ABSTRACT
        Thirteen author contributed papers are presented from
a 1979 conference on disruptive, alienated, and incarcerated youth.
Presenters represented fields of education, social work, public
policy, and psychology. Included are the following titles and
authors: "Juvenile Justice: Where We Have Been and Are Today" (R.
Sarri); "Youth as a National Resource" (L. Dye); "Education for Self
Reliance" (J. Johnson); "Community and School Partnership: Youth
Rights and the Role of Advocates" (M. Beyer); "Effects of Gender on
the Differential Development of Adolescent Boys and Girls" (V. Gold);
"Basic, Vocational, and Special Education: Whose Responsibility?" (G.
Meers); "Secondary Special Education: A Case of Benign Neglect" (D.
Sabatino); "From the Desk of the Principal: Perspectives on a School
Based Community Treatment Program for Disruptive Youth" (E. Rothman);
"The Teachers Hot Line: Teachers Helping Teachers" (E. Rothman);
"Bilingual Bicultural Education: The Right to a Free and Appropriate
Education" (A. Benavides); "Alternative Residential Programs" (R.
Sarri); "The Family and Education: New Directions for Promoting
Healthy Social Interactions" (H. Clark et al.); and "Project Success"
(F. Glassford). (CL)

disruptive
youth
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a report from the cec invisible college conference
on education's responsibility for
disruptive, alienated, and
incarcerated youth

Edited by
June B. Jordan
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THE COUNCIL FOR EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN

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Illustrations and cover and book
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Rosemary C. Sarri, PhD, is Professor of Social Work, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. During the past decade, Dr. Sarri has carried major teaching responsibilities in the areas of criminal justice and corrections, complex organizations, research in human service organizations, innovation and change, information processing and decision making, program evaluation, social change, and group work. She has been consultant to the President's Commission on Crime and Criminal Justice, to the Federal Bureau of Prisons, and to the Child Welfare League of America. Her research experience includes a comparative study of correctional programs for youthful offenders in federal institutions, a four year national assessment of juvenile corrections, and a comparative study of juvenile justice programs in South Australia. Dr. Sarri has prepared and presented public media and television training films on juvenile delinquency, and has published extensively in the areas of correctional programing, treatment strategies, and social welfare administration.

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preface

☐ Concern with disruptive, delinquent, and/or predatory and violent behavior of youth is prevalent throughout the United States, as well as in several other Western countries. School dropout rates are said to have doubled in the past decade. A recent study by the Carnegie Foundation emphasized that the public school has become a custodial holding enterprise, much like a prison, in many US communities.

The youth unemployment rate continues to soar, particularly for minorities, females, and other disadvantaged youth. Additional indicators of serious social problems include rapidly increasing mental illness, suicide, and substance abuse. Public concern appears to focus on how youth can be controlled so that their behavior will not offend or interfere with the dominant adult society. Because social policies and youth programs reflect greater concern for coercive social control than for enhancing youth socialization for adult roles, many students of youth socialization have observed that some of the more urbane communities appear to "dislike" children and youth.

Elementary and secondary schools play an increasingly critical role. They are expected to educate all youth regardless of ability, interest, or prior education, and often with minimal resources. Moreover, in recent years education has been center stage with respect to one of the more persistent social problems in this society, namely, the lack of social integration and the incomplete expansion of full civil rights to all persons.

The ideologies of key actors, as well as the organizational patterns of schools, make the occurrence of delinquency nearly inevitable. Assumptions are made about youth, their abilities, behavior, and the ways in which they should be educated. Some youth are quickly identified as bright, creative, and responsible. Others are described as culturally deprived, troublesome, and apathetic. These characteristics become labels that may be used to describe entire families or even neighborhoods, with many negative consequences ensuing for those who are so labeled.

Confronted with frequent and serious problematic behavior, school personnel may come to rely more and more on formal social institutions, such as the police and juvenile court, to handle youth misbehavior. Even under optimal community conditions, one seldom encounters truly comprehensive and concerted efforts to aid youth in trouble outside the justice system. Yet the juvenile justice system itself is largely a processing organization whose impact is most often negative.

Society appears to expect organizations within the juvenile justice system to solve most of the youth problems assigned to them. However, they are

expected to address these problems with limited resources, inadequate technologies, and often in social environments that are antithetical to the appropriate delivery of effective services.

All youth-serving organizations, and most particularly the public schools, must be in a position to facilitate the treatment and socialization of youth in trouble. In the past, the school has all too often failed to provide an adequate education for these students. When they express their concern through non-attendance or disruption, they are often charged as vandals and truants.

It is within this context that The Council for Exceptional Children's Invisible College Conference on Education's Responsibility for Disruptive, Alienated, and Incarcerated Youth was convened on January 8 and 9, 1979 in Carmel, California. Eleven individuals from the fields of education, social work, public policy, and psychology came together to consider the situation of alienated and disruptive youth in our secondary schools. They identified critical issues and problems and then considered a variety of alternatives to resolve those problems. Disruptive Youth in School is a product from this Invisible College Conference.

The convening of an Invisible College is an approach The Council for Exceptional Children has successfully used for the development of timely publications. The procedure involves the identification of people who are on the cutting edge of knowledge on emerging procedures and practices in a particular topic area. Tapping into this resource should reduce the gap between research and implementation, as well as reduce the time between innovation and practice. The group meets in a closed two day session. Each Invisible College participant makes a 20 to 30 minute presentation on an assigned topic. The total group serves as discussants and reactors to each presentation.

The chapters in this book are based on the presentations delivered at the Conference and were prepared for publication as a result of the questions, discussion, and interaction of the College. John L. Johnson, David A. Sabatino, and Rosemary C. Sarri planned the content, identified participants, and chaired the Conference.

In this volume, the authors propose that the resources and expertise of the schools should be heavily involved in education and treatment programing for troubled youth. The College adopted a forward perspective—where we would like to be and how we can get there!

Rosemary C. Sarri
June B. Jordan

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juvenile justice: where we have been and are today

rosemary c. sarri

A national assessment of juvenile justice programs revealed the proliferation of a diversity of goals, policies, and procedures. The inherent incompatibility between social control and social rehabilitation ideologies inevitably leads to conflict and confusion, preventing the courts from serving either the community or its youth effectively. Is the juvenile justice system the appropriate responding agency for the majority of youth problems referred? Other community institutions, including the schools, must participate in a renewed and concerted effort toward creative problem solving.

THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM

The trend has been toward formal control mechanisms.

Changes in Western Europe were in the opposite direction.

Movement in the US is more fragmented.

There is uncertainty about the state's ability to control or help troubled youth.

□ The juvenile justice systems in the United States, Canada, and much of Western Europe have attracted public, political, and scholarly attention in recent years. In all cases, this interest has evolved both criticism and proposals for change. As yet, however, no one appears to have designed a system effective in meeting all major expectations.

Increased use of formal control mechanisms through the juvenile court has been the trend in the United States during the past two decades. Change in this direction was fostered by decisions of the Supreme Court in the Kent (1966), Gault (1967), Winship (1970), and other cases. By and large, the results have been far less than was expected (President's Commission, 1967), despite the utilization of vastly increased resources. As a result, many alternative arrangements have been proposed. Some advocate greater control and punishment (Wilson, 1975). Others encourage more rigorous adherence to due process guarantees (Juvenile Justice Standards Project, 1977). Still others encourage restriction of the domain of coercive state agencies to violations that are also legal violations for adults. From this point of view status offenders and children in need of care and control would not be targets of coercive control by the juvenile court.

While the United States was embracing increased formalization in the juvenile justice system, changes in many Western European countries, particularly in Great Britain and Scandinavia, were in the opposite direction. These countries moved from a more legalistic approach toward greater informality. Through the development of various social mechanisms outside the court, community lay persons and human resource professionals assumed more critical roles in decision making. With the emphasis since 1974 on increased "diversion," it could be asserted that the United States is also moving in this direction with respect to selected categories of youth. Nevertheless, the movement in the US is far less consistent and more fragmented than in most European countries.

The failure of various intervention systems to reduce delinquency and crime has led to the suspicion that court correction and prevention programs are not working as intended. Thus, frequent proposals for innovation and change are offered. Of even greater importance, perhaps, are proposals for restricting state intervention.

There is increasing uncertainty about the state's ability to control or to help troubled youth, as well as a sharper awareness of the unintended negative effects of state intervention into the lives of children and youth. Recent reports of the Children's Defense Fund (1978) provide sobering evidence regarding the failure of well meaning intervention. The desire to help young people has resulted in the coercion of large numbers into a variety of so called "treatment" or "resocialization" programs, regardless of individual needs. Frederick Wiseman's 1974 documentary film, entitled Juvenile Court, contained an apt remark by a juvenile court judge in talking to a young defender. "Regardless of whether you did this, we've decided you need help, to straighten out your thinking."

This chapter highlights some of the influential historical events that facilitate an understanding of the current situation. The nature and extent of delinquency are then summarized, followed by an examination of findings from a national survey of juvenile courts and correctional programs. Attention is also given to staffing issues and problems in resolving conflict between rehabilitation and social control ideologies. Lastly, issues of relevance regarding the interaction between the elementary/secondary school and the juvenile justice system are examined.

The beginning and end of the 19th century witnessed the establishment of three social institutions of critical importance to an understanding of juvenile justice in the United States today. These include the child caring institution, the juvenile court, and the public elementary and secondary school. Those who helped shape the public schools sought to develop an institution that would serve a rapidly growing frontier country during a period of tremendous immigration, assimilating persons of vastly different cultures and language. The designers and founders of the juvenile justice system sought new mechanisms to reduce harsh and undifferentiated treatment of juveniles.

Social reformers in the area of juvenile justice were both idealistic and optimistic about what could be achieved through state intervention into the lives of youth. They sought to advance the welfare of children by removing them from the jurisdiction of the criminal court and providing new institutional mechanisms to encourage rehabilitative rather than punitive intervention. These reformers were also concerned about social control and the moral development of immigrant and working class children who were flooding the cities. They believed that the state had a right to intervene benevolently to see that children were "properly" socialized to assume the adult roles needed in an industrializing society (Krisberg & Austin, 1978; Platt, 1976; Rothman, 1971).

The first child caring institutions, the Houses of Refuge, were established in 1824 for children who were deemed to need institutionalization because of such varied factors as dependency, neglect, delinquency, illness, or need for moral guidance. Modeled after English facilities, they spread rapidly throughout the Eastern United States. One of the early child savers, Charles Loring Brace, strongly believed that delinquency could be eliminated if vagrant and poor children were gathered up and placed on farms with families who were settling the new frontier. Thus, a secondary movement was underway regarding the handling of children.

The period from 1880 to 1920 is often labeled the Progressive Era. It was a time of great change in social structures. Laissez faire capitalism dominated society, but it was challenged by many who sought more rational reform of inadequate and ineffective social welfare institutions. Developments in education, social work, and the social sciences produced considerable optimism concerning the treatment and rehabilitation of troubled and delinquent youth.

The concept of parens patriae, interpreted as the right of the state to power of guardianship, was widely accepted with regard to the juvenile court's handling of youth. The definition of delinquency was extremely broad and ambiguous, encompassing everything from serious felonies to smoking, idling one's time, or associating with immoral persons. The court had wide authority and discretion to terminate parental rights, to institutionalize, to place on probation, or to dismiss. While females were most often processed for minor deviance, they were typically treated in a more punitive fashion than were males.

The new social mechanisms that emerged during this period for the handling of youth drew support from optimistic social theorists, sincere social reformers, and elites who perceived a need for social controls. Throughout the early part of the 20th century, new programs and approaches were initiated, in the hope that they would benefit youth and society.

Much greater skepticism characterized juvenile justice programs and policies in the period from the close of World War II to the present. It became

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF
JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEMS

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1880-1920. A time of change in social structures.

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Females . . . were treated more punitively than males.

Much greater skepticism characterized juvenile justice programs after World War II.

Major federal legislation was passed and implemented.

Numbers and rate of institutionalization are likely to continue to rise.

Inducements were offered to deinstitutionalize.

increasingly apparent that the system was not succeeding as had been expected. However, there were no fundamental efforts at change until the mid 1960's, with the simultaneous onset of the War on Poverty, the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and the trend setting decisions of the US Supreme Court.

Community based corrections came to be widely accepted. The 1967 President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice accepted the policy that institutions should be phased out as a means of providing custody and treatment for juveniles, in favor of community based approaches. The passage of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (JJDP) Act of 1974 signified the culmination of this movement. For the first time, a major piece of federal legislation was passed and implemented. It demanded a priority for community based approaches and strongly supported deinstitutionalization.

A recent analysis of the institutionalization of children and youth in the US from 1790 to 1970 revealed some remarkable patterns (Sherraden, 1976). From 1790 to 1910, both the absolute number and the rate of institutionalization of youth increased slowly and consistently. Since 1910 there has been some decline, but this is due almost entirely to a rapid decrease in the number and rate of institutionalized *dependent* youth. In fact, that decrease was the most significant change in the history of institutional care of youth in the United States.

In the case of delinquent youth, both numbers and rate continued to increase until 1970, followed by a small decline that now appears to be halted, and may even be rising again (Lerman, 1978). If present trends continue, the numbers and rates are likely to continue to rise, at least for a few years. Because of the declining child population, a pronounced decline in absolute numbers, if not in rate, should be evident by the 1980's. Unfortunately, however, the decline in the child population has not been as great for youth with a higher actuarial prediction for institutionalization for delinquency.

Institutionalization of youth for mental illness also continued to increase through 1970, while the rate of institutionalization stabilized for mental retardation and declined for sight and hearing handicaps. The total rate of institutionalization of youth under 21 years in the US was 3.95 per 1,000 in 1970 (1.5 for delinquency, .50 for mental illness, 1.10 for mental retardation, .61 for dependency; and .18 for sight and hearing handicaps).

The decade from 1965 to 1975 witnessed substantial decline in the nation's reliance on traditional juvenile correctional facilities. In 1975, the National Assessment of Juvenile Corrections (NAJC) reported that the average daily number of adjudicated youth confined in state facilities had decreased from 43,447 in 1970 to 28,000 in 1975 (Vinter, Downs, & Hall, 1976). The authors cautioned the reader to consider compensating changes that might be occurring in other facets of the juvenile justice system. More recent data from Lerman (1978) and others has indicated that an analysis of change cannot be restricted to a single segment of the "youth-in-trouble" subsystem, since it contains both new and old elements associated with the field of mental illness and disability, special education, child welfare, and delinquency.

One of the most significant aspects of these developments has been the contradictory role played by the federal government. Under the JJDP Act, substantial inducements were offered to the states to deinstitutionalize status offenders and selected other delinquents. States were also provided resources to develop community based alternatives to institutions. But this change was unwittingly accompanied by a dramatic increase in the allocation

of federal child welfare dollars for children in institutions. In fact, many more millions were provided under the child welfare mechanism for institutional care than were provided under the JJDP Act for deinstitutionalization.

A recent US General Accounting Office report on children in foster care (1977) indicated that the number of children receiving federally supported foster care payments grew from 600 in 1961 to 115;000 in 1976, with at least 30,000 of these children in institutions. The greatest amount of growth took place in the mid 1970's, just when the JJDP Act was being implemented. Rapid increase in private sector placement was associated with this use of child welfare monies. The private sector increasingly served delinquents as well as dependent, handicapped, and neglected youth. In the case of juvenile delinquency, private institutionalization is estimated to have increased by 290% between 1950 and 1974, while public institutionalization grew by only 16% (US General Accounting Office, 1977).

In summary, population migrations, industrialization, urbanization, racial conflicts, sexism, and economic events have all influenced the processing of children. Despite shifting patterns, the juvenile justice system has continued to focus on the alleged pathological nature of delinquents, ignoring the relationship between the problems of youth and larger political and economic issues. It appears probable that the future course of treatment, prevention, and control programs for delinquents will be largely determined by the ways in which the broader social structure evolves. Williams (1973, p. 480) reminded us that "history offers no answer per se; it only offers a way of encouraging people to use their own minds to make their own history."

☐ Although there is consensus among criminologists and other students of juvenile justice that delinquency is a widespread phenomenon, precise definitions of the term do not exist (Levin & Sarri, 1974). There is so much variation among state laws and so much discretion given to judges and prosecuters that nearly any misbehavior could be labeled as delinquent. Society today faces a dilemma posed by the fact that so called "nuisance behavior" (Rosenheim, 1976) is not differentiated from behavior otherwise identified for adults as felonies and misdemeanors. To complicate matters further, juvenile courts also process neglected, dependent, and abused children, often with the same staff and facilities used for processing delinquents.

Despite these difficulties, the more serious law violative behavior of youth is clearly the primary responsibility of the juvenile justice system. In 1977, 24% of all court cases in the US (2,170,193) involved persons under 18 years of age (US Department of Justice, 1978). There is little doubt that a substantial proportion of all crime known to police is committed by juveniles, and that the amount of crime perpetrated by youth is disproportionate to their number in the total population. In 1977, youth 15 to 18 years of age comprised 7% of the population, but they accounted for 16% of all arrests for violent crime against persons and 46% of all arrests for major crime against property.

Although many adolescents are heavily involved in various criminal activities, the extent varies by type of crime. The peak age for crime against persons is higher than for crime against property. For example, the peak age for homicide is 20, whereas for burglary, larceny, and motor vehicle theft the peak age is 16 years, and for vandalism it falls even further to 15 years.

Serious juvenile offenders are far more often males than females, and of minority rather than nonminority status. They are likely to be concentrated in the central cities of metropolitan areas. They are disproportionately poor and have experienced failure in school and in employment situations.

The system has continued to focus on the alleged pathological nature of delinquents.

NATURE AND EXTENT OF DELINQUENCY AND YOUTH CRIME

Precise definitions of delinquency do not exist.

Crime perpetrated by youth is disproportionate to their number in the total population.

Serious offenders are more often males than females.

disruptive youth in school

The 1960's and 1970's evidenced a rapid growth rate in juvenile crime that appears to have stabilized and even declined during the late 1970's. As a result of changes in the birth rate, continued declines in the total volume of juvenile crime can be expected, although changes in the rate per 1,000 are far more difficult to predict. Because of the lag in the Black birth rate decline, proportionately more of the offending population may be Black between now and the year 2000. Similarly, a more rapid decline in property crime rather than in person crime can be anticipated. However, unemployment rates may produce similar patterns in both types of crime.

The rate of female arrest is increasing. There is also evidence of increase in more serious offending by females, but these figures remain far below male rates and are concentrated far more heavily in status offenses and so called victimless crimes.

Of particular interest to school personnel are the findings from a study of collective crime by juveniles (Miller, 1975; Ohlin, Miller, & Coates, 1976). Miller asserted that the majority of youth involved in crime are members of gangs or other groups. He further argued that it is this "street crime" that alarms the public and provokes stringent sanctions that are often indiscriminately applied to all juvenile offenders. Many of these groups are also instigators of violent behavior in the schools, a serious problem in many communities. Predatory crimes by juvenile gangs are said to account for nearly half of all crimes against the elderly, but juvenile peers are the most frequent targets for collective acts of violence (Miller, 1975).

The majority of youth involved in crime are members of gangs.

Because adequate information procedures are lacking at the local, state, and national levels, it is not possible to report accurately the number of juveniles who are processed through the justice system each year. In 1976, at least 1,500,000 delinquency cases were processed by the nation's juvenile courts. Adding the number of delinquents on probation or held in detention facilities, jails, and institutions easily produces a conservative estimate in excess of two million cases.

It is not possible to report accurately the number processed.

There is no way to determine the extent of overlap, and therefore no reliable means of estimating an unduplicated count of individuals. However, given an estimated child population of 52.8 million between the ages of 5 and 18 in 1972, it can be stated that 1 youth out of every 15 is potentially processed as a delinquent each year. For the high risk population between 10 and 17 years old, it is estimated that upwards of 5% are referred to juvenile justice agencies each year. Obviously, were it possible to have an unduplicated count of delinquents, we would learn that some youth are processed many times each year, while the overwhelming majority are processed either once or not at all (Wolfgang, Figlio, & Sellin, 1972).

Some youth are processed many times each year, others once or not at all.

Approximately 26% of juvenile court cases deal with females, and 65% involve youth from urban areas. About 85,000 youth are committed to state public residential programs each year, while 20,000 are handled in local and private residential units (Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, 1977; Pappenfort, Kilpatrick, & Kuby, 1970). The numbers of youth processed as delinquents are staggering, and there is little evidence of parsimony in intervention.

A NATIONAL ASSESSMENT OF JUVENILE JUSTICE

☐ Between 1971 and 1977, the author and Robert Vinter served as co-directors of a national assessment of juvenile justice programs at local and state levels in all of the 50 states. Supported by a Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) grant, systematic efforts were undertaken to examine how delinquency was officially defined, where and how delinquents were processed by juvenile courts, and what happened to them following

adjudication. An organizational perspective provided the framework for a study of the various agencies in the public and private sectors charged with responsibility for juvenile justice. An attempt to encapsulate findings from selected aspects of that research follows. The juvenile courts are examined first, followed by a report on correctional programs for youth.

Juvenile courts. Created under the concepts of informal processing, individualized treatment, and the philosophy of *parens patriae*, juvenile courts today present a conflicting kaleidoscope of goals, policies, and procedures. Juveniles are processed through the courts in ever increasing numbers without the provision of systematic information to decision makers regarding the relative ineffectiveness of their action (Sarri & Hasenfeld, 1976).

Juveniles are processed without the provision of systematic information to decision makers.

Variability in both structure and practice is perhaps the most noteworthy finding from this research. Moreover, that variation occurred not only between states, but within states. Some courts were small, heard less than 50 cases per year, and had a staff of 2 or 3 persons; thus, informality was not a problem if the court sought to create such an environment. Other courts had probation staff in excess of 500 and processed more than 8,000 cases each year. Informality and individualization in a bureaucratic organization of that size is simply impossible to achieve. Courts with juvenile jurisdiction were of all types and were located at various levels in the structure of the judiciary in many states. Very few states had a coherent structure permitting similarity among juvenile courts in all counties within a state.

Few states had a coherent structure.

Although court staff generally concur that juvenile rights should be acknowledged, it was observed that due process was inconsistently enforced within and between courts. Court practice appeared particularly problematic with respect to appeals, waiver, review, and postdispositional transfers.

Due process was inconsistently enforced.

Due process protections in the intracourt processing of youth were especially lacking in decision making at intake, detention, and disposition. These lacks are particularly significant because, if the rights of individuals are not fully protected at all stages of processing, they may be jeopardized at adjudication, where today they are more fully enforced. However, there continues to be much inconsistency in decision making among these several stages in many courts.

The role of defense attorneys remains problematic, but the evidence suggested rather clearly that the greater the influence and activity of the defense attorney, the more likely it is that procedural rights will be provided. Findings

Youth with serious felonies were more likely to have rights protected.

Non-White youth were three times more likely to be processed.

Judges do little to implement their goals for the court.

Courts develop complex and elaborate decision making structures.

Courts establish procedures ... but adhere to few of them.

Numerous courts processed cases quite informally.

indicated that youth charged with serious felonies were more likely to have their rights fully protected than were youth charged with status offenses or minor misdemeanors. Clearly, this is an unfortunate and unanticipated consequence of the implementation of due process in the present context.

Findings concerning "input" and "output" of the court were noteworthy. Law enforcement agencies were the primary referral agents, followed far below by parents, and then by schools and other agencies. Non-White youth were three times more likely to be processed than White youth. While females comprised only one-sixth of the cases referred, they represented about one-third of those detained. Status offenders comprised 40% of court referrals; and nearly 70% of those cases were handled informally, or dismissed. Based on these findings, it can be estimated that approximately one youth in_six appears as a delinquent in the juvenile court in any given year.

Juvenile court staff tend to view the mandate from the community to be one of social control and deterrence, despite the fact that most cases referred to the courts involve minor offenses. In more affluent communities, where crime rates are lower, there is some tendency for the court to define its mandates more often in terms of treatment services. The juvenile court judge plays a critical role in the court, but judges appear to do little to implement their goals for the court. Rather, they make decisions in an *ad hoc* manner, overwhelmed by the numbers of youth who are processed.

Examination of the relationships between the juvenile court and other key organizations led to the conclusion that courts operate in an isolated manner with little dependence on other organizations. They react to the overtures and actions of youth-serving agencies rather than reach out in a proactive manner. As a result, youth under court jurisdiction are more likely to be thrust into a narrow and limited pool of court services and are excluded from many other community agencies.

Social control versus social rehabilitation. The national assessment was repeatedly confronted with inescapable ambiguities and contradictions in the goals, ideology, structure, and operations of juvenile courts. Courts operate under the assumption that they must protect the community, yet the bulk of cases referred to them are in fact "juvenile nuisances." Courts profess to assist troubled youth in receiving needed services, yet they tend to be quite isolated from the community network of youth-serving agencies. Courts develop complex and elaborate decision making structures, presumably to identify the needs of the child and determine the best approach to meeting those needs. Yet over half of all children referred to the courts are sent away with little more than a friendly warning. Most of the rest are put on probation, which amounts to little more than surveillance. Courts establish formal procedures to maintain due process, but adhere to few of them in practice. Table 1 contrasts the facets of these two ideologies.

The national assessment showed that on almost any dimension of operation, vast variations among courts exist, raising doubt as to what constitutes a juvenile court. At one extreme are courts solely designated to process juveniles, with a full complement of personnel trained to carry out such a mandate. At the other extreme are courts comprised of a part time judge who hears juvenile cases in a court of limited jurisdiction, with few staff designed to handle juvenile cases. In responding to juvenile offenders, there are courts that rarely commit a child to a correction facility, as well as courts that commit 1 of every 10 children referred.

In discharging their mandate, numerous courts processed cases quite informally, often with little regard for due process. Other courts closely re-

TABLE 1
Dimensions of Control–Rehabilitation–Justice Ideologies

Dimension	Control	Rehabilitation	Justice
Primary goal	Crime reduction Protection of others	Needs and interests of youth	Youth and societal well being
Ideology	Parens patriae Police power	Parens patriae	Equal justice; due process; procedural fairness
Perceptions of the problem	Youth viewed as endangering peace and stability of community	Youth viewed as handicapped, ill, or disadvantaged, and victim of environment and psychological forces	Focus on behavioral allegations and definition of criminal behavior
Courts' role in processing	General and special deterrence Retributive justice	Treatment; provide resources to protect against and overcome adverse circumstances Informal	Determine guilt or innocence; process fairly and quickly Formal/informal
Organizational outcome	High rates of detention and institutionalization	High rates of detention and all types of postadjudication programs	Low rates of detention; dispositional equality; least intrinsic means of intervention
Correlation between offense and sanction	Medium	Little or none	High

sembled adult criminal courts in the formality of case processing. Few courts attempted to develop an elaborate network of services for juvenile offenders. A large number of courts offered nothing more than minimal probation services. In short, beyond the common fact that a given court has jurisdiction over children within a certain age range, there are vast variations on all other dimensions by which these courts may be characterized.

One key factor in these internal contradictions and ambiguities is the inherent incompatibility between the social control objective and the social rehabilitation objective that juvenile courts are required to pursue. Put differently, what is "in the best interest of the child" inherently conflicts with what is "in the best interest of the community." Juvenile courts are among a small set of institutions asked to optimize both interests, and clearly they seem to flounder in the pursuit of both. It is apparent that when juvenile courts attempt to implement both goals, they are bound to generate a system riddled with internal inconsistencies and paradoxes, a system in which the behavior of judges and probation officers often seems capricious.

In reality, juvenile courts fail to accomplish either objective. Thus, in seeking to resolve the conflict, courts must opt for one objective at the expense of the other. In the final analysis, such a dual mandate prevents the courts from effectively and efficiently serving the community and its children.

Courts must opt for one objective at the expense of the other.

Following the public school, the juvenile court and the public welfare agency occupy central positions in the youth service network. It has been assumed that the juvenile court should be the agent of last resort, because

it is empowered with the most severe tool of intervention, namely, the re-vocation of the personal rights of the child and parent. Thus, it follows that the juvenile court should handle youth who pose a serious threat to themselves or the community.

Empirically, however, we found that 40% or more of youth referred to juvenile courts had committed status offenses such as truancy, incorrigibility, running away, curfew violations, and alcohol violations. These offenses, so aptly termed juvenile nuisances, can hardly be regarded as a serious threat to the community. The court thus becomes the "agent of first resort" for many youth. While such behaviors do demand attention and appropriate response, it is difficult to comprehend why juvenile courts should be considered the appropriate responding agency. Assessment data indicated that juvenile courts possess neither the expertise nor the resources to help such youth. In fact, the majority of survey respondents agreed that these problems are more appropriately handled by social service agencies.

Court staff recognize that parents and other youth service agencies attempt to use the court as a dumping ground for problem youth. They further recognize that, in most cases, legal action is inappropriate and ineffective. Hence, while the courts cannot stop the inflow of referrals, they certainly can attempt to exit them with minimal court intervention or none at all. In adopting such a revolving-door policy, referring agencies can demonstrate their efforts to cope with problem youth, while the court can display its benevolent posture, representing "the best interest of the child." The only victims of this policy, unfortunately, are youth themselves, who are not likely to receive needed services from either the referring agencies or the court.

Correctional programs. The overwhelming fact that emerged from this study of a representative sample of juvenile programs is their variability (Vinter, Kish, & Newcomb, 1976). Some were large; many were small. Some had a wide range of educational, treatment, and employment programs; others existed with a bare minimum of resources.

Program staff exhibited similar heterogeneity and diversity. Some were professionally trained, and considered themselves to be professionals in the field of corrections. Others did not. The national assessment revealed that much variation existed within and among staff groups as to the objectives of juvenile programs. Staff were disproportionately White males with several years experience in corrections and minimal educational preparation.

Heterogeneity and diversity also characterized youth in correctional programs, although by and large these youth were not strangers to the justice system. Table 2 summarizes data concerning attributes of offenders.

1. More than half (55%) belonged to minority racial groups, with the highest proportion (66%) of minorities in day treatment units rather than institutions or group homes. The overall percentage of minority youth in correctional programs has increased substantially over the past decade.
2. The median age of youth in the sample units was 15.8 years, with a slightly older population in the open residential units. Little difference in median age between those in closed institutions and day treatment centers was indicated.
3. Offenses that led to commitment or present status in the juvenile justice system were reported by youth themselves (see Table 3). The most outstanding finding was that 30% were committed for status offenses (incorrigibility, truancy, promiscuity, and curfew violations). The average percentage of youth committed for property violations was 37%, 10% for substance abuse, and 17% for crimes against persons. Status offenses,

40% referred to juvenile courts had committed status offenses.

Courts possess neither expertise nor resources to help such youth.

Victims of this policy are youth themselves.

Program staff exhibited heterogeneity.

TABLE 2
Attributes of Offenders by Type of Correctional Program

	Institution	Community residential	Day treatment
Race			
Minority (%)	54	46	66
White (%)	46	54	34
Age			
Mean (years)	15.7	16.7	16.2
Range (years)	8–24	13–24	12–22
Social class			
Unemployed or working class parent (%)	59	40	60
Sex			
Male (%)	71	62	84
Female (%)	29	38	16
Prior correctional experiences (mean number of times)			
Arrested	8.0	6.3	6.0
Detention	4.5	4.8	3.4
Jail	3.2	2.0	1.5
Court	5.5	5.7	4.3
Probation	2.0	1.2	1.5
Group or foster home	1.2	1.5	0.3
Institution	1.7	1.0	0.5
(Range of N)	(1269–1341)	(145–152)	(224–238)

rather than law violations, were the reported offenses of 55% of the females. The only difference by program type was that drug violators or youth who committed crimes against persons were less likely to be found in day treatment programs. A high proportion of status offenders in day treatment programs were school truants, for whom such programs served as an alternative to public school.

4. Closed institutions obviously continue to handle the larger proportion of adjudicated offenders, with the exception of those under general probation supervision. Only 4 states had sufficient community based programs to serve even 50% of those who were committed to the state and who required a program other than general probation. There is much discussion concerning community based programs, but they are not yet a realistic disposition alternative in most of the country. Moreover, community based programs are often initiated with LEAA funds awarded on a short term basis, and many fade within a year or so. In a sample of 16 states, a total of 288 local community programs were identified. Only 43 of these were day treatment, nonresidential programs. All others were group or foster homes and various types of residential facilities.

5. Most youth reported a variety of prior contacts with the justice system. They had been sanctioned more stringently than would seem necessary, considering the nature of the offenses with which they were charged. The

A high proportion . . . in day treatment programs were school truants.

Community based programs are not yet a realistic disposition alternative.

TABLE 3
Commitment Offense by Program, Type, and Sex
(expressed in percentages)

	Status[a] offense	Probation or parole violation	Misde- meanor	Drugs or alcohol	Property	Person	(N)
Institution							
Male	23	4	2	6	48	18	(832)
Female	50	1	3	18	14	14	(349)
Community residential							
Male	50	3	1	10	26	10	(70)
Female	67	3	0	14	12	3	(58)
Day treatment							
Male	45	3	4	6	30	12	(164)
Female	87	0	0	5	3	5	(37)
Total by offense	30	3	2	10	37	17	(1503)

Note: Determination of commitment offense based on youth response to the question, "Why were you sent here?"
[a] Status offenses include incorrigibility, dependent and neglected, truancy, running away, curfew violations, disorderly conduct.

mean number of times in jail (1.7 for those in institutions; .7 for those in open residential and day treatment units) and in detention (4.5 and 4.1 times, respectively) greatly exceeds the number of times in a group home or on probation (1.7 and .6 times, respectively).

Prior experience differences between youth in institutional versus community based programs are relatively small. Findings suggested, however, that youth presently in institutions had been more frequently sanctioned by placement in jails and training schools. If it were true that juveniles are sent to training schools as a last resort, the study should have revealed more frequent use of group homes and probation. Considering the median age of these youth, the majority already had considerable contact with the justice system, despite the small percentage who were committed for serious offenses.

The majority have already had considerable contact with the justice system.

The concept of "minimal penetration" has become popular among juvenile justice practitioners. This philosophy maintains that youth should experience the least possible penetration into the increasingly severe sanctions of the correctional system. Yet the study indicated that nearly the opposite was experienced by youth, according to self reports. The probable consequences of repeated experiences in jail, detention, and training school lead to pessimistic conclusions concerning the implications of this pattern.

6. Although minority youth were overrepresented, minority individuals were underrepresented among program staff, particularly at the administrative level, as indicated in Table 4. Similarly, females were overrepresented in all types of programs relative to the seriousness of the offense for which

Females were overrepresented relative to seriousness of offense.

they were committed. Among staff, however, females were underrepresented among administrators, even in all-female and coeducational programs. Overall, correctional programs had a more representative staff than did the juvenile courts as far as affirmative action could be judged.

7. Examination of practices and services among all types of programs indicated that they unevenly protect and serve those fundamental rights of youth that have been codified in standards of the National Advisory Commission and other federal and state bodies. Considerable dissatisfaction was expressed with the adequacy of education, treatment, and employment programs. Nearly half of youth surveyed expressed dissatisfaction with the availability of medical or dental services.

Programs unevenly protect and serve fundamental rights of youth.

TABLE 4
Staff Characteristics by Occupational Subgroups

| | Juvenile courts | | | | | Juvenile correctional programs | | | | |
	Judge	Court adminis-trator	Probation supervisor	Line proba-tioner	Detention supervisor	Executive	Treatment staff	Teachers	Living Unit staff	Clerical & mainte-nance staff
Median age	x	44	40	32	42	34	30	35	34	39
% Male	97	79	72	61	82	80	68	56	52	43
% White	94	89	93	89	86	84	68	70	68	76
% Married	93	85	82	68	81	61	55	66	59	73
N =	(274)	(237)	(119)	(388)	(171)	(52)	(233)	(218)	(302)	(197)

Sources: Sarri & Hasenfeld, 1976, p. 108; Vinter, Kish, & Newcomb, 1976, p. 54.
x = Data unavailable

Control and discipline are "part and parcel" of correctional programs, but seldom are these elements examined from the perspective of long term program effect on youth. Group homes and day treatment centers were distinguished from institutions by the extent and quality of their control, punishment, and disciplinary practices. Institutions generally continued to rely more on control and punishment, with a clear tendency toward routinization of sanctions, regardless of the nature of individual misconduct.

Institutions generally rely on control and punishment.

Examination of the "goodness of fit" between programs and youth revealed that youth with serious as well as minor offenses are found in all types of programs, including day treatment centers. One questionable practice involves the continuing use of closed institutions for status offenders. Contrary to some statements in the literature about their purportedly more serious criminal backgrounds, data suggested that most status offenders had committed fewer law violations than youth charged with other offenses. However, as in other studies, it was found that status offenders are dealt with equally as stringently or more so than youth whose behavior presents a genuine risk to the community.

Many correctional programs are filled
with youth inappropriately placed.

' Findings suggested that many juvenile corrections programs are filled with
youth who are inappropriately placed. Results also supported assertions that
experience in the criminal justice system "hardens" youth or, at worst, so-
cializes them to more serious criminal behavior. Thus, parsimony in inter-
vention appears to be called for in increasing measures. Correctional pro-
grams need to be explicit not only about the kinds of cases they *should*
handle, but also about the kinds of cases that *should not* be handled within
the justice system. Unless a firm stand is taken, it is unlikely that alternative
services will be developed by the appropriate agencies.

Postprogram experience. In a followup survey completed with youth who
had been interviewed in various juvenile correctional programs, several in-
teresting patterns appeared (Barton & Sarri, 1979). This survey was com-
pleted approximately 12 to 18 months after youth left the programs in which
they had been placed. They were subsequently interviewed by the NAJC
research staff. For the most part, youth were likely to have returned to their
preprogram environments. Nearly half reported that they were living with
parents, while 25% were living independently. Those who had been resen-
tenced to another correctional program represented 13%.

Followup youth were likely to have
returned to preprogram environments.

Although 28% were in school and 56% were employed or in job training,
38% were functioning in neither setting. These unoccupied youth were dis-
proportionately male, nonWhite, and had been placed in a closed institution
rather than a community based program. Although all of these youth reported
substantial deviant behavior, those who were unoccupied were far more
heavily involved in all types of substance abuse and property crime. They
were also arrested and involved with the justice system far more frequently.

Unoccupied youth were more heavily
involved in substance abuse and
property crime.

Obviously, these data suggest that youth who have been processed by
the juvenile justice system need assistance in social reintegration as well as
in job training or employment if they are to avoid further criminal behavior.
The significant rates of unemployment experienced by urban working class
youth create a highly problematic situation for youth who have been labeled
and processed as delinquent or disruptive.

STATE LEVEL JUVENILE CORRECTIONS

State control over correctional
programs is greater than recognized in
the literature.

□ Given the structure of federal-state relationships and the absence of op-
erational national policy, juvenile justice programs, policies, and problems
are essentially either direct resultants of state government activity, or are
local level events largely constrained or facilitated by state level policies and
conditions. State control over juvenile correctional programs is probably
much greater and certainly much more extensive than has been recognized
in the literature or among professionals in the field. In almost all states, the
overwhelming proportions of young offenders are committed to the state.
These youth are handled in diverse correctional programs directly operated
by the state corrections agency, or in programs funded wholly or in large
part by the state (Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, 1977). There-
fore, any examination of juvenile justice in general and juvenile corrections
in particular must address the role of state government.

Issues and dollars are insignificant
compared to overall state resource
allocations.

Juvenile justice is a relatively marginal area of total governmental activity.
This confounds the difficulty of identifying causes of change and clarifies the
discovery that little correlation exists between state policies in the area of
juvenile justice and other fiscal and policy decisions. Regardless of how
large certain justice budget line items may seem, or how salient litigation or
code revision may appear, the issues and dollars involved are almost insig-
nificant compared to the level of state resources allocated to public education
or to programs addressing current issues of energy shortages, unemploy-

ment, and even adult corrections. The reality of marginality is also demonstrated by the small proportions of state LEAA funds allocated to juvenile corrections. One state legislator reported his difficulties in getting juvenile justice on anyone's agenda, from the general public to the state legislature.

Given this essential marginality, it is not surprising to find that juvenile justice has no general constituency. Few interest groups regularly attend to it. Coalitions of interest groups and political and governmental leaders seldom form to push for change. Important events relating to juvenile justice (other than incidents of crime) are usually relegated to the inside or back pages of the newspapers. In a very real sense, it is much easier to explain why progress does not occur in this area than it is to analyze varying directions and rates of change among the states.

The fact of marginality, however, has not offset the growth of state and local bureaucracies, as well as numerous private agencies to deal with young offenders. In many states, a marked series of disjunctures is evident between the activities of these various agencies, especially between the state and local levels. State systems often appear to be disjointed congeries of units operating in partially autonomous ways, with little coordination at any level. Furthermore, policy and program issues that are of concern in some states differ substantially from those receiving attention elsewhere. The policy, structure, or program solutions chosen by some states may in fact represent problems rejected by other states.

Extraordinary variations among the states were particularly noteworthy. Some states assigned 20 times more youth to institutions than did other states. Rates of placement of youth in jails and detention varied even more widely, from 2.28 per 100,000 in one state to 114.62 in another—a difference of approximately 50 to 1. Moreover, these variations did not correlate significantly either with crime rates or with some of the usual social indicators. Similarly, rates of placement in community based programs varied markedly among states, from .2 to 20.5 per 100,000. Only eight states reported equal or greater numbers of youth in state operated or funded community based facilities as compared with institutional facilities (Vinter, Downs, & Hall, 976).

The JJDP Act of 1974 mandated that deinstitutionalization of status offenders be expedited. In addition, both the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the National Commission on Correctional Standards and Goals have, in the past decade, recommended that community correction be the preferable mode of treatment for juvenile delinquents. Therefore, the NAJC devoted considerable effort to investigation of deinstitutionalization in all 50 states. Many variables thought to have a substantial effect turned out to produce few explanations. Socioeconomic development, number of staff professionals, budget size, and degree of centralization were found to be largely unrelated to deinstitutionalization rates.

Relevant variables, on the other hand, proved to be degree of socioeconomic heterogeneity, level of interest group activity, degree of autonomy of the state juvenile correctional agency, and the correctional ideology and leadership of the agency director. Socioeconomic heterogeneity was a composite measure of the following factors: percent Black in the state population; percent poor; percent undereducated; percent liberal vote; amount of income inequality; and political culture of the state. These variables, taken together, were negatively related to deinstitutionalization. They suggested that where social class, race, and education differences are great, there tends to be less tolerance for community programs and greater support for more punitive responses through social control mechanisms.

The more homogeneous a state's population, the more likely it was to retain and treat delinquents within their home communities. However, other factors were also important. Interest group activity on behalf of juvenile corrections was necessary, although not a sufficient factor in and of itself. Moreover, juvenile correctional agencies could influence and promote the activity of external interest-groups. Keeping juvenile corrections visible to the public and to key decision makers was important.

Keeping juvenile corrections visible was important.

The role and perspective of the executive was also a critical factor in deinstitutionalization. Directors had discretion and autonomy to effect changes within their departments. Departments that had undergone large scale reorganizations one or more times in the previous decade were likely to be more innovative, implying that change promotes further change. The assessment survey of agency directors indicated 78% agreement with the statement that "most adjudicated delinquents don't belong in an institution at all." The opinion that "community based programs were intrinsically better than even the most effective institutions" found agreement among 54% of respondents.

One of the most provocative questions surrounding the gradual movement toward community corrections is whether states that develop community programs use them to replace training schools or use them in addition to institutions. Morris (1975) suggested that unless proper safeguards are instituted, the development of community based programs will result in the placement of more and more persons under surveillance. The national assessment data suggested that increased use of community services did not lead to lower than average use of institutions. Generally, as the population served by community programs increased in number, so did the total population. Thus, the concern about overall expansionism is warranted.

Concern about overall expansionism is warranted.

Populations being handled through the juvenile justice system are currently increasing in many states, now that more government resources are being allocated to this area. Simultaneously, however, resources in other key sectors, such as public education and child welfare, have been reduced. Society is casting too wide a net, exerting social control more broadly than necessary or desirable in a democratic nation (Lerman, 1975, 1978).

Paradoxically, available evidence suggests that emphases on diversion and community based programing for youth in trouble may actually be contributing to the expansion of social control approaches. There is very little true diversion *from* the system, although increased processing of juveniles has necessarily resulted in diversion *within* the system. Pouring old vinegar into new bottles misleads the public, corrupts the system, and confounds accountability and evaluation.

ISSUES IN THE INTERACTION
BETWEEN SCHOOLS AND JUVENILE
JUSTICE

□ An examination of the contemporary state of the art is not complete without consideration of some of the critical issues involving the elementary and secondary schools and their interactions with the justice system. Significant issues include the following:

1. *The public school is expected to educate all youth to be able to perform complex adult roles in a changing postindustrial society.* In recent years, the schools have occupied center stage with respect to one of society's most persistent social problems, namely, the lack of social integration and the incomplete extension of full civil rights to all persons. The past decade also witnessed dramatic changes in student rights and school governance, although these were less pronounced in elementary and

secondary schools than in higher education. Declining academic perfor-
mance and lack of interest in education has been a major area of concern.
All these events have had a profound and pervasive impact on education.
Coupled with social change directly related to the school have been in-
creasing crime rates in the larger society and more stringent intervention
by criminal justice agencies for delinquent behavior.

2. *Schools give disproportionate attention to negative rather than positive
aspects of youth behavior.* Obviously, schools are in a serious crisis
when issues such as violence in the schools, premature dropping out,
suspension, truancy, alienation, underachievement, and substance abuse
are aired almost daily by both professional and lay media. Although strat-
egies have been devised to extinguish or eliminate specific problematic
behaviors, relatively little effort is directed toward explicit enhancement
of education for all youth. Instead, many schools appear to be quite willing
to assume the role of another juvenile justice agency through the adoption
of explicit social control goals and technologies. Many assume that youth
must be made to conform to a single stereotype of the "good student,"
even though that stereotype is merely a reflection of middle class White
surburban lifestyles.

3. *The ideologies of actors as well as the organizational patterns of schools
make the occurrence of delinquency inevitable.* Assumptions are made
about children's abilities, behavior, and the ways in which they should be
educated. Some children are quickly identified as bright, creative, and
responsible, while others are described as culturally deprived, trouble-
some, and apathetic. These characteristics become labels which are
often applied to entire families. Unfortunately, many negative conse-
quences are experienced by those who are tagged with such labels.

A recent study in an Eastern metropolitan community (Ryan, 1976) ex-
amined a variety of procedures for the identification of gifted Black children
in early elementary grades. The following summary of findings bears con-
siderable relevance to the issue of ideologies and organizations:

- Available literature on Black children focused on problematic rather than
positive attributes.
- Gifted Black children could be identified, but most were performing far
below their ability.
- Wide variations existed among test scores and teachers' nominations.
- Parents were the best identifiers of gifted children.

It could well be anticipated that children who grow up improperly assessed
as to their ability and potential will become frustrated and express that frus-
tration in delinquent behavior.

4. *The exclusion of millions of children from schools each year is a major
scandal, but is not recognized as such.* The Children's Defense Fund
(1974) provided documentation on two million children who were identi-
fied by the 1970 census as not enrolled in school at all. Because this
figure excluded children who were expelled, suspended, truant, or un-
reported by parents, the number is all the more disturbing. Of the total
number reported, 75% were between the ages of 7 and 13. They rep-
resented about 3% of the total school age population in those years. Few
differences were observed from region to region, except for slightly higher
percentages in Southern and rural areas.

*Declining academic performance and
lack of interest in education has been a
concern.*

*Little effort is directed toward
enhancement of education for all
youth.*

*Negative consequences are
experienced by those tagged with
labels.*

Nonenrolled children were disproportionately from poor, minority, and inner city families. Among other barriers to attendance were physical handicaps, mental illness, and misbehavior. When school suspensions were examined, it was observed that most were unilateral, with juvenile and parent rights seldom if ever addressed. The Children's Defense Fund recommended federal monitoring of school systems regarding both enrollment and disciplinary actions to insure that youth who are the intended beneficiaries of education are not ignored or misserved.

A study of school suspensions in New Orleans (Stretch & Crunk, 1972), revealed that insubordinate behavior during the first half of the year produced more suspensions than it did later in the year. In 1969, out of a total enrollment of 88,317 youth, 1,075 were indefinitely suspended from school. It was also noted that pupils who were suspended were already alienated from school. Their parents were negative about education and unable to assist their children. One wonders, then, if suspension under such circumstances is not entirely inappropriate.

Both these reports clearly indicate that nonenrollment, exclusion, and suspension are substantial problems in American schools today. The recent Supreme Court decision in Goss v. Lopez (1975) requires that schools at least begin to take corrective steps to reduce arbitrary action. It is hoped that other, more positive policies and practices will also be encouraged.

5. Community conditions shape the character of the juvenile justice system and can also escalate or alleviate the problems of this system. The character of the juvenile justice system is critically shaped by the local community, which can also escalate or alleviate the problems of this system. Community opportunities, resources, and services define the basic life conditions of children and generate the primary motives for deviant behavior. Community toleration of youth behavior, or community pressure to cope with deviant behavior more stringently, directly affect the volume and rate of referral of cases presented for formal handling (Lerman, 1975; Morris, 1975).

The responsiveness of community institutions and agencies determines whether youth in trouble will be isolated within the justice system, or will be offered helping bridges toward satisfying social life. The substance of state law delineates which youth behavior may not be subjected to legal processing, but forces within the community determine how many and which youth shall be channeled for such processing. Evidence from across the nation can be interpreted, at worst, as suggesting collusion among influential community elements to send more and more youth into the justice system. At best, the evidence reveals a slow drift toward more formal handling and processing of youth rather than serving them through basic normalizing social institutions.

Even under optimum community conditions, we seldom find truly comprehensive and concerted efforts to aid children in trouble outside the justice system. Real diversion and effective community based programing require a revitalizing of institutions and local commitment on behalf of all youth, especially those with problems. New strategies for collaboration are needed to serve youth in trouble outside the framework of the courts and correctional agencies.

A fundamental connection exists between the juvenile justice system and community conditions, particularly those of the schools and community service agencies. These units play a major role in validating the existence and seriousness of youth problems that allegedly can only be served through court intervention. In their acquiescence to such an assumption, they legitimize the operations of the entire system as it impinges on juveniles.

Nonenrolled children were disproportionately from poor, minority, and inner city families.

Pupils who were suspended were already alienated from school.

Responsiveness of community institutions and agencies determines whether youth will be isolated or offered helping bridges.

We seldom find comprehensive and concerted efforts to aid children.

