouse. The following excerpt is a description of the formal role of the director of a clubhouse:

*...They need to develop and keep a vision for the growth and ongoing success of the clubhouse. The director needs to be thinking ahead, to know where the clubhouse is going and what it will take to get there. Directors need to foster a sense of community within the clubhouse among members, staff and board members. In addition, they must also work to create a positive place for the clubhouse in the city or town and the neighborhood where it is located. (Jack Yatsko, ICCD Director of Training, and former Director of Friendship House, Hawaii; 12<sup>th</sup> International Clubhouse Seminar excerpt from his speech)*

#### *The Clubhouse as an Empowering Organization*

Somewhat different from being an empowered organization is being an empowering organization, and according to how members described the clubhouse assisting them throughout the NIMBY case, it appears that this clubhouse is an empowering organization as well. According to Zimmerman (2000), empowering organizations are known to provide the structure needed for people to gain control over their lives. This adequately describes the structures provided by this clubhouse, which included: encouraging people to participate in decision making processes, and providing opportunities for shared responsibility and leadership. Additionally, empowering organizations are known to be settings where people with similar interests can share information and experiences and develop a sense of identity with other members (Zimmerman, 2000).

Maton and Salem (1995) identified 4 characteristics of empowering organizations that are similar in content to Zimmerman (2000). They state that empowering organizations provide: 1) a culture of growth and community building, 2) opportunities for members to take on meaningful and multiple roles, 3) foster a peer based support system that helps members develop a social identity, and 4) shared leadership with a

commitment to membership and the organization. By either of these criteria, this clubhouse could be said to have functioned as an empowering organization.

*Experiences of Clubhouse Involved Members over Time: A Contrast*

Although clubhouse involved members were involved in the clubhouse throughout the NIMBY case, they did not take part in the clubhouse to the extent that NIMBY active members did in the NIMBY case (See Figures 2 and 3). After the initial exposure to the NIMBY response there was a long period of time where the clubhouse experienced a variety of events that were associated with the NIMBY case: media coming into the clubhouse, regular conversations about the NIMBY case at clubhouse meetings, news articles written about the clubhouse and members, and visits from the auspice agency in relation to the NIMBY case. In spite of the activity happening in the clubhouse regarding NIMBY, clubhouse involved members did not become involved in the NIMBY case activities and reported: a) continuing their involvement in the clubhouse as usual, and b) being exposed to the NIMBY case minimally. As discussed earlier, clubhouse involved members were mostly unaffected by the NIMBY case overall, with the exception of an anomalous case.

*Clubhouse Involvement Unchanged*

Quite differently from the NIMBY active members, with the exception of one clubhouse involved member, all of them continued to participate in the clubhouse as usual, attending between one and three times per week. Their involvement in the clubhouse underwent no change as a result of the NIMBY response against the clubhouse.

*Well, I'm still here, ya know?*

*No. No, sure didn't [have any impact on my involvement in the clubhouse].*

Although the clubhouse involved members were not as impacted by the NIMBY response as the NIMBY active members, some of these members did notice how the clubhouse was assisting other members in dealing with the NIMBY response.

*Staff help[ed] build confidence that things are going to work out. [The director] is real supportive. She gives us updates. There's the blueprint of our new place. She's right up there and involved and real confident. She's been real enthusiastic and that's been real good.*

#### *An Anomalous Case*

There was one exceptional case from the clubhouse involved members who exemplified no impact from the NIMBY response information in the beginning yet had reported similar experiences to NIMBY active members in the end (See Figure 4). She described becoming more involved with the clubhouse and clubhouse activities over the time that the NIMBY case was occurring. She credited the clubhouse discussions about the NIMBY case with helping her to see errors in her own thinking about mental illness and with becoming more involved in the clubhouse. This member discussed how talking through her personal thoughts and feelings with others in the clubhouse brought her to certain realizations about herself:

*There was one group I was in here in the clubhouse, and I admitted I did feel the same way [the opposing community] feels. With the members I told them that. I used to think oh I'm psychotic well I'm hopeless. I'm dangerous, put me away. And I really did wanna be put in the hospital and left there for the rest of my life.... Because I thought I was hopeless. And, I could see in the other members there hearing me say this, they would go (deep breaths) getting defensive, ya know, like woah. And I thought I was just like [the opposing community members]. I was the same way... Well one, one of the workers there said, why were you like that [interviewee's name]? I said cuz I didn't know. I didn't understand mental illness. I didn't know that I had nothing to be afraid of. I didn't know there's nobody that's hopeless. I was unaware of what I was talking about.*

*And it's just, and it's made me more compassionate to the people here, and how they've dealt with it too. That's just me. And members have really helped me.*

This member described being personally affected by the NIMBY case in the end. She described feeling more able to accept her mental illness, a willingness to move into the new community in order to show them that they're wrong about people with SMI, and she also stated how important fighting this case has been for her personally:

*I can't wait to go to [the city of the new clubhouse location] and, I'm um, I'm not afraid to meet [the residents of the opposing community]. I'm not afraid of them. They're gonna realize how harmless we are... What I really have learned from this debate between [the opposing community] and [clubhouse auspice agency], or [the clubhouse], is that you don't hafta back away and run away. You don't have to. And that you don't, that it's not the cave man days, you don't have ta lock yourself up. And its not, its just totally misunderstanding and fear that people don't know what mental illness is... It's made a big difference to me that we have won. I didn't realize how important it was. I even mailed little news printings about [the opposing community] not letting us in... I mailed it to my mother and I mailed it to uh, oh I gave one to my son ta look at. I said this is really important to me, read it. And I really took a personal opinion of myself about it. I really did... [If something like this happened to the clubhouse again] I'd probably speak up then. I probably would. Because I don't feel, I'm not as afraid of myself as I used to be. It has ta do with my doctor too, going to her. But I'm not as afraid. I was terrified of myself. I wanted, my belief in god, kept me from killing myself. Because I thought I'd be in hell forever, an eternity. And if this is bad, then it's really gonna be bad cuz your never gonna get out. And, I was very suicidal, but that's why I was catatonic. I just sat there stationary. I was so afraid. I was afraid of who I was.*

This anomalous case brings to light implications that being quite actively involved in the NIMBY case through the clubhouse over the span of the case in certain ways can be a critical element in personal development a person reaching later stages of recovery and empowerment.

The experience of these clubhouse involved members, aside from the anomalous case, differs significantly from that of the NIMBY active members. Only one clubhouse

involved member reported feeling any negative feeling about the NIMBY response and that was in no way close to the responses of devastation reported by the NIMBY active members. Although the involvement of clubhouse involved members did not change over the span of time during the NIMBY case, they were at least exposed to hearing about NIMBY in the clubhouse; all but one of these members did not report feeling any differently about themselves or the clubhouse in the end; unlike the NIMBY active group. The one clubhouse involved member that did feel better about herself and the clubhouse in the end seems to have exhibited similar traits as the NIMBY active group and by the end of the NIMBY case. That particular member described the clubhouse as a family and talked about the change in her perceptions of self through continuous and increased clubhouse involvement over time.

## DISCUSSION

Despite the vast amount of negative stigma that exists about people with mental illness, it is possible that settings that foster empowering processes can significantly buffer it's affects on people's lives. The experience of stigma related events can have very negative effects of people with SMI and this NIMBY event had devastating effects on all of those participants who were directly exposed to the negativity and active in addressing it. While the results of this study clearly demonstrate that the NIMBY response was a stigma response that negatively affected the personal recovery of NIMBY active members, the results also reveal that these same clubhouse members who were actively involved were empowered by the end of the NIMBY case.

Members who were actively involved in the NIMBY case (NIMBY active members) were more empowered by the end of the NIMBY case than those members



who were not (clubhouse involved members). NIMBY active members were more negatively impacted by the NIMBY response early in the case than clubhouse involved members. The level of exposure to the negativity of the NIMBY response and member's relationship with the clubhouse may explain some of the reasons why the NIMBY active members were so negatively impacted in the beginning.

Although NIMBY active members were devastated in the early stages of the NIMBY response, over time and through active engagement in the NIMBY case within the clubhouse, these members described feelings of empowerment in the end. The clubhouse acted as an empowered and empowering organization throughout the NIMBY case and this appears to have played a large role in the member's experiences of the NIMBY case overall.

#### The Impact of NIMBY on Members in Recovery in the Beginning

All of the NIMBY active members were devastated at the outset of the NIMBY response. They all described feeling personally degraded. Clubhouse involved members, on the other hand, did not experience the same devastation. It was once thought that self stigma was an automatic response to being a part of a stigmatized group (Allport, 1954/1979; Erikson, 1956; Jones et al., 1984), but it was later found that self-stigma occurs only when a person agrees with and internalizes the stereotypes associated with the stigmatized group (Crocker & Major, 1989). Moreover, Corrigan (2005) found that both the degree to which a person agrees with the stereotypes of the group and a high level of identification with a stigmatized group play a huge role in whether a person is affected by a stigma related event. It might be that clubhouse involved members were not

as affected by the NIMBY response because they did not identify with the clubhouse as much as the NIMBY active members and so did not internalize the negativity associated with the NIMBY response.

Interestingly, the NIMBY active members were more personally connected with the clubhouse than clubhouse involved members. While all of the study participants were actively involved in the clubhouse, the two groups differed in their personal connections with the clubhouse and the amount of time they spent at the clubhouse each week. These members were not chosen based on these characteristics yet were revealed upon within-case analysis. Given that they were not as impacted by the NIMBY response as the NIMBY active members, it is interesting to find that this group of members was less personally connected to the clubhouse and spent less time there. In contrast to the clubhouse involved members, NIMBY active members reported that they received a sense of family from the clubhouse and that the clubhouse provided them with the opportunity to have very personal meaningful roles. NIMBY active members were likely devastated by the NIMBY response because they identify more personally with the clubhouse at which it was targeted.

Another possible reason why the clubhouse involved members were not as negatively impacted by the NIMBY response might have been that they were not directly exposed to the NIMBY response, but the active members were. The finding that all of the clubhouse involved members were aware of the NIMBY response in the beginning, yet had no devastatingly negative reaction to it, might also be explained by the findings of Crocker and Major (1989). They found that awareness of stigma does not mean that a person will internalize the stigma and automatically feel negatively about themselves. In

fact, Corrigan (2005) points out from the empowerment literature that there are some “persons with psychiatric disability who, despite this disability, have positive self-esteem and are not significantly encumbered by the stigmatizing community” (p. 27). Corrigan (2005) also points out that “those who do not identify with [the stigmatized] group will be indifferent to stigma”. Additionally, some studies have found that people who strongly identify with the stigmatized group will react with righteous anger (Corrigan et al., 1999, Chamberlain, Ellison, & Crean, 1997).

NIMBY active members may have identified more with the clubhouse and so had more personal connections with the clubhouse. Since they identified more with the clubhouse, or stigmatized group, the NIMBY active members were more impacted by the NIMBY response and became active once they became aware of their ability to fight it. For those who did not become actively involved, it could be that the level of threat to their sense of self was different since they did not have the same level of investment in the clubhouse. It is therefore not surprising the clubhouse involvement of those members who were not actively involved in NIMBY underwent little to no change. Although, these members were not necessarily more empowered in the end, they did express some thoughts and feelings about the NIMBY response similar to the NIMBY active members. They also often expressed some indifference to the NIMBY response in that they often referred to NIMBY as “just stigma”.

#### **The Impact of the NIMBY Case on Member’s Recovery in the End**

Despite the devastating impact that the NIMBY response had on the NIMBY active members, these members reported feelings associated with empowerment by the

end of the NIMBY case. This was also not the experiences of the clubhouse involved members, with the exception of the one anomalous case. There was one clubhouse involved member who increased his involvement in the clubhouse over time and was empowered in the end, and that member's experience may shed some light on the possible reasons why these clubhouse involved members did not have similar experiences to the NIMBY active group. This anomalous case may also provide more support for the clubhouse acting as an empowering setting.

By the time the NIMBY response had nearly been resolved legally, actively involved members reported feeling better about themselves and the clubhouse and described feelings that are consistent with Psychological Empowerment (PE). It is clear from their stories that experiences both in and outside of the clubhouse, where members were more personally active, helped facilitate a sense of empowerment in the end. More specifically, members discussed feeling stronger because they were better able to deal with having a mental illness and felt that it was important that they take a stand for their rights in the future. From an empowerment perspective, by the end of the NIMBY case, members had developed an awareness of the factors that influence achieving their goals, believed that their goals could be achieved, and became motivated to take control and act against any displays of discrimination in the future.