Minors engaging in deviant but not illegal behavior, especially status of-
fenders, could not be nominated or recruited into the justice system without
the spoken or unspoken consent of professionals and agency spokesper-
sons whom the public regards as having expert knowledge of these matters,
and who acquiesce in assertions that there are no other suitable means to
deal with these needs and problems. Such professionals and agencies know
well the real nature and origin of their problems, and why such youth have
not and will not be served adequately through conventional agencies, in-
cluding the schools. They should also know (although many may not) what
is and is not happening within the justice system. Failure to proclaim that
this system does not and cannot remedy the problems assigned to it has
the effect of authenticating both its rationale and its operations. The acqui-
escence of such persons and agencies has been part of a "noble lie," and
constitutes negligence if not culpability (Empey, 1978).

*Status offenders could not be recruited
into the justice system without consent
of professionals.*

6. *Decriminalization, diversion, and deinstitutionalization are perceived as
   key concepts for action implementation almost simultaneously with de-
   terrence, punishment, and retribution.* Behavior associated with each of
   these concepts can be observed in local and state governments through-
   out the country. The pattern is usually haphazard, and the fundamental
   contradiction implied by these two contrasting paths is largely ignored.
   Implementation of strategies associated with the former set of concepts
   should result in contraction of the juvenile justice system. At the same
   time, however, discussion of "expansion" and "punishment" continues
   (Cressey & McDermott, 1974; Empey, 1978).

Comparative analyses reveal that the number of juveniles being processed
into and through the system continues to be high, in spite of falling birth
rates and declining crime rates. Counties and municipalities can proceed, as
many are doing, to lock up more youth in jails. They can reproduce correc-
tional programs (under the guise of community services) that rival any state
level program in punitiveness and ineffectiveness.

*The number of juveniles being
processed continues to be high, in spite
of falling birth rates and declining
crime rates*

Community frustration with crime and ineffective past intervention may
result in the waiver of more youth to adult courts for processing into adult
programs. A recent New York statute makes it possible to waive a 13 year
old for adult processing and imprisonment. In contrast to trends in most
European countries, the US appears to be blurring the differentiation be-
tween adults and juveniles for purposes of criminal court processing. When
no benefits can be shown to accrue to society from such policies, one can
only conclude that punishment and control are primary motivations.

*The US appears to be blurring
differentiation between adults and
juveniles.*

7. *Concern with children's rights as well as their obligations is being in-
   creasingly expressed by the courts and interest groups concerned with
   youth.* Children cannot vote, and there are very few special interest
   groups promoting their rights and welfare. The weaknesses of the system
   and its susceptibility to constructive action are demonstrated by the strik-
   ing court successes achieved in many states by vigorous juvenile litiga-
   tion attorneys. But juvenile litigation is not a simple panacea for social
   change, and precedential court decisions are only one way to effect prog-
   ress (Gaylin, Glasser, Marcus, & Rothman, 1978).

Provision for administrative litigation through use of ombudsmen or chil-
dren's advocates would reduce the need for cumbersome and expensive
court litigation. Ombudsmen have been appointed by several state agencies
and in some school systems. Creation of these roles in every community
and large agency would provide more effective means for speedy redress
of grievances within and between agencies. In a bureaucratized mass so-

*Ombudsmen would reduce need for
expensive court litigation.*

ciety, however, the protection of rights and the promotion of special needs also require an active constituency, which children do not enjoy in most communities. Broader awareness that an increasing proportion of minority youth are being processed into the justice system, and that females are discriminated against by the more "heroic" forms of intervention and more negative sanctions, should encourage adult representatives of these interest groups to recognize that their own basic interests are also at stake.

8. *Two interrelated elements should be included in a more effective community response to youth needs and problems:* (a) increased roles for youth in decision making that affects their lives, and (b) expanded choices in youth oriented programs, including educational organizations. Those who have studied youth populations are continuously impressed with their knowledge of what is happening around and to them, their awareness of less overt reasons for events that impinge upon them, and their willingness to tell the truth when questioned respectfully (Barton & Sarri, 1979; Vinter et al., 1976).

We are beginning to reopen opportunities for participation by youth.

Elsewhere in society we are beginning to reopen opportunities for more meaningful participation by youth, and without noticeable difficulty. In the schools, there are new opportunities for positive engagement of youth, particularly working class and minority youth. Here and there one observes a greater willingness to confer with minors about what might be done to assist them. We are squandering a considerable resource and losing much good will when we do not seek ways to provide greater youth involvement and freedom of choice. It is especially regrettable that due process in the administration of any part of the justice system must be mandated by the higher courts in order to open up such opportunities.

Education for working class and minority youth is in a state of crisis.

Education for working class and minority youth is in a state of crisis in many urban communities. Solutions to this problem are not to be found in short run techniques of social control by the police and justice agencies, but in creative problem solving by educators, parents, youth-serving agency personnel, and youth themselves. One needs only to review some of the education and work programs for youth initiated in the 1930's to see that such problem solving and programing is possible.

Educators must take the initiative.

Educators, however, must take the initiative and must again present themselves to youth and their parents as persons deeply committed to the well being of youth. Consider for a moment how the future must look to a Black inner city 16 year old who knows that the unemployment rate for his or her cohort is 60% or higher. Perhaps then we can begin to conceive of creative approaches to the education of youth for responsible, successful adulthood.

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youth as a national resource

larry l. dye

A focus on institutional rather than individual reform provides an appropriate framework for dealing with the disaffection and alienation of our young people. The critical need for a national policy on youth has been clearly demonstrated. Such a policy must seek to engage youth as valued and active participants who have the right, responsibility, and capacity to contribute constructively to the society of which they are a part. So long as we continue to promote programs and policies that devalue youth, irreplaceable human resources are wasted.

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☐ As a potentially vital national resource, America's young people are tragically underutilized. Yet with appropriate national review and revision of youth policies and programs, youth could contribute importantly to our society and our economy. Increasing numbers of alienated and disaffected youth represent a "danger within" which, it is suggested, should be taken as seriously as international threats. (Parham, 1978, p. 9)

Recently, and with growing insistence, advocates of social justice are compelling us to recognize and attend to the needs of American youth. Pearl (1978) suggested that a valuing of youth requires meeting a range of needs which include security, friends and other social supports, relief from pain, and a sense of usefulness, competence, hope, and excitement. He further indicated that employment and education are critical areas in which youth must participate if these needs are to be filled. According to Pearl, youth can have no value to society unless they participate in society. While youth must, during adolescence, be given the opportunity to experiment with values, beliefs, and roles, such experimentation must be personally and socially beneficial. Young people must be encouraged to produce and perform, participate and contribute, learn and grow. To the extent that these opportunities are guaranteed, youth will be valued and will come to value themselves.

The problem orientation of our youth programs is curious in light of the almost universal agreement that adolescence is a difficult, stressful, and uniquely important period of life. There seems to be wide recognition that all youth experience some stress in making the transition to adulthood, but this recognition has not been translated into a general policy of *developmental support* which does not require for eligibility overt acts of undesirable behavior. (Parham, 1978, p. 9)

Implicitly indicated is the critical and immediate need for a national youth policy which articulates and supports positive youth development. Such a policy is in the interests both of the nation and of its youth. Statistics have documented this need through increases in personally and societally damaging behaviors of youth who, by their suicides, substance abuse, criminality, or sexual promiscuity are illustrating the extremes of rage, disaffection, or despair. In the absence of such a policy, the very fabric of society is threatened by the alienation and disaffection of our young people. As additional support for a national policy promoting positive youth development, one can cite several types of institutional failure which impact upon youth. For example, statistics document the "graduation" of many youth from the juvenile justice system into the ranks of adult offenders and the "graduation" of numerous illiterate and unskilled youth from the educational system into the permanent ranks of the unemployed. It has been well argued that the ab-

AN EXAMINATION OF YOUTH NEEDS

A valuing of youth requires meeting a range of needs.

Youth must be given the opportunity to experiment with values, beliefs, and roles.

Society is threatened by the alienation and disaffection of our young people.

sence of developmental support for youth is a major cause of these conditions, and that it reinforces deviance and promotes disengagement.

We must either move to engage our youth as valued and participatory members of society today or contend with very expensive consequences tomorrow. There is but one rational choice. We must not only consider youth as resources of the future but must learn to use them as resources now. It is not enough to "prepare" youth for adulthood and to delay their participation in the economic, social, and political arenas. Neither is it enough to "rehabilitate," "treat," "reform," or "correct" those youth who are viewed as troubled or troublesome. We cannot wait and youth will not wait until all rites of passage are completed and the mantle of adulthood is conferred.

We must learn to use youth as resources now.

THE POSITION OF YOUTH IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

☐ In some respects, American youth are currently nonpersons. This condition is, however, of recent origin. In the preindustrial economy, all but the very youngest or handicapped children functioned as contributing members of society as soon as they were able to perform useful work. Children as young as six years of age were routinely assigned household tasks. Children of this same age were frequently indentured to provide labor in exchange for maintenance, and were apprenticed in order to learn trades. With the advent of manufacturing, young people became even more valued contributors to the economic system. It was not until the 20th century, with the synergistic impact of multiple social, economic, and political pressures, that young people were expelled from the labor market. Restrictive child labor laws kept youth out of employment and compulsory education legislation kept them in school. Together, these factors caused young people to lose their economic value as producers, although youth continue to be highly important to the prosperity of the economic system in that they constitute a major consumer group.

It was not until the 20th century that young people were expelled from the labor market.

In the increasingly sophisticated, specialized, and technologically driven society of the late 20th century, the processes of formal education (i.e., socialization, skills development, and the acquisition of knowledge and information in the classroom setting) have replaced employment as molders of the adult person. Until the 20th century society offered relatively few adult roles and provided limited opportunity for role selection. It was therefore possible for young people to assume their essentially predetermined roles at an early age and to move directly from childhood to adult status as soon as those roles were mastered. Because this society now affords a broad range of adult roles, its nonadult members have a protracted opportunity for the selection of their adult roles and must, additionally, be extensively prepared to meet the responsibilities of those roles. The formal educational system theoretically exists, in part, to provide opportunity for both role selection and role preparation. Curiously, however, both processes occur in essential isolation from the ongoing processes of the economic, social, and political environments wherein those roles are practiced. Critics of contemporary education argue that this is irrational. They additionally argue that the isolation of educational experiences may actually impede the formation of youth identity which, according to Erikson (1950), is the primary task of adolescence. This argument is founded upon the premise that the school is an artificial environment. A sense of identity developed in such an environment is therefore false, misleading, and potentially dysfunctional in other settings. The remarks of Polk and Kobrin (1972) are illustrative. They stated:

Until the 20th century society offered few adult roles.

The isolation of educational experiences may impede the formation of youth identity.

Most conventional cultural and recreational activities are funneled through the school. The consequence is that the school, and not the

wide range of other community agencies or organizations, becomes in many communities the principal and focal point around which any sense of belongingness can develop. It is no wonder that the school becomes a major reference point in establishing who the adolescent is, and where he belongs. (p. 8)

The authors continued:

One severely restrictive aspect of this mode of identity formation is that the educational process isolates young persons from the rest of the community. This separation, institutionally imposed, impedes the most simple of adult-youth communication processes. Youth are not permitted to know from experience the real adult world of politics or work, and conversely adults have little feeling for or understanding of the social world of adolescents. (p. 8)

To the extent that the school, as a false environment, creates incorrect perceptions of self, isolates youth within the school, and does not permit the kind of exchanges which build a sense of reality, schools may be somewhat unhealthy environments for the youth confined within them. This criticism becomes more acute when consideration is focused upon schools located in the innermost urban communities. It is argued that schools are more pervasively and actively dangerous when they:

Schools may be unhealthy environments for youth.

1. Are structured to promote competition among students and to guarantee the clustering of young people into groups most simply described as "winners and losers";
2. Promote segregation of youth based upon highly arbitrary and perhaps irrelevant variables of age, sex, socioeconomic status, race, aptitude, intelligence, or achievement tests; and,
3. Provide life preparation which is inadequate and irrelevant.

Each of these factors—alone or in combination—may have a disastrous impact upon youth development. The young person who does not achieve recognition for special ability (scholastic, athletic, artistic, etc.) may soon be labeled as one of the "losers." The young person who is grouped with other "losers" because of race, socioeconomic status, or test scores, is quickly locked into an environment of failure. Upon leaving that environment, young persons may learn that they are totally unprepared for the "real world." This is especially true for youth whose entry into that world is not delayed by education and training beyond the secondary level, and even more acutely true for those who leave school prematurely.

It is becoming increasingly difficult for young people to enter the world of work. As society shifts its modes of production, and as credentialing becomes more elaborate, job opportunities for young people decline. Moreover, employment obtained by youth is frequently short term, occasional, less than full time, and has limited career potential. If the employment picture for the general population is somewhat bleak, for young people it is grim (Ginzberg, 1977):

As society shifts, job opportunities for young people decline.

1. In 1972, when the unemployment rate for the civilian labor force was 5.5%, it was 14.6% for youth between the ages of 16 and 19 years.
2. In 1977, when the unemployment rate for the civilian labor force was 7.0%, it was 17.7% for youth between the ages of 16 and 19 years.

While employment options for youth in general are not promising, they are even less encouraging for those young people who leave school prematurely, reside in the inner cities, and/or are members of certain ethnic groups.

For these youth, employment opportunities may simply not exist at all. For some young people, then, many opportunities for self definition, self esteem, and positive growth are foreclosed both in the school and in the wider community. The insistent value placed upon academic success and later upon economic success and status guarantees failure for many. Whether these environments actively seek the destruction of these young people or merely passively ignore them, the results are essentially the same. Loss of self esteem, anger, rage, and failure (both short and long term) ensue. These conditions, as Parham suggests, directly contribute to the "danger within."

Value placed on academic and economic success guarantees failure for many.

Having a job, and being employed in an environment which offers challenge and provides opportunity for success and growth, is often central to the development of a positive sense of self, particularly in this society, where heavy emphasis and value are placed upon gainful employment. Self esteem is also fostered by one's sense of worth or competency through other kinds of participation in the social and political arenas. Until recently, youth involvement in these areas has been somewhat restricted, but there are indications that this is changing.

Having a job is often central to the development of a positive sense of self.

Increasingly, young people have become more resistive to the constraints placed upon them by society. Their lack of recognized social utility, limitations of opportunity structures, and presumed impotence to act upon the disarray seen in the social, political, and economic systems has grown insufferable. The civil activism of the early 1960's, with its promise of broader social justice, and later, the Vietnam War gave youth issues upon which to focus their energy. The possibilities of achieving social remediations and for influencing the course of political decision making were appealing to many young people. Angered by environmental crises and suspicious of the traditional order, young people mobilized and became actively involved in working to achieve the changes they believed to be critical. Although the civil, political, and social tensions which escalated toward crisis in the 1960's may now be somewhat less acute, the problems have not been resolved. As a heritage of those years, young people believe that they, like other groups, have the right, responsibility, and capacity to participate in the structuring and operation of the systems which act upon them and in which they function. Somewhat belatedly, it is coming to be recognized that young people can clearly articulate their needs, will reject that which does not meet their needs, and will depart from the most well intentioned efforts to "help" them; they would prefer to assist themselves and to demonstrate their ability to help others as well.

Young people can clearly articulate their needs.

Some of the activities of youth are damaging, some are ill advised, and others appear irrational. With closer examination, however, internal rationality and the wisdom of private experience often become evident. In the past two decades, youth have surprised some, and embarrassed a few, in their capacity to see, comprehend, and act to meet their own needs or to assist others in achieving goals. We are coming to understand the merit of fostering youth participation in many areas of life, but like the newly reemerging economic value of youth, this is of recent origin. Historically, youth have been viewed as a population requiring assistance and help. The federal government, which is currently assuming leadership in programs designed to foster youth participation, has historically been one of the major agents promoting youth passivity.

We are coming to understand the merit of fostering youth participation.

FEDERAL INITIATIVES ON BEHALF OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH

☐ Given the magnitude and diversity of contemporary federal support for all manner of human services programs, it is somewhat surprising that prior to the 20th century, the federal government steadfastly refused to participate

in, or to support, such programs. Importantly, however, one of the first and continuing federal concerns in the area of human services was mobilized around the health, safety, and welfare of young people. Convocation of the First White House Conference in 1909, followed in 1912 by the establishment of the Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor, signaled the beginning of an ever stronger and more diversified federal commitment to youth.

Prior to the 20th century, government refused to support human services programs.

The level of federal commitment, the knowledge and value systems supporting commitment, the goals, and the strategies intended to promote attainment of goals have, of course, shifted over time. Consistent, however, has been an orientation toward youth which, while protective, has served to devalue youth as self determining and capable individuals. Although risking allegations of oversimplification, one might put forward the following observations concerning many youth focused programs supported by the federal government since the beginning of this century:

Orientation toward youth, while protective, has served to devalue youth.

1. These programs have tended to regard youth as recipients or beneficiaries of goods and services and have implicitly categorized young people as incapable of articulating their needs or of acting to meet their needs in a constructive fashion.
2. These programs have cast youth into the role of victims or of potential victims who, as a consequence, must be "protected" from all manner of abuse, neglect, exploitation, illness of mind and body, poverty, ignorance, violence, and criminality.
3. These programs have operated from the vantage point of a presumed adult wisdom which required that youth be acted upon by adults and permitted service in accordance with a mutable understanding of what might be in the "best interest" of youth served.
4. Remediation has often been the focus of these programs and negative labeling of program targets has frequently been employed to differentiate between those youth who are included within the population of interest and those who, because they do not "need" service, are not negatively labeled.
5. Inadequate cooperation, coordination, collaboration, and communication of program initiatives (at the federal, state, and local levels) have:
   a) Caused programs to work at cross purposes.
   b) Created duplication of effort.
   c) Failed to identify or address program gaps.

This situation, in turn, has reduced the effectiveness and efficiency of youth programs. Implicit in the first four points is a pervasive distrust of youth, while the final point may suggest a lack of mutual understanding among program planners and policy makers at various levels. Also important is the reduced likelihood of significantly impacting upon the resolution of pressing youth problems.

Implicit is a pervasive distrust of youth and lack of mutual understanding.

As the turmoil of the 1960's moved toward anxious conservatism in the 1970's, it became clear that programs for young people which ignore the lessons of activism learned in the previous decade would not be acceptable to youth. Holistic approaches to issues must be considered—approaches that deal with youth strengths as well as their difficulties and engage youth as participants in the identification of problems, the establishment of priorities, and the development of problem resolutions. The importance of youth participation in this context lies in a recognition of the value of youth and in respect for their rights and capacity to act responsibly. It is based upon commitment to honor this right and to promote the enhancement of youth capacity.

Holistic approaches must be considered that engage youth as participants.

Although we have been largely unresponsive to the needs of our young people in the area of employment, there have, within the past two decades, been some attempts to correct the deficiencies related to youth employment. The Neighborhood Youth Corps and the Job Corps are two examples of early federal initiatives in this area. While these programs did provide employment, they were flawed in that the jobs which were created tended to have limited career potential. More recently, the CETA program not only provides work but attends to educational and training needs more aggressively than did the earlier efforts.

The Youth Employment Demonstration Act offers significant potential.

The most recent federal youth employment program, authorized by the Youth Employment Demonstration Act of 1977, offers the most significant potential for addressing many of the structural or institutional problems associated with youth employment. The scope and comprehensiveness of programs funded under this Act should not only provide immediate employment but should overcome many of the problems associated with earlier programs. Finally, it is anticipated that these programs will, in addition to overcoming employment deficits, help restore to youth some of their former economic value and promote the associated development of a sense of esteem and self worth.

POSITIVE YOUTH DEVELOPMENT AND THE YOUTH DEVELOPMENT BUREAU

☐ The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has had an ongoing youth focused initiative since the early 1960's. Currently, major responsibility for that initiative rests in the Youth Development Bureau of the Administration for Children, Youth, and Families, which is becoming an advocate for youth and for programs which support positive youth development. Until the establishment of the Office of Juvenile Justice Administration in the Department of Justice, HEW was a major focus of programs for adjudicated youth as well as for youth not involved with the juvenile justice system. By 1970, the Secretary of HEW was persuaded that new action was required in the face of disappointing results in the areas of delinquency prevention and control.

HEW was persuaded that new action was required.

In order to consider this lack of success, the Secretary convened a small conference at Scituate, Massachusetts in the spring of 1970. Conference participants speculated that instead of deliberating the causes of delinquency, it would be more productive to attempt discovery of the factors which helped youth to become contributing members of their communities. The

Scituate conference concluded that the following conditions were important in fostering positive youth development (Center for Action Research, 1976):

1. Youth must have and perceive that they have, access to roles which give them a stake in the life of their community, bond them to society, and generate commitment to generally conforming and acceptable behavior.

2. There are processes at work in our communities through which most youth come to see themselves as competent and worthwhile. Some youth, however, experience the application of negative labels by family, teachers and others—labels which derive from incorrect stereotypes or from premature judgements about a single experimental act of misbehavior interpreted as a pattern rather than as a single act. Young persons who are prematurely or otherwise inappropriately negatively labeled come to see themselves in negative terms and behave accordingly.

3. Youth who perceive that they have access to socially gratifying and desirable roles and who develop self-identify, tend to develop into productive, contributing adults. Youth who are denied access to desirable community roles and who receive inappropriate negative labels, experience alienation, frustration and despair. This experience may lead to the performance of undesirable and occasionally illegal acts in the community.

4. The structure and processes which provide access to socially desirable roles and which attach positive and negative labels to young persons are frequently beyond the control of young persons themselves . . . (and) . . . healthy youth development is directed by the characteristics of community social institutions rather than by the personality characteristics of youth influenced by these institutions. (pp. 2–3)

The multivariable theory put forth in the Scituate conference focused upon institutional rather than personal reform as the means to address issues of youth development and delinquency prevention. Conferees suggested that many social institutions were programed to deny large numbers of youth access to socially acceptable, responsible, and gratifying roles. Conference participants argued that these institutions should strive to become more responsive to youth needs, and further argued for programs that would assist institutions in providing new roles for youth and would assist youth in assuming such roles (Polk & Kobrin, 1972). Of equal importance, the strategy emphasized the need to engage youth actively in such roles—not merely prepare them to assume those roles in some indefinite future. The conferees thus confirmed the position that youth are capable of immediate social involvement and social utility. They have, in short, a value.

The focus is on institutional rather than personal reform.

Youth are capable of immediate social involvement and social utility.

In 1971, shortly after the Scituate Conference, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Attorney General signed an agreement which transferred major responsibility in the area of juvenile justice concerns from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare into the Department of Justice. The resulting division of programatic responsibility essentially moved HEW more aggressively and with unity of purpose toward the refinement and implementation of the strategy articulated at Scituate. In 1974, the enactment of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act gave strong impetus to the Department's initiatives in this area; and the Runaway Youth Program, which was a component of the broader legislation, was entrusted to the Department.

The Runaway Youth Program, mandated by Title III of the Act, was a response to the persistence and seriousness of problems encountered by the hundreds of thousands of young runaways who, by virtue of age, sex, limited resources, and legal status were highly vulnerable to exploitation and dangerous encounters while beyond the bounds of parental control. The program was intended to assist youth while helping them to remain outside the juvenile justice system, and was to address the following goals:

1. Alleviate the problems of runaway youth.
2. Reunite youth with their families and encourage resolution of interfamily problems through counseling and other services.
3. Strengthen family relationships and encourage stable living conditions for youth.
4. Help youth decide upon a future course of action.

Through community based programs, the Runaway Youth initiative has, since the midyears of this decade, provided a wide and growing range of interventions for youth and their families. These services have come to include both short term, crisis interventions exemplified by temporary shelter, and longer term services focused upon resolution of the chronic problems leading to crisis through provision of aftercare, followup, and referral to other community agencies for ongoing services. Over the years, these programs have matured in operation and organization. Many that initially operated as alternative service resources for youth have become integrated into traditional human service networks, and have broadened their scope of interest to include families of youth.

The increasing sophistication and comprehensiveness of such programs have encouraged many of them to concentrate upon implementation of various aspects of the Scituate strategy, and to address the issues of positive youth development through institutional change. Their use of young people as staff members or as members of advisory boards are but two examples. Their attempts to work with local schools, employers, and representatives of the juvenile justice system are other examples of approaches taken in the areas of promoting positive youth labeling, preventing negative labeling, and encouraging institutional change supportive of positive youth development. Shifts in program organization and operation have also been brought about as a result of the following factors:

1. Changes in the nature of the populations served and their needs.
2. Broadening of the legislative mandate and establishment of program guidance materials, including program standards and promulgation of rules and regulations.
3. Improved skill and knowledge based upon continuing support provided through training and consultation, continuing research, experimentation, evaluation, and dissemination of information promoted by several means, including establishment of a network involving runaway youth programs.

Although the Runaway Youth Program was initially intended to address the crisis needs of runaways, the community centers quickly became resources for a broader consumer population, including youth who had been pushed out of their homes, youth who had left home by mutual agreement, potential runaways, youth desiring service for other reasons, and parents of youth. These groups had needs and concerns somewhat different from those presented by runaways, and programs modified service delivery structures to accommodate those needs.

The 1977 amendments to the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Preven-

tion Act included these other groups for service and for broadening the scope of service. The establishment of program guidance, including standards, rules, and regulations, helped create some guarantees of the nature and quality of services being provided through the centers. While this structure permits maximum local autonomy, promotes flexible organization, and encourages innovative operation that is responsive to local needs and conditions, it also insures a measure of uniformity between and among programs. Because the insistence in these programs is upon meeting youth needs in the most creative, effective, and efficient manner, the need for ongoing training and technical assistance has been recognized and addressed. Research, experimentation, and evaluation have promoted the development of an increasingly comprehensive body of knowledge which is made available to practitioners in the field of youth services.

Service delivery structures promote flexibility, yet insure a measure of uniformity.

Another resource for improved organization and operation of the community centers is networking—both formal and informal—between and among the centers. The cooperation, coordination, collaboration, and communication thus fostered promotes an exchange of information and support which improves project operation and speaks for youth concerns at the national, state, and local levels. This mobilization is viewed as one of the important outcomes of the Runaway Youth Program initiative and is clearly vital in the accomplishment of institutional change.

Networking fosters cooperation, coordination, collaboration, and communication.

Currently, the Runaway Youth Program serves approximately 42,000 youth annually through 165 community based centers. The program is administered by the Youth Development Bureau (YDB), which is additionally responsible for:

1. Planning, developing, and implementing an integrated program of research, demonstration, and evaluation related to a broad range of youth needs, problems, and developmental concerns.
2. Acting as an advocate for youth with the Administration for Children, Youth, and Families and other federal agencies whose programs impact upon youth.
3. Analyzing and disseminating research, demonstration, and evaluation information relevant to youth needs, problems, and program approaches. (Youth Development Bureau, 1979)

Recent efforts in these broad areas now reveal a continuing need for the kinds of community based programs being funded through YDB and have also uncovered a need for new initiatives which address highly focused youth issues in the areas of participation and employment. Current economic and political conditions argue for coordination of the program interests of multiple funding sources in a multifaceted assault upon youth problems. In recognition of these factors, the Departments of Justice and Labor have joined with HEW/YDB in the development of an interagency agreement to support a major experimental program in Youth Participation and Community Job Development. Established in 1978, the agreement provides funding for a one year, nationwide demonstration effort using approximately 20 runaway youth programs as experimental program sites, and for training, technical assistance, and evaluation for funded projects (*Federal Register*, 1979).

Justice and Labor joined HEW/YDB in an interagency agreement.

This interdepartmental agreement provides support for experimentation with two major youth employment models—the Youth Participation Program Model and the Community Services Job Development Model. The program model focusing upon youth participation addresses the employment needs of young people residing in communities in which these programs are located. Such projects are to demonstrate innovative methods for employing and training youth in participatory work roles and responsibilities in com-

The Youth Participation Program Model addresses employment needs.

The Community Services Job Development Program Model focuses on linkages for educational and supportive services.

munity based programs and to provide supportive education and career development services for youth. The Community Services Job Development Program model provides an integrated, stabilized working and living environment for youth at risk. This model will demonstrate job development, planning, and programing techniques designed to establish linkages for supplementary, coordinated educational and supportive services that seek to increase employability, career development, and self sufficiency of youth participants.

These demonstration programs, with their supportive training, technical assistance, and evaluation components, are expected to serve multiple short term and long range needs. Most immediately, they are expected to produce positive results for youth participants, project staff, and the communities involved. The demonstration projects will afford participation and employment opportunities for youth that will help them to meet immediate economic needs. Other immediate needs which will be met lie in the area of improving self esteem, and facilitating self definition. It is also anticipated that the experience of participation and the variety of services provided will improve long range employment and career opportunities for youth. For demonstration project staff (and indeed for other youth workers involved in the project), their experimental efforts will bring them the kinds of training, technical assistance, and informational resources that will enhance their job performance, in both the immediate and more distant future. They will develop more highly refined knowledge and skills in working directly with youth and in promoting institutional change.

Participation will improve long range employment and career opportunities.

A community impact is anticipated.

Because the demonstration projects will collaborate closely with other community agencies, the demonstration initiative is anticipated to have community impact. It is expected that the mutual understanding developed among community agencies will be invaluable in helping to create an environment conducive to institutional change. More immediately, the experimental projects will provide a vehicle for the accomplishment of needed community services. This, in turn, should enhance the status of youth by demonstrating their capacity to contribute to community improvement.

Undertaking this demonstration initiative represents a continuation of HEW efforts to promote the valuing of youth and to meet the legislative mandate of the Runaway Youth Act. For the Department of Labor, the demonstration program provides a special vehicle for carrying out innovative programs that test new approaches to the matter of youth employment. Similarly, for the Department of Justice, the demonstration program permits exploration of new approaches to delinquency prevention through the development of new participation strategies. It is anticipated that the demonstration projects will prove fruitful in each of these areas.

The multiagency approach will document benefits of a new approach to youth services.

Additionally, it is expected that the multiagency approach, expressed in the interagency agreement supporting the demonstration initiative, will document the feasibility and benefits of a new approach to youth services. It is hoped that this approach, characterized by cooperation, coordination, collaboration, and communication among agencies with shared interests, will promote program effectiveness and efficiency by maximizing the utilization of program resources, overcoming the tendency of programs to work at cross purposes, and identifying program and service gaps. Finally, it is hoped that the mutual investment of these three departments of government will promote the increased valuing of youth and will, in turn, help to form the basis of concern and awareness upon which a comprehensive national youth policy can be developed.

□ Briggs and Grant (1978) have suggested that the International Year of the Child and the White House Conference on Children and Youth create a timely opportunity for the establishment of a national policy on youth. They noted that:

> In the late 1960s, valuable opportunities were lost because of our re-peated failure to listen to the Nation's youth and collaborate with them in their efforts to promote social change. This time around, the oppor-tunity must be seized to work with American youth, capitalizing on their immense energies and latent talents. Encouragement must be given to genuine participation in meeting emerging National priorities. To do anything less would be a shocking waste of a vitally important National resource. (p. 310)

The authors suggested that in the formulation of a national youth policy we must reduce commitment to policies and programs which focus upon suppressing dissidents and treating deviants through modification of per-sonal behavior. Instead, we must concentrate upon promoting those insti-tutional changes that will insure that the critical needs of youth are met. Briggs and Grant further argued that an effective national policy on youth must include seven essential criteria:

We must concentrate upon promoting institutional changes.

1. A national youth policy requires youth involvement.
2. A national youth policy must integrate youth programs.
3. A national youth policy must be concerned with all youth.
4. A national youth policy must be directed toward opening up oppor-tunities for productive participation in society.
5. A national youth policy must serve national goals.
6. A national youth policy must break down the barrier between work and education.
7. A national youth policy must treat youth as a resource, not as a collection of problems to be solved by adults. (pp. 310–312)

When calling for the involvement of youth, Briggs and Grant insisted that young people must participate not only in the identification of social problems but in their remediation, and in particular that youth should be engaged in the solution of youth problems. They suggested that the fragmented, problem focused orientation of many youth programs reinforces the notion that young people are a social liability while ignoring the fact that most youth—whether stigmatized by labeling or not—must deal with the same institutions. Given this fact, a preventive approach which moves toward institutional change is perceived to be more beneficial than rehabilitative efforts.

Youth should be engaged in the solution of youth problems.

Briggs and Grant (1978), like many other youth advocates, argued that education and work should be mutually reinforcing opportunities.

> The alienation of youth and the need for labor intensive solutions to social problems can be approached by creating participatory work op-portunities, integrated with education, for all. Through such a merging of learning and doing, young people will become more directly involved in community problem-solving. Youth will thus gain the experience that they will need to deal with the complex problems of a changing world. (p. 317)

The authors recognized that the development of a national youth policy that truly values youth calls for a massive investment. They suggested that the

Older Americans Act of 1965, which forms the basis for policy and program development benefiting senior citizens, provides an instructive model for the coordination of youth policy development and program activity on the national, state, and local levels. This "Younger Americans Act" could be used to articulate federal policy on youth and to implement this policy through national, state, and local programs using new and existing agencies in concert, emphasizing cooperative functioning with respect to positive youth development and valued youth participation.

PRESENT REALITIES

☐ While the notion of a "Younger Americans Act" is highly attractive, with all the promise it holds for the framing of a national youth policy which promotes the positive development of youth and clearly recognizes their value, the fact remains that no such legislation yet exists. More significantly, despite encouraging changes, we continue to promulgate policies and programs that frustrate the positive development of youth and that degrade and devalue them. So long as these practices continue, so will youth suicides, drug abuse, criminality, sexual promiscuity, disaffection, and disengagement. Until we are willing to act upon a need to value our youth and to foster their development, some of them will continue to represent a "danger within" our society. Others will simply fail to attain their greatest potential. In either event, precious and irreplaceable human resources are lost.

We continue to promulgate policies that devalue youth.

Are we willing to act upon a need to value youth?

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education for self reliance

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Education has the capacity for serving either as an agent of alienation or of socialization and positive development. A focus on group dynamics rather than individual characteristics is of particular value in addressing the complex needs of alienated and disruptive youth. Education for self reliance, both as a concept and as a mode of practice, is introduced in a group home program for seriously troubled youth.

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EDUCATION: A BROAD PERSPECTIVE

Education is part and party to the alienation of youth.

As a human assistance strategy, it seeks to close gaps in development.

Education is perpetuated by those who have experienced its processes.

□ Education is essentially developmental. At its best, it leads toward independence, toward achievement of academic and social competence, and most importantly, toward the capacity for self reliance. Education represents an avenue toward the development of the intellect, the affect, and the economic capability of many who are able to use it for their own growth. Each of these aspects is essential to the alienated, disruptive, and incarcerated youth whom educational, correctional, and therapeutic programs seek to serve.

Moreover, since these youth are buffeted by antagonistic forces of dependency, neglect, psychopathology, learning disability, super ego lacunae, and early exposure to crime as a way of life, education becomes a critical element of survival. Yet education also creates alienation. How does this come about? If education, as a force for development, is part and party to the alienation of youth, its roles and functions must be better understood (Baus, 1974).

Education is also an intervention, often thought to be essential to our system of "treatment" of alienated and disruptive youth, and certainly of those who find their way into the criminal justice system. Special education, correctional education, and alternative education programs serve this population in unique ways, combining socialization experiences (learning attention span, persistence, management of aggression, getting along with others, self evaluation), direct education (study skills, reading communication, mathematics, social studies), and opportunities to identify and pursue occupational and vocational objectives. Presumably, the outcome is an individual who is able to accommodate to the goals of society. In this regard, education is one of the "human assistance strategies" developed in special and therapeutic ways to help close the gaps in development that bring these youth into our remedial and reeducational systems.

Because education serves those who are labeled alienated, disruptive, and emotionally disturbed, as well as those who exhibit serious behavior disorders, it often assumes a complementary role with the professions of mental health and social services. Each profession has its own unique character, yet within the framework of its own "professional stance," each has an educative function, in the sense that education is seen as a process of knowing oneself and achieving a place in society. The question of responsibility for education within these professional groups is one of serious interest to the juvenile justice system, which attempts to utilize all three in order to achieve its mission effectively.

Education is carried out in both formal and informal settings: during school, behind bars, in the street, in the home, in the military, at work, and, as the psychoanalysts have demonstrated, even while asleep. It is a broadly conceived psychological process having unlimited and boundless properties. For example, consciousness raising may be viewed as an educational process, as may religious education, in its ability to provide individuals, groups, and organizations with essential purpose in life.

In the most broad and general aspect, education is a central socializing force. It promotes development; it is a professional undertaking that requires considerable training; and yet, it is perpetuated by those who have themselves experienced its processes.

How does education become a socializing force, a treatment force, a force for vocational advancement, a force for developing self respect for youth, for those individuals who serve them, and for the institutions (in the broad sense) that bear the responsibility of addressing their needs?

Obviously, schools play an important role in this scenario. Schools and schooling can be either an agent of alienation or an essential socializing

force that brings about assimilation and accommodation to the primary task of education. Either is possible. To make this declaration is axiomatic, but to understand the how and why behind the axiom is essential if we are to support effectively an educational process leading toward the reeducation and ultimately the self reliance of alienated, disruptive, and incarcerated youth, with the ultimate goal of prevention. The schools are merely instruments of educational process and educational philosophy. Therefore, the major focus of this chapter is development of the concept of an education for self reliance for a special group of young people.

☐ The notion of self reliance and its applications to education have important historical and socioeconomic foundations. The implications of Emerson's (1841/1949) well known essay on self reliance are well grounded in the history of American culture from which particular forms of alienation and disruptive behavior emerge. Nyerere (1968) examines the implications of providing technical and social education without creating new forms of alienation. Education in this context is fundamental to the development of the essential human resources necessary for individuals to become valued beings, no matter how menial their work or miniscule their capacity for learning. Nyerere stresses the value of becoming a productive member of society as an essential outcome of education. Makarenko's work, *Learning to Live* (1953), also has much to offer concerning issues of alienation and how pedagogy, focused upon community living, provides opportunities for youth development.

Overall, concern is focused on educational processes and programs that address the social and emotional needs of youth at risk. How best can educators prepare these young persons for adult living? How can education begin to function as a deterrent to incarceration and as a preventative mechanism to disruption and self derogation? In this vein, education must be more than mere provision of tools. It must provide the essential competencies for living. Nyerere (1968) has stated:

> The education provided must therefore encourage the development in each citizen of three things: an enquiring mind; an ability to learn from what others do, and reject or adapt it to his own needs; and a basic confidence in his own position as a free and equal member of the society, who values others and is valued by them for what he does and not for what he obtains. (p. 55)

This is, of course, akin to the notion in the field of behavioral disorders of developing "content of character" and positive self image, both of which are integral to proper education for life, as well as essential to the promotion of self reliance.

Self reliance is a concept that can be learned. It is especially relevant to the education of troubled children and youth. Educational institutions serving such youth have a responsibility for promoting true self reliance, both as a concept and as a particular mode of practice.

☐ All forms of education occur within some specific context. While it would be very convenient to believe that we already promote the concept of education for self reliance within today's educational system, it may not be so. It may not be as direct and achievable an objective as it seems. Educational services are provided in a context of changing values, the culture of narcissism within special education, increasing needs and declining resources, a plethora of court ordered programs, and a constant need to reevaluate the theories upon which most of our practice is based.

EDUCATION FOR SELF RELIANCE

Education is fundamental to the development of essential human resources.

It must provide competencies for living.

Self reliance can be learned.

CURRENT EDUCATIONAL PRACTICE: TWO SALIENT FEATURES

Two salient features bear upon the capacity of educators to develop an educational position leading to self reliant attitudes among troubled youth. First, all education in the present circumstance (and certainly in the decade of the 80's) occurs within an increasingly turbulent environment, brought about by rapid technological development. With increasing technology, new industries are born, old industries are phased out, and new occupations are developed. Increasing knowledge and increasing ignorance simultaneously abound. Extensive youth unemployment and the prospect of an unemployed (or at least an underemployed) intelligentsia are inescapable factors to be considered. Increased competition for available economic resources means that social programs are given second place to the development of national defense programs. In addition, immigrants are becoming a force in the labor market, taking jobs previously designated for the American working class. Change and technology are salient factors within special education.

Rapid technological development affects education.

What then of troubled youth, many of whom display characteristics of retardation or learning disabilities, have police records, exhibit antisocial behavior, including drug and alcohol addiction, and basically are not even eligible for today's all volunteer military service? In an increasingly complex world, what was once a realistic goal for many troubled youth (learn a trade, "work with one's hands") can no longer suffice. The printing industry is computerized, and tailoring is done more cheaply and efficiently in Taiwan! At the advent of the 80's, how can educators prepare youth for this world and, at the same time, face up to the monumental task of dealing with the alienation, violence, and crime that lead to incarceration?

What was once a realistic goal . . . can no longer suffice.

Secondly, within special education's parent system of general education, there is a broad, generalized focus on the psychology of the individual. There is also, however, a group and institutional psychology at work in our field, and it has been seriously neglected (Johnson, 1976). Education has always been a social process concerned about the development of persons who share certain common characteristics. This is especially true in modern educational practice, with its focus on "educating the disadvantaged," "multi-cultural populations," "the children of the poor," the mentally retarded, the blind, and all the other "individuals" named in Public Law 94–142.

Institutional psychology . . . has been seriously neglected.

More to the point, we are concerned about the alienated, the disruptive, the troubled. (The "disruptive child" has a unique group identification found in teacher's union agreements, thereby giving them special administrative identity.) In special education the notion of groups of youngsters is recognized by most, but has not been explored very carefully. The notion of group relations between the ablebodied and the handicapped has not come to the attention of workers in the field. Likewise, the notion that there are relations and therefore authority issues (such as who speaks for whose interests) making for differences between special and general education has received insufficient examination.

In the field of corrections, the concept of authority—whose, how much, and its characteristic modes—has always been a serious matter. Judges, probation officers, and correctional officers may have one authority stance; teachers, counselors, and social workers another; and mental health professionals and lawyers still another. Advocacy groups, too, have very different opinions about the question of authority. These group relations are based on each interest group's idea about its own authority.

The concept of authority has always been a serious matter.

While all will claim that the individual is the core of the focus, this chapter seeks to state the case for groups and organizations, operating from an internalized concept of the exercise of authority, with authority defined as the right to do certain work and to exercise power on behalf of others. The

goals of "treatment–education–incarceration" operate mainly with the notion that authority is given over a group and that there are certain definable tasks, roles, power functions, leadership potentialities, and responsibilities present within a system. Within this context, authority relates to group and social system phenomena.

The incarcerated are a group. The disruptive in schools are a group. Those prone to debilitating antisocial alienation are a group! They share certain predictable group characteristics, and social scientists have observed that what are often viewed as individual characteristics are sometimes group membership factors. In the light of significant group processes, a concentration on individual psychology is sometimes less than helpful to the understanding and education of troubled populations.

Certain group characteristics are shared.

How, given these two saliencies, does one approach troubled youth with a program called education for self reliance? Taking into account the increased complexity within which education must be developed (new types of delinquency, new addictions, more sophisticated psychological forces, and the social group context within which we must work), it seems appropriate to shift away from the usual consideration of individual characteristics such as psychopathology, character defect, or learning disability. Instead, the focus becomes one that includes role and the role constellations carried because of system properties. Role constellations are designated by such terms as alienated, lower class, neglected, second class citizen, female, and adolescent. The ways in which these groups are permitted to take and use their personal authority in society becomes an important focus of study.

A shift away from consideration of individual characteristics is appropriate.

Youth who enter the systems of corrections, special education, and mental health with such predetermined frequency are a class which is least self reliant as a group. They lack personal authority over the opportunities that could help them to achieve positive self reliance. They suffer role strain, and attempts to correct this condition come in the form of confinement by incarceration, hospitalization, boarding schools, and other means of "helping" them to become productive citizens. Warehousing is a term which has been used to describe how we deal with them.

Youth suffer role strain.

☐ Observation and naturalistic inquiry have revealed that authority is a major issue and that if one is going to understand and work effectively within the educational process, a familiarity with social processes is required. The group context (the ecological context within which the individual functions) must be examined. This further leads to the need to reexplore the notion of role and task.

EDUCATIONAL ROLES AND TASKS

An examination of role is quite critical. It helps to differentiate system properties from individual properties. For instance, undertaking a role analysis mode suggests that special educators should examine the roles of helper, server, educator, and counselor, much as mental health professionals examine the role of the troubled client through such processes as diagnosis and treatment. There are sets of roles and systems of roles in educational enterprises, just as there are in treatment and correctional enterprises.

An examination of role helps to differentiate system properties from individual properties.

Mental health models and role constellations do not serve certain client groups with enough depth to address their educational areas of difficulty. Yet some of the most complex role constellations come to bear in educational programs. For instance, in mental health, the basic unit is doctor–patient, and in no way does this correspond to the basic educational unit of teacher–class, in which there are x number of students. While it would be comforting to fantasize that education and schooling are as simple as

Complex role constellations come to bear in educational programs.

teacher–student relationships, they are markedly more complex than one would like to admit. In addition, there are discrete organizational environments in which "education qua treatment" must function. Anyone who has worked in an interdisciplinary setting will recognize the notion of host profession as a system and role function of the organizational environment.

Education has a broad meaning, with both formal and informal activities taking place within established programs. In institutions where men and women are incarcerated, there is a covert system of education which is as powerful as the more traditional one. Every prisoner wants to write a book. The mastery of chess is phenomenal. Body building programs, religious education, information and referral services (some legitimate and some illegitimate) all take place outside the purview of the formal educational system. Youth are able to improve communication skills or attain a general equivalency diploma. As one group phrases it, "Every cell is a potential university."

A covert system of education exists in penal institutions.

The role and task of education is more than imparting knowledge and skills. It has more to do with learning to live and trying to find a way to move from one group to another. Basically, it is the effort to attain self respect. In this regard, the fundamental role that education plays involves developing capacities, both intellectual and affective. Education has two tasks: first, providing opportunities for acquisition of knowledge, attitudes, and skills; and second, providing opportunities for learning how to learn. In its broadest and most general sense, therefore, education seeks to promote self reliance and individual development among youth whom the system has shunted aside.

The fundamental role of education involves developing intellectual and affective capacities.

DEFINING EDUCATION FOR THE DISRUPTIVE, ALIENATED, AND INCARCERATED

☐ There are four particular notions of education that should be considered and are, in some way, all operative in relation to the target group(s). They occur in no particular order and all operate with their own momentum and processes.

First, there is the notion of corrective education. It is exemplified in the following passage, taken from a Justice Department publication:

> First of all, we would want to inculcate in the delinquent a value of making rational decisions (as opposed to impulsive decisions). Secondly, we would want this person to tolerate working with problems of any sort (i.e. educational, social emotional) by staying with a problem and by developing and testing alternative solutions. These goals are based on the assumption that meaningful corrective learning must be internalized and not extrinsically directed. Corrective learning must be intrinsically and immediately rewarding and not contingent on external reinforcement and activated by material promised or aversive consequences, no matter how well intended these may be. (Glavin, 1965, pp. 16–17)

Corrective education emphasizes responsibility.

There is a moral and ethical element to this notion, with responsibility as an integral factor. In institutional language and in other types of corrective programs for troubled or delinquent youth, it is phrased as the desire to "get them to be responsible."

Second, is the notion of education for self reliance. In this context, education serves as a force for development of the individual and for the community of which he or she is a part. It attempts to eliminate dependency upon the covert external factors which created the condition. Education for self reliance seeks to:

1. Prepare youth to cope with varying situations and circumstances.
2. Assist with the critical period of transition from work (job) into a career

orientation for the benefit of self and society.
3. Focus on the person, with guidance from Maslow and Erikson.
4. Utilize action oriented methods such as adventure education or Outward Bound modes which are used to develop individual survival potential.

Education for self reliance is basically concerned with transforming the individual/community forces, without neglecting one for the other. It is social system oriented. For instance, those who propose education for self reliance are concerned about the efficacy of providing highly individualized education in special programs and then returning youngsters to the same social conditions from which they came. These programs of self reliance attempt to change the social context and then to try to work on the "learning disability." It is a process of Education for Critical Consciousness (Freire, 1973).

Programs of self reliance attempt to change the social context.

Third, there is the notion of education as an environmental enterprise— not simply as an application to people, but to organizations and systems. In this type of education, the task is to educate the criminal justice system and the educational system. The subject is problem solving, interdependency, how to create a learning environment, and how to promote human relations.

Education as an environmental enterprise seeks to educate the criminal justice and educational systems.

A curriculum involving concepts of large system change, attention to organizational climate, and ways of improving the processes of treatment and education is important. The nature of the organizational world and how it responds to change are educational targets. Environments that are unresponsive to education create alienation, disrupt development, and incarcerate the spirit of learning so essential to youth and human resource development. This notion includes staff development and inservice training as part of its emphasis.

The fourth notion is the most neglected, and is also the one that creates most difficulty for special education as a field. Some call it optimal education or the process of developing creative potential. Although infrequently considered important, it has been a part of the literature for some time. Slavson's work, Re-Educating the Delinquent Through Group Community Participation (1961), and his somewhat bizarre notion of releasing creative potential is the basis for this form of educational program.

Troubled or delinquent youth represent one of the most resourceful and creative populations to be found. They display leadership; they understand human relations. These youth can identify a phony in a couple of seconds. They can organize overtly and covertly, and often have a keen sense of problem solving, including how to incorporate technology into their activities.

Delinquent youth represent a resourceful and creative population.

The task of releasing these creative powers involves the reeducation of value systems. It is often a matter of rehabilitating latent creative ability that youth have developed in the course of growing up. However, there is one caution. This reeducational process binds all to it, both the teacher and those who are taught. One cannot teach that which has not been personally internalized. In order to release creative power, in the sense of developing optimal educational programs, special education has a fair way to go.

One cannot teach that which has not been internalized.

☐ The ideas and concepts previously described were developed in the course of direct work with alienated youth. In one sense, they grew over a three year period of observation and naturalistic inquiry involving a group home for seriously troubled boys, the staff of the group home, and the department of social welfare serving as court appointed guardians. In another sense, these data are available in any setting where sensitive educators wish to seek it out and explore its meaning.

A PROGRAM FOR SELF RELIANCE

Over a three year period, the author worked in the group home, first in a traditional consulting stance based upon mental health consultation practice. This included offering services in educational psychology, organizational development, and weekly therapeutic case analysis. Once a background of experience and a more careful needs assessment had been completed, a better understanding was reached concerning the problems and dilemmas of providing a relevant program for these special youth, and a consultant role was established to enhance development and growth.