It appears that NIMBY active members gained confidence through their experiences with the NIMBY case and transformed some of their feelings about themselves and their illnesses to be more positive. They also gained much information about their socio-cultural environment throughout their involvement in the NIMBY case. This shift in their thinking about themselves and their capabilities, along with new

knowledge about the social system in which they live, seem to have assisted in them further developing a desire to fight discrimination and advocate for themselves in the future. Through their active involvement with an empowered and empowering setting that won a lawsuit against discrimination, members learned from their clubhouse how to advocate for their rights, mobilize resources, and overcome injustice.

#### *The Anomalous Clubhouse Involved Member*

The one clubhouse involved member who increased his involvement in the clubhouse over time, and who became more empowered in the end, highlights the significance of identification with a stigmatized group. This member discussed that he identified with the stigmatized group and, in the beginning of the NIMBY response, was not surprised by the NIMBY response. In fact, he agreed with the members of the protesting community. He was often ashamed of his membership in the clubhouse because it was affiliated with people with SMI. He did not want to further shame himself or his family because of his diagnosis. Through participation in the clubhouse over time (i.e. informal discussions, formal discussions, gaining information), he began to understand more about himself and the origins of the NIMBY response. In the end, he was eager to become further involved in anti-stigma efforts and to tell his personal story of discovering the truth about the stigma against people with SMI. From close examination of this specific case, it appears that the clubhouse played a key role in supporting the personal discovery process and empowerment of this particular member over the span of the NIMBY response.

#### How the Clubhouse Assisted Members throughout the NIMBY Case

Active participation in the NIMBY response was critical to the empowered experiences of NIMBY active members by the end of the NIMBY case. Active involvement could not have been possible had the clubhouse not reacted to the event in a manner that reflected their beliefs and values. Members' reports of the environment and processes of this clubhouse are indicative of an empowered and empowering context. By effectively mobilizing resources, encouraging participation of members, providing necessary supports, and providing resources and information, this clubhouse was successful at meeting its goals as a clubhouse. Additionally, the reinforcement of clubhouse beliefs and values through an alternative community narrative was helpful in creating empowered members.

This study identified various aspects about the clubhouse that made it an empowered and empowering organization. One way that this clubhouse exemplified its status as an empowered organization is that upon realization that action was necessary against the NIMBY response; it mobilized existing resources and took legal action against it. They worked with their auspice agency and legal representation to manage the situation as well as possible. The ability of this clubhouse to respond so comprehensively to the NIMBY response, and be successful in its aims, provides some evidence of its status as an empowered organization.

#### *The Clubhouse as an Empowering Organization*

According to the findings of this study, in addition to being an empowered organization, it appears that this clubhouse is also an empowering organization. Participants describe their clubhouse in ways that demonstrate its ability to function as an empowering organization. Part of the context that facilitated empowerment among

members was the empowering processes of the clubhouse in which members participated. NIMBY active members reported various experiences in the clubhouse that contributed to these points. These included: 1) making active participation against the NIMBY response possible for members, 2) providing members with a needed sense of support, 3) providing information and resources to members, and 4) creating an alternative community narrative in response to NIMBY that kept them focusing on positives.

#### *Made Active Participation Possible*

Making active participation against the NIMBY response possible for the members of the clubhouse was done by creating a sense of personal responsibility within the membership to fight the stigma. It was also made possible through the creation of opportunities for members to act as they felt necessary. The clubhouse created a sense of personal responsibility among the membership by reminding members that the lawsuit was being fought on their behalf. Opportunities were created for members to act as leaders by the clubhouse welcoming the media and inviting the media to talk with members about the reality of clubhouses. The combination of placing personal responsibility on the membership to fight the stigma, and then giving them opportunities to educate the public on the truth about clubhouses and people with SMI, led members to participate and become engaged.

The findings indicate that these members became more empowered through engagement and active participation in the NIMBY is consistent with the literature that discusses the role of active participation in the empowerment process. Itzhaky and York (2002) found that citizen participation leads to increases in self esteem, mastery, and an increased sense of control. Zimmerman and Rappaport (1988) found, in their studies with

students and community residents of the relationship between empowerment and participation, that “more involved participants reported a greater sense of political efficacy, competence and mastery, a greater desire for control, more civic duty, and a general belief that their success is a result of internal rather than external factors” than those who participated less (p. 746). These studies certainly resonate with the findings of the study conducted here in that those members of the clubhouse who actively participated in anti-stigma activities reported gaining strength and a sense of personal control over their lives.

Active participation has also been found to be related to collective efficacy (Chavis et al, 1987). Collective efficacy is the belief that people can work together and intervene to maintain social control (Wandersman & Florin, 2000). Collective efficacy was clearly at play in the experiences of the NIMBY active members. They discussed the importance of feeling support both in and outside of the clubhouse. Knowing that other organizations and people who do not have mental illnesses were behind their efforts to contest the NIMBY response brought a sense of power and capability to the members. The support and the determination of the clubhouse and other organizations to fight the discrimination they were experiencing were critical in the process of empowerment that NIMBY active members achieved.

#### *Provided Members with Support*

The clubhouse provided members with a lot of needed support. They did this by inviting supporting agencies to assist them in their fight against the NIMBY response and by continually discussing their support. They received the support of their auspice agency, other clubhouses, the ICCD, CMH, legal representation, and the U.S.



Government. The clubhouse continued to discuss the involvement of all the various supporters as the information became available; such as letters of support or public comments being made. Support was also experienced on an individual level where members were able to speak to each other about their thoughts and feelings as needed. Much of the confidence of the NIMBY active members came from realizing that they were not alone; that they were working with multiple supportive individuals and organizations at varying levels.

#### *Provided Information and Resources*

The clubhouse continually provided information and resources to the membership through weekly meetings and informal conversations. As new information about the NIMBY response was gained it was quickly shared with the entire membership (e.g., newspaper articles, meeting updates). Although the weekly meetings were a venue where information could be shared, they also provided a place for members and staff to voice opinions about updates and new information. These meetings provided a place where questions could be asked, concerns could be expressed, decisions would be made, and action on the part of both the members and the staff could be taken. All decisions within the clubhouse were made at the weekly meetings with the input of the membership and staff. Informal conversations among staff and members were going on at any point in time. The informal conversations were reported as ways that members could gain deeper understandings of what was happening and learn more about themselves and each other.

#### *Created an Alternative Community Narrative*

The clubhouse also created an alternative community narrative about the NIMBY experience that kept the members and staff focusing on the positives. Across the

members who were actively involved in NIMBY, themes were identified that clearly demonstrated a common narrative. Alternative community narratives are stories that attach meaning to life events and they often are in opposition to more dominant stigmatizing narratives (Rappaport, 2002). This narrative seemed to be their guiding light, a driving voice for how they each made sense of the NIMBY response. The narrative entailed the themes: 1) taking the high road, 2) they're wrong, we're right, 3) we can have a wonderful impact on them, and 4) we can continue to make changes. The creation and acceptance of a positive alternative narrative in the clubhouse helped NIMBY active members to understand NIMBY through a personally affirming lens. In this situation, the use of an alternative narrative to combat the more dominant and stigmatizing narratives coming through the media and public arenas was extremely helpful in assisting the NIMBY active members in making sense of the NIMBY response.

The alternative narrative assisted members in creating positive views of themselves. This helped to remind members that they are good people, and that the protesting that took place against them was wrong. As the members gained more positive views of themselves over time they were less encumbered by the stigmatizing NIMBY response and instead more empowered. The internalization of the alternative narrative as a group was critical in providing them with a stronger voice because it was accepted and used by all. This finding supports the work of Sampson & Raudenbush (1999) who found that alternative narratives contribute to "the linkage of cohesion and mutual trust with shared expectations for intervening in support of neighborhood social control" (pp. 612-613).

Through the voices of these NIMBY active members it is easy to recognize that this clubhouse is a case example of an empowered and empowering organization. Clubhouses can be empowering organizations and can be effective when they adhere to their values and beliefs and utilize their resources. By the clubhouse acting as an empowering context, as well as an empowered organization, this produced a very positive and winning feeling over the span of the NIMBY case that contributed to the end result of empowerment experienced by some members. These findings also support Wandersman and Florin's (2000) statement that organizational characteristics, structure and effectiveness can influence the nature of citizen participation. Without the supportive and empowering environment of this clubhouse, active participation in response to this NIMBY case may not have occurred and empowerment, as a result, might have been unlikely. This also supports the findings of McMillan and colleagues (1995) who state that there is a strong relationship between psychological empowerment and the perception of oneself as part of an inclusive and focused group effort with which one identifies and to which one commits.

#### **The Importance of Closely Examining NIMBY Protests against Clubhouses**

NIMBY against human service facilities is an act of discrimination, and NIMBY against clubhouses is individual and personalized discrimination. It is reasonable that people will exercise their democratic rights in order to protest things they do not want in their neighborhoods, but protesting a clubhouse is not like protesting a garbage dump or an airport. Garbage dumps and airports are not affiliated with any social groups or individual people. Clubhouses, on the other hand, involve members who have mental illness that help to create the clubhouse, and are lifetime owners of their clubhouse. The

findings of this study stress the importance of closely examining NIMBY responses that are created to protest clubhouses and other consumer oriented settings, and the importance of understanding the supports necessary to assist their members through them when they occur.

As the findings of this study show, clubhouses, for their own membership, are more than just service facilities. This particular clubhouse was identified by members as a place where members are provided with many opportunities to have friends, to learn new things, and to have meaningful roles. Members have many opportunities to be social in the clubhouse and to have friends, but just having a space to be with others who are also living with mental illnesses is an important aspect of what members feel they get from being involved in the clubhouse; in and of itself. There are not many places in society where people with SMI's are welcomed and encouraged to hang out together, and there are few places especially designed to focus on their strengths and abilities. Clubhouses are places where members can be assisted in meeting their personal goals and are very special places for some members.

This clubhouse was identified by many of the members in this study as a place where members can feel a sense of family and safety. This is crucial given that the members of a clubhouse, and all people with mental illnesses, to some extent, all have to deal with feeling stigmatized and ostracized for their clinical diagnoses (Corrigan, 2005). They have a clear understanding that they are not accepted by others, and this comes from their experiences with community members, friends, family, and maybe even themselves. Some are keenly aware of the socio-cultural history connected to them and have come to expect nothing less than to be viewed in a negative light. It is for these

reasons that clubhouses are intended to play such a supportive and encouraging role in the lives of their members; in an effort to combat all the negativity that exists everywhere in the world.

Clubhouses are composed of the interests and characteristics of the individuals who make up its membership. Members feel a strong personal connection. It is for this reason, and the reasons listed above, that protesting a clubhouse is an act of protest against individuals living with mental illness and is a highly discriminatory act. This is precisely why clubhouses and other supporting agencies need to be aware of the potentially negative impact such issues can have on their members. This case study can be a good example of how clubhouses can support their members through such situations in the future.

This NIMBY case was handled well by the clubhouse and its supporters. Not only did they win the lawsuit they held against the city, it turned out to be an empowering experience for members who engaged in active participation in the end. Needless to say, although the experiences that these members underwent helped to built strength among some of these members, there are better ways of doing this and it would have been better if it had never happened. It is hoped (by both the investigator and the members of the participating clubhouse) that the stories of these members will be studied in order to assist other clubhouses and human service facilities through such turmoil if and when they are faced with such adversity.

#### Limitations

The findings of this study are not generalizable to all clubhouses or all people with mental illnesses and these findings cannot be generalized for the participating

members in all contexts. These same people might have had a very different experience being active in another context that did provide the support and alternative narrative necessary to find that involvement empowering. Generalizability to other settings was not the goal of this qualitative study. However, the goal of some qualitative research is to identify potentially generalizable constructs, and in this study, we were able to identify important relationships authentic to this setting. The application of the applicability of these findings to other settings and circumstances is an important next step.

Although we found that this was an empowering experience for all members actively involved in the NIMBY response, this should also not be generalized to all possible members. The active participation of these members in the NIMBY response turned out to be a positive thing for these individual members, but it is not implied that all members of clubhouses, or all people with mental illness, should engage in such activities in order to be empowered. Although this was an empowering experience for these actively involved members, we do not know any details about their stage of recovery at the time that the NIMBY response happened and therefore cannot make generalizations about the need for people with SMI to become actively involved. Not everyone would be able to move through devastation to empowerment such as these members did. We also do not know how the timing of when the interviews were conducted may have impacted members' responses. Although feelings of empowerment were expressed by NIMBY active members in the end, we cannot be sure of how much winning the court case might have influenced members' responses and feelings.

The findings of the clubhouse involved group provide a good comparison to the active group because their experiences were very different from the active members.