Alienation is an appropriate conceptual framework for describing these youth. Taken literally, alienation means *not belonging*. This condition is far more debilitating than serious emotional disturbance, which is our usual special education rubric. These young people had experienced repeated involvement with the juvenile justice, mental health, social welfare, and educational systems. They were all urban youth, all wards of the court, and some had successfully engaged in a feral existence until caught. They were all Black or of mixed parentage. Some knew of their parents and siblings, while others did not. Alcoholism, drug dependency, violent crime, physical abuse, prostitution, homosexuality, prison sentences, and court appearances were prevalent and routine among these eleven or so boys, ages 13 to 19. They fit into the formulation of the alienation syndrome described by Gould (1964), which includes the following characteristics:

1. Devaluation of peers.
2. Generalized distrust of others.
3. Rejection of socially approved modes of interpersonal conduct.
4. Social introversion.
5. Psychic and somatic complaints.
6. Conflict and poor impulse control.

Alienation is far more debilitating than serious emotional disturbance.

These areas of concern, along with a pervasive cynicism, pessimism, apathy, and emotional disturbance, were the sociopsychological factors facing those who were to work with these young people within the group home context. These youth were alienated in a variety of ways: from others; from the community, and from themselves. What was required was a special program, which we began to call socioeducation.

Youth were alienated from others, from the community, and from themselves.

Educationally relevant problem areas were reflected in long histories of social, emotional, educational, and personal failure, some stemming from the day of birth in those born to mothers who were young teenagers (13 to 14) themselves. Massive developmental problems (such as delayed speech), upper respiratory diseases, child abuse, physical impairment, and recurring problems of health and diet which negatively affected physical growth were also present. Many of these youth had been hospitalized for operations and illnesses. Although gaps in socialization and education existed, there were definite areas of intact ability, both intellectual and academic. Because of the prevalence of health problems, part of the program involved teaching health and nutrition, attending to physical complaints quickly, arranging and following through on medical treatments, and providing counseling about self care, sanitation, and care of the body.

Although gaps existed, there were definite areas of intact ability.

Another constellation of factors involved a basic set of psychological problems growing out of interactions with people and institutions. These involved deep feelings of being discarded and unwanted, of being shifted from system to system, from judge to judge. Many had lived for periods of time on hospital and mental institution wards, in temporary foster homes, in the cottages of institutions for the neglected, or in orphanages. They could describe nu-

Feelings of being discarded and unwanted were present.

merous relationships with foster parents, social workers, child care workers, the day shift, the night shift, student therapists, and other trainees who professed genuine desire to be of help, but vanished when their training was over. They had experienced several reorganizations and reassignments of personnel.

Consequently, these boys could not develop feelings or relationships based upon trust. They had lived and been socialized in environments of total mistrust and, as a result, had serious affective learning disabilities. There was always a boundary between "me" and "them." We were often told point blank that we could never understand them, and they were psychologically correct. Educationally, we attempted to focus on the "here and now" of this experience, what is happening in this place, since "home" was not a well developed concept among these youth. The attempt was to enable these youngsters to become observers in their present environment and to verbalize their observations without making comparisons to what had gone on before.

Still another problem area was the tendency of the professional workers to view these boys as objects. They were seen as part of a caseload, as clients, and therefore quite different from the workers or their own children. While there was considerable rhetoric about empathy, there was usually the feeling that these youngsters were "damaged." The workers believed that Bill and Joe were objects who were in need of their services, objects who had to be treated, psychologized, case worked, or court ordered. We discovered that this was because the workers themselves could not bear the anxiety evoked by the historical case material.

The boys could not develop feelings or relationships based on trust.

Professional workers tended to view them as objects.

Youth themselves were forced to bear the brunt of worker anxiety.

Objectivation and projective identification were the defense mechanisms used. Thus the boys themselves were forced to bear the brunt of worker anxiety. They attempted to build up their own defenses against this unconscious process, but it seldom worked. In the workers' attitudes and basic beliefs, these youth were sociopsychological objects, altogether different types of human beings from the professional workers.

Related to this difficulty was the fact that these youth rarely developed the kind of transference and countertransference that permitted them to form a therapeutic alliance. They were essentially unable to identify with surrogate figures, and could not put themselves in the position of another, even for a slight moment. Because of the constant shifting in their social and psychological lives, they had not been able to develop symbolic processes leading to identification. Their monitoring of feelings about relationships was not merely shut off—it was in many cases undeveloped.

Monitoring of feelings was undeveloped.

Resentment, hostility, and self depreciation were prevalent.

Finally, as one would expect, the critical problem of developing self esteem or core identity was quite serious. "Poor self concept" is a cliché. Literally, these youth had very primitive self esteem systems, mainly generalized out of their disadvantaged existence. Resentment, hostility, despair, self depreciation, and its ironic component "compensatory grandiose behavior" (Clark, 1965) were prevalent. This discovery was made as we began, naively, to provide counseling and supportive therapy. We were simply unaware that the core of self esteem built upon alienating processes would be harmful. In other words, as the counseling process began to take effect, it exposed what self esteem there was, to the detriment of both the staff and the individual youth. Neither could tolerate it, and all sorts of acting out took place.

These findings came basically from weekly case conferences and from staff involvement with the young men. A social systems perspective was adopted as a way of trying to understand the dynamics of the situation. First, it was recognized that these youth were repositories of alienation rather than pathology, and that they were serving as representatives of the problems found in every social situation. They had become educated and socialized to be what they were, and it was not simply a matter of chance.

These youth were repositories of alienation rather than pathology.

Specific social and psychological processes had brought these youth to their present circumstances. Processes in the schools had marked them as "institution kids," as products of family breakdown, as members of a class of "charity–welfare" beings, dependent on the public for their essential caring. The young men had grown up within these systems and now participated in continued alienation, with the charity–welfare metaphor as their vehicle to becoming part of the system.

Workers participated in massive collusion.

They had become educated and socialized to expect foster home existence and institutional security. They had come to expect that various workers (with their clinical orientations) and schools (with their special education orientation) would accommodate to their alienation. In this they were correct. There was a massive collusion in process, with all parties working diligently to maintain the system that had been built up. In the author's opinion, this is why 30% to 60% of these youth are assessed as learning disabled. There exists the spurious notion that if academic learning difficulties are addressed, other problems will fall into place.

The basic strategy developed was to shift from an individual focus and approach the group as a whole and the community as a basic entity. Slavson's suggestion of group and community participation was accepted. A weekly study group (one for the boys and one for the staff) promoted learning about the group and the processes it used to defend against studying itself. Tensions experienced within the group and those brought about by the daily issues of community existence were addressed. Since both the

boys and the staff lived in the same house, this was an important effort. Schooling and education were discussed in terms of staff versus youth perceptions. Each youth was required to participate in some sort of formal educational program.

Consulting staff attempted to develop the outline of what constitutes a functional activity and to help differentiate between the principle of organization (in the sense of coming to organize one's life) and the principle of disorganization. Thus, house rules and regulations were jointly established and debated. The notion of choice was invoked constantly. Because one had control over choices, one therefore was responsible for those choices.

House rules and regulations were jointly established.

Community meetings were regularly held. Staff, youth, and the consultant built and worked from an agenda of situations that were of concern to the entire community. These meetings proved invaluable as a way of exploring the issues and dilemmas of actual community living, especially the conflict free realm of human relations that existed within the community. It took almost a year to develop the recognition that there were indeed conflict free human relations taking place in this small community.

In this learning process, the work of Harry Stack Sullivan (1953) and his Interpersonal Theory of Psychiatry was crucial because of its foundation in the social sciences and field theory. The concept of learning as the organization of experience was especially helpful. Existing anxieties were employed as part of the learning process, building in trial and success, rewards and punishments, and use of human examples of trial and error found right within the community. Once there was some basic understanding of learning as the organization of experience, other educational tasks could be undertaken.

Existing anxieties were employed as part of the learning process.

Through persistent interpretation and pointing out of the obvious, foresight and ability to predict causation were developed. Over the first two years, a major breakthrough for both staff and youth was the development of motivation to achieve. Finally, we were able to provide a reeducation program leading toward self assertion and aggression on behalf of self reliance. Aspirations were developed, and reality testing became apparent. All the while, however, considerable anxiety existed which had to be carefully managed in order to keep education alive in this program.

Reality testing became apparent.

In group and community meetings, the focus of the consultant's work was on authority and leadership. Youth were encouraged to examine their relationships with those in authority. Staff were provided with opportunities to reassess their views about authority as expertise rather than power or position. Most of all, an effort was made to promote the notion that creativity and capacity for affective learning were the proper exercise of authority, and that its potential already existed with the group and the community. By constantly providing interpretations about the unconscious forces operating within the group, and by becoming a working member of the community, the consultant was able to provide data and make observations in a continuing process of action research.

The potential for creativity already existed.

Backup systems were also important. Individual counseling was provided using the Life Space Interview (LSI) as a counseling technique, focusing on one goal set by the individual in each session. Anticipatory guidance as a strategy was the chosen method for carrying out LSI. A behavioral program focused on activities of daily living, with the welfare department allowance as a target. Community meals and periodic camping trips involving solitary activities were also a part of the activity program. There was a required study period each evening, as well as severe restriction on the use of television by both staff and youth. Educational sessions were part of the community meetings. Everyone was taught surface management of behavior, and com-

A behavioral program focused on activities of daily living.

munity expectations were created so that, in effect, everyone became everyone else's manager. The central core of the socioeducational program was the regular group and community meetings, where all problems and issues were discussed within a framework of scrutiny, challenge, and criticism of the group and the community rather than a particular individual.

PROGRAM FINDINGS

□ Much was learned as a result of experience with this group of alienated boys and dedicated staff. Some of these youth were enabled to become more self reliant. The house was a safer, cleaner, more comfortable place to live after a few months. All of the youth were able to function better within the educational system, including the development of college potential in a few. Others are functioning well in the armed forces and in the marginal work force. Others still require considerable institutional support, particularly those with histories of serious physical abuse.

External support systems were identified.

External support systems were identified that contributed greatly to the development of self esteem and determination for change. Alateens, a choir, and a gym where swimming and weight lifting were available were especially useful examples. Medications and outpatient psychotherapy were not. The use of medications, even for enuresis, became part of the drug and alcohol problem in the community, while psychotherapy carried the stigma of being crazy.

Considerable difficulty was encountered in the effort to enlist the public school as a partner.

Considerable difficulty was encountered in the effort to enlist the public school as a partner in learning and as a positive force in promoting growth and development. After several months, it was discovered that many of the school methods of handling these youth were superficial and abusive. The schools tended to deny the demography of abuse, neglect, and serious emotional disturbance that were part of the problem. Teachers were insensitive to the alienation syndrome. In many instances, they unwittingly reinforced and cooperated with this alienation. Rigid school suspension policies usually existed. It was of great concern that the public schools would never participate in our required study (homework) effort, and seldom would the teachers attend our community meetings. They were willing to attend case conferences, but not community meetings. Overall, parochial schools were found to be much more concerned and sensitive to our socioeducational program, particularly with their understanding and reinforcement of community as a concept.

Parochial schools were more concerned.

As these youth began to demonstrate increased self reliance in relation to their academic education, we found a need for a strong results-oriented tutoring program as part of the educational process and as a backup to instruction given in the junior and senior high schools. Such a program should be integral to the group home structure.

The focus of special education services was isolated from youth needs.

Special education services were not found to be especially helpful, since their focus was isolated from youth needs as staff had defined them. Such ideas as individualized instruction in reading and mathematics and assessment of interindividual cognitive abilities would not be helpful for youth whose major problem areas demanded value education and methods to help combat the charity-welfare beliefs that prevented them from experiencing the relevance of academic learning.

Special education, it appeared, was filled with as many *shoulds* and *oughts* as regular education. Our young men wouldn't go near these programs. It was impossible to ignore their vigorous protests that they were not "retards" or mentally "off." In most cases they were correct. Staff had great difficulty explaining their decisions to the special educators, given the massive evidence that had been compiled in their child study procedures.

In addition, much was learned about staff, about their training and status needs, and about the need to learn to manage stress in the living situation. The regularly scheduled staff group, using the mode of looking at the here and now of experience, was especially important. It was also important to teach by example. Doing LSI's with staff around a given behavioral incident was one of the most important strategies adopted. A staff support program is essential, but the task is not simply to be empathic but, more importantly, to help staff handle their own alienation. An important task was to help them identify their own unconscious projections into the youth, as well as vice versa. Moreover, it was essential to stress staff authority, self reliance, and creativity constantly, since all three are required to get eight or more alienated teenagers up in the morning and properly prepared for school.

Much was learned ... about the need to manage stress.

It was essential to stress staff authority, self reliance, and creativity.

The consultant's own learning was extended and broadened during the course of this work. For instance, it has been known for some time that food and feeding rituals, properly managed, are important. Persons who manage food have special authority and respect. Experiences from residential treatment settings were helpful. However, the extent to which feeding contributed to the feeling of being owed something was a new revelation. The boys told us, during one period of self assertion, that the social welfare department gave us x amount of money per boy for food, and they were correct. It turned out that several of the boys routinely checked the supermarket tapes and were acutely aware of the food budget. (Is this evidence of learning disabilities?) Once this data became available in the community meeting, it was encouraged as an act of self reliance, and responsibility was rotated among the boys. However, the dynamics of feeding and being owed something by the social welfare department were still present. Effective intervention in this process was never achieved.

Feeding contributed to the feeling of being owed something.

It was also learned that space is equally important as food, perhaps more so. Room assignments, territory, and the ability to protect one's living situation (one's bed) were extremely important to these boys. As the relevance of these forces were revealed, it was possible to better utilize powers of naturalistic inquiry and observation to assess stages of growth and development. Again, once the affect around space was known, it was possible to work on the self reliant features, using corrective and reeducational strategies for some and concept building for others.

Room assignments and territory were important.

. Finally, numerous needs were neither addressed nor fully understood during the course of this work. Above all, it was learned that overt, observable occurrences among either staff or boys were always precursors to further learning, when properly understood. When a female coworker became pregnant, it was observed that many of the boys became tougher, harder to manage, and more masculine. Others became protective and withdrawn. Community meetings began to be filled with gender metaphors. Sexual identity had become an issue, and there was considerable anxiety over the enforced look they were having to take at their own birth and existence as males. This was especially pertinent because the male staff were members of a religious order with vows of celibacy very much up front. The pregnancy of the worker (and her supervisor) became part of the exploration of sex. Very quickly, it was learned that a deep lack of sexual self esteem existed among the youth and that there were conflicts about sexuality and gender that were masked by bravado and street machismo. Intimacy was a problem for the entire community! As the process of organizing learning from these experiences progressed, the entire community became more closely knit and more cohesive in its working relationships. Had a sex education program been initiated, it is likely that it would have failed miserably!

Conflicts about sexuality and gender were masked by bravado.

CONVEYING ESSENTIAL MESSAGES

Education for self reliance is essential.

□ This chapter-has provided a description of one experience with alienated youth. Because the action research process was not designed to seek out absolutes, there are no final conclusions. It has been hypothesized that a process of education for self reliance is essential to the development of these groups of troubled youth. More work is required. Other experiments should be set up and other hypotheses tested. It should be emphasized that this experience grew out of years of training in psychodynamics tempered by social systems thinking, basically from a tradition developed at the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations (Rice, 1965, 1969). Others may have different ideas. At this point, a list of essential messages is proposed which can be compared with the principles stated earlier in this chapter. These messages may be separated into two groupings. The first relates to broad considerations for socioeducational programing.

Staff must be prepared to engage in direct advocacy.

1. The treatment of institutional and social forces that contribute to the persistence of alienation among any group of youngsters must receive careful attention. This is why education for self reliance is environmental in nature. The process is to some degree sociopolitical, and staff in such programs must be prepared to engage in direct advocacy on behalf of youth. For instance, the public school was one of the uncooperative elements in this program and in the community at large. While staff in these programs are likely to be paid by the same fiscal allocations as the public school staff, they must negotiate for sufficient independence in order to criticize and work against certain school practices. This message is essential to the learning of political self reliance by youth. Staff in these programs are surrogate parents. As such, they have a right to demand that schools do what they are charged to do for these youth. It is essential for youth to learn that political and social change activities are as important to them as to any other citizen, particularly when their rights to free public education are eroded, as they often are.

The milieu must achieve a balance between treatment and education.

2. The milieu of the group home must achieve a balance between treatment and education. An effort was made to shy away from treatment, but it could not be done. Socioeducation is a more appropriate term. Socialization counseling is one strategy, but it should never take the place of providing education. Staff in these programs must be sufficiently prepared to understand that their own experiences have educated and socialized them and that therefore, the experiences of these youth, no matter how terrible they may seem, have been part of an educational process. It is the process of learning to organize and understand experience which is important in the milieu, rather than the content of the experiences. Staff must learn to be in constant touch with their experience. This requires a treatment orientation—that of listening with the third ear. The socioeducation process uses "here and now" content as data. Nothing is privileged or confidential, including staff experience. An essential quality of the social milieu must be the capacity to use experience for learning, no matter how stressful it may be.

"Here and now" content provides data.

3. The socioeducational program must have a firm grounding in values and culture. Values must be consistently clarified and discussed. The community as a whole must become acutely aware that culture is important to the ways in which one values work, play, achievement, time, competition, affiliation, and power. An essential part of the process of education for self reliance is some form of intercultural education as a basis for problem solving. Among the boys in this project, the notion of self identity as an African people was useful. It provided a value and cultural base for

Intercultural education is essential.

developing ethnic identity and a sense of universal collectiveness to re-
place the subcultural patterns of the ghetto that were contributing to al-
ienation. For all youth, regardless of ethnicity, there is a base of culture
that can be brought to bear on their situation. They should be helped to
experience it in order to learn that they are connected to the whole, to
the society, and to the community.

The second group of messages addresses more specific aspects of a
group home program.

1. Each individual is important to the group and community. This message
   is essential in programs where staff and youngsters live together. It is all
   the more essential where staff and youngsters do not live together and
   the staff functions in shifts.
2. Structure and order are important. There is a place for rigidity about how
   things are done in the group living situation. Time boundaries are essen-
   tial; space management is critical; and personal time and space must be
   protected by structured and orderly means.

   Structure and order are important.
3. Group and community meetings are for everyone. No one is so alienated
   or busy that he or she cannot attend.
4. Authority and its therapeutic exercise are vital. Authority means being in
   touch with the right to work, to learn, and to be self reliant. It also indicates
   an organizational process whereby one's experience of authority be-
   comes data for group inspection. It means involving various authorities
   as part of the support system for the socioeducational process. Thus
   family members have a role, as do the social welfare department, police,
   community agencies, neighbors, and so forth. Developing a strong sense
   of authority and its exercise is essential to education for self reliance.

   *Authority means being in touch with
   the right to work, to learn, and to be
   self reliant.*

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community and school partnership: youth rights and the role of advocates

margaret beyer

Institutionalized youth, youth with serious family and emotional problems, those who exhibit severe academic deficiencies, and those who are chronically disruptive are desperately in need of sensitive and persistent advocacy. Case and class advocacy provide two specific approaches to addressing the needs of young people who are alienated from the school setting. Youth workers can facilitate collaboration among educators, parents, and human service agencies to meet more effectively the unique needs of individuals and to make school attendance a potentially rewarding choice for more young people in our society.

ADVOCATES FOR YOUTH

☐ A recent front page newspaper article presented a frightening critique of the shortcomings of public education:

It's Roger's secret. He hides it from his girl, the guys in his neighborhood, his boss at his part-time job. . .and the other seniors at Eastern High School. . . . After 12 years in Washington schools, Roger cannot read. 'If I could read, I'd be a different person.' . . .He has learned little tricks to get someone else to read whatever it is out loud or to find clues that will let him in on a secret code that everyone else seems to know: the written word. . . . As each bus pulls up, the lanky 19-year-old tries to figure out which one is the one he takes home every day. He cannot read the 'Sherriff Road' sign that identifies his bus. . . . Sometimes he looks for the U4 symbol at the top of the bus—he has memorized that—or he looks for the faces he has seen before on the bus that will take him home. (Williams, 1978, p. A1)

What kind of preparation for adult responsibilities are we giving young people if a graduating senior is forced to navigate the city wearing the blinders of illiteracy? In Roger's predominantly Black high school, more than half the student body has a reading problem; the typical student reads at the sixth grade level. In 1978, 500 of the school's 1800 students took a "survival course" to learn basic math and reading skills. Nationally, more than 40% of all Black 17 year olds are functionally illiterate (Williams, 1978).

Youth-serving professionals were not surprised by this series of articles on the D.C. public schools. Youth workers serve hundreds of teenagers who cannot read, write, or do arithmetic above an elementary school level. Through *case advocacy*, community based youth services help individual young people like Roger compensate for serious academic deficiencies and school behavior problems. Youth workers broker services for damaged individuals before it is too late for these young people to participate productively in our society. Advocates are also concerned about the broader situation beyond their individual clients. *Class advocacy* involves changing and improving services for large numbers of young people. Unfortunately, class advocacy takes a long time, and many individuals are victims of the unchanged system before the entire group benefits.

Youth workers serve many teenagers with . . . serious academic deficiencies.

Class advocacy involves improving services for large numbers of young people.

Any youth worker can be a case advocate. Educators, social workers, court staff, mental health workers, and individuals in other youth-serving agencies can help a troubled young person obtain needed services. A teacher, for example, can advocate a special school program for a young person. A youth worker in a community based counseling program can advocate on a youth's behalf in a school suspension hearing. Class advocates, on the other hand, are found less frequently in public or private youth-serving agencies. Class advocates can be lawyers, mental health professionals, or individuals from a variety of other backgrounds.

Chronic truancy is a symptom of systemic school problems. It appears that about half the clients under 16 of youth-serving agencies in D.C. do not attend school. The fact that such a high percentage of young people want to do something else more than they want to go to school reveals inadequacies in the school system. In 1976-77, published rates of absenteeism in the D.C. public schools were 15% in junior high school and 23% in senior high school, with some junior and senior high schools averaging more than one fourth of their students absent from school each day (D.C. Public Schools, 1978). Nationwide, a 5% truancy rate is typical. In D.C., the chief attendance officer of the public schools attributed the sharp increase in truancy in the seventh grade to students' "trouble dealing with the transition

Chronic truancy is a symptom of systemic school problems.

from the closeness of a contained classroom to the room-to-room freedom of movement in the junior high schools" (Mullin, 1978, p. ZZ5).

Many young people are alienated from school. Some stop attending school in their early teens, primarily because they cannot do the academic work and/or cannot conform to the structure of the school setting. Some attend, but do not participate in the academic process—they are there for social reasons. Some attend despite being academically far behind their agemates. Why are Roger and others like him advanced from grade to grade without achieving the skill level of each grade? Some school officials indicate that social promotions are common, particularly for youth considerably older than their classmates.

Some young people have serious family and emotional problems that interfere with school. Some are in or have been in correctional or mental institutions and lack the needed special assistance to return to their home schools. Some have become parents and feel excluded from school.

Alienated young people generally have no demonstrated intellectual deficiencies.

In general, these alienated young people have no demonstrated intellectual deficiencies. Other obstacles stand in the way of their productive involvement in school. Because they do not fit into the school environment as it now exists, "a new category of classroom exile has been created—the pushout, the student who through discriminatory treatment is excluded from school or else is so alienated by the hostility of the school environment that he or she leaves" (Southern Regional Council, pp. vii–viii).

The role of the advocate is to encourage schools to develop effective educational strategies to reach this large group of alienated students. One sophisticated high school dropout described the changes that advocates should encourage in the schools.

> What you have to write about is how there is nothing for us in school. Why did you go to school? Because your parents expected it? My father's dead and my mother's in jail. . . . Because it's what everyone else did? My friends are sniffing coke during the day and partying at night. . . . Because you enjoyed being a good student? I have not attended one day of school when I did not feel put down; schools have never had any use for me. . . . Because you were going to college? Welfare doesn't require a high school diploma, and hussling drugs, or sex, or stolen property is where the good money is in this city. . . . You have to make schools a place where we would want to go.

Advocates push schools to offer success experiences.

It is the responsibility of advocates to make schools offer success experiences. The standard against which schools should be measured is not merely their effectiveness in teaching motivated students, but in how successfully they reach young people with few academic skills who are alienated from traditional learning environments.

WHO ARE THE YOUNG PEOPLE NEEDING ADVOCACY?

☐ *Institutionalized youth.* Young people in correctional and mental institutions have special school problems. First, institution schools are typically inferior to public education. They are often overcrowded, staffed by uncertified teachers, and lacking in supplies, books, and other resources. The curriculum is generally less creative and less individualized than in other school settings. Second, such schools are frequently not connected to regular public schools, resulting in poor transition for youth. In D.C., for example, the institution schools do not provide transcripts for return to public schools. Even though hundreds of young people who are detained several months while awaiting trial attend institution school every day, they are told that their absence from public school attendance will cause them to lose that academic

Institutional schools are typically inferior to public education.

year. Third, the depression that often follows institutionalization makes school performance difficult during and after incarceration. Institutionalized youth need special support to function in school.

MONA

Mona has been a ward of the state for most of her 15 years. She was removed from home as a battered child and placed in a public institution. She returned to her mother, but was later placed in a foster family when drug abuse resulted in the mother's hospitalization. She had learned to survive in institutional settings by looking out for herself and she was more independent than her foster family could accept. Mona's emotional neediness pushed her into relationships and street activities that caused the court to declare her "beyond control." At age 12 she was placed in an institution for status offenders for nearly two years until the institution was closed. She was returned to her mother, but Mona found that they could not live together, and she went to a private agency for help in moving out on her own. With a fifth grade reading level and third grade arithmetic skills, she could not be placed in junior high school. The two public schools she had attended had no records, and institution schools gave no progress reports to facilitate return to regular school.

Youth whose family and emotional problems interfere with school. A large and ill defined group of young people are those with family and emotional problems that prevent them from participating in school effectively. Some, but not all, of them are officially labeled "emotionally disturbed." A comparison of runaways with their non-runaway siblings (Beyer, 1974) found that those youth who left home had significantly more problems getting along with parents, experienced more school difficulties, and were significantly more depressed and lower in self esteem. Runaways' multiple problems interact with each other: fighting at home promotes inattention and poor motivation in school; poor academic performance antagonizes parents; and parental criticism lowers self esteem. These data generalize to young people who do not run away but whose disruptive emotional and family problems adversely affect their school performance. Young people who are homeless may be particularly unable to participate in school because their lives are so uprooted. Increasingly, crisis intervention services are faced with the task of placing youth who can no longer live at home (Beyer & Puritz, 1979).

Runaways' multiple problems interact with each other.

TAWANNA

Tawanna stopped going to school when she was 13. Her mother was an alcoholic and Tawanna had responsibilities for younger siblings. Her nonattendance apparently did not originate with any learning disability. She started coming to school late because she was getting the family ready in the morning. Missing homeroom led to conflict with school officials and her gradual withdrawal from school. The clash between her home and school responsibilities was never understood by attendance staff. A year later, Tawanna felt that school just didn't fit into her life, regardless of her intellectual potential or educational needs.

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*The learning problems of childhood
often are obscured by social factors.*

Youth with severe academic deficiencies. Many young people, especially in urban school systems, fail to learn up to their potential. They often begin functioning below grade level in elementary school, but special assistance with learning during these early years generally is not offered. Some theorists have accounted for these difficulties with the "learning disabled" label, while others have viewed them as the result of "cultural deprivation." When underachievement is not diagnosed until high school, the learning problems of childhood often are obscured by social factors, and remedies that would have been appropriate in elementary school have become impractical.

To be confident about the reading level of a teenager functioning far below grade level, it is necessary to administer several reading tests. Youth often memorize 150 or more common words (usually many of those found on reading tests) without developing any word attack skills. Consequently, their reading problems may be disguised if only one measure of reading ability is administered. For teenagers whose performance on tests indicates that they may have been learning disabled in childhood, visual perceptual training is probably no longer appropriate. What is needed is a creative approach to teaching basic reading. Project READ in Silver Spring, Maryland is a national program disseminating such techniques among youth workers.

Some young people performing poorly in school have undiagnosed developmental disabilities such as retardation or other learning problems. Failure to achieve in school can also be attributed to a wide variety of other factors. Physical problems, such as poor nutrition or lack of sleep, can interfere with a young person's alertness in school. Many students do not receive sufficient intellectual stimulation from family or peers. Television has replaced reading as an afterschool activity, leaving many young people disinterested in intellectual pursuits.

In many cases, poor performance is the result of the school's insufficient efforts to reach underachievers. The quiet underachiever can sit in the back of the class for years, unnoticed by overwhelmed teachers, years behind other students in academic achievement, and promoted with no special assistance. The acting out underachiever, however, is noticed. Although the student may be removed from the classroom, it is usually misbehavior that provokes this response. School staff often do not see that acting out behavior is the result of their own inattention to learning problems. The responsibility lies with the school system to identify the underlying cause of failure to achieve in school.

TYRONE

Tyrone is 16 and illiterate. He was a walk-in at a youth employment program where he indicated that he wanted to work in construction. The job counselor helped him complete the application without realizing the severity of his reading problem. Since Tyrone had dropped out of seventh grade, the counselor initially encouraged him to go to evening adult education classes. On a second visit, when it was discovered that Tyrone could not read, he was referred to a basic skills class for students functioning below grade 4. His progress in the individualized program helped counteract his low self esteem and his hopelessness about the future.

Youth excluded from school for other reasons. Youth who are consistently disruptive or who become parents or prostitutes are examples of other young people who need special assistance if they are to get an education. Young people who fight or are explosive in school often want attention and/or feel frustrated in the school setting. Disciplinary action is less appropriate than special attention directed to their frustration and need for attention. Unfortunately, these youth are threatening to school staff and thus are often expelled without supportive assistance.

Young people who fight often feel frustrated in the school setting.

The school problems of teenage parents are numerous. Although it may be personally less embarrassing than in the past for a student to participate in class through late pregnancy, teachers and administrators often remain uncomfortable. To the extent that the pregnancy is the result of the young person's desire to give meaning to her life, attendance at school prior to and following childbirth may seem senseless. Most schools do little to counteract the feeling of permanent exclusion for young people who redefine themselves as a result of parenthood. Schools are generally not a resource for parent education; few offer daycare; and most are not designed to fit the schedule of a working parent or a parent who can only arrange childcare in the evening. Adult education programs are typically not designed for parents who are younger than 15 and who have special emotional as well as academic needs.

Schools are generally not a resource for parent education.

In general, the need for shelter, money, or someone to take care of them are the motivations for teenage prostitution. Because of their immaturity, adolescents may become dependent on adults who victimize them, but there is little evidence to suggest that psychopathology is the origin of teenage prostitution. Nevertheless, young people whose emotional neediness makes them vulnerable to victimization should have counseling and alternative housing made available to them. School staff may be able to identify and help these young people before victimization occurs. The school may be the last agency in contact with a young person who drops out to become a prostitute. On the other hand, the school is not an alternative to illicit activity; it cannot provide shelter, money, or adult protection. Many young people do not view the school as a vehicle for self improvement. Thus, the young prostitute—in one of the few lucrative jobs available to teenagers—is likely to turn away from school and find it difficult to return when illicit activity no longer meets physical or emotional needs.

Need for shelter, money . . . are motivations for teenage prostitution.

School staff may be able to help before victimization occurs.

DEB

Deb had always been an underachiever in school. She seemed brighter than her performance indicated. At 15, her school participation became progressively worse. Initially she seemed more withdrawn and uninvolved; then her attendance became irregular. One worried teacher asked her if she had problems at home, but Deb's response was guarded. The teachers did not reach anyone at home, and were at a loss about what to do. Deb was living with her boyfriend, and he had asked her to support them through prostitution. At first her life was stable enough to allow her to continue in school in a limited way, and she was relatively satisfied. But when she wanted to leave her boyfriend and cease illicit activities, Deb had already cut the ties with home and school through which she might have obtained help.

☐ Mechanisms to insure quality education do not exist in many settings, and young people, like other disenfranchised groups, are often poorly served. That they have a right to quality care, however, is the fundamental principle behind advocacy on their behalf. Justice Douglas, in a famous Supreme Court case regarding the Amish (*Wisconsin v. Yoder*, 1972), essentially established the framework for standards of quality care for youth: "It is the future of the student—not the future of the parents—that is imperiled" (p. 246).

The basic rights of young people are often violated. Particularly vulnerable are children and youth who lack support systems to help them fight for their rights. Most young people with concerned, articulate parents who are not overwhelmed with financial problems do have the needed support; if they do not get high quality care, their parents will struggle to get it for them. Youth whose parents feel powerless may need the support of advocates to obtain quality services.

Traditionally, the law has defined a child's best interests as synonymous with those of the parents. (The major exception has been in situations where the state is authorized to intervene in family life under the doctrine of *parens patriae*.) Legal reform efforts have extended children's rights and recognized the following unique interests of children as legally enforceable:

1. Protection for equal care. Young people have the right to expect care equivalent to that given to adults.
2. Right to assert their own interests. Young people have the right to have their interests heard separately from those of their guardians, teachers, and others.
3. Guarantee of special care. Young people with special needs have the right to receive appropriate assistance.

Over the past decade, these rights have been tested, particularly in the areas of student classification and special education. Legal reform efforts asserting the right of students to appropriate education have provided a foundation for advocacy on behalf of students with special needs.

Through ability grouping, special education placement, and exclusion of "uneducable" children, schools have classified students out of quality education:

> Exclusion is almost invariably a one-way ticket out of school; movement between special and regular programs or between slow and advanced ability groups is infrequent. Second, their consequences are both significant and difficult to reverse: the child barred from school as 'ineducable' becomes more difficult to educate because of his or her exclusion. . . . Third, the questionable bases for these sorting decisions suggest that the possibility of misclassification and consequent serious injury to the child, is significant. . . .Each of these classifications carries the potential of stigmatizing students. (Kirp, 1974, pp. 284–285)

Biased classification systems and stigmatizing exclusion from regular school have been found to be in violation of children's rights, and the right not to be excluded from regular classrooms because of special needs has been asserted.

The most famous legal case challenging classification of students occurred in Washington, D.C. (*Hobson v. Hansen*, 1967). Tracking in the D.C. schools was abolished because it was found to be racially and economically biased and caused educational harm to children. At that time, a study cited

in that suit found that two thirds of the students placed in special classes in fact belonged in the regular program!

Another Washington, D.C. case, *Mills v. Board of Education* (1972), ruled that, based on the potential stigma of exclusion or assignment to special classes, placement in a regular school program, supplemented with special help, should be the usual process, inapplicable only when the school can demonstrate that another alternative offers substantially greater benefit to the individual. This case also specified the procedural rights of a young person and parent when special education placement was to be considered.

Although its intent was to avoid labeling children, in actual practice mainstreaming in the District of Columbia has given the school system an excuse not to serve children with special needs. Only the most severely handicapped are educated in special schools. Parents are assured that it is socially beneficial for a child with special needs to remain with his or her classmates with a *minimum* of special assistance.

In practice, mainstreaming has given the school system an excuse not to serve children.

Legal reform in the area of student classification focused on overinclusion of some children in separate schools which their needs did not justify. The more recent federal law guarantees an appropriate education for all handicapped students, although sometimes underinclusion results from the pressure to mainstream. Youth advocates can play a vital role in insuring that the school offers a young person an individually appropriate education without adverse labeling.

☐ The term "child advocacy" came into prominence as a result of the report of the 1969 Joint Commission on the Mental Health of Children. Advocacy was widely discussed at the 1970 White House Conference on Children and the 1971 White House Conference on Youth. Lourie and Lourie (1972, pp. 401, 403) defined advocacy as "generally used to mean 'making a fuss in behalf of a cause'.... Almost any action toward realizing a goal still unrealized could be called advocacy." Basically, Lourie and Lourie developed the Joint Commission's notion of *internal class advocacy,* as opposed to individual case advocacy and external class advocacy described in this chapter. The thrust of the Commission was to develop internal child advocacy agencies within all levels of government to improve service delivery systems. The Joint Commission played a role in the emergence of the Office of Child Development as a federal advocate. Nevertheless, direct consumer input from the outside (from parents, youth-serving staff, and young people) to improve services continues to be a necessary form of advocacy.

HOW CAN AN ADVOCATE HELP YOUNG PEOPLE WITH SCHOOL PROBLEMS?

The role of the advocate is to help the student (and parent) receive all needed services from the school. Throughout this chapter, youth needs are defined as the focus of the advocate. Ideally, advocate and parent become partners in obtaining better services from the schools. In many cases, it is required that the parent—and not another concerned adult—request information or action by the school. In some cases, the advocate cannot work with the parent, whose lack of cooperation should not be permitted to render the advocacy effort ineffective. Ideally, advocates and parents help improve educational services to individuals and groups of youth. Such partnerships require nurturing by parents and advocates who are willing to learn how to communicate effectively with each other and how to combine their different strengths to the advantage of young people.

The role of the advocate is to secure needed services from the school.

Advocates can help individual young people negotiate the complex special education process to obtain a school program that is responsive to their needs. Advocates can appear with students at disciplinary hearings to help avoid expulsion and to obtain school services and programs designed to

Case-advocacy pushes the school to respond to the student as an individual.

P.L. 94—142 requires free, appropriate education as well as support services.

prevent future behavior problems. A special education setting or counseling can be arranged by the advocate to counteract alienation in school. Basically, this type of advocacy, referred to as *case advocacy*, pushes the school to respond to the student as an individual.

A young person experiencing difficulties in school may require the assistance of a parent or youth worker to encourage the school system to respond to individual needs. Public schools are required to provide help in learning, tailored to each youth's unique requirements, to every child ages 3 to 21 inclusive. Public Law 94-142 requires public schools to insure that all handicapped children have available to them a free, appropriate education and any related support services (such as counseling, recreation, and limited medical services for purposes of diagnosis and evaluation) necessary to enable them to participate effectively in that education.

Obstacles to effective advocacy by parents and youth workers on behalf of youth with special education needs include:

1. Feeling overwhelmed by the school bureaucracy and cynical about getting the school system to respond to student needs.
2. Unfamiliarity with the regulations governing special education.
3. Reluctance to encourage negative labeling of youth, coupled with lack of awareness concerning the special services available to students with problems.
4. Difficulties in fulfilling the role of consistent case manager in moving the special education process forward.

Advocates must help student and parent identify the school problem.

The advocate working with an individual young person must help the student (and parent) identify the problems being experienced in school. These should be described by the young person. Additional information, especially concerning the history of the problem, should be collected from the parent. Sympathetic teachers can also help identify the problem. Where learning disabilities are suspected, educational testing will identify the grade level at which the young person is currently functioning, as well st and present learning problems.

The advocate should then help the young person (and parent) develop an optimal solution to the educational problem. Does the young person want a vocational education program, or would it be preferable to obtain half-day school release for a separate job training program? Does the young person want and need a special education classroom to learn basic reading and arithmetic?

Advocates should pursue solutions within the school bureaucracy.

The advocate should pursue the solution within the school bureaucracy. The advocate must (a) know the legally required steps in the special education process, (b) push for follow through at each step, (c) document what occurs at each step, (d) go to a higher authority when necessary, and (e) seek legal assistance when the school system is unresponsive.

Step 1: Initiating special education. If a young person needs special educational assistance, the advocate (and parent) should meet with the school principal. The problem and desired solutions should be presented, perhaps in writing. The school staff may indicate that the student's problems are not severe and can be handled within the school through special services. If the parent elects to have the student try these school based services, another conference and written progress report should be requested with school staff after the student has participated for one marking period or a length of time not exceeding three months. At that point the parent can elect to have the student continue in the present school program or to pursue special education outside that school.

The advocate may suspect that the school's suggestion of school based programing is an avoidance of the student's serious needs. (For example, it may be unrealistic to expect a young person who has been absent for more than six months to return to public school.) Most school systems have a method for the parent or advocate to request a formal special education evaluation. Parent permission is usually required for school administration of psychological tests. The advocate can contact the Director of Special Education if the youth's school does not respond to a request for evaluation. The advocate must note the date on which the form requesting special education evaluation was signed in order to document that excessive time has elapsed between request and evaluation.

It may be unrealistic to expect a young person out of school for more than six months to return.

Step 2: The evaluation process. The law encourages parents and advocates to participate in all discussions about the student's needs. In addition to testing, the evaluation process relies on discussions among special educators and others concerned about the young person.

The educational team that evaluates students for special education will include school staff who administer tests, those familiar with treatment possibilities, and individuals brought to discussions by the parent. Minimally, such a team will include a special education specialist, a psychologist, and a school administrator. A variety of tests that are racially and culturally non-discriminatory are required by law to get a complete picture of the student's educational needs. Assessments must take into account any special conditions such as the child's inability to speak English or a particular handicap. As the Children's Defense Fund (CDF, 1978) has cautioned parents:

> Poor and minority students have been *misclassified* as mentally retarded by many school districts. Be sure that the evaluation process gets at all your child's special needs. Be sure the program you agree to provides all the services your child needs. Do not let your child be dumped in an inappropriate class because of racial or cultural discrimination in your school district. (p. 10)

The advocate can arrange to have an outside evaluator submit a report of independent findings to the education team evaluating the young person, if desired.

The advocate can arrange to have an outside evaluator submit a report.

When the evaluation is finished, the team will meet to decide whether or not the young person is eligible for special education. This process should take no longer than 30 days following the formal request for evaluation (depending on school district rules), and advocates should call the team to insure that they are moving promptly. The advocate and parent should attend the team meeting to discuss the test results. If they have questions about the validity of the results or of the decision regarding the need for special education, they should ask for additional evaluation.

Advocate and parent should attend the team meeting to discuss test results.

Step 3: The Individualized Education Program (IEP). The IEP is the written statement that outlines, among other components, the specific educational services considered appropriate for the student. The IEP describes (a) annual educational goals and short term objectives for the student's achievement; and (b) specific educational services the school will provide to help achieve those goals. The IEP also reports present levels of educational performance and progress the student is expected to make, as well as appropriate objective criteria and evaluation procedures. The IEP must be developed within 30 days of a determination that special education is required.

The law requires the school to notify the parent of the IEP development meeting, but parent and advocate should discuss the evaluation and tenta-

tive plans with individuals on the team and, if necessary, with outside consultants. In the District of Columbia, the team meeting to decide whether the evaluation justifies special education and the IEP development meeting occur on the same day. Thus, many parents who attend are caught unprepared to plan a special program for the young person. The advocate and parent must have a tentative schedule for these meetings to enable them to be fully prepared.

Many parents are caught unprepared.

The parent (and advocate) should have a copy of the IEP to facilitate assessment of the student's progress and hold the school to what it promises. In D.C., parental consent is required before the school system can move ahead on the IEP; any dissatisfactions with the school's plan should be presented in writing, and a hearing can be requested.

Advocates should insure that the IEP is detailed.

The advocate should insure that the IEP includes detailed information about what the youth needs, what the school will do to meet those needs, what other support services are necessary, and how the program's effectiveness will be monitored.

> For many parents, IEP conferences may be the first time they've been at meetings with school officials and professionals—and they may feel unsure of themselves. It helps to remember that you, as a parent, have a unique understanding of your child—and a point of view that must be heard. . . . If you don't understand what the professionals are saying, ask questions. . . . It's important that parents really are equal partners with educators in exchanging opinions and evaluating what is proposed. This takes preparation—advocacy groups in every state should develop training programs for parents to get down to the nuts and bolts of school conference participation. (CDF, 1978; pp. 15-16)

Step 4: Special education placement. Although the law requires implementation of the IEP as speedily as possible, the special education placement often takes several months once parental consent has been received. The advocate should request a hearing if the placement is not handled with appropriate speed. Within each school system, several types of special education resources may be available:

Advocates should request a hearing if placement is not handled with appropriate speed.

1. Supportive services provided in conjunction with regular classroom enrollment.
2. Special, self contained classes in the regular school.
3. Special schools for mentally retarded, emotionally disturbed, learning disabled, communication disordered, and physically handicapped youth.
4. Private schools.

If there are no suitable programs within the public schools, the school system is obliged to locate and finance placement in a private program, often outside the area. One role for the advocate is to locate and propose a private program that might meet the needs of the young person.

One role for advocates is to locate and propose private programs.

Participation in the special education placement process requires that advocate (and parent) help decide which of these options is best for the student. Separating a student with special needs from more "normal" classmates can be a confusing issue for advocates wanting to act in the best interests of the student.

> The law recognizes that it's important for your child to have the experience of functioning in the real world with all kinds of children. . . . Schools are therefore required to educate your child—to as great an extent as possible—in regular school settings with non-handicapped children of the same age group. Only if your child's needs are so special

that they can't be met in a regular class with additional aids and serv-
ices should placement in a separate area be considered. Even then
the special separate class placement should be limited. . . . This does
not mean that your child can be put in a regular class just to sit in the
back or to be ignored. (CDF, 1978, p. 9)

Step 5: Monitoring the special education placement. To follow up imple-
mentation of the IEP, the advocate should make periodic checks with the
young person for the first six months. At minimum, a formal IEP review is
required annually. The parent can request a review at any point and should
do so if the placement appears not to be meeting the student's needs or if
the IEP should be altered because of changes in those needs. "Don't wait
a year. It's necessary to keep a dialogue between school and home going
to observe what's really happening. Be alert and sensitive to how your child
is doing" (CDF, 1978, p. 17).

*The advocate should make periodic
checks.*

Step 6: What can the advocate do if the special education process seems
ihadequate for the student? The parent and advocate may believe that the
student's special needs have not been thoughtfully evaluated or that the
diagnostic or placement processes are taking too long. Sometimes the
school may not be responsive to the parent's/advocate's complaints about
the special education process. If efforts to persuade the school system to
comply with the law have failed, contact a legal representative through legal
services (or through a local law school which may have supervised students
practicing in a legal clinic). A hearing may be requested by the parent at any
point during the special education process. Since the decision of the hearing
officer is based only on evidence presented at the hearing, advocates should
insure that as much information about the child as possible is presented,
including separate evaluations where necessary. The rights of parent and
student at such hearings include:

*If efforts with the school system have
failed, contact a legal representative.*

1. The hearing must be scheduled at a convenient time and place.
2. The parent may examine the student's school record and evaluations
   prior to the hearings.
3. School staff presenting evidence may be cross examined by the parent.
4. The parent may have a copy of the hearing record.
5. A lawyer may represent the student/parent.

Generally, impoverished parents should be able to obtain free legal rep-
resentation at such a hearing. If the hearing decision is not favorable, an
administrative appeal to the State Department of Education is the appropri-
ate next step, followed by a legal appeal to the district court if necessary.
Advocates can help in the filing of a complaint with the federal Office of Civil
Rights as well as a lawsuit against the school system for failing to provide
appropriate services for the student.

*Impoverished parents should be able to
get free legal representation.*

Example: Advocacy on behalf of suspended students. School suspensions
are an area where advocacy efforts have been effective. In a 1975 study,
The Children's Defense Fund found that the use of suspensions in public
schools has reached mammoth proportions. The vast majority of school
suspensions were for nondangerous, nonviolent offenses that did not have
seriously disruptive effects on the education process. Proportionately, the
study revealed that suspensions hurt more children who are Black, poor,
older, and male. Policies regarding suspensions vary widely, even between
schools in one district, and are often not published.

The great majority of suspensions do not serve any demonstrated valid
interests of children or schools. . . . Suspensions . . . have become a

crutch enabling school people to avoid the tougher issues of ineffective and inflexible school programs; poor communication with students, parents, and community; and a lack of understanding about and commitment to serving children from many different backgrounds and with many different needs.. (CDF, 1975, pp. 9–10)

Advocates can push for alternative approaches other than removing the student.

Advocates can push for alternative approaches to discipline other than removing the student from school. The advocate should encourage school staff to provide programs to meet the needs of youth who present chronic disciplinary problems. The Children's Defense Fund describes a variety of these alternatives, ranging from temporary inschool programs responding to immediate discipline needs to out of school programs providing a separate setting for troubled students. Other alternatives to traditional handling of school discipline problems include individual *behavior contracts* between student and administration officials; an *ombudsman* to mediate between students and teachers; and *peer counseling* to assist students in handling stress. Special programs to instruct teachers in how to respond to the need for attention expressed by students have also been successful. CDF cautions that for these programs to be successful they must be "impeccably tailored to the local situation" (CDF, 1975, p. 108). Some of these programs could be adapted to respond to alienated students who are not served by

Avoid the expediency of lumping behavior problems and learning handicaps together.

special education. Advocates should, however, guard against the expediency of lumping behavior problems and learning handicaps together. Adapting the Children's Defense Fund recommendations to parents for obtaining fair disciplinary procedures and a reduction of school suspensions, advocates can help young people and their parents to:

1. Know what information is available. (The Office of Civil Rights records the number of suspended and expelled children.)
2. Make complaints to the Office of Civil Rights.
3. Refuse to accept bureaucratic excuses for inaction.
4. Demand suspension reasons in writing.
5. Remind school officials that they are required to educate all students.
6. Remove the student from a troubling situation, but not from school.
7. Encourage redefinition of fair authority and disciplinary procedures, incorporating humanitarian flexibility.
8. Develop alternatives to suspension.

In some school districts where disciplinary codes and suspension procedures have been developed, the student cannot be arbitrarily excluded and has a right to a hearing with notice. An important role for the case advocate is to help the student (and parent) present his/her own perspective on the behavior that led to suspension. Often in these cases the student has previously been in conflict with school staff, leading to a desire to push the student out of school.

The first goal is to avoid lengthy exclusion.

The first goal of the advocate in the hearing is to avoid lengthy exclusion of the student. Second, the advocate should present a clear picture of the student's needs. Perhaps frustration in the classroom results in acting out. Perhaps the individual is experiencing serious family problems that are causing generalized hostility. Perhaps there is a personal conflict between the student and a school staff person. The advocate's third goal in a suspension hearing is to reach agreement with the school about the specific response to be made to the student's needs. The school is required to educate, not

exclude, the student. In some cases, the special education process should be started. In others, the student should be given counseling outside the school. Sometimes a school transfer is the best decision.

☐ An effort from outside the system to stimulate systemwide change on behalf of more than one individual is called *external class advocacy*. It involves the same techniques as case advocacy: clarifying the problem, persistently pushing for appropriate responses to needs, and resorting to higher authorities when necessary.

During the process of case advocacy, similar needs shared by many students may become apparent. The case advocate does not attempt to make broad system changes, but pushes the system in its existing state to be more responsive to the student. Faced with several underserved young people, these individual efforts often appear inadequate. The advocate recognizes that the system must be changed so that it is routinely more responsive to young people who can be expected to continue to present the same needs.

Class advocacy is more fluid than working on behalf of one client. Additionally, the process often takes years, and rarely benefits the specific individuals in the original group on whose behalf advocacy was initiated. Furthermore, class advocacy is difficult to sustain because it is rarely a recognized effort for which funding can be obtained, unlike the parent paying for counsel or requesting federally reimbursed legal assistance on behalf of a child. Steps in pursuing class advocacy include the following:

Step 1: Identify the problem. Define carefully the common characteristics that describe the group needing advocacy. They must be convincingly portrayed as a group sharing common problems for which similar remedies are necessary. Initially, for example, the advocate might be concerned about the educational problems of all young people involved in the juvenile justice system. The needs of this group are so varied, however, that the advocate is unlikely to arouse concern or to get the school system to understand the desired remedies. Consequently, *youth in and released from juvenile institutions who have identifiable learning problems* might be a narrower group needing advocacy. Specific system changes in response to the unmet needs of that group of young people include (a) developing effective basic academic instruction at the institution; (b) building working liaisons between the institution and public school special education staff (including the sharing of assessments); (c) developing an education focused aftercare service; and (d) providing skills leading to successful employment following release.

Step 2: Set an accomplishable goal. Too often, advocates attempt to make large systemwide changes. Particularly in a bureaucratic agency, it makes sense to focus on accomplishable procedural changes. Of course, these changes should be described to the public in terms of large systemic remedies needed. But rarely will changes actually happen on a systemwide basis. The successes of class advocates occur in frustratingly small increments. Setting accomplishable goals means starting an advocacy effort with a little money and a lot of volunteers. Initially, advocacy groups do not get large grants to pursue ambitious targets. Finding individuals who volunteer because the advocacy could help someone they care about guarantees needed enthusiasm and persistence. Parents are particularly valuable in class advocacy efforts. In addition, volunteers with technical expertise (such as attorneys and educators) must be involved.

WHAT IS THE ROLE OF THE CLASS ADVOCATE?

Class advocacy is more fluid than working on behalf of one client.

Identify common characteristics.

Successes of class advocates occur in frustratingly small increments.

An accurate numerical picture is important.

Good documentation is essential.

Describing typical examples is part of documenting the problem.

The advocate should make a public release of findings.

Class advocates should request specific remedies and a timetable for achieving them.

Step 3: *Document the problem.* It is essential that the class advocate have complete information about the problem. Requests for information should be made and pursued with each federal, state, and local agency involved in the problem. Accurate numbers are necessary. How many young people attend school? How many are not, but by law should be, attending school? How many are in special education programs and have been defined as handicapped? How many are involved in the juvenile justice system? How many of those attending institutional schools are considered to be handicapped?

Often the advocate uncovers discrepancies in these figures, particularly where they are recorded by different agencies. Careful efforts must be made to reconcile differing figures until as accurate a numerical picture of the problem as possible is obtained. In some cases, it is worthwhile to initiate a special research effort to get reliable numerical documentation of the problem. Sometimes small research projects can be arranged through university professors. Local and state agencies sometimes have research funds or small budgets of unexpended grant monies which can be allocated to small, reputable research projects. Class advocates are often caught in the dilemma of how much time they can afford to spend on compiling information and assessing needs. Good documentation, accomplished as efficiently as possible, is essential.

Clarifying agency policies is another necessary step of the documentation process. The class advocate must describe, in understandable written form, how the system currently handles the population in need. Usually, obtaining an accurate picture of the agency's procedures requires the cooperation of someone inside. How does the juvenile institution identify learning disabled students? What steps are taken following this diagnosis? What written agreements exist between the juvenile institution and the public schools? What is the actual school return procedure for a young person of compulsory school age who is released from the institution?

Describing typical examples of the problem is another facet of documentation. These examples lend richness to the numerical and policy analysis of the problem. A typical young person with learning problems in a juvenile institution, for example, should be described. The course of his or her problems from childhood, to institutionalization, to release, to return to public school should be outlined, including a presentation of some of the views of the staff involved with the student.

Step 4: *Push for change.* The class advocate must make judicious use of this documentation in order to obtain system change. The advocate should make a public release of the findings, including a press conference and mailing the report to key individuals concerned about the problem. A meeting with school staff and other responsible officials should be arranged immediately to discuss the findings. Class advocates should request specific remedies and a timetable for achieving them. The advocate should hold regular meetings to review progress. Advocacy through administrative negotiation may occur if the advocate can get officials to develop an interagency work group to develop and monitor remedies to the problem.

Why did they get in the door anywhere? First, because they had done the report and it was not only good but had also received a lot of attention. In addition, it appeared that they had real staying power: they would not get tired and go away. Equally important, they were reliable and not ideological. Their work was well-written and solid, and their advocacy did not ring with hostile allegations of conspiracy and bad

faith, however justified such allegations might have been. If they were asked to draft a regulation or a directive, their product was sound and usable. . . . Overt radicalism may be all right for other kinds of strategies, but it is inappropriate for advocacy with administrative officials. (Edelman, 1973, p. 649)

The class advocate must resort to use of the media and to legal action when the system is unresponsive to change efforts. Working with the press is most effective through consistent contact with key reporters. The findings of the report should be the basis of press releases.

Class action lawsuits are extremely time consuming, but are necessary when system change efforts have not been successful. Monitoring compliance with favorable court action will frustrate most advocates unless funding and a legitimate role for an outside monitor can be developed within the system.

□ Large numbers of students are saying, "I am never going to get a good job. There is no future for me, so why should I go to school?" The time has come for youth workers to assist school staff in making school responsive to enough of a young person's varied needs to make school attendance a desired choice. Perhaps this is an argument for multiservice centers replacing schools. The opportunity system (particularly jobs and the welfare cycle) and emotional difficulties may present such real obstacles to young people that schools must confront these problems. Just as we build daycare centers, troubled employee counseling services, and credit unions into the world of work, we must incorporate employment, counseling, and other assistance into the schools to make academic achievement possible for young people.

The importance of having an education is being questioned by thousands of young people who choose not to go to school. Schools can probably never offer a real alternative to the rewards of illegitimate activity for some young people. However, they must become more effective in offering young people real passports into jobs with good earning potential, stability, and meaning.

High school seniors who cannot read are disabled. Because they have problems functioning in school, they need the assistance of advocates. Case advocates can help obtain special education placement and alternatives to suspension. Class advocates can help improve educational services to a group of young people whose needs are not being met.

Giving schools a new role in the lives of young people requires a partnership between schools and public and private human service agencies. In addition to assisting the parent in pushing the schools to provide more effective services, youth workers can be involved in the schools. They can bring social services, including crisis intervention, peer counseling, and family counseling, to students in cooperation with school staff. This partnership is not automatic. It requires consistent collaborative effort by advocates and school staff, effort that ultimately benefits students who are struggling in school.

When 14 year olds say, "School is not for me," they do not understand that they are committing themselves (with the help of an unresponsive social and educational system) to being deskilled for life. We must not let them pay for their entire lives because of adolescent shortsightedness. It is our obligation to protect them from accepting the second class status that poor social and educational systems impose on them. Particularly for minority and low income students, we must make schools a support system for academic and personal success that offers smooth transition into productive work lives.

Class action lawsuits are necessary when system changes have not been successful.

A FORWARD LOOK

The time has come for youth workers to assist school staff in making the school responsive.

Schools must become more effective in offering young people real passports into jobs.

Giving schools a new role requires a partnership between schools and human service agencies.

We must not let youth pay for their entire lives because of adolescent shortsightedness.

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effects of gender on the differential development of adolescent boys and girls

vivian gold

Cultural attitudes toward the traditionally masculine and feminine in our society have a tremendous impact on adolescents as they struggle with emotional, sexual, intellectual, vocational, and moral issues. These crucial aspects of adolescent development are experienced differentially by males and females. The unique perspectives of feminism, unconscious processes, and a social systems approach provide insight into the effects of gender on the development of youth. Today, the currents of attitudinal change are beginning to be felt, and the potential effects for all adolescents, deviant as well as normal, are significant.

□ Adolescent males and females experience differential effects of sexual stereotyping. An exploration of the effects of gender upon the differential development of boys and girls, men and women, forms the basis for an examination of the implications of these differences for the period of adolescence in particular. These implications impinge significantly on aspects of treatment for deviant adolescents.

The similarities and differences experienced by male and female adolescents may be approached from three general perspectives. One is a social systems perspective that views the individual within .varied group, institutional, and cultural contexts. This approach is influenced by personal experience in group relations work within the framework of the Tavistock approach to authority relations in group and social systems (Colman & Bexton, 1975).

A second perspective focuses on unconscious motivation and group unconscious processes. Some of the related phenomena described may seem fairly obvious once they are brought into focus, but are often overlooked when dealing with adolescence abstractly or with particular adolescents. Images of deviant youth often enter our minds, as, for example, the image of an adolescent boy from a minority group. But whatever images come to mind, they are much more specific than abstractions about deviant youth. When we speak in abstractions, we often lose the richness of informal processes or imagery. The informal often is not articulated, and thus remains unconscious to many people considering these issues.

A feminist perspective provides a third approach to the topic at hand. Many women are studying a variety of complex issues, and certainly no unified approach exists. Currently, feminists have claimed roles for women that are more numerous and much broader than those traditionally prescribed in our society. They claim the right to work in different occupations and professions, the right to be intellectual, the right to equality with respect to status, power, and finance. In other words, women are attempting to take on roles that have been traditionally described as masculine.

However, an additional shift within the feminist perspective is a reevaluation of what has been traditionally labeled *feminine* and *female*. This reevaluation enhances in a much more positive sense the nurturing and caretaking interpersonal roles in our society. Reevaluation of the traditionally *female* within our culture is extremely important, and underlies this exposition. A more positive yet realistic, unidealized assessment of the roles women have played in our society supports the involvement of both females and males in performing traditional functions and encourages a greater focus of societal resources on creating a less stereotyped context in which adolescents may develop.

Having presented the three perspectives that characterize this approach, the differential influences of gender on adolescent girls and boys are examined next. Further on, the focus is on the effects of the fact that most of us were raised primarily by mothers, with fathers playing a much less significant role, especially in infancy. Following is an exploration of the consequences of the split between the perception of mastering the world physically and intellectually as a task for men, and that of mastering the interpersonal and emotional spheres as a task mainly for women. Finally, implications for adolescent treatment are examined.

□ There are distinct differences in the ways in which male and female youth approach their vocational and intellectual development, their emotionality, their sexuality, and their struggle with moral issues.

PERSPECTIVES ON ADOLESCENT GENDER DIFFERENCES

A social systems perspective views the individual within a variety of contexts.

Images are more specific than abstractions.

Reevaluation of the traditionally female within our culture is extremely important.

Most of us were raised primarily by mothers, with fathers playing a much less significant role.

DIFFERENCES FACING MALE AND FEMALE YOUTH

Occupational development. The work of Douvan and Adelson (1966), collected on nondeviant adolescents in the late 1950's, forms the basis for a number of the observations to be presented. Their primary finding was that issues central to adolescent boys are strikingly different from those facing adolescent girls.

> *Issues central to boys are strikingly different from those facing girls.*

Central to boys' struggles is the search and concern for autonomy, as well as interest in future occupational choice. These were reported to be the main concerns of adolescent boys. It is therefore not at all surprising that delinquency rates are highest among those boys whose backgrounds are economically deprived and/or who have learning or educational handicaps that forecast an unpromising future.

> *Girls were more ambivalent about occupational plans.*

Girls, on the other hand, struggle more with future interpersonal roles, particularly those of wife and mother. Douvan and Adelson found that girls were much more ambivalent and vague about future occupational plans than were boys. The implication is that their major identifying vocational role is found within the institutions of marriage and family. Often it is very hard for a girl to make specific future plans or preparations. Society has considered it necessary for her to remain uncommitted so that she could be more adaptive to whatever mate she would later find.

Erikson (1968) has written about women and inner space, describing women as focusing on what is internal, while men focus more on external issues out in the world. Erikson has been criticized by some feminists as if his essay were prescriptive rather than descriptive, and as if the description itself created the situation. While connecting female concerns with female anatomy is controversial, it does seem that in our culture it has been necessary for girls to be concerned with internal and interpersonal issues in preparation for what they were prescribed to be when they grew up—wives and mothers.

If adolescent girls are preparing for the roles of wife and mother, it is not surprising that when they get into trouble their difficulties are often reflected in the areas of sexual deviance, promiscuity, and emotional disorders. It is also true that society defines and punishes sexual behavior in girls according to a double standard. What is considered sexual acting out or promiscuity for the female is often viewed as natural for the male.

> *Society punishes sexual behavior in girls according to a double standard.*

Only recently, with changes in nuclear family structure, has there been an increase in the incidence of female teenage delinquency related to previously "masculine" crimes, such as assault and burglary. Rates of delinquency for girls still remain far below those of boys in those specific areas, but the fact that girls are committing more violent crimes may not be unrelated to their increasing desire to find occupations for themselves beyond the role of wife and mother. Such criminality may be just another of the areas traditionally identified as masculine that women are now entering, when other choices do not appear promising.

> *Adolescence is characterized by a growth spurt in intellectual, emotional, sexual, and moral development.*

Adolescence is not only a time of preparation for adult life and occupations; it is also characterized by a growth spurt in intellectual, emotional, sexual, and moral development. However, social and cultural factors affect the probability of mastering these areas differently for boys than for girls.

Intellectual development. Experimental literature on sex differences in the development of cognitive abilities has been surveyed by Maccoby and Jacklin (1974). Consistent differences between genders were found in only three areas: (a) verbal skills, in which females begin to surpass males by age 10 or 11; (b) mathematical ability; and (c) spatial ability. In the latter two areas, males outdistance females from adolescence on. The fact that these differ-

ences occur later than was formerly believed suggests that social factors and experimental conditions such as the gender of teachers and experimenters have an impact on these differences (Frieze, Parsons, Johnson, Ruble, & Zellman, 1978). One experimental study documented a slight decrease in the intellectual capacity of girls during adolescence, as opposed to a slight increase for boys (Campbell, 1976).

It is important to note that the differences within each gender are much greater than differences between the genders. Thus, career or vocational guidance should focus on the capabilities of a particular adolescent, rather than follow generalities that support sexual stereotypes about intellectual development.

Differences within are greater than differences between genders.

Interpersonal issues. The relative importance of interpersonal issues and the style of relating to these issues differ for adolescent boys as compared with girls (Douvan & Adelson, 1966). Girls focused more directly on interpersonal issues. In particular, they tended to become more involved during adolescence with issues of popularity and pairing. Pairing with girls as well as with boys was desired, in that girls were intent and sensitive about finding a best girlfriend as well as a boyfriend. By contrast, boys focused more on their roles within a group or gang of boys and were very interested in how the status of their group compared with that of other groups within their school or neighborhood. In other words, the male identity tended to be established in relationship to his status within a group or system of groups, while the female identity was often formed through her dyadic relationships.

Girls focused more directly on interpersonal issues.

Boys' identity was established in relationship to status within a group.

Boys struggled competitively for a place in the group hierarchy and/or collaborated with others on group goals, according to Douvan and Adelson. Often, however, when a girl joined a group, ostensibly to participate in a group experience, what she really was most interested in was building relationships with one or two others in the group. That goal became her primary purpose for group membership, while she was less interested in or identified with the group's overt purpose or task.

These differences have adaptive implications, since in terms of the larger society, boys are preparing themselves for the institutions with which they may later become associated. The style with which they approach group membership serves as preparation for adulthood in terms of how they will later make a name for themselves and establish their identity. Girls, on the other hand, are typically preparing themselves for the institution of marriage, in which they have traditionally found their identity. It is understandable that they are more interested in learning and practicing their role in dyadic relationships, as well as in becoming aware of what is happening between themselves and the individual with whom they are paired. This distinction also suggests an interesting interpretation of the social dynamics of juvenile gangs, with boys' behavior influenced by girls playing a supportive role on the sidelines.

In clinical work with populations involved in drug addiction, it is interesting to note that the female addict is often viewed in terms of her interpersonal relationships with and influence upon the male addict. In institutions in which the male addict is the primary recipient of treatment, the woman with whom he is involved may be regarded as a source of the problem or as an influence that maintains the male in his addiction. The female is thus seen as the keeper of the sphere of interpersonal relationships.

The female addict is often viewed in terms of her influence upon the male addict.

Sexuality. An important difference between boys and girls is the manner in which each has traditionally related to issues of sexuality. In general, the

male has a greater tendency to split sexuality and intimacy than does the female, and this leads to two quite different approaches to sexuality. Judgments toward each gender often differ as well, in that a boy may be ridiculed if he becomes too involved with a sexual partner, while a girl may be humiliated or judged harshly if she is not emotionally involved with her sexual partner.

The boy's greater ability to separate sexuality from interpersonal closeness may be regarded as a skill that frees him to experiment and to find out more about his sexuality. It may also be seen as an emotional problem. Thus the ability to divorce sexuality from emotional intimacy may actually develop into an inability to be simultaneously sexual, emotionally caring, and close to the same person. This can result in severe emotional problems that many men as well as some women suffer from in our culture. Women's lack of propensity for separating sexuality from intimacy may be partly responsible for the stereotypic assumption that the female sex drive is less than the male's, or that it develops later. These assumptions have been greatly challenged by more current data.

The male has a greater tendency to split sexuality and intimacy than does the female.
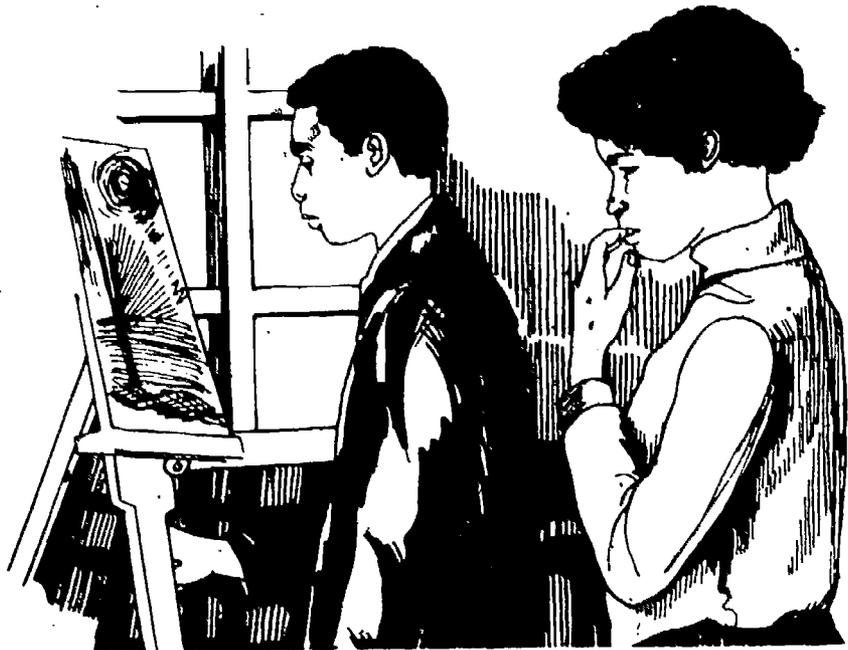
There are considerable differences between the sexual fantasies of boys and girls.

There are also considerable differences between the sexual fantasies of boys and girls, as well as in the manner in which they relate to such stimuli as pornography and romantic tales. The stereotypic perception is that girls have more of a poetic sensitivity to romance, and less lust and passion for physical sex. Dinnerstein (1976) has discussed some possible underlying bases for these supposed differences.

The issue of sexual self esteem highlights another important difference between adolescent girls and boys. As mentioned previously, the girl's conflicts with society are often related to her sexual behavior. This results in intense difficulties in the area of self esteem, for one's sexuality is a vulnerable, central part of the self that cannot easily be isolated from one's total sense of self. Konopka (1966) pointed out the girl's extreme vulnerability in this area. The boy's acting out, on the other hand, may enhance his sense of self esteem, for the male rebel in our society has often been romanticized.

Sexuality. . . cannot be isolated from one's total sense of self.

Society's currently shifting cultural attitudes toward homosexuality also affect adolescents. Traditionally, some homosexual experimentation has been viewed as normal in adolescents, to be discarded later in favor of heterosexuality. Continued homosexual attitudes have been considered a

perversion. While this view still persists in much of our culture, there has been greater recognition of homosexuality as a legitimate lifestyle. Traditionally, too, there has been more aversion to male than to female homosexuality in our society, and female homosexuality has tended to be more ignored. Today, recognition of homosexuality as an option is being increasingly accepted, and this will be welcomed by some adolescents who now no longer need to feel so isolated in their sexual preference. At the same time, other adolescents may be very frightened by the possibility of increased options.

There has been more aversion to male than to female homosexuality.

A more open recognition of homosexual options has played a leading role in the breakdown of stereotypes and rigid perceptions of what is sexually appropriate for girls and for boys. Increased freedom of choice can lead to great fears in adolescents. Even greater fear and resistance may exist among adults who depend on traditional social norms to structure their own views of appropriate sexuality. This is a sensitive area in which the homophobic attitudes of those who work with adolescents can have quite detrimental effects.

Morality and adolescence. The period of adolescence has often been viewed as a time of struggle with morality. This may be in part a cultural stereotype, or only true for some adolescents at particular historical times. Douvan and Adelson (1966) found that adolescents in the late 1950's did not differ significantly from their parents in their attitudes regarding moral issues. It is not clear whether adolescent moral attitudes are consistent with those of their parents in a given historical period. The late 1960's, for example, appears to have been a time when many adolescents were questioning their parents' morality.

Elder's work on age cohorts (1975) lends a historical perspective to different generations who arrive at each life stage in a shared historical context. One's age cohort is defined by one's year of birth. The extent and nature of the adolescent's struggle with moral issues probably varies according to the age cohort within which the individual comes of age.

Adolescents carry different moral imperatives at different historical times.

It may be true that adolescents carry different moral imperatives at different historical times and that they therefore play a role in shaping the total society. However, the popular image of the adolescent struggling with moral issues has, until recently, been the image of the male striving to prepare for adulthood. The female was assumed to have swallowed the morality of the culture more fully, while at the same time remaining open to being swayed from her position by the influence of others. An example of this is the Freudian view of more complete superego development in men than in women. Rich (1976) has described men as the makers and sayers of our culture, and protested that women have not had access to power in creating morality for our society. The supportive role of the female adolescent is well known. Females in general have played the role of conserving the culture's morality by teaching it to the young.

The assumption that women will play a merely supportive or conserving role has been challenged by the women's movement in the 1970's. Young women, as well as their elders, are beginning to be more articulate in expressing their world views. This change is accompanied by a shift in female adolescent attitudes toward morality. The female is additionally perceived as having a more central role in her own life rather than simply a supportive role for others.

Young women are becoming more articulate in expressing their world views.

An illustration of some of the traditional relationships between boys and girls as articulators of culture is found in the myth of Narcissus and Echo.

In this story, Narcissus, the male character, falls in love with his own image. Theoretically, professionals in the mental health field are aware of the role of narcissism in the character development of both boys and girls. It may assume the dimensions of an emotional problem in those persons clinically viewed as having a character disorder.

In the original myth, Echo falls in love with the lad who has fallen in love with his own image. Her fate is to be robbed of the ability to speak except by repeating what others say. Thus she cannot express her desire for a relationship with Narcissus, but can only echo what he himself has to say. Often, when narcissism is encountered in the female, it may relate to her dependence on a male relationship for self identity and self definition.

A quality of Echo may be involved in the female struggle for independence.

Perhaps a quality of Echo is involved in the female struggle to achieve independence by copying male roles—a struggle defined by the general, patriarchal culture as a primary goal. The female may have a particularly difficult task, simultaneously carrying cultural mandates for dependency. Her struggle may be characterized by imitating or echoing the male who is attempting to define his identity in terms of autonomy rather than interdependence.

As shifts occur in traditionally masculine and feminine attitudes in our culture, adolescent girls and boys may also shift in their interests and in their attitudes toward morality. In a period of rapid change, such as the present, the bulk of the changes and new responsibilities one hopes will be confronted by adults in a partnership with youth.

STRUCTURAL ASPECTS OF SOCIETY IMPINGING UPON GENDER DIFFERENCES

□ The differences between male and female adolescents that have been described reflect some very basic underlying structures in the total society. Because adolescence can be viewed as preparation for adulthood, some structural aspects of our culture as they relate to gender deserve exploration in more depth.

In the patriarchal social system in which we live, there is a gender split in which the male defines the whole family's place in society, while the female is primarily in charge of the infant's care within the family. This is the image commonly evoked when we think of the traditional role structure of the American family, despite the fact that only approximately 20% of families in the United States fit into this category, according to US Census Bureau statistics (Who is the Real American Family?, 1978). The kind of structure referred to does not necessarily correspond to the varying family structures, such as single parent families, in which many of our youth actually live.

Care of the infant still rests primarily with the mother.

To a large degree, the care of the infant still rests primarily with the mother for both male and female infants. Dinnerstein (1976) has argued that exclusive maternal care in infancy is the basis for the development of misogyny within the culture. In a book called *The Mermaid and the Minotaur: Sexual Arrangements and the Human Malaise*, she discussed the long term effects of exclusively maternal early care on both the boy and girl child. The positive aspects of the mother become highly idealized, while negative remembrances of the mother who had so much control over the infant lead to terrifying fantasies of the dangers of women. The boy child faces the difficult task of separating from the mother by identifying with the father, always keeping "a principled and more or less derogatory distance from women." The girl child "loosens her ties with her own sex to develop a worshipful, dependent stance towards men" (Dinnerstein, 1976, p. 53).

There are important implications if both men and women are equally responsible for the care of infants.

If both men and women were equally responsible and active in the care of infants, important implications for our attitudes toward gender would result.

Making parenting a conscious choice for young adults would decrease the probability of girls' searching for the nurturance they themselves may have lacked by having a child and enjoying the infant's dependency vicariously. Enabling adolescent boys to participate fully in the planning for and future nurturance of their offspring would be a crucial change affecting self expectations and self image. Even more important would be the potential effects on the future development of individuals who received both male and female care from infancy on.

Another structural aspect of our culture that relates to gender is the tendency to assign intellect and emotion to respectively masculine and feminine realms in our imagination. This tendency relates to what has been described by Hillman (1972) as Apollonic consciousness, a heroic mode that elevates the masculine and devalues the feminine. Hillman presented the example of Dionysian consciousness as a possibility of a different type of consciousness in which feminine and masculine elements are differently integrated. One of the major efforts of this chapter is to point out the possibility of another type of awareness in which the intellectual is not associated exclusively with a masculine style divorced from interpersonal and social consciousness. What is suggested is an integrated model of education that values interpersonal as well as intellectual development and fosters the perception of both of these realms as primary to the development of every youth, whether male or female.

What is suggested is an integrated model of education.

At present, our society as a whole is struggling with these complex issues, and there continues to be chaos as the culture shifts. Nevertheless, the more common deviances of adolescent boys occur when the youth does not experience a vocational or intellectual development that is adaptive within our society, and subsequently turns to sometimes violent behaviors expressive of conflict in these areas. Girls continue to express deviance stereotypically in interpersonal and/or sexual spheres. Perhaps in the future our attitudes toward the education and treatment of both boys and girls will become more similar than they are now. Were that the case, the problems presented by deviant youth of both sexes would probably also be relatively similar. Attitudinal change will probably be resisted by many, because so many of our social structures are based on keeping our boys traditionally "masculine" and our girls traditionally "feminine." However, both sexes have paid a huge price for the particular way in which our society defines gender relations, and attitudes are already gradually shifting. Nonetheless, basically patriarchal structures have dominated the culture for over 4,000 years, and significant changes will probably be both gradual and unpredictable.

In the future, attitudes toward treatment of boys and girls may become more similar.

☐ It is hard to move from a structural analysis of how adolescent boys and girls differ in our society to specific recommendations for treatment. Of critical importance is the need to become conscious of the differences in life experiences between male and female youth in our culture. Implications for treatment are considered in the following suggestions.

IMPLICATIONS FOR TREATMENT

We need to become conscious of differences in life experiences between male and female youth.

1. Expectations of male and female youth should focus on vocational and interpersonal issues for both. The male's involvement in the process of developing interpersonal relationships is as important as his vocational readiness. The female should have a variety of vocational choices through which to define one aspect of her life, and should learn to value her interpersonal sensitivity to a greater degree.
2. Deviant male and female youth should each have the opportunity to interact with adults of both sexes. It would be facile to recommend either segregated or coeducational treatment facilities as always the right op-

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tion. However, it would be optimal for each youth to have the opportunity to experience both same sex and mixed sex groupings on a regular basis.

3. Adolescent females should be made aware of what to expect from changes in their bodies at puberty. The meanings of menstruation and female development have carried hidden and negative connotations in our culture, as witnessed by the overemphasis on female slimness and beauty. The increased incidence of anorexia nervosa in girls and young women is related to general negative attitudes toward a mature woman's body. These attitudes can be changed somewhat through more open and positive explorations of the female body and sexuality with girls.

4. Males often have even less of an opportunity than females to explore their feelings about sexuality in noncompetitive situations. The opportunity for openness and for modeling this attitude may decrease the split males may experience between sexuality and intimacy. Experiences with nurturing, open male adults as role models are even more important.

5. Both female and male youth should be taught at an early age to make responsible choices regarding offspring. Young parents may need help and acceptance as they encounter their new roles. Current trends toward active participation by both parents in the childbirth process and early child care are positive beginnings. Recent films portraying unmarried teenage fathers indicate the depth of these issues for males as well as females.

6. Most important is an open attitude toward individual differences among adolescents regarding gender issues. A wide variety of styles, interests, and behaviors exists among adolescents, and adults cannot shape the way youth will develop. At best, adults can provide a safe environment for youth in which individual internal proclivities can unfold and grow.

7. The real implications of gender issues lie in major shifts in both work and family structures for men and women. Parenting would involve both men and women from the earliest stages. Work structures would be altered to allow both genders to participate more creatively in meaningful work. With such social and cultural changes, adolescence would perhaps be less a time of crisis for so huge a portion of our youth.

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basic, vocational, and special education: whose responsibility?

All facets of educational programing share the challenge of responding to the needs of troubled youth. Both teachers and students can benefit from a clarification of educational goals and program options for each individual. Availability of a full range of specific and varied program opportunities will assist youth in moving toward successful, responsible adulthood.

gary d. meers
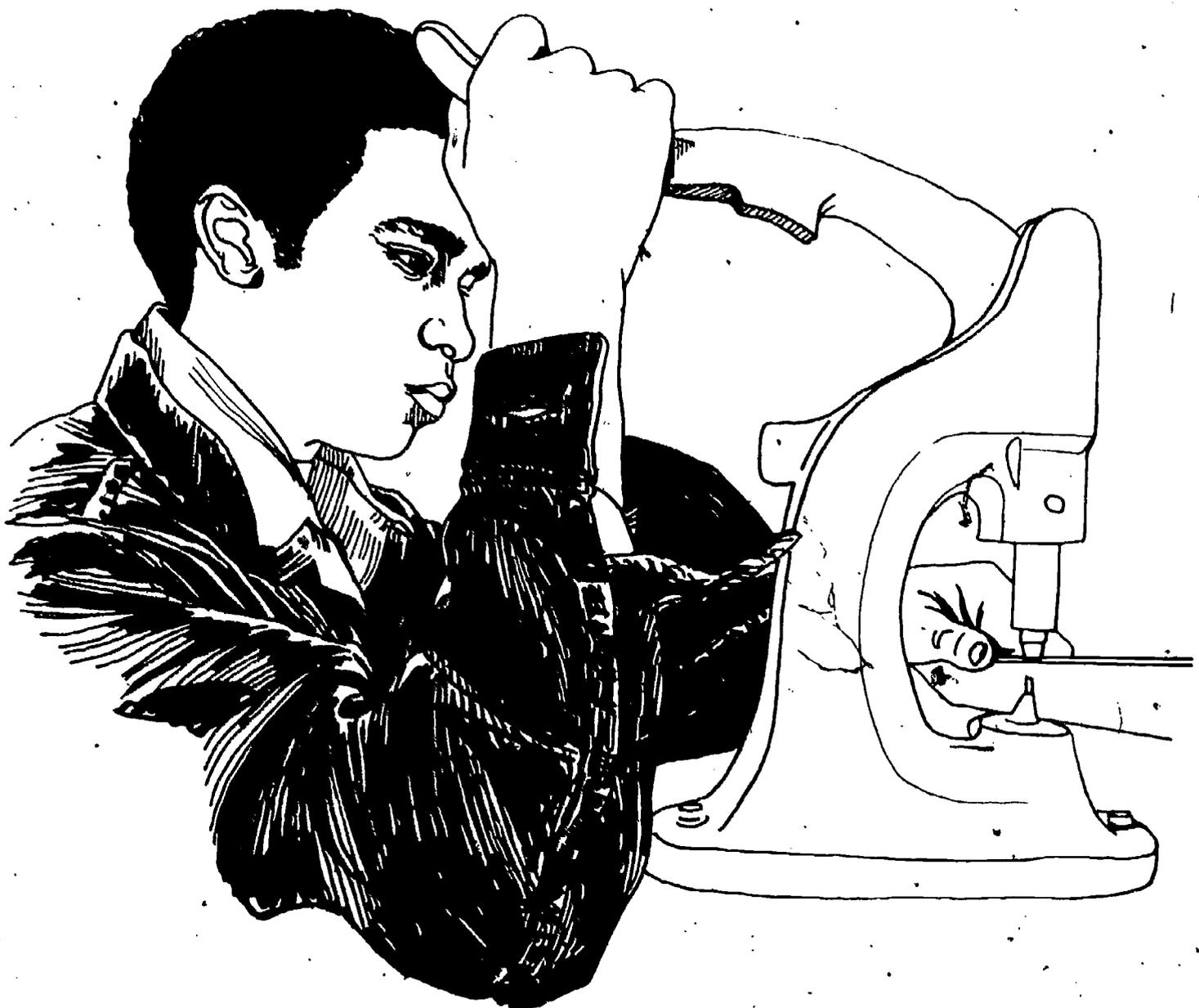
EDUCATION'S RESPONSIBILITY

☐ The day of responsibility and accountability has arrived upon the educational scene. Recent federal legislation (Public Law 94–142, the Education for All Handicapped Children Act; Public Law 94–482, the Vocational Amendments to the Vocational Education Act of 1963; Section 504 of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1973) has mandated that educators no longer ignore or underserve those students who present a particularly difficult challenge to our educational programs, facilities, or personnel. No longer can educators pick and choose whom they will educate. All students must be served. Disruptive, alienated, and incarcerated youth are individuals who demand and deserve our best efforts.

No longer can educators pick and choose whom they will educate.

YOUTH TO BE SERVED

☐ Disruptive and alienated youth are defined as those individuals who are chronic norm violators. Incarcerated youth are those whose violations have resulted in a loss of freedom for a given period of time. Generally, these individuals have moved through three related stages, which may be defined as disinterest, disillusionment, and disassociation.

Disinterested youth are those who do not perceive any activity or subject matter within the school setting as personally beneficial. Thus, the student looks for some other setting in which to find meaning and focus interest and energy. Outside interests frequently bring the student into direct conflict with teachers and other school officials. Late night activities with peers may affect the student's daytime functioning in the formal school setting. Law violations may occur both in and out of the school setting, bringing both the school and law enforcement agencies into a negative involvement with the disinterested student that serves to deepen the level of disinterest. If the home setting is also unable to provide a source of activity and involvement, the dimensions of disinterest are even broader.

The disinterested student looks for some other setting.

Flowing from disinterest is disillusionment. School may be viewed only as a place for socialization with peers, a place to kill some time each day. The attitude that nothing of use or practicality occurs at school establishes the groundwork for the next stage, which is disassociation.

Flowing from disinterest is disillusionment.

After repeated failures, conflicts with authority figures, and painful disappointments, troubled students disassociate themselves from the formal school setting. Although disassociation may occur at any age, it occurs most often between the ages of 14 and 16. In many states, the legal age to leave school is 16, but experience has taught many youngsters that leaving school:

at an earlier age produces minimal consequences. The student may not officially withdraw, but merely makes an appearance once every quarter or so in order to keep on the school roles. Lacking an allegiance to and an affiliation with school, the student is not really accepted as an adult in the community, either. In effect, such youth float between childhood and adulthood, without knowing for sure how to move in the direction of adulthood and its subsequent responsibilities.

Students who experience disinterest, disillusionment, and disassociation may be very intimidating in their behavior toward teachers and fellow students. Physical intimidation becomes a way of surviving within the school setting. Irregular attendance, poor grades, a difficult home life, and repeated disciplinary problems within the school and community settings additionally contribute to the profile of individuals in conflict.

Physical intimidation is a way of surviving.

□ Education has gone through a number of evolutionary changes in its attempt to deliver quality training to and for youth. During the 1950's, there was a movement that stressed the "survival skills" that students needed in order to master the rapidly changing world of that day. These survival skills included competence in reading, math, and communication. In addition, time was spent in assisting students in making meaningful and realistic career decisions.

PROGRAM DESCRIPTIONS

The 1960's saw education focusing on relevancy. The programs and activities offered in the schools dealt with the application of knowledge in the context of the real world. Out of this relevancy movement came the "Back to the Basics" focus of the 1970's. This movement again had as its base the development of competencies in reading, math, and communication.

Three major program areas operating throughout these movements require careful inspection. These areas include general (basic), special, and vocational education.

General education. Basic or general education (henceforth the term general education will be used) has been defined as education through which one acquires the ability to cope with one's environment in today's world (Evans, 1971, p. 51). In other words, it is assumed that general education prepares all students by helping them to develop needed skills to cope successfully with their immediate and future social and occupational environments. Ideally, then, through successful integration of both general and specialized training, a student is ready to cope with a wide range of problems that life and society might present. To understand why disruptive, alienated, and incarcerated youth do not fit within the educational framework and do not possess the "ideal" skills to cope with life, one must look at the historical development of educational objectives.

Through successful [illegible] ation of . . . training, a student is ready to cope.

The major objective of public education in America has been to prepare individuals for living, not to prepare individuals to make a living (Calhoun & Finch, 1976, p. 87). Educators, since the Greek philosophers, have espoused the notion that a person who has developed mind, body, and character through formal exercises in cultural and intellectual disciplines will be better suited to enter an occupation than an individual who has not so benefited. Such thinking resulted in a perceived hierarchy of educational programs and curricula that allows disenfranchised youth to slip through the cracks.

Disenfranchised youth slip through the cracks.

The college preparatory curriculum is placed at the top of the hierarchy. In many cases, parental aspirations determine a student's choice of the college curricular route. If the student does not share the desire for a college edu-.

cation, or would prefer to be in another program, scholastic and social problems may snowball until the individual is labeled alienated and disruptive.

The next layer of the hierarchy is the general curriculum, designed for individuals who do not choose either the college curriculum or a vocational training program. It is an in between curriculum not specifically designed to prepare the individual either for college or for employment after leaving school. The general curriculum does have as its goal the preparation of individuals who can function in society and who possess the necessary skills and competencies with which to make life directing decisions.

Vocational education provides preparation for gainful employment after completion of a specific training program. Vocational education finds itself at the bottom of the hierarchy due to the stigma it has carried as a dumping ground for academically less capable students.

General education finds itself sandwiched between a college preparatory curriculum and vocational education. The challenge facing general education is to provide quality educational opportunities to disruptive and alienated youth so that these individuals can make meaningful and realistic life directing decisions.

One important part of the general education delivery system should be the provision of career education to these youth. According to the American Vocational Association Task Force (AVA Task Force, 1972), career education should be designed to help individuals develop:

The general curriculum. . . is an in between curriculum.

1. Favorable attitudes toward the personal, psychological, social, and economic significance of work.
2. Appreciation for the worth of all types and levels of work.
3. Decision making skills necessary for choosing career options and for changing career directions.
4. Capability of making considered choices of career goals, based on development of self in relation to the range of career options.
5. Capability of charting a course for realization of self established career goals in keeping with individual desires, needs, and opportunities.
6. Knowledge, skill, and attitudes necessary for entry and success in a career. (p. 12)

If general education accepts the challenge of providing opportunities to acquire these competencies, a major step will have been taken in trying to reach disruptive and alienated youth.

General education should accept the responsibility of providing all youth with the necessary skills to function at a minimal literacy level. General education need not bear this responsibility alone, but should participate in a total programatic effort encompassing a variety of school offerings. Providing comprehensive educational programs to disruptive and alienated youth will be the only way they will be able to perceive a variety of alternatives and have the opportunity to choose among them.

General education should provide all youth with skills to function at minimal literacy level.

Vocational education. Evans (1971) defined vocational education as "that part of education which makes an individual more employable in one group of occupations than in another. It may be differentiated from general education, which is of almost equal value regardless of the occupation which is to be followed" (p. 53).

The goal of vocational education is to train people to succeed in a chosen occupation.

Vocational education provides training for those occupations requiring less than a baccalaureate degree. Its goal is to train people to enter into and

succeed in a chosen occupation. These occupations are generally classified, in six major categories: vocational agriculture, home economics, health occupations, trades and industries, business and office education, and distributive education.

Vocational education has long suffered from the hierarchical stigma previously discussed. Working with one's hands has been misconstrued as being less desirable than working with one's mind. This stigma, which parallels blue collar versus white collar status judgments, is now changing for a variety of reasons (AVA, 1979):

1. Vocational education offers advantages to vocational graduates over nonvocational graduates.
2. Vocational education is training in occupational areas that are in demand and reflecting the needs in today's work setting.
3. Vocational education enrolls women in nontraditional occupation areas.
4. Vocational education enrolls minority students into programs leading to higher salaried and skilled occupational areas.
5. Vocational education is effective in working with existing employed workers to upgrade their competencies, increase their productivity, and enhance promotability.
6. Vocational education is effectively enrolling and working with handicapped students.
7. Vocational education graduates have a tendency to move into business ownership following their occupational training and work experience.
8. Comprehensive vocational education programs have an impact on the economic growth and development in communities. (pp. 1-3)

Vocational education has long been responsive to societal needs, changing, expanding, and modifying programs and training where necessitated by emerging worker and employment demands. Examples of this are the training programs that have been offered for students in entrepreneurship. The growth of small business brought about the need for vocational training, not only in the skill areas, but also in the forming and managing of a small business. Vocational education has continued to develop new training programs as emerging occupations have been identified and employment needs projected.

Vocational education has a real challenge and clearly defined responsibility to serve the disruptive and alienated student. The disinterested and disillusioned student cannot see any relevance between school and the life experienced beyond its bounds. Vocational education, by virtue of the training it offers and the methodology employed, is a logical deliverer of educational services to these troubled youth. Vocational education involves not only the cognitive aspects of learning, but the psychomotor and affective domains as well. The basis of vocational education is activity, and this is what the troublesome student, in many cases, is seeking in day to day school life. An immediate transference from the school setting to the larger community is also apparent, be it through automotive repair skills or consumer buying knowledge.

Vocational education has a challenge to serve the disruptive student.

The basis is activity.

Special education. Special education has been defined as "specially designed instruction, at no cost to the parent, to meet the unique needs of a handicapped child" (*Federal Register*, 1977). Special education has as its intent and purpose to serve those individuals who have some type of hand-

icapping condition and who require specialized educational assistance in order to develop their capabilities to the maximum degree possible. Specialized services may assume a variety of forms, but must be offered in the least restrictive environment appropriate for each individual.

Public Law 94-142 has helped to focus greater attention on the provision of services for the disruptive and alienated student. In the not so distant past, such students were frequently placed in special education classes prior to eventual placement in a vocational program. During the past 5 years, there has been a dramatic change in this kind of haphazard placement.

Special education's responsibility for the education of these youth needs to be clearly defined in light of the services it can offer. Careful placement needs to be made based on the individual needs of the student involved. Arbitrary placements in special education programs will no longer be acceptable. In order for disruptive and alienated students to be effectively served in special education, the following three strategies need to be followed:

1. The disruptive and alienated student must be carefully evaluated to insure that the behavior being demonstrated is a symptom of a handicapping condition. For example, disruption may be an effective coping skill for a student whose learning disability creates a major barrier to successful reading. On the other hand, negative behaviors may also be acquired as defense mechanisms and may not be symptomatic of a handicapping condition. Disruption in a reading class may in these instances be attributed to a lack of self discipline and structure rather than a handicapping condition. Thus, the critical need for careful student evaluation before placement is underscored.

2. If evaluation shows that a student is not handicapped but has certain academic deficiencies, special educators may still be an informal resource to regular class teachers. Special education has developed many strategies for working with a wide range of individual learning styles, and these strategies need to be shared to their fullest.

3. Special education is properly only one part of the total educational plan. It cannot and should not be asked to serve these youths alone. There must be an integration of all the educational programs offered in schools. Through analysis, the specific offerings of each area can be set forth in conjunction with other curriculum areas so that the student can receive the best of each area for his or her educational benefit. Total educational programing is a must.

A SYSTEM OF SERVICE

The educational process must include
longitudinal assistance.

□ General, special, and vocational education, in order to assume their shared responsibility for the education of youth who have been categorized as alienated and disruptive, must have assistance from a number of other individuals and agencies. The educational process must include longitudinal assistance to these individuals. It is neither fair nor feasible to relegate troubled youth to certain areas within education, such as special or vocational education, and say "these students are your responsibility." This is unfair to the program, unfair to the teacher, and most of all, it is unfair to the student.

A system of service to these youth must begin early. It is in many cases too late to redirect a 16 year old student with a long history of school difficulties by placement in a new program as a last ditch salvage effort. Upon entrance into the public school system, students should have a longitudinal plan of educational options developed that will provide opportunities for growth and maturity. These opportunities should be clear in their purpose

and design. This educational option plan is not meant to be confining nor restrictive, but simply a device through which students and parents can see the various options that are available. Students can be deliberately and thoughtfully exposed to career and life experiences that will assist them along the educational pathway.

Kindergarteners enter school with much bright eyed enthusiasm for learning and curiosity about the world around them. By age 8 or 9, however, the child may have begun a journey toward increasing alienation marked by a growing pattern of disruptive behavior. This journey has as its point of departure the repeated failures and frustrations encountered in the first two or three grades, problems that result from a number of interacting and influencing factors within the home, school, and community setting. The school needs to be sensitive to the changes that are occurring in students at this age and offer intervention programing to reduce this growing alienation.

General education, through a strong career education program integrated with an equally strong academic program, can lay a solid foundation of interest and exploration for the child. Career orientation can do much to enhance the relevance of educational experiences for all students. Career exploration in the classroom setting is carried directly into the community, where students may visit with workers, view community businesses and industry, and participate in community projects.

A strong career education program can lay a solid foundation.

As the child finishes the elementary grades, a concentrated effort must be made by teachers to retain enthusiasm for learning and to make the transition from the elementary or middle grades to junior high school as easy as possible. A new environment, for a student who is unsure and confused about what lies ahead, may provoke disruptive behavior or the alienation of which withdrawal is one symptom.

Disruptive behavior often occurs in a new environment.

During the junior high years, general education needs to provide more advanced career education experiences. The junior high years are a time of rapid physical and cognitive growth. A comprehensive career education program provides many opportunities for using this energy. Basic academic skills can be practiced in a career context. For example, an English class learns career survival words and uses them to interview a community worker. Math skills are applied in a real life situation when a student uses them to order lumber for a class project. Communication skills are used to answer a newspaper ad for part time employment. The same skills are used again during the interview and later on the work site. The use of these "school skills" in the community often needs to be explicitly pointed out.

The student who is disruptive and alienated must know what career options exist in order to make a meaningful and realistic career choice. While a comprehensive career education program can do much to assist the student along the decision making pathway, a strong prevocational program is necessary to facilitate maximum progress. Prevocational programs normally include industrial arts, home economics, general business, and general agriculture. Within these courses, students have the opportunity to conceptualize, design, and construct various projects such as furniture, clothing, or tools, which ultimately become the property of the students to share with family and friends. For the alienated student who is searching for relevance, for a source of pride, and for the self esteem bestowed by achievement and approval of others, projects of this nature provide positive and rewarding maturational experiences.

A strong prevocational program facilitates progress.

Through the informal sharing of materials and experiences, the special education teacher can greatly aid general and prevocational teachers in their work with troubled youngsters. If a given student is also officially designated

The special education teacher can aid general and prevocational teachers.

as handicapped in the school setting, the special education teacher will be directly involved through implementation of the individualized education program (IEP).

Work experience programs offer a variety of benefits.

Work experience programs can be of great assistance in involving and retaining the alienated and disruptive student. These programs are known by a number of names, such as Experience Based Career Education (EBCE), Hands On Training (HOT), and Experience Programs in the Community (EPIC). Regardless of title, they have as their common intent and purpose the simultaneous involvement of the student in school and the world of work. Specifically, such programs offer a combination of some or all of the following benefits:

1. Help the student gain exploratory occupational experience.
2. Assist in keeping the student in school.
3. Provide inschool support directly related to the employment site.
4. Provide personal development training in grooming, socialization skills, and career planning.
5. Create a training base for cooperative occupational programs.
6. Provide a source of income.
7. Allow students to develop a close relationship with school staff members.

Since many students leave school between the ages of 14 and 16, the importance of a close student and teacher relationship needs to be emphasized. The transition from junior high to high school may be facilitated through teacher effort by introducing a student personally to the high school work experience or vocational teacher. This kind of visit is much different from a quick orientation tour that may be conducted for entering high school students. The change must be made carefully because, in spite of their alienation and disruption, these students are quite fragile inside, and they need consistent and caring assistance.

Close cooperation and articulation are essential.

At the high school level, close cooperation and articulation among educators in each segment of the student's educational program are essential. The general education and vocational teacher must each know and share what the other is doing. Teachers in both programs may benefit from special education resources.

Public Law 94-142 has set forth that every handicapped child from the age of 3 through 21 shall be provided a free and appropriate educational program. A tool for monitoring the most appropriate program is the individualized education program (IEP), containing such components as long and short term goals and objectives, length of time of special services, and specific designation of service providers.

The development of a plan similar to the IEP could help.

In serving the alienated and disruptive student, the development of a similar type of plan could do much to help remove the uncertainty and confusion that surrounds just who will do what for this student. Such an educational road map will not eliminate the sources of alienation, nor erase disruption in total, but it will serve to better create an accurate educational picture for both student and staff of services to be provided.