Although the stories of these members do not fully represent the experiences of everyone in the clubhouse, the experiences of these members helped to authenticate that the active involvement in the NIMBY response was key in the process of empowerment. It is important to note that we did not reach saturation for this group. We do not know why some individuals chose to participate in the study and others did not. We also do not know if any members not actively involved in the NIMBY response left the clubhouse or decreased their involvement as a result of the NIMBY response.

It is clear, without a doubt, that the clubhouse played an important role in these members' lives. This particular clubhouse was an empowered and empowering setting that handled the NIMBY response effectively, both for the clubhouse and the members. The impact of this NIMBY response could have been far more devastating if the clubhouse had not been able to handle it so well and if they had not won the lawsuit in the end.

#### Implications for Settings and Future Research

NIMBY responses will not simply go away just because they have the potential to be discriminatory, and peoples attitudes and beliefs about certain groups of people will not likely change over night. Due to the nature of our society, human service agencies of all sorts have the potential of experiencing a NIMBY response. The fact of the matter is that many human services serve unappreciated populations (Dear & Gleeson, 1991; Dear & Taylor, 1982; Gale, Ns, & Rosenblood, 1988; Kastner, L. A, Reppucci, N. D. & Pezzoli, 1979; Klein, 1968; Page 1989; Piat, 2000; National Coalition for the Homeless, 1987; National Campaign to End Hunger and Homelessness in America, 1988; Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, Program on Chronic Mental Illness, 1990; Solomon & Davis,

1984). It is for this reason that human service agencies should anticipate the possibility that their consumers may need safe spaces that can help them to deal with stigma related experiences; in addition to providing needed services. This study suggests that settings can provide opportunities for meaningful involvement, support, and positive alternatives to more dominant negative socio-cultural predispositions. The findings of this study can be used by some organizations, such as clubhouses, to improve their capacity to turn stigmatizing events into empowering experiences.

First, for people who experience mental illness, recovery can be highly affected by stigmatizing acts and beliefs. These findings support the existing literature and make clearer the fact that stigma related experiences prove to be detrimental to the process of recovery experienced by people with mental illness. This finding is consistent with the more current efforts being made to eliminate the negative stigma and to de-criminalize mental illness. Although attempts are being made to decrease the stigma of mental illness, it will most definitely take some time for that to happen. Until then, it is important that services that work with people with mental illness, like clubhouses, have the supports in place to deal with such issues in the lives of their members.

Second, empowering contexts need to be developed in order to foster a sense of empowerment among people with mental illness. Empowerment will ultimately lead to a positive sense of self, a clear understanding of the potential effects of stigma on their recovery, and the ability to advocate effectively for themselves and each other through participation in the world around them. Given the benefits of empowerment for people with mental illness (or any underappreciated group for that matter) and the inability of the natural environment of our society to foster it, empowering contexts need to be



developed. The NIMBY active members that participated in this study have explained individually how the clubhouse has fostered a sense of empowerment in them. It is through their stories that we have been able to identify key elements of empowering contexts and it is up to future research efforts, interventions, and service centers to move forward and create such safe spaces.

Third, the empowering context that was fostered by the participating clubhouse facilitated a level of awareness, strength, and understanding on the part of the members consistent with the literature on empowerment. The way that this clubhouse functioned was in accordance with the Fountain House Model standards and philosophies inherent in certified clubhouses. Those standards were brought to life through the stories of these members and proved to meet their goals of producing a context conducive to empowerment, competency, and recovery. This finding has implications for the certification and fidelity requirements of existing clubhouses because not all clubhouses are required to function in such similar ways.

Fourth, creating alternative narratives that create positive life stories for people with mental illness are helpful in facilitating recovery. The more dominant beliefs and attitudes that exist in society are often negative and potentially detrimental to the recovery of people with mental illness. It is therefore important that settings create more positive and affirming alternative narratives so that people can continue on their path of recovery. In an ideal world, replacing the more dominant cultural narratives that currently exist about people with mental illness with the elements of the alternative community narratives that are being created would be a more all encompassing way of creating more positive life stories for people with mental illnesses.

These findings were not expected to be generalizable to all settings but it is clear from the stories of these members that in moving from devastation to empowerment, certain processes, narratives, and clubhouse supports were crucial. It may well be true that in the absence of these processes, these members may have stayed at devastation. The fact of the matter is that clubhouses vary in their ability to provide these elements, and it is important that we identify what key elements are necessary to have in an effective context that hopes to promote empowerment, competency and recovery from mental illness. This study has been able to further identify some of those key points. Although human services often function in their own individualized ways, it is possible that all human service agencies may learn something from the ways in which this clubhouse context successfully buffered the negative effects of this NIMBY response on their members. Future research should work to identify prevention interventions for people with mental illness that build understanding of themselves and their illness, focus on their strengths, build capacities, and create opportunities for active participation in one's community that will lead to decreased stigmatizing attitudes imbedded in local communities and society as a whole.

This NIMBY response was started over a clubhouse that needed to move and wanted to be in a more convenient location, closer to member's neighborhoods and locations. Although it is common knowledge that the members have a right to fulfill these needs, policy change was needed to make it possible. Now the challenge for these members comes in building relationships with the local neighbors in the community. This is key if there can be any hope of altering the negative dominant cultural narratives about people with mental illness (Corrigan, 2005). Until the day comes where all people are

comfortably and successfully integrated into a society that can accept them, creating contexts that can build strength, foster understanding, and facilitate leadership will be central to the movement towards equality and the survival of many.

## APPENDIX A

### Interview Protocol: Members

You are being asked to participate in this study because you were an active member of the Clubhouse when the NIMBY response occurred against the relocation of the clubhouse last year. I am very interested in hearing about your perspective and experiences as a member of a clubhouse that has experienced this type of community response. I have some questions planned; however I'd like them to serve as more of a guide. I hope that you will feel free to discuss any way that this NIMBY issue has affected you and your role as a member of this clubhouse. My goal is to obtain a complete picture of your experience.

Do you have any questions before we begin?

#### INTERVIEW QUESTIONS:

##### I. Demographics

*First I would like to ask you some simple demographic questions about yourself:*

1. What year were you born? \_\_\_\_\_

2. What racial/ethnic background do you most closely identify with?

\_\_\_\_\_ Black/African American

\_\_\_\_\_ African

\_\_\_\_\_ Asian/Pacific Islander

\_\_\_\_\_ White/Caucasian

\_\_\_\_\_ Native American/Aleut

\_\_\_\_\_ Hispanic

\_\_\_\_\_ Latino/a

\_\_\_\_\_ Middle Eastern

\_\_\_\_\_ Indian

\_\_\_\_\_ South American

\_\_\_\_\_ Other (what is it?) \_\_\_\_\_

3. Do you belong to any organized religion?

\_\_\_\_\_ No

\_\_\_\_\_ Catholic

\_\_\_\_\_ Christian

\_\_\_\_\_ Islamic/Muslim

\_\_\_\_\_ Jewish

\_\_\_\_\_ Protestant

\_\_\_\_\_ Other (what is it?) \_\_\_\_\_

## **INTERVIEW QUESTIONS:**

### **I. Demographics (Cont'd)**

4. What is the last grade you completed in school?

☐ Did not complete high school Demographics

☐ High school graduate/GED

☐ Some college or trade school after high school (describe)

☐ Associates degree

☐ Bachelors degree

☐ Masters, or Post-graduate degree

5. Are you currently in school?

☐ No

☐ Yes, part-time student

☐ Yes, full-time student

6. What is your current marital status?

☐ never married

☐ currently married

☐ separated

☐ divorced

☐ widowed

7. What is your current employment situation?

☐ not employed

☐ supported employment or job training

☐ part-time job (less than 30 hrs/wk)

☐ full-time job (30 hours/wk or more)

☐ retired

8. Do you receive disability benefits (SSI, SSDI, VA disability benefits, etc.)?

☐ no

☐ yes

9. How are your mental health services paid for?

☐ private insurance

☐ Medicaid/Medicare

☐ Free (through CMH or community health clinic, etc.)

☐ Out-of-pocket

☐ None received

☐ Other: (what is it?)

**INTERVIEW QUESTIONS:****I. Demographics (Cont'd)**

10. What is your current living situation?

- ☐ my own house or apartment (can be w/roommate)
- ☐ live with my parents
- ☐ supported apartment
- ☐ group home
- ☐ Other: (what is it?) \_\_\_\_\_

11. What is your primary diagnosis, if known?

- ☐ Schizophrenia (including paranoid schizophrenia)
- ☐ Schizo-Affective Disorder
- ☐ Major Depression
- ☐ Bipolar Disorder
- ☐ Obsessive Compulsive Disorder
- ☐ Personality Disorder
- ☐ Anxiety/Panic Disorder
- ☐ Other: (what is it?) \_\_\_\_\_

12. How many times have you been hospitalized for psychiatric reasons in your lifetime?

☐ times

13. What was your approximate age of your first admission to a hospital for psychiatric reasons? \_\_\_\_\_ years old

**II. Clubhouse Involvement (Present time)**

14. How long have you been a member of clubhouse? \_\_\_\_\_

15. How often do you come to the clubhouse?

- ☐ every day
- ☐ few times a week
- ☐ once a week
- ☐ less than once a week
- ☐ other (describe) \_\_\_\_\_

16. What are you involved in at the clubhouse?

- ☐ Team activities
- ☐ Social activities
- ☐ finding a job
- ☐ Attending seminars
- ☐ Attending Board Meetings
- ☐ Reporting to the clubhouse about my job position

**INTERVIEW QUESTIONS:**

**II. Clubhouse Involvement (Present Time Cont'd)**

17. What do you feel responsible for as a member of this clubhouse? What is your role?

**III. Clubhouse Involvement (before NIMBY)**

*I am interested in how you became involved in the clubhouse and what that involvement has been like for you. Can you tell me the story of your involvement in the clubhouse?*

18. Tell me how you first became involved in the clubhouse?

P1. How long ago was that?

P2. Why did you decide to come?

P3. What made you keep coming?

19. How has the clubhouse helped you?

P1. What do you like most about coming here?

P2. Do you feel that the clubhouse has assisted you in your recovery? How?

20. Are there things that have been difficult about being a member of the clubhouse? What?

P1. What do you feel that you have contributed to the clubhouse?

21. Since you've been a member of the clubhouse, have you ever had a reason to stop coming to the clubhouse?

P1. Why? (work, school, medical, other)

22. Before the attempt to move to [the new city], how did you feel about being a member of the clubhouse?

P1. What do you like about being a member?

**IV. NIMBY Response (Impact on recovery during NIMBY)**

*I would like to ask you some questions about the first time that community members protested the relocation of the clubhouse into the [new city] location.*

23. Were you at the planning commission meeting on March 9<sup>th</sup> of last year that was held at the [new street] Location in [the new city] where the protests against the relocation of the clubhouse occurred?

**INTERVIEW QUESTIONS:**

**IV. NIMBY Response (Impact on recovery during NIMBY Cont'd)**

**YES:**

Y24. Can you tell me about that meeting- what happened and what is was like for you to be there.

P1. Can you tell me what happened at this meeting?

P2. What was your initial reaction?

P3. What were you **feeling** at that time?

P4. What did you **do** at that meeting? (make public comments, respond to neighbors)

P5. How did you feel after you left?

Y25. Since then, how have you been involved in responding to the negative response from the community?

**NO:**

N24. Can you tell me about when you first heard about the protests by the people in [the new city]?

P1. What was the first you heard about it?

P2. How did you hear about it?

P3. Did you get a sense of what actually happened at the meeting from your source? (newspaper, friend)

P4. What was your initial reaction?

P5. What were you feeling at that time?

P6. What did you **do** after you heard about it? (make public comments, respond to neighbors)

N25. Since then, How have you been involved in responding to the negative response from the community?

**V. NIMBY Response (Impact on recovery presently)**

*The negative stigma response from [the new city] has been going on for almost a year now, and has now taken a more quite and legal route. I would now like to ask you some questions about how this community response has impacted you:*

26. Can you tell me about how the negative community response has impacted you over the last 8 months?

P1. How has it made you feel?

P2. What, if anything, have you done in response?

**IF RECOVERY MENTIONED:**

P3. How has it impacted your recovery?

27. How has it impacted your feelings about the clubhouse?

28. How has it impacted your involvement with the clubhouse?



**INTERVIEW QUESTIONS:****VI. NIMBY Response (Impact on the clubhouse)**

29. How has this negative community response affected the clubhouse in general?

P1. How have members reacted to the community response?

P2. How has the staff reacted to the community response?

P3. Have there been any changes made in the function of the clubhouse?

P4. What, if any, changes have you noticed?

## APPENDIX B

### Interview Protocol: Staff

Thank you for taking the time to meet with me. I am interested in interviewing you because of your involvement in the Clubhouse during the time that it experienced the NIMBY community response. As \_\_\_\_\_, you have played a very central role in this NIMBY response. In order for me to fully understand the impact of NIMBY on the clubhouse and the members, it is critical that I understand certain aspects of the NIMBY process from your perspective. I am mainly interested in knowing how the clubhouse has dealt with the NIMBY response and what you have observed happening with the members over that time. I am specifically interested in how members were affected by the NIMBY response.

Do you have any questions before we begin?

*First, I would like to know some things about you and your relationship with the clubhouse:*

1. How long have you worked at the clubhouse?
2. What is your role with the clubhouse?
  - P1. What do members come to you for?
  - P2. Do you work closely with members? All, or some? If so, how?

*Now, I would like to know **how the NIMBY response unfolded for the clubhouse, starting from the beginning. I am particularly interested in how the NIMBY response affected the members:***

3. Can you tell me the story of how NIMBY impacted the clubhouse, beginning from the moment you planned to invite the community to the first planning meeting?

#### IF Expectations mentioned:

- P1. Did you expect that the residents would respond in this way?
- P2. If so, what was done in preparation?
- P3. How were actions decided upon?
- P4. How did you think the announcement of NIMBY at the club would affect members?

#### IF publicity mentioned:

- P1. How did the club decide how to deal with newspapers and t.v.?
- P2. How did members become involved in the press?
- P3. How do you think members felt about the press being in/around the club?

#### IF a plan/strategy Mentioned:

- P1. How did implementing the strategy/plan play out?

P2. Did you ask members to conduct themselves in certain ways? If so, how?

IF member reactions/changes mentioned:

P1. How did members/staff respond to news of NIMBY?

P2. How did the club deal with concerns of the members?

P3. Why do you think you noticed differences in members?

P4. Why do you think you saw changes in members' participation in the club?

IF member participation mentioned:

P1. How did members participate in the NIMBY issue?

P2. Did you create any opportunities for them to be more involved?

IF the Board is mentioned:

P1. What happens at the board meetings?

P2. How many members are on the board?

P3. What are members involved in on the board?

P4. Were there changes in the members on the board when NIMBY began?

P5. Did you see changes in board members over time? If so, what?

*Now that the case has been won and you're mainly working out the moving details, I'd like to know how you think NIMBY has impacted the members:*

4. What do you think that NIMBY has meant for members over the last year?

P1. How did this community response affect the members personally?

P2. How did it affect their involvement in the club?

P3. How did it affect their personal recovery?

P4. What did the club do to help them deal with it?

P5. Were you worried about it? Why?

P6. Did you have a specific strategy? What?

P7. What if anything did other people or organizations do to help them?

5. Do you think that NIMBY would have impacted members differently had the case not been won?

P1. How might they be different?

## APPENDIX C

### Recruitment Letter to NIMBY active members

Dear [Insert name of clubhouse member]:

Tiffeny Jimenez from Michigan State University (MSU) is working with XXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXX Clubhouse (XXX) to gain a deeper understanding of how the negative community response to our relocation (sometimes called NIMBY or “Not in My Backyard”) has affected the members of our clubhouse. Tiffeny would like to interview members who have been publicly involved in the NIMBY response against [the clubhouse] and highly involved in the clubhouse. She is very interested in hearing your views and experiences.

This study will increase our understanding of the impact that NIMBY can have on members of clubhouses and how clubhouses can help members to deal with this negative public response. By participating you will be contributing to this understanding. Participation will include taking part in a confidential, 90 minute interview that will be audio-taped. You will be paid \$15 for your participation.

If you would like to participate in this study, or would like to learn more about it, please contact Tiffeny Jimenez in the way that is most convenient for you. You can fill out the attached form and return it in the enclosed envelope. You can also contact Tiffeny by phone, (###-###-####) or email ([XXXXXXXXX@msu.edu](mailto:XXXXXXXXX@msu.edu)).

Your participation in this research is voluntary. The staff and other members of [the clubhouse] will not know whether or not you chose to participate.

Sincerely,

XXXXXX XXXX, Director  
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX Clubhouse  
##### XXX XXXX blvd.,  
XXX XXXX, MI #####-####  
###-###-####

## CONSENT TO CONTACT FORM

\_\_\_\_\_ I am interested in hearing more about this study. Please call me to discuss an appointment at the following number:

My Name (PLEASE PRINT): \_\_\_\_\_

My Phone Number: \_\_\_\_\_

Best times to reach me: \_\_\_\_\_

### SEND RESPONSE TO:

Tiffany R. Jimenez  
Michigan State University  
Psychology Building, Rm. ###  
East Lansing, MI 48824  
XXXXXXXXXX@msu.edu  
###-###-#### office

❖ You may also choose to call or email.

## APPENDIX D

### Recruitment Letter to Clubhouse Involved Members

Dear [Insert name of clubhouse member]:

Tiffeny Jimenez from Michigan State University (MSU) is working with XXXXXXX XXXXXXXXXXXX Clubhouse (XXX) to gain a deeper understanding of how the negative community response to our relocation (sometimes called NIMBY or “Not in My Backyard”) has affected the members of our clubhouse. Tiffeny would like to interview members who are highly involved in the clubhouse. She is very interested in hearing your views and experiences.

This study will increase our understanding of the impact that NIMBY can have on members of clubhouses and how clubhouses can help members to deal with this negative public response. By participating you will be contributing to this understanding. Participation will include taking part in a confidential, 90 minute interview that will be audio-taped. You will be paid \$15 for your participation.

If you would like to participate in this study, or would like to learn more about it, please contact Tiffeny Jimenez in the way that is most convenient for you. You can fill out the attached form and return it in the enclosed envelope. You can also contact Tiffeny by phone, (###-###-####) or email ([XXXXXXXXX@msu.edu](mailto:XXXXXXXXX@msu.edu)).

Your participation in this research is voluntary. The staff and other members of [the clubhouse] will not know whether or not you chose to participate.

Sincerely,

XXXXXX XXXX, Director  
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX Clubhouse  
##### XXX XXXX blvd.,  
XXX XXXX, MI #####-####  
###-###-####

## CONSENT TO CONTACT FORM

\_\_\_\_\_ I am interested in hearing more about this study. Please call me to discuss an appointment at the following number:

My Name (PLEASE PRINT): \_\_\_\_\_

My Phone Number: \_\_\_\_\_

Best times to reach me: \_\_\_\_\_

### SEND RESPONSE TO:

Tiffeny R. Jimenez

Michigan State University

Psychology Building, Rm. ###

East Lansing, MI 48824

XXXXXXXXX@msu.edu

~~###-###-####~~ office

❖ You may also choose to call or email.

## APPENDIX E

### Community Response to a Psychosocial Clubhouse Study Consent Form

**Purpose:** This study aims to gain a deeper understanding of your experience as a member of a clubhouse that has experienced a negative community (or NIMBY) response.

**Procedures:** If you decide to participate in this study you will be asked to participate in an interview that will last approximately 90 minutes and will be audio taped. The interview will cover demographic information, mental health history, mental health service utilization, and the impact of the NIMBY response on you and your clubhouse. At the end of the interview you will be given \$15.00 in cash for participating.

**Confidentiality:** The interview is confidential. Information obtained from you will not be shared with other clubhouse members or staff. Interview data, in the form of tapes and transcripts, will not have your name on them. They will be identified by only a numeric code. The audio tapes and transcripts will only be used by the research team. The tapes will be destroyed when the research study has ended. If findings are published, only pseudonyms or roles will be used. Your privacy will be protected to the maximum extent allowable by law.

**Withdrawal:** Participation in this study is voluntary. You have the right to discontinue participation in the study at any time. There are no penalties to you if you choose not to participate in this study or if you choose to withdraw or discontinue your participation

**Benefits:** By participating you will be contributing to our understanding of the impact that NIMBY can have on clubhouse members and how clubhouses can help members to deal with this negative public response.

**Risks:** There are no physical, legal or economic risks to participating in the study. It is possible that you might feel somewhat uncomfortable discussing your experiences. If this happens, you may stop the interview at any time. It should be pointed out that, although pseudonyms will be used, we cannot guarantee that your identity might be recognized by someone in your clubhouse. It is also possible that your identity might be recognized by others if you express a position to us for which you are publicly known.

If you have any questions about this study, please contact either the investigator (Deborah Salem, (###) ###-####, [XXXXXX@msu.edu](mailto:XXXXXX@msu.edu), or by regular mail: ###A Psychology Department, East Lansing, MI, 48824) or the co-investigator- Tiffeny Jimenez, (###) ###-####, [XXXXXXXXXX@msu.edu](mailto:XXXXXXXXXX@msu.edu), or by regular mail at: Psychology Department, East Lansing, MI 48824.

If you have questions or concerns regarding your rights as a study participant, or are dissatisfied at any time with any aspect of this study, you may contact – anonymously, if you wish –Peter Vasilenko, Ph.D., Chair of the University Committee on Research Involving



Human Subjects (UCRIHS) by phone: (517) 355-2180, fax: (517) 432-4503, e-mail: ucrihs@msu.edu, or regular mail: 202 Olds Hall, East Lansing, MI 48824.

## CONSENT

- ☐ By checking this box and signing below you are indicating that you voluntarily agree to participate in this study. You will receive a signed copy of this consent form.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Participant's Printed name

\_\_\_\_\_  
Participant's Signature

\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Investigator

\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_  
Date

- ☐ By checking this box and signing below you agree to have your interview audio taped.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Participant's Printed name

\_\_\_\_\_  
Participant's Signature

## APPENDIX F

### Community Response to a Psychosocial Clubhouse Staff Study Consent Form

**Purpose:** This study aims to gain a deeper understanding of your experience as a staff member of a clubhouse that has experienced a negative community (or NIMBY) response.

**Procedures:** If you decide to participate in this study you will be asked to participate in an interview that will last approximately 90 minutes and will be audio taped. The interview will cover demographic information, history with the clubhouse, and the impact of the NIMBY response on you and the clubhouse.

**Confidentiality:** The interview is confidential. Information obtained from you will not be shared with clubhouse members or staff. Interview data, in the form of tapes and transcripts, will not have your name on them. They will be identified by only a numeric code. The audio tapes and transcripts will only be used by the research team. The tapes will be destroyed when the research study has ended. If findings are published, only pseudonyms or roles will be used. Your privacy will be protected to the maximum extent allowable by law.

**Withdrawal:** Participation in this study is voluntary. You have the right to discontinue participation in the study at any time. There are no penalties to you if you choose not to participate in this study or if you choose to withdraw or discontinue your participation

**Benefits:** By participating you will be contributing to our understanding of the impact that NIMBY can have on clubhouse members and how clubhouses can help members to deal with this negative public response.

**Risks:** There are no physical, legal or economic risks to participating in the study. It is possible that you might feel somewhat uncomfortable discussing your experiences. If this happens, you may stop the interview at any time. It should be pointed out that, although pseudonyms will be used, we cannot guarantee that your identity might be recognized by someone in your clubhouse. It is also possible that your identity might be recognized by others if you express a position to us for which you are publicly known.

If you have any questions about this study, please contact either the investigator (Deborah Salem, (###) ###-####, [XXXXX@msu.edu](mailto:XXXXX@msu.edu), or by regular mail: ###A Psychology Department, East Lansing, MI, 48824) or the co-investigator- Tiffeny Jimenez, (###) ###-####, [XXXXXXXXX@msu.edu](mailto:XXXXXXXXX@msu.edu), or by regular mail at: Psychology Department, East Lansing, MI 48824.

If you have questions or concerns regarding your rights as a study participant, or are dissatisfied at any time with any aspect of this study, you may contact – anonymously, if you wish – Peter Vasilenko, Ph.D., If you have questions or concerns regarding your rights as a study participant, or are dissatisfied at any time with any aspect of this study, you may contact - anonymously, if you wish - Peter Vasilenko, Ph.D., Director of Human Research Protections, (517)355-2180, fax (517)432-4503, e-mail [irb@msu.edu](mailto:irb@msu.edu), mail: 202 Olds Hall, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48824-1047.