INCARCERATED YOUTH

□ Alienated and disruptive youth are being dealt with as the main focus of this discussion because these are the students that the regular school will be dealing with. Incarcerated youth are educated in an isolated environment for the duration of confinement. They have the same educational needs as do the nonconfined students. Within the penal system, there operate educational programs that include general, special, and vocational educators. Teachers in this setting need to cooperate and articulate in programing for
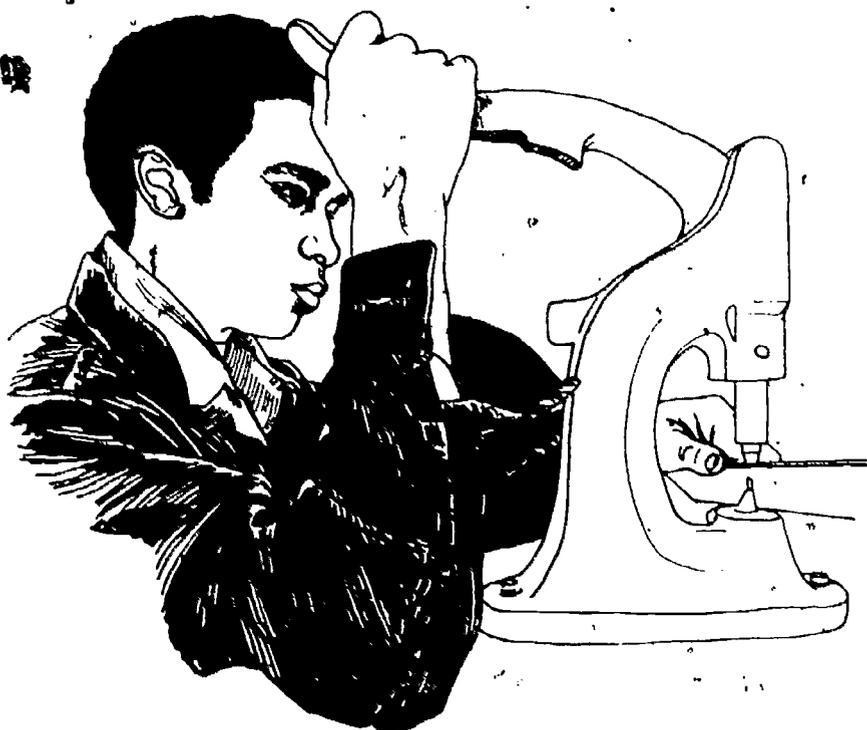
their students just as public school educators do. The comments made on public education and its responsibility hold true for those teachers and programs involved with incarcerated youth. The needs in many cases are the same. The opportunities for programing may be different, but the basic goal remains that of reintroducing the incarcerated student into society as a useful and contributing citizen.

The point of reentry into the home environment is a very critical time for the incarcerated student. Instructors from the penal center need to work in cooperation with teachers in the regular school programs so that the transition process is made as easy as possible. Cooperative endeavors center around exchanges of information concerning the student's academic proficiencies, socialization abilities, and career aspirations. Through this exchange will come information that will assist the regular school teacher in developing an effective instructional strategy plan for the student much more quickly. In addition, all the involved teachers need to know the probation or parole officer so that each is aware of the other's involvement and influence.

□ School fills a large portion of a young person's life, but there are other environmental influences that affect the life of the student. The school should try to deal with these other influences to the best of its ability. One way is to be aware of the various components of the student's life. Poor school performance can be blamed on the general, special, or vocational teacher, but if the student has an impossible home situation, is involved with the law, and is associating with a questionable group of peers, then the placing of blame or responsibility becomes a game of pointing fingers. The school, the parents, and the court can all point fingers as to who is to blame, but the fact remains that there is still a deeply troubled young person in need of help.

There are many community programs in existence for economically disadvantaged youth between the ages of 16 and 19, such as the Youth Community Conservation and Improvements Project (YCCIP) (*Federal Register*, 1978). Many of these programs originate from the Department of Labor, and thus they must be coordinated with existing educational offerings. Not to be aware of community programs will shortchange both the teacher and the student. The school must be aware of these programs, what their goals are, and how they serve youth. This knowledge can serve to assist teachers in making better program decisions for students.

The point of reentry is a critical time.

Exchanges of information assist the teacher.

OTHER INFLUENCING FACTORS

Be aware of components of the student's life.

Not to be aware of community programs will shortchange both student and teacher.

WHAT CAN BE DONE

☐ All educational personnel need to have their specific responsibilities defined in the context of the total educational continuum for disruptive and alienated youth. In order for these youth to be adequately served, teachers need to be properly prepared. Teacher training (both preservice and inservice) must include segments on discipline, classroom management, the judicial system, and individual evaluation. To do a good job at any task, one must be properly prepared, and this is especially true for those who deal with fellow human beings.

Teachers need to be properly prepared.

School personnel need to look beyond their classroom walls and become aware of their students' broader activities, interests, and needs. In the same vein, students must be made aware of their responsibilities in terms of behavior, learning, and decision making. The school should not merely spoonfeed these students a set of educational experiences without allowing them the freedom to react as young adults. Youth then must realize that there are both positive and negative consequences that will result from their decisions. They must be responsible for their actions. The school can assist youth in developing responsibility by providing decision making opportunities that allow students to see the results of their decisions.

Youth must be responsible for their actions.

The future, with all its uncertainty, has one thing to offer and that is challenge. The challenge is issued to general, special, and vocational education teachers to help meet the needs of youth who are alienated, disruptive, and in many cases incarcerated. The educational community needs assistance from all sectors of society in order to serve students in a comprehensive and longitudinal way. Alienated, disruptive, and incarcerated youth are a responsibility of today and a challenge for tomorrow. Through acceptance of both responsibility and challenge, these individuals can and will be served.

The challenge is issued to general, special, and vocational education teachers.

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secondary special education: a case of benign neglect

Experience suggests that society's professed concern for the education of exceptional children strangely falters when small handicapped children grow into adolescence, and into the domain of secondary programing in the public schools. Troubling and troublesome behavior is met with increasing negativism on the part of adults who are charged with educating all youth. Mutual respect in search of mutual reason represents a philosophy that holds promise of making a beginning toward solving the problems that confront us. Attitudinal change is now critical for all secondary educators confronting the development of programs for handicapped youth, especially the 40% to 50% who have been adjudicated.

david a. sabatino

*The biological beginning and
psychological ending make
adolescence a unique period.*

*The term alienation creates one more
label*

*Adolescents experiment with limits,
values, and relationships.*

*Secondary youth are suspended and
expelled at an alarming rate.*

*Aggressive youth cannot be submitted
to the care of the streets.*

�□ Adolescent youth have provided researchers, philosophers, and educators
with much to say. Adolescence is marked by a divergent break from child-
hood at puberty, culminating in psychological maturity at age 21, about the
same period where maturity under the law also begins. The biological be-
ginning and the psychological ending make adolescence a unique period,
where a balance of independence and dependence within selected social
and personal relationships stabilizes. It is in this struggle between indepen-
dence and dependence, within the context of the social agency known as
the schools, that adolescence appears to many educators as a period of
storm and stress. Rapid physical growth, newfound concerns for a place in
an enlarged world, the establishment of sex role relationships, and intense
pressures from without to accept the adult world and declare an earned
place in it, all interact to create tremendous internal needs with which the
middle and secondary schools must cope. Add to those normal develop-
mental dimensions a combination of school and societal failure overlaid by
a handicapping condition, and it is little wonder that the secondary schools
remain academically oriented, functionally denying the existence of "problem
youth."

In this country, literature from the 1950's onward described adolescents
who became aggressive toward the system or withdrawn from traditional
social structures as alienated (Bailey, 1969; Havighurst, 1970). Frankly, the
term alienation is troublesome because it creates one more label for youth
who may already feel different, and react to such labeling by in fact behaving
differently. The problematic concern with being different appears to be dou-
bly heightened for youth who fail to meet their own expectancies or those
of society. In essence, the schools tend to amplify the uniqueness of ado-
lescence, especially when youth do not succeed within the system.

Research by Reckless (1967), substantiated by a number of other studies
(Jones, 1972; Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968), pointed out the dangerous
influence of labels on students and teachers alike. Reckless essentially re-
ported that all adolescents experiment with limits, values, and relationships.
Those who become chronic disruptive or norm violators, tend to hear the
expression *bad* associated with their behavior consistently more often. Could
it be that disruptive behavior is initiated as a reinforcement of specific be-
havioral incidents?

Of more critical importance to the educator is the fact that once a range
of chronic disruptive, norm violating behaviors begin, the schools may not
have the means of stopping them. What alternative treatment forms are
employed by secondary schools for youth in trouble? First, such individuals
may be removed from the normal flow or mainstream, to use a popular
special education expression. In short, the system punishes a youth for
presenting troublesome behavior by removing the youth from the setting.
Secondary school age youth are suspended and expelled from school daily,
at an alarming rate (Splaine, 1975). The public schools appear to have the
attitude that education is a privilege, and therefore can be denied. The result
is that the street or some agency must now provide for youth who are well
under 21 years of age. The mean age at which most youth either "drop" or
"stop" attending school remains around 14 years (Schreiber, 1968).

At the other end of the behavioral continuum are violent or vandalistic
youth, who display norm violating and chronic disruptive behavior through
overt aggression, placing a low priority both on other people and their prop-
erty. Aggressive youth cannot be submitted to the care of the streets. The
public values property, the ability to control, and the capability to establish
viable norms for its future citizens. Therefore, incarceration is the most com-

mon practice for dealing with aggressive youth who intimidate persons or destroy property. Society naively believes that incarceration is a form of treatment. Incarceration may include treatment, but in itself is not treatment. There are those in fact who believe that incarceration only begets incarceration (Shore & Massimo, 1969), pointing to the recidivism rate, which remains at 75% to 80% (Moore, 1962). Statistical data simply suggest that society is long on memory and short on alternatives.

The traditional professional response to chronic disruptive, norm violating adolescents is disappointing. There are no simple solutions to complex problems. Yet there are no solutions to any problems if not first sought. These two principles hang in the balance, hung there by regular, vocational, and special educators who must select an integrated professional posture. Currently, that posture is that the secondary schools teach subject matter, such as math, chemistry, political science, metal or wood shop. The subject matter is important, and the student who does not respond to it must make the decision to come or go. That attitude places the secondary public schools in direct conflict with the letter and intent of Public Law 94–142.

□ Public Law 94–142 is known as the Education for All Handicapped Children Act. It does not say the education for all handicapped children and youth. Why?

There is a parallel between social dependence and handicapping conditions which, many believe, can be broken by education. The very moral beliefs of the nation require provisions for the least of its citizens, as well as for those who have much to return to society. The conscience of an industrial society prohibits the creation of scrap piles, whether industrial or human. It is not consistent with the ideology of our industrial society to be remembered as the land of the free and home of the brave if we are unable to provide for small, poor, handicapped children.

But large, disruptive, troublesome adolescents are an altogether different proposition. Society assumes that the moral principle of choosing the pathway for one's life occurs at the age of reason (adolescence). Choosing right from wrong is the responsibility of an adolescent who must be held responsible for the consequence of that decision. Attitudinally, then, a teacher or school system is justified in providing services for handicapped children, but can justify neglecting services for youth who choose to be disruptive. Consequently, services to secondary handicapped youth currently fall below 58% (National Center for Educational Statistics, 1977). The nation's apathy is somewhat reflected in the Bureau for the Education of the Handicapped (US Office of Education) failure to list secondary special education as a priority concern in the preparation of professional personnel, research, and services. Why does an attitude exist that supports differential treatment between elementary children and secondary youth?

The phenomenon has at least one additional tie in reality—fear. Permit an illustration. Ellen Baistow, a teacher in the public schools of Canton, Massachusetts, punished four members of her middle school class by keeping them after school. On her way home that evening she was physically attacked. Ellen Baistow died from injuries sustained in that incident. Attitude always emulates from tradition. The point of interest concerning the Baistow incident is that it is a reality faced by every middle and secondary teacher of today. Of course, you must realize the attack on Ms. Baistow occurred on October 8, 1870.

In Senator Birch Bayh's report to a Special Congressional Subcommittee investigation on juvenile delinquency (February, 1977), one descriptive sum-

Society naively believes that incarceration is a treatment form

Regular, vocational, and special educators must select an integrated posture

THE DILEMMA OF YOUTH

There is a parallel between social dependence and handicapping conditions

Choosing right from wrong is the responsibility of an adolescent.

Why does an attitude exist that supports differential treatment between elementary children and secondary youth?

mary statement stands out: "A ledger of violence is confronting our schools that reads like a casualty list from a war zone or a vice squad annual report" (p. 5). Crime among youth has been on the upsurge, not only in schools, but everywhere. Juvenile arrests accounted for 51% of all property crimes in 1973, 23% of all violent crimes, and 45% of other serious crime. According to FBI statistics, more crimes are committed by youth under 3 than by adults over 25.

Recent statistics from the National Center for Educational Statistics of the United States Office of Education (1977) reveal that 73% of the nation's schools experience a major crime every 5 months. In fact, 49.4% report more than one major crime in a single semester. The range from state to state includes a high of 77.9% in Florida and a low of 25.5% in North Dakota. The nationwide rate stands at a disconcerting 6.8% offenses per 1,000 enrollment.

The results of acts of vandalism and violence are staggering. In 1969, the US Office of Education estimated that school vandalism accounted for over $100 million in property damage (Grieder, 1970). During the 3 year period from 1970 to 1973, assaults on teachers increased 77.4%; assaults on students were up 83.3%; personal robberies increased 36.7%; rapes and attempted rapes increased 40.1%; homicides and confiscation of weapons jumped 18% and 54.4% respectively. These alarming increases reflect only the *reported data*. Many school officials do not report less violent acts of vandalism. In fact, many acts of nonviolent vandalism are simply overlooked.

Vandalism and acts of violence are somewhat difficult terms to define operationally. Vandalism occurs for many reasons, including nonmalicious play and monetary and property gain. Both are generally regarded as nonviolent acts against the school (Cohen, 1973; Goldman, 1960). Thus, a partial distinction can be made between property directed vandalism, including theft, and personally directed violence. Yet, it is impossible to conclude that vandalistic acts against property are totally impersonal. For example, property directed acts of vandalism may be motivated by what the student feels are unfair rules imposed by a controlling adult minority on youth, an unrepresented majority. Thus, the motives of vandalism may be violent while the behavior itself is not so classified.

[ ] Accompanying the attitude that small handicapped children must be provided special education services is a belief, even among special educators, that adolescent troublesome youth are dangerous, a threat, and therefore cannot be served.

Alienation and incarceration are not one and the same, but it does not require a leap in logic to perceive the two as associated on a continuum of troubled youth in the school setting. Nor does it require a substantial review of the literature to note that there is a flow of youth between, among, and through a number of selected public, private, or community agencies. Many youth do in fact attend public schools in regular or special classes, and may be on the streets and well known to a half dozen or so social, welfare, or health agencies, having been, or on the way to being incarcerated. This is especially so, since the average stay of incarceration for juvenile offenders is only 7 months (Illinois Commission on Children, 1977).

Youth failing in school (or failed by the schools) apparently have several realistic options. They may find successful employment, walk the streets, enter an alternative school program if there is one, or go to jail. Whose problem? The youth? Hardly. The community? If so, which agencies in the

community? The school? Let's examine the potential that the educational organization may have for contributing to chronic disruptive behavior.

Ascertaining the effects of the school as a treatment agency may begin by examining the options or alternatives youth have while enrolled. There has been a tendency for adolescents to seek identity in group relationships that may result in their exclusion from membership in the societal mainstream. Secondary schools typically track or group youth, identifying, labeling, and subtly encouraging them to seek protection and understanding in their own organizational structure. Youth gangs are examples of group identity that have been studied intensively (Tannenbaum, 1966). An assumption necessitating exploration is that the public schools are a rule setting societal organization, and as such invite gang type antirule (or rule of the gang versus rules of the school). What initially promotes gang structure has not been answered to anyone's satisfaction (DeFleur, 1967). Speculative work on theoretical constructs that gang membership promotes delinquent acts has generally led researchers to believe that the laws of the gang must become more important than the rules of the larger society (Empey, 1967).

Secondary schools track or group youth

Hirschi (1969) has advanced a control theory which postulates that adolescent behavior is an extension of the individual's bond to society's weaknesses as that individual determines them. This empirically tested approach is based on the theory that the bonds among humans provide a belief in the values of the societal order that tends to produce the behavior observed in secondary school age adolescents and their culture, particularly gangs. These bonds include attachment, caring about the opinions and expectations of others, and the time and energy committed to self, school, work, family, hobbies, and recreation.

Using the gang as a means of understanding peer norms, let us review the nature of the rapid increase in violent acts in the nation's schools. Attempting to provide one speculative view for such an increase in violent behavior in the adolescent, the position advanced is that the school has set itself up as a target. Inadvertently, this reinforces most adolescents to direct feeling toward the inanimate being who makes, imposes, and enforces rules, denying the very right of the governed to be heard in the rule making process. Therefore, public education could possibly be grand scale hypocrisy, viewing itself as the very core of the democratic experience, while its learning experiences are rooted in the autocratic rule of the minority with power. The end result is simply that the adolescent's natural curiosity to test, manipulate, and probe rule regularity structures is directed toward the school, its contents, and most of all, the people who make the rules.

The school has set itself up as a target

Such a view is neither another theory of delinquency, nor does it account for all norm violating behaviors. It is advanced because if, as educators, we may be inadvertently reinforcing obstreperous behaviors, then perhaps we may be able to eliminate undesirable adolescent behavioral responses by:

1. Reducing the amount of external controls.
2. Increasing the amount of self regulatory behavior.
3. Providing environmental structures that reduce the likelihood of both planned and mischievous vandalism.

A major consideration at this juncture is (a) to increase the student's role in self government, and (b) to attempt to teach self reliance as an objective, even to the extent of specifically including it in the individualized education program (IEP) for secondary handicapped students.

Many norm violating youth experience unsuccessful personal crises,

meet academic and social competition, and face recurring, severe academic underachievement. The response of many youth to the disastrous social and academic experiences of school is to display such unacceptable behaviors as vandalism, truancy, and aggression, ending the unpleasant experience by dropping out of school. Handicapped youth who traditionally have been placed in special education programs are not inherently involved with such activities. Yet at the secondary level, behaviorally disordered, learning disabled, and mildly mentally retarded students have accumulated histories of school difficulties. School problems may be expressed in overt attention getting or passive behavioral responses, causing the secondary handicapped student to look, act, or appear to be indistinguishable from the chronic disruptive or norm violating youth. In summary, secondary chronic disruptive/norm violating youth in social or academic difficulty with the schools may be handicapped, may have histories of school failure, may have been dropped or stopped from school attendance, or may be chronically truant.

The response of many youth is to display unacceptable behaviors.

ADOLESCENT AGGRESSIVENESS

□ The search to fulfill unmet emotional needs is encountered by practically all norm violating youth, regardless of the causes or symptoms of their behavior. Their interpersonal commitments and communication skills are very low, and they share little satisfactory emotional involvement with others. For example, known secondary school age vandals evidence minimal ability to demonstrate sympathy toward others, to stand alone when necessary, to have close friends, or to be aggressively constructive. This inability to relate to others is supported by Goldman's 1960 study of the Syracuse Public School system, in which the following factors were cited in relationship to a high rate of alienation: frequent staff turnover, authoritarian administration, and highly formal interpersonal relations.

A relationship between self concept and academic achievement has been verified.

Youth who are motivated by unmet emotional needs are characterized as low academic achievers with poor self concepts. A significantly recurring relationship between self concept and academic achievement has been verified to some extent (Brookover, Erikson, & Joiner, 1967). Shaw, Edson, and Bell's study (1960) of the self perceptions of achievers and underachievers indicated that male achievers feel relatively more positive about themselves than their underachieving counterparts. In a closer look at underachievers, Taylor (1964) listed the following personality traits: they are self derogatory, have depressed attitudes about themselves, and experience strong feelings of inadequacy and inferiority. General unhappiness with personal circumstances may lead individual youth to seek peer acceptance and high self esteem through violent acts. Cohen (1973) stated that such youth may even display a group offense which is "situational in character and arises spontaneously out of group interaction" (p. 254).

A negative view toward oneself affects school performance.

A sex difference has also been noted. The fact that a negative view toward oneself and one's abilities leads to unsuccessful performances in school holds true more strongly for boys than for girls (Bledsoe, 1967; Fink, 1962; Shaw, Edson, & Bell, 1960). This is consistent with studies in most Western countries, where the ratio of male to female delinquents is about six to one.

HANDICAPPED YOUTH IN TROUBLE: TRUANTS, DROPOUTS, SCHOOL FAILURES

□ Thus far, it would appear that youth experiencing difficulty with the academic and social response to school present four major, overlapping characteristics. These include truancy, the experience of being dropped or stopped from school attendance, histories of school failure (primarily academic), and mild handicap.

Truants and dropouts. Truancy and dropout rates have remained at about the same level since compulsory school attendance laws were enacted (Splaine, 1975). The only significant variations from the approximate 20% to 30% figures (Washington, 1973) are with minority groups (Dysinger, 1975), particularly with Hispanic youth (DeGracie, 1974). It is interesting to note that most programs developed to curb dropouts have focused on the academic and social adjustment of the dropped or stopped adolescent.

Dauw (1970) reported a high school dropout program in the Pontiac, Michigan schools directed at reducing the relatively high 17.1% dropout rates among disadvantaged students. The records of these students, along with those recommended by teachers and administrators, were examined. Students were scheduled for interviews until 45 youth were selected. These students were characterized by prior poor school attendance, low academic achievement, and behavioral and/or sociopsychological problems. A daytime academic remediation and vocational training program was provided for them in an inner city housing project.

Besant (1969) described an occupation training program at the Rodman Job Corps Center in New Bedford, Massachusetts, where nearly 85% of the youth who attended two levels of successful study completed a high school equivalency exam and qualified for a high school diploma. The Rodman Center sought to benefit from observations that were made on teaching dropout youth. Dropouts have a deep sense of school inadequacy which is partially supported by a prior record of failure. It was hypothesized that if the dropouts were to succeed in any preventative or remedial program they must experience early success. Failure was quickly identified and checked by recycling the student through the units that were not mastered.

If dropouts were to succeed, they must experience early success.

Initial instruction was verbal, with a gradual shift to written material as student reading ability increased. Personal and vocational counseling played an important role. Individual and job related counseling was intensive, highly personal, and realistic. Besant (1969) found that "six to nine months of classwork and concurrent on the job training were sufficient to qualify the average 17 to 22 year old trainee for an entry level job in a range of office skills" (p. 52).

Douglass (1969) developed a junior high school dropout prevention program based on the premise that youth drop out because of their inability to learn to read and consequent failure in other subject areas. The major approaches recommended by Douglass in preventing school dropout from occurring were:

Youth drop out because of inability to read.

1. Improve pupil-teacher interpersonal relations.
2. Increase junior high school remedial work.
3. Offer special study habits and skill building guidance center prevention classes.
4. Improve counseling relationships with an eye toward dropout prevention systems.
5. Increase the number of work study programs.

Millions of dollars and over a half century of programmatic efforts have been expended, and yet the dropout problem remains. Various proposals have been brought forth as solutions to the problem, including abolishing compulsory schooling laws and providing on the job training, career education, and relevant curricula. As school personnel confront the issue today it would benefit them to keep in mind the fact that school is not a panacea. In fact, as the evidence suggests, it has been anything but that for lower socioeconomic class youth.

Educators should refrain from misleading promises.

Accordingly, while attempting to improve the quality of schooling for all of America's children, educators should refrain from misleading promises and inaccurate statements. Furthermore, educators should consider the possibility that, at least for high school age pupils, school might not be the best place. Above all, school personnel should never engage in a campaign against dropouts which results in social stigmatization. Dropping out of school may be said to be a symptom of preexisting problems, rather than a problem itself. In the opinion of many authorities, the source of that problem may well be in the fiber of society, of which the schools are an integral part. Programs that work must focus on attitude; if the school reinforces feelings of inadequacy and continues to deny success, youth options dwindle to but one. A few concerned teachers and an overworked counselor will make only a small difference. If leaving school is viewed as a community problem that must be addressed by all parties, courts, stores, employers, service agencies, and schools, effective measures for prevention as well as the job of returning dropouts can commence.

Dropping out of school may be a symptom of preexisting problems.

School failures. The academic skill level of adjudicated youth has been demonstrated time and time again to exceed a fourth grade achievement level only rarely (Berman, 1975). The problem, as Berman pointed out, is that basic reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic skills (tool subjects) are so inadequate that they are unusable for purposes of daily living. More importantly, reading vocabulary is so weak that skill deficiencies actually multiply as the youth grows older.

Reading vocabulary is so weak that skill deficiencies multiply

That conclusion was borne out by the finding that at the eighth grade level, achievement in disadvantaged areas was relatively lower than it had been in the fifth grade. Concomitantly, the dropout rate in predominantly Black, urban high schools was equal to two-thirds of the entering ninth grade class and was twice the citywide rate. The reading and writing level of students in disadvantaged areas was far too low for them either to advance in school or to function effectively in society. As direct consequences of this illiteracy, welfare programs, unemployment, poverty, and social and political isolation are important variables to be considered in a dropout program.

Writing level in the disadvantaged was too low for them to function effectively

SPECIAL EDUCATION POPULATIONS IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

At least half are handicapped and should be receiving special education services.

☐ Of the approximately 20% of youth experiencing difficulty in the secondary schools, at least half are handicapped and should be receiving special education services in cooperation with either regular or vocational education. A review of the literature in this context is enlightening. Morgan (1979) conducted a survey of some 200 juvenile correctional agencies in all 50 states and US territories to ascertain the known incidence of handicapped incarcerated youth. He found that 42.4% of the youth were handicapped according to the categories delineated in Public Law 94-142, with the prevalent diagnostic categories being educable mental retardation, serious emotional disturbance, and specific learning disabilities. If youth labeled as handicapped are being received into institutions for the adjudicated, it may perhaps be assumed that those handicaps are diagnosed by the public schools from whence they emanated. Since it is impossible to estimate which youth have been handicapped and chronic disruptive in school, a review of the handicapping conditions for those who are incarcerated may shed some light on that incidence retrospectively.

Mentally retarded offenders. The extent of mental retardation among known delinquents ranges from a low of 3% (Santamour & West, 1977) to a high

of 27% (Atlanta Association for Retarded Citizens, 1975). The average was reported at 9.5% (Brown & Courtless, 1971). The mean IQ for a general population of incarcerated youth was reported to be 84.5 (Mann & Mann, 1939), with about 22% being retarded. The majority of those were in the category of educable retarded (14%). Mesinger (1976) concluded that most retarded delinquents also have severe psychosocial problems.

Mean IQ was 84 5 for incarcerated youth.

Learning disabled offenders. Numerous studies have attempted to define the relationship between learning disabilities and juvenile delinquency. Graubard (1967) reported that delinquent populations deviate from normals on the communication processes and integrational levels of the Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities. In Britain, Critchley (1968) noted that 60% of delinquent youth are 2 or more years below their expected grade level in reading. Mulligan (1969) also found that a significant number of juvenile probationers were functioning at below normal reading levels. In one study alone, 53% of the sample population of 50 had significant reading disabilities, while 32% had specific learning disabilities (Duling, Eddy, & Risko, 1970). Another study concluded that disabled readers and delinquent children possess similar personality characteristics, such as emotional maladjustment, low tolerance of frustration, and hostility (Miller & Windhauser, 1971).

Disabled readers and delinquent children possess similar personality characteristics

Walle (1972) studied the incidence and severity of communication problems in a sample of 128 male delinquents, observing that 63 youth had severe communication problems, with 3.2% of this number having severe language disorders. Compton (1974) assessed the incidence and type of learning disabilities, noting a general pattern of 75% having a sudden drop in achievement coupled by truancy before the sixth grade. He suggested that truancy and academic achievement problems noted in elementary age children should serve to identify troubled youth in need of intervention. Hodgenson (1974) also observed and measured a relationship between reading failure and antisocial, aggressive behaviors.

Truancy and academic problems in elementary children should identify troubled youth.

Finally, Poremba (1974) contended that most delinquents in the United States are learning disabled youth who have not been served. As many as 85% to 90% of delinquents have learning disabilities as opposed to 20% to 25% of the school population. Jacobson (1974) provided more modest figures, placing 50% to 80% of delinquents in the learning disability group. Jordan (1974) found 81% to be learning disabled. Mauser (1974) concluded that not all delinquents have learning disabilities and not all who have learning disabilities are juvenile delinquents.

Not all delinquents have learning disabilities.

□ Career education, vocational education, guided group interaction (GGI), job coaching, and the strengthening of field service liaison between school and community agencies all represent useful programs. Alternative high schools, and the accompanying range of service delivery options, are seemingly more often effective than traditional expulsion or suspension methods.

WHAT CAN BE DONE

Alternative high schools . . . are more effective than expulsion or suspension.

A change in building level attitude toward chronic disruptive youth, chronic disruptive youth with a handicap, and handicapped youth is essential. It is possible that additional information is needed to elicit attitudinal change, but that assumption is not completely self maintaining. Attitudinal change in great part can be deferred by that perpetual problem—denial. The defense mechanism that tends to block out the issues and perpetuate the denial of the existence of troubled or troublesome youth may be nothing more than a dependence on an excuse to teach to the curriculum. Academic subject matter, and its achievement, provides a haven within which the rationaliza-

tion of the real problem can be hidden. That problem may well be fear—fear of failure with those who are difficult to educate; fear of the indifference of youth to adult authority; fear of the challenge of the serf to the sovereign, the rule breaker to the rule maker.

Teacher and principal make the difference.

Beyond idle speculation, it is clearly the teacher and principal who make the difference. The teacher is not only a dispenser of reinforcers, but his or her very presence is a reinforcer, model, and advocate for prosocial behaviors. Thus, it is axiomatic that teachers and other school personnel are instrumental in changing student behavior. Unfortunately, such a basic truth is not so obvious. The secondary public school is an achievement oriented academic arena of departmentalized curricula, where teachers tend to view pupils as good or bad, and perceive their own roles as behavioral change agents to be minimal.

Expression of aggressive acts implies conflict, confrontation, manipulation, rebellion.

Aggression, invariably displayed in violation of rules and in conduct unbefitting the situation, remains as the ultimate test of the human relations aspect of teaching. The expression of aggressive acts implies conflict, confrontation, manipulation, and rebellion. Human beings are constructed with the mechanism to express anger, hostility, frustration, disappointment, and despair. The school as a social institution seldom considers these expressions appropriate in the classroom or corridor and fails to condone such acts. Teachers, principals, counselors, and other school personnel are positioned to support school rules. Similarly, schools have social organizational pressures dictating that rules be enforced at all cost. These rules do in fact establish the norms for acceptable and unacceptable behavior.

Youth who need attention strike back at the adult world.

A youth who needs attention generally desires to strike out or back at the adult world. Merely by breaking a rule an adolescent has tested and manipulated the status quo. When a youth confronts another youth with verbally aggressive, abusive language in a study hall, he breaks several rules, putting teachers in a position where they are *forced* to *intervene* at the time of crisis. *Is it possible that the relative position of defining behaviors as good or bad, rather than describing behaviors, seriously limits the range of responses or the alternative mode of responses available to the secondary educator?*

The secondary special educator has a doubly heavy load in maintaining both classroom control and a therapeutic environment. The task remains complex. Specific teaching attributes such as fairness, honesty, and rule establishment enhance the teacher's capacity to be effective with adolescents. A reputation for fairness is constructed by keeping promises, assisting students in regulating their overt behavior, upholding rules, and handling broken rules in a consistent manner. It is indeed an absolute that the teacher

The teacher must maintain and enforce rules.

must maintain and enforce rules, rules that are ideally established or agreed upon by the students. The teacher who is tardy cannot expect students to perform in a superior fashion.

The adolescent is conditioned to suspect adult values.

Above all, adolescents respect honesty and avoid entrusting personal questions to teachers who respond in a flippant manner or condemn and generalize on the basis of little evidence. The adolescent is conditioned to suspect adult values and perceives the hypocrisy in a dual value system that adults accept so freely. If the consequences of behavior are to be understood the rules regulating those behaviors must be simple and readily understood. Rules must be made in relationship to a particular environment, and their relativity must be explained, since it cannot be readily understood.

There are no simple cookbook solutions that transfer from situation to situation concerning the elimination of chronic disruptive behaviors. There are times to be firm and demanding, but not rigid or sarcastic, in expecting compliance with rules. There are times when students should be singled out

and told what is expected in most certain terms, with a line firmly drawn. There are times when the approach should be softer and the issue addressed from an individual perspective in the context of an array of behavioral possibilities, one of which the student selects. Chronic disruptive behaviors may frequently be reduced or eliminated when the teacher has made the classroom a secure place for students to express themselves and explore personal issues in a normal manner knowing that the teacher is their advocate and is supporting them personally.

☐ The school fails youth in several ways, including a lack of commitment to help low performing students; antiquated methods and materials that fail to address cultural, language, and motivational differences; failure to teach realistic personal, social, and job survival skills; and the inability to provide alternative behaviors to displace persistent aggressive and disruptive behaviors. The assumption commonly exists that youth who exhibit aggressive-disruptive behavior in school will drop out or be expelled, thus ending the problem. The failure of school personnel to understand that aggressive-disruptive behavior in school transfers to delinquent behavior in the community is an additional problem.

THE CLASSROOM: A HUMAN ARENA

A common assumption is that youth will drop out or be expelled, thus ending the problem.

Studies on classroom interactions have shown aggressive behavior to be related to teacher attributes, the physical structure of the classroom, and the type of instructional materials used. In an early study on teacher personality, Anderson, Brewer, and Reed (1946) found that a dominative teacher style incited dominative behaviors by students, while an integrative teacher style promoted integrative student behavior. In essence, the verbal behavior displayed by teachers has a direct influence on pupil attitudes toward the class, on anxiety levels, on achievement, and on the frequency of disorderly behavior displayed by students.

Teacher verbal behavior has direct influence.

Secondary special educators have recognized the importance of the physical management of the classroom in establishing a healthy, expressive atmosphere. In one study, Underwood (1968) studied disruptive behavior as related to increased range of action and movement space in the classroom. The data suggest, as an alternative to the large group setting, that students self select activities within a smaller group.

Classroom management strategies that teachers adopt, maintain, develop, or modify to control aggressive behavior are not important as strategies in themselves, but are important in creating a classroom climate. What secondary educators do or say before (antecedent events) or after (consequent events) a behavior occurs directly influences the climate in the classroom. In a review of antecedents of aggressive classroom behavior, Redl (1969) described aggression as an interaction of the psychological dynamics an individual imposes on the self. If long term planning is to be implemented to dispel aggression, the teacher must recognize the precursors of aggression. Redl hypothesized three such factors:

The teacher must recognize the precursors of aggression.

1. Carryover aggression from the home, community, or playground that is brought with the youth into the school.
2. Explosive aggression from pent-up feelings, emotions, or desires, frequently associated with emotional disturbance.
3. Aggression engendered by the classroom, teacher, or youth.

Redl delineated two suggestions for managing aggression in the classroom: cutting the contagion chain and signal interference. These strategies were viewed by Redl as a means of getting the youth "off the hook" before aggression spilled over into the classroom. The issue of the teacher as a possible

stimulus (or stimulator) of aggression is addressed, as well as the importance of timing in teacher intervention.

Hartocollis (1972) vividly described the management of aggressive youth in a psychiatric hospital setting. The staff rigidly intensified their activity level due to an inability to cope with their feelings toward, or concern for, controlling the adolescent patient at hand. Hartocollis suggested that the belligerent, aggressive adolescent can produce a loss of self esteem in staff members by challenging a professional person. When the effect of that challenge is sensed, the adolescent is reinforced and continues to reissue the threat at will. The problem is the initial inability of staff to be tougher, smarter, and more agile on their feet than the adolescent.

Holland and Skinner (1961) described punishment as either the withdrawal of a pleasant reinforcer or the presentation of aversive stimuli. Generally speaking, the use of punishment in school signals that the situation is out of the teacher's control. In short, there is no longer an interaction between student and teacher promoting a human relationship growth phenomenon. Punishment will stop a behavior from occurring, but it does not lead to the development of a more acceptable alternative response. Teachers *must* have the option to punish, but they must also recognize that punishment is injurious to an increased repertoire of appropriate behavioral responses.

The effects of verbal punishment on inhibition of aggression were examined by Hollenberg and Sperry (1951). The experiment demonstrated that verbal punishment subsequent to aggression decreased that behavior, but only temporarily. Research has tended to center on the importance of punishment as a determinant of resistance to deviation. Resistance to deviation is defined as the ability to withstand pressure or the temptation to deviate from a behavior standard in the absence of surveillance. Walters, Park, and Cane (1965) substantiated the important role punishment plays in deterring resistance. They demonstrated that punishment is an effective means to internalize social rules in children. Effectiveness is a function of timing when punishment is delivered upon initiation of the act, rather than termination.

The teacher has two responsibilities: (a) to gain control and punish if necessary; and (b) to determine, if possible, the triggering mechanisms. The question of why a behavior occurs is inappropriate. To ask why implies that there is rational thought that guided what may appear to be premeditated action. In most cases, adolescents just react and are not really sure to what they are reacting. Maybe they are responding to feelings that accompany looking at the big world from the limited perspective of preadolescent play. Perhaps they challenge because they wonder what life's missions are, threaten because they feel threatened, test the limits of what they perceive are arbitrary rules, fend off frustration, or express anger. Does it matter?

If a triggering mechanism can be identified and eliminated, then yes. If a recurring target behavior can be isolated, good. Those are real problems that can be solved. But that is not where teachers make the difference. Rather, it is in the model of behaviors they present, their interpretation of other models, their reaction under the stress of being aggressed, and the extent to which they maintain the belief that people, no matter how inappropriate their behavior, are worthy of dignified human relationships. Aggression will never stand up to a human interaction between teacher and student where mutual respect is in search of mutual reason.

The evidence is in. Chronic disruptive behavior only reinforces feelings that generate additional chronic disruptive behavior. It is destructive to self and others. One salvation for all mankind is a different behavioral model. If, as history records, the behaviors of nations can be shaped to express kind-

:Punishment signals the situation is out of the teacher's control.

In most cases, adolescents just react and are not sure why.

One salvation is a different behavioral model.

ness on one hand or aggression on the other, through culture or a ministry of propaganda, then schools can produce desired behavioral outcomes. In the writing of Pogo, "I have met the enemy, and he is us."

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from the desk of the principal: perspectives on a school based community treatment program for disruptive youth

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The unique program and philosophy of a New York City public day school for emotionally handicapped adolescents provides fresh insight into the dynamics of aggressive behavior. The demonstrated failure of techniques of repression and coercion in the school setting demands an alternative approach. Young people must be given the freedom that enables them to internalize discipline. Livingston School offers an environment where choices are made by students themselves, and where all feelings are accepted. At Livingston, students learn that they do indeed control important aspects of their own lives. Only then are they ready to work toward the achievement of meaningful personal and academic goals.

□ Livingston, a public day school for young men and women, ages 12 through 21, is the only coeducational school in New York City for emotionally handicapped adolescents. All students are referred to the school through New York City Board of Education procedures, in compliance with federal and state laws and regulations.

The history of the school is an interesting one. In 1957, in a wave of school suspensions designed to "clean up the schools" of disruptive clientele, one thousand students were suspended. One hundred of these were girls, and a separate school was established to accommodate them. I came to the school as principal in 1958, and have written about its history and the program we developed (Rothman, 1977).

In 1975, I was asked by the executive director of special education in New York City to take over a boys' school that was floundering in philosophy, treatment, and program. The school had been the target of a lawsuit involving allegations of poor programing and lack of treatment. I was asked to integrate this school into the existing program at Livingston. Accordingly, for two years Livingston High School consisted of two separate schools in two separate buildings—a Livingston School for Boys and a Livingston School for Girls. I was principal of both.

Because it was my firm conviction that it was untherapeutic and uneducational, as well as unconstitutional, to maintain sexually segregated schools, I integrated the two parts. Livingston is now housed in one building, on West End Avenue at 82nd Street on New York City's upper west side. Although the building is inadequate in terms of facilities, we are now coeducational, and that is the important factor. There were a few problems in the process of integration, but not nearly as many as were anticipated.

I see the beginnings of using the coeducational setting as a further means of therapeutic intervention. One thing is certain. The young men and women at Livingston, some of whom are parents, need to learn how to relate to each other in meaningful emotional ways, other than purely sexual ones. The school can and does provide this social and emotional focus.

□ Livingston students live in all parts of the city and generally use public transportation. Many students travel as much as one hour a day or longer to come to school. Most live with their parents, while others live in group residences. Some are declared emancipated minors and are the heads of their own households.

Students are referred to Livingston from their local schools or other social and service agencies through the Committees of the Handicapped, who are the direct referring agencies. Presently there are 32 such committees in New York City, one for each school district. Recommendation to Livingston is made after complete evaluation of each student, but actual placement is effected by the administrative units at the New York City Central Board of Education.

In practical terms, the process as it now exists serves to keep students out of Livingston, rather than place them in Livingston. Some students wait as long as a year for the process of evaluation and placement to be completed. Some wait at their local schools, in their local classrooms, where their patterns of disruptiveness increase. Knowing that they have been referred elsewhere, they feel that their presence is unwanted. Others, particularly older ones, wait in the streets, generally lost to the schools and society entirely. They become the dropouts, an economic, political, and social burden to the city. The damage they do to *themselves*, however, is immeasureable.

Sidebar notes:

THE LIVINGSTON SCHOOL

It began as a school for girls.

For two years, Livingston consisted of separate schools for boys and girls.

We are now coeducational, and that is the important factor.

Young men and women need to learn to relate in meaningful emotional ways.

LIVINGSTON'S STUDENTS

The referral process serves to keep students out of Livingston.

The process of referral is a problem in New York City, not because of the provisions of the federal law, but because of inappropriate bureaucratic structures that hinder rather than help effective enforcement. The New York City Board of Education is so fearful of being out of compliance with Public Law 94-142 that the educational bureaucracy has established procedures of overcompliance that, in effect, keep children out of proper placement.

The educational bureaucracy has established procedures of overcompliance.

One example of overcompliance is refusal to accept clinical evaluations from agencies other than the Board of Education. A child can be kept waiting for months to be given the same tests that have already been administered in another setting. The tests this time are administered by a school psychologist rather than a psychologist who works in a hospital or clinical setting. Requiring that a child be placed in a simulated classroom for the purpose of educational evaluation is another example of overcompliance. In this case, individual children who don't know each other must relate to a teacher they don't know in an unfamiliar classroom setting.

Precisely because of the process to which they have been subjected, the students who finally come to Livingston are often angrier than they need be. They may suffer from some specific pathology, such as "passive aggressive personality," which is as good a diagnosis as any. Or, they may not have been diagnosed as suffering from any specific entity, and are simply labeled "reaction to adolescence," whatever that means.

Students who finally come to Livingston are often angrier than they need be.

Regardless of the specific diagnosis, they all fall under the generic classification of "emotionally handicapped." The term, of course, is relatively meaningless. Certainly it is not a diagnostic category. A diagnosis should prescribe treatment. A diagnosis of pneumonia, for example, implies the presence of a specific bug, as well as a prescribed course of treatment to kill that specific bug. It is true that the doctor might choose from a variety of treatment possibilities, but at least there is a course of action prescribed.

Diagnosis should prescribe treatment.

What course of treatment does the term "emotionally handicapped" prescribe? Does it mean that one method of special schooling will cure this one educational illness? No, it means nothing of the sort, and should not. Generally, it means that a particular student cannot be kept in a classroom with other students because of the problem presented to the teacher in terms of management. This is no reason to nurture the term. The label "emotionally handicapped" should be discarded into the junk heap of old educational clichés.

The label "emotionally handicapped" should be discarded.

How much simpler it would be for the placement process, and how much kinder to the student, to discard labels and speak in terms of needs. One might then truly diagnose a student's needs, such as a need for the total therapeutic environment provided in a day treatment program. The term "emotionally handicapped" need not be used at all.

At Livingston, "emotional handicap" means aggression. Ours are the angry youth who have utilized aggressive defenses that have not served them well. They are the angry, powerless young people who feel vulnerable to society and impotent in the face of that vulnerability. As a result, they are most often depressed and agitated, a combination that produces violence. Internal anger may stem from a variety of sources, but there is no doubt that some of it also stems from the external label placed upon them.

A great majority have been involved in court proceedings.

A great majority of these students, young women as well as young men, have been involved in court proceedings, both family and criminal courts, depending upon age. They have been adjudicated into such classifications as delinquent, felon, person in need of supervision, or neglected. The legal label assigned to them is often dependent upon sheer circumstance. The same crime committed by the same person in two different locations in New

York City might end up with two different legal dispositions, dependent upon such variables as the arresting officer, the court, or the intake worker at the time.

Our students are the dislocated, the alienated, the disruptive, the volatile, the perpetrators of street crime or of even more serious crime, the agitated students of New York City, whom nobody really wants and almost everybody fears, including their own parents. The students at Livingston have not "made it" on their own terms, in their own home schools. They may feel that they have "made it" in the streets. They may even boast of "being big," "doing time," and they may be minor heroes in their neighborhoods. At school, however, they are all recognized failures, or they would not have been referred. They have failed, not necessarily academically, but behaviorally. They have been unable to conform to school regulations. They have adopted alternative social systems that may have served them well in the streets, but not in school. Their street defenses did not wear well in the classroom. Lying, "conning," stealing, fighting, were survival skills for the street, but not for the classroom.

Not all our students are from ghetto areas, nor are they all from poverty levels, although the majority are. Students from middle class families, particularly those whose parents have risen economically during the years of their childhood, also become lost to the streets even though they live in private homes or in "good" areas. They are young people in quest of something they do not have, and they search for it through peer relationships in the social structure of the street.

These youth have often experienced a series of schools and a series of failures. Within the context of the law, and within the interpretations put upon that law by the New York City Board of Education, students have gone from regular classrooms to special service rooms to resource rooms to classes for emotionally handicapped students (generally self contained classes that are kept segregated within the regular schools)—to Livingston. Most often, this process has represented a disservice, for it has prevented them from receiving their treatment of choice from the beginning.

For many students, although not all, the treatment of choice has been a special therapeutic day school from the very outset. For other students, the treatment of choice has been residential, but for a variety of reasons, among them parental resistance or lack of facilities, such residential treatment was not provided. Livingston then becomes the second best treatment of choice.

☐ Many students, particularly those among them who are over 16 years old, need a total school environment. They should not be made to fail in inappropriate settings before they get what they need. Because of overcompliance strategies in New York City, students are locked into the sequential process of moving from the least restrictive environment to the most restrictive, and it has not served them well. The logic in this case is analogous to keeping a child out of the hospital for surgery under the concept of "let's do it at home first."

The term "least restrictive" needs clarification. Many professionals who refer students to Livingston believe it is a prison-like facility for "bad street kids." It is not. "Least restrictive" is a legal term. It simply points to the extent to which any person suffering from a handicap is given opportunities to integrate with persons not suffering from a handicap.

It is commonly agreed that handicapped persons should have as great an opportunity as possible to benefit from all experiences, not simply school

They have been unable to conform to school regulations.

These youth have often experienced a series of schools and a series of failures.

MISAPPLICATION OF THE LEAST RESTRICTIVE ENVIRONMENT

The term needs clarification.

experiences, with as large a group of nonhandicapped people as possible. Thus, if an emotionally handicapped person can benefit from schooling with persons who are not so handicapped, then that opportunity should be provided. The mainstreaming concept embraces this philosophy. Handicapped students should attend classes with nonhandicapped students whenever possible, meaning when they can benefit from such instruction and when it is not destructive to them and to others.

The term "most restrictive," when applied to the setting at Livingston, refers to the fact that all the students are emotionally handicapped and all attend one school. We are not a prison or repressive in any way. Yet we receive referrals recommending that "this student must be made to conform," or "environment must be carefully controlled." We believe that students who have been repressed need freedom, not more repression. Many of our students have already been repressed. They have been in training schools, prisons, remand centers, and other such settings. Repression has not helped them. That is why they are at Livingston. We provide the environment of free choice. We teach for self determination by free choice.

Students who have been repressed need freedom.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SEXUALLY SEGREGATED SCHOOLS

□ During the two year period of administering two separate schools, I came to three major conclusions regarding the differences between these two student groups. These opinions are based largely on clinical interviews and interactions with students, teachers, and families.

A school of aggressive boys is easier to manage.

First, a school of aggressive boys is administratively easier to manage than a school of aggressive girls. Boys can be told to stand in line, pass papers, take tests, go to class. They may not do what you wish, but they go through the process of listening. For instance, I could address one hundred young men in an auditorium and get their attention. With girls—almost impossible! Girls do not take group direction as easily or as well as boys. Thus, as a group, they do not listen as readily. I can talk to a group of twenty girls, but only with extremely great effort do I maintain their attention. One hundred? Forget it! They will call out, heckle, refuse to sit, refuse to listen, and fight.

Girls fight at the drop of an eyelash.

Girls fight at the drop of an eyelash. "She looked at me funny!" Wham— a fight ensues that cannot easily be stopped. Girls fight with fury and passion, and they do not let go. Their fighting often culminates in hysterical unconsciousness, in petit mal type seizures that are not true seizures at all, or in psychosomatic heart attacks.

Boys fight less frequently and with greater cause, that cause usually being rivalry among peers. When boys fight, there are most often rules that can be delineated and understood. Boys talk a great deal about weapons, and they bring them to school, particularly when they fear trouble. Generally, word spreads fast about weapons, and we are able to intervene. Intervention means "talking down" and "talking out." Our intervention technique is counseling, using students as consultants to boys in trouble. I have a goodly collection of knives, bullets, and toy guns that have been willingly surrendered, even though the students know they won't be returned. At times, a real gun has been seen in school, and then disappeared, but never given to me. In the past, girls have not generally carried weapons, but there now appears to be a trend in that direction.

Our Intervention technique uses students as consultants.

Second, although it is easier to intervene in ongoing acts of violence among boys, they are less willing than girls to risk emotional exposure and talk about it afterwards. Boys are much more closed in. They fight and it is finished. They refuse to talk about it. These young men bear the cross of

our culture. It is not "manly" to express one's feelings, to cry, to resolve conflict by talking, or to resolve unhappiness through individual treatment.

It *is* manly to pretend insouciance with an overlay of "macho"—any girl, any age, any time. Repression and denial are the psychological mechanisms underlying this defense, resulting in pervasive depression. The boys as a group are much more clinically depressed than the girls, with overlays of "street charm" and "cool talk."

To uncover layers of defense with the boys is to reach past the street defenses of petty crime, slick talk, and indifference, and to reach to the depression, agitation, and sense of hopelessness that is underneath. Because our students have been predominantly Black in the past (although this is changing), powerlessness often relates to the male's historical social impotence in White society.

These two factors lead to the third conclusion, namely, that boys are much less amenable to treatment than girls because they have less access to their feelings. Reaching deep levels of communication with boys is much harder and takes much longer than with girls. Most girls will immediately tell the truth as they see it or feel it. Boys will lie as a way of life. It is part of their "getting over," part of the way they see their manhood, part of being superior. Moreover, it is also part of the street culture. "If you're caught at something—lie." The boys see talking about their feelings as "being caught," and therefore treatment is inordinately more difficult.