## CONSENT

- ☐ By checking this box and signing below you are indicating that you voluntarily agree to participate in this study. You will receive a signed copy of this consent form.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Participant's Printed name

\_\_\_\_\_  
Participant's Signature

\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Investigator

\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_  
Date

- ☐ By checking this box and signing below you agree to have your interview audio taped.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Participant's Printed name

\_\_\_\_\_  
Participant's Signature

## APPENDIX G

### NIMBY Active Members: Initial Open Coding of Transcripts

#### #101

Felt devastated 101-3, 101b-18  
fell out 101-6  
demeaned 101-7  
wanted to harm self 101-7  
sometimes get anxious 101-9  
had a psychiatric break 101b-7  
almost suicidal 101b-7  
bad day can cause suicide 101b-11  
now more proud to be a member 101b-16  
now more committed to the clubhouse 101b-18  
did not change feeling about self 101b-19  
truth will set you free 101b-19  
kept wanting to speak out 101b-20

#### #102

felt devastated 102-18  
held in what she wanted to say 102-18  
felt upset 102-21  
felt more confident going to court 102-22  
fighting was calming 102-22  
felt better knowing not alone 102-23  
meant a lot to see caring and nurturing in clubhouse 102-23  
being able to talk about illness feels good 102-23  
don't let it bother me now 102-26  
trying to live in the present 102-28  
felt amazed at community response 102-30

#### #103

felt angry 103-17  
felt upset and disoriented 103-17  
the lowest I'd ever been 103-17  
felt shocked and hurt 103b-10  
newspaper article lifted my spirits 103-22 & 103b-10  
not giving up helped lift the weight 103b-11  
trying to look up a lot as a member 103-22  
trying to keep feelings in on the board 103-22  
felt hopeless and lost 103-23  
went to a depressed state 103-23  
caused me to have a stomach problem 103-23  
wasn't coming here everyday 103-23  
now conscious of cruel people 103-26  
taught me to never let go of what you believe in 103-27  
you've got to wait for strength and guidance 103-27  
will continue to fight for mental health system 103-27  
you have to study a problem to figure out how to deal with it 103-27  
progress is being made 103-28

let nothing stop me from being who I am 103-29  
not going to let illness get in the way of anything 103b-12  
didn't affect feelings about self 103b-12  
seemed like things got worse in the process of the fight 103b-12  
had to take a leave of absence 103b-12  
makes me feel better not giving up 103b-17  
never give up 103b-18  
made me a better person 103b-18  
learned a lot 103b-18

#### #104

Disappointed 104-10,12, 13  
Really wanted us to fight for ourselves 104-11  
Felt hurt 104-11,12, 13  
Had to go into the hospital 104-13  
Had to get my feelings together 104-13  
Was so sad about it 104-14  
Made me feel good to be on the board 104-14  
Felt good to be in the newspaper; to let people know what's happening 104-15  
Feel stronger cuz I know we're gonna make it 104-19  
Stopped going to the club cuz thought that's not the way to go 104-19  
Now feel really proud of myself 104-20  
Felt unwelcome 104b-7  
Felt what they said about her was true about herself 104b-8, 9  
Community response made her sick 104b-9  
Stopped going to club b/c thought she caused the response 104b-9  
Feeling about club not changed in end 104b-11

#### #106

Felt insecure 106-11  
Felt maybe there's something wrong with me 106-11  
They made me feel inferior 106-11  
I know I'm not what they think 106-11  
I felt like a second class citizen 106-12  
Couldn't handle all the bad vibes 106-12  
Can only take so much stress 106-12  
Made me feel really bad 106-13  
Took pride in the club 106-17  
Now not as afraid to tell people has an illness 106-17  
Need to step up to erase stigma 106-17  
Increased time spent in clubhouse 106-18  
Have come to terms with my illness recently 106-19  
Has had no effect on recovery 106-20  
Wants to help get the community involved in the club 106-20

#### #110

Felt depressed 110-13  
Felt like going back into hospital 110-13  
Feels good now b/c won case 110-13  
Felt they ran the meetings illegally 110-14  
Winning the case gave him a boost to do other things 110-19

Overall, a positive experience 110-19

Now feels safe to walk into neighborhood 110-19

Now understands self, stigma, & discrimination better 110-22

Has not changed the way he feels about the clubhouse 110-22

Increased club involvement 110-22

## APPENDIX H

### **NIMBY active members: First Framework from thematic coding**

#### I. How the NIMBY response impacted members *Initially*

##### A.) Members had varying negative feelings

###### 1. FELT OVERWHELMINGLY BAD

Felt devastated 101-3, 101b-18 [overwhelm/overpower]  
felt devastated 102-18  
Made me feel really bad 106-13  
fell out 101-6  
wanted to harm self 101-7  
had a psychiatric break 101b-7  
almost suicidal 101b-7  
the lowest I'd ever been 103-17  
felt hopeless and lost 103-23  
went to a depressed state 103-23  
Was so sad about it 104-14

###### 2. FELT PUT DOWN

Felt demeaned 101-7 [to reduce/put down]  
Felt insecure 106-11  
Felt maybe there's something wrong with me 106-11  
They made me feel inferior 106-11  
I felt like a second class citizen 106-12  
Disappointed 104-10,12, 13 [defeated/thwarted]

###### 3. FELT UPSET

felt upset 102-21 [an unhappy and worried mental state]  
felt upset and disoriented 103-17  
Felt hurt 104-11,12, 13 [suffering/emotional anguish]  
Had to get my feelings together 104-13  
felt shocked and hurt 103b-10

##### B.) Members had varying physical changes

###### 1. PHYSICAL REACTIONS

caused me to have a stomach problem 103-23  
stopped coming to club everyday 103-23  
held in what she wanted to say 102-18  
Had to go into the hospital 104-13

##### C.) Other reactions

###### 1. MISCELLANEOUS

Couldn't handle all the bad vibes 106-12  
Really wanted us to fight for ourselves 104-11  
felt angry 103-17  
Can only take so much stress 106-12

#### II. How the NIMBY response impacted members *Over Time*

##### A.) Things members held back on:

###### 1. SPEAKING OUT

kept wanting to speak out 101b-20  
held in what she wanted to say 102-18

2. FEELINGS

trying to look up a lot as a member 103-22  
trying to keep feelings in on the board 103-22

B.) How the club involvement made things better:

1. BEING ON THE BOARD

Made me feel good to be on the board 104-14

2. SPEAKING TRUTH THROUGH MEDIA

Felt good to be in the newspaper; to let people know what's  
happening 104-15  
newspaper article lifted my spirits 103-22& 103b-10

3. BEING A PART OF SOMETHING BIGGER

felt better knowing not alone 102-23  
felt more confident going to court 102-22  
fighting was calming 102-22  
meant a lot to see caring and nurturing in clubhouse 102-23  
Increased time spent in clubhouse 106-18  
Now feel really proud of myself 104-20  
not giving up helped lift the weight 103b-11  
makes me feel better not giving up 103b-17

4. FEELINGS ABOUT CLUBHOUSE

now more proud to be a member 101b-16  
now more committed to the clubhouse 101b-18  
Took pride in the club 106-17  
Feel stronger cuz I know we're gonna make it 104-19

C.) Ramifications from NIMBY over time:

1. DISTANCING SELF FROM CLUBHOUSE

wasn't coming here everyday 103-23  
Stopped going to club cuz thought that's not the way to go 104-19  
had to take a leave of absence 103b-12

III. How the NIMBY response impacted members *In the end*

1. FEELINGS OF SELF INTACT & UNCHANGED

did not change feeling about self 101b-19  
truth will set you free 101b-19  
let nothing stop me from being who I am 103-29  
Has had no effect on recovery 106-20  
don't let it bother me now 102-26  
trying to live in the present 102-28  
didn't affect feelings about self 103b-12  
not going to let illness get in the way of anything 103b-12

2. IMPORTANT TO TAKE A STAND

Need to step up to erase stigma 106-17  
Wants to help get the community involved in the club 106-20



will continue to fight for mental health system 103-27  
taught me to never let go of what you believe in 103-27

**3. MORE ABLE TO DEAL WITH HAVING A SMI**

Now not as afraid to tell people has an illness 106-17  
Have come to terms with my illness recently 106-19  
being able to talk about illness feels good 102-23

**4. AWARE OF HOW CRUEL PEOPLE ARE**

now conscious of cruel people 103-26  
felt amazed at community response 102-30

**5. MISCELLANEOUS**

you've got to wait for strength and guidance 103-27  
you have to study a problem to figure out how to deal with it 103-27  
progress is being made 103-28  
seemed like things got worse in the process of the fight 103b-12  
never give up 103b-18  
made me a better person 103b-18  
learned a lot 103b-18

## APPENDIX I

### **NIMBY active members: Additional coding framework of members' personal relationship with the clubhouse**

#### I. What *actively involved* members feel the clubhouse does for them

##### **A.) The clubhouse is described as a supportive place of safety & acceptance**

###### **1. CLUB IS A PLACE OF SUPPORT (5/5)**

- Having a support system is crucial 103b-8

###### a. Members Receive Support (4/5)

Enjoys the support and kindness of the club members 102-11

Club as been helpful and supportive 103-3

Club provides support 104-7

People in club supportive 106-8

###### b. Members Give Support (2/5)

Feels good to help others 104-1

Feels purpose at clubhouse to help out others 103-2

###### c. Staff Believes in Members' Potential (2/5)

Director has been fighting for members since the beginning 102-22

Thinks the director is a true believer 101b-19

###### **2. CLUB IS LIKE A FAMILY (5/5)**

Club is a home away from home 102-11

Club is like a family 103-7,103b-9

Club like a second family 104-2

Feels like has a family in the club 106-6

Club is a family 101b- 15

Would defend the club because it means so much 101b-18

###### **3. CLUB IS A SAFE SPACE (2/5)**

Club is a non-threatening place to be 101-5

Club is a place to be normal and safe 102-12

Club is a personal space 101b-15

Club is a place of acceptance 101b-15

##### **B.) The clubhouse's supportive & accepting environment provides opportunities for members**

###### **1. TO BE SOCIAL (2/5)**

Club is a place of socializing and friendship 103-12

Club is a place to be with friends 104-4

###### **2. TO HAVE MEANINGFUL ROLES (2/5)**

Feels accomplished in participating in club functioning 106-8  
Feels proud to help run the club 104-4  
Contributes the library to club 106-10

3. TO LEARN (2/5)

Club a place to learn skills 106-9  
Club helps her grow each day 104-6  
Enjoys constant learning and being with members 104-1,7

C.) MISCELLANEOUS

Important to open doors for future generations 101-9

## APPENDIX J

### **NIMBY active members: Final Framework Prior to Revisions**

#### I. What *actively involved* members feel the clubhouse is for them

##### **A.) Supportive place of safety & acceptance (6/6)**

##### **1. CLUB IS A PLACE OF SUPPORT (6/6)**

##### **a. Members Receive Support (5/6)**

People in club supportive 106-18

Enjoys the support and kindness of the club members 102-11

Club as been helpful and supportive 103-3

Club provides support 104-7

Club is supportive of him 110-4

##### **b. Members Give Support (2/6)**

Appreciates the giving & receiving of support 103-3

Feels good to help others 104-1

Feels purpose at clubhouse to help out others 103-2

A place to practice leadership 104b-2

A place to feel good about self, to be there for others 104b-4

##### **c. Staff Believes in Members' Potential (3/6)**

Thinks the director is a true believer 101b-22

Director has been fighting for members since the beginning 102-22

Director of club an important person 104b-2

##### **2. CLUB IS LIKE A FAMILY (5/6)**

Club is a family 101b-15

Club is my family 101a-2

Club like a second family 104-2

Club is like a family 103b-9

Club is a home away from home 102-11

Feels like has a family in the club 106-6

##### **3. CLUB IS A SAFE SPACE (3/6)**

Club is a non-threatening place to be 101-5

Club is a personal space 101b-15

Club is a place to be normal and safe 102-12

Club is a place of acceptance 101b-15

A place of understanding and acceptance 104b-2

A place of comfort and safety 104b-3

Club keeps her from getting sick/going in to hospital 104b-3, 5

Club makes her feel safe b/c not alone 104b-4

**B.) A place that provides opportunities for members (6/6)**

**1. TO BE SOCIAL & HAVE FRIENDS (3/6)**

Club is a place to be with friends 104-4

Club is a place of socializing and friendship 103a-12

Likes being on board b/c meets people and learns about issues 110-5

**2. TO LEARN (4/6)**

Enjoys constant learning and being with members 104-1,7

Club a place to learn skills 106-9

Being part of the club has been a learning experience 103a-

A place to learn about illness 104b-2

A place to talk and learn about self 104b-4

Club helped him learn how to cope better 110-4

**3. TO HAVE MEANINGFUL ROLES (5/6)**

**a. Being a member of a well-functioning entity/organization (2/6)**

Feels accomplished in participating in club functioning 106-8

Feels proud to help run the club 104-4

**b. Having responsibilities that are more personally important (5/6)**

Contributes the library to club 106-10

Is a leader and wise woman of the club 101a-1

Responsible for taking care of computers 110-5

A role model for what's possible for others with SMI 102-14

Likes being on board b/c meets people and learns about issues 110-5

Feel important being on the board 104a-14

**II. How the NIMBY response impacted "actively involved" members *Initially***

**A.) Actively involved members had varying initial negative feelings**

**1. FELT OVERWHELMINGLY BAD (6/6 included here)**

Felt devastated 101-3, 101b-18

felt devastated 102-18

felt amazed at community response 102-30

felt upset 102-21

the lowest I'd ever been 103-17

felt angry, upset, and disoriented 103-17

felt shocked and hurt 103b-10

Was so sad about it 104-14

Felt hurt & disappointed by what residents said 104-11,12, 13

Made me feel really bad 106-13

Felt depressed 110-13

FELT PUT DOWN (4/6 included here) FELT BAD TOO  
Felt demeaned 101-7 [internally- linked to devastated]  
Disappointed 104-10, 12, 13 [internally- linked to hurt]  
Felt insecure 106-11 [internal]  
Felt maybe there's something wrong with me 106-11 [internal]  
They made me feel inferior 106-11 [external]  
I felt like a second class citizen 106-12 [external]  
Felt unwelcome 104b-7 [external]  
Felt what they said about her was true about herself 104b-8, 9