It is interesting to speculate on this aspect of differences between boys and girls as it may relate to differences in academic performance. It is axiomatic to note that girls generally score higher on reading tests than boys. Academic teaching at Livingston is therefore on a higher level with the girls than with the boys. Perhaps access to feelings is related to access to meaning derived from the printed word. Perhaps girls who are free to express their emotions are not frightened by emotions derived from reading, either from the content of the material or from the act of reading itself.

☐ At Livingston, treatment and education become one. Defining education as academics is missing the boat. Education at Livingston means treatment of the individual with the goal of clinical change. Bruised egos are rebuilt if they exist at all. If they do not exist, they are nurtured and built upon. That is our goal. Of course, it is not always achieved. Generally, however, when we are successful, individual behavior changes. Students learn how to define goals and work toward their achievement without the presence of previously self destructive elements.

How do you teach persons to love themselves? That is what the school is all about. It is also the focus of our biggest battles with educational traditionalists who see special education as remedial in nature, with teaching geared toward overcoming clearly defined learning difficulties.

I recently had a conference with a Board of Education official who told me I was too innovative, and that what the students needed was a more traditional approach. That same week, I received a letter from another official who wrote, "I think that a *school* for the emotionally handicapped should focus on academic *education*." The words were underlined.

Both so called educators missed the point. Academic teaching is only one part of education. It cannot profitably take place when emphasis is primarily upon the academic, without emotional prerequisites. Granted, it can take place unprofitably. Certainly, students can learn academics under trying emotional conditions, such as fear of failure, but at what great emotional cost to them!

It is not "manly" to express one's feelings.

Boys are much less amenable to treatment than girls.

Academic teaching is on a higher level with girls than boys.

EDUCATION AS TREATMENT

Students learn how to define goals.

Academic teaching is only one part of education.

Francis Pirozzola (1979) understands this point well. After an exhaustive study of the literature, he concluded:

> Experience in the rehabilitation of brain damaged patients has clearly shown that the most important factor is not the method but the patient's relationship with the therapist. The recognition that it is the psychological contact between teacher and students that is the basis for learning, rather than the program or method, is the most important practical message that neuro-psychology has communicated. (p. 87)

If his conclusion is true for brain damaged individuals, it is equally true for the students at Livingston. There is no magic methodology for overcoming academic deficits. The magic starts with the basic relationship that the talented teacher establishes with each student. Without such a relationship, without mutual respect, academic learning does not take place. If it does occur, it is only at great cost to the ego. When academic learning is painful, the student feels stupid—not because the teacher overtly calls the student stupid, but because the implication is there, loud and clear, that "there is something wrong with you that needs to be corrected." That kind of learning is painful and damaging.

When academic learning is painful, the student feels stupid.

The program at Livingston is based first on finding the strengths that exist in each person, then building upon those strengths, finding others, and moving toward goals. One of those goals is the recognition of the need for academic skills.

PAUL

☐ Our basic philosophy is a belief that students have behaved in the ways they know best. We must recognize the validity of their defense mechanisms. In their place, would we have acted differently?

Paul, for instance, tells all the boys he is a trusted younger member of the Mafia. He tells it with such conviction that all of us believe him. He is menacing. He comes to school in a chauffeur driven limousine, dresses expensively, and wears a real diamond on his finger. He intimidates everybody. When he is caught selling reefers, he tells me, "Principals can be retired, you know."

He is menacing, comes to school in a chauffeur driven limousine . . .

One Friday evening, I gave a lecture at a college for teachers. During the course of a discussion on street crime, I described Paul, pointing out that young people are sometimes used by organized crime for various purposes because they are often not subject to criminal charges. I was asked if I believed that this student was sexually abused by older men. I stated no, that professional criminals were not necessarily deviates.

The following Monday morning at breakfast, Paul came directly to me and thanked me for what I had said about him the previous Friday evening. I was stunned. Paul seemed to know everything that had been said, both the question and my answer. He thanked me for stating that he was "straight." I could not deny my remarks, and explained that I had not used his name, but I was teaching teachers and these were the realities of teaching. He readily accepted that explanation. When I asked how he knew about it, he told me he "had friends." I was really very shaken, not wanting to believe the evidence that appeared to indicate that Paul was indeed a member of an organized crime unit.

I was shaken, not wanting to believe the evidence.

Later, I learned that a custodian who had listened to the lecture outside the room, knew Paul and identified him by my description. After all, how many 15 year olds arrive at school in a limousine? I pursued Paul's stories further and discovered that the limousine belonged to a friend of his father's

who was a chauffeur. He drove Paul to school on his way to work. It was his way of motivating Paul to like school.

Much later, when Paul and I began to trust each other (and I must say, I had to overcome some personal fears), he told me his story was all a lie. It was his way of avoiding fights with the other boys at school and at home. Paul, it turned out, was extremely fearful of physical violence. He felt he could not defend himself in a physical confrontation, and so he built his own defense. It was a good one because he did not have to fight.

He built his own defense.

Before we really knew Paul, we held long clinical discussions. Paul had been referred to our psychiatrist for consultation. Was he psychotic? Was his Mafia story all fantasy? Was he a psychopath, involved in serious crime without conscience? Was he merely a boy reacting to his environment and bent on a criminal career?

Paul, of course, was coping—"the street way." He was using menacing tactics and manipulating people through lies. His defenses were certainly creative. To pass moral judgment on Paul would only have alienated him and intensified his defenses. This, in turn, would have driven an even deeper wedge of alienation between him and the staff. Defense mechanisms must always be understood, worked with, and respected for their validity. In Paul's case, until relationships were established that developed into trust, there was no way to transcend the hostility that masked his fear.

Paul was coping—"the street way."

☐ Livingston consists of two divisions: lower school and upper school. The lower school is the point of entry for all students, while the upper school is the work program. In the lower school, planning for the day starts at breakfast. All staff members are present, including teachers, paraprofessionals, clinical staff, and guidance counselors. Not all students come to breakfast. In fact, our lowest attendance rate is in the morning. Perhaps 40 students out of a total enrollment of 200 might arrive between 8:30 and 9:00 a.m., when breakfast is served. Yet many of those 40 come just for breakfast. If we were to eliminate it, the 150 who don't come would scream the loudest. They want assurance that it is available to them, should they want it. They need to know they are worthy of being served, and this need has no relationship to level of family income. It represents one symptom of their feelings of rejection. Even children from middle income families can feel deprived.

A CLOSER LOOK AT THE PROGRAM: LOWER SCHOOL

Breakfast is a period of socialization among students and faculty. It is also clearly a time when teachers can respond to students who are in particular need that day. It must be remembered that our students reflect the tenor of the city. A headlined murder that morning may reflect someone's neighborhood, perhaps even someone's family. The full impact of the phrase, "Ask not for whom the bell tolls, it tolls for thee," can often be experienced during breakfast at Livingston.

Breakfast is a period of socialization.

After breakfast, students report to their homerooms with their official teachers, who are called advisors. For the next fifteen minutes, each student plans his or her daily program with the advisor. We call it the advisement period. The concept is to teach students that they do indeed "walk in their own shoes." It is the program of decision making. Students learn that decisions have consequences; that if they go to reading, they will learn to read; that if they do not go to reading, the chances are they will not learn to read—unless, of course, they learn reading in other ways, through art, music, or songwriting, and this is always possible.

Students learn that decisions have consequences.

Learning is approached through many avenues. The point is that our students feel put upon. For the greater part of their school lives they have been mandated to go to classes and to learn. For the most part, learning did not

take place, even if they attended class. Most of the time they did not. A great majority of our students have been inschool truants (cutting classes in school) or truants totally (cutting school entirely). Mandated learning did not work for them. In fact, if anything, it made them more rebellious.

Mandated learning did not work.

The program of decision making seeks to teach the concept that students do indeed control their own lives. They may not control government elections, or national policy, or even all conditions of their personal home lives, but they do make decisions about themselves, even when they believe they do not. The constant complaint of most of our students is that "teachers make them sick," "teachers don't teach," "teachers pick on them." They project their failures in school upon teachers and the system. Our attempt is to teach them the concept that learning or not learning is really their individual choice; that all decisions have consequences; that if they continue to blame everybody else for their failures, they themselves participate in the process of failure.

Learning or not learning is really an individual choice.

Use of time. Dewey said, "Learning begins at the fork in the road." We often use this sentence with our students. Which road will they take today—to what classes and for what purposes? What are their motivations? Many points of choice requiring decision making come up during the day.

During advisement, each pupil spends a few minutes planning what classes he or she will attend, taking time to plan for alternatives if perchance that class is not available. At the end of the day, pupil and teacher evaluate whether or not the daily plan was kept, and why or why not. Pupils do learn that plans need not be kept, that sometimes it is beneficial, if not necessary, to change plans midstream. For instance, if one goes to a particular class and finds that one's enemy for the day is there, is it better to walk away from trouble? The answer may be decidedly yes. It is through this process of planning at the beginning of the day and evaluating at the end of the day that the greatest teaching can take place.

Sometimes it is beneficial to change plans midstream.

Students who come to Livingston most often have difficulties with their sense of time. Disorientation in time is also one characteristic of emotional disturbance that has been observed in mental patients. Our students have a similar dislocation, not that they do not know the day or the time of year, but they suffer from an inability to be rooted in time. One may make an appointment with a student for "next Tuesday at 1 p.m." The student arrives three Tuesdays later at 1 p.m. and is surprised that you weren't expecting him. Often parents have the same disaffection for time. Time seems to be highly personalized and not shared. Thus, in planning their daily programs, teachers stress the time students will go to this class or that class. An old saying among many of our students is, "You do your crime and you pays your time." For them, time seems to have little meaning other than recompense. Because nothing valuable happens within time, it therefore does not have to be planned.

Time seems to be highly personalized.

Our decision making curriculum centers heavily on time, planning for it, and therefore planning for yourself. Very little happens that you don't make happen for yourself. Our main focus, therefore, is teaching the consequences of decisions. We teach students that they do make decisions, especially at those times when they feel they are not doing so. We are teaching for self determination and self power. As students begin to plan successfully for the first hour, they then plan for the first day, the first week, the first month. They begin to plan for their own futures.

Our decision making curriculum centers heavily on time.

There are no time restrictions on how long a student remains in any class. There are no mandated classes that each student must attend. Thus, one

cannot cut classes because there are no classes to cut. Decisions are entirely the student's on how to spend time. We ask that students spend their time profitably. We don't care what is being learned as long as learning is taking place. "Hanging out" is not learning. Going to a guidance office is— or going to the psychologist, or social worker, or principal. If one does not want to go to a class, there are always alternative places to spend time well. Sometimes just having a smoke for a few minutes in someone's office is spending time well, if that time prevents trouble later.

A decision making program does not mean bedlam, although occasionally bedlam does happen, and staff must know and accept that fact. Decision making does mean that every student who went to reading, went because that student decided to read. It also means that students assume responsibility for themselves. They need the help of their teacher advisors, of course. The role of the teacher advisor—of all teachers—is to point up consequences of each decision. We all recognize that no one can make anybody do anything, unless force is used. We also recognize that we can guide others into drawing conclusions of their own. Socrates, the greatest teacher of all, did simply that. He pointed out relevant courses of alternative actions, and the learner made the decisions.

Students assume responsibility for themselves.

Thus, when Juan has spent every day in the gymnasium for the past five weeks, it is up to the teacher to point out that Juan may want to try something else. It may not be academics, it may be art or music. Knowing Juan and his particular interests will guide the teacher in suggesting other areas. There are infinite possible reasons that Juan acts the way he does. He may be fearful of other subjects. He may need the security of the one teacher he likes. He may just like basketball. We try to find the reason and to help Juan move past the gym into other productive learning areas.

When students plan their own days with the help of their teachers, it is the beginning of their recognition of their own power. However, not all students plan, particularly new ones. "I don't plan nothin', teach, I'll do what I feel like doin' when I feel like it." The counseling answer to that might be, "Then you're planning not to plan, and that leads to trouble." From that point, the possibilities of what constitutes "trouble" might be explored.

Not all students plan, particularly new ones.

As there are no scheduled 45 minute periods, there are no bells except for lunch and dismissal. Students walk about freely, going to classes when they choose. Naturally there are always students in the halls, and classroom dynamics are always flexible. Teachers, except in physical education, do not accept more than 10 students in a class, and students who arrive after that quota is filled are given appointments to come back. Thus, it very often happens that some popular subjects are by appointment only.

Students walk about freely.

A smorgasbord of subjects. Our classes reflect a smorgasbord of interests. As we say to our students, "You like it—we will teach it." An appetizing array of subjects is offered. These include music (choral as well as instrumental), songwriting, commercial art, fine art, ceramics, tailoring, grooming, secretarial studies, industrial arts, upholstery, and a full range of physical activities including classes in weight lifting, ping pong, basketball, jogging, checkers and chess, yoga, and meditation. English, speech, specialized reading, library, mathematics, and sciences (including nursing and child care) are also offered.

Our emphasis is on those subjects that are expressive of feeling, cathartic, and enjoyable. School must compete with the excitement of the street. If a boy or girl will spend five hours a day shooting baskets on a neighborhood playground, then let's get that student inside our building to shoot these

School must compete with the excitement of the street.

same baskets. If it's for five hours a day to start, then at least it will be five hours a day in school. We can only work with a student when we have him or her in school.

Individualized teaching. Advisement teachers also teach subject areas. As a matter of fact, students often establish an initial relationship to a teacher advisor through an area of interest. They may ask to be in advisement with a teacher whom they first met in beauty culture or songwriting.

Instruction is individualized.

Instruction is completely individualized. Because students come and go as their own plans dictate, teachers cannot plan on group lessons, except on rare occasions. This is just as it should be, because our students need lessons geared specifically for them. Teacher planning is extremely difficult, since one may not know when a student will arrive. Sometimes a student will come to class every day, sometimes once a week. The important factor is the role of the advisor who works with the student. Eventually, a student plans a realistic program and teachers know when to expect that student. Naturally, consultations about student plans among staff are frequent.

Consultations among staff are frequent.

Distributive education. We also have a school store, which, in educational parlance, is our distributive education laboratory. Popularly known as the Boutique, it was formerly called Livingston Square Business, meaning that this is a serious operation. It is run by the students for students and the general public. We sell candy, soda, school supplies, books, plants, arts and crafts made at school, hassocks and furniture made in the upholstery shop, and ceramics and art work created in our art classes.

Students learn all aspects of distributive education.

Students learn all aspects of distributive education in the store, including merchandising, inventory control, bookkeeping, record keeping, advertising, sales display, and salesmanship. In addition, they learn about such aspects of consumer education as installment buying, comparison shopping, and consumer fraud. These are skills our students need to know, for these individuals are most likely to buy on installment plans and most likely to be economically abused.

For the first time in their lives, many of them are dealing with the general public. They learn to relate to consumers, to control their own tempers when shoppers lose theirs, and to offer service. Teaching sales approaches is often teaching good manners. Many students simply have not learned to speak without using obscenities. The store is an appropriate place for students to practice verbal skills.

During the course of the school year, almost all students spend at least one month working part time in the store. They earn $7.50 a week. Yet they do not work for money alone, but for the prestige. Sales from the store pay for all expenses, including salaries. As a result, there is very little stealing by students, for to steal from the store would be to steal from themselves. Pride in the store is also self pride.

The important point, however, is that teachers teach decision making primarily and subject matter secondarily. They use themselves as primary tools. When subject matter becomes of primary concern to the student, then the student asks for and is ready to enter into our upper school.

Seven Steps in Teaching the Decision Making Process.

1. Teachers accept all feelings, emotions, and attitudes. Teachers know that there can be no wrong feelings. Feelings *are*. Teachers, therefore, cannot pass moral judgments on feelings. Certainly they can disapprove of destructive behavior, but behavior is an act. A feeling is a feeling.

2. Teachers help students accept their own feelings without guilt. For instance, the teacher must help the student to understand that hating parents or having a "bad" feeling does not make one a "bad" person.
3. Teachers recognize that all behavior is meaningful, and serves some fruitful end. No matter how inappropriate, bizarre, aggressive, damaging, or objectionable a particular form of behavior may seem from society's point of view, the student receives some gain from it. In some way, the apparently destructive behavior meets a need. .
4. Teachers confront students with their self destructive behavior (which, too often, is destructive to others) and then present alternative modes of behavior. For instance, if a student has been pushed accidentally, the teacher can point out the alternatives to fighting. The student can curse, withdraw, ignore, or even joke about it.
5. Through adroit and therapeutic questioning, teachers help students recognize the consequences of their decisions. Some consequences are pleasant and rewarding; others are painful. The question to be asked of the student is, "Which do you want—to feel good or to feel bad?"
6. Teachers recognize that the answers to the questions, "What do you want?" "What will you do?" are found in the process of self determination. The student, through self insight obtained with the help of teachers, has made a decision. Admittedly, the student may have difficulty in maintaining that decision, but the fact remains that a decision has been made. Teachers also recognize that not making a decision represents a decision in itself.
7. Teachers next elicit from the student a statement of the decision and a commitment to a course of action. "Now you tell me yourself, what it is you are going to do." In this process, the teacher always upholds reality as it is commonly perceived. Certainly a particular child's reality may be the teacher's. The child may live with an alcoholic father in a slum, while the teacher's reality probably is better. The common reality, however, has a broader base. In a sense, it can be stated to the child as, "We are together in this school, in this classroom, in this time and space. Reality states that you are a pupil and I am a teacher and we are here to learn together." This is a reality all pupils and teachers can accept, and within this frame of reference, teachers can begin to teach and students to learn alternative behaviors.

Decision making is a therapeutic educational process. It is a process of helping students find their own power. Decision making as a method of teaching is also a process of helping students derive their own insights, internalize discipline, and establish personal priorities of learning and behavior. When an individual learns that he or she does indeed have the ability to make decisions, and learns the skills necessary for making them effectively, self strength and self power are experienced. Individual ego is strengthened. Self concept is enhanced. As a result, behavior becomes less destructive.

Decision making helps students find their own power.

Increased strength leads to increased learning; increased learning leads to increased ego. A circular pattern is formed. The student is on the way to healthful learning, and is better able to function in society. The student can now accept rules because discipline has been internalized.

Peer counseling. Success does not happen overnight in lower school. New students are particularly prone to testing the program, and students enter at all points during the school term. They "hang out," they lie, they steal, they

They test to find the limits of their own acceptance.

curse, they fight. They test to find the limits of their own acceptance. In this testing process, it is the older students who are of most help to them. Having been in that same emotional spot themselves, they are able to help new students find their own decision making powers. It is often exciting and extremely rewarding to listen to a seasoned student counseling a new one.

Peer counseling complements teacher counseling which, in turn, complements clinical counseling offered by guidance personnel, social workers, and a school psychologist. A psychiatrist is available to staff and students for consultation.

Critics of the program. There has been criticism of the program from those professionals who feel students "have to" learn, "have to" be told what to do, "have to" conform. The truth is that the "have to" dictum has not worked. The truth is that our students have not conformed, no matter how many "have to's" have been laid on them. So we don't say they "have to" do anything but die. Some students aren't certain they have to do that either. As 16 year old Esther once said to me, "*if* I die." I mention it here not because it's funny, but because it really spells out the egocentricity and the sense of "now" with which our students face the world. It is not always to their advantage, but the staff has to deal with it and meet them on their level. Otherwise they are lost to us forever.

> The "have to" dictum has not worked.

Roots of primitive communication. I like to think that at Livingston we are true classicists. We approach learning through emotion. We have learned from ancient civilizations that knowledge can be transmitted through all arts. In fact, music, drama, poetry, drawing, and physical games preceded the written word. We follow the same sequences of primitive emotional learning and communication. We take our students back to that emotional period before the written word. Learning can be emotionally absorbed before it is cognitively assimilated, especially when cognitive approaches have failed. Through expressive experiences we develop ego strengths.

> We take students back to that emotional period before the written word.

In art and music, there are no wrong or right answers. There may be responses that are more pleasurable than others to most people, but there can be no form of creativity that is wrong. A sound may be discordant and perhaps even unpleasurable, but it cannot be wrong; neither can any painting, poem, or even food. I remember making tea with a student and asking her whether she wanted lemon or milk in her tea. She said both and then proceeded to add raspberry jam. For her, that was "right." Who was I to question her esthetic sense of taste?

Only when a student feels gratified through positive emotional experiences, only when success is experienced through some form of expression, only then can that student accept deficits. When that point of self appraisal is reached, academic remediation becomes acceptable, and students don't fight it. Knowing this point in a student's development is dependent upon the teacher's relationship with the student and upon the teacher's own evaluation skills.

When intensive academic remediation is accepted by students, it is an indication that they are less in need of instant gratification. They truant less, lie less, become less involved in street crime. Let me make it clear: It is not that criminal activity decreases because a student learns to read, as one might mistakenly conclude, but that the student's *preparedness* for reading is related to a *readiness* to give up street crime. After all, reading skill in and of itself is not a basis for honesty.

> The student's preparedness for reading is related to a readiness to give up street crime.

☐ The second level of the program is the Career Academy Program or CAP. CAP also signifies cap and gown; or graduation from high school. Thus, entry into CAP is the student's declaration of the goal to graduate.

THE WORK PROGRAM: UPPER SCHOOL

Students enter the CAP program after consultation with teachers and parents, and after they have indicated that they are delineating serious academic goals for themselves. They have attended school regularly; they have attended classes; they have utilized their time well; they have internalized controls; and they want to work. Generally, students have to wait to enter CAP until there is an opening.

In the CAP program, students work 15 hours a week and attend school the rest of the time. Usually students work 3 hours a day and attend school 2½ hours a day, but other combinations of work and school are possible.

Students work and attend school.

Students work in nonprofit agencies such as schools, libraries, social agencies, public agencies (including the Board of Education), Police Department, Board of Higher Education, and the Department of Housing. They work as teacher aides, paraprofessionals, clerical workers, receptionists, interviewers, medical assistants, security guards. For the first time in their lives many of our students are on the "giving" side of society, instead of the "taking" end. They see themselves as part of the establishment, the very establishment they had once fought against. What a tremendous achievement for them!

They see themselves as part of the establishment.

For their work, they receive minimum wage. However, we have built into this program a series of increments, so that for jobs well done, students are promoted to different pay scales. It may be no more than a twenty cent per hour increase, but it does demonstrate that good work is rewarded.

This program requires funding, and while we receive federal and city funds from various sources, it is never enough to keep 70 or 80 students working. The faculty, believing in the program and in the students, contribute heavily toward funding.

Faculty contribute heavily toward funding.

Yet we well know that students do not work for money alone. Many of them can make more money on the streets in the variety of illegal subterranean jobs that are available to them. They prefer, however, the prestige of a school job, of "belonging."

CAP is the eventual choice of 80% of the students at Livingston. Of that 80%, 90% graduate. Over half go on to college. The others enter the job market, often in an area that is an outgrowth of their work experience. Civil service is a viable avenue of employment for our students, and one goal of our academic program is to prepare them for civil service examinations.

80% eventually choose CAP.

Academic schoolwork for CAP students is integrated with their work assignments. As in the lower school, academic work in CAP is completely individualized, except for some group instruction in driver education and in our political science program.

The political science program is a recent development. It grew out of the increasing awareness of students that the only way they can "beat the system" is to join it. Accordingly, in 1979, we held our first conference, jointly sponsored by the New York City Department of Correctional Services. It was called "Beating the System by Joining." Our students organized it, invited speakers, and held workshops. In general, they came to the understanding that they must become visible voters in order to have a stake in society.

☐ The key to the program at Livingston is the counseling relationship that every faculty member must establish with students. Teachers include not only licensed teachers, but psychologists, social workers, paraprofessionals, cooks, and custodial staff. All are teachers if we are doing our jobs correctly.

THE STAFF

Our teachers don't say students *must* do anything, not even attend classes, but teachers do say *must* for themselves. If we want to teach at Livingston we must be willing to work with aggression, not be frightened by it. We must be willing to reach students by tolerating their angers, hostilities, and verbal abuse. We have to appreciate the concept that all aggression is not bad, and that teaching itself is a very aggressive profession, particularly teaching that is geared toward changing behavior. What is more aggressive than that? At Livingston, teachers must learn to recognize their own aggressions and use them to divert hostile behavior of students into aggressive positive behavior. Teachers must find self power and then teach students the art of finding their own power. Giving powerless students the power of self determination is what teaching decision making is all about.

Teachers must give students the power of self determination.

As teachers, we *must*

1. Overcome our own fears of aggression, and learn to enjoy it.
2. Learn to identify and empathize with the aggressor, to walk in his shoes, knowing that no one really wants to be bad, and recognize that no one's self perception is that of a villain.
3. Understand that teacher manipulation of behavior is an overtly aggressive activity.
4. Feel secure in our own healthy aggression.
5. Overcome resistance to youth whose own aggression and resistance sometimes offends us.
6. Reach down deep into the emotional lives of our students in order to overcome that resistance.
7. Overcome our tendencies to preach our own value system. It only "puts off" our students. They will not learn anything from us that way.
8. Develop the power to absorb the emotional punishment that an angry student may lay on us.
9. Utilize our own power by giving power to students—the power of decision making.

Staff training is, of course, essential. Our major tool is role playing. We meet weekly to discuss problems, programs, procedures, and case histories. Staff must be willing to take risks with themselves and with students. They must have faith in their own abilities and those of students. They must be willing to risk failure, knowing that failure will not destroy them. The key to these *musts* is faith—and never giving up on a student when that individual steals, lies, or loses control. All we do is start all over again. Is teaching at Livingston easy? No. Is it gratifying? Yes, for the following reasons:

The key is never giving up.

WHY DOES LIVINGSTON WORK?

1. Because school is perceived as "normal." Everybody goes to school. So do our students. They are not "crazy" or "delinquent." Sure, they have been in trouble, and they have not done well for themselves, but they go to school, don't they? Doesn't everybody?
2. Because we are coeducational, and our students range in age from 12 through 21. Students provide role models for each other, the older for the younger. Peer counseling is an established practice.
3. Because we teach for decision making skills, and students who at first felt powerless and vulnerable, now have a sense of their own determination.
4. Because school is a place where feelings may be expressed and because no feeling is wrong. Only behavior can be wrong, but a feeling,

never! When feelings are accepted, the individual is accepted, even though behavior may not be.

5. Because school is a place where communication is accepted, even verbal abuse. Cursing and rage are often forms of communication. It is the feeling that is accepted, while the words are minimized. Politeness can be a barrier to communication. The youth who never gives vent to his feelings can be extremely upset without the adult ever being aware of it, until inner turmoil erupts into violence. Murderers can be very polite, as the Son of Sam has demonstrated.

6. Because school is a place where all staff members help students live through their moments of anger and violence. Most schools attempt to repress anger. At Livingston, we help students contain their angers while they keep their egos intact. "Talking a student down" is helping the individual come to terms with feelings, while reassuring and pointing out that the ego is strong enough to tolerate frustration. The person who talks the student down, or the critical intervener, is the person who has the best relationship with the student. Staff learn to use each other. We work as a team in using each other's skills.

7. Because school is a place where creativity is stressed. Creativity itself is a process of divergence from the norm. With our students, their very disabilities and forms of divergence are often a creative process, as in Paul's case. Mental illness, for instance, is an extremely creative process. What is more creative than substituting a new individual reality for one that is commonly perceived? Our students, by the very nature of their emotional and social deviations, are extremely creative. By stressing the process of creativity, we can help them relinquish destructive elements and emphasize positive ones. Thus, our program concentrates heavily on the arts and establishes a common reality we all share.

8. Because school provides a caring, nurturing community family where we share feelings and establish mutual trust.

9. Because school is a place where staff recognize the validity of individual defense mechanisms without making judgmental evaluations. We communicate to our students that they are understood and accepted.

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REFERENCES

the teachers hot line: teachers helping teachers

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The sense of frustration and helplessness experienced by many youth in the school setting is increasingly shared by teachers, as well. The Teachers Hot Line provides a sorely needed resource for teachers who feel they cannot turn to their supervisors for help. The Hot Line is based on the premise that other teachers are the most effective resource for teachers in trouble. Telephone counseling, individual and small group consultation, workshops, and inservice training are offered outside the framework of the educational bureaucracy, preserving anonymity and promoting honest communication. The Teachers Hot Line is funded by a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

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□ From 1971 through 1974, the staff of the Livingston School for Girls op-
erated a program called "Crisis Intervention by Use of Telephone Therapy."
Funded by the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) under the auspices
of the Citizens Committee for Children of New York, its purpose was to
provide emergency telephone counseling to the students of Livingston
School, their friends, and their families.

During the period of the grant, and before the school became coeduca-
tional, Livingston served adolescent girls. The student body was comprised
of aggressive, often violent young women. The purpose of the Hot Line was
to make available the therapeutic services of school staff at all hours of the
day and night, as well as on holidays. Thus, the Hot Line was available on
a 24 hour basis, including weekends and school vacations.

One trend was immediately apparent. Teachers who heard about the Hot
Line became frequent callers. During the final year of the project, not only
did we handle over 10,000 calls from students, their friends and families, but
we also received calls from all parts of New York City and environs. We
were contacted by teachers, aides, paraprofessionals, and policemen work-
ing with youth. All needed help.

Guidance counselors and social workers requested information about the
school, as well as other referral information. A policeman asked for help in
reaching high school students. Working on a youth detail, he found himself
very frustrated by his inability to break through their supposed intransigence.
The largest number of calls, however, were from teachers who appeared
overwhelmed by school related problems, even though they were trying their
best.

As a result of these spontaneous calls, and in order to ascertain whether
there was a real need for grass roots counseling (teachers counseling teach-
ers), the Hot Line staff placed a notice in a daily newspaper offering teacher-
peer counseling. On the following day, over one hundred calls were received.

From subsequent advertising and telephone consultation, it became ap-
parent that teachers were reluctant to seek help within their own school
structures. They considered it a sign of personal weakness and an admission
of inadequacy to go to principals, assistant principals, or department heads.
They preferred the anonymity of the telephone and the assurance that their
need for consultation would be kept confidential.

THE BEGINNING

*The purpose was to provide telephone
counseling to students.*

Teachers became frequent callers.

Teachers were fearful of asking their supervisors for help.

Moreover, teachers were fearful of asking their supervisors for help, particularly when these were the very people who rated them for salary increases and tenure. In addition, teachers simply did not have confidence in the ability of their supervisors to provide assistance. These professionals were perceived by many teachers as being too far removed from children and from classroom problems to offer real help.

With reference to the value of college courses as they might relate to coping in the classroom, most teachers who called were disparaging in their remarks. Here, too, they felt they could not ask help of professors who were grading them. Here, too, they perceived both academic coursework and college professors as being too far removed from the reality of the classroom.

By contrast, the feeling that other teachers could be of help was commonly expressed. Accordingly, a new grant proposal, "School Crisis Counseling by Students and Teachers," was submitted and accepted by NIMH under the auspices of the Citizens Committee for Children of New York. This grant is now in its third and final year.

GOALS AND OPERATION

☐ Goals of the Teachers Hot Line include the following:

1. To determine the hierarchy of teaching problems that are most troublesome to teachers.
2. To determine whether teacher perceptions of stated problems are realistic.
3. To determine whether students can serve as effective consultants to teachers.
4. To determine whether teacher-peer counseling is an effective means of teacher education.
5. To specify those techniques through which teachers who teach teachers can be most effective.

The name was changed to Teachers Hot Line.

The Teachers Hot Line operates from a professional apartment in New York City. Based on a response to teacher attitudes, the name was changed from School Consultation Service to Teachers Hot Line. The telephone is serviced on a 24 hour basis on weekends and school holidays, and from 4:00 p.m. to 8:00 a.m. on school days. The walk-in clinic is open from 4:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. on school days and from 9:00 a.m. to 7:00 p.m. on non-school days.

Continuity in staff was preserved.

The staff of the Teachers Hot Line represents essentially the same staff who worked the Student Hot Line. Thus, continuity in staff and staff counseling was preserved. All staff members have worked at Livingston School and are considered master teachers. Paraprofessionals are also staff members, since they too are considered master teachers. Staff training is ongoing, with students serving as consultants.

HOT LINE SERVICE COMPONENTS

☐ The four major components of the service include telephone counseling, individual and small group consultation, workshops, and inservice courses and lectures.

Calls were received at all hours of the night.

Telephone counseling. Use of the telephone is generally the first contact with the service. Calls are received at all hours of the night, although there appears to be little relationship between severity of the problem and the particular time of day of the call. Some calls received during the night really do not appear to qualify as emergencies. Although there were thousands of single calls, many teachers were repeat callers. They learned when certain staff members were servicing the phone, and would ask for specific person-

nel. Counselors developed two general rules. First, they never gave advice. Second, they gave direct information, such as addresses of agencies, only when it was specifically requested.

Generally, the goal of the telephone counselor was to help the caller solve the immediate problem. If indicated, the counselor invited the client to come to the office for individual consultation. All such consultations were held after an original telephone counseling session. However, many callers did not feel it necessary to follow up with individual consultation. Their problems, they reported, were greatly relieved by the telephone counseling session itself.

Individual consultations were held.

Specific techniques geared to use of the telephone were developed. These evolved into a system of goals. The first goal was identified as *specifying the problem*. People often did not state the reason for their call, either because they did not feel free to express it openly, or because they were confused and conflicted by their own feelings. They were often evasive, saying such things as "You'll think this is silly, but. . ." or "I don't know if I can tell you." Another way in which the caller often hid the real problem was by asking direct questions that were only tangentially related to the issue at hand. "When will I receive my next salary increment?". "When are reading tests scheduled?" These questions often reflected only the tip of the emotional iceberg.

Questions often reflected only the tip of the emotional iceberg.

Telephone counselors established the following procedures in seeking to specify the problem:

1. Accept all feelings.
2. Accept all statements of supposed fact.
3. Reflect and empathize with feelings.
4. Reflect statements, and ask questions to clarify both fact and feeling. (It must be noted that in most cases the staff members did not know the reality of the situation to which they were being asked to respond.)

Through consistent application of these procedures, the problem finally emerges. For instance, the teacher who asked about salary checks was really concerned about a principal who had rated her poorly. The paraprofessional who called with a question about reading really wanted information on methods of teaching reading.

At no point in the telephone discussion is there an argument or a denial of feeling or fact. Contradictions are pointed out by the counselor and discussed for clarification. There was a marked decrease in anxiety on the part of most callers, even if the problem was not solved. They all said they felt better.

Solving the problem became the second goal. Once the problem was defined, alternative plans of action were evolved. In this process, the counselor placed no direct judgments on any suggested plan. The value system represented was that of the caller. The counselor merely pointed out courses of action that the caller may not have considered.

The value system was that of the caller.

Individual and small group consultation. Many teachers requested consultation after placing the original phone call. Staff were assigned according to specific competencies. For example, teachers who felt that their problem was related to a specific curriculum area were assigned to staff members who were specialists in those areas. Occasionally, three or four teachers came for a group conference. Generally, one teacher initiated the call and asked to bring colleagues.

Staff were assigned according to specific competencies.

We had originally planned that students would be called in as consultants to work with the client and peer counselor. It was felt that a student's perception of a teacher's problem would be of value, particularly if the problem

Teachers were resistant to talking to a student.

Workshops centered on changing the teacher.

Students were used as staff consultants.

related to student motivation or troublesome student behavior. This did not prove to be the case. Teachers were resistant to the idea of talking to a student about a classroom problem. Moreover, the problems presented were more frequently related to difficulties with supervisors. In those cases, student consultants would not logically be involved.

Workshops. As common needs, concerns, and problems were defined, workshops were held at the Hot Line office almost every Saturday during the school year, with groups ranging in size from 10 to 30 participants. Selected topics reflected the requests of teachers who used the telephone and consultation services. The focus of the workshops centered on changing the teacher rather than the student, as well as on teacher insight through self understanding and an increased understanding of the student.

The modus operandi for running the workshops was to work in teams of two or three. Various combinations of staffing were tried in order to select the most effective teams. Unlike individual consultations, where teachers rejected the presence of students, they did not openly resent student participation in workshops. It was felt by staff, however, that workshops were more effective when students did not participate. Therefore, students were used as staff consultants rather than as direct consultants to teachers.

Teachers have been exposed to a plethora of courses and professional meetings devoted to learning behavior or development. Generally, these efforts focus on the child or on global theory. Certainly, teacher insight and application of that insight to practical classroom management procedures have rarely resulted either from such professional meetings or from traditional college courses.

Stemming from teacher cries for help, the workshops were titled:
Don't Tell Me to Love Every Kid
Cursing in the Classroom
The Finger (Body Language)
What to Do With the Rest of the Class When Handling the One
How to Handle Difficult Principals
Reaching Difficult Children Through Art
The Barrier of Politeness
Why Don't They Listen?
Sexual Problems in the Classroom
Using Drama
Getting Along With Colleagues

Some themes were more popular than others. The workshop on cursing, for example, was held several times during the year. The workshop entitled "The Finger" was an outgrowth of the one on cursing. It was requested by a group of teachers who worked at a school for deaf children. Their problem was cursing, too.

As with telephone questioning and individual consultation, emphasis in the workshops was on defining the "real" problem. Although workshop themes differed, the problems that repeatedly emerged reflected the teachers' sense of inadequacy in the classroom, feelings of frustration, and powerlessness. Those who attended the workshops expressed great relief to find that their problems were not unique.

Problems reflected a sense of inadequacy.

Inservice courses and lectures. A monthly series of lectures was widely advertised. Speakers were invited, and presentations were always followed by question and answer periods. These sessions were much more formal than the workshops. Topics included behavior modification, autism, reading,

rating systems, hypnotism, and psychological testing for teachers.

Courses were given by Hot Line staff in connection with the Bank Street College of Education. Inservice courses were also offered and approved for credit by the New York City Board of Education. These included the following titles:

Methods of Teaching Emotionally Handicapped Students
Counseling Techniques for Teachers
Teaching Creative Writing
Teaching Spanish
Behavior Modification for Weight Control
Drama as a Therapeutic Technique in Teaching Emotionally Handicapped Children

☐ Teachers have traditionally been told what to do. Having been told what to do, they proceed to tell their students what to do. The problem is that the system no longer works—if, in fact, it ever really did. Certainly it permitted management, but is that enough to be called teaching? Now, it does not even maintain control. Students are becoming more rebellious and teachers are becoming more defeated. Incidents of teacher abuse are more widely reported than ever before. The term "battered teacher" is increasingly used.

Counseling techniques centered on helping teachers discover their own mechanisms of control, mechanisms that stem from their own sense of authority rather than from being told what to do and then telling others. Thus, these techniques focused on helping teachers experience the reality of their own adult authority by teaching them the skills of decision making and helping them reach their own decisions.

We did not handle serious personal emotional problems or problems that rightfully came under the jurisdiction of the teachers' union. When indicated, referrals were made to the union or to other appropriate treatment agencies.

An analysis of the use of the Hot Line, based on initially established goals, revealed a number of interesting facts concerning the nature of clients served and types of problems reported.

1. Clients were predominantly classroom teachers, although school psychologists, social workers, paraprofessionals, youth workers, policemen, and parents were also served. The majority of clients were female, were teaching above the seventh grade level, and were experienced teachers who had taught for a minimum of five years.

2. A small percentage of clients were supervisors who asked Hot Line staff to develop workshops for their school faculties. Staff perceived such workshops to be less effective, because teachers felt imposed upon and regarded these workshops as "just another faculty conference."

3. A small percentage of supervisors requested help with their own supervisors as well as our assistance in intervening with so called "poor" teachers. Frequently, these supervisors referred our service to such teachers and asked them to seek us out. They never did. Teachers did not come to the Hot Line at the request of their supervisors.

4. The most prevalent problem presented by teachers was reflected in the statement, "My principal (supervisor) doesn't like me." They defined their greatest difficulty as one of poor interpersonal relationships with supervisors. They further described specific situations and expressed feelings of guilt, depression, anxiety, and loss of self esteem. They appeared to mourn a period of competency that they felt they had once had, but lost.

5. The second most frequently reported problem was poor interpersonal

THE HOT LINE CLIENTS

Teachers were becoming more defeated.

The majority. . .were experienced teachers.

Teachers did not come at the request of supervisors.

relationships with colleagues. These teachers felt that other teachers did not like them because the principal did not like them.

Fears of losing face were expressed.

6. The third problem most often delineated related to discipline. Fears of "losing face" in the classroom when the teacher lost control were often expressed. Many incidents were reported of difficult students who disrupted entire classes. Cursing was reported to be the main cause of such disruption. .

7. Demands placed upon teachers by parents were fourth in frequency of reported difficulties.

8. The fifth most frequently reported problem related to subject matter and methodology.

In exploring these problems, it was amazing to uncover the many ongoing teaching practices that were indeed damaging or harmful to students, including the use of sarcasm, excessive punishment, and physical force. It was our general conclusion that teachers feel extremely victimized by their supervisors, their students, and the system in general. They express concern about physical assaults and report incidents of abuse. In reaction to this abuse, they in turn become abusive and punitive in their dealings with students. They project their own sense of vulnerability and powerlessness upon their students, thereby increasing their own chances of being further victimized. They create their own "discipline" cases by accusing their students of being unable to learn or obey.

The abused teacher becomes the abusing teacher.

Thus, cycles are created. The abused, battered, and victimized teacher becomes the abusing, battering, and victimizing teacher who then becomes further abused, battered, and victimized. This cycle is similar to the cyclical patterns of child-parent abuse.

Teachers do not feel that their supervisors can help them. Yet they look to them for warmth and support. There is no doubt that the teachers who sought our services had severe conflicts with authority figures in school and were extremely confused about self authority.

Those who used the service reported feeling more competent.

These conclusions, however, cannot be construed to be applicable to all teachers. They are based on the needs of those who used the service. Those who did so reported feeling more competent after counseling. We asked all our participants to rate our service by mailing in an unsigned rating sheet. About 70% responded to this request. A great majority of the ratings were extremely commendatory.

SETTING UP A HOT LINE .

Hot lines must be independent of educational establishments.

☐ Many requests have been received from all parts of the country about setting up a hot line. It is recommended that such hot lines be independent of educational establishments such as Boards of Education or colleges and universities. Teachers must be assured of anonymity. They must feel secure in the knowledge that their confidences will not be shared with persons who rate them or otherwise relate to them in a supervisory fashion. If a hot line is to be effective, it must be operated and funded outside the educational establishment by staff who are themselves teachers and who are clinically oriented. Staff must be clinically supervised.

Staff must be clinically supervised.

Service will be most effective. . .when counseling is done by teachers.

A teacher hot line should not be primarily concerned with methodology, resources, or curriculum. Such needs can best be served by the school system itself or by universities. A hot line service will be most effective when dealing with teacher affect and emotion as they relate to teaching, and when counseling is done by other teachers who have credibility. Over and over again, teachers stated that they felt that only other teachers understood their problems and could truly help them.

bilingual bicultural education: the right to a free and appropriate education

Bilingual educators share with special educators the common goal of providing an appropriate education for all youth. For the language minority student, bilingual bicultural education represents an important avenue to reaching that goal. In our pluralistic society, the instructional program must be sensitive and responsive to each student's linguistic and cultural needs.

alejandro benavides

A PART OF THE QUIET REVOLUTION

□ Special educators and bilingual educators are natural allies. The problems encountered by both are similar. They include segregation, discriminatory testing and assessment, and the exclusion of equal educational opportunities. Though the educational needs of the two groups they serve may differ, their ultimate goal—the right to an appropriate education—is the same. Civil rights has been the spearhead of their common cause.

Dimond (1973) has spoken of the "quiet revolution." The goal of this revolution has been stated as "the right to an education for all American children, and particularly those usually known as the handicapped" (Weintraub & Abeson, 1976). What is meant by "the right to an education for all American children"? What criteria qualify children as American? Is it proof of citizenship, a letter of intent to become an American citizen, a loyalty oath, or simply having the parents denounce their native country and language and pledge allegiance to the flag?

What criteria qualify children as American?

There is reason for concern that the language minority student may not receive equal educational opportunities because of the American ethnocentric practice of perceiving and labeling these students as foreigners. Unfortunately, that label or term is interpreted to mean that the individual is not American and, consequently, not protected by the provisions set forth under the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment to the US Constitution. This clause represents the guarantee of equal protection of the law for all people, including the opportunity to receive an equal education.

One in five language minority persons is of school age.

According to data released by the National Center for Education Statistics in 1978 on the geographic distribution, nativity, and age distribution of language minorities in the United States, about one in five language minority persons is of school age. This statistical report indicated that there are over five million such children in the United States. More than four-fifths of them were born in the 50 states, Puerto Rico, or another US territory.

Is the "quiet revolution" really intended for "all American children," including language minorities, or is it specifically for American handicapped children? If it is the latter, then the unique educational needs of the national origin minority must be considered part of that revolution. Bilingual education represents a significant educational need for the language minority student.

One must not confuse or use the terms *bilingual education* and *special education* synonymously. Though the goal of receiving equal educational opportunity is mutual, the meaning differs. For special education, equal educational opportunity means equal access to differing resources for different objectives (Weintraub & Abeson, 1972). For language minority students, equal educational opportunity means equal access to differing resources for equal benefits. Equal access implies that everyone has an equal opportunity to attend an equally staffed school with equivalent resources. Equal benefits are a reality only when everyone receives equal benefits from public education. For the language minority student, bilingual education represents the right to an appropriate education.

Equal opportunity means equal access to differing resources.

The problem lies with the response of the schools.

In a relatively few years, bilingual bicultural education has gone from a somewhat esoteric subject of debate at linguistics conferences to a recognized educationally sound demand on the part of non-English speaking and limited English proficiency minority groups. Nothing, however, alters the historical fact that language and culture have been and continue to be used as political and economic weapons against minority groups. This fact provides the basis for concern regarding the meaning of the phrase, "the right to an education for all American children." What is new, however, is broadening acceptance of the fact that massive educational deprivation is being suffered by language minority children. Simultaneously, recognition is growing that

the fundamental problem lies not with the language and culture of the students, but with the response of the schools to youth needs.

☐ Although there is no single universally accepted definition of bilingual bicultural education, the term indicates a process of total self development through which an individual continues the learning process while rooted in native culture, at the same time acquiring the ability to function successfully in another language and culture.

The passage of Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1967 provides a useful starting point for an examination of the history of bilingual bicultural education. Although the Act itself was designed to fund limited duration pilot programs in local districts, its passage focused national attention on the demands of Native Americans, Chinese, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, and other groups for the implementation of bilingual bicultural education programs.

A starting point is Title VII of ESEH.

Three years later, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) released an interpretation of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act that attempted to clarify its applicability to language minority children who were being denied the benefits of participation in federally funded programs. That interpretation, known as the May 1970 memorandum, made clear the availability of Title VI funding to advocates seeking the establishment of bilingual bicultural programs. Unfortunately, by stopping short of a clear requirement for such programs, HEW left open the question of what type of language program would satisfy requirements for nonexclusion of language minority students. This omission, while regrettable, was probably an accurate reflection of the level of political acceptance of true bilingual bicultural education. Many legislators and educators, however, were persuaded that equal educational opportunities were being denied.

HEW left open the type of language program required.

The favored response during this period was one of either a compensatory or a transitional language program, with an eye toward enabling students to function in English as quickly as possible. This has been the approach adopted by most states that have passed bilingual education legislation. It is consistent with the Supreme Court's landmark but fragmentary opinion in *Lau v. Nichols* (1974), which left open the question of what type of program would be required in meeting Title VI standards.

In this landmark case, the petitioners asserted (a) that they in no sense received a minimally adequate education; (b) that being unable to communicate or understand the language of instruction, their educational opportunities were wholly unequal to those of English speaking children; and (c) that the fact that children from non-English speaking language minority groups suffer great deprivation of educational opportunities is a national tragedy of great proportions.

In 1972, after a three year investigation into the way American public education serves minority groups, the US Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity completed its report. They concluded "that some of the most dramatic, wholesale failures of our public school systems occur among members of language minorities. . . .What these conditions add up to is a conscious or unconscious policy of linguistic and cultural exclusion and alienation" (US Senate, 1972, p. 277).

Conditions add up to. . . . linguistic and cultural exclusion.

Findings were amply supported by the weight of expert educational opinion. The Committee found that Puerto Rican students comprised 23% of the total school enrollment in New York City. Yet in 1963, only 331 (1.6%) of 21,000 academic diplomas granted were awarded to these students. In other cities, the situation was no better. In Newark, for example, there were 7,800

Puerto Rican children enrolled in the public school system, but only 96 of them survived to the 12th grade. In Chicago, the dropout rate among Puerto Rican students approached 60%.

Among Mexican Americans, the language barrier posed equally severe educational difficulties. Approximately 50% of this group never went beyond the eighth grade. In Texas, for example, 40% of the Spanish speaking citizens were described as "functional illiterates." Among Cherokee Indians, the dropout rate was as high as 75%, with illiteracy among adults at 40%.

Verbal communication evolves more slowly than comprehension.

Evidence indicates that verbal forms of communication in children evolve more slowly than actual comprehension. The natural sequence is for the child first to develop understanding, and then to form a concept requiring a name or label. The older child begins to use language at an accelerated rate for the purpose of problem solving.

When ideas are formed in one language, it is difficult to state them in another. "Cognitive confusion" may develop in the child's understanding of the concepts and reasoning tasks at hand. This confusion may lead to great frustration or anxiety and ultimately to loss of interest in attempting to express an idea. When a school instructs in a second language before a student has developed adequate cognitive skills in the native language, the student who functions in both languages develops in only limited ways.

The educational harm suffered by the language minority student is not limited to inadequate development of verbal ability or limited comprehension of orally presented subject matter. Research indicates that development of *Development of reading skills will be* reading skills will also be impaired when there is a mismatch between the *impaired.* learner's spoken and written language and the language that the teacher regards as the proper basis for the learner's expected literate response (Downing, 1973).

Educational experts have focused on several different methods of teaching non-English speaking students. It is significant, however, that no support could be found in the literature for simply allowing non-English speaking youngsters to sit uncomprehendingly in the classroom without making intensive efforts to minimize the mutual language barrier. Although the *Lau v. Nichols* case debated how best to serve the language minority student, the *Petitioners were receiving no language* petitioners were receiving no language instruction whatsoever, either by *instruction.* English as a second language, bilingual education, or by any other instructional method.