2. HAD A MENTAL HEALTH BREAKDOWN (4/6 included here)  
fell out/ had a psychiatric break 101b-7, 101-6  
wanted to harm self/ almost suicidal 101b-7, 101-7  
felt hopeless and lost/ went to a depressed state/ caused me to have  
a stomach problem 103-23 103-23  
Had to get my feelings together/ Had to go into the hospital 104-13  
Community response made her sick 104b-9  
Felt like going back into hospital 110-13

3. CHANGE IN LEVEL OF INVOLVEMENT (5/6)

a. Decreased (4/6)

Not coming everyday/ had to take a leave of absence 103b-12, 103-23  
Stopped going to club b/c thought that's not the way to go 104-19  
Avoided getting involved in NIMBY: Couldn't handle the bad vibes/ Can only take so much stress 106-12  
Stopped going to club b/c thought she caused the response 104b-9

b. Increased (3/6)

Increased time spent in clubhouse 106-18  
Increased club involvement 110-22  
Went back to club to learn more and feel better about self 104b-10

III. How the NIMBY response impacted NIMBY active members *Over Time*

A.) Members' club involvement & what made them feel better:

1. TAKING ACTION IN RESPONSE TO NIMBY (5/6)

a. Speaking out publicly 3/6

Feeling of being heard by others was important 102-22  
Felt good to speak out to others through newspaper 104-15  
Members wrote rebuttals of editorials & really educated others 106-21

b. Talking with others at clubhouse about it (3/6)

Being a part of conversations about the move at weekly club meetings 104-15,16  
Brought extra newspaper clippings to the club & discuss them 104-20  
Learned a lot from talking about it 104-23  
Keeping others focused on the good things 103b-11  
Talking with members was very helpful 110-16

c. Being at board meetings (3/6)

Gets updates on case at board meetings so feels informed 102-29  
Things got cleared up after a board meeting 103-23  
Felt good to be voted onto the board 104-14  
Being on the board made her feel needed 104-21  
On board b/c feels good to be part of it 104b-10

**2. FEELING SUPPORT OF OTHERS (5/6)**

a. Members & Staff (3/6)

Doesn't bother her b/c sees staff and lawyers taking care of everything 102-26  
Staff and members keep each other positive, like a family 101-12  
Staff been supportive of member efforts to stay on task/focused 101b-20  
Staff helped members deal with any reactions members had 101b-21  
Meant a lot to see caring and nurturing in clubhouse 102-23  
Sees concern and care for members nearing court dates 102-29  
Not giving up, seeing it in good hands, lifted the weight 103b-11,17

b. Outside People & Orgs. (4/6)

Support from outside agencies and corporations felt good 103-23, 27  
Feeling support from org outside the club helped feel better 104-19  
Seeing the support of outside agencies in newspapers helped feel better 104-20  
Felt good to feel support from others outside the club 106-14  
Reading positive newspaper articles about club was helpful 103-22, 103B-10  
Auspice agency sent case workers to talk with members 110-14

c. Everyone (orgs, club, ES, members) (2/6)

Felt more calm and relaxed knowing not alone (everyone)  
102-22,23  
Saw caring of the auspice agency, lawyers, and staff  
(everyone) 102-22  
Feels good to learn that other changes are happening with  
ADA law 110-20

3. KEEPING INFORMED ABOUT NIMBY (4/6)

Being updated on the situation helpful 101b-20  
Listened to staff & lawyers talk [about fight] felt more confident  
102-22  
Seeing progress being made was encouraging for all members 103-  
28  
Kept informed about move updates 104-14  
Board helped her to understand the community response 104b-11

4. MAINTAINING BUSINESS AS USUAL (4/6)

Kept focused on daily club functioning 101-11  
Stays busy w/daily tasks, job, health so doesn't dwell on it 102-29  
Feels better about the way the club acted like it never  
happened 103-29  
Staff remained professional throughout; kept plugging away 106-  
21

5. STAYING FOCUSED ON POSITIVES (4/6)

We took the high road (2: 101-8, 102-18)  
They're wrong and we're right (2: 101, 104)  
We can have a wonderful impact on them (2: 104-17, 106)  
Continue to make changes (3: 101, 104, 106-17)

IV. How the NIMBY response impacted members *In the end*

A.) Actively involved members feel unchanged & more positive (6/6)

1. FEELINGS OF SELF INTACT (5/6)

did not change feeling about self 101b-19  
truth will set you free 101b-19  
trying to live in the present 102-28  
didn't affect feelings about self 103b-12  
not going to let illness get in the way of anything 103b-12  
let nothing stop me from being who I am 103-29  
Has had no effect on recovery 106-20  
Has not changed the way he feels about the clubhouse 110-22

2. FEEL BETTER ABOUT THEMSELVES (4/6)

don't let it bother me now 102-26  
made me a better person 103b-18



Now feel really proud of myself 104-20  
Feels proud like she has achieved something now 104-20  
Happier now b/c knows more now 104-25  
Really wanted us to fight for ourselves 104-11  
Now feels better about self b/c can talk about illness 102-23  
Feel stronger cuz I know we're gonna make it 104-19  
Feels good now b/c won case 110-13  
Winning the case gave him a boost to do other things 110-19

**3. FEEL BETTER ABOUT CLUBHOUSE (3/6)**

now more proud to be a member 101b-16  
now more committed to the clubhouse 101b-18  
Proud of the club for not responding to the negativity 101b-19  
Proud of the club for sticking with the long fight 106-17  
Took pride in the club 106-17  
Feeling about club not changed in end 104b-11

**B.) Actively Involved members feel stronger (4/5)**

**1. MORE ABLE TO DEAL WITH HAVING A SMI (3/6)**

Now not as afraid to tell people has an illness 106-17  
Have come to terms with my illness recently 106-19  
Now feels better about self b/c can talk about illness 102-23  
Now feels safe to walk into neighborhood 110-19  
Now understands self, stigma, & discrimination better 110-22

**2. IMPORTANT TO TAKE A STAND (2/6)**

Need to step up to erase stigma 106-17  
Wants to help get the community involved in the club 106-20  
will continue to fight for mental health system 103-27  
taught me to never let go of what you believe in 103-27

## APPENDIX K

### **Clubhouse Involved Members: Open coding for members' relationship to clubhouse**

#105

Club a place to socialize 105-15

Involvement varies in the club as needed 105-15

Prefers members service work 105-15

Not attending board meetings more recently 105-16

Role is to help out clubhouse and pursue job opportunities 105-16

Club gives him a place to go to talk with others 105-16

Likes being a part of an entity that accomplishes things 105-17

Feels a personal connection to members as a group 105-17

Club helps him realize he can successfully deal with his illness 105-17

Connecting with outgoing people helps him to come out of his shell 105-18

#107

Enjoys the club b/c can be with others who have similar issues 107-4

Feels that staff are very helpful 107-4

Members turn to her for advice 107-4, 6

Does phone work when there 107-5, 6

Responsible for running SA group at the club 107-5, 7

Can bond with members through SA groups 107-7

Club helps her realize she is not alone with her illness 107-8

#108

Club provides a place to learn how to commit to something, like a job 108-

Involved in a variety of activities as needed in club 108-

Does not feel has a role in club and does not want one 108-

Does not want to get close to members or make friends 108-

Does not feel a personal connection with club 108-

Club a place to be with others who also have SMI 108-

Club helped him to get an apartment 108-

Does not feel equal to those w/o SMI in the club 108-

#109

A place to find time for herself where she's not the boss 109-10

Feel her role is to work with others to help run the clubhouse 109-10

Club teaches members how to work with others 109-10

Club is a place to learn skills 109-10

Feels role is a volunteer who gets a sense of family in return 109-10

Club is a place to have friends 109-11

Club a place to feel valuable and worth something 109-11

Club is a place to have personal space 109-11-12

Club helped her to accept self and others with SMI 109-12, 14

Club is a place of acceptance 109-15-16

#111

Part of advisory board and answers phones 111-5

Likes to type articles for the club newsletter 111-7

Likes to educate members on the importance of voting 111-7

Club is a place to have friends 111-8

Club helped him to cope with illness easier by being involved 111-9

Club has helped him become a better person 111-9

#112

Club work order day gives her many things to do 112-20:10

Likes the club staff 112-20:45

Works in the library with another member 112-20:50

Likes the social life of the club 112-21:40

## APPENDIX L

### **Clubhouse involved members: Initial framework for members' relationship with the clubhouse from thematic coding**

#### **I. What *non-actively involved* members feel the clubhouse is for them**

##### **A.) A place that provides opportunities for members (6/6)**

##### **1. TO BE SOCIAL & HAVE FRIENDS (5/6)**

###### **a. A place to be social (3/6)**

Club a place to socialize 105-15

Club gives him a place to go to talk with others 105-16

Connecting w/outgoing ppl helps him come out of his shell 105-18

Likes being a part of an entity that accomplishes things 105-17

Feels a personal connection to members as a group 105-17

Can bond with members through SA groups 107-7

Likes the social life of the club 112-21:40

###### **b. A place to have friends (2/6)**

Club is a place to have friends 111-8

Club is a place to have friends 109-11

##### **2. TO LEARN (2/6)**

Club teaches members how to work with others 109-10

Club is a place to learn skills 109-10

Club a place to learn how to practice commitment 108-42:43-44:00

##### **3. TO HAVE MEANINGFUL ROLES (6/6)**

###### **a. Being part of the work order day (6/6)**

Involved in a variety of activities as needed 108- 47:40-48:25

Involvement varies in the club as needed 105-15

Feel role is to work w/ others to help run the clubhouse 109-10

Club work order day gives her many things to do 112-20:10

Feels role is to be a volunteer that does what needs to be done 109-10

Does phone work when there (clerical) 107-5, 6

Part of advisory board and answers phones (clerical) 111-6

Likes to type articles for the club newsletter (clerical) 111-7

###### **b. Having other more personally important roles (2/6)**

Likes to educate members on the importance of voting 111-7

Responsible for running SA group at the club 107-5, 7

##### **4. TO BE WITH OTHERS LIKE THEM (3/6)**

Being w/others w/MI helps him realize he can successfully deal w/his illness 105-17

Being w/others w/MI helps her remember she's not alone w/her illness 107-8

Being w/others who have similar issues helps him feel good about himself 108- 52:30-53:50

**B.) Miscellaneous**

Club is like a big family away from the family 109-10

Club helped her to accept herself and other w/SMI 109-12

## APPENDIX M

### **Clubhouse involved members: Final framework of members' relationship with the clubhouse after further thematic coding prior to revised framework**

#### **I. What *clubhouse involved* members feel the clubhouse is for them**

##### **A.) A place that provides opportunities for members (6/6)**

##### **1. TO BE SOCIAL & HAVE FRIENDS (5/6)**

###### **a. A place to be social (3/6)**

Club a place to socialize 105-15

Club gives him a place to go to talk with others 105-16

Connecting w/outgoing ppl helps him come out of his shell 105-18

Feels a personal connection to members as a group 105-17

Can bond with members through SA groups 107-7

Likes the social life of the club 112-21:40

###### **b. A place to have friends (2/6)**

Club is a place to have friends 111-8

Club is a place to have friends 109-11

##### **2. TO BE WITH OTHERS LIKE THEM (4/6)**

Being w/others w/MI helps him realize he can successfully deal w/his illness 105-17

Being w/others w/MI helps her remember she's not alone w/her illness 107-8

Being w/others who have similar issues helps him feel good about himself 108- 52:30-53:50

Club helped her to accept herself and other w/SMI 109-12

##### **3. TO LEARN (2/6)**

Club teaches members how to work with others 109-10

Club is a place to learn skills 109-10

Club a place to learn how to practice commitment 108-42:43-44:00

##### **4. TO HAVE MEANINGFUL ROLES (6/6)**

###### **a. Being a member of a well-functioning entity/organization (6/6)**

Involved in a variety of activities as needed 108- 47:40-48:25 ??