The Supreme Court found that a school district's failure to provide non-English speaking students with a program to meet their unique needs is a violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (*Lau v. Nichols*, 1974). The court held that "there is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum for students who do not understand English and are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education." Even before the *Lau* decision, the Office of Civil Rights, HEW, on May 25, 1970, issued regulations to eliminate discrimination based on *The court called for affirmative action* language proficiency. The regulations stated: *to overcome language barriers.*

> Where inability to speak and understand the English language excludes national origin minority group children from effective participation in the educational program offered by a school district, the district must take affirmative steps to rectify the language deficiency in order to open its instructional program to these students. (*Fed. Register*, 1970, p. 4595)

In 1975, HEW sent a memorandum to all Chief State School Officers entitled "Evaluation of Voluntary Compliance Plan Designed to Eliminate Educational Practices Which Deny Non-English Language Dominance Students Equal Educational Opportunities." This memorandum stated in part:

School districts found to be in non-compliance with the aforementioned provisions of Title VI [regulations and May 1970 memorandum as construed in *Lau*] will be required to develop specific voluntary compliance plans to eliminate discriminatory educational practices (including the effects of past practice). Voluntary compliance plans which set forth educational strategies consistent with the approaches and which contain the other elements specified therein, will be accepted by this Office. School districts submitting voluntary compliance plans to this Office which are not consistent with the outlined approaches or with other required plan elements must demonstrate affirmatively, at the time of submission, that such plans at a minimum will be equally effective in ensuring equal educational opportunity. (HEW, 1975, Attachment A)

As a whole, this memorandum contained sections on the following areas of consideration:

1. Identification of a student's primary or home language.
2. Methods of diagnosing each student's educational needs and prescribing "an educational program utilizing the most effective teaching style to satisfy the diagnosed educational needs." (pp. 2-3)
3. Implementation of appropriate educational programs.
4. Review of required and elective courses to show that they are not designed to have a discriminatory effect.
5. Examination of instructional personnel requirements.
6. Aspects of racial/ethnic isolation and/or identifiability of schools and classes.
7. Notification to parents of students whose primary or home language is not English.
8. Evaluation.

☐ An unanswered and critical question is the extent to which courts will rely on the standards set forth in the 1975 memorandum in formulating relief. In some school desegregation cases in the past, courts did rely on analogous HEW standards. For instance, in *Caddo Parish School Board v. United States* (1967), the court stated:

> In constructing the original and revised decrees, the court gave great weight to the 1965 and 1966 HEW Guidelines. These Guidelines establish minimum standards clearly applicable to disestablishing state-sanctioned segregation. These Guidelines and our decree are within the decision of this court, comply with the letter and spirit of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and meet requirements of the United States Constitution. Courts in this circuit should give great weight to future HEW Guidelines when such guidelines are applicable to this circuit and are within lawful limits.

**ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY PROGRAMS**

The central issue, however, is the one left open by *Lau*. How far can the courts go in mandating a meaningful program? The issue is not settled, and decisions are not always favorable. (See, for example, the 1974 appellate decision in *Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver.*) A wide range of strongly held and often conflicting opinions and convictions continues between proponents and opponents of bilingual education.

In spite of these difficulties, HEW, in its most recent rules and regulations for bilingual education, has defined *bilingual education* as a program of instruction in the elementary or secondary schools designed for children of limited English proficiency (*Federal Register*, 1979). The regulations state that the program must include instruction given in English, as well as the

How far can courts go in mandating a meaningful program?

FIGURE 1
Minimal Lau Remedies, Elementary and Intermediate Grades

STUDENT IDENTIFICATION   STUDENT LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT   ACHIEVEMENT DATA   PROGRAM
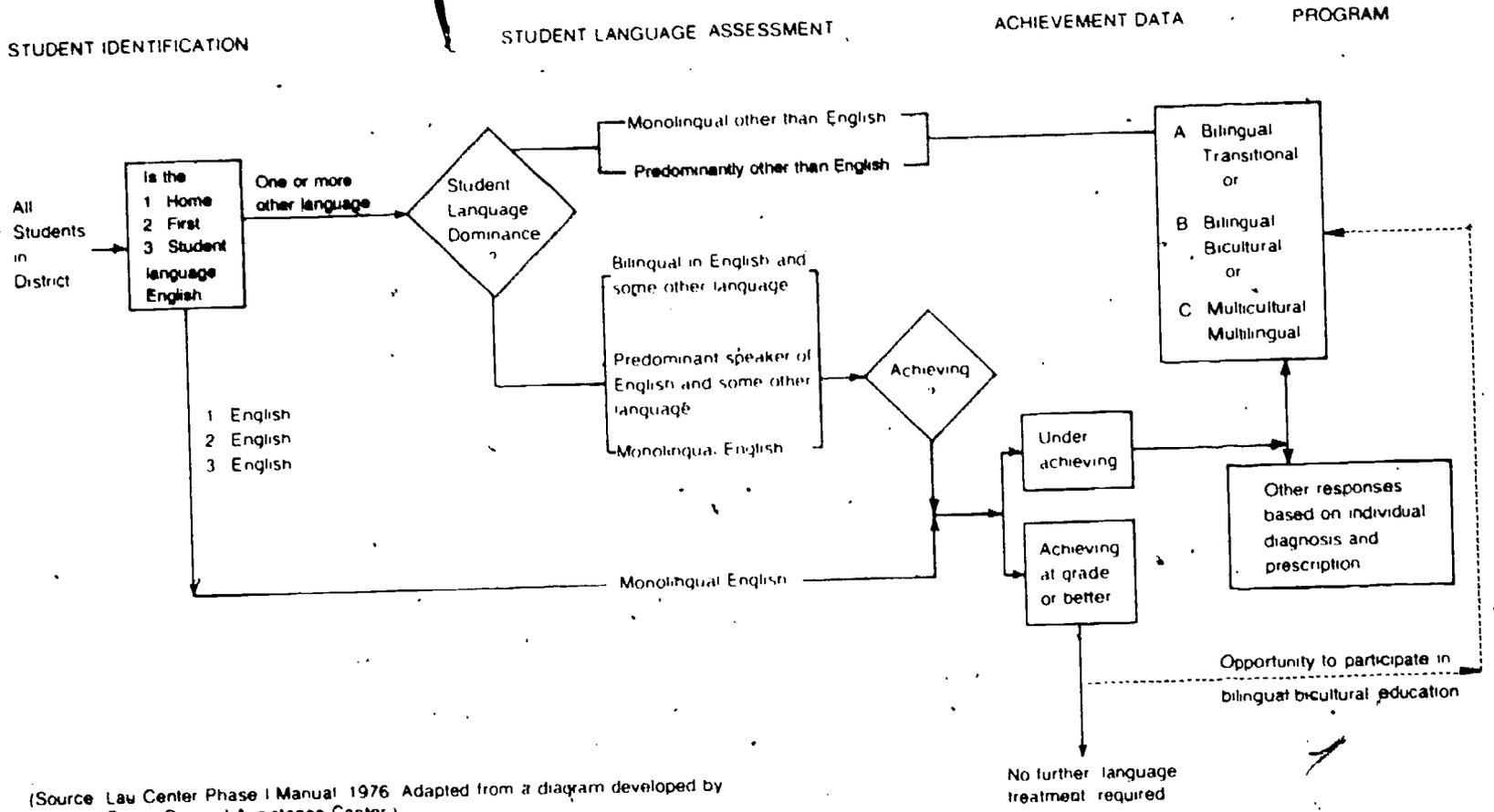
(Source Lau Center Phase I Manual 1976 Adapted from a diagram developed by
the Area D Lau General Assistance Center)

FIGURE 2
Minimal Lau Remedies, Secondary Grades

STUDENT IDENTIFICATION   STUDENT LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT   ACHIEVEMENT DATA   PROGRAM
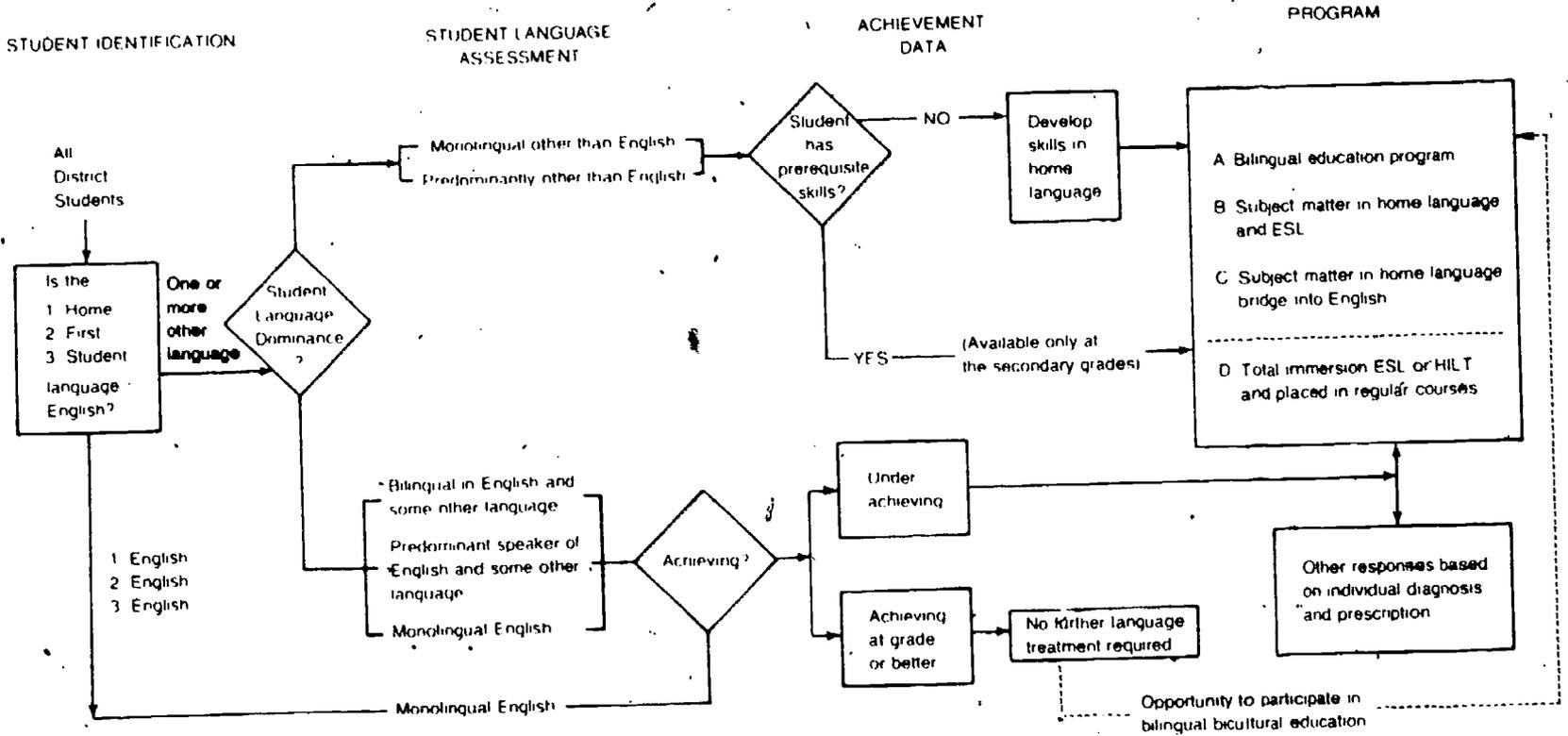
(Source Lau Center Phase I Manual 1976)

study of English. They further require that the native language of students of limited English proficiency be used to the extent necessary to allow these students to achieve competence in the English language and to progress effectively through the educational system. Further, instruction must be provided with appreciation for the cultural heritage of the children of limited English proficiency as well as other children in American society.

Instruction must be provided with appreciation for cultural heritage.

The 1975 HEW Memorandum provided a section on appropriate program implementation in·which the following educational program selections were recommended: (a) bilingual bicultural; (b) multilingual; (c) transitional bilingual; (d) English as a second language (ESL). The latter was designated as acceptable only at the secondary level, and it was further specified that if prerequisite skills have not been taught, those skills must be developed in the native language of the student. Figures 1 and 2 provide a descriptive outline of program remedies for the elementary, intermediate, and secondary grades.

Skills must be developed.in the native language of the student.

Following are brief descriptions of the programs suggested by the *Lau* remedies for elementary and secondary levels, although at the elementary and intermediate levels an ESL program alone is not acceptable. At the elementary and intermediate levels, any one or a combination of the following programs are recommended.

Transitional bilingual education. Its goal is to incorporate limited English proficiency students into the mainstream of the English language·school program as soon as possible by developing academic skills in the student's native language while developing proficiency in English. The assumption is made that the student will become proficient in the English language while retaining the native language with educational support in initial phases of the school's instructional program. This goal is illustrated in Figure 3.

The student will become proficient in English while retaining the native language.

Concepts must be developed in the students' native language. The greatest programmatic effort is focused on teaching English and eliminating the students' native language usage in the classroom. Due to the transitional nature and structure of bilingual instruction, an effort must be made to articulate the program with the rest of the school's instructional program. The district must develop predictive data that demonstrate the readiness of students to make the transition into English and to succeed educationally.

FIGURE 3
Goal of Transitional Bilingual Education Program
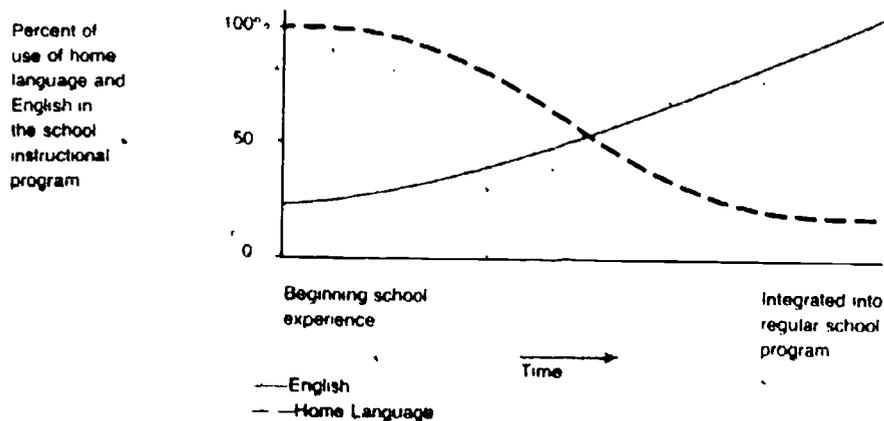
Percent of use of home language and English in the school instructional program

100%

50

0

Beginning school experience

Integrated into regular school program

Time

——English
— —Home Language

Bilingual bicultural education (maintenance program). Its goal is to provide students the opportunity to develop and maintain their native language and culture while learning English and acquiring academic skills in both the native language and in English. The assumption is made that the student will become equally proficient in English and in the native language. The school's instructional program seeks to enable the student to take courses with instruction in either language. The continued development and utilization of both English and native language at all levels of instruction are stressed.

Cultural pluralism is recognized.

Cultural pluralism is recognized through the maintenance of the student's native language and culture while learning English. The instructional program is an integral part of the total school program. Figure 4 illustrates the goal of the bilingual bicultural program.

FIGURE 4
Goal of Bilingual Bicultural Education Program

Percent of use of home language and English in the school instructional program

100°₀

50

0

Beginning school experience

Integrated into regular school program

Time

English
Home Language
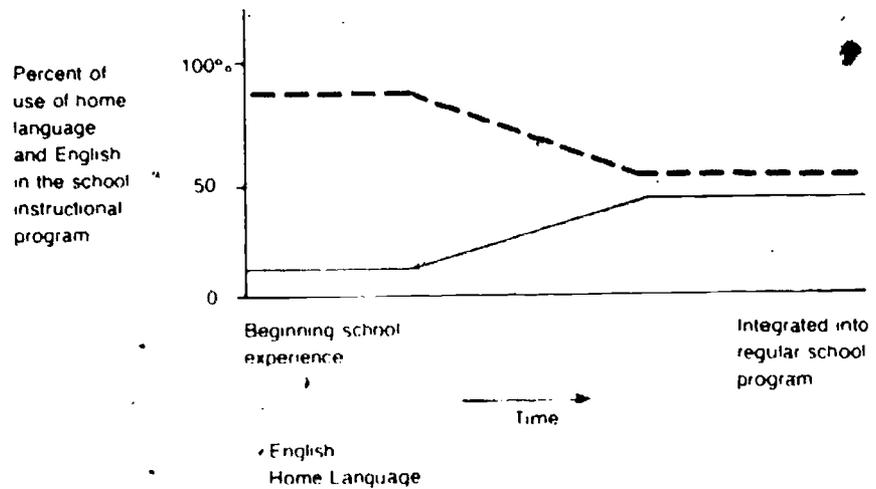
(Source Lau Center Phase I Manual 1976)

FIGURE 5
Goal of Multilingual Multicultural Education Program

Percent of use of home language and English in the school instructional program

100°₀

50

0

Beginning school experience

Integrated into regular school program

Time

English
Home Language (1)
Home Language (2)
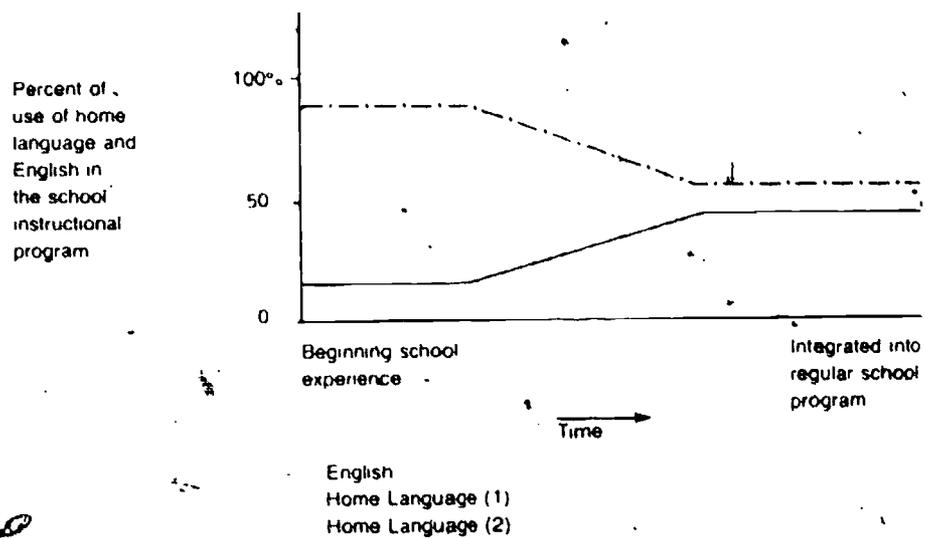
(Source Lau Center Phase I Manual, 1976)

Multilingual multicultural education. This program seeks to provide students the opportunity to participate in more than one culture and language, allowing development and maintenance of the native language and culture while, at the same time, acquiring English and academic skills in the native language. In some states, a multilingual program refers to an instructional model in which students from various language backgrounds are provided with a bilingual program, each language group being provided English and native language instruction.

The assumption is made that the student will become proficient in two or more languages (the native language, English, and one or more other languages). The educational program enables the student to take courses, other than foreign language classes, with instruction given in the student's language as well as in other languages. This program must take into consideration all of the languages and cultures in the school and maximize their usage. Native language and culture are maintained while learning English and additional languages and cultures. The program must have available personnel from a variety of language backgrounds. Figure 5 illustrates the objectives of this program.

English as a second language (ESL). Its goal is to provide instruction in the official language used in the educational process and to develop competencies that will enable students to function and achieve in the regular school program. The assumption is made that the student will become proficient in English while retaining the native language without any educational support from the school instructional program, whose main focus is the teaching of English. The student must learn the content area in the regular English monolingual classroom, without the use of the native language. Although an ESL program is an important facet of any program for limited English proficiency students, it is not effective in isolation because it only provides for the student's English language development. The content areas are not taught in the native language, but only in English. Figure 6 illustrates the ESL concept.

ESL. . . is not effective in isolation.

FIGURE 6
Goal of English as a Second Language (ESL) Education Program

Percent of use of home language and English in the school instructional program

100%

50

0

Beginning school experience

Integrated into regular school experience

Time

- - - - English
- - - Home Language
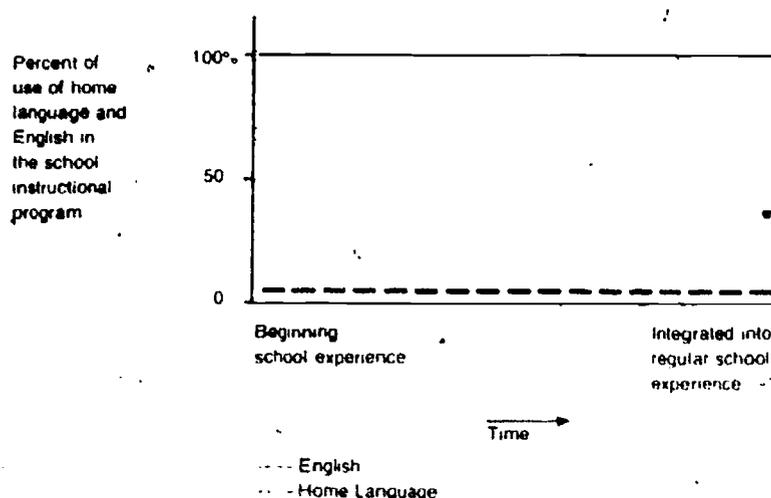
(Source Lau Center Phase I Manual 1976)

Programs at the secondary level must be developed with careful consideration of the achievement level of students, their length of time in the district, and required and elective courses. Depending on Board policy and the needs of the local population, districts can select a transitional bilingual program, a bilingual bicultural program, or a multilingual multicultural program. High intensive English language development is provided until students are fully functional in English and can successfully move into the regular school program. The major concern is development of a program that provides students the necessary courses, in both languages, that allow participation to the greatest extent possible in the total school curriculum. Due to the time factor of graduation, the program should simultaneously provide selected courses in the native language that fulfill a portion of the graduation requirements. Thus, continued content area development is fostered while English is being developed and acquired.

DEVELOPING A BILINGUAL BICULTURAL MODEL

Incompatibilities between student and school must be considered.

□ When considering which bilingual bicultural education model is to be developed and implemented, one must weigh heavily the incompatibilities that exist between the language minority student and the school. The Cardenas-Cardenas Theory of Incompatibilities, for example, is a tested belief that failure can be attributed to a lack of compatibility between the characteristics of minority students and those of nonminority students. This theory holds that an instructional program developed for a White, Anglo Saxon, English speaking middle class school population is not and cannot be adequate for a non-White, non-Anglo, non-English speaking, or non-middle class population. To reverse the pattern of failure for atypical children, the characteristics of the learner must be compatible with the nature of the instructional program. According to Cardenas and Cardenas (1972), either the student must be changed to fit the instructional program, or the instructional program must be changed to fit the student.

Past attempts on the part of school systems to develop functionally responsive instructional programs reflect an eclectic philosophy. When atypicality was perceived as a characteristic falling within the area of the dominant culture group, the school responded by modifying its programs to fit the student. In the spirit of Public Law 94–142, we now commonly see barrier free provisions for the physically handicapped, Braille materials for the blind, and elaborate schemes, materials, and equipment to serve the needs of a limitless number of atypical children. Yet the school has placed the burden of adaptability on the student when the atypical characteristic is attributable to race or ethnicity.

The burden of adaptability has been placed on the student.

Bilingual bicultural education offers a vehicle for implementation of the concept of equal educational opportunity. It represents an effort to make the instructional program compatible with the student's linguistic and cultural needs. It offers equal benefits from an instructional program that provides continuing cognitive and skills development in the dominant language while simultaneously enhancing English language proficiency skills. Thus, equal access to educational opportunities is provided.

The thrust of the equal benefits position calls for every student to be assessed in order to determine uniquely individual needs. Children out of school are the products of a system that fails to meet those unique needs. Our educational institutions are providing a succession of frustrating experiences that a growing number of students cannot handle.

Children out of school are the product of a system that fails to meet unique needs.

Common characteristics of children out of school have been repeatedly identified as including the following: frequent academic failure; reading difficulty; little or no interest in schoolwork; nonparticipation in extracurricular

activities; absenteeism equal to or exceeding 20 days; hostile, aggressive, disruptive behavior exhibited at school and in the community; lack of home security; minimal family education; and low socioeconomic status.

During an invitational workshop held in Illinois in 1977, teachers possessing considerable experience with low achieving students of non-English language background cited the following characteristics as generally descriptive of such students: short attention span; inability to express themselves orally at an acceptable level; poor auditory memory and discrimination; low reading achievement, both in English and in the first language; poor comprehension (unable to group sentences and main ideas); poor writing skills; and low levels of interest and motivation.

No single cause can be isolated in explanation of these difficulties. However, a review of the literature indicates the following as causes cited most frequently by teachers.

1. Limited experiential background and environmental stimulation (Coleman, 1966; Dentler, 1968; Kagan, 1970, 1972).
2. Limited access to appropriate English language instruction (Mase, 1963; Noell, 1953; Smith, 1962).
3. Limited access to oral English in the home environment (Burrows, et al., 1962; Loban, 1963; Strickland, 1962).
4. Insufficient time spent on developing the child's first language skills, consequently limiting linguistic skills in both languages (Bell, Lewis, & Anderson, 1972; Spache, 1975).
5. Level of intellectual ability (Bell, Lewis, & Anderson, 1972; Bloom, 1970; Cazden, 1970; Spache, 1975).
6. Poor self concept (Drake, 1970; Grebler, Moore, & Guzman, 1970; Stoddard, 1973).

·It is most unfortunate that the school requires of limited English proficient students tasks and performances in which success depends on unfamiliar skills and attitudes. Simultaneously, the school also fails to encourage students to use and build on the strengths they already possess.

Carter (1970) indicated that cultural conflicts often occur between home and school because the norms taught in school deviate from those taught in the home, and derogate both family and peer group. Assimilation has long been an obsessive goal of the American public schools. The schools have operated with a determination to educate students in accordance with a monolingual, monocultural view of society in which people of diverse ethnic, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds are systematically transformed into a homogeneous society.

At best, the schools have attempted to rescue, through aggressive acculturation, members of minority cultural and/or linguistic groups who are perceived as deprived by virtue of their cultural or linguistic heritage. At worst, the schools have excluded those students seen as differing most radically from the norm. This failure is not merely a matter of opinion or theory. It has been proven in state and federal courts and upheld by judicial opinion even at the level of the Supreme Court.·

The myriad of problems encountered by the limited English proficient student do in many respects reflect those experienced by children out of school. While the establishment of a bilingual bicultural program does not necessarily assure that these students will stay in school, such a program does provide an additional vehicle to meeting individual linguistic and cultural needs. Unless such opportunities are provided, the limited English proficient

No single cause can be isolated.

School success may depend on unfamiliar skills and attitudes.

Schools have excluded students seen as differing most radically from the norm.

student will indeed continue to be a growing statistic in the dropout rate.

Bilingual bicultural education is not simply the translation of traditional materials into another language, nor is it merely the teaching of content area in a different language. Essentially, it implies' acceptance of the culturally pluralistic nature of American society and acceptance of pluralism as a positive factor in education. It safeguards individual differences, respects and builds on the student's home language and cultural heritage, and upholds the belief that all Americans have the right to receive equal benefits from the institution that has been given the primary responsibility of educating youth. In a society enriched by the unique contributions of many ethnic and linguistic groups, bilingual bicultural education is, under the 14th Amendment to the US Constitution, "the right to an education for all American children."

Bilingual bicultural education implies acceptance of the culturally pluralistic nature of society.

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alternative residential programs

rosemary c. sarri

The juvenile justice system must stress adolescent needs for self direction and growth rather than a philosophy of coercion and control. Community based residential programs represent a major and well established treatment approach for deviant youth. While these programs vary widely in definition and content, those that merit examination have in common the intent to serve youth through an explicitly defined treatment technology and stated organizational goals. Effective community links are essential for success.

☐ Since 1958 the rate at which youth in the United States have been referred to the juvenile court has steadily increased. More and more the court has been expected to serve as the backup institution for the family, the school, and other social institutions. Most of the youth who are processed are dismissed or placed under supervision in the community. Only a small proportion are eventually committed to public or private facilities in their own communities or elsewhere within the state in which they reside. However, this small proportion totals thousands of adolescents and young adults each year. In contrast to comparable western European countries, little has been accomplished in most states to provide sufficient alternative community based residential care. In this chapter we will examine some of these alternative programs for alienated, disruptive, and delinquent youth.

Juvenile corrections programs have been moving steadily, albeit slowly, toward deinstitutionalization, but the community programs that have developed to take the place of institutions are often mere appendages of larger institutional systems (Bartollis & Miller, 1978; Fox, 1977). Nearly a decade ago, when community alternatives were first being considered seriously, Richard Korn commented:

> A word of caution. The development of these alternatives, designed to divert offenders from institutions by means of community alternatives should not be controlled by those presently in command of conventional correctional systems. Decisive participation by the private sector is indispensable. True alternatives are competing alternatives: the correctional system is poorly prepared, both by tradition and ideology, to nurture its own replacement. (Quotation cited in Congressional Record, 1978, p. 326)

Since Korn's comment there has been rapid development of community treatment for juveniles in the majority of states. (Dixon & Wright, 1976; Empey, 1978). However, the problem to which he alluded has not been avoided even where the development took place largely in the private sector, as occurred in Massachusetts with the closing of the public institutions for youth. Many private programs have become equally custodial even though they are labeled as community based treatment. Others have been highly selective in their choice of clientele they are willing to admit and serve.

It is therefore apparent that one must examine some of the fundamental issues pertaining to the status and roles of adolescent youth in contemporary American society. All too often it appears that adults prefer custodial programs and lack of legitimate opportunities for work and education. Few appreciate the probable negative consequences for the society should such policies and programs continue for another decade.

This chapter examines some of the alternative types of community based residential treatment programs that have been developed in recent years for juvenile delinquents and other disruptive youth. The presentation does not attempt to be comprehensive or representative in its consideration of alternative residential treatment programs. Rather it is illustrative of the range and types of programs that have been designed and actually operated for a year or longer. Wherever possible some summary of evaluative results is presented.

☐ The design and implementation of alternative types of residential care is not new in the United States. As early as the 1930's and 1940's Aichorn, Redl, Wineman, Bettelheim, and others had implemented model treatment

COMMUNITY BASED PROGRAMS: PROBLEMS AND ALTERNATIVES

Little has been accomplished in most states.

Community programs are often appendages of larger institutional systems.

Many private programs have become equally custodial.

Few appreciate the negative consequences for society should such policies continue.

RESIDENTIAL FACILITIES FOR DELINQUENT YOUTH

Not until the late 1950's and 1960's did programs develop sufficiently to have import.

programs for delinquent, disturbed, and alienated youth. However, it was not until the late 1950's and 1960's that these programs developed in sufficient numbers to have a pronounced impact. The 1966 survey by Pappenfort, Kilpatrick, and Kuby (1970) of all residential facilities for children in the United States revealed that there were 441 institutions serving predelinquent and delinquent youth under both public and private auspices. The findings in Table 1 present data from the Pappenfort survey in 1966 and from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) census of 1975. These data are not entirely comparable since different response rates occurred and the definitions of types of programs varied in some cases. Nevertheless, they are useful heuristically, and along with Lerman's recent analysis (1978), some trends are clearly apparent.

Facilities have grown faster than youth served.

Public and private institutions still differ substantially.

The total number of facilities has grown remarkably and far faster than the population of youth served, indicating that the large closed institution is no longer the modal type that it once was. The mean size of programs has dropped substantially. Growth in the private sector has vastly outstripped growth in public programs of all types. Public and private institutions still differ substantially in that most of the former are closed institutions serving youth on a short term basis in detention centers and on a long term basis in training schools. Most youth in private facilities are in long term care in open facilities such as halfway houses, camps, group homes, and residential centers. The reasons for these two patterns are not entirely clear since other data suggest that it is not merely the offense behavior of the youth (Vinter, Kish, & Newcomb, 1976) that explain differences between programs under public and private auspices. For example, Vinter (1979) recently observed that youth who commit violent and other serious crimes are mixed in all types of facilities with large proportions of misdemeanants and status offenders. It is probable that public facilities have greater autonomy in obtaining adequate resources for on-grounds public schools, while private facilities may be open because they need to use local public education resources.

Males and females tend to be processed differently.

It must be borne in mind that these data include all 50 states and that there are vast differences within and between states. Likewise, males and females tend to be processed differently, creating still another pattern. The overwhelming finding from the National Assessment of Juvenile Corrections (NAJC) survey of a representative sample of correctional programs in the United States was the heterogeneity and diversity among programs. Some were large, some small; some had a wide range of treatment, education, and other resources; others existed with a minimum of resources (Vinter et al., 1976).

ALTERNATIVE RESIDENTIAL CARE

There are too few alternatives for residential treatment.

□ Despite the heterogeneity and variability in size, auspice, location, and staffing, there are as yet too few alternatives for the residential treatment of delinquent youth in most states. We begin with the assumptions that (a) these alternatives are primarily interested in serving youth and in enhancing their well being; (b) that they are open, non-secure and community oriented programs; and (c) that they have an explicit treatment technology which they seek to implement to attain stated organizational goals. Thus, programs whose primary concern is punishment, custody, or protection of society are not examined, although it is recognized that such programs continue to exist in all of the states to a greater or lesser degree.

Community programs can be viewed as a stable social movement.

The development of community based treatment programs can be viewed as a relatively stable social movement that is likely to persist as a major treatment approach for juvenile delinquents, dependent and neglected youth, mentally ill and handicapped persons, and youth experiencing problems as-

TABLE 1
Selected Characteristics of Residential Facilities
for Juvenile Delinquents in 1966 and 1975

Facilities	1966[a]	1975[b]
Public	271	874
Private	143	1,277
Juveniles held in		
Public	46,410	46,980
Short Term		
Closed institutions		12,525
Open institutions		200
Long Term		
Closed institutions		26,748
Open institutions		7,507
Private	8,590	27,290
Short Term		
Closed institutions		830
Open institutions		669
Long Term		
Closed institutions		3,660
Open institutions		22,800

[a] Source: Pappenfort, Kilpatrick, & Kuby (1970)
[b] Source: Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (1977)

sociated with substance abuse. One of the most problematic issues in ex-
amining and comparing alternative approaches is the lack of consensus
about the definition of community and community based service. One finds
almost as many definitions as programs. For our purposes, community
based treatment programs are those which are focused on the nature of the
links between the program and the locality in which it exists, as well as on
the quality, frequency, and direction of interpersonal relationships within the
program and between the program and other residents in the locality. Such
programs seek to achieve the following:

1. Achieve greater effectiveness in goal attainment with reference to delin-
quency reduction and social reintegration.
2. Make the criminal justice system more fair, just, and humane.
3. Provide for minimal penetration of youth into the formal criminal justice
system relative to their offense behavior.
4. Be more cost efficient.
5. Increase the likelihood of more successful reintegration.

Community based residential care can be considered in terms of a con-
tinuum of multiple types of programs to meet variable characteristics of
clients and communities. Included are group homes of all types, halfway
houses, shelters, runaway centers, residential treatment facilities, work/em-
ployment units, and specialized alternative schools with a residential com-
ponent.

*Community programs are focused on
the links between program and locality.*

*Community residential care can be
considered in terms of a continuum of
multiple types of programs.*

Table 2 presents a summary of key characteristics of the alternative pro-
grams examined in this chapter, followed by a brief summary of the key
elements of each of the programs. A few obvious patterns are revealed in
these data:

1. Most youth are referred by the juvenile court or public agency responsible
   for handling juvenile delinquents.
2. Most programs are small rather than large, with few exceeding 30 clients
   at any given time.
3. Although age range is variable, most programs tend to be age homo-
   geneous rather than heterogeneous, with a median age of approximately
   16 years. Older rather than younger youth are more often reported as
   successful in terms of outcome measures.
4. Although a few coeducational programs exist, most continue to serve
   only males or females, with the former the predominant group served.
5. Programs under both public and private auspices exist. Outcome data do
   not suggest that either type of auspice makes a significant difference.
6. Nearly all programs have one or more explicit service technologies that
   they seek to implement. Very few were reported to have ambiguous or
   undefined means.
7. Length of stay is highly variable, ranging from a few weeks in most Out-
   ward Bound programs to more than a year in many of the group home
   programs.
8. Outcome criteria and data were less exacting than one would prefer.
   However, available data indicate that these programs are at least as
   effective as other alternatives, and in the majority of instances have
   higher rates of effectiveness.

PROGRAM SUMMARIES

Highfields (McCorkle, 1958; Weeks, 1976) was perhaps the first successful
model of a contemporary community based residential program. Highfields
was established by Lloyd McCorkle on the Lindbergh estate in New Jersey
in 1950. It initially served 20 males at a time, committed there by juvenile
courts from four urban New Jersey counties. They spent approximately 4
Days were spent in service oriented months in the intensive phase of the program. Days were spent working in
jobs. a variety of service oriented jobs at a nearby mental hospital and during the
evenings intensive peer group counseling took place. "Guided group inter-
action" was the service technology developed at Highfields. It was designed
as a short term, informally structured but intensive peer group experience.
It was, at least in part, an attempt to operationalize in an intervention modality
the Sutherland theory of differential association.

Highfields model was extended and Subsequent to the relatively successful experience at Highfields (Weeks,
developed. 1976), the model was extended and developed further in Essexfields, Col-
legefields, Kentfields, Provo, and in START in New York. More recently,
guided group technology was reported to be one of the most frequently
employed technologies in juvenile justice in the United States (Vinter et al.,
1976).

Achievement Place . . . is a family type *Achievement Place* (Phillips, 1971; Wolf, Phillips, & Fixsen, 1974) is a family
group home. educational environment designed to compensate for or overcome the be-
havioral deficiencies of particular youth in the community. It is a family type
group home where, under the direction of a specially trained husband and
wife team, approximately six youth continue to participate in regular com-
munity schools and other youth activities. The program at the home is carried
out by teaching-parents trained in behavior modification procedures, reme-
dial education techniques, juvenile law, and other areas. The parents estab-

TABLE 2
Characteristics of Alternative Residential Programs for Youth

Program	Size of Client Pop.	Age	Sex	Auspice	Referral Agent	Service Technology	Length of Stay	Outcomes Criteria	Change
Achievement Place Lawrence, KS	6–8 (per unit)	14–18	Male	Local Private	Court Social agency School	Social learning Behavior modification	10 mos.	Police record Court record School performance	+ + +
PORT Rochester, MN	18	13–50	Male	Local Public	Court	Contracting Guided group interaction Employment	9–12 mos.	Police record Court record Employment	+/ − +
Silverlake Los Angeles, CA	20	15–18	Male	Private	Court	Guided group interaction	Variable	Arrest Graduate Offense reduction Offense seriousness Court record	+ − 0 + F
Highfields Bergen, NJ	15	16–18	Male	Private	Court	Guided group interaction Work	4 mos.	Institutional recidivism Individual change in attitude/ personality	+ 0
Outward Bound Boulder, CO	10–20	15–18	Male Female	Public and private	Court State agency	Physical training Use of environment Stress tolerance Peer group problem solving	20–40 days	No outcome results published	
UDIS Chicago, IL	Variable	15–18	Male Female	Public and private	Court State agency	Case management Variable services Contracting	6–12 mos.	Intraprogram deviance Postprogram behavior	− +
Group Homes Massachusetts Division of Youth Services Boston, MA	6–15	10–18	Male Female	Public and private	State agency	Variable Family parenting	3–24 mos.	Recidivism School performance	0 +

lish close relationships with teachers. Youth are encouraged to do well in school, to develop their capacities for self government, to change problematic behavior, and to cooperate in performing the necessary tasks of running a home and living together.

In order to induce change, a token economy is established in which youth earn or lose points that can be exchanged for conventional privileges. Rewards or punishments are to be directly predicated on actual behavior. Fairly rigorous evaluations have been completed and the results measured on several levels. Compared with other conventional programs and with randomly assigned control groups, Achievement Place has been very successful in producing positive outcomes. Like Highfields, this program and its strategies are now being rapidly implemented in many communities.

Rewards or punishments are predicated on actual behavior.

Silverlake (Empey & Lubeck, 1971) was established in cooperation with Boys Republic in California in the late 1960's. The Silverlake program sought to deal in innovative ways with serious delinquents. It was based on a specific theory of delinquency and sought to test that theory in relation to a particular intervention approach. Only repeat offenders 15 to 17 years old referred by the court were included. A total of 261 males participated during the period of its existence. They were randomly assigned to experimental and control programs, and youth were compared on their social background characteristics.

The program served 20 youth at a time in a community residential center. Youth returned to their homes on weekends and attended school in the community. Staff interaction varied markedly both within the unit and in community linking activities. The basic service technology was guided group interaction, with peer groups used both as a target and as a means of change.

The basic service technology was guided group interaction.

Although outcome findings were equivocal, they provided useful information for planners and policy makers. Both programs overemphasized custody and control. The experimentals achieved largely equivalent results in an average of 5.7 months as contrasted with 12.6 in the control group. Youth in the experimental group encountered fewer reintegration problems and there was a 73% reduction in the volume of delinquency as contrasted with 71% for the controls. Those who did not complete the program were more likely to recidivate, and the experimental group had a higher percentage of youth who did not complete.

Probationed Offenders Rehabilitation and Training Programs (PORT) (Hudson, Galway, & Lindgren, 1975) represents one of the most successful of a variety of age heterogeneous community based programs within the state of Minnesota in criminal justice, substance abuse, and mental health. PORT was initiated in Rochester to serve a three court area for juvenile and adult offenders, persons adjudicated for both misdemeanant and felony offenses. Located adjacent to a community college on the grounds of a mental hospital where empty cottages were available, the program was established for 18 residents and had 4 full time staff plus 15 college students who lived with residents and worked part time as counselors.

PORT serves ... persons adjudicated for misdemeanant and felony offenses.

Offenders voluntarily chose the program and were given a three week probationary period. At the conclusion of this period of time, each completed a contract with the staff about what he would do in order to achieve accepted goals. All residents were expected to be employed and/or to go to school. A "restitution" element was incorporated for the majority of offenders.

The program was established as a community corporation with a local board representative of important persons in the community, lay citizens, and members of the law enforcement and judicial system. The board took an active role in developing the program and in securing critical community support, since this was an alternative to prison for convicted adult felons.

Several evaluations have been completed indicating that PORT is both an effective and efficient alternative to incarceration in prison. The counties it serves have had very few commitments to state facilities as compared with other comparable counties.

Of particular significance in this program was the fact that it was designed to co-mingle adult and juvenile offenders. The age range of residents was 14 to 50 and older residents were deliberately invited to counsel and assist younger residents with regard to delinquent behavior. Guided group interaction and other group techniques were used in evening counseling sessions, but not as exclusively as in other programs. Much emphasis was placed on normalizing the program and on using the college students as role models and links to positive community experience for offenders.

Unified Delinquency Intervention Services (UDIS) (Goins, 1978; Murray, 1978) is an experimental public agency in Illinois that serves as a clearinghouse for a wide variety of community programs for chronic delinquents and/or aggressive youth charged with serious crimes. One sample of participants had a mean arrest rate of 12 and several experiences in detention and on probation. The program incorporated a variety of types of community based intervention, including group homes, counseling, employment, wilderness trips, and education, all of which were privately contracted as alternatives to placement in state training schools in Illinois. UDIS was begun as a demonstration research project in Cook County but has now been extended to 20 other Illinois counties. It was expected to reduce institutional commitments in Cook County by 35% and in the other counties by 50%.

Youth participate voluntarily in UDIS for 6 to 12 months, with termination possible in a variety of ways. The community judge must approve the treatment plan after a two week assessment period. Judges must also approve termination.

UDIS was established to fulfill four basic premises (Goins, 1978):

1. Any resources for diversion will be poorly spent without consistent and vigorous effort to identify and correct basic problems in management of juvenile justice that violate constitutional, legal, or human rights of youth.
2. To fulfill the purposes of the juvenile court one must have sound community based treatment readily available.
3. Administrators must accept responsibility for defects in the justice system.
4. The administrative structure of UDIS must be designed to prevent or make difficult administrative capitulation to pressures for self interest, political interest, or bureaucratic isolation.

Much emphasis in this program is placed on public accountability of administration to insure that youth are really served in their respective programs. The service network is monitored carefully to insure quality control and accountability.

UDIS was initiated in 1974 and some evaluation has been completed (Murray, 1978), but further work is under way. Findings reveal that with respect to the characteristics of youth, the program selected those for whom it was established. The majority (55%) were adjudicated for major felonies.

The board took a very active role ... in securing community support.

It was designed to co-mingle adult and juvenile offenders.

The program incorporated a variety of types of community based intervention.

Much emphasis is placed on public accountability of administration.

Most were property offenders (83%) but a substantial proportion had committed serious person crimes (13%). Other results indicated that youth removed from the community and placed in various institutions performed better as far as intraprogram behavioral measures could determine, but that may have been merely the result of reduction in opportunity to commit deviant acts. Conclusive evidence on outcomes is not yet available.

UDIS and a similiar program developed by Lindgren (1979) emphasize the importance of continuous and accountable case management when dealing with youth who have been convicted of serious crimes. They also emphasize a brokerage model for implementation of the case management strategy and active advocacy in behalf of the juvenile. Experience with this program has been enlightening with respect to the requirement for an effective ongoing individualized case management approach with delinquents who have been adjudicated for serious crimes. A highly dedicated and committed staff was one of the variables frequently mentioned by Goins (1978).

An effective ongoing case management approach is required.

Outward Bound Wilderness Programs (Golins, 1978; Krajick, 1978a, 1978b) are perhaps the most innovative and unusual of all the alternative residential programs. Some take place in mountainous areas, whereas others have developed in communities along the ocean. Characteristic of all is a deliberate attempt to use the environment as a critical part of the program to provide challenge, stress, and opportunity for youth. Although elements of this approach have been used for many decades, the first organized adventure based program for delinquents was developed in Colorado in 1964. Since that time, 13 other states have implemented a variety of outward bound wilderness programs.

Some programs take place in mountains, others along the ocean.

Although programs vary widely, the standard wilderness experience is built around a carefully planned 20 to 40 day program consisting of a series of programed physical and social problem solving tasks conducted in a high impact outdoor environment. Participants are immersed in very intense survival exercises that precipitate clear physical, emotional, and interpersonal crises. With problem attitudes and behaviors identified, trained instructors in conjunction with the peer group encourage alternative behavior and provide linkage as to how these behaviors can relate to the youth's community environment. The problem situations are planned to arouse curiosity, to strengthen competence, and to elicit cooperation. Problems are introduced incrementally and are concrete and manageable.

Experience is built around a 20 to 40 day program.

Problems are concrete and manageable.

Youth are referred by the courts and participate in the program voluntarily. Followup and continuing service is essential for youth who return to problematic environmental situations.

Evaluations of Outward Bound programs have been limited as far as regional assessment is concerned. However, positive results have been achieved in several instances. As Selo's comparative study (1979) indicates, these programs provide challenge and elicit positive response from youth. The latter is seldom the case in delinquency intervention efforts with juveniles.

Group Homes—Massachusetts (Coates, Miller, & Ohlin, 1978; Vinter et al., 1976) provide a representative view of group home programs. Although group homes are not at all a recent innovation in residential treatment of delinquent youth, they are now used more extensively and rationally in a large number of states. Perhaps the most thoroughgoing development of this modality has occurred in Massachusetts, where all state public institu-

tions for juvenile delinquents were closed in 1971. Coates, Miller, and Ohlin (1978) and Ohlin, Miller, and Coates (1976) have studied many facets of the Massachusetts reform, including their group home strategy. Their evaluation provides further insight concerning this type of program.

Of all the community based programs evaluated in Massachusetts, group homes were the most prevalent (55 out of a total of 131). It was observed that group homes were quite varied, with some being isolated and others thoroughly embedded in their localities. Some group homes used self help therapy models and deliberately avoided close community ties. Considerable variability in internal social climate and inservice technologies was noted.

These evaluations suggest that organizational variables were of critical importance in the relative effectiveness of group homes. Variables examined included auspice, development strategies, conflict resolution, site selection, client characteristics, and community perceptions. In comparing group homes that succeeded with those that failed, it was observed that auspice was not critical, but the strategy of approach to the community was a key factor. Comprehensive understanding of the community was important, as was careful selection of developmental strategies. Low profile entry plus communication with key persons helped insure success. Those group homes that expected some community resistance and then worked on the development of problem and conflict resolution strategies consistently fared better.

Organizational variables were of critical importance.

Low profile entry plus communication with key persons helped insure success.

Group homes served all types of delinquents, and client characteristics were seldom predictive of success or failure at the organizational survival level. No single service technology predominated and eclectic approaches were frequently observed.

☐ This review of selected alternative residential programs for juveniles suggests that there are many viable alternatives to placement in the usual state public training school. Moreover, data from evaluations suggest that relatively positive results have been achieved and that costs tend to be equal to or less than those of custodial institutions today. Overall evaluation findings indicate rather conclusively that all of these innovative and more humane programs do as well as more traditional correction facilities. Perhaps this must be accepted as the critical measure. In a society where youth unemployment is as high as it is, where youth are in the most crime vulnerable age, and where family and community support systems are weak or nonexistent, it is unwise to expect that any single program will be so effective in its impact that no further deviant behavior will occur.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

There are many viable alternatives.

It is unwise to expect . . . that no further deviant behavior will occur.

The reports on these programs as well as results from the NAJC survey (Vinter et al., 1976) indicate that programs such as those described face critical survival crises that may be of greater significance than any other single variable. Programs are often initiated on a shoestring with a time limited grant or contract. Personnel are expected (unwisely, one might add) to design, implement, and successfully operate a program within a 12 month time span. Obviously such a demand is wholly unrealistic. The experience with the UDIS program in Chicago is useful in developing prerequisites both for effective service delivery and for effective management.

Examination of reports about alternative approaches to residential care indicates that the area of effective service technologies based on tested knowledge is still problematic (Tutt, 1975). Personnel quickly respond to "fads" whether or not these are known to be based on valid knowledge. Moreover, knowledge of internal validity appears far greater than knowledge of external validity.

The area of effective service technologies is still problematic.

The lack of effective interorganizational referral and exchange also stands out. Service programs operate autonomously from the police, courts, and state supervising agencies, despite the fact that each could benefit from close and more frequent interaction. Few programs were observed to involve lay citizens, school personnel, volunteers, legal services, or other human service personnel. Little wonder that agencies confront hostile community reactions when they attempt to implement new programs.