Involvement varies in the club as needed 105-15

Likes being a part of an entity that accomplishes things 105-17

Feel role is to work w/ others to help run the clubhouse 109-10

Feels role is to be a volunteer that does what needs to be done 109-10

###### **b. Having things to do (3/6)**

Club work order day gives her many things to do 112-20:10

Does phone work when there (clerical) 107-5, 6

Answers phones (clerical) 111-6

Likes to type articles for the club newsletter (clerical) 111-7

c. Having responsibilities that are more personally important (2/6)

Likes to educate members on the importance of voting 111-7

Responsible for running SA group at the club 107-5, 7

Part of the advisory board 111-6

## APPENDIX N

### **Final framework of the Results Section after further analysis of the identified themes of empowerment**

#### **I. Impact of the NIMBY Response on Members' Recovery: In the Beginning**

##### **A. Impact on NIMBY Active Members in the Beginning**

##### **1. FELT OVERWHELMINGLY BAD (6/6 included here)**

Felt devastated 101-3, 101b-18  
felt devastated 102-18  
felt amazed at community response 102-30  
felt upset 102-21  
the lowest I'd ever been 103-17  
felt angry, upset, and disoriented 103-17  
felt shocked and hurt 103b-10  
Was so sad about it 104-14  
Felt hurt & disappointed by what residents said 104-11,12, 13  
Made me feel really bad 106-13  
Felt depressed 110-13  
FELT PUT DOWN (4/6 included here) FELT BAD TOO  
Felt demeaned 101-7 [internally- linked to devastated]  
Disappointed 104-10, 12, 13 [internally- linked to hurt]  
Felt insecure 106-11 [internal]  
Felt maybe there's something wrong with me 106-11 [internal]  
They made me feel inferior 106-11 [external]  
I felt like a second class citizen 106-12 [external]  
Felt unwelcome 104b-7 [external]  
Felt what they said about her was true about herself 104b-8, 9

##### **2. HAD A MENTAL HEALTH BREAKDOWN (4/6 included here)**

fell out/ had a psychiatric break 101b-7, 101-6  
wanted to harm self/ almost suicidal 101b-7, 101-7  
felt hopeless and lost/ went to a depressed state/ caused me to have a stomach problem 103-23 103-23  
Had to get my feelings together/ Had to go into the hospital 104-13  
Community response made her sick 104b-9  
Felt like going back into hospital 110-13

##### **3. CHANGE IN LEVEL OF INVOLVEMENT (5/6)**

##### **a. Decreased (4/6)**

Not coming everyday/ had to take a leave of absence 103b-12, 103-23  
Stopped going to club b/c thought that's not the way to go 104-19  
Avoided getting involved in NIMBY: Couldn't handle the bad vibes/ Can only take so much stress 106-12



Stopped going to club b/c thought she caused the response  
104b-9

**b. Increased (3/6)**

Increased time spent in clubhouse 106-18

Increased club involvement 110-22

Went back to club to learn more and feel better about self  
104b-10

**B. Impact on Clubhouse Involved Members in the Beginning [In contrast]**

**1. LITTLE TO NO IMPACT**

Felt alone and that nothing has changed

Didn't really think about it

It was just reality, newspapers spoke reality

**II. Possible reasons why Differential Experiences of NIMBY in the Beginning**

**A. Direct & Indirect Exposure to the NIMBY response**

1. NIMBY active had mostly direct exposure

2. Clubhouse involved had mostly indirect exposure

**B. Members' Individual Relationships w/ clubhouse prior to NIMBY**

**C. What the Clubhouse Means to NIMBY active Members**

1. Supportive place of safety & acceptance (6/6)

**a. CLUB IS A PLACE OF SUPPORT (6/6)**

**Members Receive Support (5/6)**

People in club supportive 106-18

Enjoys the support and kindness of the club members 102-11

Club as been helpful and supportive 103-3

Club provides support 104-7

Club is supportive of him 110-4

**Members Give Support (2/6)**

Appreciates the giving & receiving of support 103-3

Feels good to help others 104-1

Feels purpose at clubhouse to help out others 103-2

A place to practice leadership 104b-2

A place to feel good about self, to be there for others 104b-4

**Staff Believes in Members' Potential (3/6)**

Thinks the director is a true believer 101b-22

Director has been fighting for members since the beginning  
102-22

Director of club an important person 104b-2

**b. CLUB IS LIKE A FAMILY (5/6)**

Club is a family 101b- 15  
Club is my family 101a-2  
Club like a second family 104-2  
Club is like a family 103b-9  
Club is a home away from home 102-11  
Feels like has a family in the club 106-6

c. CLUB IS A SAFE SPACE (3/6)

Club is a non-threatening place to be 101-5  
Club is a personal space 101b-15  
Club is a place to be normal and safe 102-12  
Club is a place of acceptance 101b-15  
A place of understanding and acceptance 104b-2  
A place of comfort and safety 104b-3  
Club keeps her from getting sick/going in to hospital 104b-3, 5  
Club makes her feel safe b/c not alone 104b-4

2. A place that provides opportunities for members (6/6)

a. TO BE SOCIAL & HAVE FRIENDS (3/6)

Club is a place to be with friends 104-4  
Club is a place of socializing and friendship 103a-12  
Likes being on board b/c meets people and learns about issues 110-5

b. TO LEARN (4/6)

Enjoys constant learning and being with members 104-1,7  
Club a place to learn skills 106-9  
Being part of the club has been a learning experience 103a-  
A place to learn about illness 104b-2  
A place to talk and learn about self 104b-4  
Club helped him learn how to cope better 110-4

c. TO HAVE MEANINGFUL ROLES (5/6)

Being a member of a well-functioning  
entity/organization (2/6)

Feels accomplished in participating in club functioning  
106-8  
Feels proud to help run the club 104-4

Having responsibilities that are more personally  
important (5/6)

Contributes the library to club 106-10  
Is a leader and wise woman of the club 101a-1  
Responsible for taking care of computers 110-5

A role model for what's possible for others with SMI 102-14

Likes being on board b/c meets people and learns about issues 110-5

Feel important being on the board 104a-14

**D. What the Clubhouse Means to Clubhouse Involved Members**

**1. A place that provides opportunities for members (6/6)**

**a. TO BE SOCIAL & HAVE FRIENDS (5/6)**

A place to be social (3/6)

Club a place to socialize 105-15

Club gives him a place to go to talk with others 105-16

Connecting w/outgoing ppl helps him come out of his shell 105-18

Likes being a part of an entity that accomplishes things 105-17

Feels a personal connection to members as a group 105-17

Can bond with members through SA groups 107-7

Likes the social life of the club 112-21:40

A place to have friends (2/6)

Club is a place to have friends 111-8

Club is a place to have friends 109-11

**b. TO BE WITH OTHERS LIKE THEM (3/6)**

Being w/others w/MI helps him realize he can successfully deal w/his illness 105-17

Being w/others w/MI helps her remember she's not alone w/her illness 107-8

Being w/others who have similar issues helps him feel good about himself 108- 52:30-53:50

**c. TO LEARN (2/6)**

Club teaches members how to work with others 109-10

Club is a place to learn skills 109-10

Club a place to learn how to practice commitment 108-42:43-44:00

**d. TO HAVE MEANINGFUL ROLES (6/6)**

Being a member of an organization (6/6)

Involved in a variety of activities as needed 108- 47:40-48:25

Involvement varies in the club as needed 105-15

Feel role is to work w/ others to help run the clubhouse 109-10

Club work order day gives her many things to do 112-20:10

Feels role is to be a volunteer that does what needs to be done 109-10  
Likes to type articles for the club newsletter (clerical) 111-7

Having things to do (2/6)

Does phone work when there (clerical) 107-5, 6  
Part of advisory board and answers phones (clerical) 111-6

Having other more personally important roles (2/6)

Likes to educate members on importance of voting 111-7  
Responsible for running SA group at the club 107-5, 7

**III. The Impact of the NIMBY Case on Members in the End**

**A. Impact of the NIMBY case on NIMBY Active Members in the End (6/6)**

**1. FEELINGS OF SELF INTACT (5/6)**

did not change feeling about self 101b-19  
truth will set you free 101b-19  
trying to live in the present 102-28  
didn't affect feelings about self 103b-12  
not going to let illness get in the way of anything 103b-12  
let nothing stop me from being who I am 103-29  
Has had no effect on recovery 106-20  
Has not changed the way he feels about the clubhouse 110-22

**2. FEEL BETTER ABOUT THEMSELVES (4/6)**

don't let it bother me now 102-26  
made me a better person 103b-18  
Now feel really proud of myself 104-20  
Feels proud like she has achieved something now 104-20  
Happier now b/c knows more now 104-25  
Really wanted us to fight for ourselves 104-11  
Now feels better about self b/c can talk about illness 102-23  
Feel stronger cuz I know we're gonna make it 104-19  
Feels good now b/c won case 110-13  
Winning the case gave him a boost to do other things 110-19

**3. FEEL BETTER ABOUT CLUBHOUSE (3/6)**

now more proud to be a member 101b-16  
now more committed to the clubhouse 101b-18  
Proud of the club for not responding to the negativity 101b-19  
Proud of the club for sticking with the long fight 106-17  
Took pride in the club 106-17  
Feeling about club not changed in end 104b-11

**B. Feeling Stronger in the end: Feeling a Sense of Empowerment (4/5)**

**1. BETTER ABLE TO DEAL WITH HAVING A MI (3/6)**

Now not as afraid to tell people has an illness 106-17  
Have come to terms with my illness recently 106-19  
Now feels better about self b/c can talk about illness 102-23  
Now feels safe to walk into neighborhood 110-19  
Now understands self, stigma, & discrimination better 110-22

**2. IMPORTANT TO TAKE A STAND (2/6)**

Need to step up to erase stigma 106-17  
Wants to help get the community involved in the club 106-20  
will continue to fight for mental health system 103-27  
taught me to never let go of what you believe in 103-27

**C. Impact of the NIMBY Case on Clubhouse Involved Members in the End**

**1. NO IMPACT**

No impact  
What's the big deal

**IV. How the Clubhouse Assisted Members Through the NIMBY Case Over Time**

**A. How the Clubhouse Reacted to the NIMBY response: Some Context**

**1. The Clubhouse as an Empowered Organization**

Case contextual info provided here

**B. How the Clubhouse Assisted NIMBY Active Members over Time**

**1. OPPORTUNITIES FOR ACTION IN RESPONSE TO NIMBY (5/6)**

**a. Speaking out publicly 3/6**

Feeling of being heard by others was important 102-22  
Felt good to speak out to others through newspaper 104-15  
Members wrote rebuttals of editorials & really educated others 106-21

**b. Talking with others at clubhouse about it (3/6)**

Being a part of conversations about the move at weekly club meetings 104-15,16  
Brought extra newspaper clippings to the club & discuss them 104-20  
Learned a lot from talking about it 104-23  
Keeping others focused on the good things 103b-11  
Talking with members was very helpful 110-16

**c. Participation in board meetings (3/6)**

Gets updates on case at board meetings so feels informed 102-29  
Things got cleared up after a board meeting 103-23  
Felt good to be voted onto the board 104-14  
Being on the board made her feel needed 104-21  
On board b/c feels good to be part of it 104b-10

## **2. PROVIDED SUPPORT TO MEMBERS (5/6)**

### **a. Clubhouse & Auspice Agency (3/6)**

Doesn't bother her b/c sees staff and lawyers taking care of everything 102-26

Staff and members keep each other positive, like a family 101-12

Staff been supportive of member efforts to stay on task/focused 101b-20

Staff helped members deal with any reactions members had 101b-21

Meant a lot to see caring and nurturing in clubhouse 102-23

Sees concern and care for members nearing court dates 102-29

Not giving up, seeing it in good hands, lifted the weight 103b-11,17

### **b. Outside Support (4/6)**

Support from outside agencies and corporations felt good 103-23, 27

Feeling support from org outside the club helped feel better 104-19

Seeing the support of outside agencies in newspapers helped feel better 104-20

Felt good to feel support from others outside the club 106-14

Reading positive newspaper articles about club was helpful 103-22, 103B-10

Auspice agency sent case workers to talk with members 110-14

Felt more calm and relaxed knowing not alone (everyone) 102-22,23

Saw caring of the auspice agency, lawyers, and staff (everyone) 102-22

Feels good to learn that other changes are happening with ADA law 110-20

## **3. KEPT MEMBERS INFORMED ABOUT NIMBY (4/6)**

Being updated on the situation helpful 101b-20

Listened to staff & lawyers talk [about fight] felt more confident 102-22

Seeing progress being made was encouraging for all members 103-28

Kept informed about move updates 104-14

Board helped her to understand the community response 104b-11

## **4. MAINTAINED CLUBHOUSE BUSINESS AS USUAL (4/6)**

Kept focused on daily club functioning 101-11  
Stays busy w/daily tasks, job, health so doesn't dwell on it 102-29  
Feels better about the way the club acted like it never  
happened 103-29  
Staff remained professional throughout; kept plugging away 106-  
21

**5. KEPT MEMBERS FOCUSED ON POSITIVES (4/6)**

We took the high road (2: 101-8, 102-18)  
They're wrong and we're right (2: 101, 104)  
We can have a wonderful impact on them (2: 104-17, 106)  
Continue to make changes (3: 101, 104, 106-17)

**6. THE IMPORTANT ROLE OF THE VISIONARY**

Summary quote of the above meta-themes  
Quote about role of the Director

**7. THE CLUBHOUSE AS AN EMPOWERING ORG**

Define elements of an empowering organization

**C. Experiences of Clubhouse Involved Members over Time: A Contrast**

**1. CLUBHOUSE INVOLVEMENT UNCHANGED**

No impact  
Still here  
Staff has been helpful

**2. AN ANOMOLOUS CASE**

Experiences similar to NIMBY Active members

Figure 1: NIMBY Active Members' Shared Experiences of the NIMBY Case over Time

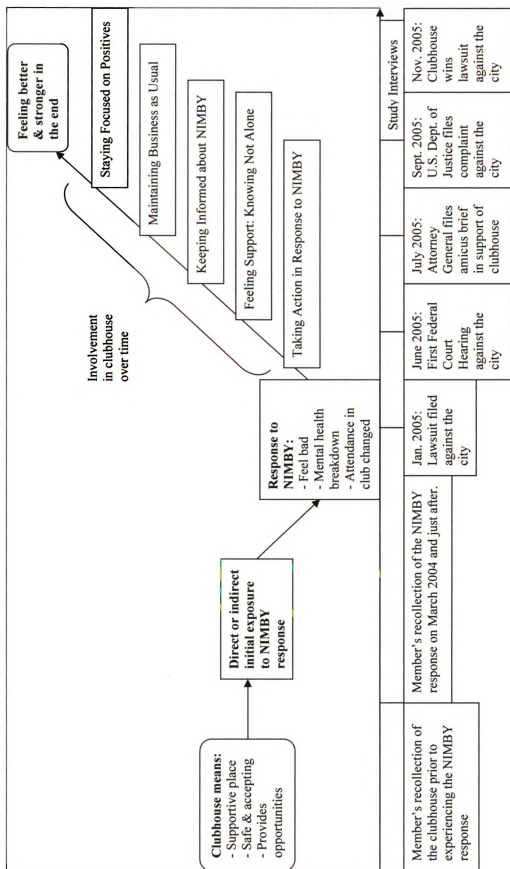




Figure 2: Clubhouse Involved Members: Little reaction to the NIMBY Case over Time

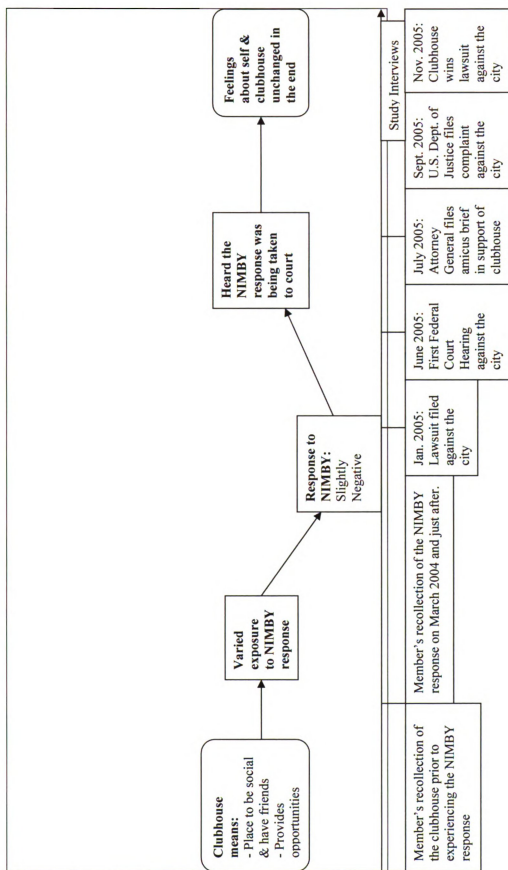
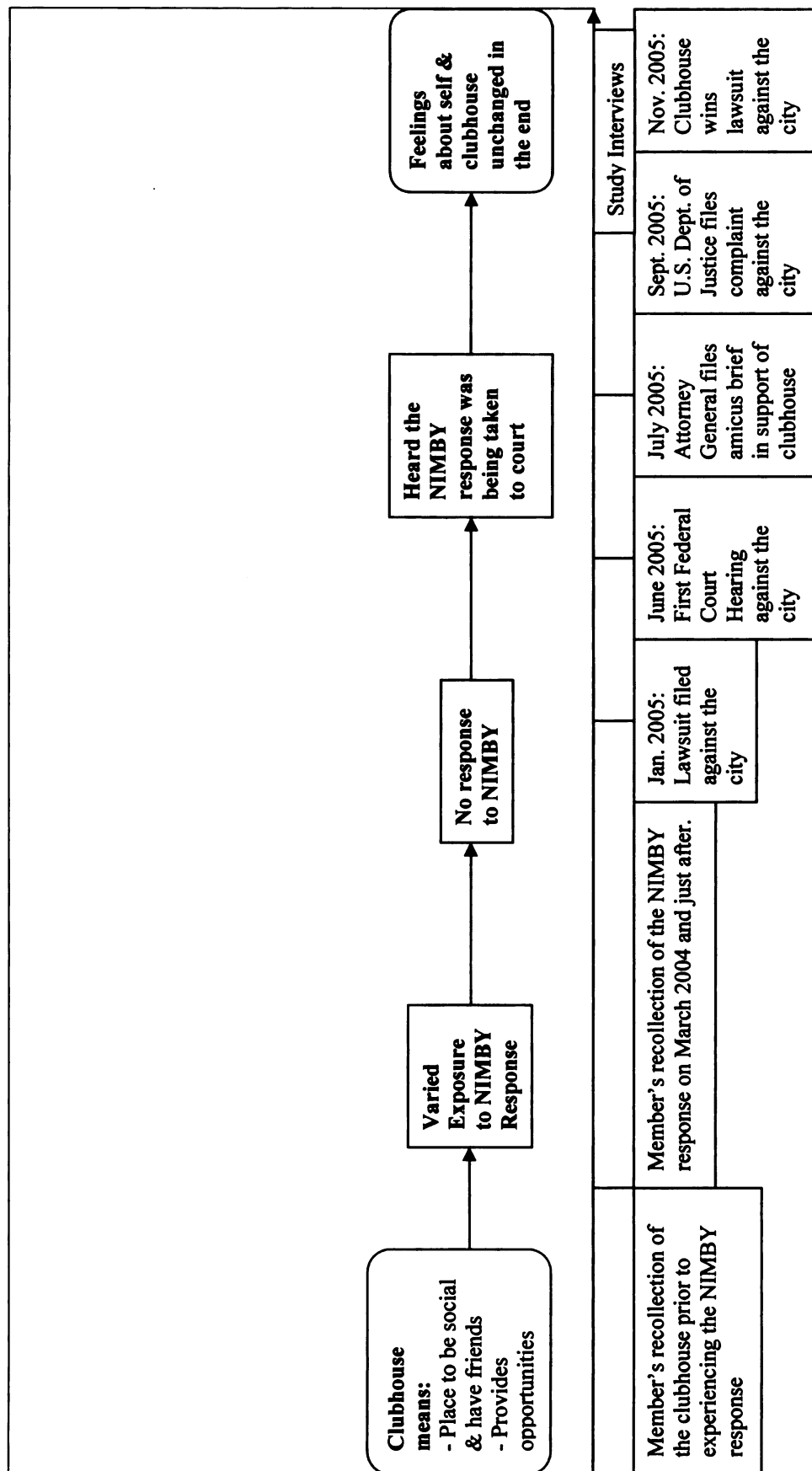
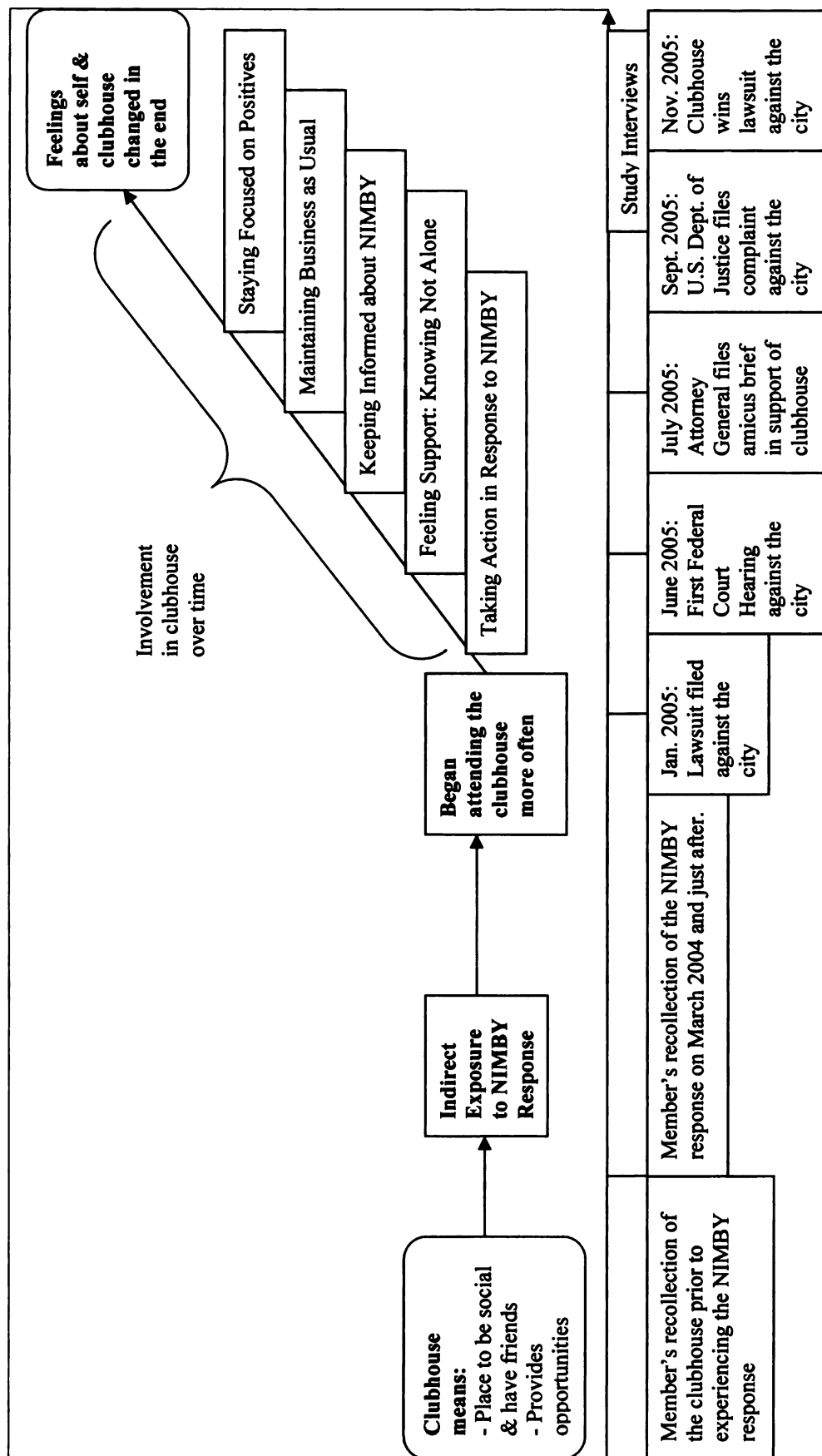


Figure 3: Clubhouse Involved Members: No reaction to the NIMBY Case over Time



**Figure 4: Clubhouse Involved Members: No negative reaction to the NIMBY Case but Increased Involvement in Clubhouse**



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