Policy and program recommendations include the following:

1. Diversion and deinstitutionalization should continue with more resources allocated in nearly all states to the development of alternative services for youth requiring residential treatment.
2. Programs should aim to reduce coercive control, discipline, and punishment to a minimum. They must provide data about their monitoring of coercive control procedures (Lerman, 1975).
3. Youth should only be placed in residential care (a) when they have committed a serious felony, and protection of society is essential; (b) when they voluntarily elect a program; or (c) when their age and status is such that they need obvious care and protection. No arbitrary age can be suggested at this time for such a decision.
4. Programs must provide continuing and frequent links to the community and must seek to reconcile the youthful offender, the victim, and the community (Miller, 1978).
5. Programs must provide for the adolescent's need for self direction, growth, and opportunities to resolve identity crises. Goals must be positive, achievable, and recognized by clients as being in their own self interest, not merely that of society at large.
6. Contracting, case management, and voluntary participation are all mechanisms to facilitate more effective receipt of services and more positive orientation toward such services. Specific programs should be geared to the differential needs and characteristics of youth and communities.
7. Community involvement is essential to successful community based treatment programs, but that involvement must be planned for and supported in accordance with variable sociocultural characteristics of communities. Evaluation results suggest that no single model or approach is effective for the highly variable types of communities in this country.

Many valid criticisms can be directed toward the operation of juvenile corrections today, both because of its costliness and its relative ineffectiveness in achieving positive goals for youth (Juvenile Justice Standards Project, 1977). Society appears to expect organizations in juvenile corrections to solve most of the problems of the youth who are assigned to them, but they must do so with limited resources, inadequate technologies, and often in social environments that remain antithetical to the appropriate delivery of services known to be effective. At the same time, society refuses to provide legitimate roles for youth subsequent to their experience in juvenile corrections. Thus, any progress achieved is quickly undone when youth return to environments that are crime ridden and lacking in opportunity. Little wonder that the response is greater hostility and continuing criminal behavior.

All youth-serving organizations, including juvenile corrections, must do far more to facilitate greater implementation of the conditions necessary for adolescent socialization and for legitimate roles in a postindustrial democratic society. Adherence to the law cannot be based solely on the fear of punishment; yet in many ways the public school, juvenile court, and juvenile

correctional agencies operate on this assumption. We speak of the juvenile justice system in a glib manner as if it really existed; but from the perspective of thousands or perhaps millions of youth in many countries, the system is viewed as operating exclusively for control and punishment, not justice. Nonetheless, the ideal of justice must be fundamental to juvenile corrections in a democratic society, for without it, people will not conform to those values and norms that are essential to the viable continuance of that society.

The ideal of justice must be fundamental to juvenile corrections.

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All youth deserve a systematic socialization process designed to promote prosocial interactions and prevent increasingly serious interactional problems. The educational system has a unique opportunity to play a significant and deliberate role in the social development of youth and families. A continuum of socioeducational programs that offers social skills training, as well as parenting, preparenting, and family living classes, can do much to counter the difficulties experienced by youth in contemporary society.

the family and education: new directions for promoting healthy social interactions

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A PLANNED SOCIALIZATION
PROCESS

□ Present methods of socialization of children and adolescents rely primarily on nonstructured, informal social experiences encountered in schools, homes, and the community. Obviously, many children, adolescents, and adults have managed to develop an appropriate social repertoire despite such haphazard conditions. However, it is also obvious that too many have developed ineffective and inappropriate social behaviors under these same conditions.

Who is attending to the socialization of youth?

Who is effectively attending to the socialization of youth? It does not appear to be the *family*, as evidenced by increasing numbers of runaway youth, early drug abuse, divorce, abandonment, neglect, child abuse, and mental health program referrals. It does not appear to be the *school*, with increasing violence, vandalism, truancy, and declining academic achievement. Neither does it seem to be the *system*, since juvenile justice and welfare programs report increased delinquency, recidivism rates, incarceration, and institutionalization.

Children deserve a systematic socialization process that provides such opportunities as the following:

1. Acquiring prosocial skills that enable youth to negotiate with others rather than aggress or submit.
2. Learning peer-to-peer interactional skills that strengthen the ability to avoid peer pressure to commit illegal acts such as taking hard drugs or stealing.
3. Practicing interactional skills that grant success in developing supportive relationships with peers, siblings, adults, and authority figures.
4. Receiving care, love, and education from parents who are knowledgeable and practiced in theories and techniques of childrearing.
5. Learning about the many aspects of parenting before choosing to become a mother or father.

The socialization process could be facilitated through social skills classes.

An important part of the socialization process could be facilitated through organized programs and classes in such areas as social skills, parenting, preparenting, and family living. Social skills classes could teach adaptive peer-peer and child-adult interactional skills; cooperative play, sharing, honesty, and fair play; problem solving skills and methods for resolution of conflict; cultural differences and cross sex interactional styles; strategies for coping with stress and leisure time; and guidelines for dealing with authority figures through techniques of cooperation, negotiation, and complaint (Combs & Slaby, 1977; Stephens, 1978).

Classes could be tailored for parents with children of various age groups.

Parents of youth should be involved in parenting classes. Specific classes could be tailored for parents with children of various age groups (infants, toddlers, preschoolers, elementary aged children, adolescents) and from various cultural backgrounds. Parenting classes could present such topics

as standards of appropriate social behavior for children; extensive practice in positive childrearing techniques; negotiation and sharing of family responsibilities; approaches to maximize family activities, fun, and cooperation; guidelines for selecting, employing, and training babysitters; guidelines for choosing daycare settings; and communication skills with teachers, courts, and other social service agencies (Arnold, Sturgis, & Forehand, 1977; Clark, Greene, Macrae, Davis, McNees, & Risley, 1977; Forehand & King, 1977).

Family classes should be available for both youth and their parents. These classes would teach positive interaction skills such as constructive criticism by children and adults; negotiation of mutually acceptable activities; family decision making; techniques of positive reinforcement, rationales, and shaping; sibling communication and cooperation; and family responsibilities and problem solving (Kifer, Lewis, Greene, & Phillips, 1974; Christopherson, Barnard, Ford, & Wolf, 1975).

Family classes would teach positive interaction skills.

Preparenting classes should be available for high school students and young adults who wish to learn about topics such as developmental stages and processes of physical, mental, and emotional growth; choices and adjustment to marriage and children; positive childrearing techniques; cultural standards of acceptable behavior; and applied experience such as shadowing a parent or working in a preschool setting with infants or toddlers (Albee & Joffe, 1977; Crowley & Peterson, 1979).

Organizing such classes and programs, whose goal is to promote healthy social behavior, could contribute to more successful socialization (Van Hasselt, Hersen, Bellack, & Whitehall, 1978). The current status quo, which applies a "catch as catch can" approach to acquiring necessary social skills, only instigates and maintains the social difficulties of disruptive and alienated youth.

A "catch as catch can" approach maintains social difficulties.

☐ Prevention and remediation of the problems encountered by disruptive, alienated, and behaviorally and emotionally disturbed youth require a broad range of services, including social skills training classes and therapies, parent training, family therapies, and preparenting classes. Such services should have several general, but important, foci that are essential to successful interventions.

DESIGNING EDUCATIONAL SERVICES FOR PREVENTION AND REMEDIATION

One important focus should be the prevention of initial and later adjustment difficulties of students. Social skills training for youth may lead to greater emotional stability. By equipping youth with appropriate social rational problem solving skills, they may more successfully engage their environment and shape their personal lives to preclude more restrictive treatment later (Combs & Slaby, 1977).

The focus should be on prevention.

Evidence suggests that "Band Aid" approaches, which by definition are not focused on prevention, have not been highly successful (Bronfenbrenner, 1976). Delaying treatment until a child or family exhibits serious impairment severely limits success and is not a minimally restrictive treatment approach (Joint Commission on Mental Health of Children, 1970). Violence in the schools, child abuse, and delinquency are daily reminders of poor or nonexistent prevention planning. Unfortunately, all these problems are quite resistant to treatment once they become a firmly established repertoire.

"Band Aid" approaches have not been successful.

☐ Our society has in the schools a ready made dissemination system to aid in prevention/intervention. Shifting the emphasis of certain classroom instruction to preparing youth for future success in stressful situations is an important inoculation method. Importantly, the schools are not burdened by the stigmas attached to mental health treatment programs. Youth who are

PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION

Social skills training . . . is better conceived as an educational endeavor.

learning social skills or parenting in a school classroom are not viewed by themselves or others as sick or disadvantaged (LaGreca, 1978). Because mandatory education begins early in every child's life, emotional crises may be more easily averted, and child and family needs more carefully attended. Because schools have children in their care many hours of each day, prevention activities would be readily accessible to children and teachers, and, one hopes, conveniently available to parents as well. Finally, social skills training as a form of prevention or remediation is better conceived as an educational endeavor rather than as some magical therapy (Klein & Goldston, 1976). Thus, the acquisition of social or parenting skills is comparable to the process of acquiring mathematical or other academic skills.

The success of these proposed socioeducational services will depend on their actual usefulness. Planning and maintenance of effective socioeducational services demand careful consideration and evaluation of potential effects. For example, when planning services such as social skills training, the language abilities of students will have a major influence on the impact of training. Materials must be selected that maximize student accomplishments

Social skills must have relevance to students and families.

and participation. Similarly, selected social skills must have relevance to students and their families. Each family develops values and expectations regarding the social relations of its members. Social skills training should remain sensitive to familial needs and address such needs on an individual basis. This sensitivity can be effectively accomplished through teacher interactions with students and their families, followed by adjusting the social skills curriculum to incorporate student and parent suggestions.

Society is not homogeneous. Numerous subcultures exist in a variety of racial, ethnic, religious, and socioeconomic forms. A social skills training curriculum that adopts, for example, a White, middle income, suburban American model for its content is of little use to the Chicano living in a

Training must equip youth with a range of responses acceptable to a variety of cultures.

Spanish speaking urban area. Social skills training must equip you with a range of responses acceptable to a variety of cultures (Alberti, 197 eek, 1976). Such a diversified repertoire of social skills will insure a dent's continued success in a variety of future encounters.

DESIGNING CLASSES TO MAXIMIZE EFFECTIVENESS AND RESPONSIVENESS

☐ Another important consideration for any educational service program is how to increase effectiveness by insuring that newly established skills will be applied in appropriate situations. This is usually termed *generalization* (Beck, Forehand, Wells, & Quante, 1977; Rogers-Warren & Baer, 1976). The rationale for emphasizing generalization is that "a functional behavioral change, to be effective, often must occur over time, other persons, and other settings, and the effects of the change sometimes should spread to a variety of selective behaviors" (Stokes & Baer, 1977). The two following examples illustrate the need for focus on generalization programing in all training, remediation, and prevention strategies.

Generalization does not naturally occur from training programs.

Generalization does not naturally occur from most educational training programs (Baer, Wolf, & Risley, 1968). For example, research studies have indicated that socially deficient children do not automatically acquire needed social skills through integration with regular students (Cooke & Appolloni, 1977). It has also been shown that behaviorally disordered children are often ignored by their peers rather than becoming involved in interactions that facilitate the development of appropriate social behaviors (Strain & Timm, 1974).

Thus, generalization is not a passive function where a skill, once taught, magically appears and continues to appear forever. Generalization requires

an active role by the instructor and must be programed into the teaching situation. Unfortunately, the most common approach to generalization is "train and hope." In this approach, generalizaton is not specifically planned, but is hoped for. For example, a classroom of parent-child pairs might be taught conflict-resolution and negotiation skills. If these dyads proceed to use their new skills in conflict resolution and negotiation at home, it would be said that the skills were generalized with no specific training in the home setting. Generalization was desired, and in this case, unlike most, did occur despite the fact that no systematic programing was included to facilitate generalization.

Stokes and Baer (1977) described several techniques and methods for promoting generalization beyond the training setting, including maintenance over time and transfer across settings. These *generalization facilitators* are important to the success of any educational program designed to teach skills to be applied outside the classroom. Thus, it is important that as many as possible of the following facilitators be incorporated into social skill and parenting classes.

1. *Teach repertoires that will be supported by the natural environment.* This is one of the most dependable and functional facilitation techniques. It is designed to insure that the new repertoire is supported and maintained by the natural contingencies currently operating in the youth's environment. This is easily seen with social skills training because most of the skills taught will be supported by parents, other teachers, and peers. For example, following the learning and practice of appropriate "compliment" responses, a youth will probably experience many positive consequences from others that will serve to maintain and strengthen this skill. The results of poor planning are seen in useless teaching efforts and unused skills if a particular social skill is not supported by the youth's environment (for example, if the particular compliment taught is not acceptable to peers and friends).

2. *Teach a variety of responses.* Training one exemplar (one example or one response form) of a particular social skill will result in mastery of the specific exemplar taught. To obtain generalization, multiple exemplars and responses should be included in training until sufficient responses are learned and generalization occurs to a variety of novel situations. Many diversified responses can be taught in social skills education through behavioral rehearsal (role playing) interactions that include a wide variety of situations. Inclusion of many possible response interactions for one particular skill will increase the youth's ability to function appropriately with different persons in diverse situations. By teaching a variety of response forms for each social skill, the teacher is also being more responsive to cultural, religious, and ethnic backgrounds in that youth and their families can use whichever form they prefer.

3. *Train loosely under varied conditions.* Rather than controlling all the dimensions of a training situation (which additionally limits the number of exemplars taught), a variety of stimuli should be included. Using varied conditions while teaching ("training loosely") can increase the generalizability of the skills being taught, in that they will be associated with many stimuli instead of a specific few. For example, some social skills training is accomplished through the use of "scripts" that detail the specific situation and response for a particular social skill. To use the train loosely approach, students eventually initiate some of their own situations and

Generalization requires an active role by the instructor.

It is important that generalization facilitators be incorporated.

Positive consequences will maintain and strengthen skills.

Diversified responses can be taught through role playing.

Using varied conditions . . . increases generalizability.

responses (rather than having them supplied), thus insuring that something more than a script is being learned.

4. *Train across multiple persons and settings common to the natural environment.* Generalization is facilitated by making the training situation as similar to the natural environment as possible. For example, inclusion of peers from the natural school, home, or neighborhood environment into a social skills class would provide relevant common stimuli for the student. Similarly, role playing might include many different combinations of partners (peer–adult, peer–peer, same sex, opposite sex, old and young, mixed race, high status–low status, stranger–friend) to approximate the real world. Through the use of common stimuli, students learn to respond to persons they will encounter outside the classroom. This increases generalization beyond what would be obtained if the students, for example, only role played with the adult instructor as a partner.

Inclusion of peers . . . provides common stimuli.

5. *Fade training consequences to approximate natural contingencies.* Although an ever growing body of research emphasizes the importance of immediate, frequent reinforcement contingencies in the acquisition of new skills, the generalization of these skills appears to rely on the *fading* of contingencies to approximate those operating in the natural environment. One fading technique is to move gradually from continuous reinforcement to intermittent schedules or delayed reinforcement. As contingencies are faded, the student cannot easily discriminate between a training and a natural situation. Hence, students begin to perform similarly in all settings. This approach could be incorporated into a flexible school curriculum in the following manner. A social skills class may provide special privileges contingent on improvement in social skills. As the contingencies used in the class are faded, they are applied at random times in other classes throughout the day. Under these conditions, the repertoires learned in the training class will generalize. Gradually, all contingencies will be faded so that the skills are maintained by the natural social environment.

Students begin to perform similarly in all settings.

6. *Reinforce accurate self reports of performance.* Verbal mediation, such as the reinforcement of self reports of on task performance, has been shown to increase a child's ability to engage in a task for longer periods of time without interruption (Israel & O'Leary, 1973; Jewett & Clark, 1979; Risley & Hart, 1968; Rodgers–Warren & Baer, 1976). These research findings suggest that reinforcement of accurate self reports may increase the generalization of target behaviors. For example, giving homework assignments is a useful verbal mediator in social skills training. After a skill is taught in class, students are instructed to perform this skill outside class. They later report their success and/or problems in applying the skill outside the training situation. When self reports are reinforced, additional efforts outside class may increase. Both homework assignments and student reports on performance are considered mediators that may enhance transfer of learning to the natural environment.

Efforts outside class may increase.

7. *Train the ability to generalize by reinforcing new appropriate applications.* This method involves reinforcing generalization itself as if it were an explicit behavior. Role play situations used in social skills training are usually specified by the instructor. However, students could also be reinforced for suggesting responses other than those specified in scripts or by the instructor. Such a procedure reinforces students for incorporating additional exemplars into the training situation, thus increasing generalization. Students are trained to generalize by exploring alternative responses that are potentially more sensitive to their particular social environment.

Students . . . explore alternative responses.

In summary, generalization is an essential feature of all socioeducational programs. Without generalization of newly established repertoires, they will be employed only in the training setting, which is rarely the goal of a class-room program. Generalization should be programed rather than just "hoped for." The generalization facilitators previously described must be an integral part of all remedial and prevention oriented educational programs.

☐ If our public education system would assume a deliberate role in the social development of youth and families, many benefits would accrue for teachers, parents, principals, society, and especially for youth themselves. Teachers and principals who institute formal socialization procedures would improve prosocial interaction among and between students and teachers in the school setting. Disruption and aggression would decrease, allowing more time for academic preparation and teaching. Rather than being preoccupied with trying to control disruptive behaviors, teachers would be able to focus more on strengthening both academic and social behavior.

Parents may see an increased relevance of school experiences, since educators would now not only be teaching academics to be applied later in life, but also "here and now" social skills. As a function of this expanded relevance, communication between parents and teachers should expand to include both social and academic matters of importance. In the home, many parents would be working with their children as they develop more adaptive repertoires. Some parents could become actively involved by assisting as aides in social skills training classes and/or by supporting their children's use of better coping skills, negotiation skills, and other positive behaviors (Kifer et al., 1974; Robin, Kent, O'Leary, Foster, & Prinz, 1977). Better parenting skills would in turn be reinforced, resulting in cumulative benefits.

Society in general would obviously benefit tremendously from increased success in preventing or decreasing delinquency, alienation, and incarceration. Large scale gains in improved socialization among youth would be reflected in a variety of social indices.

Another benefactor would be children and youth. They would develop more effective and appropriate social repertoires, enabling them to interact successfully with more members of their environment. They would develop adaptive peer–peer interactions, coping skills for use in the adult world, creative use of leisure time, coping skills to deal with stress and conflict, reasonable ways of expressing differing points of view, and problem solving skills. With such a social repertoire, youth could contribute more fully to society and maximize their personal and social goals and happiness.

☐ In 1978, the Las Vegas Mental Health Center (LVMHC), Children's Behavioral Services (CBS), the Department of Special Education of the University of Nevada at Las Vegas, and the Clark County School District proposed a pilot project in the training of teachers in various techniques, including social skills development. This training was offered to regular and special classroom teachers in the Greater Las Vegas Valley area. Funded by the Nevada State Department of Education, this teacher training program has been generally viewed as essential in meeting the needs of troubled youth, or those potentially at risk, and their families.

☐ As a preface to the detailed examination of this program, it should be noted that great emphasis has been placed in this chapter on the school's assumption of responsibility for providing social skills and other training of practical import to students and parents. Such reorientation of the educational system is not easily accomplished. Existing school resources are often

IMPLEMENTING SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT CLASSES TO ASSIST YOUTH AND FAMILIES

Parents may see an increased relevance of school.

Parents could become actively involved.

Children and youth would develop peer-peer interactions, coping skills . . . problem solving skills.

A COOPERATIVE EFFORT FOR CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

minimal, or are already committed to meeting other demands. Teachers may not be trained in necessary skills, and administrators may be resistant to moving toward areas traditionally considered the domain of psychologists, psychiatrists, and social service agencies. Such obstacles are often difficult to overcome. Nevertheless, they do not have to represent permanent barriers, particularly if cooperative arrangements can, for example, be established between mental health and educational service agencies.

Obstacles do not have to represent permanent barriers.

The goals of the Las Vegas professional training program are twofold. First, selected classroom teachers and principals are taught to conduct social skills classes. Second, special teachers who work with children and youth displaying emotional and behavioral problems are equipped with skills and treatment approaches to assist those youth and their families. It was anticipated that training of teachers and principals would enhance educational prevention and treatment, thereby reducing the duration of the student's stay in structured classrooms and/or the need for continuing services.

Training of teachers and principals enhances educational prevention and treatment.

The teacher training program uses a team of instructors, including psychologists from the school district and mental health center; a center psychiatrist; special education teachers with expertise in academic areas and classroom management techniques; and an administrative representative from the school district's Special Student Services Program, who is familiar with the various policies and procedures regarding the treatment and referral of disturbed youth. Importantly, all center staff time is donated as a community service, a basic element of the community mental health concept.

Teachers receive training and competency assessment in the following areas: identification and measurement of emotional and behavioral disturbances (observational techniques and testing); social skills training; classrom structure and management; prescriptive and educational programing; relationship building; teaching interactions (Phillips, Phillips, Fixsen, & Wolf, 1974); counseling for parents and youth; and information on alcohol and drugs and their effects. Instructors conduct *in vivo* observations and consultations with teachers in their classrooms to assess the impact and usefulness of the training on teachers and students.

Instructors conducted observations and consultations with teachers in their classrooms.

This program is expected to allow the classroom teacher to deal more effectively with disruptive, alienated youth and their families. Thus, for example, the deficits of an aggressive child, identified by the teacher, can be alleviated by incorporating *appropriate* assertiveness and social skills training as part of the student's curriculum. Parents can also be counseled by the teacher to support newly acquired skills in order to insure generalization of the behavior from the classroom to the home setting. In this case, the withdrawn child could be carefully guided toward more adaptive behavior by both teacher and parents, reducing the likelihood of future adjustment problems.

Not all the problems of disruptive and alienated youth will be solved by the education system's assumption of a more deliberate role in the social development of children, adolescents, and their families. Many such youth need more than a schoolwide program of social development, and their parents need more than a course in positive parenting. Many problems are related to the family's employment, financial, marital, housing, and health conditions.

Many youth need more than a schoolwide program of social development.

Nevertheless, the educational system can play a significant role in the improved social development of a large proportion of youth and their families. The impact can be even greater in concert with a comprehensive mental health program for children, youth, and their families, as is the case with the

Impact can be greater in concert with mental health.

Clark County School District, LVMHC Adolescent Services, and CBS.

Children and youth with behavioral and emotional problems are served through a wide range of programs designed to provide early detection, prevention, and treatment of youth and family interactional problems. The CBS and LVMHC programs encompass preparenting and parenting education courses; preschool and family therapy for abuse cases; individual and family counseling; social skills development classes for children and youth; special classroom education for autistic and other severely emotionally disturbed children; and comprehensive group home treatment programs for children and youth displaying severe home, school, or community problems (Phillips et al., 1974).

☐ The educational system should play a larger, more organized, and better coordinated role in the socialization process of youth. The current approach is a haphazard one that must be significantly modified. Education can make an important contribution to families and youth through a preventive and remedial approach. Social skills classes, parenting and preparenting programs, and family classes need to be made conveniently available to children and families. Emphasis is placed on prevention because Band Aid remedial approaches have not worked and are often applied far too late. Attempting to remediate behavioral deficits and excesses is far more costly and inefficient than preventing their initial development.

Research findings, as well as optimism among professionals, indicate that prevention oriented programs may circumvent many socialization problems. It is hoped that educators, parents, mental health professionals, and social service agencies will begin stronger efforts to develop socialization programs before society is faced with an even larger population of disruptive, alienated, and incarcerated youth.

EDUCATION'S LARGER ROLE

The current, haphazard approach must be modified.

Emphasis is placed on prevention.

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project success

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Secondary schools serving learning disabled, behavior disordered, and educationally handicapped students are in dire need of appropriate and effective educational models. Project SUCCESS, implemented in a largely rural setting, has documented a highly successful means of serving these youth. Employing the concept of least restrictive alternative, the program maintains students in their home schools and bases educational goals on the standards and objectives required for graduation by the regular school program.

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This cooperative serves a rural, sparsely populated area.

☐ Project SUCCESS (Successful Utilization of the Core Curricula in Education of Secondary Students) was initiated by the Wabash & Ohio Valley Special Education District. This nine county special education. cooperative in the southeastern part of Illinois serves a rural, sparsely populated area encompassing a total of 3,417 square miles. The economy of the region is based on farming, oil production, and coal mining. Project planners sought to identify, establish, and disseminate a viable programing model for the delivery of services within the educational mainstream to high incidence handicapped secondary students, including those identified as learning disabled, behavior disordered, and educationally handicapped.

Learning disabled students were programed with regular high school students.

Project SUCCESS programs were referred to as Model I and Model II. The models were alike in that students identified as learning disabled were programed into core courses with regular high school students. Core courses were classes required in order to complete the high school program. Also, students in both models were programed to attend the special education resource room for instructional assistance. Each resource room was staffed with special education personnel and one paraprofessional.

The models differed with respect to services in the resource room.

The models differed in the services provided in the resource room. In Model I, the regular class teacher did not provide any objectives for the instructional tasks required of students in the resource room. Special education personnel focused on remediation of deficit areas in correlate learning skills, such as auditory perceptual discrimination or visual perceptual discrimination. Curriculum materials were developed to remediate identified deficit areas. Students received small group instruction based on their specific deficit areas, intelligence quotient, achievement level, and emotional and social compatibility.

In Model II, regular class teachers were required to provide the curricular objectives that formed the basis for instructional content in the resource room. Instruction by special education personnel focused on core curricula tasks specified by the regular teachers. Instructional methods and materials used by special education personnel to assist students in achieving the regular academic goals varied to complement each student's learning style and ability. Resource room instruction was always provided on a one to one basis.

Model I students made greater gains in learning skills. . .Model II in achievement.

Comparisons were made between Project SUCCESS Model I and Model II over a year and a half period, to determine the most effective instructional approach to mainstreaming students identified as learning disabled. Students in Model I made greater gains in correlate learning skills, such as auditory and visual perception, as measured by popular test batteries. Students in Model II made greater gains in school achievement, as measured by increased grade point averages. The percentage of students in Model II who remained in the program was greater than in Model I, and the absentee rate dropped appreciably. Disciplinary referrals were drastically reduced. Regular teachers' cooperation with special education personnel improved, and willingness to include the student with learning problems in the regular class increased. Parental interest and involvement in the educational process of the students became more positive.

Parental interest became more positive.

As a result of these findings, Project SUCCESS Model II was identified as the most effective instructional approach to mainstreaming learning disabled students in the high school setting. Because of the promising effects evidenced by Project SUCCESS Model II, an increased number of school districts implemented the mainstreaming approach in local high schools. A de-

scription of project goals, implementation strategies, and evaluation results are detailed in the following section.

Behavior disordered, educationally handicapped, and learning disabled secondary students are often unable to learn proficiently using the materials and methods usually effective in regular classrooms (Johnson & Myklebust, 1967). Their difficulties, whether due to unacceptable behavior or to problems in perception, integration, and expression (either verbal or nonverbal), create distortions in the learning process that interfere with the ability to use standard materials and accepted educational techniques effectively.

Difficulties. . .interfere with use of standard materials and techniques.

Despite adequate intellectual potential, these students' academic achievement generally falls significantly below expectation. Their specific behavior and learning problems interfere with mastery of required curriculum. These handicapped adolescents require careful individual attention, both in terms of definitive diagnosis and prescriptive educational programing and treatment (Goodman, 1979). When such attention is not provided, many of these students experience frustration, anxiety, anger, or hostility which results in maladaptive behavior. According to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Oliver, 1974), pupils whose school achievement is poor are about four times as likely to exhibit behavior problems of various kinds.

Pupils whose achievement is poor are likely to exhibit behavior problems.

The highly individual nature of the problems experienced by these students is too complex to define their disabilities/handicaps arbitrarily in terms of grade level discrepancies, as is so often being done today (Wiederholt & McNutt, 1979). A student's eligibility for a special education program must be based on a total review of collective data (individual standardized testing, clinical observations, social-medical development, and academic histories), rather than on consideration of grade level performance as the primary determinant.

Within the school setting, the problems of behavior disordered, educationally handicapped, and learning disabled students are often manifested in unacceptable behavior, as well as in listening, thinking, and speaking deficits leading to problems in reading, spelling, and/or mathematics. The primary difficulty is neither a lack of opportunity to learn, nor the result of sensory (visual or hearing impairment), motor (physical involvement), or intellectual handicaps. Instead, the primary difficulty is considered to be either adaptive behavior that significantly interferes with learning and/or social functioning or the result of deficits in higher learning processes that may or may not be accompanied by demonstrable central nervous system involvement.

The primary difficulty is adaptive behavior or deficits in learning processes.

These difficulties require the application of techniques common to special education programing. Such special techniques include behavior change strategies; adaptation of curriculum and/or required assignments; utilization of audiovisual materials and techniques to teach required curriculum tasks; and/or remedial training within specific deficit areas such as auditory discrimination, auditory memory, visual memory, and phonics. The individual student's behavior, deficit area(s), and level of functioning are primary considerations in the selection of behavior change strategies, teaching methods, and techniques.

Only within the last decade has attention been directed to the needs of secondary handicapped students in the public high schools. Although it is estimated that 5.9% of the secondary population evidences some type of handicapping condition (Sabatino & Mauser, 1978), Metz (1973) reported that only 20% of the handicapped students receiving special education services were at the secondary level. In addition, those secondary students receiving the minimal services provided tended to be mentally retarded, leaving

Only 20% receiving services were at the secondary level.

the higher incidence handicapped (learning disabled and behavior disordered) underserved (Sabatino & Mauser, 1978).

More recent information supports Metz's (1973) findings. Scraton and Downs (1975) conducted a nationwide survey to determine the level of program development for elementary and secondary school learning disabled students. Results from over 10,000 districts in 37 states revealed that only 9% of the districts provided secondary school programing. In 1976, the reader need only have scanned educational journals, medical reports, conference reports, or any other resource, to conclude that there was very little constructive data based information reported on effective and efficient methods of educating these high incidence handicapped students in the junior high and high school setting. Reasons for the lack of special education services for adolescents are varied. They include the lack of effective advocacy, distasteful anxiety-arousing behavior patterns, limited professional time, and financial commitments (Cullinan & Epstein, 1979).

Despite these problems, programing for these students represents the fastest growing special education area in Illinois. In 1976, however, 90% of the programs being implemented were at the elementary level. All of the teacher training institutions in Illinois who were preparing special education teachers were training them to teach at the elementary level. Not one institution had a training program to prepare secondary special education teachers (Miller, Lotsof, & Miller, 1976). This was typical of the situation that existed throughout the country at the time.

In 1976, several public universities in Illinois were planning programs to prepare secondary teachers of the handicapped. Questions directed to university trainers concerning recommended practices for teaching handicapped secondary students revealed as many uncertainties as existed among local school district personnel. Nearly all of the books and materials being published, sold, and used with these students were elementary in terms of theme and appeal, and thus were inappropriate and deprecating for junior high and high school age students.

Materials were elementary and inappropriate.

In Illinois, the handicapped youngster generally falls within three of nine handicapping categories (The School Code of Illinois, 1979):

1. *Learning disability.* The child exhibits one or more deficits in the essential learning processes of perception, conceptualization, language, memory, attention, impulse control, or motor function.
2. *Educational handicap.* The child exhibits educational maladjustment related to social or cultural circumstances.
3. *Behavior disorder.* The child exhibits an affective disorder and/or adaptive behavior which significantly interferes with his or her learning and/or social functioning.

In 1976, the greatest overall programing need for handicapped youngsters in the Wabash & Ohio Valley Special Education District was at the junior high and high school level. Of the 89 instructional programs that existed, 7 were at the secondary level. Of these, 5 were self contained programs for the educable mentally impaired. One learning disability program operated at the high school level, and it followed the traditional arrangement of self containment.

There were 213 identified secondary learning disabled students, 186 behavior disordered students, and 121 educationally handicapped students not receiving any special education services. Calculations based on a conservative estimate of the total secondary school population indicated that there

should have been at least twice as many secondary students needing special services in this nine county area.

Many constraints operated to discourage the identification, program development, and placement of junior high and high school students in special programs. Primary among these were:

1. Long transportation routes between sending and operating districts.
2. Acute stigma associated with special education placement at the junior high and high school levels.
3. High costs.
4. Efficacy of existing instructional programs.
5. Appropriateness of curriculum.
6. Restrictions in normal peer relationships.
7. The tendency to leave school as a result of inability to function in the regular program.

Secondary programing for handicapped youngsters throughout the state of Illinois was in dire need of appropriate and effective instructional models that would reduce many of the constraints to program development being felt by school districts generally. Based on a needs assessment of the Wabash & Ohio Valley Special Education District, the first objective, established in 1976, was to design, implement, evaluate, and demonstrate two program models for secondary age handicapped students. These models would eliminate or effectively reduce the many constraints to appropriate instruction.

The first step of the operational plan was to develop and secure funding for an applied research project to answer questions concerning "best practices" and to solve problems associated with programing in sparsely populated areas. This step was achieved when Project SUCCESS was written, funded, operated, and validated.

The first step was to develop an applied research project.

Project SUCCESS proposed to design, implement, evaluate, and demonstrate two innovative instructional models for secondary school aged learning disabled students. These two models were to deliver effective and appropriate instruction services to 150 identified learning disabled adolescents without removing them from their home district or from the mainstream of the regular secondary school program.

Two models were to deliver services without removing students from the mainstream.

The two secondary learning disability service models were proposed not only as appropriate and effective instructional programs, but also as an economically feasible approach to the education of secondary learning disabled students in a large, sparsely populated, rural special education district. Secondary instructional programing in this nine county cooperative traditionally required transporting handicapped students many miles outside their home districts. Special transportation of handicapped students, in itself, has many negative effects on pupil growth and progress. At the secondary level, these constraints become acute.

Special transportation has negative effects.

Model I of Project SUCCESS was designed to provide instruction in the remediation of deficit areas, to demonstrate effective means of grouping, and to develop appropriate educational materials for secondary learning disabled students. Model II was designed to assess the core tasks that a regular classroom teacher expects his students to achieve when assigning passing grades for a given course. Instruction in Model II, then, was directed toward insuring that the learning disabled student achieved the core task expectations of the regular teacher. An extensive evaluation design was constructed to determine and compare the academic, social, and emotional growth of students placed in Models I and II and those placed in existing special pro-

grams. The Model I program was implemented in three different secondary schools, as was the Model II program.

Models I and II were each operated for six quarters, at which time students in Model I schools were switched to the approach used in Model II schools. This amendment to the project was requested because the students in Model I schools were not showing progress in any of the areas being measured, while those in Model II schools were making significant progress in all measured areas. After three quarters in the Model II program, the former Model I students were achieving at nearly the same level as their Model II counterparts. Project SUCCESS was submitted for validation at the end of its third year of operation and is now on the dissemination network under the Model II structure.

SUCCESS was submitted for validation at the end of its third year.

The SUCCESS program is a resource approach that emphasizes the least restrictive placement. Educators who encourage the development of resource programs either believe that such models provide better instruction than other traditional models, or that resource programs are better able to help children achieve and progress in the educational mainstream. It is this latter advantage, and its many positive vicarious aspects, that the SUCCESS model emphasizes.

A student in the educational mainstream is accepted as a member of a regular class. It is assumed that this acceptance is related to the fact that the student is acquiring the same skills that every other student must master to become a contributing member of society. In practice, the classroom teacher defines the essential mainstream skills, for the classroom teacher is empowered to recommend that a child be retained, socially promoted, or removed to a special setting. Each of these alternatives represents a degree of rejection from the mainstream.

The classroom teacher defines essential mainstream skills.

The significance attached to a particular skill varies among school districts, schools, and even classrooms and courses within the same school. Acceptable mainstream performance is, therefore, a relative matter. Nevertheless, it seems that certain core school tasks and classroom behaviors receive special attention from teachers. Regular teachers observe students performing these tasks, establish criteria for acceptable performance, and judge performance against these criteria. Assessment for core tasks is informal, just as it is for non-core tasks.

Certain core tasks and classroom behaviors receive special attention.

Core tasks are distinguished from non-core tasks by their consequences. Inadequate performance on core tasks may lead a teacher to resort to extraordinary measures such as retention or referral to special education, resulting in rejection of the student from the mainstream. In English, for example, core tasks include reading orally upon request, reading silently, and answering comprehension questions concerning material read. A student's failure to perform adequately on one or more of these core tasks alerts the teacher to the fact that this youngster is not progressing in the mainstream. Criteria for acceptable performance on core tasks vary from teacher to teacher. Some teachers require more proficient word attack skills and/or reading efficiency than others. Similarly, reading comprehension questions often vary within the same class.

Criteria vary from teacher to teacher.

The notion of core tasks established for different curricula with varying performance standards has enormous implications for the resource teacher. Core tasks define what is to be taught and by what criteria success will be judged. The resource teacher in the SUCCESS model, using the diagnostically determined student learning profile, concentrates instruction on core tasks of the regular class, while applying the classroom teacher's perfor-

mance standards. Each subject matter teacher in the secondary school who has a SUCCESS student enrolled in his or her course must prepare in writing a set of behavioral objectives to be achieved during the next two weeks. The criteria and method of judging successful achievement of objectives must also be developed and submitted.

Though the relationship between special education services and mainstream tasks may appear obvious, special education has traditionally relied on special curricula that bear only slight resemblance to the regular education curriculum. As a result, placement in special programs is more often permanent than temporary. Students who are placed in a curriculum whose objectives differ significantly from those of the regular program have only a slim chance of mastering mainstream tasks. When special education services concentrate exclusively on reducing psycholinguistic, motor, or perceptual deficits, they have little direct effect on core tasks required in the regular class (Hammill & Larsen, 1973; Hammill, Goodman, & Wiederholdt, 1974.)

Special curricula bear slight resemblance to the regular curriculum.

General differences between the two initially implemented models include the following:

1. Model I required instructional staff to develop appropriate curriculum materials to remediate identified deficits. Model II used the curriculum established by the regular teacher, but instructional approaches and techniques were individually developed, based on each student's individual learning profile.
2. Model I students were selectively grouped based on compatible needs and strengths. Model II students always received instruction on a one to one basis (teacher to student, teacher aide to student, or peer tutor to student).
3. Model I focused instruction on ability deficits of closely compatible groupings, while Model II focused instruction on core tasks established by the regular class teacher who defined mainstream objectives.

A classroom teacher does not refer a student for special education services because an auditory sequential memory deficit, for example, has been observed. Rather, the teacher refers a student who reads poorly with a high rate of error. For students with severe learning handicaps, however, a focus on mainstream tasks is very probably inappropriate. The population in this project did not include the diagnostically severely handicapped student, although those included in the original funded project were, in fact, failing a majority of their courses.

The project population did not include the severely handicapped student.

Significant conclusions drawn from this research project indicate that SUCCESS students:

1. Function successfully in the regular high school program.
2. Escape the stigma attached to special education placement at the secondary level.
3. Use curriculum materials appropriate in content and format for the secondary school age student.
4. Receive appropriate education in their local school district without the need to transport them out of district for programing;
5. Participate in school activities and functions with as much frequency as their nonhandicapped peers.
6. Demonstrate satisfactory academic functioning in regular secondary school classes.

7. Show increased independence.
8. Attend school more frequently than their previous histories indicated.

□ The increase in grade point average (GPA) over time for both models was statistically significant after 6 and 8 quarters. A greater difference in the increase for the Model II intervention than for Model I was observed. This difference is statistically significant across all time periods. The significantly different rate of increase between the two models indicates that the project intervention approach of Model II is superior to that of Model I. Considering Model I (traditional instructional approach) to be a control group of sorts, the internal validity of the effectiveness of Model II is strongly substantiated. An analysis of variance to test the difference in mean GPA under Model I instruction (Quarters 1 and 2) versus Model II instruction (Quarters 3 and 4) yielded an F value equal to 12.1412 ($p < .001$). Such a change provides rather strong evidence for the effectiveness of Model II intervention.

The Model II intervention approach is superior.

A possible source of invalidity for claims of successful project intervention was the degree of change in GPA without any project involvement. No control group is possible due to dropouts and the legal obligation to serve all who are eligible. In order to allay the possibility of a "normal" increase in GPA, an attempt was made to assess the degree of change that could be expected without project involvement. The project students' GPA for the two semesters prior to their involvement in the project were obtained. This permitted an estimate of the normal change in GPA from one semester to the next for the target group.

The mean GPA for the project students two semesters prior to enrollment was 2.5077, while the mean GPA one semester prior to the project was 2.4186. The loss in mean GPA of .0261 was considered a sample value. An estimate of the population change was obtained by establishing a .95% confidence interval around that sample difference.

Results indicated that the expected mean GPA improvement is quite likely no greater than .05589. Because larger gains were found during project intervention, the project intervention therefore is considered responsible for gains in GPA. Hence, if the assumption is true that the best single predictor of future grades is immediate past grade achievement, as is widely held and verified in other research (Klausmier & Goodwin, 1966), then one must assume that the learning disabled students' GPA in this project would have continued to deteriorate slightly from semester to semester, as evidenced by the estimated negative tendency indicated by the 95% confidence interval. Further support for this conclusion is found in an analysis of the 1976-77 students who began the year under Model I, and changed to Model II intervention at midyear.

Intervention is responsible for gains in GPA.

The use of standard scores derived from individually administered, standardized, objectively scored evaluation instruments throughout the project by specifically trained persons should tend to lessen the amount of uncontrolled error, especially as it relates to "administrator effects."

Analysis of change in achievement test standard scores was done on the standardized scores of the Wide Range Achievement Test (WRAT). Inasmuch as the norming procedure has accounted for differences in age among the students, and that expected gain due to maturation and learning is eliminated from the standard scores, such comparisons can be assumed to show real gains in performance over and above the effects of maturation.

The mean gain of 1.17 across all tests was significant at $p < .05$. Although gains differed for the subtests, the significant main effect gain supports the

assumption that the project served to increase performance on the WRAT. No differences were found between the two models.

The increase in the mean standard scores across all subscales from 86.47 to 87.93 was significant at $p < .05$. Although gains within subtests differed across testing periods, such a mean effect gain adds credence to the intervention as an explanation for gain in performance. No difference was found between the two models.

All quantifiable baseline and post treatment data were subjected to statistical treatment by a stepwise multiple regression procedure in an attempt to determine the best "predictor(s)" of school success (GPA). As was suspected, total test scores were found *not* to be good predictors of GPA. However, selected subtests were found to be very effective predictors of academic success. This finding has great educational significance in relation to the state of the art of diagnostics in the field of learning disabilities.

Probably the most significant indicator supporting continuation is the general enthusiasm shared by nearly everyone having contact with the project. The etiology of this enthusiasm is, of course, multifaceted, and includes progressively more solid backing from local superintendents and building principals.

The most significant indicator supporting continuation is enthusiasm.

- A very real spin-off of the program is the attitudinal change among regular secondary teachers and administrators regarding what and how learning disabled students achieve. For example, one superintendent stated, "The SUCCESS class has helped several of our students improve their grades." He also remarked that the SUCCESS teacher was able to integrate very effectively with his existing staff. Administrative backing in terms of eliciting cooperation from local faculties was invaluable. One building principal stated that he was having to deal with numerous requests from other students and parents for similar kinds of instruction and attention for themselves. Additionally, two other high school administrators have requested to become participating project schools. Project teachers have been inundated with impromptu referrals from their faculties.

Administrative backing was invaluable.

Parental support and cooperation have been almost universal. Many positive parent comments were offered. "Something like this project has been needed for years, and I'm glad the schools are starting to use my taxes in a useful way." In addition, students have demonstrated willingness to cooperate, improve their classroom behavior and attitude, and increase their attendance in both project and regular classes.

Project students' grades have improved since our intervention. Even within the first year, there was a significant reduction (33%) in the number of midterm "progress" reports sent out to parents of project students at one center. These reports alert parents to behavioral problems and/or failing or near failing grades in a particular class.

Positive comments from regular class teachers have continued. One teacher stated, "My students who are in the SUCCESS project are taking better notes and have better class participation." Another teacher remarked that SUCCESS students are "actually" doing homework assignments. A librarian at one site lauded the project's objectives and techniques, as well as increased use of the library by project students and their improved, more courteous behavior while in the library.

Students are taking better notes and have better class participation.

As a gauge to determine the relative effectiveness of each of the two models and the overall reaction to the project, interviews were conducted with students, regular teachers, counselors, and building principals. Participants were chosen on a random basis to assure unbiased responses.

Model II responses were rated as more positive.

After the responses were returned, they were typed, coded, and offered to two outside professional evaluators, who rated the valence of the responses on a 1 to 5 scale. Both Model I and Model II responses were rated on the positive side, but Model II responses were rated as more positive than Model I responses. The difference was statistically significant ($p < .05$).

PROJECT APPLICATIONS

□ At the conclusion of the funded research project, the SUCCESS programs were expanded to include both educationally handicapped and behavior disordered students with as much success as was experienced with learning disabled students. The SUCCESS program is now a feature of a majority of secondary schools in the Wabash & Ohio Valley Special Education District.

The expansion of Project SUCCESS has required the regular classroom teacher to cope with a wide spectrum of student abilities and needs. To assist in this transition, a field based master's degree training program is currently being offered. Staff from Southern Illinois University at Carbondale conduct the program in a truly field based setting. Dual supervision of teachers in training is provided by central office staff and Special Education Department staff from Southern Illinois University.

A field based training program is underway.

The program consists of three phases. The length of duration of each training phase is three regular term semesters and two summer term semesters. Each participant has supervised practicum experiences in his or her own classroom.

The first phase of the training program involves 50 presently employed secondary subject matter teachers, representing the fields of history, English, physical education, industrial arts, math, and science. One assistant principal is also enrolled in the program. The goal of the first phase is to train regular class teachers to work more effectively with students whose behavior is such that their future education may be in jeopardy as a result of being suspended or expelled from school.

The newly trained teachers will not become special education teachers, but will remain in their regular classroom positions. They will also serve as a resource to other teaching personnel regarding proper and appropriate techniques and methods to be used with students displaying inappropriate and unacceptable behavior.

Another very realistic resource assistance that these teachers can provide to students might well be teaching them how to influence and change teacher behavior. When students speak politely and considerately, when they respectfully request assistance concerning material they do not understand, and when they demonstrate enthusiasm for newly acquired learning, their own behaviors can effectively influence those of their teachers.

The type of student whose behavior threatens her or his educational future is faced with a serious life situation. If forced to leave school because of behavior, the problem is severe, for the student is being denied a vehicle for growth and development. Yet intervening in a person's life to change behavior is potentially a denial of liberty sufficient to raise constitutional issues. Intervention into a student's life (even school life) for the purpose of changing behavior should be limited to those acts that are legitimate interests of the public school and are overt, verifiable, and intolerable. Recent court decisions suggest that the stigma attached to psychological treatment, and even the change in educational status that comes with placement in a special program, affect an individual's liberty (specifically, the ability to associate freely with others) to an extent sufficient to raise the constitutional issue.

Intervention should be limited to . . . legitimate interests.

Anyone who has been in a secondary school during the last few years has witnessed behavior conflict between students and adults in positions of au-

thority. Often the values of teachers and administrators differ greatly from those of their charges. They insist that certain adolescent behavior is intolerable, and thus in need of change. Sometimes these claims are rooted in age discrimination, sex bias, and intolerance toward differing value systems or adolescent lifestyles.

Certain behaviors are considered intolerable only when performed by girls. Aggressive or sexually active girls are often thought to be in need of help, while boys exhibiting the same behaviors are regarded as normal. A 17 year old student who refuses to do what a teacher or parent says may be considered incorrigible. Yet at 18, the same behavior is not considered intolerable, because as adults we may and do refuse to do what others demand of us.

Certain behaviors are considered intolerable only when performed by girls.

Such examples of age and sex intolerance are not as common as the lifestyle bias held by many public school personnel. School authorities often judge behavior or social conduct to be intolerable, and thus in need of change, on the basis of their own lifestyle bias. Desired behavior change is in some cases forced, by referral to the disciplinarian for punishment, or by referral to the counselor or psychologist. This type of bias most often focuses on personal behaviors and characteristics such as type of clothing worn, length and type of hair style, or speech.

Normally, such conflicts do not result in special education placement. They do, however, result in a hardening of attitudes and opinions on the part of students. Negative attitudes are reflected in level of student motivation, nature and quality of verbal and written responses, body language, and academic performance. As attitudinal lines become more rigid, the likelihood increases that situations leading to suspension or expulsion will occur.

As attitudinal lines become rigid, the likelihood of suspension or expulsion increases.

The second phase of the field based training program offers training to 15 certified special education teachers who previously received their bachelor of arts degree in the areas of behavior disorder and educational handicap. The second phase is much more indepth and research oriented than the first. The purpose of this training is to prepare special education teachers to work in self contained and/or resource settings with behavior disordered and educationally handicapped students. Their case load will be strictly limited to those more severely handicapped youth who cannot function as an integrated part of the regular curriculum due to severe affective disorders that significantly interfere with learning.

The second phase is more in depth and research oriented.

Additionally, this phase emphasizes parent training as a major instructional component to be developed by each teacher within her or his educational program. With this level of severity of student problems, a total environment approach is considered most effective. Work with community and state agencies for the purpose of providing community support services to students and their families is also stressed. Chemotherapy as a medical treatment strategy is emphasized as one behavior intervention. Identification of types of medication used, expected effects on adaptive behavior, and possible side effects are explored. An indepth study of the legal issues involved in diagnosing, placing, and treating behavior disordered and educationally handicapped students is required.

Parent training is emphasized.

The third phase of the program trains a group of eight previously certified behavior disorder and educational handicap teachers to work with those students who require residential treatment. This phase deals with many of the issues addressed in the second phase, as well as other intervention elements necessary for appropriate and effective residential care.

The third phase trains teachers to work with students who require residential treatment.

Participants in the third phase are expected to be involved in practicum experiences that include indepth instructional exposure, live-in residential

Practicum experiences are provided.

care experience, and an internship in coordination of human services. The first practicum involves a program that educates the student in a public school setting and provides residential care in a family-like home during out of school hours. The second involves a program established in an institutional setting.

SUCCESS: A VIABLE ALTERNATIVE

Secondary school districts. . .need effective educational models.

☐ Secondary school districts throughout the nation and the state of Illinois that serve learning disabled handicapped students are in dire need of appropriate and effective educational models to reduce many of the constraints to program development presently being felt. This need has been established as a high priority on a state level.

Project SUCCESS, implementing the concept of the least restrictive alternative, has effectively and efficiently eliminated and/or reduced the need to transport students to special programs, the acute stigma usually associated with special programs at the secondary level, and restrictions in normal peer relationships. At the same time, the project has documented an increase in performance on two measures of academic success (GPA and achievement tests).

Students endeavor to live up to expectations.

Project SUCCESS represents a viable alternative to the benign neglect of our secondary handicapped school population. The positive results of this project clearly reveal that students will endeavor to live up to the expectations we have of them. A new approach to serving effectively the secondary handicapped population is now a tested reality.

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